
THE CITY OF ADELAIDE

A THEMATIC HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

Most histories of the City of Adelaide emphasize the dominant position and major role that the City has played in the development of the State. As stated in the 1990 publication *Heritage in the City of Adelaide*:

Adelaide is the seat of power, the financial and cultural centre, and the headquarters of organizations [in South Australia]. It is the departure point and terminus of roads and railways, shipping and air routes, which together enmesh the State ...

More recently in *Adelaide: A Brief History*, prepared for Council in 1996, the authors Kathy Gargett and Susan Marsden, note that:

The City's heritage reflects Adelaide's varied roles in Colonial and State history, as well as the sequences of land use, building construction, and social and economic pursuits since the first year of formal British settlement in South Australia. Indeed, the built environment mirrors all of the major historical forces which have helped to shape South Australia.

South Australia was a planned colony for free settlers, following a system devised by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in England in 1830, which emphasised three elements for success: land, capital and labour. Different from other British colonies in Australia, settlement in South Australia was based on the sale of land and not land grants for prospective free settlers. No convicts were transported to South Australia; rather emigration of a young reliable workforce was to be funded by land sales held in London prior to the establishment of the colony. Even before the site of the colony had been precisely determined, the plan for its main town was drawn up and Town Acres and country sections of eighty acres were being sold.

Once the first settlers arrived in late 1836, the colony's Surveyor General, Colonel William Light, was given the task of locating the city - the creation of the colonial capital in a new British province. This process was fraught with difficulties: and in very direct ways the topography of the countryside affected the location of Adelaide and the placement of the town plan within the physical setting of the area. In addition, the geology of the Torrens Valley determined the immediately available building stones for early masonry construction in the city.

However, once surveyed and established on the ground, the proposed plan created a well ordered city divided into Town Acres separated by major thoroughfares and surrounded by parklands. The parklands have continued to provide an important ring of natural and cultural heritage around the city.

The following document analyses the development of Adelaide under a series of themes which reflect the elements of its evolution through the years since it was first settled. The emphasis of this thematic history is on the resultant built environment and those historic elements of each stage which remain. It is intended that these themes and the identification of places which reflect them should serve as a guide for the continued identification and assessment of the heritage assets of the City. It will also serve as a record of those places which were once indicative of Adelaide's story, but are no longer in existence, having been demolished to make way for more modern development.

[ACA - Light's Plan]

1.0 THE ADELAIDE ENVIRONMENT

1.1 The Site of the City and its Planning

Colonel William Light, as Surveyor General for the new colony, was instructed by the British Government to find a site which had a number of attributes: a harbour, fresh water and effective drainage, ready internal and external communications and easily obtained building materials. When the site of the new city was chosen, sites such as Port Lincoln, Kangaroo Island and the Murray Mouth region were rejected because of limited water supplies, inaccessibility, restricted hinterlands and poor soil and vegetation for agriculture. In the case of the Murray Mouth area, while there was ample water, the narrow, shallow and exposed southerly facing mouth of the Murray River made it inaccessible for shipping.

Light had no instructions for a grid town except 'to make the streets of ample width, arranging them with reference to convenience, beauty and salubrity; and making the necessary reserves, for squares, public walks and quays'.¹ The site chosen was the best procurable for drainage and fresh water within reasonable reach of a safe and satisfactory harbour.²

One of the most distinctive aspects of the landscape of the city of Adelaide is the morphology of its planning. According to Williams, the threefold urban pattern has no real counterpart anywhere else in the world. 'It consists of a core of 'town lands' for business and commerce called the city (split into North and South Adelaide by the River Torrens), a surrounding belt of parklands reserved for public uses, and a peripheral zone of 'suburban lands' beyond...the significance of the Adelaide plan lies not only in its unique character and formalisation of functional zones, but also in its use as a model for over 200 smaller towns and villages in South Australia and for several towns larger than these in New Zealand'.³

Locating the new capital along the length of the River Torrens was not without problems, for the eventual site was located between two easily flooded areas, that of the former Reed Beds to the west of the city now known as Lockleys and the River Park area of St Peters. On the heights of the river valley, the topography was undulating and uneven with outcrops of limestone. These factors explain variations from the proposed grid plan for the city. Moving away from a simple square town plan, Light utilised the river valley topography to its full advantage, even surveying blocks of Town Acres at odd angles to each other for the North Adelaide section.⁴

The southern section of the city of Adelaide which is almost 1.6 kilometres (1 mile) in each direction, comprises 700 acres, known as Town Acres, and is essentially a 'walking city'⁵. Together, the city within the Park Lands covers 15.57 square kilometres (5.8 square miles).⁶ Located half a mile to the north of the main southern section of the city, the residential suburb of North Adelaide comprises a further 342 acres.

The two sections of the city are physically separated by the River Torrens within Park Lands which girdle the entire city like a figure of eight. The encircling parklands are half mile wide at their widest point and cover 930 hectares (2,300 acres). The Park Lands also separate the entire city from the greater metropolitan area which spreads seventy kilometres to its north and south. Further, Adelaide's suburbs are confined by the Adelaide Hills eight kilometres to its east with about the same distance to the Gulf St Vincent to its west. Within this setting, Adelaide's

¹ J Stephens *The Land of Promise*, 1839 (facsimile edition 1988) p97.

² D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 222.

³ M Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, p389.

⁴ Donald L Johnson and Don Langmead, *The Adelaide City Plan: Fiction and Fact*, 1986. See also D Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*. Johnson and Langmead believe that GS Kingston and not W Light should be credited as the designer of Adelaide. Although this is currently hotly debated it does appear that Kingston should be given more acknowledgement for his involvement.

⁵ Michael Williams, 'The historical foundations of the South Australian urban system' in CA Forster & RJ Stimson, *Urban South Australia: Selected Readings*, 1977, p4.

⁶ Michael Williams, 'The historical foundations of the South Australian urban system', p4.

Park Lands reinforce the city's physical autonomy, which is possibly unique in the world and Colonel Light has gained historical planning significance for his Adelaide plan.⁷

The map drawn by George Kingston and Colonel William Light and published in May 1837 following naming of the streets in Adelaide, shows the numbered Town Acres separated by major thoroughfares surveyed mainly horizontally, between every two rows of Town Acres. Apart from thoroughfares along the Park Land frontages, only four roads ran vertically through the Town Acres. Only as Town Acres were sold and subdivided were the narrower streets created, usually as private roads to begin with, and then gazetted as public streets as and when the city corporation thought appropriate. Despite almost 170 years of development, the city has retained the essential intent of its original design.

This 1864 comment on the 'square' controversy (between the square mile of the city plan and one mile square) appeared 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.G.L. 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?

RG Symonds⁸

1.2 The Effects of Geology and Topography

The underlying geology, topography and climate of a colonial city, as much as the cultural base for its settlement, influence its appearance and use of materials and design.

Adelaide is situated on an alluvial plain that lies between the 'generally curving arch of the south Mount Lofty Ranges on the east and the low sand dune coast of Gulf St Vincent on the west. The Torrens River flows through the area from east to west, and a low ridge of rising ground called the Para Scarp intersects the area from south to north.⁹

The topography of the city tilts gently westwards so that storm water runs into the west Park Lands and the cemetery area which is one of the lowest areas in the city. More than eighty per cent of the city conveniently nestles on a bed of limestone, from which limestone was quarried for construction of the earliest government buildings, many private dwellings, shops, workshops, and commercial outlets. The stone was also used for walling, stabling and outhouses. At Government House, part of the original walling on the northern end facing the Parade Ground is extant, while the wall fronting North Terrace was rebuilt in the late 1980s.

At the northern end of East Terrace between Botanic Road and Bartels Road, the surveyed city which is about forty metres above sea level falls away to about thirty metres onto the Park Lands creating a low lying wet boggy area, through which First Creek runs. Between Bartels Road and southwards of Wakefield Street the land rises gently to fifty metres above sea level. The south-eastern corner of the city that stretches from Halifax Street to the middle of Victoria Park Racecourse is, along with a point around the junction of Tynte Street and Lefevre Terrace, the highest point in the city. Southwards of East Terrace from Pirie Street, where the land is suitably

⁷ Donald L Johnson and Don Langmead, *The Adelaide City Plan: Fiction and Fact*, 1986. See also D Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*.

⁸ *SA Register* 5 Feb 1864 p3.

⁹ *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Grolier Society of Australia, Sydney, 1962, Vol 1 p 116.

level at a height between forty and fifty metres above sea level, Colonel Light squeezed in a further eighty Town Acres which enabled the creation of an extra north-south road of Hutt Street.

The crescent shaped river valley created a natural bluff with a scarp-like hillside in North Adelaide which extends from the north-western end of Buxton Street to the northern end of Jerningham Street. Taking advantage of gently rising land evident between the area of the cathedral and Brougham Place and eastwards from Kingston Terrace to the southeast corner of MacKinnon Parade and Mann Terrace, Colonel Light surveyed two extra rectangular areas, one comprising thirty two acres, containing Kermode Street, called the Cathedral Precinct. To the east of this area, Light surveyed another area known as Lower North Adelaide, comprising eighty six acres which includes Melbourne Street, Stanley Street and MacKinnon Parade. As with the areas around the southern end of East Terrace, Light also squeezed in further Town Acres along the 'ridge top' areas of North Adelaide fronting Montefiore Hill, the eastern end of Strangways Terrace and Barnard Street, as well as more Town Acres to the western side of Hill Street.

The River Torrens, easy to ford in dry weather, could change dramatically within hours during the winter or during a flash flood. Crossing the river before 1856, when the first substantial flood proof bridge was built as part of the King William Street extension, was a hazardous affair and there is a long history of washed away bridges, uncrossable fords and even lives lost.¹⁰ On the main road to Port Adelaide in the Hindmarsh Bridge area a punt was established. This place, where no bridge existed, had been a regular crossing point for many years. But crossing a flooded river by punt with goods or passengers, created years of frustrating inconvenience.¹¹

For those who chose to live in North Adelaide, locating one part of the city on the opposite side of the river to the main part created immense problems. Old maps detail seemingly circuitous transport routes which were designed to cross the River Torrens at the easiest crossing point or to avoid the scarp hill of Montefiore. Businesses wanted to be close to the main access points to and from the city, particularly that to Port Adelaide. Following where the road crossed the River Torrens to North Adelaide and turned into the eastern end of Kermode Street, was the location of the earliest development of that part of North Adelaide. As a result, lack of an easy access to North Adelaide before 1856 delayed its development.

When access to the city was so difficult, there was a necessarily closer relationship between North Adelaide residents and Walkerville than with south Adelaide. This is supported by the fact that in 1855, the residents of North Adelaide met with those of Walkerville in a bid to create a municipality comprised of these two locations.¹² (The mistakes of too few access roads between the two parts of the city were repeated when Colonel Light planned the town of Gawler, thirty miles to the north.)

[SLSA - Hackney Bridge and Environs B177, 1846]

The parklands themselves were initially seen as a source of building materials and other supplies for survival in the new city. In response to the extensive excavation of stone and gravel and cutting down and removal of trees for fuel and building uses, protection for the parklands was quickly put in place and the area covered by the parklands could not be occupied for any use including destructive activities such as brick making, lime burning and the like.

¹⁰ Arthur Fox who was owner of the Colonel Light Hotel in Light Square was drowned crossing the River Torrens 1/5/1853.

¹¹ James Potter, series of articles about the city's bridges in *Newsletter of the Historical Society of SA*, between Sept 2002- Sept 2003.

¹² *Observer*, 23/6/1855 p7h.

2.0 PEOPLING A CAPITAL CITY

2.1 Introduction

The original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains were the Kurna aboriginal peoples. European settlement after 1836 soon put pressure on their tenure of the land, and once the original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains were displaced, Adelaide grew in stages. Migration to Adelaide has been in waves, usually due to world events such as wars, famines and religious persecution. These waves were the period of initial colonial settlement, the 1840s Irish immigration (particularly women), the 1850s mining boom and religious refugees, the 1870s Chinese and German female domestic servants, some early 1900 Middle Eastern migration, and then in the 1920s Greeks, 1930s Germans, 1940s Europeans generally (Greek and Italian), and during the 1970s South East Asians and Chinese.

As noted in *Adelaide: A Brief History*

The biggest impact occurred after the Second World War, the immigration of large numbers of non English speaking people transformed the social life of the city. Migrants arrived in their hundreds after the War, first as refugees and then as Assisted Migrants from 1952. The largest groups were of Italians and Greeks.

Specific ethnic groups who had an effect on the development of Adelaide in the early years of the city's growth included Jewish settlers, German/Prussian Lutheran settlers and Middle Eastern settlers from Afghanistan and Lebanon. Physical evidence of their early building activity remains, including one of the earliest German communities in Sussex Street in lower North Adelaide, the former synagogue in Rundle Street, the mosque in Little Gilbert Street. Other buildings associated with ethnic groups including churches, retail premises and institutions such as ethnic society halls also reflect the composition of Adelaide's population over time. One important place which records the ethnic and religious background of the city's residents over time is the West Terrace cemetery.

There are no physical remains of structures built by European settlers for Aboriginals such as their formal camp sites, school buildings or other facilities. Locations of these are known, and some present the possibility of archeological investigation. More recently, the growing awareness of the significance of the first users of the Adelaide city site has been acknowledged in centres such as Tandanya in Grenfell Street.

2.2 Aborigines: Tradition and Displacement

Migrants coming to a new British province found that it was already occupied by Aborigines and it had been so for more than 40,000 years. However, this did not prevent British authorities from surveying and granting lands to new migrants with little knowledge about existing indigenous occupation.

Authorities acting on behalf of the British Government believed in their wisdom that although Aborigines were camping in the Adelaide environs they were not actually putting the land to good use in the way Europeans would. This justification made it very easy for migrants to simply occupy and fence what land they secured.

Aboriginal occupation of the Park Lands continued until the early 1850s, mainly in the vicinity of the golf links, Memorial Drive and the Torrens Weir. In recognition of this, a large area is referred to as Piltawodli in the City of Adelaide Kurna Park Names map of November 2001. It comprises the slopes and flat area to the river's edge below Montefiore Hill, now the golf links, and eastwards where cricket and tennis grounds are now located, and includes the well known Pinky Flat area. All of this area was an Aboriginal camping ground at the time of European settlement, and gained its name from the abundance of pink-snouted bilbies in the area. At the outset, the colonial government made some effort to acknowledge this area where Aborigines camped. In the survey for the site of Adelaide a tiny area was officially marked out, with help from the local

Aborigines, north of the Torrens opposite the gaol, to contain the Native (Aboriginal) Location, a 'native school' and dwellings for the Protector of Aborigines and the school teacher. At the Native Location were several 'little houses' for three native families.

Occupation of the Park Lands by Kaurna and 'Murray people' from the Murray River region to the east continued under the watchful eye of government authorities, a sombre picture of power and control. Close by, was the Colonial Store also known as the Iron Store which was at the foot of Montefiore Hill nearly 400 metres to the northwest of the Native Location. Only about 120 metres to the southeast was the military camp of the Sappers (Royal Engineers) quarters, located between Memorial Drive and the current river restaurant located near the Torrens Weir.¹³ (Sappers were soldiers involved in building and repairing of fortifications.) The main period of aboriginal occupation of the Park Lands was from 1837 until 1845 whereafter it continued in a different form until 1851.¹⁴ For the Kaurna people today, the 'setting up of...(Adelaide)...deprived our ancestors of the responsibility for maintaining crucial, culturally meaningful places'.¹⁵ The city council has gone some way to recognising this with the reinstatement of the Piltawodli name for the area.

[ACA - Aborigines' Location Map, 1842 detail from Kingston Map, 1849 – detail from Freeling's map]

After 1851 when the barracks were built for the Mounted Police and for military purposes off North Terrace and east of Government House, the facilities of the Colonial Store and the Sappers quarters moved to these barracks. The Protector of Aborigines and the Native School also moved to this location. After this date local Aborigines were not encouraged to live permanently on the Park Lands, though groups continued to 'camp' at Piltawodli, the west Park Lands and in Botanic Park through to the 1860s.¹⁶ No other buildings were constructed or set aside for Aborigines within the city confines at least until the late twentieth century.

2.3 Immigration

2.3.1 Early Colonial Settlement

While Colonel Light and his surveying team searched the new province for a suitable place for a capital, the immigrants of the first seven ships camped in the sand dunes at Holdfast Bay, the site of Glenelg, until their new town had been selected and surveyed. Then the pioneers moved to the new city site, camping on the banks of the River Torrens, opposite the Newmarket Hotel and Town Acre 1.

The once gentle grassy slopes between the hotel and the river, which are now railway yards, demand a good imagination to visualise the pastoral scene of the first European city camp site.¹⁷ While a memorial plaque on North Terrace alludes to the temporary occupation of the pioneers, the actual site is now in the middle of the railway yards.

[SLSA - Adelaide View B10079, ca.1837]

From January to March 1837, migrants camped in tents and temporary wooden huts in two camps in this location. The camps were named after two of the first migrant ships, the *Buffalo* and the *Coromandel*. These camps could be considered Adelaide's first migrant hostel, forerunners of the same type of accommodation for migrants at several later periods in Adelaide's history.¹⁸

¹³ Rhonda Harris, *Archaeology and Post-Contact Indigenous Adelaide*, Flinders University, Archaeology, Hons thesis, 1999, p 63

¹⁴ Rhonda Harris, *Archaeology*, p 56.

¹⁵ S Hemming, *Statement of Cultural Significance for the Adelaide Parklands*, p5.

¹⁶ Tom Gara, *Fringe Camps*, several papers.

¹⁷ See Col Light's original illustration of the first camp site, c1836, Rex Nankivell Collection, National Library.

¹⁸ The temporary camp site on the banks of the River Torrens Jan-March 1837, Emigrant Depot from 1837- 1842, Mounted Police Barracks complex from 1851; post Second World War at the Cheer Up Hut site where the Festival Theatre now is.

When Colonel Light completed surveying the city, the Town Acres not previously purchased were auctioned in one acre lots, and the temporary campers who could afford to buy quickly moved to claim their new town lands.

Considering why the first settlers came to South Australia, Douglas Pike author of *Paradise of Dissent* wrote:

A few had stray feelings of patriotism and wished to do their bit for the building of empire; others were infected in various degrees by the ideals of systematic colonisation. A great number had fallen into debt in England or failed to make a decent living; others galled by the yoke of dependence. Some were attracted by the thought of starting life anew ...For some, the great advantage of South Australia was its freedom from political, social and religious frustrations. But the most attractive factor was that land-buyers were entitled to free passages for their labourers at the rate of one to every £20 subscribed to the Land Fund.¹⁹

A free passage to South Australia in return for working for an employer for up to two years, for example, as an agricultural labourer, was guaranteed for suitable candidates usually of British stock as newly married couples, or young married couples with children. Single men and women were also considered. This system prevailed for more than twenty years with varying degrees of success and was the core of the original Wakefield model. Between 1836 and 1857 some 73,363 men, women and children received free or partially paid for passages through this system.²⁰ In order to create a labouring class who would work for those with land or businesses, the third Act of Parliament for the colony was passed as the Masters and Servants Act in 1837. It decreed that labourers who defaulted on their contract to work for another for a designated period were subject to six months imprisonment.²¹

Because the city, at the heart of the settlement, presented more opportunities to assisted migrants working within the commercial sector, they did far better than those who laboured on the land or undertook day labour.²² These city 'labourers' saved enough to buy their own properties within a short time, ensuring the ongoing subdivision of Town Acres into smaller allotments.

However, government authorities were confronted all too quickly with the fact that migrants sometimes needed a temporary place to stay while they found somewhere to rent or to buy their first home and found work. Because of the sometimes fatal rigours of the sea journey to South Australia, the government often had to provide assistance for children who had arrived parentless, wives who arrived as widows and some husbands who arrived as widowers, often with several children to support. Not only did the government have to find temporary accommodation for dependent women and children, but also for migrants without previously arranged jobs or accommodation. These difficulties were exacerbated during the early recessions.

Consequently, colonial authorities were involved in social welfare almost from the day the first European migrants arrived in South Australia. On the Adelaide Park Lands in the vicinity of the Adelaide High School, an area of several acres was set aside as the Emigration Depot where around two dozen semidetached gabled weatherboard huts on brick foundations were made available for a limited time to newly arrived immigrants. Emigration Square, at this Depot, was established by late 1837 and housed many hundreds of immigrants before the first economic recession temporarily halted immigration for two years until 1844-45.

During these two years the third governor, George Grey, used the accommodation at Emigration Square for unemployed men, who were directed to labouring work around the city in return for rations and a roof over their head. Grey was obliged to do this as the South Australian Colonization Commissioners had given an undertaking to assist immigrants with the promise of employment on public works if private employment was not available. Accepting responsibility

¹⁹ D. Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 149.

²⁰ John Cashen, 'Social foundations of South Australia: owners of labour' in *The Flinders Social History*, p 105.

²¹ John Cashen p 105.

²² Eric Richards, 'The peopling of South Australia, 1836-1986' in *The Flinders Social History*, p 128.

'for employment, and hence maintenance' became the 'cornerstone of South Australia's welfare system, and made it unique in Australia' at that time.²³

The population of the city dropped dramatically during this first recession: from 8,480 in 1840 to 6,107 in 1844.²⁴ While nothing remains of the buildings of the Emigration Depot on the Park Lands, it is possible that the depot's well that was filled in at a later period when the site was abandoned could still be located through an archaeological dig.

After 1845, when migration was re-introduced, immigrants who had been nominated by friends, relatives or employers already in South Australia usually stayed with them upon arrival.²⁵ As the Immigration Department was responsible for assisted immigrants, those who lacked temporary accommodation or immediate work upon arrival were offered accommodation at Morcom's Temperance Hotel.²⁶ From here immigrants were referred to employment agents.

The period between 1847 and 1852 saw the greatest flood of immigration.²⁷ This upsurge was in response to the discovery and development of copper mines at Kapunda and Burra, and the additional 63,000 immigrants did much to stimulate activity throughout the colony.²⁸

Many immigrants who came to South Australia seeking new opportunities were relatively well off and could afford to not only bring large amounts of cargo to establish a business venture in the new city but several associates and servants too.²⁹ (A number of British families who left India in the early 1840s to settle in South Australia also brought their Indian servants). Wealthy immigrants such as these provided an effective source of business activity. Several immigrants came as land agents buying up large tracts of newly surveyed land in the hinterlands or within the city. They quickly subdivided their lands into smaller attractive parcels of land, making handsome profits when they were resold.

2.3.2 Jewish Settlers

As well as the tolerance of religious dissent in the colony, one attraction for Jewish immigrants to South Australia may have been because one of the Colonization Commissioners, Jacob Montefiore, was Jewish. Montefiore retained important personal connections with European financial institutions, and this was seen as an important asset for the early development of South Australia, not only in the commercial and financial sense but culturally also. The substantial influence of Jewish settlers in the commercial, political, municipal and cultural spheres was in inverse proportion to their very small numbers in the population.

With only twenty five Jews living in South Australia in 1844, it was twelve years after European settlement before there was a large enough community to establish the first synagogue off Rundle Street east.³⁰ By 1860 the community had grown to 360 and by 1891 this had grown to 840. However, this number dropped to 750 by 1918 and down to 528 by 1933. There was a boost to the numbers before the Second World War when 130 Austrian and German Jewish refugees arrived. Following a decline in Jewish residents in the city in the post war period, the city synagogue finally closed in 1990. A new synagogue for the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation was built at Glenside in 1990 to the east of the city where many of the congregation lived.³¹

²³ B Dickey, *Rations, Residence, Resources: A History of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*, 1986, p3.

²⁴ T Worsnop, *History of the city of Adelaide*, p 443.

²⁵ Eric Richards p 131.

²⁶ This was the lot on the western end of TA 67, located on the southern side of Hindley Street west of Clarendon Street, in one of the busiest parts of the city.

²⁷ Eric Richards p128.

²⁸ Worsnop, p 443. Figures for the colony between 1846-1855 rose from 22,390 in 1846 to 85,821 in 1855. For the city numbers rose from 7,413 in 1846 to 18,259 in 1855, more than the population in 2004.

²⁹ R Linn, *Nature's Pilgrim*, p3. John White brought nine workmen, livestock, implements, building materials and a variety of seed on the ship *Tam O'Shanter* in November 1836.

³⁰ In 1844 there were only 25 Jews in the colony, with 15 of them living outside of the city and ten men were needed to establish a congregation. The first Jewish congregation took place at Solomon's Temple Tavern next to the Queen's Theatre on 10/9/1848. See under Synagogue, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, pp 151-53.

³¹ Bruce Rosen, 'Jews' in *Wakefield Companion to SA history*, pp287-289.

The city had several Jewish mayors and elected members of council. From as early as 1853 John Lazar, theatre proprietor of the Queen's Theatre, was both councillor and then mayor from 1855 to 1859. Judah Moss was a councillor from 1852-1854, and then mayor between 1869 and 1871. When Sir Lewis Cohen became mayor in 1910, a year later he travelled to London to secure the Lord Mayorship for Adelaide, and this was formalised in 1919. So when Cohen ran for office once more in 1921, he became the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Adelaide.³²

Jacob Montefiore and his family and descendants built and owned the Criterion Hotel in King William Street. In the early 1900s, when this property came up for sale together with the Imperial Hotel and adjacent buildings in Grenfell Street, it was noted to be one of the most valuable family city estates to come on the market for some time.³³

Another Jewish citizen was one of Australia's most important comedians, Henry van de Sluys, otherwise known as Roy Rene (Mo McCackie). He was born and lived in the West End of Adelaide until he was sixteen, when he and his family moved interstate.³⁴ His family lived next door to the Royal Admiral Hotel on the western side of Hindley Street.

2.3.3 German Settlers

South Australia has a long history of accommodating refugees escaping religious and political oppression. It received its first refugees in 1838 when George Fife Angas personally advanced £8,000, an enormous amount for the time, to enable German Lutherans led by Pastor Kavel to migrate in large numbers to South Australia.

Their discontent was with the national church of Prussia. 'As a band of spiritually awakened people they refused to be bound to a formal liturgy dictated by the state' but Angas enabled them 'to reach a refuge for their consciences.' He declared that 'the honourable epithet of Pilgrim land should be bestowed upon South Australia'.³⁵ On arrival, most of the German group settled briefly at Klemzig before moving onto the Barossa Valley or Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills in 1842. Following after Pastor Kavel and his flock, other Germans migrated to South Australia in the 1850s and numbers of them settled in Adelaide as tradesmen and artisans. There was a second wave of German migrants in the 1870s many of whom became more involved in the intellectual and cultural life of the city. Before the First World War, ten per cent of immigrants were German.³⁶

There are several locations in Adelaide where this involvement in city life is found in the several buildings associated with their culture. One of the earliest German communities in the city was in lower North Adelaide, in and around Stanley and Sussex Streets, in part of the subdivision known as Chichester Gardens. Evidence of their settlement is found here in a cluster of several small cottages. Outside access to house lofts, which is a German building tradition, can be seen at 120 Sussex Street and 57 Stanley Street.

The large two storey limestone house at 78 Jerningham Street was owned by Heinrich W Weger from 1880 to 1946.³⁷ He and some of his family arrived in South Australia in 1852 for a better life, after two of his brothers and his father were killed in political upheavals in Germany. His family held property in Stanley Street until 1946.

Another group of German migrants were located in the Cathedral Precinct around Kermode and Lakeman streets (formerly Union Street). Wilhelm Bruggemann of 31 Lakeman Street, was associated with the property from 1861-1911. John Bohlmann's single storey house at 152-154 Kermode Street was built in 1852. His family were associated with the property until 1922 when

³² P Morton, *After Light: A History of the City of Adelaide and its Council, 1878-1928*, p 70-82.

³³ *South Australian Register*, 18/5/1907.

³⁴ Philip Parsons, *Companion to theatre in Australia*, Currency Press 1995, pp 485-486.

³⁵ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 131.

³⁶ IA Harmstorf, 'Germans' in *The Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 224-225.

³⁷ Patricia Sumerling, 'A history of 78 Jerningham Street' for Mrs Bridget Throsby, 1992 (unpublished), see also Weger family history in Roger Teusner, *Family history of Christian Heinrich Ronfeldt*, 1971.

it was made into a two storey structure and used as part of the Creveen Girl's School and which later became part of the Kindergarten Union. Several German migrants also opened shops in O'Connell Street. They included the former Konrad Bechtell's saddlers shop at 59 O'Connell Street and Heinrich Langeluddecke's bootmakers shop at 89 O'Connell Street. German families lived in the these locations until the turn of the twentieth century, and there were almost a dozen German shops located in O'Connell Street until the First World War.

There are also many visual reminders of the far larger German community that existed between Grenfell Street and Wakefield Street and between Gawler Place and East Terrace. The German community built their own hospital, school, club, shops, churches and bakery in this area. The German Hospital was built in 1851 on Town Acre 433 in Carrington Street on land donated by Osmond Gilles. Fundraising for the structure was by fetes, bazaars and concerts and the foundation stone was laid on 24 May 1851. However, due to squabbles about who should pay for the transfer costs of the land, the trustees of the hospital never owned the land. When the hospital was completed its name was changed to the German and British Hospital. Although its name appeared in a South Australian Directory in 1855, the hospital was not a success and after it closed as a hospital it was owned for forty six years by Julia Warren Farr, during which time it was the Anglican Church's Orphans Home. It was still standing in 1916, but has since been demolished.³⁸

While the school and hospital no longer survives, the former German Club building in Pirie Street is used as offices after being a Salvation People's Palace for many years. A new club, the South Australian German Association established in 1886, moved into a former house at 223 Flinders Street in 1913. In 1963 a hall was built to the rear because of the rapid rise in membership. When further room was needed, a large three storey addition was built to the facade in 1974. Although the club rooms were severely damaged by fire in 2003, it continues after many years serving a thriving German membership.

Other buildings associated with early German migrants are still to be found in the city. The two Lutheran churches in Wakefield and Flinders streets and two pubs, the Woodmans Inn and the Tivoli Hotel still remain. The Woodmans Inn was associated with German horticulturalists from the Adelaide Hills who brought their produce to the East End Market weekly, using the pub as their refreshment stop.³⁹ Heinrich Wilhelm Emcke who owned and ran the Tivoli Hotel for many years also ran a large and successful woodyard in Hindmarsh Square. In the south-western corner of the city is the Prince Albert Hotel at 254-256 Wright Street. Ludwig Dreyer, his family and descendants, were associated with the hotel for 124 years until 1976. However, the old Black Eagle (later the Aurora Hotel) was demolished in 1983. German bakers W Menz & Co established their Wakefield Street premises in 1878 but this is now used for other purposes. The two storey bluestone shop/residence at 242 Pirie Street was associated with the German brothers August and Carl Feibig for a number of years in the 1880s. August was an instrument maker and Carl was a bee-keeper. He kept his bees on the first floor of the building and they flew freely in and out of the upper windows. At 270 Pirie Street, Frederick Just traded as a German butcher specialising in white sausage.

2.3.4 Irish Settlers

Few Irish migrated to South Australia in the first decade of European settlement. However, by the mid 1840s, twenty five per cent of assisted passages applied for were by Irish migrants. There was a rapid rise in immigration numbers from the late 1840s and considerable sympathy was shown for Irish famine victims. Several ship loads of Irish female orphans began arriving from 1848 to fill the demand for servants. Three ships with 621 women arrived during 1848 and 1849. This was followed up by a further 4,000 women during 1854 and 1855. In 1856 after several more ships brought Irish women to South Australia the scheme ended. The impact of so many single women arriving in Adelaide, often unsuited or unwilling for domestic work, was not without problems. While many assimilated, 'accusations of immorality and lack of personal hygiene were also quite common...and numbers...joined the already substantial community of prostitutes in the city'. As the women were arriving at a time when many migrants needing

³⁸ *South Australian Register*, 20/6/1850 p3, 25/2/1850 p2, 22/7/1926, p 4.

³⁹ P Sumerling, East End Walk Brochure for National Trust, 1996

domestic servants were living beyond the city, the impact of Irish girls in the city was lessened. However, in the city the girls sought relief at the Destitute Asylum on Kintore Avenue and many came before the police courts for prostitution.⁴⁰

The plight of the Irish women in search of a new home and employment was in contrast to the experience of the 101 English female domestic servants ranging in age between 10 and 69 arriving on the *Hesperides* in May 1875. Because of the prevailing buoyant economy, all but four found jobs soon after arrival.⁴¹

2.3.5 Chinese Settlers

There were only about forty Chinese in South Australia in 1861.⁴² However, from about the 1870s the numbers increased, with most of them living around Hindley and Morphett streets location as greengrocers, launderers, importers, carpenters and restaurant owners. A Chinese Temple was erected to the rear of a dwelling on the western side of Morphett Street between Hindley Street and North Terrace and was in existence for forty years, until the 1920s.⁴³ This part of the city was the first location associated with a definable Chinese community and was effectively the site of the city's first Chinatown.

Soon after the shops in the former Hooker Building on the southwest corner of Morphett and Hindley streets were constructed in 1880, nearly all were rented by Chinese tenants. Members of the Chinese Nationalist Party met in rooms there in the 1920s. In the 1880s and 1890s Chinese migrants were vilified for running opium dens, but such stories were much exaggerated. More alarming was that they often crowded together in the poorest of dwellings in the West End to save money, attracting the attention of the public health authorities.

However, not all city Chinese were poor. Way Lee, a prominent importer, used his influence to better the cause of education and working conditions. He encouraged local Chinese to attend a school established for them to speak, read and write English in the City Mission Hall opened in 1878 in Light Square. Like the temple, the school's activities petered out in the 1920s due to discrimination and strong anti-Chinese sentiments.

The Sym Choon family were initially market gardeners in the Unley area but moved into the city in 1906 and settled in the east end of Rundle Street. In the 1920s two sons and two daughters were each given a two storey shop by their parents. Gladys Sym Choon, who was South Australia's first woman importer, regularly travelled through the orient to stock her shop with fine merchandise for an exclusive clientele. Although married and living in Tasmania from the 1930s, she visited her Adelaide shop regularly through to her retirement in the 1980s to ensure a personal touch. The Gladys Sym Choon name is retained in her former shop as a fashion outlet and the family name of Sym Choon was given to a nearby lane in the late 1980s. Gladys' two brothers ran peanut and fireworks wholesale businesses from their shops adjacent to hers. A truly colourful character in the east end of the city, George Sym Choon was at one time known as the largest horseracing punter in the Commonwealth.⁴⁴

Following the abolition of the White Australia Policy in 1972 and the new policy on multiculturalism, South Australia is now home to around 15,000 of Chinese descent.⁴⁵ From this date many Chinese businesses were established around the Central Market, enabling one part of it to become known as Chinatown. Several Chinese elements such as colourful archways decorate the surrounding streets between Morphett, Gouger, Grote and King William streets.

⁴⁰ C Nance, 'The Irish in South Australia during the colony's first four decades' in the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No 5, 1978; see also Eric Richards, 'The peopling of South Australia' in E Richards (ed) *The Flinders Social History of South Australia*, Wakefield Press, 1986, pp126-7.

⁴¹ *Observer* 24/7/1875 p5ef, 14/8/1875 p3c.

⁴² Yen Ching-hwang, Chinese in *Wakefield Companion of SA history*, pp 103-104.

⁴³ Patricia Sumerling, 'The West End' in B Dickey (editor) *William Shakespeare's Adelaide*; SA Directories, ACC Rate Assessment records.

⁴⁴ Interview by P Sumerling with Gladys Sym Choon, 1991; See also P Sumerling, *East End Walk Brochure* for National Trust, 1996.

⁴⁵ Yen Ching-hwang, 'Chinese' in *Wakefield Companion of SA history*, pp 103-104.

Many Southeast Asian outlets such as the Malacca Corner in the Central Market have become significant elements in the city's culture.

2.3.6 Middle Eastern (Afghan/Lebanese) Settlers

About the same time that small numbers of Chinese first settled in the city, so did Afghans, often called 'Assyrians' or 'Syrians'. A small number of Afghan cameleers, who had come to Australia to work in the outback, left this form of work and settled in Port Augusta, Port Pirie and Adelaide as hawkers and shop owners. Generally, migrants from the middle east settled in the south west corner of the city. A group of them were recorded through the city rate assessments as living in Elizabeth Street, off Waymouth Street in the 1880s. Others settled around the Little Sturt Street location and through their hard earned efforts were able to build their own mosque.⁴⁶ One former cameleer, Mahomet Allum, went on to become a local celebrity as a herbalist, by finding his way into the hearts of city folk from the West End. Living at 181 Sturt Street for over twenty years, he was one of the city's most colourful identities.⁴⁷

One Afghan or Lebanese was a Mr Habib who in the early 1900s established a large clothing factory in Waymouth Street which operated for many years. Remnants of the factory survived until the early 1990s.

A small group of Christian Lebanese also came to Adelaide in the early 1900s. Former Lord Mayor George Joseph, whose family were Lebanese, lived in a two storey house facing the Cumberland Hotel in Waymouth Street (it no longer survives). He said that as there was no church or school for his group of people, he went to Christian Brothers School in Wakefield Street and went to a Catholic church. Living most of his life in the city as a lawyer, he was a city councillor and became Lord Mayor of Adelaide between 1977 and 1979.⁴⁸

2.3.7 Greek Settlers

A small number of Greeks first arrived in South Australia in the nineteenth century, as many were displaced and driven from their homelands as a result of the First World War and its aftermath. These early twentieth century immigrants settled mainly in Port Pirie with a few settling in Adelaide itself. From the early 1920s the small city Greek community, which had mainly settled around the western end of Franklin Street where land was cheaper, built a church and bought nearby properties to make them available for newly arriving Greek immigrants. There were 211 Greeks in Adelaide in 1933, then after the Second World War the Greek population in the city dramatically increased to 703 in 1954. They began to make a notable impact on the city's cultural scene, opening 'continental delis' such as the famed Star Grocery at 159 Hindley Street on the corner of Morphett Street. This shop, which closed in 1988, was the second such delicatessen to open in South Australia. One of the most important modern buildings in the city is the 1966 Byzantine designed Greek Orthodox Church, the Church of Archangels Michael and Gabriel at 282-288 Franklin Street.

More importantly, from the Second World War, shrewd Greeks invested in city property, particularly in Hindley Street. Much of the present Hindley Street streetscape's survival can be attributed to the Greeks and Italians who owned many of the properties. With them rarely making any changes to their buildings beyond the superficial, the 1880s character has survived behind many a 1960s facade.

Priority was given to suburban development by the post war Playford government, to building homes and whitegoods factories to serve the needs of for the wave of European immigrants arriving after the war. This diverted activity away from Adelaide, and consequently the residential population bled from the city. Greek and Italian immigrants, who bought and hung onto the neglected city properties, rarely demolished them. From the post war era, a number of Greek

⁴⁶ See Worshipping 6.3

⁴⁷ Madeline Brunato, *Biography of Mahomet Allum; Multicultural Walking Trail*, 2003

⁴⁸ Interview by P Sumerling with George Joseph in 1989

families and their descendants have created close knit communities still flourishing, particularly in the south western corner of the city.⁴⁹

Born of Greek parents in Port Pirie in 1919, the late Con Polites, who died in September 2001 is remembered for the blue 'POLITES' signs attached to his many city properties. Polites began buying cheap city buildings in the early 1960s. He rarely sold his properties but rented out his huge stock of buildings and made a fortune in doing so, as did other new migrants, mainly Greek, concentrating on the city's tired and neglected buildings.⁵⁰

After the mid 1970s few migrants chose to settle in the city of Adelaide because of the rising property prices of older dwellings. The city population of Greek migrants fell markedly from the 1970s when having begun their new lives in the city after the Second World War, they mostly moved on to Thebarton and Torrensville, which is now the locality most associated with the Greek community.

2.3.8 Italian Settlers

Along with the importance of the Greek community to the history of the city, so too is Italian immigration in postwar Adelaide. Numerically, Italians are the largest non-English speaking ethnic group. Between the 1950s and 1960s around 30,000 Italians settled in South Australia.⁵¹ In the first half of the twentieth century the West End was their main place of settlement which was well endowed with many Italian owned and operated boarding houses. Like the Greeks, they moved out to the suburbs, once they had settled into the South Australian way of life. In the case of the Italians it was mainly to the Payneham and Campbelltown areas, and Italian migrants who remained in the city did not quite have the same impact on the built heritage of the city as the Greeks.

⁴⁹ B Jolly, *The Historic South West*, pp28-29. The author mentions several families such as the Bambacas family living at 188-190 Sturt Street where they ran a local delicatessen and small business.

⁵⁰ *Advertiser*, 'From pauper to king of the Princes Group', 25/9/2001 p19.

⁵¹ Desmond O'Connor, 'Italians', in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, 2001, p 283-4.

3.0 DEVELOPING A CITY ECONOMY

3.1 Introduction

As noted in *Adelaide: A Brief History*

Adelaide has always been the commercial and business centre of South Australia, and it was also a major industrial centre until the 1950s. The headquarters of merchant houses, warehouses, major stores and the offices of financial institutions were all located in the centre. An impressive array of these buildings survives, particularly dating from the 1870s and 1880s, and the 1920s.

While South Australia developed through pastoralism, agriculture and mining, it was from its capital city that these industries were administered and financed.

Adelaide and the rest of South Australia have been subject to periods of economic repression and economic prosperity. The first recession was fairly early in the history of the colony, as by 1841 Adelaide and the rest of the colony were in economic doldrums. Growth and prosperity came with the discovery and exportation of the copper reserves in the north of the colony at Kapunda and Burra, and the period between 1846 and 1884 saw continued development of the city, except for the disruption during the 1850s gold rushes in Victoria.

The most intense period of economic prosperity and consequent construction of buildings within the city was between 1865 and 1884. This was a result of major inter-colonial investment in Adelaide, and remarkably good agricultural seasons between 1870 and 1880. It was during this period that the main retail streets within the city and North Adelaide developed including Rundle Street in the East End, Hutt Street, Gouger Street, and O'Connell Street in North Adelaide. These developed concentrations of shops, which created villages within the city itself.

Successive years of drought in the early 1880s led to a rural collapse in the late 1880s which contributed to a general economic downturn. A general depression during the early 1890s was exacerbated by the lack of new housing for the growing city population. However, the late 1880s and early 1890s were a time of success for interstate mining activities, and many significant Adelaide residents earned substantial income from mining during this period.

During the 1890s, the introduction of gas and electricity, the use of reinforced concrete, and stricter laws relating to factories contributed to the erection of substantial industrial buildings replacing early basic workshops and factories. The city continued to develop slowly during the early years of the twentieth century with a building hiatus during the First World War. However, after the First World War a building boom of the mid 1920s changed the nineteenth century streetscape to twentieth century in many areas, particularly Rundle Street and sections of Hindley Street. During this period the first 'skyscrapers' appear in the city.

The development of the city was halted again with the Wall Street crash of October, 1929. Because South Australian producers together with the Australian economy as a whole is rigidly tied to overseas capital, economic changes in Europe or America equally affected Australia. However, in Adelaide during this depression period Parliament House, the Barr Smith Library and Bonython Hall at the University of Adelaide were constructed through private donations from the Bonython and Barr Smith families.

The improvement in the economy in the mid to late 1930s was again overwhelmed by the outbreak of the Second World War. The city tended to stagnate after the Second World War as the surrounding suburban areas developed.

3.2 Economic Cycles

3.2.1 Introduction

South Australia is made up of a history of busts and booms broken up by often long dull periods between them. During the bursts of frenzied speculation some of the grandest and most substantial building and development took place within and outside of Adelaide. However, these boom periods have also been responsible, such as in the 1960s, for the demolition, in the name of progress, of many of the city's significant historic buildings.

These speculative periods have also shaped the development patterns of the state, so that one can date major expansions in specific locations and the development of new suburbs according to a particular boom period. It was from the boom period between the mid 1870s and mid 1880s that the city of Adelaide derived its mid-Victorian architectural character.

3.2.2 Early Development Patterns

While the system of buying and selling of goods was effective from the beginning of settlement, the same could not be said about the buying and selling of land which was a major but highly speculative trade. The emphasis placed on land dealing contributed to the colony's first economic crisis between 1840 and 1842. City prices climbed so high that, when lots and Town Acres in 1839 were changing hands from between £300 and £2,000, only the well-off could afford the prices. Within three years of European settlement, South Australia, and the city particularly, was hit by an economic crisis that changed its immediate course of development by moving the focus of settlement from the city to the several new villages across the Park Lands where land was cheaper.

3.2.3 Recession

Development of the city stopped in its tracks and the worsening situation was not helped when between October 1839 and December 1840, expenditure in the colony was more than four times greater than the revenue.⁵² In the three years and two months since land was first sold in the city, the total number of buildings constructed was 1,615 as at July 1840. This comprised 483 stone and brick buildings and 1,132 buildings of less durable materials including timber or pise.⁵³ It has to be said that, before his recall in 1841, Governor Gawler instilled confidence in the new colony by establishing an infrastructure of roads and bridges, as well as constructing the major government administrative buildings of the Treasury, Government House and the gaol. Depending on interpretation, he has been both commended and condemned for these expensive works as they contributed to sending the new colony into bankruptcy, while creating the first substantial built elements of the city of Adelaide.

The Colonization Commissioners in London first heard of the seriousness of the economic situation from the incoming Governor Sir George Grey but instead of raising appropriate loans to weather the storm, they did nothing. This neglect saw the situation grow even worse before the Secretary of State for the Colonies was alerted four months later, in July of 1841. The Colonization Commissioners' mismanagement of the nascent colonial economy saw their control eventually taken over by the British Treasury and South Australia's governor, dealing directly with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁵⁴ Through the Act of 1842, *An Act to provide for the Better Government of South Australia*, the South Australian Legislative Council was established consisting of the governor and seven other persons that he appointed.⁵⁵

Confirmation of the South Australian colony's state of bankruptcy surprised no one, least of all the colonists. They could see for themselves that land sales were at a standstill and that there had been a massive exodus of the city's unemployed out of the city when businesses and

⁵² GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841: its causes and consequences' in *South Australiana*, Vol XI no 2, 1972.

⁵³ *South Australian Register* 11/7/1840.

⁵⁴ GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841', p 59.

⁵⁵ Anna Munyard, 'Making a Polity: 1836-1857' in D Jaensch (ed) *The Flinders History of South Australia- Political History*, 1986, p 52.

government agencies alike laid off employees. City numbers declined by more than a third from 8,480 in 1840 to 6,107 in 1844 partly through Governor Grey's endeavours to pressure people without jobs in the city to find work elsewhere.⁵⁶ Grey informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies in October 1841 that he would not permit British subjects to starve, but the situation required that 'every inducement be given to the population to quit the town and villages in its vicinity' where they were 'wasting their abilities and energies in fruitless pursuits'.⁵⁷ While he 'encouraged' the unemployed to leave Adelaide to search for work elsewhere, he ignored instructions from the Secretary of State to deport the unemployed to other colonies. Believing the situation to be transitory and that a labour force would soon be needed, his defiance was vindicated as every able labourer was gainfully employed by December 1842.⁵⁸

More importantly for South Australia, the former unemployed, grateful for any work no matter how poorly paid, provided the stimulus for vital agricultural labour needed to produce bumper crops and wool for the local and export market. This injection of labour 'reduced indebtedness by their own endeavours...[and]...gave immediate stimulus to operations of merchants and storekeepers'.⁵⁹ Shortly after the colony recovered from its first recession, copper to the north of Adelaide was discovered.

However, in the wake of the exodus from the city, a third of the city's dwellings were deserted in 1842.⁶⁰ The poorer built city structures of wood, pisé or other less durable materials fell into disrepair and were abandoned. With people defaulting on mortgages, or walking away from rental or leased accommodation, investors went bankrupt and migration was temporarily halted until 1844. Where rental homes were vacated, landlords were glad to have tenants rent free, until the situation improved.

Kingston's Map of 1842 records high density on some of the Town Acres but as a result of the recession and subsequent demolition of the worst of the jerry built structures; some of these Town Acres became vacant or had very little development on them. This hiccup in South Australia's early economic history may well have disrupted the pattern of development in the city, for those not prepared to pay high city prices chose instead the inner suburbs of Thebarton, Kensington and Hindmarsh.

[ACA - Extract from 1842 Kingston Map]

3.2.4 Discovery of Copper

The economy picked up after 1843 following the discovery of major copper ore deposits in the mid North of the colony. Huge numbers of immigrants arrived to work in the newly opened copper mines at Kapunda and Burra, and development in the city and the inner suburbs took off. The number of immigrants arriving in SA between 1846 and the mid 1850s was at its highest point when 63,000 immigrants arrived during this period.⁶¹

In the late 1840s the building trade could not keep up with demand but what was being built was much criticised. Structures, which were described as being no larger than 'watchboxes', were an average size of seven feet by six in close rows. 'Swarms of small buildings...rise...as if by magic, in every part of the town...'⁶²

While building in the main part of Adelaide was romping ahead, North Adelaide, the city's dormitory, was no more than a scattering of houses, isolated by lack of public transport, roads

⁵⁶ T Worsnop, *History of the city of Adelaide*, p 443.

⁵⁷ GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841', p 68.

⁵⁸ GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841', p 65.

⁵⁹ GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841', pp 74-75.

⁶⁰ J Cashen, 'Social foundations of SA', *The Flinders History of SA*, p 108; GH Pitt, p 71.

⁶¹ Statistical Source

⁶² *Adelaide Times*, 7/5/1849 p3b.

and bridges. By 1850 statistics recorded that there were 2,476 houses in south Adelaide and 446 in North Adelaide, a total of 2,922 dwellings.⁶³

It was reported in 1851 that:

the city is a large place and not yet one quarter built upon. Building plots are for sale in all directions except in the main streets. The majority of the houses at present are built for persons of small means- mainly constructed of nine inch brick work - the roofing generally being shingles from Van Diemen's Land.⁶⁴

3.2.5 Discovery of Gold in Victoria

This upturn in the economy due to copper could have been smooth and long lasting through the 1850s and beyond, if not for the dramatic hiccup caused by the effects of the absence of many of its male population who were lured to the goldfields in Victoria soon after news first reached Adelaide in August 1851.⁶⁵ The trickle of prospectors leaving South Australia soon swelled to a flood. When wives and families were left behind to fend for themselves, the Destitute Board refused to provide relief. It was said that 'except for women and children, Adelaide was deserted during the goldrushes.'⁶⁶

Local currency all but dried up when the prospectors took available cash with them to the goldfields or money went out of circulation when it was paid into the treasury for crown land. George Tinline, temporary manager of the SA Banking Company lobbied the government successfully to place its money at the Adelaide banks. With flows of gold likely to go elsewhere unless some inducement was made to attract gold to South Australia, the Legislative Council first passed the *Bullion Act* in January 1852 to provide for the assay of uncoined gold and to make bank notes under certain conditions legal tender. A fixed price of £3/11/- an ounce of gold was authorised by the South Australian government for all uncoined gold brought back to South Australia.

A fortnight after the Act was passed, an assay office was opened in Adelaide to receive the successful prospectors' gold and to melt and purify the parcel of each depositor into a separate ingot stamped only with its weight. The banks issued special certificates for the ingots which were usable as legal tender for twelve months of the Act's duration.⁶⁷ Within the first two weeks of its operation, deposits at the assay office were valued at £24,000. On the northern side of the courtyard of the former Treasury Buildings, now the Medina Hotel, a group of small buildings were hurriedly constructed to accommodate the gold melting and bullion making operations. (The layout can be seen on the 1881 Smith Survey, but the buildings were replaced in 1907 by the three storey building now on the northern side of the courtyard.)

To further attract safe and guaranteed deliveries of gold to Adelaide, a monthly armed gold escort under the control of the zealous police inspector, Alexander Tolmer, was established to bring the proceeds back from Victoria. The first escort arrived at the Treasury Building in Flinders Street in March 1852 and offloaded 5,000 ounces. The total amount of gold assayed in 1852 was worth £1,449,873. Between 1852 and 1854 the amount of gold brought into South Australia was valued at £1,820,369.

Twenty-two and a half ounces of gold purchased an eighty acre section of land in the country and much of the spoils were used for this purpose.⁶⁸ in 1852 it was stated that 'there is a great desire on the part of returned diggers to purchase land - and at good prices.'⁶⁹

⁶³ *South Australian Register* 24/5/1850 p3.

⁶⁴ *Adelaide Times*, 7/6/1851 p6g.

⁶⁵ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, pp 443-444.

⁶⁶ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 444.

⁶⁷ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 447.

⁶⁸ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 451.

⁶⁹ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 451.

3.2.6 Farming Boom

The expansion of the country land surveys into Hundreds took off in earnest following the sale of crown lands in this period, and land sales reached almost £400,000 in value in 1854. The strong rural boom, preceded by a flurry of railway activity in the 1860s, saw the demand for goods and services produced in the city. The 1858 Building Act, removed timber as a building material for walls and roofs because of many serious fires, and subsequently buildings in the city were designed and constructed in more solid and durable materials.⁷⁰ Many shops, pubs and warehouses were rebuilt in this period and ornamentation on facades increased. Evidence of this development can be seen in the photographic Duryea Panorama of the city in 1865.

But the boom came to a halt in the mid 1860s when a drought which lasted several years hit the northern regions of the colony. It so affected the pastoral industry that a government select inquiry proclaimed Goyder's Line of Rainfall in 1865.⁷¹ This was a demarcation between the country where the rainfall had extended and that where the drought prevailed and served as a warning to farmers intent on developing agricultural pursuits north of the reliable rainfall line. (Goyder's Line was foolishly ignored 'as mere theoretical baubles' in the bountiful years from 1870 to 1882. However, drought struck again and the good times ended abruptly.)

As evidence of the significance of the boom period of 1870 to 1882, in the second half of the 1870s Adelaide was the growth city of Australia.⁷² The repeated abundant harvests throughout the 1870s saw the expansion of services and facilities beyond Goyder's Line despite the warning. Consequently the crops failed with the drought in 1880, but there was a lag before the downturn in the agricultural areas had a ripple effect, bringing the spectacular development in the city of Adelaide to a halt.

In terms of the built environment, the effect of the bountiful 1870s saw a dramatic change in the physical character of Adelaide. During 1875 and 1876 residential house building doubled beginning the 'sustained upswing' for several years.⁷³ In 1876 it was reported that there were 5,747 dwellings in the city, 971 shops and warehouses.⁷⁴ A year later it was noted that 'many of the original buildings in the city have disappeared, their old and dilapidated appearance was offensive to the senses, they are now being replaced by erecting beautiful in design, substantial in character and excellent specimens of street architecture'.⁷⁵ The establishment in 1878 of the first tramways, could never have occurred without the dramatic increase in the population. The tramways ran to North Adelaide and east to Norwood and had a major impact on the development of those places.⁷⁶ In North Adelaide there was a rush for building lots on the 100 odd vacant Town Acres in the upper north western part, now accessible and desirable after forty years of lack of interest. This also applied to the south-eastern corner of the city. This era also saw deep drainage connected to all properties which dramatically alleviated many of the health problems associated with overcrowding.

Public buildings along North Terrace including the first part of Parliament House, the museum, railway station and the first university building were constructed. The first government schools in North Adelaide and Grote Street were built, as well as a large addition at the Adelaide Gaol. The first part of the St Peter's Anglican cathedral was built in North Adelaide, as well as the two buildings establishing the Children's Hospital. In the private commercial sector, substantial bank buildings were constructed in King William Street, and by the early 1880s, the business district had been essentially rebuilt. The high land values which had created intense pressure to rebuild saw structures over three storeys being built, made more accessible by the installation of lifts.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Building Act 1858.

⁷¹ WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms in nineteenth century Australia: Melbourne and Adelaide', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, V. 10, 1982, p 3.

⁷² WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms', p 3.

⁷³ WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms', p3.

⁷⁴ ACC *Annual Report*, 1876.

⁷⁵ ACC *Annual Report*, 1877 p7.

⁷⁶ WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms' p 5.

⁷⁷ WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms' p 5.

In 1880 the Adelaide City Council reported that 'everywhere there are signs of vitality and movement, even the augmentation of traffic in the streets is a feature most noticeable, measuring the expansion of trade and population.'⁷⁸ It was believed 'that the time will soon arrive, owing to the increased value of land in the business streets, that buildings will be constructed much higher than at present and it will be necessary to consider the best means of escape from such buildings should a fire occur...'⁷⁹

In the city, the population had risen from 23,229 in 1866 to 38,479 in 1881. While many residents generally lived in small one storey attached homes and cottages, two storey terraces were built when land prices dramatically rose. The recession that set in after 1882 slowed down construction of this type of dwelling.

3.2.7 Mid-1880s Recession

Between 1883 and 1884 the recession affected the building trade, due to a range of reasons including over speculation in suburban land, the locking up of capital and the putting of land beyond the reach of the speculative builder denying a fair investment for the builder's outlay.⁸⁰ The stagnation of the 1880s was the price paid for over-expansion in the 1870s.⁸¹ Contributing to the long drawn out 1890s depression were the droughts, falling prices in the wool industry and the collapse of the Commercial Bank (identified with rural industries and pastoral pursuits), made worse by the withdrawal of British capital and the onset of industrial unrest through strikes.⁸² Collapse of land and building societies soon followed. Then in the early 1890s following the failure of a number of British banks' investments in Argentina, other banks in Adelaide suspended payments.⁸³

In the late 1880s and the early 1890s, the flow of private British capital to Australia steadily declined and all but dried up, when 'the mighty house of Baring' fell after their unwise investments in South America. The effect of withdrawal of British investment caused a ripple effect throughout Australia, which saw other banks in Adelaide suspend payments.⁸⁴

3.2.8 Effects of Interstate Mining Ventures

While South Australia was suffering economically, major mining discoveries beyond South Australian borders in New South Wales and Western Australia had some positive returns for South Australia. South Australians had built up a tradition of investing in mining such as at Kapunda, Burra, Moonta and Wallaroo. This practice continued as the Adelaide Stock Exchange and its local investors enjoyed a mining boom when silver, lead and zinc deposits were discovered at Broken Hill in 1883, considered as being 'part of South Australia to all but map-drawers and politicians'.⁸⁵ Ten years later in the middle of the depression, gold was discovered at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie in 1893.⁸⁶ In 1901 the Stock Exchange built its own purpose built premises in Exchange Place, which was used as such until the early 1990s.

Despite the lingering depression of the 1880s and early 1890s, the effects of the two new mining discoveries outside South Australia 'injected valuable returns into the economy for it provided the supplies and gave work to South Australian wharves, farms, factories, warehouses and silver

⁷⁸ ACC *Annual Report*, 1880, p10.

⁷⁹ ACC *Annual Report* 1883, p87.

⁸⁰ ACC *Annual Report* 1883-84, p92.

⁸¹ E Richards, 'SA and the Great Crash of 1893' p 264.

⁸² BR Chapman, 'Depression in South Australia: the late nineteenth century', p 76 Uni of Adel 1967.

⁸³ T A Coghlan, *Labour and industry in Australia*, OUP 1918 4 vols. pp 1637, 1646.

⁸⁴ G Blainey, *Gold and Paper: A History of the National Bank of Australasia*, 1958, pp 140-41

⁸⁵ G Blainey, *The rush that never ended* pp134-158; B. O'Neil, 'Mines and Mining' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian history*, pp 356-358.

⁸⁶ In the first seventy years gold worth £100M (as at 1963 prices) was mined from the Great Boulder mine which was one of the three mines owned by Adelaideans George Brookman and Sam Pearce with their company the Coolgardie Gold Mining & Prospecting Syndicate. Thousands of unemployed men from South Australia travelled to Western Australia. In 1897 £900,000 worth of money orders were posted from West Australia to other colonies in sums often less than £5. G Blainey, *The rush that never ended* pp 182,192; Ron Gibbs paper on WA goldfields?

smelters...and...it must have had in the late 1880s an effect akin to a vast programme of public works in a sick economy'.⁸⁷ Further, from 1888 the ore from Broken Hill was transported by South Australia railways to the coast at Port Pirie rather than to Sydney. Again, with investment in the mines firmly based in Adelaide, when the company paid over a million pounds in dividends in 1891 and 1892, much of it came to Adelaide.⁸⁸ At this time the amount of vacant land in the city had been much reduced to only seven per cent,⁸⁹ but city workers were much affected by the 1890s recession as no new homes were built for this group of citizens. However, there was construction of new dwellings for the wealthy in North Adelaide and in the southeast corner of the city. Examples of large North Adelaide dwellings built between the mid 1880s and the late 1890s include 118 Buxton Street, the group of dwellings in Brougham Court, 102 Hill Street, 88-94 and 189 Jeffcott Street, 88 and 114 Mills Terrace and 137 Strangways Terrace. Commercial properties such as the former Sands and McDougall warehouse at 73-79 Light Square were also built in this period.

3.2.9 New Technology and City Development

The city's buildings were tangible evidence of its wealth and progress in the late nineteenth century. New technology, such as mass production of bricks, the development of reinforced concrete, the introduction of electricity, more sophisticated telecommunications and automobiles replacing horse transport were avenues which highlighted the city's progress.

In the early 1900s electrical powered trams replaced the horse drawn tramway system, while automobiles increasingly appeared in the streets, and better off residents had telephones connected. The building of government secondary schools in Currie Street and new schools in Sturt and Gilles streets all showed off trends in design and building materials and new forms of technology. George Brookman donated funding for the substantial brick built School of Mines building on North Terrace, while the government established further education courses in mining and mining technology.

South Australia's longest mining based boom period lasted from the late 1890s until 1928. In 1914 the city population reached its peak of 43,000 but then slowly declined as people moved out to the suburbs, with electrification of trams in 1908 and more suburban rail lines making daily travel to work in the city an easier option.

The main retail streets continued to be Hindley and Rundle streets, and in an effort to take the pressure off these areas, the Adelaide City Council refurbished its city market with a new brick façade to Grote Street. A number of other important retail outlets then sprang up in the locality between Gouger and Grote streets. Several hotels were rebuilt, a new picture theatre and a theatre for live performance were constructed, the huge and elegant Moore's Department Stores (now the Law Courts) was built in Victoria Square, and in the mid 1920s even the rebuilding of a church was undertaken (Church of Christ, Grote Street). In this locality, most of the turn of the twentieth century buildings were constructed in red brick creating a particular character for this central part of the city. City residents in the southern parts and West End, as well as those from the southern inner suburbs, frequented this area around the Central Market to do their shopping.

Between the First World War and about 1928, several financial companies built multi-storey office buildings in the city. The first of these was the Verco Building, near Stephens Place, which was built in 1912. Then in 1913, the South Australian Company gave itself a new red brick office block, known as Gawler Chambers, on the corner of Gawler Place and North Terrace, with the second part being built in 1914.⁹⁰ The Executive Trustee and Agency Building in Grenfell Street was constructed in 1922. The T & G Insurance Co built their premises in 1925 the tallest in the city up to that time, on the corner of Grenfell and King William Streets. The Norwich Union built substantial premises in Waymouth Street in 1928, and the Alliance Assurance Company building was constructed in 1927 in Grenfell Street.

⁸⁷ G Blainey, *The rush that never ended* p 153.

⁸⁸ G Blainey, *The rush that never ended* p 153.

⁸⁹ ACC *Annual Report*, 1895-96, p 59.

⁹⁰ Swanbury Penglase, *Gawler Chambers Conservation Study*, 1995.

While some city factories had expanded by relocating from the city to rebuild in the suburbs, others such as the bakers, Balfours, built new brick premises in Morphett Street, between Waymouth and Franklin streets, demolishing a chapel in the process. They also built a stylish new cafe in Rundle Street, which only closed in early 2000. Car manufacturers, Holden, built a huge factory for their works in King William Street south, which was only demolished in early 2004.

Important shops were built during this time also, such as Hoopers furniture emporium at 41-47 Hindley Street in 1928. Few new dwellings for workers were built in this same period however, several large dwellings in North Adelaide were built for the well-to-do. Large North Adelaide houses built in this period include 92 Brougham Place, 76-79 Lefevre Terrace, 68 Mills Terrace, 172 Molesworth Street, 19 Palmer Place and 235 Ward Street. This was despite the general rejection of living in mansions by the turn of the twentieth century, due to the shortage in domestic staff. No longer did women want to go into service when factories, warehouses and shops appeared to offer more independence and better working conditions for women. [Refer Section 3.8]

On North Terrace, Goldsbrough Mort & Company built their multi-storey premises in 1935 next to the 1931 Shell Company building in the same precinct as the 1924 Liberal Club Building. The four buildings in this group between 169-179 North Terrace were incorporated into the late 1980s development scheme for the Myer complex.

Before the Second World War, several large financial houses were built on North Terrace and King William Street. These included CML in 1935, AMP in 1936, the Savings Bank of SA in 1939, along with the Bank of NSW (Westpac) completed in 1941.

3.2.10 Post World War Two Development

Although Adelaide was not hit by a recession following the war, it could appear otherwise. Under the National Security Act of 1942 there was a federal embargo forbidding any major works in the city to be undertaken unless it was for the war effort or a necessary building, such as extra wards at the Royal Adelaide Hospital. This embargo effectively saw no major building works until the mid 1950s. Despite the lifting of the wartime embargo in 1945, there was such a shortage of building materials that the Playford Liberal government passed *The Building and Materials Act* in 1945 and diverted all major works to the suburbs to provide homes for new immigrants flooding in from war torn Europe. While there was a phenomenal building boom in the suburbs in the 1950s under the Playford government, the city was deliberately neglected. No new office buildings were constructed in the city between 1941, with the completion of the Bank of New South Wales building, and the mid 1950s.

When the restrictions relating to building priorities were removed by Premier Tom Playford in 1954, the stocks of building supplies caught up with the demand. This opened the gates for the biggest speculative boom in the city since the 1880s, which took off at such an alarming rate.

In the 1960s, progress meant all things new and the demolition of all things old. In one of the most damaging eras for the city, many architecturally significant buildings were demolished. In their place rose the Da Costa Building in Grenfell Street, the Advertiser Building in King William Street in 1960 (demolished 2006), the Teachers Training College in Kintore Avenue and the Angas Street Police Headquarters (since demolished and replaced by the Federal courts complex).⁹¹

⁹¹ See Michael Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, 1983 for examples of demolition in this period 1955-1970.

3.3 Utilising Natural Resources

3.3.1 Timber

The first immigrants camping on the city's Park Lands, in front of where the Newmarket Hotel was later built, used whatever natural resources were close at hand. This included cutting timber that was growing in the open woodlands around the banks of the River Torrens for tools, furniture and building materials. This practice was quickly made illegal as these areas formed part of the parklands of the city plan, but it persisted covertly well into the 1840s.

Legal timber cutting as an early industry was undertaken in wooded locations beyond the city, particularly in the Adelaide Hills. Timber-getters known as 'tiersmen' brought their supplies to several merchants on the north eastern side of the city. They in turn sold to local builders. The Woodman's Hotel in Grenfell Street, established in 1838 (later rebuilt and known as The Producers), was named after the large wood yards nearby. There was also another timber yard on the Botanic Hotel site. Many early homes were built of timber or had roofs of shingles, but legislation in the Building Act of 1858 outlawed this practice due to the hazardous fires and damage by termites. While new homes were constructed from timber cut locally, prefabricated timber structures, known as Manning Houses, were shipped to South Australia by early colonists and re-erected on their town lots or in places beyond the city limits.⁹²

3.3.2 Limestone

Limestone was one of the first main materials used for building. In most cases it was easy to obtain as most of the Adelaide area sits on a bed of nodular limestone (calcrete), less than two feet below the surface. Several early public buildings still extant such as the Mounted Police Barracks, Government House, Adelaide Gaol, the former Treasury Buildings and old Parliament House were built of limestone from the several quarries along the River Torrens. For the building of Government House, limestone was quarried on the site that became the parade ground.⁹³ The Holy Trinity Church on the western end of North Terrace was constructed in limestone in 1838, and at North Adelaide, Christ Church in Palmer Place was built in 1848 using government contractors quarrying limestone off Palmer Place. The Catholic Bishop's House on the corner of West Terrace and Grote Street was also built of limestone in 1846.

Early private dwellings which were built using limestone found on site were often built with semi or full basements to create bedrooms or a retreat to escape the summer heat. Nurney House, between Kingston Terrace and Stanley Street on Town Acre 1,027, and dating from 1846 is one such example. The earliest part of the large villa at 157 Strangways Terrace on Town Acre 757 which was built in 1849, was built using limestone from the site.⁹⁴ While limestone was quarried on the site of private dwellings, it was also quarried on the Park Lands after 1855 by the city council. This continued through to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1883 the council raised 4,485 cubic yards of limestone from the north Park Lands to be used for the repairing and widening of North Adelaide roads.⁹⁵ During 1892 and 1893 the council gave work to 200 unemployed men in an effort to alleviate their hardships, by raising limestone for road works in the north Park Lands in a paddock between the Main North Road and Barton Terrace.⁹⁶

3.3.3 Clay Bricks

The earliest city brickworks were established along the River Torrens and allowed to operate until May 1838 when they were given notice by the government to quit. Several of those that moved from the Park Lands resettled their offices in Waymouth Street, where they stored their

⁹² Paul Stark, study on Manning Houses.

⁹³ The quarry closed in 1855 and became a city rubbish dump until 1894 when it became a parade ground. This was brought about when the brick wing of the SA Museum was built, displacing a drill ground then on site.

⁹⁴ P Sumerling, 'Brief History of 157 Strangways Terrace', 2004. Copy lodged with North Adelaide Society and ACC Planning Department. Property demolished in late 2004.

⁹⁵ ACC *Annual Report*, 1883 p74.

⁹⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1892-3.

building equipment, and established brickworks in the inner suburbs such as Kensington, Norwood and the Hindmarsh area.

One brickmaker moved to Lower North Adelaide where an alluvial clay bed makes up part of the area south of Melbourne Street and east of Jerningham Street.⁹⁷ Using bricks from this brickyard, several dwellings in the locality were built such as the former Keith Sheridan Theatre in Mackinnon Parade, the former Ebenezer Chapel off Brougham Court, Buffalo Cottage in Finnis Street and several cottages along Sussex, Margaret and Stanley streets.

Apart from structures of brick, wood or limestone, the resourceful handyman built his own place, again from materials close to hand. Before the 1840s, the illegal removal of stones from the River Torrens for home building and other works was common practice. When this practice was outlawed, soil and pebbles together with straw, were mixed to create the building material known as pisé. Many early surviving but more crudely built structures which included outhouses, barns, stables and walls were constructed using this form of building.

3.3.4 Water

Until a water supply was established via the Thorndon Park Reservoir in 1860, and unless one had a well, of which there were many in the city, water was bought from water carriers with tanks on horse drawn carts which they filled from the River Torrens. A special weir was built in 1857 to allow several water carters to fill up at once where the natural water level was low. Some city wells still exist, while the whereabouts of others are sometimes given in early land transactions. Chichester Gardens between Stanley Street and Melbourne Street has several wells and one communal one was referred to in the driveway of 126-130 Sussex Street.⁹⁸ Several city pubs show off their wells within their cellars, while the former Treasury Buildings, now the Medina Hotel in Victoria Square, had a well in its cellars.

[ACA – Kingston Map showing Chichester Gardens and well]

3.4 Financing Adelaide

3.4.1 Land Speculation

Before the major speculative building boom of the late 1870s and the growth of the banking industry, many private loans and mortgages were provided by wealthy individuals who came to South Australia with varying amounts of capital available for such financial negotiations. These well off immigrants invested in city land for resale or rent following subdivision, as well as dealing in land beyond the city. Some of the earliest speculators who bought Town Acres set their stamp on the development and character of the city because of the way they subdivided them for resale, soon after the original auction. In the top twenty five largest landholders in the city at the end of the century, ten of them were original purchasers of Town Acres. Such names included Joseph Montefiore, W H Gray, J White and also the South Australian Company.⁹⁹

These early speculators contributed towards Adelaide's first economic crisis of 1840. The large amounts of land owned by them, when hardly any land was bought or sold from 1840 to the end of 1842, together with the excessive supplies that no one could afford when combined with the shortage of money, caused a crisis in which credit was withdrawn. Unable to weather the crisis, bankruptcy forced merchants, retailers and land speculators to off-load their assets for whatever they could get to honour their debts, which included an 'immense amount of property'.¹⁰⁰ As the colony was drained of currency and services, a barter situation developed where debts were paid in land, live-stock, agricultural produce and labour.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ N Ioannou, *Ceramics in South Australia, 1836-1986*, p104.

⁹⁸ General Registry Office, Real Property Act Application No 8726.

⁹⁹ ACC *Annual Report, 1899-1900* p35.

¹⁰⁰ GH Pitt, 'The crisis of 1841' pp 70-71.

¹⁰¹ *South Australian*, 6/6/1843 p4.

Williams states that:

It seems likely that the maintenance of such high land prices over a large area of the city was due to the encircling belt of Park Lands which acted as an insulating barrier to a gradual diminution of land values with distance from the centre. Hence, the growth of suburban housing and of industries using extensive amounts of land was far more likely to occur on the outer edges of the parklands belt where land prices dropped dramatically.¹⁰²

3.4.2 Banking

Adelaide's first bank, the Bank of South Australia, evolved out of the South Australian Company but had no separate identity until 1841. For a brief period this bank was the only one with which early businesses and the government could conduct business. Its short monopoly ended when the Bank of Australasia was established in 1839 on Town Acre 21, opposite the present Art Gallery site, putting an end to continuing criticisms of unfair high fees charged by Adelaide's first bank.

With the local economy unsettled until after the discoveries of copper in the mid north, it was 1848 before a new bank, the Savings Bank of South Australia was established, catering for customers with small balances. As South Australian banks financed farmers and pastoralists against the only securities available, those of stock, implements and crops, the early bountiful years of good harvests saw several new banks opened, such as the Union Bank in January 1850 and the Bank of Adelaide in 1865. By 1868 there were six banks operating in South Australia.¹⁰³ At the height of the 1870s building boom the Commercial Bank of South Australia was established in 1878, followed by the Town & Country Bank in 1881. However, during South Australia's economic recession between 1886 and the mid 1890s, several banks collapsed and others amalgamated or were taken over by banks from the other colonies.

Financial institutions suffered badly and often ceased to exist altogether during the most severe economic depressions. But they also flaunted their success when there were economic highs, by building the most substantial and costly buildings in the city. In 1921 which was part of a buoyant economic period before the economic crash in the late 1920s, the *Builders & Contractors Weekly* wrote that banks 'endeavoured to design buildings that would have the same atmosphere as the business itself, and would convey to the public an impression of the honesty and solidarity of the transactions that were carried on within the doors'.¹⁰⁴

Several former bank buildings from the mid 1860s to the early 1880s can be seen along King William Street and are joined by more modern edifices from the twentieth century, confirming that this is the traditional street for South Australia's major financial institutions. Bank buildings surviving from the late nineteenth century are the former Bank of Adelaide at 81-87 King William Street and the former Bank of South Australia, now known as Edmund Wright House at 57-63 King William Street. The State Bank of South Australia, established in 1896, built its first multi-storey premises which were opened in February 1943 during the Second World War at the same time as that of the Bank of New South Wales on the corner of King William Street and North Terrace (now known as the Westpac Bank).

Substantial but fine architecturally designed bank buildings constructed after the 1960s, were the Reserve Bank of Australia in Victoria Square and the South Australian Commonwealth Bank headquarters at 97 King William Street on the site of the former Her Majesty's Theatre. However, during the buoyant economy of the late 1980s nothing demonstrated a bank's success and (unfortunately misplaced) confidence more conspicuously than the building of the twenty eight floor multi-storey office block for the State Bank between 1986 and 1990. The subsequent

¹⁰² M Williams, *The Making of the South Australian landscape*, p410. In 1861 there were 4,352 houses in the city.

¹⁰³ They were the Bank of SA, the Bank of Australasia, Union, National, English & Scottish, and the Adelaide Bank. See *Advertiser* 17/3/1868 p2.

¹⁰⁴ *Builders & Contractors Weekly*, 21/11/1921.

collapse of the bank, soon after the announcement of accumulated losses of over \$970 million in February, 1991, left the building without a name until new tenants were found.¹⁰⁵

3.4.3 Other Financial Institutions

Other forms of finance which were more attractive than banks to working people were the Friendly Societies. Associated with unions, they were related to particular kinds of work. Paying into funds, on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis, subscribers to these mutual benefit fraternal organisations were entitled to certain insurance benefits in the event of sickness, death or other misfortune.¹⁰⁶ These societies - 'life assurance for the working classes' - attracted huge memberships. In 1890 statistics showed that seven-tenths of the members of the various trades and labour organisations belonged to Friendly Societies and that they distributed over £60,000 in relief funds a year.¹⁰⁷ Some of the oldest societies included The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows which was formed in Adelaide in 1844 and the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1847.¹⁰⁸ Friendly societies operated from small offices, but in 1879 several combined together to build for their members a modest meeting hall, the Friendly Society Hall in Tynte Street, North Adelaide.

As a result of the 1890s depression only one of the seventeen friendly societies functioning was actually solvent in 1892. In the mid 1920s the United Ancient Order of Druids had a membership of almost 15,000. The one with the next highest membership was the Manchester Unity having 11,785. By 1927 the same seventeen societies still existed and attracted forty per cent of the male population as members who had, on average, savings of £25/11/9d each.¹⁰⁹ In that year the friendly societies invested 72 per cent of their funds in mortgages.¹¹⁰

The insurance companies, like banks flaunted their success with conspicuous buildings to convey a sense of financial security to their customers. The former National Mutual Life Assurance (NMLA) building constructed a small and elegant building in Victoria Square in 1884, which became the Marine and Harbours Building in 1914. (In 1979 the facade of this building, in a major technological feat, was moved thirty four metres to the north to make way for a much larger building for the government owned insurance company, SGIC.) In 1898 NMLA moved from the Victoria Square premises to a bigger, more flamboyantly designed building at 89-93 King William Street to be even closer to the financial heart of the city. (This building is now known as Electra House.)

In the period following the First World War until about 1928 and again from about 1935 until the Second World War many prominent national financial institutions built their South Australian headquarters buildings. They included the tallest building to date in Adelaide in 1925, the T & G Building on the corner of King William and Grenfell streets, and the Norwich Union building in Waymouth Street in 1928. Another branch headquarters was the CML premises at 41-49 King William Street, followed by the AMP premises in 1936 at 19-23 King William Street.

The new Adelaide Stock Exchange building was constructed in 1900 in Exchange Place, and opened in September of 1901. The stock exchange had been formed in 1887 for stock and share dealing, and was originally housed in the Old Exchange in Pirie Street. The building ceased to be used as an exchange in 1987, when the national exchange was created.

3.4.4 Stock and Station Companies

Apart from the major financial institutions, Adelaide has a history of stock companies that came into being as agricultural and pastoral pursuits were expanded particularly after the 1850s. Currie Street became the favoured street for such stock and pastoral companies' offices. The company of Elder Stirling, established during the early colonial years, went on to become a major

¹⁰⁵ G McCarthy, 'Banking' in *The Wakefield Companion to SA History*, 2001, p66

¹⁰⁶ *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, 'Finance' by Mervyn K Lewis, pp 196-197.

¹⁰⁷ *Observer*, 1/2/1890 p36b.

¹⁰⁸ The Hibernians, Manchester Unity and the Australian Natives Association merged in the 1980s to form Life Plan. See Peter Howell, *South Australia and Federation*, p143.

¹⁰⁹ *The News* 14/7/1927 p 12f.

¹¹⁰ *Observer*, 19/3/1927 p35c.

pastoral company, building handsome headquarters in Currie Street in 1937. (Amalgamating with Goldsbrough Mort in 1962, and then amalgamating again to become Elders IXL, the head office for this company is now in Melbourne.) In addition, the SA Directories for 1880 show other stock, station and pastoral companies in Currie Street such as Bennett & Fisher (that began as G & H Bennett), E Laughton & Co, and Goldsbrough & Co. Other similar companies had their offices in newly constructed buildings in the city, including the 1916 Darling Building at 28-30 Franklin Street and the Young Street Chambers between 1915-16.

3.4.5 Company Headquarters

Until the First World War, Adelaide could claim to be the headquarters of many well known prominent national companies established in Adelaide and located along North Terrace, King William or Currie streets. After the 1980s the remaining few had amalgamated, were taken over, or moved interstate as befitted their status and ownership. In the present day, the only headquarters in the city of a banking organisation that is South Australian is the recently established Adelaide Bank. However, there are branch headquarters of national companies, for instance, the 1957 built MLC Building in Victoria Square, and the mid 1980s South Australian headquarters building of the Commonwealth Bank at 97 King William Street.

3.5 Manufacturing

3.5.1 Background

Despite Adelaide being the centre of manufacturing for many industries in South Australia until the latter part of the nineteenth century, few pre 1940 factory buildings, warehouses, walls or sheds survive in the city. Some of the more substantial structures that survived have been successfully recycled for other uses.¹¹¹

Before the 1860s when manufacturing in the city was more like a cottage industry and when residents lived alongside, it was often difficult to differentiate between residential and industrial areas. Further, self employed citizens who followed such occupations as blacksmith, saddler, butcher and carpenter often had workshops or slaughter yards attached to their homes which they expanded into something other than a cottage industry.¹¹² In many a street which looked residential because the street was lined with homes, a front room was extended to become a small shop, be it for confectionery, a grocery, a butcher, or hardware. While some manufacturers began from a shop or yard, others took up large areas to become an industrial site from the time of their establishment, such as a grain mill or foundry.¹¹³

Small foundries and workshops which began with one or two people often expanded to become factories alongside residential property in the cheaper parts of the city. This mix of incompatible uses had a detrimental effect on nearby residents. Consequently, where small industries were unable to expand, because of expensive land or refusal by residents or other businesses to sell, they moved out of the city where space and cheap land was easily available.

By the end of the nineteenth century, some of the more noxious industries were forced out of the city by the Adelaide City Council, such as Burford's Soap and Candle Factory. Burford's had been in the city since 1840 but had grown and developed into one of the most polluting workplaces in the city. It had moved once from the east end of Grenfell Street in the 1880s to Norman Street in the south-western corner of the city. The city corporation worked hard to oust it from the city entirely but with great difficulty. When the owners turned down £12,000 in 1919 to

¹¹¹ Factory buildings that have survived include two in Light Square (a former tobacco factory and Sands & McDougall printing works) the former Fowler Building, now the Jam Factory precinct and the Star Printing Works in Grote Street alongside the Central Market.

¹¹² Samuel Stopps' Currie Street Foundry on TA 131 began as a blacksmith's shop. Spanning 80 years, the foundry closed in 1944.

¹¹³ *South Australian*, 28/3/1843, p2c.

move from the city, the corporation made an amendment to the Health Act to prevent them carrying on soap making in the city.¹¹⁴

Most city factories before the First World War were small scale and labour intensive. However, the 1920s saw a rapid growth of heavy industry, industrial technology and the size of factories. A new Wunderlich roofing tile factory was built on the corner of Grote and Morphett Streets on Town Acre 313 in 1929. In the same year the Advertiser Newspaper built major additions to their printery in Waymouth Street.¹¹⁵ Another type of factory was the two storey brick premises built on the corner of Sturt and O'Brien Streets for McNiven Brothers which manufactured ice-cream cones, wafers and cake cones.¹¹⁶

3.5.2 Milling

As wheat and other grain harvests increased with the extension of settlement, steam and water flour mills were built to cope with the local demand. Their importance to the colony's economy resulted in them being the subject of annual returns for flour mills. The mechanical moving parts and steam driven engines for these mills were manufactured in the city's earliest foundries.

One of the earliest mills in the city was a windmill which was completed in August 1842 during the first economic recession. Located opposite the West Terrace cemetery, its walls were thirty foot high, and from its twenty three foot base it tapered off to thirteen feet at the top, capped by an eight foot high wooden section made entirely from native timbers. In March 1843, when it changed ownership, it underwent modifications to increase the length of the sweeps to 30 feet and the sails to 28 feet, and an additional pair of even larger stones was added to cope with the increase in milling operations.

When windmills and water mills gave way to steam driven mills, several were constructed in the city. One was at the Adelaide City Corporation's former destructor site and council depot in Halifax Street. The site, taking up several Town Acres, has had a long industrial history from the early 1850s. Initially built as a bakery and flour mill, it has also been a brewery, a tobacco factory and a boot factory. It was sold to the Adelaide City Corporation in 1908 by Henry Ayers.¹¹⁷ Most recently, this heavy industrial site has been converted to an inner city residential estate after an extensive rehabilitation process over several years. A short walk away in Hurtle Square on the corner of Carrington Street the Imperial Flour Mills operated on Town Acre 494.

[SLSA - Halifax St Mill B9521 ca1860]

[SLSA - Adelaide Milling Co B34566 ca1890]

3.5.3 Foundries and Ironworks

Parts for the early flour mills were made by the several foundries that were established in the city. There were two foundries established in the city in 1842. One in Grenfell Street was known as the Adelaide Iron Foundry and owned by John Wyatt, a former manager of a London brass works. In 1847 Wyatt moved to a new site on North Terrace near to the railway on the corner of Victoria Street (Town Acre 11) where he constructed a huge foundry building over 200 feet long and almost thirty feet wide. Manufacturing equipment for the Central Roads Board and for the mining industry, he employed twenty five men as moulders, fitters, smiths, pattern makers and labourers. The Wyatt family sold the business in 1878 and the building was demolished for redevelopment.

The other early foundry was that of W Pybus who established his factory on the corner of Hindley Street on Town Acres 76 and 111. In 1847 the foundry moved to the northern side of Hindley Street on the corner of Gray Street. The foundry made bells and castings for reaping and

¹¹⁴ ACA TC letters 451/3/2/1919.

¹¹⁵ ACC *Digest of Proceedings*, Contents for TAs 202 and 313.

¹¹⁶ B Jolly, *Historic South West Corner*, 2003, p26.

¹¹⁷ P Sumerling, 'Brief history and development of the Destructor Site, Halifax Street and its surrounds', July 1993 for Paul Stark, Principal Planner Projects.

threshing machines, much in demand from the mid 1840s.¹¹⁸ In 1868, Pybus employed twelve men and boys.¹¹⁹ The foundry, which had seven different owners and several names, operated for sixty seven years until 1915 when it moved from the city to Mile End. The site is now the location of the former City Bowls.¹²⁰

At the western end of Currie Street in the Light Square area on the northern side on Town Acre 131, Samuel Stopps established a small foundry about 1863, making castings that weighed up to half a ton each. This foundry operated for eighty years until 1944.

In Gawler Place, A W Dobbie established and operated a brass foundry in 1862, but was also involved in making gold, silver and copper castings. The foundry also undertook gilding and electrotyping. Dobbie also made brass church furniture that included crosses, candlesticks, vases, offertory plates and lecterns. His foundry was where the bronze figures for the North Terrace War Memorial (unveiled in 1931) were cast.¹²¹ Other foundries were R Hutchinson of Apollo Place, J P Coombe of Leigh Street and Mr Ingendorf of Gawler Place. One of the most important foundries was that of Simpson & Son which began as a tinsmith in Gawler Place (part of it formerly called Freeman Street) in 1855. The company expanded when it established a foundry in 1877 and bought out the foundry in Wakefield Street of Ernst Giffhorn & Co who were producing cast iron wood stoves called the Giffhorn Stove. After the Second World War, in 1951 Simpsons further expanded and moved out of the city when they built a new foundry at Dudley Park. Of the thirteen significant foundries operating in the city between 1842 and 1951 all were located to the north of Wakefield Street but nothing remains.¹²²

3.5.4 Factories

Apart from foundries there were other factories where a huge number of products were manufactured. They included the manufacturing of biscuits, agricultural implements, candles and soap, soda-water and ginger beer, breweries, tanneries, printing presses, sawmills, coachbuilders. In 1864 there were 113 factories in the city.¹²³

There were eleven tobacco factories in the city in 1905 including one built and owned by W Dixon in Light Square. This building on the south western side of the square was for years used as Cobbs Nightclub and later as a gymnasium.¹²⁴ Other significant former factory buildings exist behind Waymouth Street on the east side of Topham Street. Tucked into Cordwainer Street in 1881 before the street was named, was the Adelaide Boot Factory run by William Pinnick, and D and W Murray's clothing and shirt factory.

[ACA - Smith Survey extract showing factories – sheets 14 and 55]

3.5.5 Coachbuilders

Many early city industries were connected with horse transport, such as wheelwrights, blacksmiths, saddlers and carriage and coach builders. There were also livery stables and horse auctioneers. By 1868 there were several large successful carriage and coach factories in the city which had developed enough to oust imports from America and England. However, much of the patent leather used in coach trimming was still imported from overseas as were the special woods needed for the craft. Before 1868 larger horse drawn vehicles known as omnibuses were imported but then several coachbuilder factories began building them locally. These factories had several types of specialised workshops that included woodworking and paint shops and furnaces and extensive showrooms on the main street to show off their wares. A journalist from

¹¹⁸ *South Australian* 29/11/1849, p3e.

¹¹⁹ *Advertiser*, 25/5/1868, 'The iron trade'.

¹²⁰ Needham & Thomson, *Men of Metal*, p4, This is an important history of the state's foundries.

¹²¹ Needham & Thomson, *Men of Metal*, p28.

¹²² Needham & Thomson, *Men of Metal*.

¹²³ P Donovan, *An Industrial history of South Australia*, 1984, pp 22-24.

¹²⁴ Dixon commissioned JF Quinton Bruce to design his house *Stalheim* on Montefiore Hill in 1894. Its name was changed to *Carclew House* when the Bonython family bought it in the early 1900s.

The Advertiser visited city coachbuilders in June 1868 and described their activities, size and street location.¹²⁵

Established about 1854, Barlow & Sons' coach building factory was in Rundle Street east and employed twenty seven men in the various workshops. In the 1860s they had just finished building several horse drawn omnibuses, including 'the monster Galatea' bus already in use along the main road to Glenelg.

J Crimp's factory had begun in 1842, was located in Grenfell Street occupying half an acre and employing twenty men. R Cottrell & Son's factory was in Rundle Street and was established in 1857. Eleven men and boys and two sons worked at this factory. The Hubble Brothers Coachbuilding Factory established in 1854 was south of the courthouse on the eastern side of King William Street and employed twelve men and boys.

J. Morcomb who established as a coachbuilder in 1853, moved his factory to Waymouth Street in 1865 and made a variety of vehicles ranging from spring-carts to omnibuses. At the time of inspection in 1868 he was employing six men, and was making an eighteen seater bus for the Glen Osmond Road run. In Blyth Street, off Hindley Street, J C Coulls and Mr Carvosso established their coachbuilding works in 1850, employing fifteen men. In 1868 they were about to expand their factory that would take up half an acre. Mr Haynes in Franklin Street operated a smaller factory and built mail traps, as well as spring carts and buggies. Other factories were Caple's in Grote Street, Jenner's in Gouger Street, Harvey's in Carrington Street, Day's in Carrington Street and Olive's in Pulteney Street.¹²⁶

With the advent of the motor car in the early 1900s, many coach builders went through a transition period to become part of the motor industry. While British and American car chassis were imported, local companies traditionally involved in coachmaking, began building car bodies for the importers.

[SLSA - Ducan & Fraser B2515 ca1865]

Coach builders, Duncan & Fraser located in Franklin Street went on to become Duncan Motors Ltd. Holden & Frost developed to become J A Holden Ltd in Grenfell Street. Much like the motor industry in which many companies were formed to create spare parts for the larger motor manufacturing companies, many motoring outlets developed in the West End of the city between Gouger Street and Waymouth Street around Duncan & Fraser's business. These outlets, which included motor showrooms, thrived in this part of the city until the 1960s when many of them moved into the suburbs and new industrial estates.¹²⁷ To the east of the former Franklin Street Central Bus Station site, a substantial red brick showroom formerly associated with the motor industry, contributes to the streetscape and is indicative of the activities of the motor trade in this area. Automobile company names in this locality during the early years of the twentieth century included the Eclipse Motors, Devonshire Motors and the Ford Motor Company between 53 and 107 Franklin Street.

[SLSA - Franklin St B2444 1925]

[SLSA – Franklin St BB35070 1977]

Holden Motor Body Builders Ltd's great leap forward into the motor industry was made possible by the First World War when import bans prompted them to embark on a large scale production of car bodies. By 1926 the company was producing more than half the national output from within the city.¹²⁸ Moving from Grenfell Street to their 2 1/2 acre site on the northeast corner of Gilles Street and King William Street, they built a brick multi-storey factory as 'one of the largest factories in the state'. About 400 workmen were employed to produce the standard design motor

¹²⁵ *The Advertiser*, 11/6/1868, 'Our manufactories, our carriage and coach factories'.

¹²⁶ *The Advertiser*, ' 11/6/1868 'Our manufactories' .

¹²⁷ A former bakery at 127 Waymouth Street, now known as Federation Trading, was a motor showroom in the 1940s and 1950s and has retained its large folding showroom doors.

¹²⁸ Jon G Chittleborough, ' Holden Car' in *The Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 262-263.

bodies which were transported to all parts of Australia.¹²⁹ While the company moved from its city site after the Second World War, the factory building survived as a warehouse until early 2004.

[SLSA - Holden's building B14127 1958]

3.5.6 Breweries and Drink Manufacturers

It is an indication of the importance of alcohol to the new colony, that an act to regulate it was the fourth one to be assented to, in June 1837¹³⁰. An early brewery was established along the River Torrens in the vicinity of Elder Park for several years before being flooded out, and between 1837 and 1890 sixteen breweries came into existence within the city, two of these in North Adelaide. Of the sixteen, six operated until 1919. After this date only the West End Brewery in Hindley Street, which had been amalgamated with the SA Brewing Company in 1888, continued to brew beer in the city. At the peak of its operations, the brewery site took up nearly two acres in Hindley Street, between Gray and Clarendon streets, drawing upon its local population for a labour force. These, the city's largest brewery buildings, were demolished in 1983. All that remains is the former brewery offices at 222-28 Hindley Street built in brick in 1941, and which are now part of the University of South Australia's City West campus.

Substantial buildings of two other former breweries are now successfully used for other purposes. The brewery that operated in Wyatt Street, off Pirie Street is now offices, while the former buildings of the Lion Brewing Company alongside the Old Lion Hotel in Jerningham Street, North Adelaide are now part of the hotel complex.

[SLSA - Lion Brewery B60029 ca1932]

Other early breweries were the Adelaide Brewery which began in Moger Street, so named after one of the brewers, Ed Moger, and which operated between 1844 and 1902. It was finally closed down when the SA Brewing Company bought the premises.¹³¹ The Anchor Brewery which operated between 1855 and 1883 was on the corner of Morphett Street and North Terrace.¹³² When it closed, the site was redeveloped to become the Fowler's Lion factory in 1905 (which operated until 1983 when it was taken over by Southern Farmers.) The substantial buildings still survive as the Living Arts Centre.

Union Street, alongside the Crown & Anchor Hotel in the East End, was named after the Union Brewing & Malting Company which operated between 1844 and 1902. Adjacent to the Green Dragon Hotel on South Terrace was a brewery of the same name which operated from 1871 to 1901. The brewery buildings survived for many years before being demolished.¹³³

[SLSA - Union Brewery B58651 1890]

There were also several factories producing non-alcoholic drinks in the form of aerated water, cordials and vinegar. The best known of these, which still operates under the name of A M Bickfords & Son although no longer manufacturing in Adelaide, built handsome offices which still remain on the corner of Leigh and Currie streets. Bickfords also had its factory in Waymouth Street a few doors west of the Union Hotel.

The factory buildings that have survived in the city, many now used for other purposes, are substantially built. Many more have not survived perhaps because of the liberal use of corrugated iron for their construction, particularly with warehouses in the north-western corner of the city.

¹²⁹ ACC *Annual Report* 1919-1920 p50.

¹³⁰ The other three acts in June 1837 were for the establishment of the courts, qualifications for the jury and an act for the summary determination of disputes between master and servant.

¹³¹ Keith M Deutsher, *The Breweries of Australia: a history*, 1999, p 211.

¹³² *Smith Survey*, 1880.

¹³³ M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, p157.

In 1997 there were 181 manufacturing places in the city but by 2002 this number had dropped to 139.¹³⁴ In 2002 the main manufacturing employers were the bakery of Balfours (which has now moved from the city), Laubman & Pank (spectacle makers), Angelakis Brothers (sea food processors), Southcott's Engineering (now relocated out of the city) and George Gross & Harry Who (clothing manufacturers).¹³⁵

3.6 Commercial, Marketing & Retail

3.6.1 A City of Pubs

Hotel licensing quickly followed the Act for the regulation of liquor in June 1837. Adelaide has always been called 'the city of churches' but it would have been more accurate to call it 'a city of pubs', for at one time there seemed to be one on every corner. The city of Adelaide with its grid system plan was ideal for corner-located hotels. While they are generally found on the major streets, a few of them were tucked away in tiny streets and lanes. About 234 public houses (pubs for short) in the city have been licensed between 1837 and 2005. Overall there have been over 400 names used for these separate city establishments.¹³⁶ The most hotels trading at any one time was between 1886 and about 1905 when there were 128. Currently, there are about fifty nine hotels still trading within the city and North Adelaide. Of the 75 hotels licensed before 1842, around thirteen of them were still trading in 2005 using the original licence.¹³⁷

Only about a dozen former pre-1900 hotel structures have survived, many now used for other purposes. These include the Botanic Hotel on North Terrace, the Colonist in Angas Street, the Crown in Gover Street, the Dover Castle Hotel in Archer Street, North Adelaide (now apartments), the Eagle Hotel in Hindley Street, the Gilles Hotel in Gilles Street, the Globe Hotel in North Street, the Golden Rule Hotel in Pirie Street, the Horse and Jockey in Carrington Street, the Orient Hotel in Rundle Mall, the Oriental on the corner of Wakefield and Pulteney streets, the Prince Alfred adjoining the Town Hall, the Shakespeare Hotel in Waymouth Street, the Sportsman in Grote Street, the Supreme Court Hotel in Gouger Street (now Jeffcott Chambers) and the Wheelwright Arms in Roper Street. Also there is the pre 1840 cottage-styled Beresford Arms in Gilles Street that ceased trading in 1865 and was used as private residence until a recent fire. This is the earliest surviving pub building in the city.

Initially the cost of building the first hotels was incidental to the exorbitant cost of paying out for the licence. Consequently, many early hotel buildings were crude affairs. Others were simply private dwellings with one room set aside as a public bar, such as the former Beresford Arms in Gilles Street. However, it was not long before the poor quality of the earliest structures prompted members of the Licensing Bench to criticise them and refuse licensing applications. When in 1850 a licence for the Horse and Jockey Hotel in Carrington Street was being renewed, it was described as a 'low and miserable place hardly worthy to be called a pot-house'.¹³⁸

After about 1861 the Licensing Bench demanded to see plans prior to a new hotel being licensed and applicants began to take more care in designing them, usually with more generously proportioned rooms. Hotels in the heart of the city such as in Hindley or Rundle streets, and therefore guaranteed a successful trade from 1837, were usually substantially built from the time a licence was first granted. These bore no resemblance to a private house but already were a recognisable hotel building type, such as at the Blenheim Hotel in Hindley Street (which was rebuilt as the Tattersalls Hotel in the early 1900s).

¹³⁴ *City of Adelaide 2002 Land Use & Employment Survey Report*, July 2003, p42.

¹³⁵ *City of Adelaide 2002 Land Use & Employment Survey Report*, July 2003, p41.

¹³⁶ JL Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia*, 1999, p 666.

¹³⁷ They include the Angel (now known as Director's Hotel), Black Bull (now known as the Princes Berkeley), British, Edinburgh Castle, Launceston (now known as the Grace Emily), Queen's Head, Red Lion (now known as the Ambassadors), Royal Admiral, Royal Oak (now known as the World's End) and the Woodman.

¹³⁸ *South Australian* 16/6/1850.

The granting of publicans' licences succinctly reflected economic growth. For instance just prior to the recession in 1839 when the colony appeared to 'take off' financially, thirty eight new licences were granted for the city. By 1842, although seventy five licences had been granted, thirty seven of them ceased trading because the economy could not support them during the colony's first serious recession and accordingly, no licences were issued in 1842 and 1843. In 1844 when there were only 6,107 people left in the city because of the economic crisis, this was roughly a ratio of 152 people per hotel.

When the economy picked up in the mid 1840s assisted by the mineral discoveries at Kapunda and then followed by the 'Monster Mine' of Burra, there was a slow increase in the licensing of new hotels in the city. However, the most dramatic increase in new hotel licences occurred outside Adelaide and was stimulated by the successes in the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s. This period saw a strong demand for licences in newly surveyed townships that serviced the nearby agricultural lands.

By 1865 licenses had been granted for about 240 hotels in the city. While more than half of that number had ceased trading, approximately 113 of them are recorded on the De Lisser Map of the mid-1860s (which was prepared as a basis for future sewage installation). There were no new licences granted in the city between April 1864 and September 1867, as this was a drought period which severely affected the colony's economy.¹³⁹ The former Botanic Hotel on North Terrace, built in 1876 as a family accommodation hotel, became licensed in 1883 and was the second to last in the city to be issued with a general liquor licence. The last one, the Adelaide Hotel in Pirie Street, which was established in March 1887, was closed and demolished in 1970.¹⁴⁰

[SLSA - Duke of York B9605 1927]

However, by 1870 the built form of hotels was evolving into a specific building type that became identified as an Adelaide or South Australian style. Balconies and verandahs were usually an added feature from the 1890s.¹⁴¹ In a period of thirty four years between 1875 and 1909, which included the city's largest speculative building boom, a majority of the existing city hotels were rebuilt as more elaborate two storey structures, while several were built as three storeys. The style of city hotels from the late 1860s persisted until the First World War. During the period of the speculation boom, when hotels were being rebuilt, names were changed to include 'hotel'. For instance the Newmarket Inn became the Newmarket Hotel after it was rebuilt in the early 1880s.

[SLSA - Botanic Hotel B58576 ca1875]

[SLSA – Botanic Hotel B7089 1937]

Publicans in early Adelaide were usually the owners. As publicans consolidated their financial positions from about the early 1850s they could afford to leave the management of their hotels to others. Following the rise of the few powerful breweries in the late 1870s, such as the SA Brewing Company, and Beaglehole & Johnston, the breweries embarked on a policy of buying strategically located hotels through which they sold their own products. They invariably rebuilt their newly acquired hotels or built new ones in order to compete with nearby rivals.¹⁴²

Local Option Polls, which were like referendums, were introduced after 1877, and then by an Act in 1880, which allowed residents living near a hotel to decide whether it should retain its licence or not. When they were held in the city, they were partly responsible for the demise of a further twenty one hotels lost between 1916 and 1927.¹⁴³ Between 1928 and 1953, and despite the

¹³⁹ There were 58 licences granted outside the city in this period, of which 24 still survive.

¹⁴⁰ The Grosvenor Hotel of 1920 evolved out of an earlier coffee palace. It was issued with limited licence in 1968 and only a general licence in 1991.

¹⁴¹ The Botanic Hotel, the Griffin's Head and Green Dragon added verandahs around the 1890s or after.

¹⁴² Many references for the hotel industry are from the author's own hotel archival collection.

¹⁴³ Hindley Street lost the Adelaide, Clarendon, Theatre Royal, White Hart and Foundry. Those lost in Currie Street were the Bedford, Wellington, White Horse and the Lady Fergusson. Others were the Shakespeare in Waymouth Street, the Globe in North Street and the West Terrace Hotel. In the east end of the city a further seven licences were lost. These were the

Great Depression, no licence in the city was lost in a twenty six year period. From 1953, when there were about ninety seven hotels left in the city, until 2000, a further thirty eight hotels were lost, most of them being demolished. Former hotels that have been demolished but are still wistfully remembered, include the revered 'Raffles' of South Australia, The South Australian Hotel which was located on North Terrace, opposite Parliament House.

[SLSA - SA Hotel B24327 1906]

For more than a hundred years, from 1887, there was no new hotel licence granted in the city. After the city population peaked about 1915 and began declining, so did the number of city hotels. The Bull and Bear in the basement at 97-105 King William Street, licensed in February 1989, was the first of the new licenses before the end of the twentieth century. Others to be licensed were The Historian established in an old warehouse in Coromandel Place and The Dog & Windmill Hotel built and licensed to coincide with the redevelopment of the East End Market area in the early 1990s. When the Earl of Zetland in Gawler Place ceased trading and the building was demolished in 1998, a new Tavern using the same name was built on the southern side of Flinders Street. Following the demise of the Dover Castle Hotel in Archer Street in 2001, the licence was transferred to the nearby former Huntsman Hotel on the corner of Archer and O'Connell streets, which had closed in 1960 when the Hotel Adelaide was built. The early building was refurbished and relicensed as the O'Connell Hotel.¹⁴⁴

3.6.2 Retail and Wholesale Industry

The City of Adelaide's retail industry has a long vibrant history with many reminders of the earliest shops, stores and warehouses scattered around the city. While commercial names such as Wigg, Bickford and Harris Scarfe continue to be part of the city's history, many names of old shops and department stores linger on only in memory. In some cases, evidence of their once important place along the premier retail streets of Hindley, Rundle, Grenfell and Currie, can be found in the former shops and department stores which are now used by other retailers or converted for use as commercial offices.

In 1841 JF Bennett recorded that there were 200 shops, stores and warehouses, with the majority concentrated in Hindley, Rundle, Grenfell and Currie Streets. However, at some time between 1852 and 1860 much of the retail trade 'flowed eastwards into Rundle Street and its tributary thoroughfares, a feature that has remained ever since.'¹⁴⁵

[SLSA - King William Street B4469 ca1905]

Although some of the city's older shops were impressive, Richard Twopeny, visiting Adelaide in the early 1880s, stated 'of the shops there is not much to be said. They are not at all up the average of most of the institutions of the town...'¹⁴⁶ It was unfortunate that his visit to Adelaide was not at Christmas in 1885 when the Adelaide Arcade was opened. The fact that an arcade was ever built in Adelaide was partly due to three serious fires that took place in the vicinity. The *Express & Telegraph* of 7 May 1885 recorded that 'Rundle Street had been searched from end to end for a suitable site, and at last it seemed as if the three fires which had taken place at Messrs Gays, Tannerts and Barks & Chambers premises had joined the syndicate and ... assisted in carrying out the scheme at the expense of the insurance companies.' The choice of location for an arcade was a critical factor, for to disregard or misjudge traditional pedestrian flow could have meant financial ruin for the owners.

Commonwealth in Rundle Street, the Horse & Jockey in Carrington Street, the Wheelwright Arms in Roper Street, and the East Adelaide in Robert Street (now Morphett Street), the Prince of Wales in Angas Street, the Bijou in Rundle Street, and the Grand Central Hotel on the corner of Pulteney and Rundle streets.

¹⁴⁴ P Sumerling, *History of the Dover Castle*, 2003, for R Twiss. The hotel was successfully renovated and converted for use as two town houses.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Williams, *The Making of the S A Landscape*, p 413.

¹⁴⁶ Richard Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, 1883, p 29.

Emanuel Cohen who was one of the prime instigators of the Adelaide project, saw arcades in Europe while on a visit there.¹⁴⁷ Although Adelaide Arcade's internal arrangements resemble Parisian arcades, the architect was more likely influenced by what was built in Sydney and Melbourne. Australian arcades are different from those anywhere else in the world¹⁴⁸ and as far as can be determined there is no other arcade in the world that is topped by a classical dome, although some arcades have entrance buildings similar to those of Adelaide. The Adelaide Arcade has always been a popular place to visit. Further, because the arcade is a major pedestrian route between two major streets, its architectural merits are hard to ignore.

As the first arcade to be built in Adelaide, with its technology and design not seen before, it took only eight months in 1885 from the signing of the contract to its opening. However, despite the technology of arcade building being almost a hundred years old, because it was new to Adelaide it caused concern to the Adelaide City Council building surveyor who was dealing with the building type for the first time. Eagerness to have the project underway as quickly as possible after the contract was signed with E. Pett & Son, saw it being constructed simultaneously at both ends before the Adelaide Arcade Company owned an area within its centre. While the Adelaide Arcade was planned during the city's biggest building boom, when it was opened during one of its worst recessions, the speculators gave shop tenants their first year rent free rather than go broke over the venture.

[SLSA - Adelaide Arcade B13274 ca1890]

When the arcade was opened to catch the Christmas trade, as an added attraction, it was one of the first commercial places in the city to have electric lighting (along with Kither's Butcher Shop in Rundle Street). Electric lighting was a novelty so the description of it as 'peculiar, not to say weird ... bright as noonday' and even 'ghostly', was apt.

While many shops dating from the late nineteenth century survive beyond the main streets, in the main retail precincts, such as Rundle Mall, there are predominantly mid 1920s buildings. While almost all the earliest shop structures built before the 1870s in Rundle Street have long disappeared, the late-1840s Waterhouse Chambers Building is the oldest in the street. Eastwards at 135-139 Rundle Mall is the former Kither's butcher shop with its decorated 1880 front elevation, which went on to become the Clarkson's stained glass manufacturers in 1926. When it was sold in 1958, the building was converted to become the Commonwealth Bank outlet for a number of years.

[SLSA - Waterhouse Chambers B288 ca1862]

In Rundle Street East, where the former East End Market was located, there are a variety of shops such as Conrad's butcher shop at 290 Rundle Street East, which only closed with the East End Market's closure in the late 1980s. Designed by F W Dancker and built in 1885 and now used as a cafe, it proudly shows off its former butcher's marble display counter which extends beyond the window to create a sill for the full width of its facade. Quite a few shops date to the few years following the establishment of the East End Market in 1869 such as the pair of shops at 296 Rundle Street East.¹⁴⁹

Rundle Street East comprises the former market buildings and facades of the East End Market and the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange, originally two separate wholesale markets with identical functions. The area now incorporates a retail and cafe precinct. Richard Vaughan established the East End Market bound by East Terrace and the north side of Rundle Street in the mid 1860s because the City Corporation did not act soon enough to establish a public one. An Act of Parliament allowed Vaughan to establish his market. The first part of the East End Market, which was tucked away behind the shops along Rundle Street East and East Terrace, underwent extension when William Charlick brought in a private bill for the establishment of his market on the south side of Rundle Street, called the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange, in

¹⁴⁷ *Express & Telegraph*, 7 May 1885.

¹⁴⁸ Johann Friedrich Geist, *Arcades: the history of a building type*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT Press, 1983.

¹⁴⁹ Refer *Conservation Plan of the East End*, McDougall and Vines 1988, for dates of other Rundle Street buildings.

1903. Unlike Richard Vaughan, who used building leases to encourage shopkeepers to create shops to front his market, Charlick commissioned architect Henry Cowell to design elegant brick frontages along two sides of his market on East Terrace and Grenfell Street. His company further added new cement rendered facades when he expanded along Grenfell and Union Streets in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁵⁰ The wholesale market continued in the East End until 1990 when it was moved from the city to the suburbs. Following the market's exit from the city, refurbishment has transformed the precinct into a major residential area with shops, cafes and restaurants along the main street frontages.

[SLSA - Rundle Street East B5532 1929]

On 16 August 1965 the retail produce market between Grote and Gouger streets which was known as the City Market was renamed the Central Market. This market was established on 23 January 1869 when eight carts laden with produce were driven by market gardeners to land located off Victoria Square owned by the City Council. This was a determined attempt 'to secede' from the overcrowded and tightly controlled East End Market.¹⁵¹ However, it was more than six months before sheds were completed, in June 1869. The market was opened for business on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturday mornings and as many as 50 to 100 produce carts made use of the facilities. The official opening of the City Market took place a year later on 22 January 1870.¹⁵²

The Mayor's Report of 1873 recorded that two sheds were joined together by 'throwing a roof over the central roadway between sheds A and B and the erection of a lofty and well-built shed along the western boundary of Acre 380'.¹⁵³ Several shops were built each year on the market perimeter facing the streets. Increasing popularity and the need to provide facilities, such as accommodation and stronger refreshment for the men, saw the building of the two storey twenty-seven room Langham Hotel (replaced by the MLC Building in 1957).¹⁵⁴ In December 1884 a fish market was opened and remained on-site facing Gouger Street until 1922. In 1900 as part of rebuilding the market, an impressive two storey brick facade fronting Grote Street was included. This included an 80 x 32 feet assembly room on the first floor where wedding parties, dances and parties could be held.¹⁵⁵

While Rundle Street was the major retail outlet and Hindley Street the focal point for restaurants and other entertainments, the rebuilding of the Central Market in 1900 saw a new retail area developed between Grote and Gouger streets. Shops outside the market spawned in clusters, such as between the court building and the Crown and Sceptre Hotel, where a men's hairdressers shop operated for almost a hundred years.

The construction of the market's glass arcade in 1915 was a stunning addition. This was 30 feet wide and 200 feet long, and stretched from the eastern roadway of the market west to Page Street. In 1922 when the fish market lease expired it was demolished to make way for thirty two shops.¹⁵⁶ By 1927 there were 252 stalls, three promenades and two roadways for vehicles with a centre promenade running east and west. In June 1930 stalls for butchers' and fish stalls were built. These were fly proof but maintained the essential features of the market.

[SLSA - Central Market B1858 1923]

In the 1950s, when building materials became easier to obtain following the Second World War, developers were anxious to rebuild in modern styles and sweep away old fashioned elements of the Central Market which sadly included the iron and glass market arcades. In the modernisation

¹⁵⁰ See also references to about two dozen shops in Patricia Sumerling, *Light on Adelaide, The East End*, National Trust, 1996 (A self guided walk brochure and audio walk).

¹⁵¹ Patricia Sumerling, *History of the Central Market*; Assessment for ACC city listing June 1990; *South Australian Register*, 25 January 1869.

¹⁵² *South Australian Register*, 24 Jan. 1870, 3c.

¹⁵³ ACC *Annual Report*, 1873, p 2.

¹⁵⁴ ACC *Annual Report* 1879-80, p 96.

¹⁵⁵ ACC *Annual Report*, 1899/1900, p 102.

¹⁵⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1922, pp.13,41.

scheme, the Grote Street brick facade on the eastern side was demolished although shops fronting Grote and Gouger streets were retained.

In February 1967, a fifty year lease was granted to Weinarts (Victoria Square) Pty Ltd. for the redevelopment of the eastern two acres which had contained an arcade of shops and the Langham Hotel.¹⁵⁷ In June 1968, the first stage of the redevelopment was completed and a month later C J Coles opened for business.

After 1983, the market was bedevilled by several major redevelopment schemes which never materialised, and it also suffered a major fire. Concern by the stallholders about the fierce competition from suburban shopping centres, saw an increase in overhead car parking spaces.¹⁵⁸ The Central Market, now the only one in the city, has become a vital part of the cultural heritage of the city. In 2004 it was the second largest retail area within the city, comprising fifteen per cent of the city's retail establishments.¹⁵⁹

Rundle Street and the Central Market were the two main shopping centres in Adelaide, and not only served city residents but attracted shoppers from the suburbs. However, there were smaller retail precincts serving local residents which were developed along major transport routes such as Hutt Street and in North Adelaide. On O'Connell Street the few shops built around the mid 1860s were further developed after the 1880s and 1890s following a brisk development of the upper north-western part of North Adelaide. Similarly, from the mid 1870s, shops were built mainly in the eastern part of Melbourne Street and then in the 1970s many dwellings fronting the street were converted for use as shops, cafes and galleries. Hutt Street shopping precinct also saw a dramatic rise in popularity from the mid 1970s, with the rise in the residential population of the south east of the city.

[SLSA - O'Connell Street B10429 ca1910]

With a renaissance of North Adelaide taking place from the late 1960s, the fear of new shopping complexes encroaching into residential areas created much community concern and involvement. When a 'village centre' was proposed in 1971 on land owned by the City Council, it was with consultation with the North Adelaide Traders' Association and the North Adelaide Society. By 1979, co-operation with representatives of the local community produced a retail centre behind existing O'Connell Street shops that avoided congestion in the main street. This 'village centre' has become the hub of North Adelaide and comprises shops, offices and supermarket areas as well as a community centre comprising a club room, an assembly hall, games room, reading room and canteen.

3.6.3 Department Stores

Apart from the small shops that made up the bulk of shopping precincts, the development of the department store also played a prominent role in Adelaide's retail history. Adelaide historically has had more than half a dozen major department stores, some as large as five storeys, most of them in Rundle Street (now Rundle Mall). They evolved from smaller successful drapers' shops in the late nineteenth century, and their success 'was attributed to turnover with a wide variety of goods sold at fixed market prices. This type of merchandising led to the organisational design of department stores...'¹⁶⁰ In their heyday 'they reflected the confidence and exuberance of the period...They evoked stability and strength, mirroring the consumer culture that sustained them'.¹⁶¹ The physical location of these businesses has been one of 'musical buildings' particularly in the last twenty years.

John Martins grew from an 1865 drapers shop and expanded by taking over nearby shops until it was able to begin building 'The Big Store' in 1889. This was extended in 1898, but the whole

¹⁵⁷ ACC *Annual Report*, 1966-67, p.6.

¹⁵⁸ *The Australian*, 3 September 1983.

¹⁵⁹ *City of Adelaide 2002 Land Use & Employment Survey Report*, July 2003, p 30.

¹⁶⁰ Vivien Stewart, 'The way they were: a Sydney department store in the 1920s' in *Heritage Australia*, Summer 1990, pp20-23.

¹⁶¹ V Stewart, pp 20-23.

store was rebuilt following a fire in 1901. There were major additions in 1922 and the store was refurbished in 1936. The store was totally rebuilt in the 1960s.¹⁶² (And then demolished in the late 1990s.)

Charles Birks' business was established as Robin and Birks in 1864 in Hindley Street. However, Birks started business on his own account in 1871 and moved to a Rundle Street site in 1875.¹⁶³ Following the buoyant 1870s, Birks store was rebuilt three storeys high in the 1880s, and traded under the Charles Birks name until 1953 when it merged with the Sydney store of David Jones. After the 1880s store was demolished in 1961 and rebuilt, David Jones traded on this site until the late 1990s. The David Jones company then bought the John Martins store further along Rundle Mall which was demolished and rebuilt as David Jones' new department store in the late 1990s.¹⁶⁴

The James Marshall store, also once a prominent department store in Rundle Street (now Rundle Mall), was taken over by Myer which demolished the existing 1880s and 1922 buildings in the late 1980s to rebuild a large shopping complex that included many other shops apart from Myers. The Myers redevelopment project also included the utilisation of four major multi-storey buildings on North Terrace.

One of the major stores that was built away from the main retail centre, was the Charles Moore store. A great risk was taken by Charles Moore when he decided to build his reinforced cement department store in Victoria Square close to the Central Market in 1916. However, the rebuilding of market buildings in 1900 had done much to stimulate trade in this part of the city. This was further reaffirmed by the building of a cinema and theatre and many new shops in the vicinity. When the store ceased trading, the large building was successfully refurbished in the late 1980s for use as courts.¹⁶⁵

[SLSA - Moore's Department Store B5447 1929]

Miller Andersons, once the oldest drapery in the city, first began in 1839 as Miller and Gale, a small shop in Hindley Street. In 1922 the first section of their new shop was completed with plans set to demolish the remainder of the earlier building.¹⁶⁶ Miller Andersons traded until 1988 and the building has had a variety of uses since then. Harris Scarfe, in Rundle Mall, which began in 1851 in Grenfell Street and expanded in the 1920s, is now the oldest surviving city department store.

The Melbourne company of Foy & Gibson extended their business in Adelaide in 1906, by demolishing five shops and building a five storey department store. Designed by Alfred Barham Black, it was built on the southern side of Rundle Street East alongside the York Hotel on the corner of Pulteney Street. The Melbourne owners intended to demolish the York Hotel when the lease expired to enable them to build a new hotel on site in 1910 as the Grand Central. However, when their hotel failed to prosper, it was converted to become part of the department store in the 1920s. Foy & Gibson later moved to another part of Rundle Mall and the huge former hotel and shops were demolished in 1976 to provide a parking station.¹⁶⁷

[SLSA - Foy & Gibsons B8129 1908]

Woolworths, 'The Mecca of Thrifty Shoppers', was a late starter in the City of Adelaide. A new building was constructed on the site of Sneyd's shops in Rundle Street and opened on 5 November 1936. Designed by F Kenneth Milne, it was unlike any other city department store, for it had only one huge selling area, 200 x 50 feet, on one level without columns or piers to mar its spaciousness. It had a facade not unlike a cinema, and the ceiling over the selling area was

¹⁶² M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, 1983, p140.

¹⁶³ *South Australian Register*, 27/3/1919 p4g.

¹⁶⁴ M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, 1983, p139.

¹⁶⁵ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 176, 177.

¹⁶⁶ ACC Annual report, 1922 p47.

¹⁶⁷ *South Australian Register* 4/7/1906 p4e.

twenty five feet high. When the Woolworths store was built in the city, there were already fifty others around Australia and New Zealand. The Australasian Woolworths was established by a large group of 2,000 shareholders in 1924, and had no connection with any overseas organisation of the same name. The goods sold by Woolworths in Australia, it was claimed, were more than eighty per cent Australian made and were sold without any frills or other unnecessary expense.¹⁶⁸ The Woolworths store still trades from the same address although the building has gone through many changes, including a major refurbishment at the beginning of the twenty first century and opening up a large basement area, while retaining some of Milne's intent of its major selling space on the ground floor.

[SLSA Woolworths B60653 ca1950]

Department stores were unable to compete with the development of shopping centres in the suburbs and their decline can be seen from the early 1960s. Only David Jones, Myer, Harris Scarfe and Woolworths have survived the suburban competition. However, Adelaide still has many old shops that continue to provide accommodation for the changing trends in the small retail shop sector.

3.6.4 Smaller Retail Establishments

Most residential areas had some small shops which served the local residents' daily needs and examples of these still remain. Hutt Street, O'Connell Street and Sturt Street are evidence of streets that developed into substantial shopping strips.

In the south-western corner of the city, while there are around 200 small scale nineteenth century dwellings, there were few shops which served this close-knit community. However, at 185-187 Sturt Street two attached pre-1880 single storey shops were occupied by butcher George Maskell, and grocer, J H Wychersly in 1882.¹⁶⁹ Soon after both shops were bought by John Austin who transformed the shops into a grocer and drapery. Before 1895 he enlarged the shops by adding a second storey and they became known as Austin's Drapery, Cheap Grocery and Ironmongery Mart. In 1955 the shop was still being operated as a drapery by V C Shaw, but by the 1960s it was occupied by Mine Safety Appliances (Aust) Pty Ltd.¹⁷⁰ A two storey shop in the vicinity at 188-190 Sturt Street is recorded on the 1880 Smith Survey. Over the road is a one storey shop with original windows at 175-177 Sturt Street.¹⁷¹ On the corner of Sturt Street and Whitmore Square the one storey shop built in 1889 at 41-43 Whitmore Square was rented for many years until the 1950s by local West Ender, Harold Grunert from 1939.¹⁷²

[SLSA - Sturt Street shops B32483 ca1890]

[SLSA – Sturt Street shops B46510 ca1895]

In North Adelaide in 1859, on Town Acre 939, James Harrington built a one storey corner shop was alongside a two storey house at 204 Jeffcott Street. He added two more attached houses alongside the earlier house in 1866. Before Harrington built his corner shop and dwelling, he built seven three or four roomed cottages exclusively for the rental market, four of which were still being rented out many years after his death in 1873. The shop was renovated in the late 1990s. Although humble in character, the shop and terraces are of an age and character now poorly represented in the city. By 1860 the early street of Hack Street (formerly Barton Street) comprised more than eleven rateable properties, well served by the corner shop.¹⁷³

There are many other pre-1920 purpose-built shops in local groups or scattered around the city, still trading as shops or now used as cafes, restaurants and offices. One of the earliest shops in

¹⁶⁸ *The Mail* 13/6/1936 p 29d; 31/10/1936 p21.

¹⁶⁹ *South Australian Directory*, 1882.

¹⁷⁰ Bridget Jolly, *Historic south west corner*, 2003, p 24; Smith Survey 1880, SA Directory 1882.

¹⁷¹ Marsden, Stark, & Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 194-95.

¹⁷² Bridget Jolly, *Historic south west corner*, 2003, p 21- 23.

¹⁷³ P Sumerling, Heritage Assessment of 204-208 Jeffcott Street for Paul Stark, circa 1998.

the city is located at 293 Morphett Street on Town Acre 400 and is believed to date from 1848.¹⁷⁴ Referred to as the oldest surviving blacksmith's shop in Adelaide, it demonstrates early building techniques and small scale local businesses dependent on a local community. When the former blacksmith shop and dwelling was renovated about 2001, it was found to have changed little since the then owner's grandparents bought the property in 1913.¹⁷⁵

In May 1959 an article in the *News* titled the 'Changing Face of Hindley Street' referred to it as 'the street of all nations' where it was possible to 'buy anything from a poached snail to a T-bone steak, from a scooter to a posh car'. Following the Second World War, with the transfer of many Hindley Street properties to Italian and Greek immigrant shopkeepers, the mid nineteenth century shop buildings were able to withstand the pressures of rampant development in the progressive years of the 1960s and again in the late 1980s. The tenacity of immigrant owners to hold onto city assets, despite the temptation to sell for development, has meant that the Hindley Street streetscape, mainly comprised of two storey shops, has survived almost intact into the early twenty first century.

Three properties at 311-315 Morphett Street made up of early shops now accommodate the Hellenic Club. They are important for having been owned by members of the Greek community since the 1950s and reflect the city's rich multicultural history. In 1953 a delicatessen and club began at No 311-313 for immigrants from the Peloponnesus region. In 1971, a barber, H Paraskevas managed it as the Hellenic Club for all Greeks. Before 1952, a club of the same name was located in Hindley Street. The Morphett Street clubrooms are well patronised daily as members meet for their special brew of Greek coffee and a game of cards or a dice game known as tavlin.¹⁷⁶ [See also Section 2.3 - Immigration]

[SLSA - Brown/Morphett Streets B12955 1954]

3.7 Professional Services

3.7.1 Background

From the earliest days of European settlement, there were many professional colonists, including doctors, lawyers, architects, bankers, surveyors and engineers, who because of their professional and social standing in the community, had much influence over the daily lives of ordinary people. Not only providing their expertise to make a living, they were often called upon to share their knowledge and advice in the important debates affecting the lives and living conditions of people in the city and South Australia generally.

While the new colony appeared to be endowed with capable lawyers and doctors, the same could not be said for those involved in the physical development of creating a new town. In determining a site for a capital, surveying it and then building Adelaide, the first pioneers headed by Colonel William Light, were lacking in qualified surveyors, engineers and architects. Exacerbating the problem were the petty jealousies and serious factions that had developed among the followers of the newly appointed Governor Hindmarsh and the Resident Commissioner James Hurtle Fisher. Such squabbles seriously hindered the progress of early surveys beyond Adelaide and the undertaking of necessary public works programs during the governorship of Captain Hindmarsh.

3.7.2 Surveyors, Engineers and Early Architects

It was fortunate for the ailing Colonel William Light that he had as his deputy surveyor and 'civil engineer' [the capable George Strickland Kingston] during the first difficult months of settlement in South Australia. While Light is rightly attributed as founder of Adelaide, it is considered that Kingston was instrumental in locating the actual site of the town as well as surveying most of it.¹⁷⁷ Squabbles between Light and Governor Hindmarsh over the site of Adelaide, and then the

¹⁷⁴ *City Messenger*, 'Home, the only home, for Pauline, 73, is Morphett St's 1848 cottage', 26/3/2003 p 14.

¹⁷⁵ B Jolly, *The Historic South West Corner*, p 12.

¹⁷⁶ P Sumerling, *Multicultural Walking Trail*, ACC & History Trust, 2003; *Advertiser*, 'Little Athens' 7/10/1989 p18.

¹⁷⁷ D Langmead, *Accidental Architect: the life and times of George Strickland Kingston*, 1994, p 1.

delays in surveying large tracts of land beyond the town through lack of sufficient surveyors and labourers, all added to the colony's initial problems.

At the outset, European settlement was meant to be concentrated within 150 miles of Adelaide, but after requests from settlers, the Resident Commissioner, JH Fisher, made the decision in July 1838, for a further 1,000 square miles beyond this area to be surveyed. However, the implementation of this decision was hampered by lack of survey staff to undertake the work. When Governor Gawler arrived in October 1838 he quickly increased the surveying department team to nearly 200 workers to undertake the task. Supposedly, 200,000 acres were surveyed within a year.¹⁷⁸

In looking to George S Kingston to design and oversee the construction of permanent public buildings of note in the colony, Gawler made him the first Colonial Architect. Although he was not an architect of note, his two surviving public buildings (parts of Government House and the Adelaide Gaol) are substantial as well as being the oldest in South Australia. His other public building was the original Treasury Building, which was replaced in stages from the mid 1850s (although some elements of the original structure are again visible). Of note is that these three buildings demonstrated that 'the metamorphosis from encampment to capital had begun'.¹⁷⁹

However, Adelaide remained 'in many respects a shanty town' until the mid 1850s with few architects working in the young capital until after that time. Until then some of the major public works schemes were designed and supervised by military engineers such as Edward Charles Frome and Arthur Henry Freeling who were involved in such works as the Adelaide Gaol, roads, bridges, wharf building and waterworks schemes. Other engineers such as William Hanson played prominent roles in railways and the design and construction of the Thorndon Park Reservoir in Campbelltown, which supplied the city with water.¹⁸⁰

From the mid 1850s better qualified architects began practising in Adelaide, forming practices and taking on juniors, who in turn learnt the craft. In this way, not only was Adelaide being graced by superior buildings, but their services were more sought after. The bountiful years of the 1870s ensured enough work for a growing number of architects, some of whom were attracted from the eastern colonies, such as Lloyd Tayler and Michael Egan. Several prominent Adelaide architectural firms can trace their origins back through several generations, such as Woods Bagot, Jackman Parken Evans and F Kenneth Milne.

The city's nineteenth century architects were born overseas, while some local builders, such as Thomas English learned their craft from an architect 'on the job'. However, as the nineteenth century drew to a close a new generation of home grown architects emerged to take up the challenge of 'modernity' presented by the use of new technology in the building trade. This included the increasing use of reinforced concrete and the gradual demand for high rise buildings. New names beginning to appear, went on to dominate the building industry and architectural profession well into the twentieth century. As Michael Page notes by the early 1900s the profession 'included such young men as Philip Claridge, EH McMichael and Frank Kenneth Milne: colonial born architects of the "new breed" who were to become leaders of their profession during the twentieth century'. After the First World War architects such as George G Lawson, JD Cheesman, JC Irwin and Dean Walter Berry became prominent.¹⁸¹

3.7.3 Early Hospitals and the Medical Profession

In the field of medicine, Adelaide fared reasonably well from the earliest days of settlement and many doctors had come out to South Australia as ships' surgeons on immigrant ships.¹⁸² Doctors travelling with the first pioneers included Edward Wright and John Woodforde and they also stayed on in the colony as settlers. In 1844 the Medical Practitioners Act was introduced

¹⁷⁸ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, pp175-77.

¹⁷⁹ D Langmead, *Accidental Architect: the life and times of George Strickland Kingston*, 1994, p 180.

¹⁸⁰ DA Cumming & G Moxham, *They Built South Australia*, 1986, pp2, 64, 66.

¹⁸¹ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space*, 1986, p129-140

¹⁸² D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p 508.

and within five years, fifty of the 109 practising doctors were registered. The earliest doctors were advisers in such matters as the quality and use of the city water supply and public health matters. In February 1849 sixty doctors attended a 'sanitary reform' public meeting, the first expression of concern about health conditions in Adelaide. They continued to lobby parliament until the Public Health Act was finally passed in 1873.¹⁸³

It appears that in the early years of the colony there were as many untrained doctors as trained ones practising (the former sometimes referred to as 'quacks'). Scrutiny of unqualified practitioners, qualifications and medical training only reached parliamentary debate in 1879. By 1887 the first medical students were admitted for training at the University of Adelaide.

A popular Chinese doctor, Lum Yow who was often referred to as a 'quack' because of his 'Cure All' tonic, lived and practised successfully at both 261-262 and 263-265 North Terrace until the 1930s. His memorial is one of the largest in West Terrace Cemetery. Equally as successful and popular despite not being qualified, was colourful Mahomet Allum from Afghanistan who treated the poor for free. For many years from the late 1920s, he was consulted at his residence at 181 Sturt Street.

[SLSA - Mahomet Allum's House B12690 1953]

In 1837 the Colonial Surgeon Dr T Y Cotter, established the colony's first hospital as the Colonial Infirmary, located to the east of Holy Trinity Church on the corner of North Terrace and Morphett Street. The hospital was simply a small thatched cottage. Between May 1839 and 1841 the infirmary was then located at Emigration Square on the West Park Lands. It was convenient for those recently arrived immigrants who were sick and were billeted in this the city's first migrant hostel. With the economic crisis and the hostel becoming an unemployed workmen's camp, the hospital was again re-located in 1841 and established on its present site on the eastern end of North Terrace.

Soon after arriving in Adelaide in March 1839, Dr J P Litchfield advertised himself as a Consulting Physician practising from his house, South Villa, in Gilbert Street.¹⁸⁴ Apart from consulting from his home, he was also appointed to the honorary post of Inspector of Hospitals, a post which he never took up because of questions about whether he was actually qualified or not.¹⁸⁵ He tried unsuccessfully to establish South Australia's first mental hospital in 1841, known as 'Morcroft Mental Hospital' on Barton Terrace in which he offered to accommodate pauper lunatics for a price. Instead, the colony's lunatics were confined at Adelaide Gaol until the Lunatic Asylum was built in 1849, in what is now the Botanic Gardens.¹⁸⁶ While nothing remains of the main asylum buildings, which were demolished in 1938, the morgue, the Lunatic Asylum's Medical Officer's House (now known as Yarrabee House) and the walling fronting North Terrace, all survive.¹⁸⁷ When the Adelaide Hospital was opened in 1856 as two wards in a new brick building, the first three doctors were J G Nash, W Wyatt and G Mayo.¹⁸⁸

Although there were a number of small 'lying-in' hospitals within private houses around the city, to which doctors were summoned when needed, it was not until after the 1870s that more large hospitals, all private, were established in the city. As numbers of hospitals increased, so too did the number of consultants, who often converted existing buildings for their rooms.

Adelaide has had a long tradition of medical consulting rooms on North Terrace. With the development of the Royal Adelaide Hospital, the number of consultants along North Terrace increased markedly. One of the earliest was Dr John Fisher who in 1872 built a pair of semi-detached houses at 263-265 North Terrace. The eastern part was his residence while the

¹⁸³ D Pike, *Paradise of Dissent* p509.

¹⁸⁴ *South Australian Register*, 25/5/1839.

¹⁸⁵ J Estcourt Hughes, *A History of the Royal Adelaide Hospital*, 1987, p9

¹⁸⁶ J Estcourt Hughes, *A History of the Royal Adelaide Hospital*, 1987, p 10.

¹⁸⁷ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p277.

¹⁸⁸ J Estcourt Hughes, *A History of the Royal Adelaide Hospital*, 1987, p 15.

western part was his surgery.¹⁸⁹ By 1914 there were about forty doctors listed as consulting from North Terrace, and an enterprising Dr W A Verco bought and demolished a large North Terrace mansion to construct Adelaide's first 'skyscraper' in 1912. Construction of the Verco Building at 178-179 North Terrace set the trend for the demolition of all but two mansions on the south side of North Terrace for the provision of offices and consulting rooms in the many high rise buildings that were built.

[SLSA - First stage of Verco Building B89 1914]

With the city population over 38,000 by the 1880s, there were plenty of opportunities for the medical fraternity to expand and prosper like Verco. Many city doctors consulted at the growing number of private hospitals (that had increased to ten by 1932). In North Adelaide following the establishment of the Children's Hospital in 1879, Calvary Hospital was founded in 1884 on Strangways Terrace and the Memorial Hospital in 1920 on Sir Edwin Smith Avenue. The Ru Rua Hospital which was established in 1920 at 101-110 Barton Terrace by a syndicate of several prominent doctors, ceased use as a hospital in the 1960s.

[SLSA - Calvary Hospital B8517 ca1907]

In the south part of the city, a German and British Hospital was opened in 1850 in Carrington Street, but it was not successful. While at 14-20 Flinders Street the eccentric Dr Timothy Hynes provided a sanatorium in a former manse which operated between 1901 and 1911. Providing 'the maximum comfort', it was highly regarded as 'a pretty good place in which to suffer'.¹⁹⁰ Still operating is the Wakefield Street Private Hospital which was established in 1883. In South Terrace, the Presbyterian Assembly's St Andrew's Hospital provided twenty beds for medical and surgical cases for many years, and a five storey £400,000 building was first planned in 1958.¹⁹¹ The hospital incorporates within its grounds the large mansion known as Waverley.

3.7.4 Lawyers and the Legal Profession

The legal profession, like the medical profession, is well represented in the city's history through its buildings and historical company names. The earliest purpose built city courts survive, but so too do many historical buildings used as legal chambers.¹⁹² With the South Australian legal system modelled on British law, legislation was often amended and changed to suit local conditions by the ranks of the legal profession who had often moved on to a parliamentary career, where their skills as legislators were highly desirable. 'From the outset, the colony's legal system placed strong reliance on the services of justices of the peace to regulate many legal affairs...'.¹⁹³

South Australia's legal system was first headed by Justice John Jeffcott who 'admitted three Englishmen to practise in the roles of barrister, solicitor and proctor'.¹⁹⁴ Two lawyers who travelled on the first pioneer ships with George Kingston were Charles Mann who went on to become Advocate General for the colony, and James Hurtle Fisher who became Resident Commissioner for the Colonising Commission in London. However, it has been stated that the working of the law in South Australia from 1837 to 1850 was often very much a 'hit and miss affair'.¹⁹⁵ By 1844 there were twenty legal practitioners in the colony.¹⁹⁶ When the profession grew there was a need for the Legal Practitioners Act of 1845 which operated until 1915. Until the Real Property Act of 1857-59, lawyers had the monopoly of land conveyancing, whereafter most of the work was undertaken by 'land brokers' much to the protests of many lawyers, some

¹⁸⁹ S 1990, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 144-145.

¹⁹⁰ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 159-60.

¹⁹¹ ACC *Annual Report*, 1957-58, p 58.

¹⁹² Two legal chambers are utilising former pubs. They were the former Shakespeare Hotel at the corner of Waymouth and Cannon Street and the former Supreme Court Hotel at 7 Gouger Street (known as Jeffcott Chambers). Another legal firm is utilising a former theatre and ballroom in King William Street, on the corner of Carrington Street.

¹⁹³ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs*, 1986, p 121.

¹⁹⁴ P Moore, 'Legal Profession', in *Wakefield History of South Australia* pp313-14

¹⁹⁵ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs*, 1986, p 55.

¹⁹⁶ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs*, 1986, p 78.

of whom had relied solely on this form of work for their income. When the Law Society was formed in 1879 only half of the 113 practitioners joined. By 1933 there were 220 legal practitioners in South Australia.¹⁹⁷ Several of Adelaide's current legal companies can trace their histories to an early legal partnership such as Knox and Hargrave (now Cossof, Cudmore and Knox).¹⁹⁸

Although in 1894 South Australia was one of the first places in the world to extend voting rights to women, it was 1911 before the first woman lawyer practised and 1965 before women were chosen as jury members. [Dame] Roma Mitchell was the first woman in Australia to be made a Queen's Counsel, in 1962, and she was the first woman in the country to be appointed a judge.¹⁹⁹

Early court proceedings were held in temporary rented buildings before the first purpose-built court house appeared in Victoria Square.²⁰⁰ Court sessions had been held in rented premises in Gilles Arcade in the vicinity of the Queen's Theatre, which was an area that was one of the busiest in the city in the 1840s. When the second Judge Charles Cooper took over, he moved the court sessions to rented premises in Halifax Street until his prefabricated timber house arrived from England. When it was erected in Whitmore Square the court room was established in one side of his residence and used as such until 1843. In that year the court sessions moved to the Queen's Theatre where it remained until the next purpose built court house was constructed in Victoria Square on the corner of Angas Street in 1850.²⁰¹

[First Courtroom Supreme - Court of SA Archives - reproduced in *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs*, Alex Castles, p80]

Victoria Square now contains the Magistrates Court, constructed in 1847 as the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court constructed in 1869 as the Local and Insolvency Court. The Sir Samuel Way building which houses the local district courts was adapted from the Charles Moore department store building in the late 1980s.

3.8 Working Men and Women

3.8.1 Background

Regardless of the potential of the land, without a labour supply it was worthless. The Wakefield Scheme of colonising was to combine capital and labour. The capitalist purchased the land, and the money paid for it was used for the fares and wages of men to work it.²⁰² This 'systematic colonization' achieved its main purpose in South Australia, and it transplanted a 'facsimile' of Britain in the form of a stratified society comprising a monied 'gentleman' class of capitalists, and a 'lower' class of small farmers, artisans, and labourers.²⁰³

While well-to-do immigrants were mainly attracted by cheap land and what it could produce, some of the reasons working-class immigrants were attracted to South Australia were incentives such as free passages, cheap land and available work. But for this latter group of immigrants such incentives were not always guaranteed. As immigrants found out, timing was crucial. If they arrived when the market was flooded with new arrivals, competition for work forced wages down. Worse, as happened during recessions, immigrants arrived to find there were no jobs at all. In the history of early migration when communication between Great Britain and Australia was poor, it was impossible to synchronise the numbers of immigrants arriving with the current local demand for labour.

¹⁹⁷ P Moore, 'Legal Profession', p314.

¹⁹⁸ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs* p79.

¹⁹⁹ Susan Magarey, 'Roma Flinders Mitchell' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, p 358-9.

²⁰⁰ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs* , p55.

²⁰¹ A Castles & M Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Wigs* , p80-3.

²⁰² W H Marcus, *South Australia. Its History, Resources and Production*, 1876, p126

²⁰³ J Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*, p 29.

In the formative days of European settlement there were various ways of guaranteeing work for arriving immigrants, especially for those whose passages were paid for. Specialised recruitment schemes, which operated throughout Britain, guaranteed jobs for agricultural labourers, governesses and domestic servants. Depending on the recruitment schemes available, free passages were provided or the fare was borrowed through the agencies. One of the major features of the early Wakefield Scheme was that a migrant applying for a free passage for himself and his family was indentured on arrival in South Australia for at least two years. While this eliminated the task of searching for work on arrival, under the Masters and Servants Act 1837, a migrant could be imprisoned for six months for deserting his employer.

The importance of this Act was demonstrated by it being the third to be passed in the new colony. However, after two years it was repealed when it was realised that it was not appropriate for a new colony boasting of being a free society.²⁰⁴ Its scrapping coincided with the beginning of the first economic crisis and many workers, no longer bound by the Act, found themselves unemployed, including many who had been employed by the colonial government on public works schemes. By the end of 1842 one in seven of the colony's population was dependent on government relief.²⁰⁵

When wage earners protested at Governor Grey's dismissal of government workers in 1841, meetings were held at public houses and the Queens Theatre, which was then the largest venue in town. Speakers complained 'of broken promises, of being "lured" to the colony and of a "coalition between capitalists and government" aimed at driving down wages'. The government quickly responded by renewing the Masters and Servants Act.²⁰⁶ The renewal of the Act in 1841 (which operated until 1972, with amendments from time to time) was not only a form of control over an unruly workforce but could be viewed as a form of protection of workers' welfare during an economic downturn.²⁰⁷ While indentured labourers were imprisoned at the newly constructed Adelaide Gaol for desertion, their employers were also convicted for such failures as provision of no wages or unsatisfactory accommodation. However, during an economic upturn when wages were high and labour in demand, the Act saw many an articulated or indentured migrant absconding in search of better opportunities. When the Act was reinstated, Governor Grey made amends for his hardline policies and eased the conditions of many of the unemployed in the city by providing food and board at the former Emigration Depot on the Adelaide Park Lands, off West Terrace, in return for labour in small public works projects.

Immigrants committing themselves to a free passage in return for work on arrival sometimes found that the wages agreed upon before migrating bore no relevance to Adelaide prices where the cost of living was twice as high as in England.²⁰⁸ When assisted immigrants (often called 'Jemmies') arrived without jobs, they were allowed to stay with their families aboard the ship they arrived on for a fortnight, while they looked for work and a place to live. Following their arrival in South Australia, the Emigration Agent also helped assisted immigrants to find suitable work.²⁰⁹ Public houses were places visited in search of job vacancies for they not only acted as employment exchanges and provided daily newspapers in their 'reading rooms', but gave space for many businesses to set up, like an 'Accountant and Land Agent', who set up office at the Tam O'Shanter Tavern in Hindley Street in 1839.²¹⁰

The early economic crisis, which saw large numbers of unemployed leaving the city in search of work, had the unexpected advantage of boosting a rural labour force that gave valuable stimulus in the agricultural areas. Their efforts contributed to successful harvests following 1842, for many

²⁰⁴ John Cashen, 'Social Foundations of South Australia: Owners of Labour', in E Richards, *Flinders Social History of South Australia*, 1986, p 105. When the Act was renewed, it was not repealed until 1972.

²⁰⁵ John Cashen, 'Social Foundations of South Australia': p 107. An Emigration Board was established to provide food to persons who could prove their genuine destitution.

²⁰⁶ John Cashen, 'Social Foundations of South Australia': p 108, J Moss, p19-20.

²⁰⁷ Jim Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*, 1986, p16.

²⁰⁸ D Adair, *Respectable, Sober and Industrious: A Social History of Public Houses and Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide, 1836-C.1870*, Hons Thesis, Flinders University, 1989.

²⁰⁹ J Cashen, 'Owners of Labour', in *Flinders Social History of SA*, p106.

²¹⁰ *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 15/6/1839.

stayed on in the rural areas to provide the essential labour needed. By 1847 the population of the city was given 'as 7,413 of whom 453 were employers and 1,730 were workers in various trades'.²¹¹ Following discovery of gold in the eastern colonies, there was a dramatic rise of men deserting the established work agreements for opportunities to be found on the gold-fields.

3.8.2 Working Conditions and Trade Unions

From the earliest days of European settlement, employees complained about poor working conditions, long hours and poor wages. Indeed the first known strike was within Colonel Light's own camp, when his survey labourers protested against the twelve shillings a week they had contracted for before they left England. Upon arrival, they found that locals were earning up to fifteen shillings a day. Those caught out by this system were called 'two shillings a day slaves'.²¹²

Advertisements for the formation of trades unions began within two years of European settlement when a general meeting for mechanics was advertised 'to consider the necessity of instituting a trade society'.²¹³ Most of the early union meetings met in pubs as did trade organisations, such as the plumbers and carpenters who met at the Sir John Barleycorn.

In early August 1854, there was 'notice given by employers to reduce wages', bricklayers, carpenters and labourers met at the Royal Hotel at 65 Hindley Street (now 75) to consider the proposal.²¹⁴ A week later on 14 August 1854, 1,500 working people met at a 'Great Open Air Meeting' on the Park Lands with plans to resist lower wages by forming the Working Men's Association.²¹⁵

In the same year not only were tradesmen complaining. There was serious discontent for those in the retail trade where public demand saw shops such as drapers, grocers, confectioners, chemists and hairdressers stay open for up to fourteen hours a day with even longer hours on Saturday.²¹⁶ In a rare demonstration of respect for his employees' health, S Bakewell insisted on closing his shop at 6 pm.²¹⁷ Other shopkeepers (grocers, drapers and ironworkers) followed Bakewell and even formed the Early Closing Association. While it was 1876 before trades unions were legalised and allowed to seek better wages and conditions from employers, it took until 1886 before legislation for the eight hour day came to pass.

Many important factories operated within the city boundary until the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. However, there was also a growing number of larger factories being built outside of the city such as those at Gawler and Islington, for the manufacturing and maintenance of locomotives. Factories also moved beyond the city because of rising land prices and strong moves against noxious trades, but often not without a fight by the Adelaide City Council and nearby residents forced to succumb to noise, smell, fumes and other pollutants. From the speculative boom period of the 1870s when small workshops grew into factories employing more than six employees, there was much colonial government involvement to regulate the operations of noxious works and work conditions of employees.

Working conditions in factories within the city were often poor. For example 'in 1888 engineers and metal-workers at Fulton's foundry (on the north side of Currie Street) sometimes worked continuously from 6.30 am one day until 5 pm on the following day, and until 10 pm on other nights - totting up eighty-four hours a week, and then wondering why they were 'feeling rather knocked up'.²¹⁸ One of Adelaide's earliest clothing and boot-making factories was opened in

²¹¹ J Moss, p22, quoted from GB Wilkinson, *The Working Man's Handbook to SA*, 1849.

²¹² W Light, *Brief Journal of the Proceedings of William Light*, pp 69,70.

²¹³ Jim Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*, 1986, p16.

²¹⁴ *South Australian Register*, 10/8/1854. The Royal Hotel ceased trading in 1921.

²¹⁵ The Working Men's Association formed 11 Sept which would also conduct classes 3 evenings a week for moral improvement, in writing, arithmetic, grammar and elocution. Jim Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*, 1986, p76.

²¹⁶ M Cannon, *Life in the Cities*, p283.

²¹⁷ J Moss, p108.

²¹⁸ M Cannon, *Life in the cities*, 1983, p 272.

1867 off Waymouth Street east of Topham Street. This was the Clothing and Shirt Factory run by D & W Murray, which employed 200 men by 1880.²¹⁹ The Union Boot Factory Company was located on the south side of Grenfell Street on the corner of Wyatt Street. In Stephen's Place, off North Terrace, was the G&R Wills shirt factory, and the main part of the company's buildings survive at 201-205 North Terrace.

The United Trades and Labor Council formed on 31 January 1884 'for the purpose of uniting more closely the various trade societies and for discussing unitedly any question affecting the welfare of any society and also for the purpose of exerting more political influence in the colony'.²²⁰ It was established alongside the Hotel Franklin, formerly the Bristol Hotel, at 88-92 Franklin Street. The hall became incorporated into the hotel, when the UTLC moved to its bigger Trades Hall in Grote Street in 1896. It moved to bigger premises on South Terrace in the early 1970s.

[SLSA - First Trades Hall adjacent Bristol Tavern B30206 ca1894]

3.8.3 Working Women

Single women arriving in South Australia usually took up positions as governesses, teachers and domestic servants and other forms of domestic work, like the 'mangle woman' Miss Russell who lived off Surfle Street in 1882.²²¹ There were few alternative occupations for women until about the mid 1860s when they were employed in the growing number of factories, such as Murray's and the Union Boot Factory, making clothing and footwear. Women were also employed in the millinery industry. While nothing remains of the J Leaver & Co Hat makers on the south side of Rundle Mall between Gawler Place and Twin Street, the building of the Adelaide Hat Manufacturing Company which was situated in George Street, North Adelaide, is now converted for residential use.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it became more difficult to find domestic servants, but keen to find positions for potential servants was the Female Servants' Registry Office situated on the northern side of Wakefield Street, between Ackland Street and Daly Street. However, while women increasingly turned away from domestic work for the greater 'freedom' that came from working within factories, like the men, they had to endure poor working conditions.

For more than forty years from settlement there was little regard given to the working conditions and wages in the city's factories. In this environment, more women were working outside the home where they were a cheap form of labour in laundries, clothing and footwear factories when compared to what men's wages were. Eleven shillings per week for an eleven hour day or 4/6d for making a dozen shirts was a typical wage for a woman in 1887. These types of workplaces which paid very low wages to semiskilled or non skilled workers (mainly women), for long hours of work were known as 'sweat shops'. The Standard Steam Laundry in Eliza Street was built in 1884 by wealthy John Rounsevell for renting out as a laundry, and is representative of such a nineteenth century work place where allegations of 'sweating' took place.

The keen competition between manufacturers in South Australia and interstate led to this extreme practice of 'sweating'. Allegations of these practices began to surface around the late 1880s, and protest meetings led to a Working Women's Trade Union. In 1892 a Royal Commission acknowledged that there was 'an entire absence of any legislative provision for the protection of women and children in relation to their hours of labour'.²²² Mrs Auguste Zadow was appointed the first female factory inspector by the Working Women's Trade Union in 1893 and inspected 120 factories in the city and metropolitan area where women and children under sixteen were employed.

²¹⁹ M Cannon, *Life in the cities*, 1983, p 182.

²²⁰ J Moss, 'South Australia's Colonial Labour Movement', in *Insights into South Australian History*, Historical Society of South Australia, Vol. 1, 1992, p70.

²²¹ *South Australian Directory* 1882, p47. A mangle was used to wring the water from washed clothes.

²²² M Cannon, *Life in the cities*, 1983, p286.

Although there was a Factories Act of 1894 which required registration and inspection of all factories in order mainly to protect women and children, the Act was a failure in not being able to overcome sweating practices. This led to a government inquiry into 'the alleged sweating evil' which brought to light the poor pay that women received in the shirt making industry. Mrs Ann Hamilton of Spencer Street, who worked for Habib Brothers in Waymouth Street, received wages of 2/- per dozen shirts or 2/6 per dozen for shirts with double seams. In an eight hour shift she could finish a dozen shirts.²²³

Apart from working in a factory or being domestic servants, women were dressmakers, shop assistants, school teachers, publicans, telephonists and nurses. The number of women in the skilled areas of schoolteachers, governesses and music teachers rose from 1,718 in 1891 to 2,345 in 1901.²²⁴ With the increasing number of women becoming nurses as the Royal Adelaide Hospital grew larger and new hospitals were established, a nurses' home was built and opened in 1911 in Frome Road.²²⁵ This was known as the Margaret Graham Nurses' Home and is still used for student accommodation

[SLSA - Margaret Graham building B5807 ca1909]

3.8.4 Government Administrative Work

Until the 1950s, activities of the government were confined to a few buildings in the Victoria Square area. They included the former Treasury Building (now the Medina Grand Hotel), the Torrens Building, the several court buildings, the Marine & Harbours Board Building, and the Education Building in Flinders Street. Beyond Victoria Square, other places where government work was carried out were the Royal Adelaide Hospital, the South Australian Railways, Engineering Water Supply on the Park Lands, Municipal Tramways Trust in Dequetteville Terrace and police activities at Thebarton Barracks, the Mounted Police Barracks off North Terrace, and the Observatory site adjacent to the Adelaide High School.

The administrative structures of government required the development of the 'Public Service' through which parliamentarians with or without portfolios interacted with specific departments. Included in the public service were the various court systems, Police Department, the Lands Department, Colonial Secretary's Office (now the Premier's Department), Education Department, the Department of Community Welfare, Marine and Harbours, Attorney General, Government Printers, SA Railway, Highways Department, and so on.

[SLSA - Torrens Building B7492 ca1883]

[SLSA - Education Building B5812 1920. Demolished: new building constructed in 1973]

The Public Service had disorganised beginnings, although when Governor Grey left the colony in October, 1845, he left a streamlined civil service staffed in the main by experienced professional officers.²²⁶ Even so, it was claimed that before 1852 the public service was considered 'undistinguished; frequently inefficient, badly organised and generally neglected by its masters'.²²⁷

Under Governor Gawler, several major city buildings were constructed for the administration of the major departments. The most important was the Treasury Building which was first constructed as a single storey stone U-shaped building with cellars in 1839. Within it, most of the government departments, other than those for the courts system and the police, were accommodated. Following the effects of the Victorian gold-rush, the building was rebuilt in two and three storey sections, in about eight different periods up until 1908. With expansion of the public service throughout the speculation boom years of the 1870s, the Torrens Building fronting

²²³ SAPP 71/1904, *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the alleged Sweating Evil*, Pt II.

²²⁴ H Jones, 'Women at Work in South Australia 1889-1906', in *HSSA Insights into SA History*, Vol 1, 1992, p95.

²²⁵ Marsden, Stark & Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 273-274.

²²⁶ Ian & Jane Robbins, 'The History of the South Australian Public Service' in *Flinders (Political) History of South Australia*, 1986, p 451.

²²⁷ Bruce Guerin, 'Public Service' in *Wakefield Companion History of SA*, p 433.

Victoria Square was built in 1881 and the enormous Education Building in Wakefield Street was built in 1911, but demolished to be replaced in the early 1970s. When the Engineering Department expanded and incorporated the water supplies and irrigation, a large administration complex was built on the East Park Lands on the corner of Dequetteville Terrace and Botanic Road, where many of its services remained until the mid twentieth century.

The few government departments which had influence over so many colonists' lives increased throughout the nineteenth century to peak at seventy one before they were restructured through the 1916 Public Service Act. Thereafter the number dropped to fifty by 1981.²²⁸ The numbers of public service employees rose from less than 2,000 during the Great Depression to over 14,000 in 1986.²²⁹

Government departments have also sub-contracted in the public sphere, through government tenders, to undertake specialised work, so that local companies, such as G E Fulton in Currie Street won valuable contracts in 1884 for manufacturing special cast iron sewerage pipes (over 29,700 tons worth in a six year period), which had previously been imported. Similarly James Martin & Co beat British importers for the building of locomotives in Gawler.²³⁰

In the nineteenth century the SA colonial government 'focused its attention mainly on economic development in relation to transport, communication, agriculture, irrigation, mining, roadways and so on.' In the twentieth century the departments of social services, health, welfare and education expanded into huge administrative bodies.²³¹

3.8.5 Making Crime Pay: Prostitution

As the oldest profession in the world, prostitution in Adelaide was well established by the 1850s. Light Square and the north west corner of the city were generally well known for prostitutes and brothels from 1840s through to the 1900s. In 1850 it was said of the locality 'a number of pestiferous dens exist in Light Square and its neighbourhood, which may be considered the moral cesspools of the city of Adelaide. Squalid filth and fetid vice render the atmosphere rank as with unwholesome weeds.'²³² Many of the complaints were directed at the nearby New Queen's Theatre in Gilles Arcade which was condemned as a 'hotbed of demoralisation whose impure precincts no lady could enter'.²³³

By May 1851 activities of prostitutes in the vicinity of Rosina Street (a street that connects Currie with Hindley Street), then one of the busiest localities in the city (there were 26 rateable properties on the one fronting Hindley Street), so outraged residents that they inserted notices in the daily newspapers alerting readers to the 'Monster Brothel', which it was noticed that prominent citizens frequented.²³⁴ A month later a meeting was held by local hotel publicans at the Prince of Wales Tavern in Currie Street, to discuss the problem.²³⁵ One of the concerns was that the presence of so many prostitutes operating in the West End would jeopardise plans for a market in the Light Square area.²³⁶ Contributing to the rising number of prostitutes at this time were Irish orphans who made up about forty two per cent of Adelaide's prostitute population.²³⁷ Later, between 1871 and 1882, 54.5 per cent of those admitted to the Girls' Reformatory as child prostitutes were declared to be of Irish Catholic background.²³⁸

²²⁸ Ian & Jane Robbins, 'SA Public Service', p470.

²²⁹ Ian & Jane Robbins, 'SA Public Service', p463.

²³⁰ CJR Linge, *Industrial Awakening: A Geography of Australian Manufacturing 1788 to 1890*, 1979, pp 602- 603.

²³¹ A Parkin, 'Government' in *Wakefield Companion History*, p230.

²³² *Observer*, 9/2/1850, supplement.

²³³ *Observer*, 9/3/1850.

²³⁴ *Mercury & SA Sporting Chronicle* 17/5/1851 - advertisement denouncing Rosina Street as a Monster Brothel and sly grog shop.

²³⁵ *Observer* 7/6/1851 p2.

²³⁶ *Observer*, 7 June 1851 p5.

²³⁷ CW Parkin, *Irish Female Immigration to SA during the Great Famine*, BA Hons thesis Uni of Adelaide, 1964.

²³⁸ S Horan, *More sinned against than sinning: Prostitution in South Australia 1836-1914*, Hons thesis, Flinders University, 1978.

One of the easiest ways to meet prostitutes was at city hotels. The Crown and Anchor in Grenfell Street in the 1860s had a brothel next door, as did the Royal Oak in Hindley Street. The Colonel Light Hotel (now the Heritage Hotel) and its adjoining theatre in Light Square, had a notorious reputation made worse by the many prostitutes who frequented it. Consequently, it was regularly raided by the police. Samuel Boddington who was its publican from 1867 until 1888, owned a row of cottages nearby in Phillips Street, which the *Observer* for 25 January 1879 claimed were 'leased out at a high rent to women of ill fame.' Described as 'cramped filthy hovels', they were referred to by the *South Australian Register* of 1 October 1877 as 'Boddington's Row'. However, legally, unless a couple was actually caught *in flagrante delicto* it was difficult to press charges. It was not unknown for working girls to have several aliases to make their whereabouts difficult to trace by the police.

By the 1920s prostitution activities had shifted from the north-western part of the city and were concentrated around the south-western corner of the city, particularly Sturt Street. It was a well known practice in this period for brothels to have a facade to their business in the form of a small cool drink shop.²³⁹ In 1925 while there were still plenty of brothels throughout the city, the police noted that there were no brothels operating in the south-eastern part of the city at that time. In 1928 as the hardships of the economic climate intensified, there were ten brothels situated between 14 and 105 Sturt Street. Apart from running cool drinks shop to disguise their more important activity, newsagents, tobacconists and sly grog shops were also established.

Pimps who acted for prostitutes as protectors 'were generally petty criminals with convictions for larceny, breaking and entering, unlawful possession as well as the usual vagrancy and insufficient means'.²⁴⁰ The Suppression of Brothels Act 1907 which was directed at breaking the relationship between pimp and prostitute, was not successful, nor were the many forms of legislation that followed. Instead, as the trade was seen as inevitable, journalist C W Chandler called for 'State regulation by medical inspection and licensing'.²⁴¹ Indeed, in a sobering reminder an Adelaide detective wrote 'prostitution...has been with us since our Fore Fathers' time of Biblical fame and will be with us till the end, as long as human nature is what it is...'.²⁴²

And so prostitution continued to flourish in Adelaide. In 1974 a new front for prostitution was introduced in the form of massage parlours offering topless massage. By 1977 there were twenty two such establishments. Because prostitution was not legalised, brothels then operated under the guise of massage parlours, with control exercised by the Police and by Planning Legislation. In 1980 the number of establishments decreased to fifteen, but the council could only prosecute if parlours were in residential or adjacent areas.²⁴³ By 1984 prostitution services were transformed by the use of 'escort' girls who were able to visit homes, hotels or motels from an agency or from their home. This was a fruitful period and saw the rise of one particular city establishment that could not be ignored because of the popular madam who ran it.

Moreover, while there are few places in the city that survive as a reminder of the sex industry, nothing epitomises the industry in this period more prominently than 'Stormy Summers' former bordello in Waymouth Street facing North Street. It was built during the mini-economic boom of the late 1980s.

3.8.6 Bookmakers

Some occupations such as that of bookmaker have been legal in some periods and not in others; or legal on the racecourse but not off it. Gambling was rife in South Australia from early European settlement, as it was throughout the country. While gambling took all forms such as with cards, sport, Two-Up, raffles and other games of chance, it provided an occupation for the bookmaker who took slips for anything on which a bet could be made.

²³⁹ State Records, GRG5/2/1925/1728.

²⁴⁰ Rod Keeley, 'Prostitution in South Australia in the late nineteenth century', *History Forum*, Journal of the SA History Teachers' Association, October, 1982.

²⁴¹ CW Chandler, *Darkest Adelaide and Sidelights of City Life*, 1907, p31.

²⁴² State Records, GRG5/2/1913/851 and Police Commissioners Report 30/9/1851.

²⁴³ ACC Controller of Health and Community services and director of planning - Prostitution and brothels - discussion paper - May 1984.

Bookmakers operated quite successfully and were legal on racetracks until 1883. Then, following public campaigns, they were banished for five years from the colony's race tracks. They were reintroduced when it was realised that, 'the race clubs dissolved, the Adelaide Cup was run at Flemington in Melbourne and the economy suffered'.²⁴⁴ For the five years duration, racetrack bookmakers were replaced by a mechanical on-course totalisator. By 1907 apart from legal bookmakers allowed to operate on racetracks, all forms of public gambling away from the racetracks were prohibited. However, like any practice that is prohibited, it simply shifted to operate 'underground' - and so bookmakers continued to flourish illegally in the city. Every city hotel had its own 'bookie' and if it was large and popular, several were needed with their assistants, to cope with the demand, plus a 'nit-keeper' or lookout. Bookie Dick Williamson and his nit-keeper operated at the Criterion Hotel in King William Street in the mid 1920s.²⁴⁵ Not only did gambling flourish, but the police took bribes not to interfere with gambling operations around the hotels and those not licensed to operate on the race-track. Consequently fourteen police were sacked in 1927 as a result of a government inquiry into bribery and corruption. Gambling continued unabated until a royal commission was held into gambling in 1933. Out of this inquiry, it was declared that there were at least 643 illegal SP (Starting Price) bookmakers operating in South Australia with fifteen per cent of adults placing bets off-course.

Unable to prohibit gambling, the government regulated the industry by legalising betting shops from 1933 for eight years until February 1942 when during wartime Premier Playford closed down horseracing and the betting shops in South Australia. But betting continued illegally, for horseracing still took place for a period longer interstate and there were telephones and the 'wireless' that broadcast the interstate races. And this did not stop gambling in hotels, clubs, public reserves at ovals, and the Central Market.²⁴⁶ One of the city's well known bookmakers was Arnold 'Treacle' Fimeri who lived in Gray Street in the West End (his house was demolished, although attached houses both sides of Gray Street still survive which he bought in the early 1960s to prevent their demolition). Fimeri was one of the city's colourful personalities. He had a betting shop in the Hooker Building at the corner of Morphett and Hindley streets and before the Second World War employed around eight assistants.²⁴⁷

Punters who listened to the 'wireless' in hotels and clubs for the racing broadcasts from interstate continued to make bets with the resident bookie. The Tattersalls Club, at 12-14 Grenfell Street, had a sophisticated warning system installed following the ban on horseracing in the state from 28 February 1942. The system alerted the members on the first floor to approaching police. However, the club was caught out, denounced as a 'common gaming house' and closed down for several months. After several weeks of police surveillance, it was raided when 100 members were listening in to the radio broadcasting of an interstate race.²⁴⁸

In 1967 off-course bookmakers were replaced by the government-run totalisator, while legal bookmakers still operate at the racetracks. However, it was well known that illegal bookmakers still continued to operate in hotels for many years. Following the advice 'if you can't beat them, join them' the government legalised many forms of gambling from the mid 1960s, including the introduction of lotteries, in such a way as to be a major recipient of gambling revenue.

3.8.7 Dealing with Unemployment and Homelessness

[See also Section 3.2 - Economic Cycles and Section 4.5 - Residential Development, Building Types and Living Conditions]

South Australia has a history of long periods of unemployment and some elements of a rudimentary welfare system were established from the earliest days of European settlement to

²⁴⁴ John O'Hara, 'Gambling', in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 219-220.

²⁴⁵ SAPP 58, 1927, Second Royal Commission on Allegations of Bribery against Police Officers, p V.

²⁴⁶ SAPP No 58 & 64, 1927, Bribery against Police Officers. Several city pubs named. Samuel Lampard, a bookie, got his mother who ran a stall in Central Market, to pay £2 per month from her stall to police to bribe them not to interfere in Lampard's activities.

²⁴⁷ SAPP No 58 & 64, 1927, Bribery against Police Officers, p 270.

²⁴⁸ State Records, GRG5/2/1942/1437 - Alleged bookmaking at Tattersalls.

address the situation. The early colonial government, headed by Governor Grey between 1840 and 1842, made attempts to diffuse the severity of the colony's first economic crisis by persuading the city's unemployed to find work in the rural areas. For those who remained in the city, food and board was given at the Emigration Depot off West Terrace, in return for their labour.

The Destitute Board, which was established in 1849 to care for the colony's dependent, deserving poor, provided rations from its Destitute Asylum complex off Kintore Avenue. This was necessary when a mini-recession was created by the mass exodus of workers to the Victorian gold-fields.

[SLSA - Destitute Asylum B1024 ca1868]
[SLSA – Rear of Destitute Asylum B7462 1935]

The Destitute Asylum continued this work during the economic depression in the late 1880s and 1890s, when hundreds of unemployed and their families were dependent on some assistance from the government. At some time in the 1890s 'a party of unemployed men were permitted to doss down in part of the empty Exhibition Buildings on North Terrace' (now where the Napier Building at the University of Adelaide is located).²⁴⁹

Apart from the Destitute Asylum providing assistance to the unemployed, more non-government philanthropic organisations were established from the 1860s, and provided relief to those who needed it. The City Mission, established in July 1867, met in the former theatre in Gilles Arcade during the 1870s until their own purpose-built premises at 67-71 Light Square was constructed in 1878. For around forty years, the mission fed the poor and the down-and-outs, and gave English lessons to the local Chinese from these premises. Until recently, the building was used as a nightclub.

Alternative places of accommodation for the homeless were few. However, following the formation of the Salvation Army in Adelaide in 1880, one of the major places in which homeless men could find refuge was the Peoples' Palace at 87-95 Pirie Street which was converted from the original German Club into a hostel in 1899. This property was used for homeless men until 1979. Similarly, the Salvation Army provided accommodation in their Prison Gate Home at 67-70 Whitmore Square for a number years until it was replaced by the William Booth Memorial Home. Several philanthropic institutes were established in Whitmore Square apart from the Salvation Army. St Vincent De Paul's operated an establishment which also provided accommodation for homeless men until into the late twentieth century.

[SLSA - Salvation Army Hostel B69114]

Not all organisations were sympathetic to those who through no fault of their own found themselves unemployed and homeless. In March 1894, a group of men finding themselves in this situation were sleeping out in the Botanic Park when they were subject to a pre-dawn police raid and hauled off to the City Watchhouse before appearing in the Police Court. Charged with trespassing by the Botanic Gardens Board, they were fined, but obviously unable to pay their fines because of the situation that led them to sleep in the park in the first place, they were all imprisoned for two months.²⁵⁰

At the peak of the Great Depression, which lasted from between the late 1920s and about 1934, half of all workers in South Australia were unemployed.²⁵¹ Those out of work sought assistance from the Relief Office at the Destitute Asylum, but before receiving any relief an applicant needed to fill in forms signed by a Justice of the Peace declaring they were destitute. Numbers seeking assistance increased from about 6,000 in the mid 1920s to 88,000 in 1931.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ B Dickey, *Rations, Residence, Resources: A history of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*, 1986, pp 122-125.

²⁵⁰ *Observer*, 24/3/1894, p 31; See also *SA Register* 12/2/1894 p6 for 'The haunts of the hungry and homeless- a night in the parks'; *Express* 8/2/1894 p2c, 'The unemployed - sleeping out'.

²⁵¹ R Broomhill, 'On the Dole in Adelaide during the Great Depression' in *HSSA Insights into South Australian History*, Vol 1, 1992, p100.

²⁵² B Dickey, *Rations, Residence, Resources: A history of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*, 1986, pp 181.

As in the 1890s, during the 1930s depression the Exhibition Building on North Terrace (demolished in 1962) became a huge temporary dormitory for the unemployed. But not all unemployed homeless men wanted to stay within this environment. Instead, the unemployed homeless were treated with more compassion when the city corporation allowed campsites along the River Torrens for more than eight years.²⁵³ The original idea to camp on the banks of the Torrens came from several men who had rejected the noisy confines of the Exhibition Building in 1930 where 350 men had been given temporary shelter by the state government. Not wanting to associate with those who were 'a bit unruly', they opted to camp on the Torrens banks because they 'desired quietness and peace'. Between the end of summer in 1930 and 1938 homeless unemployed men camped in large numbers in tents and huts along the banks of the river. The corporation took no action to remove them and the numbers grew very rapidly to over 150 individuals. The campers along the banks of the Torrens lived in three main sites between the Hackney and Hindmarsh bridges. One of these locations was to the rear of the Zoo on the banks of the river on the southern side. The other two campsites were on each side of the Torrens Lake near the weir. On the south side of the river by the weir around eighteen Maltese men set up residence together. During the first six months the campers were a mixed bunch including some with criminal records, who after a series of serious incidents, were quickly expelled by the police. Thereafter they made sure no criminals camped there.

The 'camps' were initially basic constructions of bags, timber, flattened out kerosene tins and corrugated iron. Features such as sunshades were erected from corrugated iron, and sometimes huts even had small fire-places attached. Pleasant during the warmer months, the campsites were prone to being flooded out in the cooler months, such as in September 1931.

From 1934 as men found employment and moved on, the numbers dropped to a hard core of around fifty three men and remained static for two years. Although the men were mostly on rations or old age pensions, several found odd jobs that lasted a day or two at a time, but which was not enough to pay board at a more permanent address. For some 'there was a sense of pride' in the way they kept their camps with several of them surrounded by well kept little gardens. One Maltese camper kept a dozen hens while some owned dogs which were fully licensed.

[SLSA - Homeless camp B5800 1930]

The economic situation had improved by 1934. In December 1935 the city council decided to close the camps and they were given notice to quit by 31 March 1938. The council's Medical Officer of Health wrote 'the camping ground is availed of in most cases by the privileged few as a cheap way of living with an absence of restriction. I say privileged few and sympathy can be carried too far'. Concerned groups protested on their behalf at their impending removal from their 'smallholdings'. However, by the end of February 1938 only thirty five campers remained.

The unemployment camps along the Torrens were closed down on 1 April 1938. On that day the corporation arranged for a lorry and staff to remove the debris and rubbish. When the last of the camps were swept away, campers' lengths of occupancy had ranged from three to eight years.²⁵⁴ At the height of the Depression, as many as 400 men were estimated to have camped not only in the city area of the River Torrens, but up the river as far as 'Gumeracha and Birdwood'.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers*, p161.

²⁵⁴ P Sumerling, *A Social History of the Adelaide Park Lands*, 2004, unpublished.

²⁵⁵ Elizabeth Kwan, *Living in South Australia*, Vol 2, pp10-11; also see Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide*, 1978, pp 157-8.

4.0 BUILDING ADELAIDE

4.1 Introduction

Apart from tents, the earliest buildings constructed in Adelaide were prefabricated wooden buildings from Britain or pisé using clay mud from the river banks. But limestone lying close to the surface and the river's extensive clay deposits meant that brick and stone soon replaced mud and timber for more substantial buildings. Surviving brick buildings from the late 1830s and early 1840s include the Ebenezer Chapel in Brougham Court, the Sheridan Theatre in MacKinnon Parade and Buffalo Cottage in Finniss Street. The Adelaide Gaol is also an important example of early building construction dating from 1841.

[SLSA - Buffalo Cottage B7123 1936]

[SLSA - North Terrace and Trinity Church B6821 1845]

[SLSA - Government House B16064 ca1845]

By the 1850s the Adelaide City Council had banned timber construction and bluestone quarried from Glen Osmond had become a popular building material. This went on to become a distinctive feature of the Adelaide built environment. Public buildings were constructed in the parklands reserve along the northern side of North Terrace, including Government House, and the Holy Trinity Church of England was also built on North Terrace. (Refer also Section 3.3 Utilising Natural Resources)

King William Street as the City's major thoroughfare contained many financial and commercial institutions, while the narrower cross streets remained the centre of retail focus with small shops and hotels. Adelaide was called a 'City of Churches' but it was equally a 'City of Hotels'. Over 120 hotels existed in 1880 about one third of which survive. (Refer also Section 6.4 - Hotels)

Between 1870 and 1880 there was a substantial increase in building within the city. The building of private houses more than doubled between 1875 and 1876, but provision of a deep drainage system to cope with the expansion of the city's population was not completed until 1885. Further commercial development, particularly along the main retail streets within the city, also expanded the built environment of Adelaide at the time. Most buildings at this stage were below four storeys and it was not until the early twentieth century that more intensive and higher development was undertaken with a change in building materials and the production of elevators.

During the twentieth century this multi-storey office construction, particularly the early skyscrapers from the immediate pre and post World War One period, continued to alter the physical character of the city. The city planning of the 1960s resulted in the removal of many early buildings through the widening of roads to accommodate the constantly growing requirements of motor vehicles.

4.2 Development of City Services

4.2.1 Water Supply

One of the first city services was a primitive water supply made available by water carriers. This was not improved upon for more than twenty years, until in 1860 piped hygienic potable water from Thorndon Park Reservoir was finally made available to the city population of around 18,000. Control of early water supplies was by the infant City Corporation which issued water licences to the water carters until 1842 and again from 1849 through the City Commission and the reformed Adelaide City Council from 1852 to 1860. When the reticulated water supply was turned on, making water-carters redundant, the colonial government took over control and excluded the City Corporation from any revenue made by the supply of water.

The arrival of the first immigrants in the city took place over summer, when the River Torrens had dried out to a series of water holes or billabongs. While it was relatively easy for the early residents living temporarily on the Park Lands to fetch and carry water as they needed it, when

they took up their city land they had the option of digging a well or paying water-carters a substantial fee to bring water to their door in specially constructed vehicles. In 1848 thirty six carts were earning an average of £3.0.0 per week for delivering three gallons a day per person. The price for water delivery was determined by distance from the river.²⁵⁶ Alternatively people could go and collect their own water.

Some of the early subdivisions contained a communal well, such as several in Chichester Gardens in North Adelaide. Adjacent to the two storey house's drive at 128 Sussex Street was a well used communal well, on public land close to Jerningham Street. Some early substantial buildings, such as hotels, needed their own supply of water and dug their own wells. Some existing hotels still retain their wells in their basement, such as the Crown & Anchor in Grenfell Street. Even the former Treasury, now the Medina Grand Hotel in Victoria Square, has retained its well dating from the 1840s.

To provide water-carriers with easy access to river water, a small weir was built in 1857 in the vicinity of the Morphett Bridge where the city's first ford crossed the river to North Adelaide.²⁵⁷ As the River Torrens was used also for watering stock, bathing, the disposal of rubbish and effluent discharge, fear of dangers to health from a polluted water supply was soon a growing concern to doctors and private citizens alike. John Stephens, editor of the *South Australian Register*, was so concerned about the deteriorating quality of water that he called a public meeting at the New Queen's Theatre on 13 February 1849 to discuss sanitary reform. While sixty people turned out for the meeting, no immediate action resulted.

Nothing positive was done about a better water supply until the arrival of Governor Young in 1849 and the establishment of the City Commission, which replaced the first city council. Licences were issued for water carters to continue their trade until the re-establishment of the City Corporation in 1852. Contracts were then let to two water contractors who pumped the water directly from the river into barrels of the water carters who paid threepence for a fifty gallon load. They in turn charged 1/6d to 3/- a load depending on the distance travelled. Better regulated, the water was cheaper than in the 1840s, but still by 1850 when the city population was 11,000 nothing had been resolved to improve the supply of water.

Institutional jealousies between the governor, the legislative councillors and the city council made sure that schemes and ideas led nowhere until 1855-6, when a gravitational water supply system using the River Torrens was planned. The Waterworks and Drainage Bill was passed in June 1856 which set up a commission and a weir was built across the River Torrens beyond Athelstone. However, floods swept away the weir and further in-fighting delayed any further works until 1858 when a forty acre reservoir was constructed at Thorndon Park. An octagonal valve house built at the edge of the Park Lands at the Dequetteville Terrace and Botanic Road intersection was joined up to eight miles of piping from the reservoir. At this point, the control of the city's water supply was transferred from the city corporation to the colonial government, and the water supply of the 1860s served until the mid 1870s. (When the large red brick waterworks department complex was demolished in the mid 1980s, the valve house was moved and rebuilt a few metres further into the Park Lands.)

The introduction of a water supply at high pressure in the city was one of the reasons which encouraged people to move back to the city in the 1870s.²⁵⁸ Two covered reservoirs were built on the Adelaide Park Lands in 1878. One was off South Terrace, close to Beaumont Road and the other was adjacent to the Victoria Park Racecourse. Water from the South Terrace Reservoir was piped to Glenelg. Redundant from the 1940s it was dismantled in 1982 leaving a large twenty foot mound. In North Adelaide a similar million gallon capacity reservoir (still there) was built off Barton Terrace with imported bricks from Melbourne, due to lack of suitable local brick for this kind of construction for the conservation of water.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Marianne Hammerton, *Water South Australia*, 1986, p 3.

²⁵⁷ Adelaide City Archives, City Surveyors Reports 1857.

²⁵⁸ *Chronicle*, 6/2/1864 p2a (supp).

²⁵⁹ *Observer* 1/3/1879 p22.

However, by 1912 despite the supplies from Thorndon Park being supplemented by Happy Valley and Hope Valley reservoirs, the city water supply was seen as inadequate.²⁶⁰ As a result of the need for more water, the Millbrook Reservoir on the Torrens, at Chain of Ponds was established.

4.2.2 Public Health

One of the most important aspects of city living was that overcrowding and close living caused high mortality rates and a decline in living standards. Public health issues played a crucial role in the betterment of living conditions in the city, which by the late 1870s were alarming when mortality rates were declared to be even higher than in central London.²⁶¹ Primitive disposal of human waste into the Park Lands until the 1880s, pungent fumes from the cemetery, and toxic fumes emitted from factories, all contributed to the poor environment of the city.

Deep drainage began in a very small way in 1867 with the laying of pipes in the main thoroughfares of King William, Rundle, Hindley streets and North and East Terraces, upwards of 2,300 yards.²⁶² By 1868 nothing more had happened to extend this first part of a drainage system due to the crippled state of the corporation finances in the early days of the early 1860s depression, which disallowed any large outlay.²⁶³

An Act for comprehensive deep drainage of the city was passed in 1878. A survey of the city was then undertaken over a period of fifteen months, from late 1878, by the City Engineer Charles W Smith (now known as the Smith Survey), in preparation for the laying of deep drainage pipes. The work was completed in early 1885, making cesspits and the removal of nightsoil no longer necessary. However, it took some time for the city to benefit from deep drainage.

Generally poor public health conditions throughout the country prompted the following anonymous ode from the *Australasian Builder and Contractors News* in October 1891:

See where the bright-eyed beauty lies,
A festering putrid mass and dies;
The mother wails, and with vacant glare,
Curses the murderous sewage air.

4.2.3 Public Transport

Colonel Light's plan of Adelaide made few provisions for roads leading to and from the city. The earliest transport corridors were from the city to Glenelg and Port Adelaide where ships brought and carried away most goods and people. On his original 1836-7 map there were only four roads leading out of North Adelaide across the Park Lands. The 1839 Arrowsmith map of the district of Adelaide shows that the number of roads had increased although until the late 1850s they were little more than dirt tracks. However, the first move in making the tracks into proper roads by macadamising the surface, began with the extension of O'Connell Street to Prospect. This was completed in December 1859.²⁶⁴

Until 1878 there was no public transport in the city or between the city and the suburbs. There were a number of private transport facilities which were unfortunately beyond the reach of the majority of citizens. Transportation was easy for the well-to-do who owned their own riding horses or a horse and carriage, or for those workers who used them in the course of their work. Some hotels saw an opportunity to elevate their reputation and improve their income by providing coach services and operated them from the city to the inner suburbs and even beyond, such as to MacLaren Vale. The Royal Admiral Hotel ran a service from Hindley Street to Port Adelaide from the early 1840s and there was a regular service between the Red Lion Hotel in Rundle

²⁶⁰ ACC *Annual Report*, 1912, p 11.

²⁶¹ P Morton, *After Light*, p 28.

²⁶² *Advertiser* 27/11/1867.

²⁶³ *Advertiser*, 9/12/1868.

²⁶⁴ P Morton, *After Light*, in which the author discusses macadam road making on pp 207-215.

Street and the Rising Sun Inn in Kensington from 1849.²⁶⁵ Beyond this limited form of transport, the average person was destined to undertake a lot of walking or live as close to their place of work as possible. Although the city is approximately a mile from corner to corner, and essentially a walking town for most people, the heat of the summer taxed the elderly, the frail, the unfit, the weary and the sick. Access to the main part of the city was even more difficult for those who lived in parts of North Adelaide. They had to contend with the River Torrens in flood before the building of the first flood proof city bridge in 1856, at the same location as the current King William Road bridge. This lack of transport services within the city itself, partly explains the delayed development of the south-western and south-eastern corners of the city and the upper west part of North Adelaide and some parts of Lower North Adelaide.

Meanwhile, from the mid 1840s, transport routes radiated out from Adelaide like a spider's web to new towns and suburbs or to new mines. To maintain these services provided by private coaching companies, such as Hill & Co and Rounsevells, livery stables, saddlers, blacksmiths and wheelwrights established main centres of business in the city. Hotels were also actively involved in transport by not only providing stables for visitors' steeds, but several of them also operated substantial livery stables.

Following the introduction of the railway to Port Adelaide on 21 April 1856 and then north to Kapunda and Burra, large tracts of the Park Lands were alienated to accommodate railway operations. However, it appears that rail freight charges on the line to Port Adelaide were so high that bullock and horse transport continued as the main form of goods transportation along the Port Road.²⁶⁶

4.2.4 Horse Drawn Tramway System

The development of a public transport system within the city that included North Adelaide, as well as east to Norwood and Kensington, was made possible by the effects of a buoyant economic period, created by good harvests in the wheat belt areas of the colony and an increased population. This horse tram system, begun in 1878, made it possible to commute to the city from the suburbs. New subdivisions close to the tram routes attracted buyers and gave new opportunities for workers to escape the increasing environmental hazards that came with living in an overcrowded city. Trams, confined to metal tracks and drawn by two horses each, increased in numbers to operate throughout the entire metropolitan area by 1884.

The advent of the new tram system was beneficial to businesses positioned close to tram routes. The Cathedral Hotel in North Adelaide, when it was rebuilt in 1880, moved west along Kermodie Street and re-located on the corner of King William Road to catch the passing trade.²⁶⁷ The Caledonian Inn in O'Connell Street was established a few years before the location of the terminus of the North Adelaide route and benefited from tram operations and the building of the nearby horse tram depot in Gover Street.

[SLSA - Horse trams B54885 ca1905]

With the increase of private vehicles and other horse-drawn traffic competing for road space and with the metal tram tracks down the middle of the road, rules for road use were included in the 1884 Roads Act. The protocol of 'keeping left' was introduced in 1893-94, followed then by discussions in 1898 for the replacement of the obsolete horse-traction tramway system by electrification.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ SA Register, 12/9/1849, Advertisement by William Beck of the Rising Sun Hotel, Kensington.

²⁶⁶ Licensed Victuallers Gazette, 22/2/1879, Half Yearly Report of SA Carrying Company.

²⁶⁷ South Australian Register 12/2/1880 - Bayer & Withall tender notice for rebuilding hotel, then known as the Scotch Thistle.

²⁶⁸ ACC Annual Report, 1897-98 p79.

4.2.5 Electric Tramway System

By 1900, with the city's population heading towards a peak of 43,000, the use of electricity presented a golden opportunity to update the antiquated horse tram system as well as lessen the significant impact created by 1,056 horses and 162 tram cars trundling around the city. In 1912 when the electrified trams had been in operation for three years, there were still 500 horses each day in the city streets depositing 1,100 litres of urine and five tonnes of dung.²⁶⁹ By this time, horse traffic was competing with the 'useful nuisance' of the motor car, numbers of which reached 200 in the city by 1906.²⁷⁰ Such congestion on the roads saw city speeds regulated to no more than 12 mph in the main streets and 15 mph in other streets, reducing to 6 mph when going round corners.²⁷¹

[Map in SAPP]

[SLSA - Electric Trams B27584/4 1912]

[Trams in King William Street SRSA 280/1/34/342 1920]

In 1907, the privately operated tramway companies were bought out by the government and combined to create the Municipal Tramways Trust. With the new operations beginning in 1909, metropolitan lines were electrified by 1914. The city has several remnants of the tram era within the city. Along Hackney Road the tram depot headquarters and the remaining tram sheds, after nearly ninety years being used for trams and buses, have been given a new lease of usefulness by the Botanic Gardens for administration offices and a herbarium.

On the corner of Victoria Square and Angas Street, the iron tram barn was an integral part of the electric tram system, serving as a temporary waiting area for trams. In front of the cricket oval the wide driveway is a legacy of the electric tram system. It was built in 1908 as a tram stop, and throngs of avid cricket fans alighted or caught a tram home there. There is also a former tram stop not far from the entrance to Victoria Park Racecourse on Fullarton Road. Along the city streets are remnant cast iron poles that carried the overhead electric wiring, many now used as electric light poles. Running through Rymill Park is an embankment on which the tram tracks were laid to Norwood Parade. It was landscaped during the development of the park in 1959-60. The Victoria Square public conveniences and waiting room was demolished in 2004. When constructed in 1909, it was the first public convenience for women in the city and was associated with the electrified tram system.

The most highly visible, and sentimental, reminder of Adelaide's tram era is the Glenelg Tram, which terminates in Victoria Square. It is now a major tourist attraction and is mooted to be extended to North Terrace in the future. When established in 1929 as a high speed tramway with thirty new 'inter-urban' cars, it replaced the King William Street to Glenelg steam train that dated from 1873.²⁷² The last electrified tram ran in Adelaide's streets on 22 November 1958 while the electric trolley buses, which had replaced some trams, continued until 1963. By this time buses which had previously complemented both train and tram, took over from trolleys and trams.

4.2.6 Street Lighting

From the earliest days of settlement the city of Adelaide lit its streets and homes by candles and whale oil in lamps. In reality, hotels were responsible for most of the lighting of the city's streets at night. They actually had no choice in the matter, for as part of a hotelkeepers' licence they were required by law to provide a light over the front door of their hotel from dusk until dawn, even after the advent of gas lighting of the streets in 1865. Offenders were heavily fined and could lose their licence altogether for repeated offences. This law which remained in force until

²⁶⁹ Peter Morton, *After Light*, p210.

²⁷⁰ P Morton, *After Light*, p 231.

²⁷¹ ACC *Annual Report*, 1906 p27.

²⁷² John C Radcliffe, 'Tramways' in *Wakefield Companion to SA history*, pp553-554.

the 1870s. And it was not unknown for hotelkeepers to lose their life after falling off ladders trying to light their front lamps.²⁷³

Tallow candles which were manufactured in several candle and soap factories in the city. One was the much complained of factory of Burford & Son, which caused much pollution and was destroyed by fire on several occasions, before being pressured to move from the city. There was also the option to buy five gallon jars of oil which were imported from Egypt. Until the former Lord Raglan Hotel (now known as the Waymouth Hotel) was rebuilt at 109 Waymouth Street in 1915, several walls of the former structure were made from these old oil jars which were about 400mm high. The publican, James Davey, was a contractor for importing the jars of oil but went out of business because of the introduction of gas. When he went into the hotel business, not wanting to waste his stock of jars, he used them to rebuild the Lord Raglan.²⁷⁴ The Waymouth Hotel is now located on this site.

The South Australian Gas Company was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1861 to supply town gas and the streets of Adelaide were lit by 1865. Initially gas was used solely for lighting and it was only with the threat of electricity from 1897 that appliances suitable for cooking were promoted. While electricity replaced gas for internal lighting of buildings in the early 1900s, many older buildings in the city retain their gas light fittings. Fittings can still be found on the first floors of many city hotels, such as the Cumberland Arms in Waymouth Street.

Between 1891 and 1892 the Adelaide City Council considered the issue of 'electric lighting' as one of the most important questions of the year and began planning to light the streets from dusk to midnight. As the gas lighting contract was to expire in 1898, the council was exploring quotes of around £1,500 per year to undertake the task of using electricity.²⁷⁵ It was noted in 1901 that the Electric Light Company had been energetically laying mains throughout the principal streets and already many establishments had been connected for 'electric current'.²⁷⁶ While several city properties claimed to be the first to use electricity, it only became available for public consumption following the formation of the SA Electric Light and Motive Power Company in 1895 which supplied electricity from its Nile Street generator in Port Adelaide. In 1900 in Tam O'Shanter Place, a temporary facility began providing electricity to the city. Power production was taken over by a large powerhouse built at the corner of Grenfell Street and East Terrace. Belching smoke and steam from its chimneys and cooling towers, it provided electricity to the city from 1901: North Adelaide was supplied from 1902. With a change in ownership in August 1904 the company became the Adelaide Electric Supply Company, which then began supplying power to the suburbs as well as supplies to establish the electrified tramway system from 1909.

4.3 City Planning

[Refer also to Section 5.0 - Government]

4.3.1 Introduction

DG Burnham, a visiting American architect said in 1915:

Make no little plans...they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans - aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble programme once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing...town planning determines the destiny of a City. Where it exists it fosters artistic state, civic pride, and patriotism. It makes better citizens and artisans.²⁷⁷

The colonial government and the early city council failed to provide basic facilities for their citizens until the early 1850s. The first corporation established in 1840 was left to muddle along

²⁷³ *Advertiser*, 5/6/1865, Licensee, William Dumbleton of the Newmarket Hotel died after complications from falling from a ladder when lighting his lamp on 3/6/1865.

²⁷⁴ *The Mail*, 19/9/1925, 'Hotel built on jars - Adelaide's early oil era'.

²⁷⁵ ACC *Annual Report*, 1891-92, 1896-97.

²⁷⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1901 p 15.

²⁷⁷ ACC *Annual Report* 1915, p52.

the best it could before it legally ceased to exist in June 1843, due to the economic crisis. Thereafter, the city was managed poorly by the government for ten years, including a period from 1849 to 1852 when it was run by a quasi-trust of five city commissioners known as the City Commission.

When Town Acres were first subdivided, often small scattered communities, very much like small villages, sprang up with many vacant acres in between. Subdivision of a Town Acre averaged about twelve lots but sometimes as many as twenty-six lots were created which, apart from private housing, usually included a shop or two and perhaps a hotel.

During the 1840s there was little regard paid to the health and welfare of the city or indeed the condition of the streets. Even less consideration was given to providing a clean and reliable water supply or the orderly development of the city generally. There was also no consideration for the well-being of the Park Lands. Only with the resuscitation of the city corporation were such issues addressed.

Despite the neglect between 1840 and 1852, it was the survival of the original grid plan of the city and the relationship of Town Acres to the main roads that dictated the city's future development. The survival of the original city plan was reinforced by the Park Lands, which had been protected by governors Hindmarsh, Gawler and Grey from alienation, illegal occupation and from vandalism by the continuation of quarrying and brick making (the three government quarries excepted).²⁷⁸ The more recent neglect of the Park Lands, which saw areas used as a site for grazing animals, refuse tips, a slaughter yard and a cattle market, had degraded their appearance. Also, a lack of funding meant that no direct road from the main part of the city to North Adelaide was constructed until 1856. Governor MacDonnell, arriving in mid 1855, was shocked at the unsightly Park Lands and the lack of a direct road and bridge to North Adelaide. He was able to forward immediate cash from his discretionary Land Fund, which expedited the building works for a bridge near King William Road and saw the first planting of trees in the Park Lands off Pennington Terrace.²⁷⁹ However, it took a further twelve years, until 1867, before a flood proof bridge was built over the river at Morphett Street.

4.3.2 Building Regulations

The first building regulations for the city were introduced with the establishment of the City Commission in 1849. With this Act the city commissioners gained the power to levy rates, and were responsible for keeping the streets and bridges in proper order; they were also authorised to construct sewers and to establish waterworks.²⁸⁰ While this Act dealt with public works, there was nothing in it, however, which provided for regulation of building in the private sector. As it was, the provision and building of a clean water supply was left to the colonial government to implement when the corporation failed to supply the infrastructure.

Although Colonel Light's gridiron plan of straight wide streets and square acre lots remained intact, property owners could build what they liked and how they liked until the Building Act of 1857 took the first step to bring some controls. Further regulation of building works in the private sector was difficult to bring about with the failure of legislation in 1855, 1868, 1870 and 1874, due to opposition from 'developers'.

The fire hazards caused by building in timber, including shingle roofs, caused costly damage. Insurance companies referred to the continuation of the building in timber and wooden shingle roofs as 'worse than madness to expose valuable property to destruction from the want of such ordinary precautions as are within the reach of us all'. After an increasing number of city fires, the 1857 Building Act, designed to ban the use of inflammable materials, regulated against the use of timber roof shingles and the construction of timber buildings. Until the Building Act was passed, insurers neatly resolved the fire safety problem among themselves. The *Adelaide Observer* for 30 January 1858 reported '... buildings with shingle roofs have been insured at an

²⁷⁸ The parade ground was a major quarry until the mid 1850s. There were two more near where the railway station now is.

²⁷⁹ State Records CSO GRG24/4/ 1381 p484 17/7/1855.

²⁸⁰ T Worsnop, *History of the city of Adelaide*, pp 91-92

average premium of about 18s per cent, but now it is required that 34s per cent should be paid, whilst buildings with roofs of iron or slate may be insured from 14s to 16s per cent.' This dramatic increase in insurance premiums and the 1857 Building Act ousted any further substantial building in timber.

Consequently, there are very few timber shingle roofs remaining in the city or timber buildings surviving from before the mid 1850s. There is an intact shingle roof under a later iron roof on 120 Sussex Street and on the former Beresford Arms Inn in Gilles Street, both dating from this early period. Further, the 1841 (Quakers) Friends Meeting Hall, a prefabricated timber Manning house, sits within the grounds of St Mark's College at 42-44 Pennington Terrace.

When amendments to the Building Act in 1868 failed, the mayor stated 'for some years the council have annually decided that a Building Act was necessary to regulate the erection of buildings...however, it remained a dead letter ...'.²⁸¹ When it failed again in 1874 the mayor reflected that the Building Bill 'was rejected in the mistaken idea that it would place a dangerous power in the hands of Corporation affairs'.²⁸²

Writing of the repeated attempts to have further building acts passed, the mayor stated in 1878 that because of such failures 'this has given birth to the erection of a class of buildings for the working classes, where want of care in the preparation of plans for the construction, the quality, and kinds of material used, and workmanship employed in the erection, indicate great risk to human life, which cannot be fully estimated, and inflict injuries that will be apparent for many years to come'.²⁸³

Attempts to introduce further building regulations in the city of Adelaide and other municipalities finally succeeded with the Building Act of 1881, which was adopted by the City Council in 1882. In regulating buildings and dealing with party walls, the legislation demanded the lodgement of plans for new buildings and alterations and additions to existing buildings. Plans were thereafter scrutinized by the Board of Health and the Building Surveyor.

Restrictions for better building practices as stipulated by the Building Act of 1881, coincided with the increasing demand for land in the city, and rising land prices effectively meant the end of building any further dwellings for workers to rent or buy.

The Building Act of 1923 which came into force on 1 July 1924 was much needed to cope with new building materials and new technology. It had a sound engineering basis, being framed to meet modern methods of construction, and as a further means of protection against fire.²⁸⁴ It was also said of the early Building Act of 1881 that it did not give the city surveyor very wide powers, as he was only required to look at wall height and thickness, and to make sure that buildings did not project over streets.²⁸⁵ The new 1923 Act dealt with the complexities of reinforced concrete structures, such as used in the new buildings then being constructed for Miller Anderson, Executive Trustee Agency in Grenfell Street, F H Fauldings in James Place or the Liberal Club on North Terrace. By 1925 it was noted that there is 'scarcely a building now going up where reinforced concrete is not used to some extent'.²⁸⁶

While the new Act was formulated to regulate new technology, the oldest poorly built dwellings, dating from before the Building Act of 1881, were causing concern by the late 1920s when the Great Depression exacerbated the already poor living conditions they provided. Between about 1915 and 1932 as the city population began to decline, over 100 dwellings were demolished, possibly ridding the city of the worst of the poorer class of houses.²⁸⁷

²⁸¹ *Advertiser*, 29/11/1870 for Mayor's Annual Report, 1870.

²⁸² ACC *Annual Report* 1874.

²⁸³ ACC *Annual Report* 1878 p93.

²⁸⁴ Building Act 1923.

²⁸⁵ ACC *Annual Report*, 1925 p87.

²⁸⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1925 p86.

²⁸⁷ ACC *Annual Reports* between 1915-1932.

The City of Adelaide languished from the Depression years of the 1930s until the situation was seriously addressed through the Building Act Inquiry of 1940. Beginning in September 1937, the investigation inspected substandard houses in the older municipalities of Adelaide, Port Adelaide and Hindmarsh. Of a total number of 7,716 houses in Adelaide and North Adelaide, thirty nine per cent were found to be substandard, with recommendations for fifty one properties to be demolished immediately.²⁸⁸ Many more were to be demolished, but fortuitously, because the findings were made during the Second World War when there was a critical shortage of accommodation which continued into the post-war period, this guaranteed the survival of more than 3,000 city dwellings, many of which are now considered to be of heritage value. But for the war, they might otherwise have been demolished, as determined by the government inquiry.

It is a testament to the hard work, imagination and interest of some owners that properties condemned as unfit for human habitation or substandard, have in fact become part of the essential character of North Adelaide and the residential areas of South Adelaide.²⁸⁹

While the wartime building regulations which came into force in 1942 were not lifted until 1945, shortages in building materials saw a new act assented to for the regulation of materials until 1953. This led to a priority for building in the new suburbs that had a detrimental affect on the city until well into the mid 1950s. Within this period when property prices for old building stock were low in the city, New Australians, mainly Greeks and Italians, saw an opportunity to buy rundown dwellings. Also at this time residential areas were severely threatened, as existing dwellings were converted into shops, offices and warehouses.

4.3.3 Health Regulations for Housing

Apart for concern for regulation in the building industry, by the 1860s awareness of public health matters had become a major issue, with the dramatic increase in city population numbers beginning to create serious problems associated with overcrowding and the lack of deep drainage or proper removal of rubbish or sewage. In 1869 when the council was receiving many complaints of intolerable nuisances in the private streets but were unable to remedy them through lack of power, the mayor suggested that legislative power should be obtained.

Whereas further building acts failed, in 1873 the Public Health Act was assented to and was crucial for the orderly development of the city in this period. This Act 'set up central and local health boards, and authorised inspection of dwellings and the disposal of household rubbish. Subsequent amendments empowered health boards to deal with substantial and overcrowded dwellings and to administrate building regulations'.²⁹⁰

Many private roads and laneways were made within original subdivisions of Town Acres in order to accommodate subdivision into small allotments for tiny dwellings. It was many years later that these roadways were dedicated for public use. At the time of dedication, they were usually named after an adjoining owner and macadamised, and then later provided with lighting and footpaths. From the time of dedication, their upkeep was the responsibility of the corporation. The most recent example of this was Leigh Street which was only made a public road in 2000; before that it had belonged to the Anglican Church.

Issues such as the sanitary state of private streets and the poorly built dwellings for the 'working classes' contributed to those pockets of housing which later became slums, and the corporation was unable to legally prevent this for much of the time. Where owners of private streets owned tenanted properties, it was not unknown for the corporation to be refused access by them because the private owners were unwilling to pay towards the cost of macadamising private streets. This meant that many early private streets originating from the 1840s and 1850s and where the corporation was refused access, saw long suffering tenants living amid appalling conditions until the Public Health Act of 1873 gave the powers the corporation needed.

²⁸⁸ SAPP No 32, 1940, Second Progress Report of the Building Act Inquiry Committee.

²⁸⁹ ACA ACC File 5263 for 56-58 Jerningham St; For 5 Strangways Place see MLSA photos for TA 758, 1972. The shop building at 56-58 Jerningham Street was condemned in 1965 as was the house at 5 Strangways Place in 1972.

²⁹⁰ S Marsden, 'The introduction of order' in Patrick Troy, (edit) *A History of European Housing in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p29.

In the early twentieth century, major newspapers shied from the existence of slums in the city and even declared that Adelaide was a 'slumless city'.²⁹¹ Other newspapers thought differently. The *Adelaide Truth* made headline news in May 1929 by highlighting the poor condition of row houses and a shop in Archer Street located on the corner of Margaret and Archer streets between the Dover Castle Hotel and the Police Station.

[Backyards SRSA 280/1/19/15 1920]

As property aged and became neglected or substandard, it continued to attract tenants and owners with small budgets until the early 1980s. Gentrification of the cheaper parts of the city which had been taking place since the early 1970s, eliminated low cost housing, except for the involvement of the South Australian Housing Trust. The Trust bought substandard property as part of urban renewal initiatives.

4.3.4 Town Planning

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was much consideration given by the city corporation to the notion of a 'greater Adelaide' which would enlarge the municipality to encompass the suburbs Norwood, Kensington, St Peters, Unley, Goodwood, Hindmarsh, Thebarton, Walkerville and Prospect. While the concept of a super municipality was proposed for a number of years throughout Australia, only Brisbane finally opted for a 'greater Brisbane'.²⁹²

The concept of 'city planning, which in Australia developed around 1900 as a reform movement concerned with conditions in Australian cities, was derived substantially from British thinking and values.²⁹³ Pioneer Town Planner Charles Reade's activities in Adelaide led to his appointment by the state government as the first town planner. South Australia became the first state in Australia to prepare planning legislation, under the guidance of Reade. The outcome was the Town Planning and Development Act of 1920. However, after a promising start, town planning lost its impetus when Charles Reade left Australia and it remained in a fairly passive state until the Second World War.

In 1940 the city passed its first zoning by-laws, leaving few residential zones intact except on the fringes of East and South terraces and in large pockets in North Adelaide. A few years later in 1949 Councillor Bert Edwards objected to the demolition of dwellings while there was a housing shortage and objected to the new proposed zoning laws which would mean the city would eventually become a factory area.²⁹⁴ The by-laws were amended in 1950 and the use of existing buildings for alternative uses could not be prevented until 1964.²⁹⁵

In the meantime the State Government Metropolitan Development Plan of 1962 allowed more unfortunate trends such as encroachment of industry into residential areas which was encouraged and perpetuated in the Plan.²⁹⁶ In the same period the corporation's special committee for planning and development was considering re-planning the city with more access roads in the south eastern corner of the city where the city's population had fallen the most.²⁹⁷

Planning in the city up to 1966 was largely through negative controls authorised under a patchwork of legislation, including the Building Act, Health Act and Local Government Act.²⁹⁸ The council needed new plans to reverse the trend of the loss of residents because 'unscrupulous development had taken place in which the wider interest of the community in

²⁹¹ *The Mail*, 7/7/1923.

²⁹² ACC *Annual Report*, 1898-99, p44.

²⁹³ Leonie Sandercock, *Cities for Sale*, 1975, p27.

²⁹⁴ *Advertiser*, 20/4/1949.

²⁹⁵ JF Madigan, *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*.

²⁹⁶ In preparation for the MDP, in 1957 the first official formal land use survey was undertaken. See ACC *Survey 77*, p1.

²⁹⁷ ACC *Annual Report*, 1955-56 p41; 1966-67, p72.

²⁹⁸ JF Madigan, *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p65.

proper development of the city had been subordinated to the immediate interests of the developer'.²⁹⁹

As if rezoning was not enough to affect the lives of people living in the few remaining residential areas in Adelaide, the city itself was considered to be in the way of a direct transportation corridor planned to link the northern suburbs to those of the south. When the state government embarked on an ambitious plan of directing a major road through the city via Margaret Street in North Adelaide to South Terrace, it caused a furore. Residents organised themselves into vigorous protest groups in Adelaide and the suburbs in the mid 1960s and fought the plans for the Metropolitan Adelaide Transport System (MATS) to a 'level unknown in South Australia, either before or since'.³⁰⁰ The corridor through Margaret Street failed to go ahead, as did the remains of the corridor through Carrington Street to South Terrace. This was not before all the buildings on the eastern side of Frome Road were demolished, including part of the imposing Tavistock Hotel on the corner of Rundle Street and Frome Road. Part of the plans went ahead between Frome Road and Carrington Street to create an alternative corridor through part of the east side of the city.

When there was a change of government and the Labour Party came to power, the Adelaide City Council looked to it for support in overcoming the problems apparent in the city's development. Premier Don Dunstan took an interest in the quality of life in the city and came up with innovative approaches to city living.³⁰¹ There was a land use survey undertaken in 1965, and the newly formed City of Adelaide Development Commission was 'instrumental in reversing the trend of commercial intrusion into residential areas, restriction of demolition of houses for car parks and retarding deterioration of residential environment.'³⁰²

Despite the new interest by the state government in the city's problems, by 1970 it was noted that the city's population had dropped, on average, by 900 people a year since 1947. Further, in the same time span, 200 dwellings per year had been either demolished or vacated for other uses.

Following the 1971 city elections in which the new council was 'totally different' to any that had come before, the council embarked on 'revitalising the city' having taken significant steps to prevent the continuation of intrusion of commercial development into residential areas which was forcing out residents. After years of neglect, and the city all but 'lost' for the sake of the motor car, the condition and needs of Adelaide were rediscovered and analysed through various land use surveys which 'formed the quantitative (sic) base for the City of Adelaide Plan'.³⁰³

The new council, according to the late Bill Hayes who was lord mayor between 1971 and 1973, 'was determined to seek the best planner available in Australia to prepare our plan'.³⁰⁴ Drawing upon valuable expertise from beyond South Australia, Urban Systems Corporation led by George Clarke, created a new city plan that was published in 1974 to become the City of Adelaide Plan. This was only the second master plan in the city's history.³⁰⁵ Adelaide became one of the very few capital cities in the western world to have its own planning legislation and the first to introduce a flexible approach to development control while having policy statements that were not in a statutory document. The city was seen as comprising 'a series of districts of different purposes and characters'.³⁰⁶ Within the plan, adopted 18 October 1976, were incentives that had a profound influence on potential buyers eager to own old properties, including the introduction of bank mortgages for such places. Since then, city residential property with its ever increasing prices, together with the process of gentrification, has acted as a magnet to the urban wealthy.

²⁹⁹ J F Madigan *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p73.

³⁰⁰ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p 45.

³⁰¹ J F Madigan *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p78.

³⁰² J F Madigan *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p79.

³⁰³ City Planner's Department, *The Corporation of the City of Adelaide: Survey 77*.

³⁰⁴ ACC Archives Oral History Project, W Hayes.

³⁰⁵ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p 45.

³⁰⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1976-77.

Since the plunge in population before the mid 1970s, city numbers have increased due to the City Council's 'sustained efforts to encourage residential development and prevent the conversion of dwellings to other uses'.³⁰⁷ In 1991 the number of dwellings (which includes separate houses, semi-detached, row, terrace, town houses, flat and apartments) was 5,587.³⁰⁸ As at 1994 it was stated that 'one half of the city dwelling stock has been constructed since 1965'. Further, 'a quarter of the dwelling stock dates from 1870-1880, at which time a large proportion of the dwellings were detached'.³⁰⁹

4.4 Development of the Building Industry, Architecture and Construction

4.4.1 Architects and Builders

In the earliest days of settlement, handymen built their own dwellings, both crudely and professionally, and any man who could build at all was kept fully employed in the first few years of the city's development. Indeed, by 1855 it was 'the single largest group of workers other than farmers and domestics'.³¹⁰

The architects and engineers of the earliest building period were in much demand, working for the government as well as for the private sector. The names of C E Frome, George Hamilton, George Kingston, William Lambeth and William Weir dominate the period, having been responsible for surveying roads, building bridges, government buildings and early churches and the more substantial private dwellings for the well-to-do. A major example of William Weir's handiwork survives in North Adelaide in the ecclesiastical buildings that make up Bishop's Court. Apart from churches, he also built private dwellings. One of his advertisements was for contractors in May 1847 to build cottages in North Adelaide. George Strickland Kingston who designed several of the earliest and prominent government buildings into the 1840s such as Government House and the Adelaide Gaol, built several private homes around the city that appear to bear his trademark of arch front portico style porches and Georgian style windows. However, the tiny early cottages were built by an army of unknown builders or handymen, their names often only appearing when whole clusters of new housing were built for a speculator.³¹¹

With the move of building suppliers out of the Park Lands during the late 1830s and 1840s, several builders set up offices in the city. For example the builders Edward Catchlove & Son advertised on 20 January 1838 that they had moved from their workshops on the Park Lands to 174 Waymouth Street. Also advertising after moving to the same Town Acre were two other contractors, Jaques & Mosley, 'masons, bricklayers and builders' and William Bailes who advertised on 3 February 1838 as a 'builder and undertaker'.³¹² Their move to this part of the city was good forward planning, for this area of the West End was to become the most popular for low cost housing for migrants of limited means, ensuring plenty of work for the builders living within the vicinity.

Many accomplished builders went on to become well known architects. They included Thomas English (1819-1884) who was initially involved in building, but became an accomplished architect. He designed more hotels than any other architect in Adelaide. One of his first major buildings, in 1851, was Chalmer's Church (now known as Scots) on the corner of Pulteney Street and North Terrace. When completed it was much criticised for its ungainly proportions.³¹³ Influential in the city as both builder and architect, English was mayor of Adelaide in the early 1860s and also the colonial commissioner of works. His son followed his profession and went into partnership with Rowland Rees and then George Klewitz Soward. This particular group of

³⁰⁷ *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, August 1994, p 15.

³⁰⁸ *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, p 25.

³⁰⁹ *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, p 26.

³¹⁰ M Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, p406.

³¹¹ *South Australian Register* 24/5/1847 - W Weir advertises for building several cottages in North Adelaide.

³¹² *South Australian Register* 20/1/1838 p1; SAR3/2/1838 p2,

³¹³ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p 115-116.

architects, which included Daniel Garlick and his son, was in recent times known as Jackman Gooden Architects.

Following the recovery from the first economic recession, in about 1844 a number of new architects came to South Australia. One of these was Edmund Wright who was designing major public, private and commercial buildings from the early 1860s through to the 1880s.

Architects and builders forged several well known partnerships and alliances which have continued as descendant firms into the present day. Architects E John Woods, Edmund Wright and Edward E Hamilton who worked separately and in partnership, pioneered the firm that has continued to be known as Woods Bagot. Early architects, proud of their craft, had many a disagreement (usually through the local papers) often criticising the validity of each other's work.³¹⁴ It was not until 1886 that the South Australian Institute of Architects was formed, and by 1888-89 there was a bill before parliament for the registration of architects intending to practise.

Before the speculative building boom of the 1870s, buildings were generally locally designed by local architects, but after this date materials and designs sometimes came from interstate. The 1880 Torrens Building in Victoria Square was designed by Michael Egan from Melbourne. The former Sands & McDougall building at 73-79 Light Square was designed by a Melbourne architect (with an Adelaide one overseeing the plans) when it was built in 1888. The winning design competition plan of Parliament House was by Edmund Wright and Melbourne architect Lloyd Tayler and overseen by Colonial Architect, E John Woods. A design competition for the Mitchell Building of the University of Adelaide was won by Melbourne architect Michael Egan, but it did not immediately go ahead. In the meantime his plans were 'plagiarised' and altered by William McMinn and put forward as his own design. This was the design finally constructed in 1882.³¹⁵

4.4.2 Twentieth Century Architects

The city's nineteenth century architects were born overseas, while some local builders, such as Thomas English learned their craft from an architect 'on the job'.

However, as the nineteenth century drew to a close a new generation of home grown architects emerged to take up the challenge of 'modernity' presented by the use of new technology in the building trade. This included the increasing use of reinforced concrete and the gradual demand for high rise buildings. New names beginning to appear, and went on to dominate the building industry and architectural profession well into the twentieth century. As Michael Page notes by the early 1900s the profession 'included such young men as Philip Claridge, EH McMichael and Frank Kenneth Milne: colonial born architects of the 'new breed' who were to become leaders of their profession during the twentieth century'.³¹⁶ After the First World War architects such as George G Lawson, JD Cheesman, JC Irwin and Dean Walter Berry became prominent.³¹⁷

4.4.3 Building Materials

Building supplies were available within the city of Adelaide for several years before they were brought in for sale from outside the city. As has been stated earlier with the survey of the first Town Acres in March 1837, bricks were manufactured on the Park Lands until 1838. Thereafter, brickmakers moved into the vicinity of Lower North Adelaide between MacKinnon Parade and Finnis Street. Other brickmakers moved from the Park Lands to establish their brickworks in the suburbs of Kensington, Brompton and Stepney. While the brickworks moved to these sites, several of the builders established their offices in Waymouth Street.

³¹⁴ *Observer*, 2/9/1865 p7, letters of indignation between RG Thomas, E Wright and J McGeorge. There are also letters criticising T English's design of Scots Church 1851.

³¹⁵ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p 267.

³¹⁶ M Page, *Sculptors in Space: South Australian Architects 1836-1986*, p 129

³¹⁷ M Page, *Sculptors in Space: South Australian Architects 1836-198*, p140

While brickmaking moved out of the Park Lands, quarrying of limestone by the government continued. One quarry site was near the present day railway station on North Terrace. The other major site was north of Government House. It was quarried until 1855 when complaints by the governor of continual blasting, saw it closed to become the city rubbish dump and then the Parade Ground from 1894. Although quarrying of limestone in the Park Lands by the colonial government ceased, the city corporation continued quarrying limestone until the late nineteenth century, for its own revenue making. It also allowed sand quarrying on the banks of the River Torrens between Hackney and Frome bridges until the early years of the twentieth century. Indeed a road cut for the exclusive use of sand carters and which was built between the archery ground and the corporation nursery, off Memorial Drive in the 1860s, was called Sandcarters Road and is still extant.³¹⁸

Although locally made bricks and Park Lands limestone were used in many of the earliest city buildings it was recorded in April 1840 that Glen Osmond freestone, which had recently been discovered, was being used in St Johns Church, at the eastern end of Halifax Street.³¹⁹ Bluestone was used from the 1850s with supplies coming from the Mount Lofty Ranges, at Tapley's Hill, Mitcham, Glen Osmond and Dry Creek. These bluestones soon became the trademark of the city. Indeed over a third of the Heritage listed buildings in the city are of bluestone dating from between the mid 1870s and 1890s.

For those who could afford it, sandstones, often called freestones, were being quarried in the foothills at Mitcham and at Tea Tree Gully, with stones coming from as far as Tarlee. From the early 1900s, stones came from further afield such as Murray Bridge, and by the late 1930s from Waikerie. Also by this time stone was imported from interstate, such as Benedict stone from Brisbane for the CML Building and Hawkesbury sandstone for the AMP building, both on the west side of King William Street.

After the 1880s with the rising costs of dressed stone, this material became an added expense that needed to be carefully considered, even for governments. Consequently, about this time, brick once more made a comeback as a mass produced material and was being used in the changing fashions in building styles of the Queen Anne or Federation style which became popular from the mid 1890s.

In the early 1840s timber was cut in the Adelaide Hills and brought by 'tiersmen' to timber yards, such as one along East Terrace and Grenfell Street, behind where the former Botanic Hotel is located and opposite the Producers (Woodman's Hotel) in Grenfell Street. There were also two other major wood yards off Kermode Street in the 1850s.³²⁰ With the passing of the Building Act of 1858 limiting the construction of timber buildings, timber was less of an important material apart from framing and joinery.

4.5 Residential Development, Building Types and Living Conditions

[See also Section 3.8 – Working: Unemployment and Homelessness]

4.5.1 Background

Before 1855 city people lived in a variety of places of accommodation dating from humble two and three roomed brick, limestone, timber or pise structures to mansions for some of the city's wealthy, sometimes located within an entire Town Acre. From this period, a small number of houses has survived. The range of places includes the grand mansion of Nurney House at 126-133 Kingston Terrace, a two storey house at 78 Jerningham Street, the modest Buffalo Cottage in Finnis Street, the Sheridan Theatre in MacKinnon Parade, the former Beresford Arms in Gilles Street and the former blacksmith shop at 293 Morphett Street.

³¹⁸ Patricia Sumerling, *Social History of the Adelaide Park Lands*, 2004 (for City Corporation) unpublished.

³¹⁹ *South Australian Register* 11/4/1840 p5, 23/5/1840 p3.

³²⁰ ACC Rate Assessments for 1851-1855.

From the early 1850s once the city recovered from its first economic crisis, city homes were better built. For those who could only afford the lower house price market by building or buying their own home, small cottages, detached, semi-detached or row were to be found along the smaller streets, lanes and cul-de-sacs. Clusters of these dwellings usually of one storey and in limestone or bluestone, are to be found mainly in the south-western corner of the city, parts of the northwest corner of the city, and in North Adelaide. Examples include those in the vicinity of Harriett Street, off Gilles Street and the cottages in the group of small streets and laneways on the northern side of Halifax Street between Hurtle Square and King William Street.

**[Sturt Street, *Pictorial Australian*, May 1883 p65]
[SLSA - Norman Street B9617 1927]**

The period of most intensive building of dwellings took place between the 1860s and the early 1880s. Leading into this period there was a shift from the use of limestone, brick and pipe to the newly discovered bluestones from Glen Osmond,³²¹ Mitcham, Tapleys Hill and Dry Creek.

Adelaide's visual character changed from basic village to a developed city with an Italianate flavour, of stone and stucco dwellings with decorative cast iron used in verandahs and fencing. Use of cast iron became more florid and ornate from the mid 1870s to 1900.

4.5.2 Subdivision and Residential Development

In the first twenty years of settlement few private dwellings were more than one storey high. Generally, two to three rooms was an average size for this time, even the early pubs complemented their surroundings by looking like their neighbours. In lower North Adelaide before 1855, there were only three residences that were two storeys high. Built circa 1850, they are located close to each other at 78 Jerningham Street, 128 Sussex Street and the two storey brick house at 42-44 Finnis Street.

Homes of about 4-6 rooms for artisans, shopkeepers, foremen and clerks were not only built in bluestone, but other stones and included dressed stones, brick quoining and elaborate verandahs. As with modest dwellings of the earlier period, houses were mainly one storey, predominantly of bluestone and also came in combinations of small attached cottages, semi-detached and row cottages.

For the well-to-do, houses were simply on a larger scale and were both single and two storeys high but were often on larger size blocks upwards of a quarter of an acre, some occupying the whole. As city land prices rose, subdivisions from the late 1860s through to the 1890s (often to be found in the south-eastern corner of the city and much of the land west of Jeffcott Street in upper North Adelaide) took place. The large subdivision comprising ten Town Acres bounded by Wellington Square, Hill, Barnard and Molesworth streets undertaken in 1884, is an exceptional example of speculative building on large size lots for the well-off, undertaken by the City Land Investment Company.³²²

Speculators building homes for sale or rental from the late 1830s and 1840s and who saw a need for cheap housing in the city, subdivided Town Acres into as many as two dozen lots and stood to become wealthy. As the average number of lots for a Town Acre was around twelve, anything more was becoming crowded. However, with no building controls, it was not unusual for more than sixteen lots to be subdivided from one Town Acre. This lack of effective control, even following the Building Act of 1857, set a blueprint for the development of city slums, which so many of the early subdivisions had become by the end of the nineteenth century.

The character of early subdivision of Town Acres is evident in the present day. On the western end of Waymouth Street on the southern side, several two storey dwellings survive from the 1840s. The two storey shop on the corner at 273-277 Waymouth and Spencer streets was part of a densely populated Town Acre.

³²¹ *Observer* 21/10/1865 p3g, the Aerated Bread Company designed by Wright & Woods was built using Glen Osmond stone.

³²² Marsden, Stark & Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 286-287.

[SLSA - Wymouth Street B14466 1960]

Although the notion of slums, generally old and dilapidated properties, existing in Adelaide was more likely to be acknowledged in the 1880s, editor John Stephens of the *South Australian Register* complained in the late 1840s about the 'miserable hovels' he had just inspected which were being built near East Terrace by owner William Peacock, a local tanner. Off Ebenezer Place, each tenement consisted of two rooms and was about nine feet square. After visiting these and other similar tenements also owned by Peacock, he stated that he 'would like to flog such landlords who collected the weekly rents without pity or abatement'. Although his newspaper called for controls to deal with exploitation of workers, legislation never came and by the 1890s many Adelaide families were still living in 'hovels not fit for pigs'.³²³ The tenements near East Terrace were only demolished in the early 1900s to make way for the second part of the East End Market.

Subdivision of Town Acres from the mid 1850s saw the south-western corner of the city become an area with narrow streets of small workers' cottages. In 1850 only thirteen Town Acres out of a total of 122 contained more than eleven structures; by 1860 this had increased to include around sixty Town Acres containing over ten buildings each. Town Acre 400 on the corner of Gouger and Morphett streets and Town Acre 534 which included Sultram Place off Sturt Street, each contained over twenty rateable properties. Remarkably, an early 1852 blacksmith shop and dwelling on Town Acre 400 at 293 Morphett Street still survives. Town Acre 400 was one of the most densely developed Town Acres in the south-western corner of the city, and when this shop was built, there were also twenty other properties which included two shops, a baker, two pise houses, 5 two storey properties and the rest were made up of brick and stone dwellings ranging from two to four rooms.³²⁴

By 1870 Town Acre 534 had become even more crowded with more than twenty five properties while Town Acre 465 containing the Prince Albert Hotel on the corner of Lowe Street, had also developed to include twenty five properties. This area which includes Alfred Street, survived the worst economic recessions and development eras to the present day, attracting many post war migrants from Greece, Italy and other parts of Europe during the 1950s, and is still a vibrant community in the early twenty first century.

There are also areas in North Adelaide containing Town Acres which were subdivided into small lots by developers who held Town Acres in groups, creating a character of small cottages and laneways. This is evident in the sixteen Town Acres owned by the SA Company between Gover, Tynte, O'Connell streets and LeFevre Terrace. The company also owned two (Town Acres 939, 950) between Barton Terrace and Childers Street, facing Jeffcott Street and including Hack Street. Eight Town Acres originally owned by Governor Hindmarsh, between O'Connell, Margaret, Ward and Archer streets, were closely settled by 1880. The most obvious area of early subdivision into small lots was Chichester Gardens between Stanley and Melbourne streets where there were 228 lots each 24 x 95 feet in size (an average of 16 per Town Acre). Also Margaret Street became one of the most densely populated streets in North Adelaide by the 1860s.

Historically, the West End had a dubious reputation for the early subdivisions of over sixteen lots per Town Acre which were common in this part of town and contributed to its seedy reputation, of small dingy housing affordable for workers and the less desirable elements such as transients and prostitutes.

[SLSA - North Street B1816 1914]

As the average family size was about seven children before 1900, when the number of lots is multiplied by each family size, the number of people living within a small space of an acre was often well over fifty people. For the upper north western part of North Adelaide, population

³²³ M Cannon, *Life in the Cities*, 1983, p 267.

³²⁴ ACA ACC Rate Assessments.

density on average was half this number.³²⁵ Curiously, despite the alarming figures, when the city corporation was discussing the housing of the poor, it was stated in the Annual Report of 1897-98 that 'the consensus of opinion inferentially appears to be that the population is not yet sufficiently dense'.³²⁶

Some speculators were slum landlords, such as W H Gray who owned eleven Town Acres in the West End, all of which were subdivided to provide many small lots on which to build dwellings, often row housing, for rental to people of limited means. His estate continued to manage over 100 properties in the West End until the early 1960s when his last son died in his nineties. However, when the trustees took over W H Gray's estate after his death in the early 1900s, they demolished most of the worst properties and replaced them with new dwellings, such as in Gray Street, off North Terrace.

SLSA - Gray Street B7062 1937]

Single storey attached housing comprised as many as eight dwellings in a row. While dwellings for workers were often no more than fifteen feet in width, row housing widths were often less than ten feet. The smallest house in the city is in Maxwell Street, in the south-western corner of the city and is about eight and a half feet wide.

Moreover, row houses usually comprised three rooms, with one room located behind the other with natural light unable to reach the innermost rooms. Outside conveniences in row houses were communal, comprising four or more adjoining lavatories. Such cases were condemned when the problems of the city's worst living conditions were exposed during the 1940 housing enquiry when many of these old buildings were almost 100 years old.³²⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth century there were over a hundred row houses throughout the city, but very few row houses now survive. Some examples of early row houses in North Adelaide are in Bower Street, Stanley Street and Kingston Terrace. Examples of 1890s row houses are those at the western end of Wright Street.

Some of the city's earliest houses are easy to spot for they front directly onto the footpath or even the road such as in Stanley Street and Sussex Street in North Adelaide, Little Gilbert Street, Little Sturt Street, Halifax Street, Surfleyn Street, Claxton Street and Harriett Street. In addition, dwellings with small casement windows, low ceilings and minimal headroom, and high pitched roofs with no eaves are all clues of an early date of construction.

Of more interest, in Sussex and Stanley streets in North Adelaide, both British and German architecture are represented reflecting immigration patterns of the 1840s and 1850s. German architecture included loft entrances, accessible from the exterior of the building, while British practice had lofts accessible from within a dwelling.

Adelaide's growth reflected the economic conditions in the colony. So for the first few years from 1837 to about the 1850s, early buildings were functional and lacked adornment or verandahs. In this time the copper mines to the north were discovered in 1842 at Kapunda and in 1845 the 'monster mine' at Burra Burra was discovered, all adding to the development of a healthy colony. The Victorian gold rushes, which had involved so many diggers from South Australia going east to the gold fields, had a beneficial effect on development from the mid 1850s. Those who did well on the goldfields spent their rewards in hiring artisans to build substantial homes and businesses in the city or bought land in newly surveyed areas beyond the villages closest to Adelaide.

Between the 1860s and 1880 the city population more than doubled, from a mere 18,000 to 38,000, resulting in much infilling between existing sites, and with soaring land prices it made good sense to build two storey terrace housing. This form of housing was not as popular in

³²⁵ ACC Annual Report 1881, pp 20-21.

³²⁶ ACC Annual Report 1897-98 p77.

³²⁷ SAPP - Building Inquiry 1940s; see also 1880 Smith Survey.

South Australia as in Sydney or Melbourne. Examples of this type of housing are few but some can be found around Carrington and Halifax streets and in Archer Street and Mills Terrace in North Adelaide. However, it is probable more would have been built, had not the economy slumped by the end of 1882. The aftermath of the building boom trickled on into the 1890s, for the well-off were rarely affected when carrying out their own building plans.

Rising city land prices and the Building Act of 1881 effectively put a stop to building homes for workers in the city. However, where old homes fell into disrepair along small streets and lanes some were replaced so that new workers' houses were built, such as in Gray Street in the early 1900s or Tower Street in North Adelaide.

Throughout the 1890s, with the approach of Federation, and Australia's involvement in the Boer War, patriotism and nationalism had a direct effect on the design of houses and splendid examples were manifested in the architecture of private and public buildings. Native flora and fauna were carved and painted into windows, the iron lace of verandahs and other such places where decoration could be applied. Government House has a splendid series of Australian birds painted in its ballroom windows, as does Parliament House. In North Adelaide, Taylor House in Brougham Place has several stained glass windows of native flora and fauna.³²⁸ Perhaps one of the best examples of the federation period mansion is Carclew House built by tobacco factory owner and politician, Sir Hugh Robert Dixson (Dennison). Located at Montefiore Hill, it has a distinctive tower, so fashionable in this period. Initially known as Stalheim, the name was changed to Carclew House when the Bonython family bought it in 1908.³²⁹

4.5.3 Other Forms of Accommodation

Not all could afford to rent or buy their own house, but had to consider alternative forms of accommodation. Hostel and boarding house accommodation in the city and North Adelaide became popular in the early twentieth century. Many mansions and large villas were converted for this type of accommodation. They were considered too large for a family, but ideal for hostel purposes.

The *South Australian Register* in June 1919 lamented 'the passing of the mansion home' and noted the number of old family homes being bought for private hospitals, rest homes, or for subdivision into flats. The paper went so far as to stress that 'some of our wealthiest families are at the present time living in our leading hotels or have rooms in residential flats, who were compelled to close down their own establishments owing to the scarcity of labour'.

Importantly, the article stated that 'the servant difficulties were bringing about a compulsory evolution in our domestic ideas'.³³⁰ Large villas were re-used as boarding houses, guest houses, hostels and flats. Organisations such as the Girls' Friendly Society provided accommodation for immigrant girls between 1915 and 1975 at 59-60 Pennington Terrace.

St Vincent De Paul's operated an establishment at 22-36 Whitmore Square which also provided accommodation for homeless men until into the late twentieth century. Adjacent was the Lady Victoria Buxton Club. It was established in 1897 by the Anglican Church with 'the aim to provide rooms where factory girls and others living in West Adelaide might meet for amusement and instruction'. It eventually developed into a hostel but closed in 1955.

(Early photograph MLSA SRG 94/156)

Female university students at St Ann's College lived in former mansions at 190 and 195 Brougham Place from the 1940s.³³¹ Many of the students of the University of Adelaide lived in the colleges of Lincoln, St Marks and Aquinas which were established in former mansions in North Adelaide.

³²⁸ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 323, 324.

³²⁹ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 362- 64.

³³⁰ *South Australian Register*, 12 June 1919, p5b.

³³¹ ACC *Digest of Proceedings*, Lodging house licences, pp 205, 230, 231.

Boarding houses, also known as common lodging houses, were regulated from 1877 to overcome problems associated with overcrowding. In 1923 such places were no longer called 'common' under new legislation but conditions for operating them were made stricter. Applicants wanting to operate one had to have a 'certificate of character' signed by six ratepayers resident in the city ward in which the premises were located. The council fixed the number of boarders for each premises. The police could intervene in an application if thieves or persons of bad repute were known to haunt the lodging house. Beds had to be free from vermin including rats, mice, cockroaches, flies, bugs and moths! Last but not least no members of the opposite sex were allowed together in a room unless married.³³² By 1928 there were 262 licensed lodging houses in the city. Some of the buildings still survive, such as the former Milford House Private Hotel (a respectable name for a lodging house), which operated between the mid 1920s and the 1960s at 93-99 Jeffcott Street.³³³

4.5.4 Post War Housing Shortage

The huge migrant influx following the Second World War created a severe housing shortage and, as a consequence, by 1953 there were 356 lodging houses in the city. A typical place used as a boarding house in the south of the city was at 306 Carrington Street which was once a former house and shop. Another popular boarding house was at 131 Hindley Street, now the site of the Jerusalem Restaurant. Of note also, is that about ten per cent of the boarding houses in 1953 were operated by Italians, Greeks and other New Australians. More frequent visits by health inspectors were made to the poorer type of lodging house due to overcrowding and the use of sheds, outhouses and other unsuitable premises.³³⁴ By 1955-56 it was reported that incidence of overcrowding in such places of accommodation was mostly in houses occupied by new arrivals.³³⁵

Large mansions were sometimes converted into guest houses or apartments. One of North Adelaide's most substantial early villas, Kingsmead, in Brougham Place was a guest house between the early 1900s and about 1928, when it was converted into self-contained flats. At 261-275 East Terrace, the mansion formerly known as St Corantyn was also used as a superior guest house for a number of years in the 1920s and named Eothen. As at 1998 there were forty nine lodging houses in the city. This also included backpacker hostels, student accommodation and emergency housing.³³⁶

So long as land in metropolitan Adelaide was affordable, apartment living in the city was an unpopular form of accommodation and did not appear until the twentieth century. The first apartment blocks were generally two storey. The first purpose built multistorey apartments were the Ruthven Mansions in Pulteney Street, which were built in 1911, with additions at a later date. It was not until between the wars that there was a demand for this form of lifestyle, which was by then viewed as 'chic' and 'terribly modern'.

[Ruthven Mansions see *History of the City of Adelaide* p119]

North Adelaide, where so many of the city's fashionable lived, was seen as an ideal location for this apartment lifestyle to flourish and for architects to try out new styles when designing purpose-built apartments or flats, as they were known. Sunningdale in Wellington Square, a three storey complex of apartments built in 1935, was designed by EH McMichael & Harris. Also in Wellington Square were the Felicitas Flats completed in the same year and which were converted from an earlier house. Greenways, a three storey brick apartment block, on the corner of Kermodie Street and King William Road was designed by Harold A Krantz and built in 1939. Deep Acres, a modernist group of three wings in Melbourne Street designed by Jack Hobbs McConnell, was built in 1941-42. More apartments might have been built but the Second World

³³² Advertiser 28/12/1923.

³³³ ACC, ACA, *Review of Register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items 1986-1991*, 2 Vols, Item 63, 99 Jeffcott Street.

³³⁴ ACC Annual Report, 1951-52, p52.

³³⁵ ACC Annual Report, 1955-56.

³³⁶ *The City of Adelaide Social Profile 2001*, p 15.

War and the resultant federal government building restrictions, meant there was no more interest in this type of apartment living until after the mid 1960s.³³⁷

[SLSA - Greenways B9537 1940]

4.5.5 Philanthropic Housing

Philanthropic associations were established within a short time of European settlement, despite the colonial government becoming very quickly involved in welfare work. While under the Wakefield system of settlement there were supposed to be no poor, all cities have their needy classes, and within Adelaide's population there were many specific groups of people who were severely disadvantaged with regard to housing.

The first secular philanthropic society, the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society was established in 1849 to provide housing for the poor, as well as providing relief to the sick and indigent, 'especially among newly arrived immigrants...'.³³⁸ The society went on to build row houses at 102-120 Stanley Street and Kingston Terrace in 1906.

St Joseph's Providence was a home established for aged women who had no one to care for them. The home operated in Franklin Street until 1951 when it moved from West Terrace to Cowandilla, leading to the demolition of the city property.³³⁹

In 1872 another association was established that provided homes for the deserving poor. The Cottage Homes organisation, with a membership of prominent people, was incorporated in 1878. By 1922 the society had provided homes for over 600 men and women. They built cottage homes (also called alms houses) at Stanley Street in North Adelaide and other homes at Brompton, St Leonards, Mitcham, Prospect, Kilkenny and Rose Park.³⁴⁰

Other types of accommodation were established for those unable to provide adequate housing for themselves and their families. Under the will of Sir Thomas Elder, who died in 1897, a generous legacy was used for the establishment of the Adelaide Workmen's Homes Trust to build forty eight houses. The organisation was modelled on the British Peabody Donation Trust 'which Elder held in such high regard'.³⁴¹ Thirty two cottages were built in seven blocks on a two acre site in Angas Street and ready for occupation by 1900. The remaining sixteen dwellings were completed by 1906. However, only thirteen dwellings remain, following the demolition of most of them by the Adelaide City Council which bought them to make way for the Frome Street extensions in the late 1950s and early 1960s. (Other Adelaide Workmen's Homes estates were also constructed in Mile End and Richmond.)

When the South Australian Housing Trust was established during the Depression under the Housing Trust Act of 1936, it continued in the footsteps of the Adelaide Workmen's Homes Trust by providing accommodation for rental and purchase by working men and their families in the suburbs. From the 1970s the SAHT became involved in the Adelaide City Council's efforts to attract the population back into the city square mile. Premier Don Dunstan adopted the Trust's proposals to buy and renovate old houses and increase the range of tenants they housed. Such rental property included row housing in Vinrace Street, as well as larger old homes that were renovated to provide boarding house accommodation.³⁴² In the late 1970s the SAHT built new homes for rental in Margaret Street which represented 2.1% of dwellings in North Adelaide in

³³⁷ ACC Review of Register of Adelaide Heritage Items 1986-1991, 2 volumes, Item 71, Sunningdale Flats, Wellington Square.

³³⁸ S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 173, 380.

³³⁹ *Southern Cross*, 25/5/1951, p5.

³⁴⁰ *South Australian Register*, 7/7/1922.

³⁴¹ Katrina McDougall, 'The Commodity of Adelaide Workmen's Homes 1890s-1930s', *Papers from the 15th Annual conference of The Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne, Australia, (eds) J Willis, P Goad, A Hutson, 1998.

³⁴² *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, August 1994, p 30; S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p 205-6.

1996. The Trust's dwellings in the south of the city represented 20.2% of the housing stock. The number of Trust homes in the city rose from 540 in 1993 to 592 in 1996.³⁴³

4.6 Housing Styles in Adelaide

The time periods for housing development that have been delineated here reflect the major periods of growth of the City of Adelaide. The architectural character of residential development reflects the availability of materials, levels of technology, general economic conditions, stylistic fashions of the time, personal preferences and a range of other variables. Often, a style of an earlier period will continue to be used into the next and these transitional houses are often difficult to date by style alone.

4.6.1 Early Victorian Houses (1840s to 1860s)

In the initial period of settlement, corresponding with the early Victorian period, houses were typically small, low scale and of a simple form. Small houses such as this were built on or close to the street alignment and were constructed of rubble walling of limestone and bluestone, or of locally fired bricks. Generally these small cottages were straight fronted with a symmetrical arrangement of a central door and windows either side. Variations in form included a front wall built up as a parapet, with a low hipped roof behind, or end gable walls, with a simple ridged roof line between the gable ends. As well as freestanding single storey houses, some examples of two storey and attached row dwellings from this period also remain in the city and North Adelaide. Verandahs were sometimes added at a later date but the low scale of these buildings often made this difficult.

Fences typically were timber pickets, paling or corrugated iron with timber capping.

4.6.2 Victorian Houses (1870s to 1890s)

During this period of intensive development in Adelaide, solid masonry houses of a range of forms and scale were constructed in large numbers. The detail on these houses is specifically derived from 'classical' Italianate sources, but the forms were varied, and included single fronted, symmetrically fronted, and asymmetrically fronted houses, some with bay fronted projections. Each of these forms could be single or two storeyed and all were built in a variety of sizes and scale. Houses in this period characteristically had verandahs with the roof most commonly of concave or convex form, and were typically constructed of bluestone, limestone or sandstone, often with side and rear walls of brick or rubble. Roofs were generally hipped in form, but with the asymmetrical style, the roof to the projecting bay could be gable ended or hipped. The vertically proportioned window and door surrounds were highlighted with either moulded render or brick dressings. The cast iron or timber posts to the verandahs were elaborated with moulded capitals and trim, and cast iron brackets and frieze decoration was used widely. Windows and doors were timber framed, and doors were typically four panelled, with fanlights and often sidelights.

Fences were typically of masonry base and piers with cast iron panels or railings, although evidence of timber railing can still be found. Smaller houses continued to use timber picket fencing.

4.6.3 Edwardian House Styles (1900 to 1920s)

Houses of this period reflected new sources of design and architectural approach current in Britain, Europe and to some degree, North America. The emphasis on a straightforward, often symmetrical, form was overwhelmed by a more picturesque approach to roof forms and elevations. Sources of styles for this period included Queen Anne, Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau styles, which were often transmuted into a particularly Australian style as this period coincided with the Federation era. The earlier houses in this period continued with some

³⁴³ *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, August 1994, p 30; *Social Profile 2001*, p16.

transitional use of materials such as ashlar stone with brick dressings or moulded render, but with verandahs with convex (or bullnose) profile. Later in the period distinctive 'rock face' sandstone (or freestone) was used as the wall material. Houses of face brick walling with decorative brick detailing were also constructed during this period. Other characteristic features of houses of this period include prominent strapped gables and detailing, tall brick chimneys, and verandahs that were often incorporated under the main pitch of the roof. During this period imported unglazed terracotta Marseilles roof tiles were introduced, although corrugated iron also continued to be used for roof cladding. Windows and doors continued to be constructed of timber, but windows were often grouped and doors were often divided into three or four horizontal panels.

Fences were either substantial timber paling fences or masonry with detailing reflecting the materials of the house. Some fences in woven wire or ribbon steel remain from this period also. Smaller houses continued to use timber picket fencing.

4.6.4 Inter-War Residential Housing Styles (1920s to 1942)

In the period between the First World War and Second World War new styles developed, particularly the Bungalow (based on the Californian version) and Tudor Revival styles. Bungalows incorporated a broad spreading roof and verandah with typical masonry columns supporting verandah elements and the expansive two storey version was often known as a Gentlemen's Bungalow. The roof tiles used were Australian-made Wunderlich tiles of the same profile as earlier Marseilles tiles. The Tudor Revival style displayed steeply pitched roofs with half timber gable ends and variations of the verandah porch treatment. Other styles which were built in North Adelaide during this period included Spanish Mission (or more often 'Mediterranean') and Art Deco/Moderne, although these are not as common. During this period, timber joinery remained characteristic of the housing styles, but there was some use of metal framed windows.

Fences continued to reflect the materials and details of the house and were typically low and open.

Housing development essentially stopped in Adelaide during the period 1942 to 1953 as a result of the materials shortages caused by the Second World War.

4.6.5 Inter War and Post War Housing Styles (1945 plus)

Fences were typically of masonry base and piers with cast iron panels or railings, although evidence of timber railing can still be found. Smaller houses continued to use timber picket fencing.

During this period a range of new styles became popular. The main styles constructed in Adelaide were Old English and Mediterranean/Georgian Revival styles. Houses in these styles were constructed both before and after the Second World War and were either infill or replaced earlier houses.

The Old English Revival style used elements which made some reference to Elizabethan/Tudor architectural details including brick or white rendered walls to simulate limewash, steeply pitched roof form and tall chimneys. The Georgian Revival style was based on an interpretation of English Georgian architecture, using a symmetrical elevation with rendered or brick walls, fanlight above central entrance door, hipped roof form and generally classically derived proportions and details. This style had no verandah but often displayed an entrance portico.

Some later notable architecturally designed residences, which were based on the post-war International Style, illustrate the avant garde trend of domestic architecture in the 1960s. These houses were generally cubiform and were constructed with flat roofs, with large areas of glass in smooth masonry walls. Cantilevered elements and recessed porch areas were typical of the style.

4.7 Memorable Development Eras

Undoubtedly, the most memorable development era for the city was between the mid 1870s and the mid 1880s, as the city took on its colonial Italianate character from this period. Major building works were constructed in dressed stone along North Terrace by the government, as were several major colonial financial houses. In the private sector, a predominance of hotels, shops, business houses and dwellings were built in bluestone with stucco and iron lace verandahs and balconies. With better building regulations from 1882, it encouraged better quality structures that have survived into the present day to create the Adelaide character.

There was a mini-building boom following the First World War that took place for about eight years until 1928, the advent of the Great Depression. In this period several major city buildings were constructed for the financial sector in King William Street and Grenfell Street, while several noble large dwellings were built in North Adelaide. When the Great Depression ended about 1935, this was followed by a period in which large building projects took place. This came to an abrupt halt when the federal government banned all building works in 1942 because of the War.

From about 1954 a building boom was spurred on by the arrival of thousands of migrants. This period lasted until about 1972. Although the speculation boom took place outside of the city of Adelaide, the development that took place in the city was mostly damaging to existing buildings and areas.

When the next building boom began in the late 1980s it lasted until the collapse of the State Bank in 1992. Within that period, the skyline of Adelaide was punctured with more cranes than ever seen in the city's history. In this period some major precincts in the main streets comprising late nineteenth century buildings, were subject to the practice of facadism. This was particularly noticeable on the south side of Grenfell Street between Gawler Place and Hindmarsh Square.

The current development era is ongoing. The massive federal court building which has replaced the 1960s Angas Street Police Headquarters is almost complete, as is the rebuilding of the south west corner site of Pulteney and Pirie streets. The vacant Le Cornu site in O'Connell Street looks set to continue to be controversial because of the various unpopular plans for the site.

4.8 Civic and Heritage Consciousness

4.8.1 Background

Architecture is the mirror of the life of a nation': so said the mayor of Adelaide in 1890,³⁴⁴ and early settlers 'seemed preoccupied with the new churches and public buildings, because they were the objects of civic pride, the marks of civilization, and the most obvious symbols of change and prosperity...'³⁴⁵

It has been considered that the city's buildings 'reflected the aims and ideals of the middle class professionals and businessmen who provided the city's social and political leadership. Concern with corporate rights, evident in the early construction of a town hall and the municipal pride it engendered, was a mark of a city run by middle-class, rather than aristocratic interests.'³⁴⁶ He further states

...apart from such functional concerns, there was still great awareness of the symbolic nature of the city. The consciousness of a heritage of civic life drawn from British and European models was extremely strong. Consequently, while Adelaide's residents were very much involved in laying the groundwork for the successful expansion of the city, they were also aware of the need to acquire the buildings and institutes they saw as integral to municipal life.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ ACC *Annual Report*, 1889-90 p21.

³⁴⁵ M Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, p 403.

³⁴⁶ Louis Perse, *Symbols of Civic Consciousness, Adelaide 1860-1887*, University of Adelaide Hons Thesis 1984 p72.

³⁴⁷ Louis Perse, *Symbols of Civic Consciousness*, p73.

Initially, it was probably easier for settlers to appreciate each new substantial local city building, rather than have pride in the city as a whole. Reasoning for this was that until the 1870s, living in Adelaide would have been like living in a country town with lots of open scrubby space, unmade roads and plenty of grazing animals on nearby vacant lots, empty Town Acres as well as the surrounding Park Lands. As well as looking to each church or major building for reassurance that civilization was taking root in Adelaide, there was also a lot of interest in the development of public spaces such as the city's Botanical gardens.

There had been no attempt to beautify the Park Lands before 1856 or to create park-like spaces around the Torrens Lake until after it was formed by installing a dam and was officially opened in July 1881. Instead, expectant citizens looked to the edifying aspects of the Botanical Gardens when it was relocated for the fourth time at its present site. As Colonel Light had made provisions on his map for the inclusion of a Botanical garden, its development represented civilization by the taming of the wilderness.³⁴⁸ The Botanic Gardens opened on forty acres in 1857 only a year after the first planting of trees on the Park Lands off Pennington Terrace.

During the speculative building boom period of the 1870s, many more substantial public and commercial buildings were constructed. There was a dramatic increase in the development of many vacant lots, together with more up-to-date roadmaking activities, more street lighting and the development of public transport systems. With these improvements in place, appreciation of Adelaide's main streets with their gracious buildings became common. Visitors and the citizens themselves showed a general pride in the city and this was noted in many enduring ways. Indeed the main streets of King William Street and North Terrace were the views most photographed, painted, lithographed and described by visiting writers, journalists and travellers.³⁴⁹

[SLSA - North Terrace B4220 1927]

4.8.2 Visitor's Observations of Adelaide

English author and astute observer of Australia's developing cities Richard Twopeny wrote in 1883, following his visit to Adelaide, that:

For its size, I consider Adelaide the best-built town I know, and certainly it is the best laid out and one of the prettiest and most conveniently situated.³⁵⁰

He also discussed the North Terrace boulevard and other features of town planning:

This belt of verdure, on which none but public buildings may be erected, dividing the working part of the town from the residential part, has always seemed to me a masterpiece of wisdom in city planning...' and '... the pride of Adelaide is its Botanic Garden, which, though unpromisingly situated on a perfectly level spot, with no water at hand, has been transformed, by means of artificial water and artificial hillocks, into the prettiest garden in the world.³⁵¹

Moreover, Twopeny gave most of the credit for the city's recent transformation to the mayor of Adelaide, E T Smith, who he believed:

in the course of two years so stirred up the citizens that pavements have been laid, additional gas-lights provided, the Torrens artificial lake constructed, the squares and park-lands transformed from untidy wildernesses into handsome oases, and the general aspect of the city entirely transformed.³⁵²

Mark Twain wrote of Adelaide in the mid 1890s:

³⁴⁸ Pauline Payne, 'The Botanic Garden', in B Dickey, (ed) *William Shakespeare's Adelaide*, 1992, p 126.

³⁴⁹ E Gouldsmith's water colour view of GPO and Town Hall, 1885; Charles Marchand's oil painting of King William Street, 1881; photographic view of North Terrace, circa 1915, Adelaide City Archives; descriptions by Mark Twain in *Australia and New Zealand*.

³⁵⁰ R Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, 1883, Penguin Books (ed 1973), p27.

³⁵¹ R Twopeny, *Town Life* p 28.

³⁵² R Twopeny, *Town Life* p 27.

'...this was a modern city, with wide streets, compactly built; with fine homes everywhere, embowered in foliage and flowers, and with imposing masses of public buildings nobly grouped and architecturally beautiful.'³⁵³

Recently it was noted that Jules Verne's 1891 adventure novel *Mistress Branican*, which was never published in English, was set in South Australia, using descriptions from the 1880 travelogue of Desire Charnay's *Le Tour du Monde*. In preparation for an Adelaide-based Jules Verne Centenary Lecture day held on 22 July 2005, extracts from his novel about Adelaide were translated to reveal that he wrote:

Neither Sydney nor Melbourne could compete with Adelaide for its elegance. Its streets are wide, pleasantly set out, carefully maintained...The Post Office and the Town Hall are noteworthy for their architecture.³⁵⁴

Visitors Beatrice and Sydney Webb in 1898 thought:

Adelaide is a charmingly attractive city - wisely planned...and...resembles more than any English town we know, a German "Residenzstadt" - the capital of a little principality, with its parks and gardens, its little court society...and its general air of laying itself out to enjoy a quietly comfortable life.³⁵⁵

Later in 1915 Mayor Simpson wrote:

Town planning determines the destiny of a city. Where it exists it fosters artistic state, civic pride, and patriotism. It makes better citizens and colonists.³⁵⁶

4.8.3 City Improvements

The implementation of good city planning to achieve such desirable results was often at odds with Adelaide's actual environment. In November 1883 the mayor lamented 'we have become familiar with the dense opaque volumes pouring from chimneys and furnaces so as to associate this unconsumed carbon with our industrial prosperity'.³⁵⁷ Then twenty five years later, in the ACC *Annual Report* for 1908, it was expressed that 'the ideal city if ever the world attains to this dream of sages, will be a city free from dust - such a place would mark one as a visionary'.³⁵⁸

From the 1880s the formation of the Torrens Lake and its extensive promenades along the river banks, was Adelaide's crowning glory. Simultaneously, with its creation, a development plan for the planting of the entire Park Lands into approximately thirty separate parks had been undertaken by the first Conservator of Forests, John Ednie Brown. This plan had to take into account the juxtaposition of plantations, more sporting grounds and the existing grazing paddocks.³⁵⁹ By this period there were almost eighty miles of fencing in the Park Lands, which did nothing to enhance an open space character. This was set to change in 1899 with the appointment of German migrant, August Pelzer as City Gardener. There followed the dramatic taming of many parts of the Park Lands by the creation of more than a dozen formal parks such as Cresswell, Pennington, Lundie and Osmond Gardens and the task of ridding the Park Lands of miles of fencing. The increased use of exotic species in grand open spaces together with pathways and rustic trimmings all added to the formation of picturesque European vistas in an alien landscape.³⁶⁰ Adelaide and its formal gardens located off many of its Park Land terraces,

³⁵³ Mark Twain in *Australia and New Zealand*, Penguin Books edition 1973, p181.

³⁵⁴ Nadine Williams, 'A world apart' (Jules Verne) in *Advertiser*, 18 June 2005, Review, pp 6-8.

³⁵⁵ AG Austin (ed) *The Webbs Australian Diary 1898*, p93.

³⁵⁶ ACC *Annual Report* 1915 p52.

³⁵⁷ ACC *Annual Report* 1883, p41.

³⁵⁸ ACC *Annual Report* 1908; further information of Adelaide's road making problems in P Morton's, *After Light*. The dust began to disappear with the development of asphaltic and bituminous concrete sealed roads in the city from 1922.

³⁵⁹ David Jones, 'Designing the Adelaide Parklands in the 1880s: the proposals by John Ednie Brown', in *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 18, No 4, 1998, 287-99.

³⁶⁰ The trend against the Europeanisation of the Park Lands was not halted until the early 1970s; See Adelaide City Archives for P Sumerling, *Social History of the Adelaide Park Lands*, 2004, (unpub).

including the North Terrace boulevard, were much photographed, illustrating and enhancing Adelaide's reputation for a sense of civic pride interstate and overseas.

From the early 1900s, during this beautifying of the Park Lands by creating a rash of formal gardens, there was also a spirited campaign by the commonwealth government, which was intent on alienating parts of them for military purposes. It therefore came as no surprise when in 1910 the mayor was able to reiterate 'the parks are the pride and glory of this city - the best and greatest asset it has, or ever can have. To every generation they are becoming more valuable. Let us, therefore, keep them sacred from the hands of the despoiler'.³⁶¹

[SLSA - Pennington Gardens B28455 ca1910]

However, the zealous development of formal European styled parks from the early 1900s culminating in plans to demolish several public buildings on North Terrace for more parks, led to a Royal Commission in 1916 being established and notions of civic consciousness being taken to new heights. The Royal Commission enquired into the future use of public reserves on North Terrace and looked at the removal of such buildings as Government House and its boundary walls and existing university buildings so that 'the pleasancess of these reserves may be shown to the best advantage'.³⁶² While fortunately the buildings remained, concern for the setting and character of North Terrace has continued to the present day. In the late 1920s during a beautification scheme, there was vigorous but unsuccessful protest against the removal of hundreds of elm trees. Again during 2004 and 2005, the northern side of North Terrace underwent another urban design improvement project, reinforcing its role as the city's main boulevard.

While the notion of civic consciousness continued to apply to the main streets of the city which were much photographed, particularly by the Department of Tourism in the late 1920s and 1930s, there is no doubt that social realism was a concept totally absent when it came to documenting the poorer residential parts of the city.³⁶³ The curiosity of visitors to the city, including journalists and writers, did not venture beyond the main city streets. Therefore, they had no knowledge of how appalling living conditions were for the poorer citizens.

[SAPP 32 1940 Building Act Inquiry Committee p14 and 17]

4.8.4 Building Conservation, or Lack of It

Concern for the city's Heritage was slow to evolve following zoning regulations introduced in 1940 which all but eliminated residential areas in the south part of the city, and contributed to a decline in the residential population. Further, following the lifting of building material restrictions in the mid 1950s, there was a rush to replace nineteenth century public and commercial buildings with anything new, just so long as it was modern, for it represented progress. Journalist Stewart Cockburn wrote in July 1956 that 'candles are finally going out in the southern end of the city square mile after use by scores of tiny cottages and tenements for nearly 100 years'.³⁶⁴ However, he noticed that life in the south-eastern corner bounded by South and East terraces where there were many better and more substantial dwellings was 'almost quiet and peaceful as it was 50 years ago', and he believed, 'the City Council is unlikely to let these parkland terrace frontages fundamentally change their character'. Yet dramatic changes were taking place in the Carrington, Halifax, Gilles streets area between King William Street and Hutt Street where buildings were being demolished each week while old residents were putting up a vigorous fight against inevitable change. Cockburn wrote of them: 'so they sit tight as long as they can, while commerce threatens, wheedles, gnashes its teeth, invokes the law and goes on paying interest on idle capital until the stubborn squatter eventually capitulates usually on handsome terms'.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ ACC Annual Report 1910, p25.

³⁶² ACC Annual Report 1916, p25.

³⁶³ The History Trust is the custodian of the Lands Department's extensive photograph collection, which includes many photographs Taken for the Department of Tourism.

³⁶⁴ Advertiser, 'South End of City Has New Look' 10/7/1956.

³⁶⁵ Advertiser, 10/7/1956.

In November 1963 John Bonython, a city councillor, had a lot to say about the 'city's history in stone vanishing' when he pointed out that Adelaide was distinctive for its setting and layout, and by its buildings. Reiterating that old buildings have an educational, historical and aesthetic value which was difficult to express in cash, he stressed the need to consider what the monetary value was to the community through tourist potential. While Bonython realised that Adelaide's setting could not be improved upon,

we can do, and succeed in doing, a good deal to spoil it. We cannot do anything to add to the number of worthwhile old buildings although we can do a great deal to reduce the number.

He warned that Adelaide would receive a smaller proportion of tourists every time it did away with a kind of building that was distinctive to Adelaide and constructed in their place buildings that could be seen, bigger and better in Melbourne or Sydney. 'As it is when our old buildings have gone we shall be left with only our setting.'³⁶⁶

The South Australian branch of the National Trust was established by Act of Parliament in 1955. It was concerned for the protection and preservation of the natural environment, and it also became involved in the Heritage of the city through appeals for the retention of the city's historic buildings, and their verandahs. It was occasionally consulted by the Adelaide City Council on such matters as the preservation of historic features in the city and on colour schemes.³⁶⁷

Throughout the 1960s the city lost many of its finest buildings. Significant buildings which were demolished included the 1882 ES&A Bank building in King William Street, the 1867 Theatre Royal in Hindley Street, the South Australian Hotel on North Terrace, the Education Building in Flinders Street (replaced by the present building in the early 1970s), and the 1886-7 Exhibition Building on North Terrace.

Despite an appeal by visiting poet and connoisseur of architecture, John Betjemann - 'I bitterly regretted any plan which might lead to the loss of the Theatre Royal - quite one of the prettiest theatres I've seen' - it was demolished along with other historical buildings such as the South Australian Hotel.³⁶⁸ In 1966-67 Lord Mayor Bridgland stated that it was 'vital for the development of Adelaide that the old move aside for the new and that the new is a result of well considered and balanced planning'.³⁶⁹ This was moderated somewhat in 1969-70 when the lord mayor stressed the need for formulation of a framework to guide planning policies for the next twenty years and for the revival of the city as a desirable place to live especially in North Adelaide, the south-eastern corners and parts of South Terrace. He advised 'we must retain the quiet and dignified charm which has given Adelaide its distinctiveness'.³⁷⁰

The pivotal point of the Heritage debate took new meaning following the state government's intervention in 1971 after a popular protest into the retention of the former premises of the Bank of South Australia now known as Edmund Wright House. Also, following the recommendations of the Urban Systems Corporation in 1974 which led to The City of Adelaide Plan, a register of places of environmental significance was proposed. Although the City Plan was adopted in 1976, it was more than a year after the passing of the South Australian Heritage Act in 1978, that the Adelaide City Council gave consideration to undertaking a heritage study of the city of Adelaide. Out of the Heritage Study, and following public exhibition, public comment and seminars, 419 buildings out of 7,500 in the city were gazetted on 23 December 1987 as part of the City of Adelaide Plan 1986-91.³⁷¹

However, in the twenty first century the Heritage debate continues unresolved particularly for the many buildings worthy of local Heritage listing that have not been designated. While 'the prestige of owning a listed building can be an economic asset ... it has been claimed by various critics of

³⁶⁶ *Advertiser*, 9/11/1963.

³⁶⁷ ACC *Annual Report*, 1968-69 p20.

³⁶⁸ *Advertiser*, 2/12/1961.

³⁶⁹ ACC *Annual Report*, 1966-67, Introduction.

³⁷⁰ Foreword of the ACC *Annual Report*, 1969-70.

³⁷¹ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 45-46.

the statutory recognition of heritage that the placing of any building on a Register is a crime against Civil Liberties'.³⁷²

The City of Adelaide Development Plan has included statements of Desired Future Character for a number of years, and schedules of Heritage places which are protected from demolition. More understanding of the physical character of Adelaide is required. As a nineteenth century writer observed about the character of Adelaide in 1890, it was 'something wholly impossible to define...a combination...of the sunshine, the dark trees, the low houses, and an all-pervading look of cleanliness and freshness, in which Adelaide stands alone'.³⁷³

The Adelaide City Council is continuing to review the processes of heritage protection through the review of North Adelaide in 2004-5 and through further identification and documentation of the heritage of the remainder of Adelaide which commenced in 2006.

³⁷² Paul Stark, untitled paper on the city's Heritage buildings, April 1986.

³⁷³ ACC Annual Report, 1890 p25, quoted in Peter Donovan, Susan Marsden and Paul Stark, *City of Adelaide Heritage Study: Report on location and documentation of Heritage Items as part of Stage 1*, 1982, p4.

5.0 GOVERNMENT

5.1 Introduction

South Australia has three tiers of government which impact on Adelaide at the local level, the state level and the national level. Although the City Corporation has control and management of the city and the Park Lands that surround it, the decisions of state government at different times have also had a profound effect on the development of the city. Similarly, the federal government has been involved in issues which impact on city governance on several occasions.

Initially the nascent city was managed by the early colonial government until the first municipality was established in 1840, but this functioned only until June 1843. It became moribund due to the effects of the colony's first economic crisis and was also hindered in its efforts by the hostility of the incoming and autocratic Governor George Grey.³⁷⁴ Subsequently, control and management of the city reverted back to the colonial government until 1849 when a City Commission was established, with members nominated by the Governor Henry Fox Young. The Commission operated for several years, and a formal city municipality was re-established in 1852, much expedited by the positive economic effects of the Victorian gold-rush.

The city's relationship with the state and federal government has been described as being 'a continually abrasive relationship'. Until 1877 the relationship with the colonial government was described as 'a grudging tolerance, breaking out occasionally into active resentment whenever the council felt its rights were being infringed'.³⁷⁵ Moreover, matters such as alienation of the Park Lands by the state government, and threats to do so by the federal government, together with the fact that the federal and state government were exempt from rates for the many city buildings they owned, did nothing to enhance the relationship between them and the city corporation.³⁷⁶

The city now contains buildings which house the various offices for the three levels of government including the Town Hall, State Parliament and the former Reserve Bank Building in Victoria Square. These buildings reflect the hierarchy of legislative and administrative control within the city.

5.2 Local Government

5.2.1 Formation of a City Administration

The City of Adelaide and its Park Lands, covers the smallest area of any municipality (apart from Walkerville), but is the wealthiest and the most powerful in South Australia. The city currently has little more than thirty per cent of the population it had in 1915 when it reached more than 43,000 and is still about 5,000 less than the population in 1855 when it was 18,259.

The beginning of Local Government in Australia came about with the establishment of the first city municipality, that of Adelaide on 31 October 1840. There were nineteen members, who chose four of their number to be Aldermen and then one of these (James Hurtle Fisher) to be Mayor. However, the Council was established as the colony entered an economic depression and after amassing a rising debt, when unable to collect rates, the Council became legally defunct in September 1843. The government then took over the running of city affairs when Governor, Sir Henry Fox Young, set up a City Commission to administer City Government in 1849 and appointed five commissioners.

³⁷⁴ John R Robbins, 'An Outline History of South Australian Local Government' in (ed) Dean Jaensch, *The Flinders History of South Australia: a Political History*, 1986, p 396, 397.

³⁷⁵ P Morton, *After Light*, p10.

³⁷⁶ P Morton, *After Light*, p10.

The Commission was mainly ineffective, but when the economy improved, the Commission was replaced by a revised City Corporation on 1 June 1852. It has operated continuously ever since. When the City was divided into four wards at this time, three Councillors and one Alderman were chosen, who in turn selected the Mayor. In 1861 the Mayor was chosen by all the electors and the position of Alderman was temporarily abolished. In 1873 the City was divided into six Wards, which are Hindmarsh, Gawler, Grey, Robe, Young, and MacDonnell. They are named after the first six Governors of South Australia. Each ward were represented by two Councillors. When the office of Alderman was recreated in 1880, they were chosen by electors of all Wards. The office of Mayor was raised to the stature of Lord Mayor by Royal Letters Patent in 1919. The Lord Mayor received the right to be styled 'The Right Honourable' in 1927.

By the 1950s and 60s the Council was expanding its interest in city planning and development, as metropolitan Adelaide's population steadily increased and traffic and other pressures demanded the need for new initiatives for future planning and development. New solutions were investigated on how best to provide better development control mechanisms with the formulation of a City of Adelaide Plan, which set out a Desired Future Character for each precinct of the city. Adopted in July 1976, the plan is reviewed and revised every five years.³⁷⁷

5.2.2 Activities of Local Government in Adelaide

Following the formation of the first city corporation in 1840 (appointed by Governor Henry F C Young, when the city population had exceeded 2,000 and qualified to establish a municipality under British law), the extent of council work was confined solely to Hindley and Rundle streets, and undertaken largely by prison labour.³⁷⁸ By 1842 the city roads were described as being 'in a very shocking state, and in the condition of a ploughed field [and were] so bad that the bullock drays used the footpaths instead and pedestrians were driven into the road'. Worse, the rates collected were considered to be frittered away in worse than useless works.³⁷⁹ At the time that the corporation was established, the colonial government had erected a handsome two storey stone slaughter house on the west Park Lands which was expected to create a generous source of revenue. Although this proved to be so, when the newly formed corporation was required to take over the slaughterhouse operations, it was startled to receive, at the end of its first year, an account from the Colonial Architect for £853 for the construction of the slaughterhouse. The corporation started with a budget of £2,000 which was borrowed from the government, with almost half of this sum allocated as wages for its staff. From the assessed rates of 1840, only £1,333/6/8d was collected. Following wages and expenses the corporation only had £17 left in its coffers with which to pay for the slaughterhouse.³⁸⁰ As this crisis intensified, the corporation's finances worsened.

[SLSA - Slaughter House B267 1914]

While so few works were undertaken, when George Strickland Kingston was the corporation's first Town Surveyor and was responsible for fixing the town's rates, he used his assessment information to produce 'the large scale cadastral map giving location, size and construction of all buildings, and in many cases indicating ownership.'³⁸¹ This enduring legacy known as 'The Kingston Map' produced in 1842 is one of the corporation's most historic archival documents and is a valuable research tool.

The first town corporation ceased to exist in 1843. The economic crisis caused many to become unemployed, and others found they were unable to pay their rates. In turn, the corporation was unable to pay its half dozen staff. For almost ten years the city was managed by the colonial government, assisted by a City Commission from 1849, until the municipality was reformed in 1852.

³⁷⁷ *South Australia: The Civic Record*, 1986, pp32-33

³⁷⁸ Thomas Worsnop, *The History of the City of Adelaide*, 1878, facsimile, 1988, p 36.

³⁷⁹ Thomas Worsnop, *The History of the City of Adelaide*, p7

³⁸⁰ T Worsnop, *The History of the City of Adelaide*, p 26.

³⁸¹ Donald Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*, p137.

After its reformation the municipality was better able to manage rates, roads and rubbish and continued as before to utilise the Park Lands as a revenue making source through licence fees for grazing animals and the city market and abattoirs. While the Park Lands were (and still are) held in trust by the City Corporation and managed for use by the people of Adelaide, it could not always fend off the state government that was meanwhile 'filching' Park Lands from as early as 1838-39 (and on into the 1950s) for such uses as gaols, a school, railways and a growing number of institutions. Further, in the earlier period and because of the corporation's lack of financial resources, organisation and knowledge, the colonial government took control of the city's early water supply in 1860.

In 1856 the 'real work of macadamising the streets in a systematic manner' began. Then the 1858 Building Act gave the corporation powers to refuse the building of timber structures. In the same period the fencing of the Park Lands for the grazing of stock began in earnest and generated increasing funds each year, so that by the 1880s there were almost eighty miles of fencing for approximately thirty parks.

Licensing fees were a large part of the corporation's revenue through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It collected fees for grazing and sporting activities on the Park Lands, as well as for licensed taxis, buses, dogs, milk suppliers and dairies, private slaughter yards, butchers, horse and carriage bazaars, lodging houses, cafes, restaurants and fish and chip shops, maternity hospitals, theatres and hotels and many other activities and venues. From the 1950s it also began collecting car parking fees. In collecting the many types of fees, a swag of regulations accompanied the licence applied for and thereby regulated people's behaviour and lives as did the clauses under the Health Act of 1873.

Although the issue of providing deep drainage dates to the mid 1850s when the first Waterworks Act was passed, it was the early 1860s before the nascent system was installed along King William, Rundle and Hindley streets and parts of North and East terraces. By 1868 there was no sign of further extensions because of the 'crippled state of finances', and it took another sixteen years before the entire city was connected to deep drainage. A survey of the city was undertaken to determine where drainage pipes would be laid and connected. The survey which culminated in 120 detailed building maps, recording the floor plans of every building in the city as at 1880, is known as the Smith Survey, as it was supervised by the City Engineer, Charles W Smith. This led to the installation and completion of deep drainage by 1884.

While improvements in medicine prolonged life, it was the development of public health and the installation of deep drainage that underpinned general improvements in living conditions particularly for the city's poorer residents. Following the Health Act of 1873 a Central Board of Health was established. Although it was a colonial government agency, the power was held at the local government level where each municipality had its own public health committee known as the Board of Health.³⁸² The City of Adelaide's Board of Health comprised the whole council, with the town clerk as its secretary. It was a powerful tool (until the Department of Health was established in the 1920s) for although it only had an officer of health and three sanitary inspectors, they had sufficient power to intervene in an individual's or an employer's life through such regulations as the Nuisances Removal Act, a Common Lodging House Act, Adulteration of Food Act, Notification of Diseases Act (1884), compulsory vaccinations for infants and annual inspections of all city premises. Although the corporation could act against a factory for its pollution under the regulation of nuisances, it could not control the working conditions within it. This was the colonial and then state government's domain through the Factories Act of 1894.

Under the Health Act, the corporation sought new ways of creating a clean and rubbish free city environment which also gave them powers to take over private city streets which were in poor condition or filled with rubbish. Following the installation of deep drainage in the early 1880s, the corporation was confronted with the problem of disposing of the city rubbish. By 1910 thirty tons of rubbish per day was dumped into around eighteen different locations around the Park Lands, together with a multitude of smaller ones. This included the Parade Ground which was used as a

³⁸² P Morton, *After Light: A history of the City of Adelaide and its Council, 1878-1928*, 1996, p 115.

city dump between 1855 and the early 1890s.³⁸³ In the early 1900s when the corporation declared the traditional way of rubbish dumping unsanitary, it invested in twentieth century technology from overseas to build a rubbish incinerator that became so successful that it also cremated rubbish for eleven metropolitan councils.³⁸⁴

The mayor wrote of the technology in 1908, 'I am satisfied that the figures as presented place this scheme outside the atmosphere of a speculative proposition, and instead of being a sucker of any proportion of the City's rates, it will become a feeder to the revenue of the Corporation'. And so it proved to be, initially.

The Halifax-Gilles Street site (Town Acres 564 and 603) was found to be the 'only one in the city suitable and available for the purpose'. The corporation had intended to locate the rubbish incinerator alongside the city abattoirs (near where Bonython Park now is), but the good citizens of Adelaide became so politically active about the Park Lands being used for such purposes, that the corporation changed their plans.

The mechanism for a refuse destructor for Adelaide was manufactured in Manchester, England, and installed in Halifax Street in early April 1910. This included machinery and additional buildings capable of incinerating sixty tons of refuse per day. The destructor complex also included a clinker and mortar mill, flag making plant, hydraulic tin-balling press, a ten ton weighbridge and a steam disinfecter. It was planned as the most 'perfect destructor in Australasia' that would 'materially add to the health and general wellbeing of the city'. However, such good intentions became a matter of dispute for residents living in the vicinity who had to put up with the environmental pollution in the form of smoke and ash from the plant.

The old stone mill building on site was retained and included in the complex. Before commencing operations on 20 June, 1910, it needed two months to heat up the furnaces slowly so that the masonry could harden and be prepared for 2000 degrees Fahrenheit. The remaining clinker, the residue after incineration of the rubbish, was not wasted but was milled, ground and converted into concrete paving slabs for city footpaths. The tar-distilling plant made a product then preferred for road surfacing. One of the most important parts of the complex was the steam disinfecter where infected bedding and clothing following an infectious outbreak, were fumigated and sterilised by steam at the direction of civic authorities. The furnaces created so much energy that excess electricity was sold to the Adelaide Electric Company for up to £2,000 per year. Until a fire in 1918, the city destructor was a tourist drawcard. The plants on site – steam laundry, road works materials and 'rubbish cremation' - were a source of fascination for visitors if not for local residents.

Although the corporation was proud of its destructor site, the residents suffered the problems of pollution. When the Town Clerk proposed closing down the operations, a special committee investigating waste disposal decided in 1952 that the 'land fill method of refuse disposal [will] be instituted at Wingfield as soon as possible...'.³⁸⁵ The corporation continued using the Halifax Street site as a Council works depot until this function was transferred to Mile End in the early 1990s. The vacated site has since been developed as a major residential locality and includes a restaurant.³⁸⁶

Another major corporation enterprise is the Central Market, which was established in 1869 on four Town Acres which the corporation owned. The Council has managed its development ever since, and following the addition of the brick Grote Street facade in 1900, has continued to heavily invest in the Central Market to ensure its continuing popularity to the present day. The city market has maintained its high profile for locals and tourists alike as the second major retail outlet in the city.

³⁸³ Peter G Anson, 'It's a load of garbage - a study of waste disposal sites in early Adelaide', Thesis, Graduate Diploma in Archaeology, Flinders University, 1993.

³⁸⁴ P Sumerling, *The Halifax Destructor Site*, 1993.

³⁸⁵ ACC *Digest of Proceedings*, 24/3/1952 p443.

³⁸⁶ P Sumerling, *The Halifax Destructor Site*, 1993.

5.3 State Government

5.3.1 Background

The Governor and an advisory council were initially responsible for 'on the spot' government of the province of South Australia. Within weeks of European settlement, several acts for the regulation of good behaviour were assented to in 1837 in the form of establishing a court system, the regulation of workers by the Masters and Servants Act and for the regulation of liquor. It was felt these would surely make for a well behaved society that had no police force, convicts or need for a gaol.

However, until George Gawler arrived in Adelaide in 1838 as the second governor, few public works of any consequence had been undertaken, mainly due to the very bad behaviour of the first governor and his cronies.³⁸⁷

Until 1840 there were two separate systems governing the colony which caused serious frictions between the first governor, Captain John Hindmarsh and his camp, and James Hurtle Fisher, the Resident Commissioner, whose camp included William Light, the Surveyor General, his deputy George Kingston and all their assistants who were paid and took their instructions directly from the London based Colonizing Commissioners.

While Fisher, Light, Kingston and their subordinates were responsible for the physical establishment of the colony by surveying and land sales, the governor and his followers were responsible for 'good government'. Early squabbles particularly between Light and Hindmarsh as to where the capital city should be sited, hindered the progress of surveying the city and the hinterlands. Although the interference by Governor Hindmarsh into Light's choice of the capital site proved to be only one difficulty, the many complaints about Hindmarsh were serious and disruptive. The Resident Commissioner wrote 'The only drawback is our Governor, who is most unpopular from the highest to the lowest, and...about the most unqualified man that could have been selected'.³⁸⁸ In a veiled action organised by the Resident Commissioner and his followers, Kingston was sent back to England in June 1837 carrying secret complaints to have Hindmarsh recalled. The public knew only that Kingston's reason for visiting England was to return with more surveyors and labourers for speeding up surveying of the hinterlands.

It took until July 1838 before Hindmarsh was recalled to be replaced by the capable Governor George Gawler who initiated about a dozen major public works schemes. However, when the London Colonizing Commissioners were unable to act decisively in the events leading to the bankruptcy of the colony, Gawler, as the scapegoat was also recalled and the Colonizing Commission's powers were dissolved in January 1840.³⁸⁹

In its place, the general Board of Colonisation Commissioners for Land and Emigration was created which effectively saw the end of the two systems of government operating in South Australia. Following Governor Grey's arrival in May 1841, the South Australian Government Act of 1842 replaced the 1834 South Australia Act.³⁹⁰ A year later when the Legislative Council was formed, it consisted of the governor and seven members as nominated by him.

5.3.2 Creation of State Government Institutions and Facilities

When the colonial government established a police force, a hospital, a migration hostel, a destitute asylum and a gaol, these were all constructed on the Park Lands. The colonial government also constructed premises for its several departments which needed administration offices. These included the 1839 Treasury Buildings in Victoria Square where most of the government departments were located initially. The original Treasury was rebuilt in stages from the mid 1850s to the early 1900s. Within an 1870s section facing Flinders Street, the premier's

³⁸⁷ Donald Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*. The first governor's behaviour is much discussed.

³⁸⁸ Donald Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*, p72.

³⁸⁹ Donald Langmead, *The Accidental Architect*, pp 125, 130.

³⁹⁰ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, p397.

cabinet room was located for around ninety years, until the 1960s when a new state government administration building was constructed in Victoria Square adjacent to the Reserve Bank Building, and the premier's cabinet moved there. The former historic cabinet room in the Treasury building was retained when it was recently refurbished and transformed into a hotel.

Other government departments accommodated during the mid to late nineteenth century, were those in the three court buildings in the Victoria Square environment, and the Torrens Building. On the Park Lands at the corner of Dequetteville Terrace and North Terrace, the Engineering and Water Supply Department had several large buildings constructed and then survived there for 100 years.

The centre of government for the State remains the marble Parliament House on one of the city's most prominent intersections. It was built in two parts, with fifty years between the 1889 and 1939 stages. The early limestone building to the west of Parliament House was the Legislative Council from 1843, with a House of Assembly added in 1857. This building which became used for other purposes once the east wing of Parliament was built in 1939, was used for about a decade as the Constitutional Museum and the History Trust of SA from 1980, but is now used once more for parliamentary business.³⁹¹

Many of the departments of state government were located in the city until the 1960s.³⁹² Although State government was known to take what land it wanted in the Park Lands for its various departments, sometimes amid controversy, it rarely interfered in the actual development of the city itself. However, with the election of Tom Playford as premier, the experience of the city of Adelaide between 1938 and about 1965, can only be described as harmful in the overall history of the city's development.

[SLSA - Treasury Building B4501 1842]

Playford took office at the peak of an 'unhindered' building boom, the likes of which was not repeated until after 1953 and which left the main streets of Adelaide all the more impressive because of it.³⁹³ In that period some of Adelaide's finest buildings were completed between 1935 and 1942.³⁹⁴ This period was a short but golden one for the private sector. Then in 1942 the federal government placed a ban on all building works except essential ones in the city and throughout Australia until the end of the Second World War. When after the war finished materials were in short supply, the state government extended restrictions in December 1945 by implementing the Building and Materials Act which lasted until 1953. This only allowed for improvements which were to cost no more than £500. The city corporation complained that 'under existing conditions, little progress can be made within the City area in post-war construction, or for the natural expansion of the City consequent upon the industrial expansion in the metropolitan area'.³⁹⁵

Instead, all energies were diverted into the suburbs for the creation of new housing and industry, while neglect of the city retarded its development. Exceptions were the construction of several government building projects under way in the city, such as schools, hospitals, and at the University of Adelaide.

5.3.3 Police

The new colony of South Australia, which was meant to be crime and convict free, established the first organized professional police force in Australia on 28 April 1838 in response to 'escaped convicts "flooding" into the colony'.³⁹⁶ Not foreseen when planning a new colony was the heavy

³⁹¹ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: An illustrated Guide*, 1990, p245-246.

³⁹² Marine and Harbors relocated to Port Adelaide, and the Highways Department located to Walkerville.

³⁹³ ACC *Annual Report*, 1953, graph p 75.

³⁹⁴ CML Building, 1935; Goldsbrough House, 1935; AMP, 1936; Bonython Hall, 1936; Elder Smith Building, 1937; East wing, Parliament House, 1939; Westpac Building, 1942; Savings Bank 1943.

³⁹⁵ ACC *Annual Reports*, 1945-6 p.20.

³⁹⁶ R Clyne, *Colonial Blue: A History of the South Australian Police Force 1836-1916*, 1986, p xix.

cost of maintaining it. This was an 'unexpected drain on government revenue'. Early policing dealt mainly with theft, drunkenness and licensing of dogs.

The police force, which was established with ten mounted and ten foot constables, initially 'was without rules, regulations, designated duties or a uniform'.³⁹⁷ Policing all of South Australia numbers in the metropolitan police force grew to sixty five during Governor Gawler's term of office, but were halved soon after the arrival of Governor Grey in 1840. With the need for such a service increasing or decreasing according to the state of the economy, policing in the city throughout the nineteenth century was not free. Theatres and other organisations needing crowd control for specific events paid a fee for the presence of one or more constables. In 1861 the government requested that the corporation pay for the protection that the citizens of Adelaide received. To affect this, the government reduced the corporation's annual grant by £3,000 in order to pay for half the cost of the police. Known as the police moiety, this sum increased each year. When in 1873 the corporation successfully petitioned parliament for a more equitable adjustment for police services, an amount equal to the cost of ten constables working in the city was agreed upon.³⁹⁸ The city of Adelaide was the only local authority in Australia to pay a police moiety and it was paid by the corporation until it was abolished in 1938.³⁹⁹

Initially, timber barracks were constructed east of Government House, and a metropolitan police station was built in timber diagonally opposite Holy Trinity Church. Substantial stone barracks for the mounted police (still located behind the Museum) replaced the earlier timber one and a new police station was built alongside the General Post Office in the early 1850s. In 1917, new police barracks known as the Thebarton Police Barracks, were built to replace the police station alongside the GPO and the barracks off Kintore Avenue. In the 1960s a new police headquarters was built in Angas Street and this has recently been replaced by a new federal court building. The police headquarters moved to Flinders Street, to the former Shell Building.

[SLSA - Police barracks B35190 ca1860]

5.3.4 Transport

The state government and its many departments in the city of Adelaide were very visible by the twentieth century. Its increasing involvement in transportation saw the Adelaide Railway Station built for the third time in the mid 1920s and large enough to accommodate its huge department, while its railway lines scarred the Park Lands. When the state government bought up the many tram companies to create the Municipal Tramways Trust in the early 1900s, several tram barns and an administrative office were built on the Park Lands off Hackney Road. Further, temporary tram sheds were built on the corner of Angas Street and a conductors' waiting room and public conveniences were built in Victoria Square (now demolished).

5.3.5 Health

The Royal Adelaide Hospital, first established in 1841 with the second hospital built on the present site in 1855-6, expanded to such an extent that by the 1980s, it employed more people in the city than any other body.⁴⁰⁰ In addition the hospital utilised the former 1850s lunatic asylum building in the Botanic Gardens as the Infectious Diseases Block until 1932. At that time there was an exchange of land between the Royal Adelaide Hospital and the Botanic Gardens, when the old colonial building was demolished.

[SLSA - Adelaide Hospital B6364 ca1860]

³⁹⁷ R Clyne, *Colonial Blue*: p xxi.

³⁹⁸ T Worsnop, *History of the City of Adelaide*, pp 185-186.

³⁹⁹ P Morton, *After Light*, p 193.

⁴⁰⁰ ACC *Land Use Survey*, 1982.

5.3.6 Education

The Education Department was well represented by the 1950s with about six state schools strategically located in the city, including the Adelaide High School on the Park Lands off West Terrace, and all of which were managed from its impressive 1911 six storey building in Flinders Street, that was later replaced by an even larger multistorey building in 1973.

While there was a general retardation of the city's growth after the Second World War, Playford's government embarked on the construction of the Adelaide Boy's High School after the war, the plans of which predated the Playford government. The Education Department pushed to alienate some acres of Park Land off Frome Road in 1938, but when the city corporation protested, the Observatory site on the west Park Lands was offered by the government in September 1940. Perhaps it was seen as the lesser of two evils when the council agreed to its dedication as a School Reserve.⁴⁰¹

5.3.7 Social Welfare

Social welfare, a responsibility that the colonial government took on from the earliest days of European settlement, became involved in the care of the aged, destitute, disabled, sick and unemployed. It was also responsible for abandoned and orphaned children and organised the foster care of children as well as the care and control of refractory young people. Initially the Lands Department was responsible for this area, and also provided lying-in facilities for pregnant, destitute and single women, but a specific Destitute Board was set up in 1849 which took over some of these responsibilities. Until the early twentieth century, many of the departments responsible for these areas of welfare provided facilities in a large complex of stone buildings off Kintore Avenue. Only the former lying-in buildings (now the Migration Museum) and the Mounted Police Barracks (directly behind the SA Museum) remain from over fifty buildings and four courtyards that existed in this location until the 1960s.

In 1936 the government established its public housing authority, the South Australian Housing Trust, which provided low-cost rental housing for workers. The Trust's main offices were located in Angas Street for many years, and the building still survives.

5.4 Federal Government

5.4.1 Introduction

From federation in 1901, South Australian government responsibilities such as communications, defence, immigration, social security and taxation, were steadily transferred to the federal government.⁴⁰² Federation took place during the South African War to which a contingent of South Australian volunteers had been sent. After it was over, the federal government planned to build barracks for their defence forces in South Australia on a western part of the Adelaide Park Lands. This brought an immediate reaction from Mayor Lewis Cohen, a 'tireless defender of public amenities who held the preservation of the parks against "the hands of the despoiler" to be an almost sacred mission'.⁴⁰³ His opposition, warning 'Hands off our Park Lands', was successful when the federal government was persuaded to build its barracks at Keswick. The ongoing matter of commonwealth ownership of the Army Parade Ground south of Government House had created deep wounds between the local and the other two tiers of government. These were somewhat healed in very recent times when the federal government relinquished the Parade Ground to the state government.

Although the federal government became responsible for several major government authorities, the South Australian government continued to build and maintain federal buildings for many

⁴⁰¹ ACC, Parks and Recreation, Dockets relating to Park Lands.

⁴⁰² S Marsden, 6.1 'Expanding the Commonwealth' in *Twentieth century Heritage survey-stage one: post Second World War (1946-1959) Overview history*. Marsden states 'A constitutional amendment in 1946 allowed Parliament to make laws relating to widows' pensions, unemployment, medical benefits and family allowances...'

⁴⁰³ P Morton, *After Light*, p152-153.

years after federation, through its own departments. Subsequently, the construction of the Franklin Street telephone exchange, adjacent to the General Post Office, was undertaken by the state government's architect, C E Owen Smyth in 1907 (with additions in 1912), on behalf of the federal government.

In more recent times, following the division of post office facilities from telecommunications, from which Telecom and then later Telstra Corporation evolved, further federal buildings were constructed for these services. This included the circa 1987 multi-storey metal lined premises in Pirie Street opposite the city corporation's administration offices and a large windowless building in Franklin Street.

Immigration was a federal concern from 1901, and after the Second World War several migrant hostels were located in the metropolitan area and beyond, with one being located within the city. When the Cheer-Up Society no longer needed its premises behind the Railway Station the federal government transformed it into a post-war migrant hostel, which it remained for a number of years until it was demolished in 1970 to make room for the Festival Theatre.

[SLSA - Cheer Up Hut B5505 1919]

5.4.2 Government Employment and the Public Service

In the twenty first century the combined numbers of employees working for the two higher tiers of government is noteworthy. In 2002, the top twenty employers in the city include eight state government departments. Also within this number, four of the top employers are federal government departments.⁴⁰⁴ According to former state Premier John Bannon, following federation, South Australia 'benefited from the Commonwealth's placement of World War II industries and the post-war immigration program, and overall has done well from fiscal equalisation under Federation'.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ ACC 2002 *Land Use & Employment Survey Report*, July 2003.

⁴⁰⁵ J Bannon, 'Federation' in *The Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 188-191.

6.0 DEVELOPING ADELAIDE'S SOCIAL & CULTURAL LIFE

6.1 Introduction

The development of social and cultural life in Adelaide has resulted in a wide range of buildings and structures to house the activities and interests of the citizens of the city. These include a varied range of housing, hotels, schools and churches, institutional buildings and other places of meeting and congregation. There is also a wide range of sporting facilities throughout the city and the Park Lands which serve the residents and visitors to the city.

The province of South Australia was intended to be a place of religious tolerance, with no state religion and all churches and denominations having equal rights and influence. This has resulted in the "City of Churches" label discussed further in other sections of this thematic history.

The 1870s and 1880s was an important period for private philanthropy to complement the basic social welfare facilities provided by the government and many large buildings remain from this period, particularly churches.

The juxtaposition of large mansions and small houses and closely built cottages was a distinguishing feature of the residential areas of Adelaide and these are representative of the social life and the mixed economic strata of the nineteenth century. The West Terrace Cemetery is a significant record of the life and death of a large number of Adelaide residents and South Australian citizens, and for the living, hotels prove to be a continuing focus for social and recreational activity.

6.2 Living and Dying in Adelaide

The process of living and dying created a wide range of structures - many of which remain to demonstrate their significance in the development of Adelaide.

6.2.1 Births

Up until about the Second World War, many married women continued to give birth at home, with assistance from a trusted midwife, possibly a friend or a woman relative. There was also the option for better-off women to have their babies in private 'lying-in' homes. Doctors became part of the event if there were complications or if women chose to pay to have a doctor attend.⁴⁰⁶ In the post-war period home births were few except for a period between the 1970s and early 1990s when there was a revival in them.

During the late nineteenth century married women with some financial means patronised private lying-in homes in the city and by 1899 when there were almost three dozen, they were licensed and were regularly scrutinised by inspectors to stamp out 'irregularities'.⁴⁰⁷ While these homes catered mainly for one woman at a time, usually with one room in a private home set aside for a birth, there were several homes that accommodated as many as five and six women. Several of the larger homes which were run by highly respected matrons grew into large private hospitals, such as one in Hutt Street which has now been demolished. The South Australian Maternity Home at 144 Carrington Street was licensed for six mothers while Maude Holder's establishment at 263 King William Street was licensed for five. Of the six lying-in homes in North Adelaide, the building that accommodated Harriet Downs' establishment, at 97-99 Jeffcott Street, still survives.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ De Vries, G D - *Conditions of Childbirth in Adelaide*, BA Hons Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1963.

⁴⁰⁷ P Sumerling, *The history of abortion, infanticide and baby farming in South Australia, 1870-1920*, Adel Uni hons thesis, 1983.

⁴⁰⁸ State Records, GRG27/15, 'Licensed Lying-in homes, Inspectress Report Book', 1899-1910; ACC, ACA Review of Register of City of Adelaide Heritage Items 1986-1991, 2 Vols, Item 63, 99 Jeffcott Street.

Several of the main-stream churches such as the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist became involved in the welfare of providing a refuge for single pregnant women from the 1860s. After the establishment of the Salvation Army in 1880, it too provided women's refuges where these vulnerable single women could seek assistance for their confinements and from where adoptions could be arranged.

Such refuges were established in the inner suburbs from the mid 1860s in response to the government's own draconian Destitute Asylum in Kintore Avenue that had a lying-in hospital attached and which was rebuilt as a two storey building in 1877-78 (and now used as the Migration Museum). Pregnant women who required assistance were admitted for six months. It was regarded as a place of last resort for it was seen as being little better than a prison. Women who were able to, chose the more compassionate surroundings of church managed institutions located in the inner suburbs. The Destitute Asylum's lying-in hospital closed in 1918 following the extension of facilities at the Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital for unmarried women in 1917. This hospital was located opposite Victoria Park Racecourse on Fullarton Road, Dulwich and was opened in 1902 initially to provide hospital and maternity care for poor married women.

After the opening of the Queen Victoria Hospital, Doctor Helen Mayo together with Harriet Stirling worked with the State Children's Department to establish the Adelaide School for Mothers (ASM) in 1909 which was modelled on the infant health organisations of Britain and America. Its aim was for 'the improvement of infant life and reduction of infant mortality by instructing mothers on the right rearing of infants'.⁴⁰⁹ A name change in 1927 saw the ASM become the Mothers' and Babies Health Association (MBHA). After it became part of the SA Health Commission, it was called by several names but since 1995 has been known as Child and Youth Health. A mothercraft hospital and training school known as Torrens House was established in the city and still functions as a live-in centre for assisting new mothers with baby care advice. Now at 285-295 South Terrace, where it has been located since 1957, it had been at two other city locations before that.

Single women with infants needed work to support themselves and provide for their children's care, if not by licensed foster mothers then in a crèche situation. Married women also needed these facilities while they worked. While the formation of the Kindergarten Union was not until 1905, several crèches were established in the city. Laura Corbin, the wife of a city general practitioner, established crèche facilities from 1887 in King William Street and then in Gilles Street.

[SLSA - Creche B7660 1897]

Her efforts to provide a purpose-built crèche culminated in the construction of the South Adelaide Crèche in Gouger Street in December 1896. Looking much like a doll's house and adorned with carved cherubs on the facade, the elegant little building was made possible by the extra support of 'Uncle Harry' and his famous children's club of around 14,000 'Sunbeams' who donated thousands of pennies totalling £600 which went towards the cost of buying land and building the crèche. When the foundation stone was laid in August 1896, Uncle Harry and 2,500 of his Sunbeams turned out to celebrate with banners and beating of drums. The crèche operated until the late 1930s. Many women had lost their jobs during the Depression and could no longer afford the twopence a day it cost them to leave their children there.⁴¹⁰ When it was reduced to just its facade in the 1980s, its cherubic figures were deliberately vandalised. Its demise and its eventual demolition in the mid 1990s was not without controversy.

6.2.2 Playgrounds

As well as the facilities provided for their education in the new government schools, children also needed places to play in a safe environment. For children growing up in the city it was traditional to play in the streets they lived in or go off to the Park Lands nearby. By the turn of the twentieth

⁴⁰⁹ ACC *Annual Report*, 1918 p55; J Rafferty, 'Saving South Australia's babies: The Mothers' and Babies Health Association' in B O'Neil, J Rafferty, K Round (eds) *Playford's South Australia: Essays on the history of South Australia 1933-1968*, 1996, pp 275-294.

⁴¹⁰ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 184-185.

century the city corporation and the government paid more attention to the needs of the city's children as the population rose to its highest level.

[ACA 338 1922]

In 1918 Lord Mayor Glover did not think it appropriate to hold the annual lord mayor's ball while so many South Australian men were fighting at the front in Europe. 'Sharing the popular unease about the fitness of the population which had been awakened by the recruitment drive during the war', he instead directed funding towards the construction of a number of playgrounds in the Park Lands. The first playground to be constructed was off South Terrace between Unley and Peacock roads. The 1920 Lefevre Terrace playground, with remnants of its original kaffir apple hedge, still survives as the Glover playground in North Adelaide. The lord mayor also donated funds for a playground on the corner of Wakefield Street and East Terrace. The fourth one, built off West Terrace between Gouger and Wright streets was paid for, initially, by the Town Planning and Improvement Association, but following financial difficulties, was left for the city corporation to finish off.⁴¹¹

6.2.3 Death and Dying in Adelaide

I wandered on, and gazed upon the tombs
Of many a once loved one, and read the lines -
'To a beloved Wife'. They tell me now
Her place on earth is by another filled,
And the loved one she thought was all her own
Forgets her now and whispers the soft tale
Of love into another's listening ear.
Her children call her mother now,
And scarcely know that in the cold graveyard
There lies the force of her who gave them birth.

Extract from 'A walk in the Adelaide Cemetery'⁴¹²

Colonists were often confronted by death before they arrived in South Australia, when passengers died aboard migrant ships and were buried at sea. A burial ground was provided off West Terrace in Colonel Light's plan for Adelaide, but early conditions for the burial of the dead in the cemetery were difficult as there was not a horse-drawn hearse until 1838, there were no professional grave-diggers and the cemetery became waterlogged in the winter months because of its high water table.⁴¹³

Although established as a public cemetery, West Terrace Cemetery soon had divisions for Anglicans, Catholics, Jews and Quakers. Poor management led to a government enquiry in 1854 but many of the problems persisted for the rest of the century.⁴¹⁴ Following the enquiry, ninety nine year leases were adopted, while in other colonies 'tenure in perpetuity was the norm'.⁴¹⁵ By the mid 1860s there had been nearly 12,000 burials at West Terrace, the numbers of which were increasing at a rate of about 800 per year.⁴¹⁶ West Terrace has continued to function as Adelaide's cemetery, although large numbers of burials take place in the suburban cemeteries established after West Terrace.

For those who could afford them, there were several monumental masons located on the western side of the city convenient to the cemetery, such as present day Tillets. When the publican of the Union Hotel in Waymouth Street died in the early 1850s, his widow Louisa

⁴¹¹ Peter Morton, *After Light*, pp 175-76.

⁴¹² *Observer* 15/12/1860 p2.

⁴¹³ R Nicol, *At The End of the Road*, 1994.

⁴¹⁴ R Nicol, 'In Memoriam: The Victorian way of death'. Flinders University Art Museum, 1985.

⁴¹⁵ R Nicol, 'Cemeteries' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, p98.

⁴¹⁶ R Nicol, 'In Memoriam'.

Herring remarried to monumental mason, John Kellet, whose business was next to the hotel. When he died she was not only running the Union Hotel but also his business on its eastern side for a number of years. By 1882, the monumental yard was run by her son E H Herring. In the same period, Fred Herring ran a monumental yard at 162 West Terrace between Sturt and Gilbert streets. Now located there, S D Tillet Memorials Pty Ltd continues the tradition of a monumental mason being on site for over 140 years.

[Monumental Masons, Duryea panorama, Waymouth Street]

In 1882, Mrs Prosser was running a monumental masons' works on the southwest corner of Gouger Street and Morphett Street. Also in Waymouth Street were monumental yards for Brown and Thompson and Edward Cox. Monuments from these nineteenth century monumental masons' yards can still be found in West Terrace Cemetery.

It was not until the late nineteenth century that there were undertakers who specialised in funeral work.⁴¹⁷ Before then, city carpenters and furniture makers made coffins, as a 'profitable sideline to businesses such as drapery, cabinet-making and carrying'.⁴¹⁸ One of the earliest to advertise his services was William Bailes, a builder, joiner and undertaker who in February 1838 had just moved from the Adelaide Park Lands to Town Acre 174 in Waymouth Street, near to Gilles Arcade to continue his business.⁴¹⁹ Several such firms developed to function solely as undertakers. In the 1870 two storey shop at 210 Rundle Street, undertakers Pengelly & Knabe, who started as furnishers, operated from this address from about 1879 to about 1967 before moving to the suburbs. The only undertaker still located in the city after many years business, is J F Siebert in Wakefield Street.⁴²⁰

Despite Adelaide's well planned environment, open spaces and the climate that was supposed to be unexcelled, its mortality rates were far higher than the rest of the colony.⁴²¹ Children and infants figured the highest in mortality rates, which were not helped by epidemics such as that of measles in 1874 and 1884 and scarlet fever in 1875-76. Diarrhoea was the largest cause of death among infants and a quarter of all deaths between 1875 and 1900 were those of infants. Deaths caused by water born diseases declined with the introduction of public health measures that included deep drainage and sewerage systems.

6.2.4 Notable Deaths and Funerals

Adelaide has witnessed many eventful funeral processions in its history. The premature death of Colonel William Light on 6 October 1839 was the first occasion in which the early colonists shared the bereavement of a local prominent and revered public figure. On the day of his funeral, government offices closed for the day and the flag at Government House was flown at half mast. When the funeral procession started from his cottage at Thebarton, followed by '450 gentlemen', guns were fired every minute until the cortege reached Trinity Church in North Terrace.⁴²²

After Light's death, the government made funds available to build a monument over his tomb in Light Square, the only one in the city that is not within the cemetery. A forty five foot high Gothic monument which was designed by George Kingston and carved by Samuel Lewis was installed over Light's grave in 1844. When it later fell into disrepair, it was replaced in 1905 by a four ton polished obelisk. The tomb was further enhanced in the mid 1980s with the addition of a

⁴¹⁷ R Nicol, *In Memoriam*.

⁴¹⁸ R Nicol, 'Death' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, pp142-143.

⁴¹⁹ SAG & CR, 17/2/1838 p1.

⁴²⁰ The small family undertaker has largely disappeared but disposal of human remains is big business. In the 1980s the Adelaide Steamship Company (whose headquarters were once in Currie Street) acquired several funeral and cemetery interests throughout Australia. These interests were sold to a Texas-based company, Service Corporation International in 1993. It took possession of 58 funeral homes and 8 cemeteries and crematoriums which accounted for 13% of Australian burials. R Nicol, *At The End of the Road*, 1994, p xiv.

⁴²¹ T Stevenson, 'Light and Living Conditions: Mortality in Nineteenth Century Adelaide, *Proceedings of the ANZAAS Congress*, 1979. pp129-137.

⁴²² Geoffrey Dutton, *Founder of a City*, 1984, p 288.

surrounding pool. This burial place in Light Square is a pertinent reminder of events that took place in Adelaide before 1840.

[SLSA - Light's memorial B2787c 1867]

One other early notable funeral procession was that for the remains of explorers Burke and Wills who perished on their fateful Central Australian expedition. On Thursday 11 December 1862 their bodies were transported by train from Kapunda to the North Adelaide Station. The remains were conveyed in a hearse pulled by four black horses to the Newmarket Hotel yards. At this location notable people joined the procession headed by the West Adelaide Band which had volunteered their services to lead the hearse through Hindley and Rundle streets. Accompanied by the strains of Handel's 'Dead March' from Saul, the cortege wound its way through the city, and shops closed their shutters or closed altogether in a mark of respect. The procession made its way north into Pulteney Street and then to the Mounted Police Barracks, off North Terrace, where the remains stayed until they were transported to Melbourne by a steamer almost a week later.⁴²³

A bit more than a hundred years later in 1963 when colourful and notorious West End personality, Albert Augustine (Bert) Edwards died, the city was witness to a funeral which was one of the biggest ever seen in the city, with the cortege headed by a large contingent from the South Australian Police Force. This funeral marked the end of an era. As a politician and city councillor, Bert Edwards, known as the 'King of the West End' for his extraordinary personal philanthropy, was beloved by city people, particularly in the West End, despite being imprisoned in 1930 for his sexual activities. On his release, he returned to being a city publican and continued with his philanthropic work. At the time of his death, he was city councillor for the West End. The Catholic newspaper *Southern Cross* for 30 August 1963 described the event.

Men and women, many of them from the West End of Adelaide, stood silently in the rain outside St Francis Xavier [Cathedral] as the remains of their 'king' and friend, Councillor Bert Edwards, were carried out after a Requiem Mass...Men stood with heads bowed and women wept, as the flower decked cortege passed through the streets on its way to the West Terrace Cemetery.

The city of Adelaide has experienced many damaging fires and the history of the city's fire brigade is long and colourful. However, when one particular fire at Castle's drapery store near James Place on Christmas Eve in 1886 killed two firemen, the city went into mourning. While Albert Clark, a popular sportsman had a family and many friends to mourn his loss, fireman John Gardner, a recent single migrant, had few locals to mourn his death. His circumstances captured the public sympathy which 'was gripped by a sense of tragedy and selfless duty'. After a public funeral in which he was buried at the Mitcham cemetery, fundraising commemorated his death by erecting a public drinking fountain that was formally accepted by the city corporation. Located on the edge of Elder Park adjacent to King William Road, it was unveiled 10 October 1887.⁴²⁴

[SLSA - Drinking Fountain B28389 1887]

There were other kinds of death in the earlier days of European settlement which, for some citizens, were a form of entertainment. While South Australia was planned as a free colony, without convicts, gaols or a police force, the fact was that the first execution was held on 2 May 1838, less than eighteen months after European settlement. There is nothing at the location to commemorate the event of the first public hanging, held at the 'iron stores' opposite the Adelaide Gaol near the base of the slope of Strangways Terrace, off War Memorial Drive. However, the event was captured in a historical sketch by J H Skipper. Several public executions took place on the Park Lands before continuing complaints saw them confined to the Adelaide Gaol or the Mounted Police Barracks from the mid 1850s.

While many citizens objected to public hangings and lobbied against capital punishment, many others flocked in their thousands to watch a public hanging on the Park Lands as they would to

⁴²³ *Observer*, 13/12/1862.

⁴²⁴ S Cameron, *Silent Witnesses: Adelaide's statues and monuments*, 1997, pp 5-8.

watch a passing funeral procession. It was after all an event that broke up otherwise ordinary daily lives.

6.3 Remembering the Fallen

Those men who died in wars overseas, or returned wounded to South Australia only to die later of their injuries, are remembered in a variety of memorials. Throughout the city and the Adelaide Park Lands there are several large monuments and many 'rolls of honour' in such places as churches, club rooms, banks, other workplaces, schools and colleges. Even the road between the city and Glenelg had its name changed from the Bay Road to Anzac Highway in honour of wartime activities.

The first memorial to be installed within the streets of the city was the South African War Memorial at the junction of North Terrace and King William Road almost outside the gates of Government House. It was first planned at the end of the war, but it took a further two years to organise the casting of the bronze in England and have it transported by ship. It was unveiled on 6 June 1904 and described as a 'spirited horse and his stalwart rider'. The *Advertiser* the next day wrote that it 'bears witness in imperishable bronze to the desire of the people of South Australia to keep for ever green the memory of those who fought and died for their country in the South African veldt'. Its location was so situated, the *Advertiser* commented, 'to compel the admiration of everyone entering the city from the railway station or from North Adelaide...in fact it can be seen from every direction.'

The very first memorial to the First World War (possibly in Australia), was the planting of a British Oak tree in the Park Lands, within Cresswell Gardens on 29 August 1914, only a couple of weeks after the beginning of the First World War. It was planted on Wattle Day by Governor Galway. It was stated that 'the oak which was planted was like Australia, young. An older tree was not chosen because they sought to convey the idea that this oak in its infancy was synonymous with the beginning of the great cataclysm in Europe'.⁴²⁵ This tree still flourishes, close to the Adelaide Oval and adjacent to the 1920s memorial to pioneer aviator Sir Ross Smith.

There are three prominent memorials to the First World War located in the city and a small one in North Adelaide. It took rather longer for the First World War Memorial to be designed and built than the one for the Boer War. In fact from the first committee meeting in 1919, it was twelve years before the unveiling of the structure took place in April 1931. In the process, competition plans were destroyed by fire and it was hotly debated in parliament as to whether Government House should be razed to the ground to make room for an appropriate monument within a large park of remembrance. Ultimately, a small triangle of the North Terrace and Kintore Avenue corner of Government House grounds was appropriated for the location of the memorial, designed as the Shrine of Memory, by architect Louis Laybourne Smith.⁴²⁶ [

[SLSA - War memorial B62530 1930]

When the women of South Australia wanted to commemorate their menfolk who had died in the First World War, they were given a large area of ground in Pennington Gardens to erect the 'Women's War Memorial'. The memorial cross is thirty eight feet high, and it was commissioned 'to the imperishable memory of the men who gave their lives in the Great War'. Initiated by the Lady Mayoress in March 1919, 'its aim was to produce a spontaneous offering from the women of South Australia to their fallen servicemen...'⁴²⁷ Unveiled on Anzac Day in 1922, the annual Anzac march ends at this memorial.

[SLSA - Cross of Sacrifice B9371 1936]

⁴²⁵ *South Australian Register*, 31/8/1914, British Oak planted in Cresswell Gardens. Information for this was given by David Jones, University of Adelaide.

⁴²⁶ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 254-255.

⁴²⁷ S Cameron, *Silent Witnesses: Adelaide's statues and monuments*, 1997, pp 80-82.

On the corner of East and North terraces is the thirty six foot high obelisk which is the Australian Light Horse Memorial, unveiled 5 April 1925. With funding donated by friends and relatives of those who were killed, 'the monument's simple design in smooth stone gives it a sense of the eternal'.⁴²⁸ In North Adelaide off MacKinnon Parade, in the Park Lands, a Soldiers' Memorial was erected by residents of Lower North Adelaide and unveiled on 19 March 1921 to commemorate the loss of over 200 North Adelaide residents during the First World War.

Installed against the wall of Government House in the vicinity of the First World War Memorial, are six canopied alcoves containing crosses of various designs as monuments to battles and campaigns from the First World War up to 1979. These crosses 'are powerful symbols of the sorrow felt by comrades in the bleak respite of war and probably meant more to the survivors than the memorial they face'.⁴²⁹

American servicemen who joined in the defence of Australia during the Second World War are commemorated by an ornamental gateway on the edge of the lake in the Botanic Gardens. Each of the gateposts is topped by a stone globe with gold embossing. The memorial was erected by the Australian American Association in South Australia and unveiled on 3 July 1953.⁴³⁰

6.4 Recreation

6.4.1 Background

Immigrants, whether from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Afghanistan or China, bring their own cultural traditions with them. In the past these have included their ways of recreation such as sporting activities, fetes, balls, banquets, theatre and public spectacles such as those celebrating Guy Fawkes (Bonfire) Day, Queen Victoria's Birthday, St Patrick's Day and other significant dates.

Until the 1870s at least, workers toiled a minimum of 48 hours per week. When they were not working there were family responsibilities. For the devout, attending church was part of the family tradition. Such commitments left little time for recreational pursuits. For working class women with children, any time off, even an hour, was a luxury in which few could indulge. Occasionally the whole family might have a rare chance to go out together for a picnic organised by their church or by the husband's place of employment. But while women were tied to the home, men were not.

The early settlers in the province started out in fine celebratory form. In August 1838 the first Bachelors' Ball was held in new stores built in Flinders Street, where a tent was erected alongside for a retiring room for the ladies. The store was festooned with the 'gayest of naval flags', flowers and evergreens, and dancing was kept up 'with great spirit' until midnight when supper was announced. It was a rather special affair, for the Acting Governor was invited and most of the prominent citizens of the period.⁴³¹

6.4.2 Theatres

Adelaide has a rich theatrical history. It was four years after European settlement before the first purpose built theatre was opened in Adelaide. However, of theatres built before 1910, only the shell of the 1841 Queen's Theatre, the mid 1850s theatre at the Tivoli Hotel in Pirie Street and the facade of the 1909 Empire Theatre, which was built within the facade of the Central Market on Grote Street, remain.

The number of theatres is very much tied to the rise and fall in population numbers. In 1838 when the population of the city was 4,000 (5,374 for SA in total) it was too small to support a

⁴²⁸ S Cameron, *Silent Witnesses*: pp 92-95.

⁴²⁹ S Cameron, *Silent Witnesses*: pp110-112.

⁴³⁰ S Cameron, *Silent Witnesses*: pp 124-125.

⁴³¹ SAG&CR 18/8/1838 p2, 3.

theatre.⁴³² However, two years later in 1840 when the city population had more than doubled to 8,400 (SA 14,630), the city's most historic theatre was built by two Jewish former convict brothers from Sydney, Emanuel and Vaiben Solomon. At the time of its opening in January 1841 the Queen's Theatre was the most expensively built brick building in the city. All might have gone well but for an economic recession in which the theatre was forced to close when a quarter of the population left the city. The theatre building was leased to the government for use as several court rooms and offices from 1843 until 1850.

When the economy improved and the original theatre building was still being used as the court house, another theatre was built alongside the earlier Queen's Theatre in 1846 in the Temple Tavern's billiard room. Known as the New Queen's Theatre when it opened 2 November 1846, although it gave performances until 1850, it was continually criticised for its poor reputation. Fischer noted that its location next to a public house and a court meant 'all three affording drama and amusement of different kinds'.⁴³³

Following the building of new court buildings in Victoria Square, the former Queen's Theatre was refurbished and given a new facade. It was reopened as the Royal Victoria Theatre in 1850. It successfully entertained Adelaide audiences until 1867 as the city's first purpose built theatre which the governors and their families regularly attended. However, by the mid 1860s the tiny theatre with its origins in 1841, was much criticised for being past its prime.⁴³⁴

The future of the earlier Royal Victoria Theatre in Gilles Arcade was decided when a small committee met to discuss plans to build a new one. When the *South Australian Satirist* for 7 December 1867 revealed to the public the honoured spot designated for the theatre as being at Peter Cumming's drapery store in Hindley Street, it was adamant that all the property there would devalue by a hundred per cent, such was the perception of the reputations of theatres in this period.

Meanwhile in Gilles Arcade, after the Royal Victoria Theatre permanently closed as a theatrical venue, it took on several different lives enabling it to survive into the present day. It has been used as a dancing saloon, a mission, a horse bazaar and a car park, before once more becoming a theatrical venue from the late 1990s. Before it was established as a current entertainment venue, a successful archaeological dig was carried out in the late 1980s which assisted in determining the layout of the early theatre.

At the time of the Royal Victoria Theatre's closure, other theatres or concert venues in the city emerged. White's Rooms at 97 King William Street (now the site of the Commonwealth Bank), established in 1856, became the place for concerts and recitals and survived as such until 1916 before being rebuilt as the Majestic Theatre. This building was demolished in the early 1980s to be replaced by the Commonwealth Bank. During the emergence of the early professional theatre, hotel theatres continued until 1884, because they were still far cheaper than going to the more upmarket 'proper' professional theatres.

The Adelaide Town Hall, itself newly built, became a theatre for just three months in 1868, but closed prematurely because of its poor acoustics. By this time the new Theatre Royal was completed and opened 13 April 1868 at 30 Hindley Street on Town Acre 48. Rebuilt in 1877, the theatre operated for a hundred years until 1968 when it was demolished to make way for Miller Anderson's car park.

Not everyone had positive things to say about the city's amusements. Reverend Woods of the Unitarian Church said 'opinions differed as to whether certain amusements were right or wrong. He continued that there was a strong prejudice against the theatre, but the objections to it might be removed 'by purifying the stage. If all profane language and indecent allusions were

⁴³² Population figures given by T Worsnop in *History of the City of Adelaide* p443.

⁴³³ G Fischer, 'The Professional Theatre in Adelaide, 1838-1922', in *Australian Letters*, March 1960, pp 79-97.

⁴³⁴ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 82-85.

banished, and seductive adjuncts to the theatre strictly prohibited, the many persons who now thought theatre going wrong would change their minds'.⁴³⁵

Within the locality of the Central Market, newly refurbished in 1901, three new theatres (the structures still surviving) were built despite the growing popularity of the cinema. The former Empire Theatre built in 1909 as a vaudeville theatre, alongside the market facade, became a silent picture and then 'talkie' cinema before becoming a department store and later, while retaining the facade, was gutted to become incorporated as market shops in the late 1970s.⁴³⁶

[SLSA - Empire Theatre B13019 1952]

Over the road from the market the large brick built Tivoli (Princess) Theatre, now known as Her Majesty's was opened in September 1913 and became a major place of entertainment. Updated in 1978, without losing the intimacy of a live theatre, it is still an important city theatre. On the corner of Carrington and King William streets the King's Theatre which was built in 1916 and presented pantomimes and vaudeville, went on to become a dance hall when it could no longer sustain a theatre audience. Following a serious fire, it remained vacant for many years before being transformed successfully into legal offices in the 1980s.

[SLSA - Kings Theatre B4809]

After the Second World War small theatres sprang up in former shops and dwellings for the increasing number of amateur and professional theatre groups. At 49-50 Mackinnon Parade in North Adelaide, an 1842 dwelling became the Keith Sheridan Theatre for the Adelaide Theatre Group from 1963 until it closed in 1984. In 1970 the Q Theatre was established in a former Sunday School building at 87-89 Halifax Street, which was later named the John Edmund Theatre. For a short time from 1976 The Red Shed Theatre was established on premises in Angas Street by a group of people from Salisbury Teachers' College.

The Adelaide Repertory Theatre which is one of the oldest theatrical organisations in Australia since it was founded in 1908, has had many performance venues. However, in 1963 it built its own Arts Theatre at a cost of £45,000 on land it owned at 53 Angas Street.

By the 1930s going to the theatre became a 'middle-class pastime', and for working-class families it was more like a 'once-a-year' treat, perhaps when a family went to a family pantomime.⁴³⁷ An alternative entertainment for less well off citizens was the 'moving pictures' which had grown in availability and popularity from the turn of the century.

6.4.3 Theatres in Hotels

Theatres established in hotels were also an important part of recreational facilities in Adelaide from the earliest days of settlement. Other than an early church, a large storeroom, exchange or auction rooms, the largest spaces capable of accommodating a theatre were within hotels. These theatre spaces known as assembly rooms, ballrooms, entertainment rooms, or long rooms, were established in rooms either above the pub, in a room to one side or in an attached building. Hotels provided popular entertainment in their own hotel theatres until 1884 when the city council stopped allowing liquors sales in them, mainly because of fire hazards but more because of their poor reputations. The government was otherwise powerless to control the activities of hotel theatres as there was only limited authority given by the Police Act to prevent any outrage or public indecency.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ *South Australian Register* - Use and abuse of amusements, 2/11/1885 p6.

⁴³⁶ D Walker, *Adelaide's Silent Nights: a pictorial history of Adelaide's picture theatres during the silent era 1896-1929*, 1996, pp 28, 29.

⁴³⁷ A Painter, 'Entertainment: the changing scene' in *Playford's Adelaide*, p 297.

⁴³⁸ *Advertiser*, 27/4/1880, p4e 'Regulation of theatres'; *Express* 18/10/1882 p2c; *SAR* 14/10/1884 p4f, 'public halls & public safety'. This is not to say that the well-to-do didn't go to hotels. There was a hierarchy among them, some of which catered for the wealthy.

It was fifteen months after auction of city land that the first theatre opened as a 100 seat venue in a room above the Adelaide Tavern (also known as Allen's Family Hotel) in Franklin Street on Town Acre 252. Known as the Theatre Royal, it opened on 28 May 1838, and was run by George Buckingham, a Sydney actor. It remained open for only a few weeks when the space was seen as more lucrative as accommodation due to a bed shortage in Adelaide. It was seventeen months before another theatre, the Victoria, was opened in part of a warehouse by Samson Cameron on North Terrace on 27 November 1839 (possibly on Town Acre 7). When it closed for renovations for five months in May 1840 before re-opening as the Royal Victoria Theatre, the Argyle Rooms in the populous Gilles Arcade filled the vacuum and opened for a brief period.⁴³⁹

Two days before Christmas 1843, the Olympic Theatre was opened.⁴⁴⁰ In September 1845 the Southern Cross Hotel in Currie Street on Town Acre 113, opened its own theatre known as the Pavilion but it closed two months later. In June 1846, in the same year as the establishment of the New Queen's Theatre, a new hotel theatre was erected on the premises of the Bush Club House Hotel in Franklin Street, located on Town Acre 243 between Cannon and Tatham streets.⁴⁴¹ The theatre, known as the New Royal Adelaide Theatre also did not last long, nor did the hotel, which went on to become the Joiners Arms and then lost its licence in mid 1851. In 1850 a vaudeville theatre was opened above the Black Horse Hotel in Leigh Street but closed after a libellous spat with rival theatre proprietor John Lazar of the New Queen's Theatre.

There was also the notorious Shamrock Hotel (known also as the Colonel Light Hotel and the Heritage Hotel) in Light Square. This hotel and its theatre where vaudeville shows were frequent, gained a notoriety that often attracted journalists. On 29 October 1877 one such reporter from the *Register* reminded readers that it was 'one of the lowest amongst the low public houses of the city where men and women had sunk to the level of brutes' and without exception seemed to attract the worst types of loafers, prostitutes, and other well-known 'Police Court habitues'. The Shamrock Hotel's reputation was so poor that each year when the licence came up for renewal, there were always objections by outraged respectable locals to it continuing at all. But the police and Licensed Victuallers' Association believed the hotel played an important role in the city and it was allowed to exist. They explained through the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* of 12 March 1881 that

We must have these classes of public-houses. The Shamrock Hotel does not aspire to be a select house of call, but a house of its description is an imperative necessity, and acts as a proper channel for the loose people of Light-square to keep to themselves. We do not desire to see the contaminating influence of the Shamrock *habitués* spread over the face of the city, and therefore, where a house is specially appropriated for the use of such characters, to seek to deprive it of its licence for permitting prostitutes to congregate is utterly absurd.

As well as the Shamrock Hotel other hotels had their own theatres between the late 1860s and the early 1900s. The theatre in the original Stag Hotel in Rundle Street East was well known in the late nineteenth century. The Tivoli Hotel (formerly known as the National Hotel) in Pirie Street, still retains its mid 1850s theatre structure and is the only early pub theatre left in the city. It was a popular German hotel throughout the nineteenth century, renowned for its entertainment until 1916 when six o'clock closing was enforced. It is not understood precisely why this theatre survived the cessation of theatre licences after the mid 1880s, but it continued to use its theatre at least until 1916 when six o'clock closing killed off any evening entertainment in pubs. It was resuscitated from the early 1970s when the Tivoli Hotel used the adapted early theatre once more for its live music entertainment until the hotel was closed in the early 2000s.

⁴³⁹ Philip Parsons, (gen ed) *Companion to theatre in Australia*, 1988, pp 25-29. *South Australian*, 5/1/1841, p3, The Argyle Theatre was criticised for its disgraceful behaviour..

⁴⁴⁰ Olympic Theatre, *Observer*, 23/12/1843, p5a.

⁴⁴¹ New Royal Adelaide Theatre, *South Australian Register* 24/6/1846 p 2.

6.4.4 Cinemas

Before purpose built cinemas were built, cine-film presentations took place in the Theatre Royal in October 1896 and the YMCA's Victoria Hall in Gawler Place in August 1897. The first moving pictures were screened at the Beehive Building in 1896. The Town Hall was used occasionally as a cinema under various names such as Tait's, Bruce's, Peacock's and Prince's between 1906-1910. Round the corner from the Black Eagle Hotel on the corner of Hindmarsh Square and Pirie Street in 1909 an open air cinema called Paris opened on the site of the former Elite Skating Rink. Another open air cinema was located on the site of the Hilton Hotel about the same time.⁴⁴² The first permanent cinema was built in Hindley Street on the site of the cyclorama and the Olympia skating rink before cinema chain owner, T J West, bought the site and revamped it as West's Picture Theatre. By 1912, when four new ones had opened in the city, the city council stated there was a 'boom' in picture theatres.⁴⁴³

A number of silent movie picture theatres were built mainly around Hindley Street, and the Empire Theatre built alongside the newly built 1901 Central Market. Picture theatre building, much influenced by the American cinema industry, provided a place where people could escape their humdrum lives from the time they approached the building, which was often ornate and often the most flamboyant building in the streetscape.

Two former cinema buildings survive as substantial shops along Rundle Mall. One is the five storey Lotteries Commission building at 23-25 Rundle Mall which was a former Grand Picture Theatre that was built for sole proprietor Alfred Drake. He held a grand opening on 30 November 1916 for the city's mayor and other dignitaries before it was opened to the public the next day with 'The Fool's Revenge'. It closed in February 1976, having also been known as the Mayfair and Sturt Cinema.

The Regent Cinema, operating until recently at 101-107 Rundle Mall, was opened in 1928 as 'Australia's most luxurious theatre'. Reflecting the American movie industry at the time, ornament was the tangible sign of grandeur and status. Radical plans were undertaken in 1967 to make two cinemas that would cater for smaller audiences, but they closed in 2004 due to the pressure of retail development. The last grand purpose built city cinema was built and opened in North Adelaide on October 1940, early in the Second World War. Named the Piccadilly, it was noted for its architecture which was described 'as being at the crossroads in design, with no particular theme connecting its design elements'.⁴⁴⁴

The former Metro Cinema, at 88 Hindley Street, an *art deco* cinema which opened 6 October 1939, was designed by Thomas W Lamb from New York in association with local architect F Kenneth Milne. It was the only Metro picture theatre in Australia that was built for MGM where all the interior fittings were sent from USA. When it closed in 1974 to be revamped as the Hindley Cinemas with four auditoriums and painted a garish purple, Greater Union auctioned off the Metro's fixtures and fittings. Items such as light fittings now adorn some of Adelaide's homes.⁴⁴⁵

At 124 Rundle Mall, alongside the Hotel Richmond, the Liberty Theatre was opened on New Years Day, 1943. Seating 400, it was described as 'the aristocrat of intimate cinema', and was Adelaide's first art house theatre, showing foreign films better known as 'sizzlers'. It has also been known as the Curzon Theatre. The recent closure of the Regent Cinema and the continual vacancy of the My Fair Lady Cinema, converted from West's live theatre in Hindley Street, present challenges for their re-use in the future.

[SLSA - Curzon Theatre B12328]

⁴⁴² Dylan Walker, *Adelaide's Silent Nights* pp 21.

⁴⁴³ ACC *Annual Report*, 1912.

⁴⁴⁴ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 302-303.

⁴⁴⁵ For more information on other Hindley Street cinemas see, ACC brochure, West & East End Theatre Walking Trail 2003

6.4.5 Hotels

Despite South Australia's fluctuating fortunes, the hotel industry has always survived and thrived from the earliest days of settlement. In the early days of the colony, the hotel played a critical role in the social life of its locals. The local hotel, much like a club, was a place where friends regularly met, business was transacted and jobs negotiated. 'Mostly people went to the hotel nearest where they lived'.⁴⁴⁶ There, games such as billiards, skittles and cards were played along with the illegal practice of gambling and betting. Although gambling and betting also took place in billiard saloons, men's hairdressing shops, private houses and streets, the hotel was where most of it took place.⁴⁴⁷ Each hotel had its own regulars often with snappy nicknames and its swag of funny, tragic and absurd yarns, as well as being venues for fires, murders, suicides, tragic accidents, robberies, fights, unruly parties and police raids.⁴⁴⁸

Before the 1860s, hotels were rarely larger than about eight or nine rooms. Despite this, balls and dinners were accommodated without difficulty. Men's societies and clubs met regularly at hotels until 1916 when the introduction of six o'clock closing made their evening meetings no longer possible. Societies and clubs met at their designated hotel perhaps weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Indeed, the Sir John Barleycorn (later known as Hotel Rundle) at 85 Rundle Street on Town Acre 83, advertised over twenty meetings held there each month, which gives insight into the various men's clubs that used the hotel.⁴⁴⁹ Facilities such as horse drawn transport, informal letter boxes, job agencies and accommodation were provided by publicans keen to maintain regular customers. Many hotels have had their own sporting clubs for cricket, football, golf, darts, skiing and eight ball and publicans often organised outdoor events in the grounds of their establishments or nearby in the form of sports and competitions such as wrestling, cricket, football and shooting matches, horseraces, and English fetes. Hotels also became 'galleries' displaying unusual exhibits such as tigers, elephants, snakes, large vegetables and mineral samples.

Hotels were also used by the government for several purposes. Legislation demanded that they become polling booths for elections and they were used as such until 1857. Further, because hotels usually had large cool cellars they were periodically requisitioned by law for inquests between 1839 and 1908.⁴⁵⁰

In 1918 there were fifty-nine hotels in the West End, and forty-eight in the East End. They ranged from highly respectable affairs providing accommodation for country and interstate visitors and their families, such as the Ambassadors in King William Street, the South Australian on North Terrace and Tattersall's in Hindley Street, to the local hotels which catered for a regular close-knit clientele such as the Globe in North Street, the Cumberland Arms in Waymouth Street, the Colonel Light in Light Square, the Rose Inn in Sturt Street and the Brecknock Arms in Gilbert Street. Hotels such as the Criterion in King William Street catered for workers such as the printers and journalists at the adjacent *Advertiser* newspaper.

6.4.6 Eating and Drinking in Hotels

Although most of the early colonists who were British and German brought their traditional ways with them, eating and drinking out in the earliest days was usually in a hotel which provided a very British fare. The role of hotels in early Adelaide was similar to that of the 'local' in Britain. To step inside a hotel, often meant partaking of whatever entertainment was on offer. Devotees of the public house believe its role in British and Australian society was as important as that of the church. While parishioners would go along to their local vicar or priest to talk over their problems, for others their local publican fulfilled the same role.

⁴⁴⁶ACC Archives Oral History Project, Taken Harris, 1989.

⁴⁴⁷SAPP No 66, 60a 1933, *Report of the Royal Commission on betting prevalence of illegal betting*.

⁴⁴⁸ Such names included Dasher Hewitt, Larry the Bat, Pickle Bottle Bill, Overcoat George, Old Get Back, Treacle Fimeri and Sporty Joe. Verbal information, Mr McCarthy, 1989.

⁴⁴⁹ List of more than 20 meetings held in one month at the Sir John Barleycorn in LVG 19/1/1883.

⁴⁵⁰ JL Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia*, 1999, p13.

Many early hotels provided what was known as an 'ordinary', which was a simple but ample luncheon every day. This midday meal usually included meat and vegetables where the landlord and his wife often presided at the table, with him carving and serving.⁴⁵¹ Food ranged from chops to steak and roast dinners. The Exeter in Rundle Street in 1851 advertised their tripe suppers as did the Black Swan on North Terrace.⁴⁵² More exotic were the oysters and turtle soup offered at the Exchange in Hindley Street. The Club House Hotel in Hindley Street in 1851 advertised welsh rarebits and kidneys 'smoking hot'.⁴⁵³ In 1856 James Allen described eating baked turkeys at the Napoleon Bonaparte in Grenfell Street as 'an extraordinary ordinary'. Some hotels had weekly 'free and easies' which included food and entertainment in the form of singing, pianos and violins.

Perhaps one of the most ambitious exhibitions provided by a hotel was at the Southern Cross Hotel in King William Street in November 1876. The publican, who daily attended his 'ordinaries' to carve the meat, often roasted a whole bullock. On one occasion in 1876 he surprised his regulars by replacing the usual table with a thirty foot long 'antediluvian amphibious or whalonian sharkus'.⁴⁵⁴ It was not recorded how long the whale was used as the dining room table.

For a time, between the 1880s and the 1920s city hoteliers began providing counter food at no charge. Such generosity could and often did send publicans broke as they provided lavish food in an endeavour to outdo each other and attract customers. In the 1920s this treat attracted impoverished folk who were eligible by simply buying a box of matches before helping themselves to the free nibbles. They then often sold their matches in the street. This generosity came to an end by the mid-1920s and when counter meals appeared again in the early 1960s, they were no longer free.⁴⁵⁵

6.4.7 Hotel Hours

The moral crusade movements, gathering momentum from the 1880s, had a marked effect on hotel life from that time. Their anti-drink lobbying partly paid off and there were radical changes made to the liquor laws. Until the successes of the temperance movements began to take effect, a drink could be obtained from a hotel seven days a week until eleven at night and beyond. From 1896 the hotels were closed on Sundays. After the law to remove barmaids from the public bars of hotels came into effect in 1908, the only women allowed to continue working in them were existing female licensees of good repute and the wives, widows, daughters and mothers of licensees, although there were still over 200 registered barmaids working throughout the city in 1909. (At the Norfolk Hotel the last barmaid became a tourist attraction in the 1930s.) In 1918, of the fifty-nine West End pubs, twenty-three of them had women licensees.⁴⁵⁶

The biggest blow of all to the hotel industry came in 1916 with legislation for the closing of hotels at six in the evening on week nights and Saturdays. For many hotels and their clientele the new laws looked as though they would destroy pub life altogether, but outwitting the police to continue after-hours drinking, became part of each hotel's special form of entertainment, especially in the West End. It was within this period (1916-1967) that hotels gained an unfortunate reputation for the notorious 'six o'clock swill', which made the pub 'no place for a woman'.

Hotels trading out of hours hoped to avoid interference from the police by using elaborate warning systems to watch for their approach. 'Nit-keepers' (also called 'cockatoos') were employed for this purpose. Through the day nit-keepers signalled to one another but at night, torches were used to warn of approaching police. Because of such elaborate warning systems, the police could not stamp out after-hours trading or prevent liquor being sold from the premises for consumption elsewhere.

⁴⁵¹ *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* June 1960, p 40.

⁴⁵² *Mercury & Sporting Chronicle*, 11/12/1851 p4, the Exeter advertised tripe suppers.

⁴⁵³ SAR 27/5/1851 p4.

⁴⁵⁴ LVG, 18/11/1876 p4.

⁴⁵⁵ *Advertiser* 29/5/1931, p 20.

⁴⁵⁶ SR GRG 67/25/1909.

As a result of one complaint in 1925 about the 'trading in liquor after hours in some hotels, more so in the West End', the police were obliged to place a watch for several weeks on the Cumberland Arms and the Flagstaff Hotel. Four plainclothes policemen were detailed to investigate the allegations, 'spending practically all their time at the Cumberland Hotel between 7-11 pm'. While charges were brought against the Flagstaff on several counts, there was no proof that 'bottled beer was passed out through a window believed [to be] by the 'boots' employed at the hotel'.⁴⁵⁷ Between 1909 and 1918, forty-nine of fifty-nine hotels in the West End had accumulated over 100 convictions between them, but none appear to have lost their licences.⁴⁵⁸

After the lifting of six o'clock closing on 27 September 1967, women were gradually made more welcome in the hotels, even in the 'inner sanctum' of the front bar. Women started to play snooker and eight ball with the men and even set up their own teams. Hotels took advantage of the extended opening hours by establishing popular social clubs which included whole families. At the same time barmaids were once more employed to serve in front bars after fifty seven years of restrictions.

6.4.8 Cafes and Restaurants

Much of the city's drinking and eating took place in hotels and the development of restaurants from the 1850s onwards was slow in making an impact. One of the first adverts for 'drinking out' was by Philip Lee who opened the Pavilion Cottage on Town Acre 113 in Currie Street where he sold wine and coffee 'for the reception of gentlemen'.⁴⁵⁹ His place became the Southern Cross Hotel in Currie Street which was situated opposite Gilles Arcade and he assured the public in January 1838 that he 'continues his daily *Table d'Hote* at the usual hour'.

In the same period William Deacon was running coffee rooms on North Terrace near Trinity Church. By July 1838 he was advertising 'hot joints...with vegetables'. His establishment was the genuine first take-away food shop. He advertised that 'dinners could be sent out or a single plate...at moderate charges'. By October 1838 he called his place a Chop House.⁴⁶⁰

Hindley Street was the entertainment heart of the city and where most of the restaurants were located by the early 1880s. On the north side of Hindley Street starting from King William Street were the following: The London Ham shop, Mrs Vincent's refreshment rooms, H L Isenberg's refreshment rooms and WL & CO's dining rooms. On the southern side were F D Beach's Restaurant, Mrs Lindrum's Pioneer Coffee Palace, Mr Angus' Eating House, H West's Dining Rooms, J M Lipman's Oyster Saloon and Fung Sang's Chinese Eating House.

By 1935 the Hindley Street restaurant scene included Italian and Greek eating establishments. On the south side from King William Street places included the Comino Cafe, A Constantine's Adelaide Wine Saloon, Condos Brothers' Fish Cafe, the Constantinople Cafe, the Continental Delicatessen and the International Cafe.

In 1960 on the north side of Hindley Street starting from King William Street, food outlets included C Pantelos Cafe, the Cyprus Fish cafe, the International Cocktail Bar, the Moulin Rouge Restaurant, the Barbeque Inn Restaurant, J & J Fouyaxis Fish & Chips shop, and the Continental Groceries Ltd which also had a wine sales licence. On the south side was Kazzy's Arcade Cake shop, the Bergen Restaurant, the Black Orchid Coffee Lounge, Pagonas Coffee Bar, the Greek Cafe, the Canton Cafe, the International Delicatessen, Cafe Latino, the Sorrento Restaurant, Paprika Restaurant, the European Cafe, the European Restaurant, the Star Grocery and the International Oyster Bar.

⁴⁵⁷ SR GRG 5/2/1925/1156 - After hour trading at Cumberland and Flagstaff hotels.

⁴⁵⁸ SR GRG5/2/360/10 May 1918- Conduct of hotels west of King William Street, by Supt. Priest, and GRG5/2/282/1919 Workings of licensing court, by Supt. Priest

⁴⁵⁹ SAG &CR, 12/8/1837 p1. Advert for Pavilion Cottage.

⁴⁶⁰ SAG &CR 14/7/1838.

The Former West's Coffee Palace at 104-120 Hindley Street which was built about 1903, was known as Grant's and then West's Coffee Palace for over sixty years. Coffee Palace was the name given to an unlicensed hotel. The ground floor of the building contained shops of which many were cafes and restaurants run by Greek and Italian migrants and their families. In 1960 the brothers Primo and Giocondo Caon who were both Adelaide-born of Italian parents, chose to open La Cantina Coffee Lounge in West's Coffee Palace. Six o'clock closing of hotels saw cafes such as this one thriving in the post-war era. Reinstatement of longer hotel hours in 1967 saw the demise of many of Hindley Street's coffee bars and La Cantina closed in 1969.

[SLSA - Hindley St B13704 1956]

The former Hooker's Building on the corner of Hindley and Morphett streets has also been associated with a variety of nationalities since it was built in 1881. In the early 1960s the Marina Pizza Bar, the first in the city, was established by Mario Bellati and son Walter. Unfortunately, it was in the shop closest to Morphett Street which was demolished for the road widening scheme, leaving Marcellinas (opened 14 November 1966 by Brian Apukar) at 273 Hindley Street as the longest surviving pizza bar in the city.

As many of the new post-war cafes and restaurants were becoming established and popular there were other places that had become old fashioned. An early twentieth century tea room known as the Bohemian Tea Rooms was located in the basement of Gawler Chambers on North Terrace, facing Kintore Avenue. Established by Mrs Katherine Cowan, it was officially opened on 28 October 1913.⁴⁶¹ It was likened to the Wattle Tea Rooms in Collins Street, Melbourne. The tea rooms had cedar panelling, a room sized Wilton pile carpet of pseudo-oriental design in colours of blue and beige, and chairs that were of imitation embossed leather that reminded one regular of a 'heavily laced lady with corsets'. It was convenient for shopping and for the cultural activities of North Terrace, as well as being handy for those with appointments with medical specialists within Gawler Chambers. It was described as comfortably full, never crowded, and was referred to as 'Adelaide's exclusive rendezvous' catering for weddings, birthdays, receptions, morning teas, luncheons and afternoon teas. It was not a place where 'working girls' would go. Served by waitresses dressed in traditional black with white aprons and frilly caps, on offer were creamy cones and cream puffs with chocolate sauce, as were whiting or fricassee of chicken, omelettes, eggs benedict and cinnamon toast.

The Bohemian operated under this name until almost 1965, when the building was refurbished by its owners and the tea rooms closed its doors after fifty one years, possibly making it one of the longest operating cafes in the city. During that time it had catered for at least two generations of mainly 'society ladies' or young ladies from independent schools, who always wore hats and gloves. By the late 1950s when coffee bars and self service cafes appeared in large numbers, tea rooms such as the Bohemian had become old fashioned. 'You never recapture that first fine careless rapture,' said one devotee.

Another nearby tea room to the Bohemian was the Piccadilly in the Liberal Club Building basement on North Terrace. Similar venues were the Covent Garden in King William Street and the Ritz (next to Haighs), which was renowned for chocolate sundaes.⁴⁶²

6.4.9 Other Amusements

Before the advent of cinema there were plenty of amusements to attract people to the city. A visit to the waxworks was mandatory in 1878. Called Ghiloni's Waxworks, it was located on the corner of Hindley and King William streets. There was once also a waxworks located in the basement of the Adelaide Arcade. Another popular attraction was the shooting gallery in Hindley Street, which operated before the 1880s.

A public swimming pool was located on the corner of North Terrace and King William Street on the site of the Festival Theatre forecourt. This was operated from 1861 by Thomas Bastard.

⁴⁶¹ *Critic*, 5/11/1913, p12, 'Opening of new Tearooms'.

⁴⁶² P Sumerling for Swanbury Penglase - *Gawler Chambers Conservation Study* for the Adelaide Development Company Ptd Ltd, June 1995.

Moves for public baths were being mooted as early as 1854 and were viewed as 'a paramount importance'.⁴⁶³ They became a reality when water from Thorndon Park reservoir was piped to the city in 1861. The city also had had several roller skating rinks from the mid 1860s.

[City Baths SRSA280/1/45/195 ca1924]

People were also attracted to the thrilling spectacle of the cyclorama in 1893 at the site of the later West's Theatre at 91 Hindley Street which was also the site of the Olympia Skating Rink. (This is now where the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra is based.) Described as 'the grandest and most thrilling art production you have ever witnessed and its beauties inexhaustible', the cyclorama was stretched around the circular interior of the theatre on a fifteen metre by 1,200 metre canvas, which featured huge painted backdrops. Each view was presented for two years, one featured the Battle of Waterloo and the other was of Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion. Spectators passed under the painting through a tunnel way to the centre and ascended to a platform to view the cyclorama.⁴⁶⁴

Before 1970 when dancing was a popular form of entertainment, there were several city ballrooms. One former venue, the Osborne Dance Hall is part of the Gouger Street shops precinct adjacent to the Central Market. For many years it was the home of the Australian Dance Theatre, and now is used as a nightclub venue. The Palais Ballroom on North Terrace was demolished to be replaced by a carpark and government offices.

[SLSA - Embassy Ballroom B6596 1935]

[SLSA - Palais Ballroom B5229 1929]

6.5 Worshipping

6.5.1 Introduction

Mark Twain visited South Australia in 1895, and he reiterated the popular view that Adelaide was 'the city of churches' when he noted that there were:

about 64 roads to the other world. You see how healthy the religious atmosphere is. Anything can live in it. Agnostics, Atheists, Freethinkers, Infidels, Mormons, Pagans, Indefinites: they are all there. And all the big sects of the world can do more than merely live in it: they can spread, flourish, prosper.⁴⁶⁵

In the establishment of South Australia, 'civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions' were viewed as crucially important in attracting potential migrants from Great Britain. This was because, despite the lifting in 1832 of the ban against Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters (Non-Conformists) from holding public office, 'many civil disadvantages and humiliations' such as the restrictions on attending universities, still continued in Great Britain.⁴⁶⁶ For Dissenters, migration to South Australia offered new opportunities within a climate of religious freedom.

Members of the Congregational Church were the first to build a permanent city place of worship. Established in March 1838 on North Terrace west of Morphett Street, it was a basic chapel constructed of 'pines and reeds' and the congregation forged on to build three other chapels in the city within a short period.

Several months after the opening of the Congregational Chapel, the building of the Anglican Holy Trinity Church on North Terrace was completed and it survives to be not only the oldest church in the city but within South Australia. St John's in Halifax Street, which was first built in 1841 in brick, was totally rebuilt in 1887, following the development of the south-eastern corner of the city

⁴⁶³ *Observer*, 28/10/1854 p10; 11/11/1854 p6f; 18/11/1854 p5, 10; 25/11/1854 p9; 30/12/1854, p4.

⁴⁶⁴ *The News* 1/12/1939; *Advertiser* 2/2/? after 1979.

⁴⁶⁵ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain in Australia and New Zealand*, 1973, pp 182-83.

⁴⁶⁶ D Hilliard, Arnold Hunt, 'Religion' in *The Flinders History of South Australia*, 1986, p 195.

during the building speculation boom of the 1870s. Development in this corner of the city during this period provided many large sized residential lots for wealthy settlers, some of whom may have contributed donations towards the church's rebuilding.⁴⁶⁷

Despite the much smaller population in North Adelaide, church goers there were not deterred from building, but structures were built of a size relative to the local number of worshippers. Therefore, some were not only small and unpretentious, but even hidden from view. One such place not easily seen from the street, is one of the oldest places of worship in the city. It is a small prefabricated timber hall and was erected on Pennington Terrace in 1840. As the Religious Society of Friends' (Quakers) Meeting House, the building is complete with original pews and is of substantial significance for its representation of prefabrication building technique.⁴⁶⁸

[SLSA - Christ Church B368 ca1870]

It was nearly a decade later before an Anglican church was built in North Adelaide, despite the growing numbers of Anglicans living in that part of the city. Christ Church in Palmer Place was consecrated in 1849 and was followed by the construction of accompanying residences, the complex known as Bishop's Court which is one of the city's most significant groups of religious heritage buildings.

With the residential development of the south-western corner of the city in the 1850s and 1860s, the Anglicans built St Luke's Church in Whitmore Square in 1856. The church was built mainly in stone, but also used iron and timber salvaged from the materials for a prefabricated church that fared badly on the long sea voyage.⁴⁶⁹ The church was sympathetically rebuilt after fire effectively destroyed it in the early 1990s. With a long tradition of support for disadvantaged men, St Luke's continues this valuable work to the present day.

St Paul's Church in Pulteney Street, dating from the early 1860s but deconsecrated in 1983, was successfully refurbished for other uses after its closure. Its two Tiffany glass windows are now on view in the Art Gallery of South Australia. As an Anglican 'late starter' in the city, its worshippers represented a 'Who's Who' of Adelaide who attended because it was a 'High Anglican' church using the 'innovations in ceremonial and church ornaments' then becoming highly fashionable.⁴⁷⁰ At the time of St Paul's deconsecration, the building was in a neglected state. However, its sale and total renovation for use as a restaurant and entertainment centre successfully demonstrates how a purpose built structure can be converted for other uses.

It can be seen in the Townsend Duryea photographic panorama of the city in 1865, that many of the religious groups had not only built their first place of worship but some had replaced them with even larger structures. Further, five of the churches captured in the panorama can be seen to have tall spires even then, which tended to add weight to the 'city of churches' claim.

Scots Church (formerly known as Chalmer's Church), built in 1850, had its spire added in 1856, making it the first church in the city to have one, although it was much criticised when built.⁴⁷¹ Located on the corner of Pulteney Street and North Terrace, it continues to serve an active city congregation. Other functioning city churches with spires from a later period include the Flinders Street Congregational Pilgrim Church of 1867 and also in the same street, the Bethlehem Lutheran Church of 1871. A spire was added to the Brougham Place Congregational Church in 1871; St Dominic's in Molesworth Street was built with a spire in 1893; St Patrick's Catholic Church was rebuilt with twin spires in 1914. The Convent of Mercy in Angas Street, which has a tall tower and a rich and magnificent interior with deeply coffered ceilings, was built in 1922. St Francis Xavier's Cathedral, first built in 1858, only had its imposing tower added in the early 1990s as a result of a generous benefaction.

⁴⁶⁷ The brick rubble of St John's Church was used for the building of St Mary Magdalene's in Moore Street, see S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp 218-219, 223.

⁴⁶⁸ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 372-373.

⁴⁶⁹ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 197-98.

⁴⁷⁰ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 134-135.

⁴⁷¹ '...a country church placed in town...' S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 115-16.

6.5.2 Other Religious Buildings

Apart from many Christian churches being built in the city, places of worship were built for other religions, such as a mosque, a Chinese temple, sometimes referred to as a Joss House, and a synagogue. One of the older places of worship was the synagogue off Rundle Street, the first part being completed in 1850, with additions being completed in 1871. However, in the early 1990s, when a new synagogue was built in the eastern suburbs to be more convenient for its worshippers, the City Synagogue was sold for other uses.

[SLSA - Synagogue B21358 ca1870]

In the south-western corner of the city in Little Gilbert Street, the Adelaide Mosque is a tangible reminder of South Australia's Afghan history and of the Islamic faith generally. Built in 1889 for Moslems who had settled in the city or for those visiting from the country areas where they were mostly employed as cameleers or hawkers, the mosque with its later added minarets provides considerable cultural texture to the south-western corner of the city.

For more than thirty years between 1891 and the 1920s a Chinese temple existed to the rear of a dwelling now replaced by a modern hotel on the corner of Hindley and Morphett streets. Around 100 Chinese, mostly men, lived in the vicinity and ran laundries, carpenter shops, grocery shops and Chinese restaurants.⁴⁷² On the completion of the Chinese temple, it was described as being made of galvanised iron lined internally with matchboard. It was located within secure galvanised iron fencing that had a gate way which led to a flight of steps onto a verandah. A doorway opened into a twenty five foot square room that was the main temple area. The timber walls were polished and the ceiling was painted in blue and green. At the south end of the temple was an altar, above which hung a picture of 'a sedate and plump looking Chinese personage with oval eyes, long moustaches, and gorgeous robes'. There were brass lamps that burnt night and day and other Chinese lanterns which hung from the ceiling. Near the door stood 'a gong covered with painted dragons'. The small temple was built on 'a vacant piece of ground near the northern end of Morphett Street' and was paid for by members of the Chinese community.⁴⁷³

The area in the vicinity of Morphett and Hindley streets, where the Chinese began settling, was the poorer part of the city and much associated with crime, vice and gambling. In other words it was an ideal location to start a new church. Consequently the Salvation Army established itself here in 1880, with offices in the newly constructed Hooker Buildings on the south-western corner of Morphett and Hindley streets. Close by, the Adelaide Congress Hall was built (but which no longer survives).⁴⁷⁴ The Salvation Army expanded their services in Whitmore Square, followed by expansion into other parts of the city.

It is interesting to note that in 1900, when there were thirty-three churches and chapels within the Adelaide city area, six were Methodist, five were Anglican and two were Roman Catholic. Along Flinders Street alone there were five substantial churches at that time.⁴⁷⁵

In post-war Adelaide, despite the city's rapidly declining population, new church building occurred. In 1955 it was reported that the building of the First Church of Christ Scientist, Adelaide Incorporated had begun at 268-269 North Terrace.⁴⁷⁶ The old Maughan Church on the corner of Franklin and Pitt streets was demolished to be replaced in 1962, while in Archer Street in North Adelaide; St Andrew's Presbyterian Church was built in the same period to replace the former 1850s Wesleyan Chapel. The Church of Archangels Michael and Gabriel in Franklin Street, the first Greek Orthodox Church to be established in 1936 in the city, was replaced in

⁴⁷² ACC, ACA, Council Rate Assessments 1880-1920s. The Chinese temple was acknowledged by the Council and was exempt from rates.

⁴⁷³ *Express*, 2/1/1891 p5, 'A Chinese Josshouse'. The temple was in several locations between North Terrace and Hindley Street on the western side of Morphett Street according to the Rate Assessments during its existence.

⁴⁷⁴ Barbara Bolton, *Booth's Drum: The Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1980*, p 13.

⁴⁷⁵ David Hilliard, 'The City of Churches', in B Dickey (ed) 1992, *William Shakespeare's Adelaide: 1860-1930*, pp 61-86.

⁴⁷⁶ ACC *Annual Report*, 1954-55 p 45. The building of this church has a long and drawn out history.

1966 by a distinctive Byzantine-styled building. This was one of the last places of worship to be built in the city.

[SLSA - Maughan Church B4340 1915]

While five prominent churches with tall spires were demolished between 1959 and 1973, a host of small churches had been lost from the early 1900s, as a result of the unification of several branches of the Methodist Church in 1900, a further amalgamation in 1978 to form the Uniting Church, and the decline of the city's population and in congregation numbers generally.⁴⁷⁷ While few of the former places of worship have survived the several economic booms, the former Wesleyan chapel in Franklin Street, near the junction of Gray Street is successfully used as offices. The Seventh Day Adventist Hall at 116 Grote Street to the west of the Hampshire Hotel, was for many years from about the Second World War until the 1990s, the administration offices of the Liquor Trades Union.

[SLSA - Seventh Day Adventists Hall B1763 1923]

The New Jerusalem Church in Pulteney Street on Town Acre 344 and included in the 1880 Smith Survey has not survived, nor has the 1865 Zion Church on Town Acre 296 in Pulteney Street. When the congregation moved to a new location, it was demolished in 1955 to make way for the extension of Ilfould Street. Ebenezer Chapel, built on the southern side of Rundle Street East in Ebenezer Place, was demolished in 1908 to make way for the expansion of the East End Market. The United Methodist Free Church at 179 Waymouth Street was used as a textile factory known as Habib Bros Clothing Manufacturing & Importers, and alongside at 181 Waymouth Street was the Federal Clothing Company managed by N Habib & Sons. Both the church and warehouse were demolished in the 1970s. Almost alongside in Morphett Street, the 1847 Primitive Methodist Church was demolished with the construction of Balfours Bakeries in the 1920s. On Town Acre 242 between Elizabeth and Young Street, off Franklin Street, the 1858 Bible Christian Chapel survived for many years after it ceased use as a place of worship and was finally demolished in 1979.⁴⁷⁸ The remains of the Bentham Street Chapel succumbed to demolition in 2004 during the *Advertiser Newspaper* redevelopment scheme.

Small places of worship in North Adelaide appear to have fared better than those in the southern part of the city. St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Melbourne Street has been used successfully for many years for other purposes, but weddings are still held there. The former 1885 Kermodie Street Chapel now has life as a residence, as does the former Ebenezer Chapel which was built in 1841 and now serves as a small residence hidden from view in Brougham Court.

Two tiny churches in North Adelaide still function as such. They include the Providence Hall of Jesus Christ at 21-23 Finnis Street which is a simply styled Baptist Chapel built in 1915. While the chapel may have once drawn its congregation from the nearby locality, which was once made up of workers and their families, in more recent times it shares the experience of the City Synagogue (before it closed) and the Greek Orthodox Church in Franklin Street, in that the members of the congregations are drawn from outside the city. Not far away is Our Lady Help of Christian's Catholic Church at 173-75 Stanley Street which was built in 1877 as a church and to provide education by the Sisters of St Joseph for Catholic children living in Lower North Adelaide. This dual use building is the third oldest surviving Catholic church in the City of Adelaide and the seventh oldest in the metropolitan area. The building was still being used as a church and meeting place for members of the local congregation until it was recently sold for residential development.

North Adelaide also includes the largest city church, which is one of the city's landmarks. The foundation stone for St Peter's Cathedral was laid on land bought by the Anglican Church years before in 1862. The church was built in several stages; the first part completed in 1876. A major addition was finished around 1897, the towers and spires were added in 1902 and the lady chapel in 1912. In the late 1980s the cathedral was adorned with a series of magnificent clerestory stained glass windows crafted by renowned artist, Cedar Priest.

⁴⁷⁷ M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, 1983, pp 76-87.

⁴⁷⁸ M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, p 82.

In conclusion, although Adelaide has lost several substantial churches through the initial unification of the branches of the Methodist Church and later the amalgamation of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregational churches to form the Uniting Church, and because of a declining city population and consequent declining congregations, a surprising number of city congregations still survive. Holy Trinity the first substantial church and built in local limestone, has survived in the locality that marks the beginnings of the city. Of more than a dozen former churches located throughout the city, several have been imaginatively converted for other uses without compromising their church style exteriors. This has meant that the physical association of the buildings with particular communities and areas in the city has been successfully retained.

6.6 Forming Associations

6.6.1 Background

It was important for early colonists to pursue the cultural traditions with which they were involved in their country of origin by forming associations as soon as they were settled in their chosen place. Consequently, there are many city buildings throughout the city, former shops, halls, dwellings and purpose built club rooms which were or still are associated with one of the many hundreds of associations that have been established since European settlement. There were also several learned and art societies such as the Literary and Scientific Association, the South Australian Society of Arts and the School of Design, the Royal Society and the Adelaide Philosophical Society. These were established in the first thirty years of European settlement and later became associated with the buildings and organisation of the SA Institute and the public library.

6.6.2 Nationality-based Clubs

Clubs and associations were often formed simply for migrants who came from a particular British county, such as Cornwall, Devon, Yorkshire, Lancashire or the Isle of Man. Some of these early clubs often met in a hotel where the publican was known to originate from the same place. For those not from England, national clubs were formed by migrants from Austria, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, France, Lithuania, Estonia, Scotland and Ireland. These clubs preserved and promoted the traditions and culture of their members, such as the 1840s St Patrick's Society planning celebrations for St Patrick's Day, and the Irish Club.⁴⁷⁹

One of the earliest of such clubs was the German Club which was formed in 1854 in the north east part of Adelaide between Rundle Street East and Wakefield Street where many German migrants lived until the early twentieth century. When this club was formed so was the renowned German choir, the Liedertafel, with a long and respected standing. The German Club built a magnificent two storey building at 87-95 Pirie Street in 1878 for its members (a third storey was added later when the Salvation Army owned the building). The club had social meeting rooms, reading rooms and billiard rooms.⁴⁸⁰ However, its rules were so restrictive that when its membership declined and the club was unable to pay off accumulated debts, the building was sold. Further, as so many German migrants had not fitted the membership criteria, a new club called the South Australian German Association was formed in 1886 with more liberal membership criteria. That association still continues at 223 Flinders Street.

[SLSA - German Club B2615 1895]

The South Australian Caledonian Society's own purpose built hall for Scottish settlers was opened on 27 March 1926 by a past president, Duncan Fraser. Located at 379 King William Street, the organisation is now known as the Royal Caledonian Society of South Australia. At the time of the opening of the building, the club was already forty five years old, having been established circa 1881. One of the features of the hall is the War Memorial comprising four brass

⁴⁷⁹ *Observer*, 14/7/1849 (supplement).

⁴⁸⁰ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 117-119.

memorial tablets installed in the entrance porch. These contained the names of members who had served in the First World War and those who were killed. In 1926 the club had a bairns' dance class and was hoping to introduce a choral class and a literary society. By providing headquarters for the society, it was hoped that Scots migrating to Adelaide 'could seek out their kinsmen there, and feel more welcome in their new land than might otherwise be the case'.⁴⁸¹

While some ethnic based clubs are thriving others are suffering from diminishing numbers, such as the Estonian Cultural Centre which has been located at 200 Jeffcott Street for a number of years. Estonians first settled in South Australia in the post-war period, but following the communist regime, migration from this country was halted until more recent times. About 100 Estonians regularly gather together at this hall, while several hundred more who identify with the association are either too old to meet or have gone interstate. The declining membership has put 'pressure on the financial viability of such a large meeting place'.⁴⁸²

Hidden away in Austin Street, off Pulteney Street, is the former club building of the Victoria League.⁴⁸³ The Adelaide Victoria League was established in 1911, ten years after the one formed in England in 1901 in memory of Queen Victoria. Intended to be non-political and non-sectarian, its aim was to foster friendly understanding between British subjects the world over and promote any scheme of work that would forward that object. When the branch was established in Adelaide, one of its policies was to meet and make British travellers welcome. During the First World War the club arranged for weekly Australian papers to be sent where they were needed, particularly to the Red Cross Commissioners in England, France and Egypt. In the year up to June 1918 as many as 28,500 newspapers were distributed. According to proceedings of the annual meeting of the league which were reported by the *South Australian Register* on 21 June 1918, some of the papers of were also distributed to working men's clubs in England.

[SLSA - Victoria League B3131 1925]

6.6.3 Philanthropic Associations

Many associations and societies were established in the earliest days of European settlement purely for helping others. One of the earliest philanthropic associations was the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers Friend Society which was formed in February 1849. Recognising that there was destitution among fellow migrants, the members of this charity set out to relieve their hardships where possible. It was almost fifty years before the charity built its own premises with a generous legacy from wealthy benefactor, Sir Thomas Elder. This building, known as Elder Hall, in honour of Sir Thomas, still stands in Morialta Street, off Victoria Square.⁴⁸⁴

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was established in 1886 with the main aim (along with the other temperance organisations such as the South Australian Alliance, the Total Abstinence League and the Rechabites), of abstinence and the total prohibition of the liquor trade. 'The South Australian Alliance, now called People for Alcohol Concern and Education, and the WCTU continue to carry the temperance banner'.⁴⁸⁵ For many decades until the early 1990s the WCTU was associated with a handsome two storey brick dwelling in Hutt Street on the western side near the Wakefield Street corner. The building is now used for other purposes.

The Girls Friendly Society was introduced into South Australia by Governor Jervois' wife and daughters in 1879. The aim of the society was to raise funds for distribution to the poor. However, an unsuccessful move was made to provide facilities in 1887 when Lady Jervois first stressed the need for providing hostel accommodation for newly arrived immigrant girls. The project was more successful in 1913, when the organisation rented premises in Kermode Street.

⁴⁸¹ *South Australian Register*, 29/3/1926 p11, 'Caledonian Hall- an auspicious opening'.

⁴⁸² *Advertiser*, 25/8/2001, p41.

⁴⁸³ *South Australian Register*, Victoria League, 27/7/1926 p10d.

⁴⁸⁴ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, p 173.

⁴⁸⁵ J Raftery, 'Temperance' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 535-536.

When a building at 56-60 Pennington Terrace was donated to the organisation in 1915, it became a girls' hostel until 1975, and is now a private residence. The organisation once had almost 360 female members, and their efforts in fundraising were reflected in the success of the hostel.⁴⁸⁶

A South Australian auxiliary of the British & Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1845. It was part of one of the largest publishing movements in the world for the distribution of bibles. The local group met in the Gawler Street Wesleyan Chapel (no longer extant) for many years until it was decided to celebrate the jubilee of their local society with a new building. A two storey Gothic designed red brick building was constructed in 1898 at 73 Grenfell Street and named Bertram House. It was converted to a coffee bar in the late 1990s.⁴⁸⁷

6.6.4 Community and Service Organisations

Many organisations were formed for mutual aid such the Freemasons' Grand Lodge which is South Australia's oldest organisation. 'The first South Australian lodge was consecrated as the Lodge of Friendship under the Grand Lodge of England in 1834 as the headquarters of the South Australian Association in London'.⁴⁸⁸ While members give each other mutual support mainly in business pursuits, the organisation is also actively involved in philanthropic work. By 1884 there were 30 lodges in South Australia. Its members were prominent in politics, business, the church and the legal profession. The organisation reached its membership peak in the late 1950s. The Freemasons Lodge, at 254-260 North Terrace, was built in 1927. The massive building is now too large for the declining membership of the masons to manage and maintain, and the building will be sold and its use will inevitably change.

A mutual aid organisation which was established on behalf of housewives as a consumer advocate and to promote issues affecting them, was established in 1926 as the Housewives' Association. From 1955 the South Australian headquarters were at 8-10 Compton Street, off Gouger Street. Reaching a membership of 30,000 during the Great Depression years, its role diminished in the 1970s following appropriate consumer protection that was introduced by the Dunstan Labor government.⁴⁸⁹ The organisation appears to have been associated with these premises in Compton Street until the mid 1990s.

The Naval, Military and Air Force Club, at 101-109 Hutt Street, has occupied these grand premises since 1956. The club, first known as the Militia Officers' Club of South Australia, was formed by Colonel Francis Downes, the commandant of the Colonial Defence Forces. Although now a social club, it was formed for the mutual aid and education of army officers by lectures and providing a library. In 1894 when it saw an opportunity to expand its membership by including navy personnel, it changed its name to the Naval and Military Club. It then changed its name again when Air Force personnel were admitted in 1943.⁴⁹⁰ For many years from about the 1890s, the club met at the South Australian Hotel, until it purchased the former house in Hutt Street.

The Adelaide Club, located at 164-167 North Terrace, was established for the colony's gentry who included 'merchants, squatters and gentlemen'. Although a club existed briefly for a short period in 1838, it was re-formed in July 1863. Shortly after that in 1864, the imposing club house of Dry Creek stone was constructed.⁴⁹¹ Formed on the British institution of a social club for men, this club, which is 'unique in South Australia', has never had a rival club in Adelaide.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁶ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 375-376.

⁴⁸⁷ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 87-88.

⁴⁸⁸ D Hilliard, 'Freemasonry' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, p 217.

⁴⁸⁹ Ruth Donovan, 'The South Australian Division of the Housewives' Association Foundation Years 1926-1934', in *JHSSA*, No 28, 2000; also 'Housewives' Association' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, p 269.

⁴⁹⁰ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 220-221.

⁴⁹¹ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 108-109.

⁴⁹² Dirk van Dissel, 'Adelaide Club' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, 2001, pp 25-26.

In Grenfell Street is the former Tattersall's Club building which was built in two parts in the 1920s. Having a lively history, the club was established following the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1867. As a social club for males who followed all aspects of horse-racing, it was founded essentially as a 'betting and gaming club after the style of the London Tattersalls Club'.⁴⁹³ The Grenfell Street clubrooms were built during a period of rising membership which topped around 1,500 during the mid 1920s. The club ceasing to exist in the early 1990s, the building with its function rooms survives within a precinct of similar architecturally important early twentieth century buildings.

6.7 Significant Events

6.7.1 Background

In the early days of European settlement, pioneers celebrated significant events either by the traditional festivals that were brought from their countries of origin or by introducing new ones such as Proclamation Day held at Glenelg, or celebrating South Australia's Centenary in a huge spectacle at the Adelaide Oval in 1936. While many events took place in the streets of Adelaide, some of the largest events took place in the Adelaide Park Lands. In the present day large events continue to take place in the Park Lands such as events in the Fringe Festival, Womadelaide, the Equestrian Three Day Event, firework displays, car races, circuses and many ethnic festivals.

6.7.2 Remembering Disasters

City residents remember annually the disastrous events that took place overseas such as the Boer War, two World Wars and other wars since. These are commemorated with appropriate memorials and military parades.

The loss of the ship *Admella* on 8/8/1859 off Cape Northumberland on its way to Melbourne with its large loss of life, many coming from Adelaide, saw benefit concerts and several paintings of the tragedy being undertaken by local artists. The unfolding of the rescue attempts over several days, was relayed to Adelaide by telegraph, maintaining tension over the duration and it was viewed as a great tragedy for Adelaide

Adelaide has had its fair share of fires that have destroyed shops, factories, hotels and dwellings. The city even had an earthquake in 1954 when about 100 city buildings suffered varying degrees of damage. However, it was without loss of life.

6.7.3 Remembering Significant Spectacles

Over time, the city has had a number of spectacles. While there may not be physical reminders of the events, they are worth noting as they were significant markers in the stages of Adelaide's development.

Governor Gawler arrived in South Australia in October 1838 to take over from Captain Hindmarsh. Only three weeks later, on 1 November, he organised an event which involved the entire town and the local Kaurna people, including several well known Aboriginal identities. In 'a getting to know you' affair, a huge banquet was arranged for the corroboree type of event in which Kaurna men showed off their prowess and skill in spear throwing and other activities. The event was held in 'a sheltered and picturesque spot in the park eastward of Government House'.⁴⁹⁴

Nearly thirty years later, in 1867, Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, visited Adelaide: the first member of the British monarchy to do so. Filled with civic pride, Adelaide and its citizens went to market and decorated the city with flags, bunting and triumphal arches. His visit throughout South Australia and the other colonies, was an important event for British migrants whose

⁴⁹³ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 85-86.

⁴⁹⁴ SAG&CR 3/11/1838 p 4b.

allegiances to the British crown were further cemented by his presence. As well as planting trees and attending many events such as military reviews, levee openings, balls, banquets and firework shows, he laid the foundation stone for the General Post Office on 1 November 1867. This was witnessed by thousands of loyal spectators, of whom 3,500 were seated near the event in a sixteen tiered stand, while the city's elite were accommodated in semi-circular seating built for the event.⁴⁹⁵

[SLSA - Foundation Stone GPO B12868 1867]

At the end of the nineteenth century when South Australia sent a contingent of 125 volunteers to the Boer War in 1899, a parade was held in King William Street in October which was witnessed by thousands of spectators. It was reported 'seldom, if ever, have the citizens of Adelaide displayed such ardour in military matters, and the march to and from the Town Hall was of the nature of a triumphal reception...' This march represented South Australia's first experience of war and its display of patriotism to the British Empire. Two more contingents were sent to South Africa, but of more than 1,500 volunteers who fought in South Africa, fifty-nine were killed. Their sacrifice is commemorated in the dramatic equestrian bronze statue outside the gates of Government House.

Adelaide has had several street demonstrations that are important to its social history. One of the largest and most memorable demonstrations to take place in the city was the 'Beef Riots' of 9 January 1931, during the Great Depression. It was described as a 'watershed in the deterioration of relations between the Labor government and the Adelaide unemployed'.⁴⁹⁶ When beef rations were replaced by mutton which the recipients of rations believed was inferior, they took to the streets to protest. The 'riot' involved several thousand of the unemployed. Some of the protestors had marched all the way from Port Adelaide singing revolutionary songs and shouting 'We Want Beef' to protest outside the Treasury Building in Victoria Square, where the premier's cabinet and office were located. When the police barred the deputation from entering the Treasury Building, an angry battle broke out and batons and motorcycles were used against the crowd. Some were injured and hospitalised, while others were arrested. The city riot saw other demonstrations take place and the police commissioner 'became convinced that the revolution was imminent'.⁴⁹⁷

Forty years after the 'Beef Riots', demonstrations of a different sort, but equally as violent, took place in the city streets and which also ended up with clashes with the police, followed by arrests. A year after the Menzies government introduced conscription in 1964, Australia became involved in the Vietnam War. In the process, the country was divided on the controversial issue of conscription and whether Australia should even be involved in America's war. An ad hoc group known as the Radical Alliance that was made up from the more radical members of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, led thousands of protestors on three moratorium campaigns in May and September 1970, and finally in June 1971. Of the three demonstrations, the one that took place on 18 September 1970 'resulted in some of the most dramatic scenes ever in Adelaide's streets'.⁴⁹⁸ Indeed, 'the war had a significant impact on South Australian political life, and the course and character of opposition aroused by the war and conscription [made it] different in Adelaide than in other capital cities'.⁴⁹⁹ The violence of this particular moratorium that took place at the intersection of King William Street and North Terrace where demonstrators and police violently clashed, led to a royal commission.

Not all street events were of a combative nature. Indeed, the streets of Adelaide have also been used for some entertaining spectacles. Only two years after the 'Beef Riots', the first John Martin's Christmas Pageant was organised for 18 November 1933 by the chairman of John Martin's, Edward Hayward. He intended the pageant as a one-off event as a gift to the children of the state as a diversion from the daily hardships then being experienced by the effects of the

⁴⁹⁵ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp165-168.

⁴⁹⁶ R Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers*, pp 84, 176, 177.

⁴⁹⁷ R Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers*, p 178.

⁴⁹⁸ M Saunders, 'Vietnam War' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, pp 568- 69.

⁴⁹⁹ M Saunders, 'Vietnam War' pp 568-69.

Great Depression. Drawing more than 100,000 spectators to the city, the one-off event soon became Adelaide's Once-a-Year Day and started a tradition dear to the heart of adults and children alike.⁵⁰⁰ Although John Martins no longer survives, the pageant continues as a result of a consortium of fourteen credit unions that was formed to stage the event. Annually attracting around 400,000 spectators, the pageant is described as one of the largest in the world and one of the city's major annual and most loved public events.⁵⁰¹

The many royal tours that have come to South Australia since 1867 have been major features in the calendar for ordinary people who turned out in the streets of Adelaide to see the royal procession, and for the privileged few who were invited to attend the balls, banquets and other occasions organised in honour of the visiting member of royalty. When the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth visited Adelaide in 1954 with Prince Philip, she was the first reigning monarch to do so. Accordingly, her visit was a huge public spectacle. As part of her visit, tens of thousands of schoolchildren from all around the state travelled to Victoria Park Racecourse to see her in a procession. Some of the largest crowds ever assembled in the city and at the racecourse were generated by her visit.

However, these numbers were matched in June 1964 when the Beatles came to perform. Of the occasion it was stated that 'a vociferous mob blocked the roadway in front of the Town Hall and later jammed North Terrace until the 'Fab Four' appeared on the balcony of the South Australian Hotel'.⁵⁰²

6.8 Arts and Sciences

The North Terrace boulevard, which is graced with many substantial public buildings, epitomises the development of the arts and sciences in Adelaide. Within the city precinct between Kintore Avenue and Hackney Road, there are venues for music, ethnography, a herbarium, several archival repositories and libraries, several museum collections which include a classics and cricket museum, and a conservation laboratory.

The nineteenth century saw the expansion of exploration and scientific discovery, in which the local population showed an avid interest.⁵⁰³ 'The enthusiasm of amateur naturalists and artists to record, collect or capture on canvas South Australia's astonishing flora, fauna and ethnography, coupled with nineteenth-century notions of self-help and self-improvement, found expression in movements to establish institutes for the study of natural science, literature and art.'⁵⁰⁴ From the earliest days of European settlement interest in arts and science was very much indulged in by gentlemen 'of that bent'. Indeed, the South Australian Literary and Philosophical Society was established in London in 1834 to accommodate the broad interests of its members.

To be well prepared, the South Australian Company in England appointed those with training or who were self-skilled, such as German Johannes Menge who became 'Mine and Quarry Agent and Geologist' for the company in 1836. The aim was for him to explore 'the natural productions of the Colony above & below ground...'.⁵⁰⁵ Following in his footsteps in 1840 was Thomas Burr who apart from being appointed Deputy Surveyor, also examined the geology and mineralogy of the province.

In the natural sciences such as botany, zoology, entomology and ornithology, there were many opportunities for pioneer research. Samuel White as South Australia's pioneer ornithologist, left

⁵⁰⁰A Burrows, 'Christmas Pageant' in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, pp106-107.

⁵⁰¹A Burrows, 'Christmas Pageant' pp106-107.

⁵⁰²A Painter, 'Entertainment: the changing scene' in *Playford's South Australia: Essays on the history of South Australia 1933-1968*, 1996, p312.

⁵⁰³R Linn, *Nature's Pilgrim*, p5. A humble blacksmith named Lord knew enough about natural science to inspire brothers Samuel and William White. Samuel White and his son Samuel Albert became renowned SA ornithologists. Living in the western suburbs Samuel inherited his father John's 11 Town Acres.

⁵⁰⁴G Speirs, 'Museums' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 369-371.

⁵⁰⁵B O'Neil, *In Search of Mineral Wealth*, p 8-9.

a large collection of bird skins to the South Australian Museum. When the Museum was first established within the Institute Building in 1860 the first exhibits concentrated on birds and mammals.

The establishment of the Botanic Gardens represented 'civilization taming the wilderness'. It was also a scientific institution that collected seeds and plants for propagation purposes and ongoing scientific research. Its intact nineteenth century Museum of Economic Botany with its 'carpological collection' and displays of plant products reflects the high regard for scientific and educational displays and institutions held during that Victorian era'.⁵⁰⁶

Adelaide is not short of places of scientific endeavour. There are two major scientific laboratories located within a short distance of each other within the University of Adelaide. The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) which was formed in 1926 as a federal body is 'Australia's largest civil scientific body'. In the 1970s four of the thirty-five divisions of the organisation had their headquarters in South Australia.⁵⁰⁷ The other large scientific laboratory, which is South Australian, is the Institute of Medical and Veterinary Science which was established in 1937 to incorporate the functions of the former Adelaide Hospital Laboratory.⁵⁰⁸ Located in Frome Road, it is one of the top twenty employers in the city. The University of Adelaide also has several historic scientific laboratories. These include the Bragg and the Darling Laboratories.

Interest in the arts also pre-dates any of the buildings on North Terrace. By the 1850s the South Australian Society of Arts had been established and still operates as the oldest Australian fine art society still in existence. Using rooms in the 1861 Institute Building on the corner of Kintore Avenue and North Terrace, it was the centre of the art world in Adelaide. Through the lobbying of this organisation and the South Australian Institute, the National Art Gallery of South Australia, with the nucleus of a state collection, was established 1881 in the newly constructed Jervois Wing (now part of the State Library).⁵⁰⁹ It then moved to the purpose built art gallery of 1900, which has since had four major additions.

Between the 1960s and 1990s, the North Adelaide School of Art in Stanley Street operated from the three storey modernist purpose built complex designed by Woods Bagot Laybourne Smith and Irwin. The art school has since been relocated, and the building is to be demolished.

[SLSA - SA School of Art B15316 1964]

At the University of Adelaide 'musical life received major boosts with the creation of a chair of music in 1884 and the Elder Conservatorium in 1897'.⁵¹⁰ The Elder Conservatorium, as an important venue in the cultural life of Adelaide residents, regularly showcases its students of voice and instrument to an interested and supportive public. Until the construction of the Elder Conservatorium there were few venues where one could attend the more serious entertainments of a concert or an opera. White's Rooms (precursor to Her Majesty's Theatre) at 97 King William Street catered for concerts, while Italian and English Opera Companies regularly visited Adelaide and performed many operas at the Queen's Theatre and, after 1868, at the Theatre Royal. The Adelaide Town Hall provided another venue after it was built in 1866. [Refer also to Section 6.4 – Theatres]

Local choirs and glee clubs were established, such as the Adelaide Choral Society of 1842 and the Liedertafel that evolved out of the German Club in the 1850s. While there were brave attempts by local groups to stage occasional operas, such as in the 1870s and 1920s, it was 1957 before the South Australian National Opera Company created the foundation upon which opera has successfully developed in the state.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁶ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 276-277.

⁵⁰⁷ *SA Year Book*, pp 205-206.

⁵⁰⁸ *SA Year Book*, pp 205-206.

⁵⁰⁹ C Finimore, 'Art Galleries' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 48-50.

⁵¹⁰ P Ward, 'Arts' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 50-52.

⁵¹¹ E Silsbury 'Opera' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp388-390.

In 1960 the city held its first Adelaide Festival of Arts which was described as the 'catalyst for the growth of a wide range of performing, visual, musical and literary arts activities, and its successes continue to set benchmarks for arts and festivals throughout Australia'.⁵¹² Thirteen years later on 2 June 1973 the Festival Centre was officially opened and 'represented a milestone in South Australian history as a dramatic expression of the South Australian part in Australian cultural development and of local political commitment to that development'.⁵¹³

⁵¹² P Ward, 'Arts' in *Wakefield Companion to S A History*, p 51.

⁵¹³ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, p250.

7.0 EDUCATING

7.1 Introduction

Schools were opened in the earliest stages of the settlement of the city and tended to be the responsibility of churches and individual concerned settlers. The Central Board of Education which was established under the 1851 *Education Act* set out to develop an education system within South Australia and the first major Government school was built in the city in Grote Street in 1874, known as the 'Model School'. The 1875 *Education Act* required compulsory primary level education for children and the school system has developed within the city from that time. Other significant educational facilities were also developed within the city for other interested groups including the South Australian Institute, the Museum and the Library, all of which were constructed on North Terrace. The University developed from the 1870s onwards and the School of Mines, later to become the University of South Australia, was established, also on North Terrace, in 1888.

7.2 Schooling

7.2.1 Generally

Initially, the education of children and adults was the responsibility of concerned individuals, groups and the many religious denominations which were soon active in the new settlement of South Australia. It was left to them to provide venues and teachers. Indeed, intending colonists had established two educational organisations even before settlement of South Australia. One was the South Australian School Society and the other was the SA Literary Association. They both had the object of 'cultivating and diffusing useful knowledge among the colonists.'⁵¹⁴ Helen Jones states that '...both formal and non institutional education were recognized from the outset, and from 1836 a variety of private and government assisted schools and informal agencies of education developed.'⁵¹⁵

The task of instilling basic literary skills was left to churches and dame schools. Dame schools were operated by single or widowed women who advertised their services through the pages of the newspapers, such as in the *South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register* on 20 January 1838: Mrs Hillier of Pavilion Cottage near Gilles Arcade, Currie Street who had 'a long experience in the arduous task of education', informed the public on this date that she had opened a school for a 'select and limited number of young ladies'. Miss Nihill, who was also opening a select day school for young ladies, held interviews at the School Room in Rundle Street.⁵¹⁶

A plaque on North Terrace adjacent to the Morphett Bridge records the site where the very first school opened 28 May 1838. Established by the SA School Society, when it ceased functioning as a school it later became the first public library.⁵¹⁷ This first school was followed by such as the one operated by the Reverend C B Howard who ran an infants' school from his parsonage at Trinity Church on North Terrace. Also within the grounds was the 'Collegiate School' of St Peters which began in a small building to the rear of the church. An illustration of it was made by J B Austin in 1849.⁵¹⁸ The school moved out of the city and continued from 1847 as St Peter's Collegiate in College Park, on the eastern Park Lands fringes.

By 1844 and before the introduction of government grants, there were twenty six schools in South Australia, fourteen of them in Adelaide. The early private schools struggled to survive for

⁵¹⁴ Helen Jones, *Nothing seemed impossible: Women's Education and Social Change in South Australia 1875-1915*, p6. The public first read about establishment of the SA School Society in SAG & CR on 3 June 1838 p4a.

⁵¹⁵ Helen Jones, *Nothing seemed impossible: Women's Education and Social Change in South Australia, 1875-1915*, p6.

⁵¹⁶ *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 7/7/1838, *South Australian Register* 18/7/1840.

⁵¹⁷ P Sumerling, *Around the Square*, walk brochure around Light Square, February 1997.

⁵¹⁸ Hindley Street by JB Austin, 1849, see SC Wilson, K Borrow, *Bridge over the Ocean*, p179.

'they lacked suitable buildings and books, and received no help from the government.'⁵¹⁹ Further, education in this early period was neither compulsory nor free.

While the colonial government had given schools some financial assistance from 1847, the 1851 Education Act cut off aid to church schools, making South Australia the first colony to take this step (private schools received state funding again from the 1960s).⁵²⁰ Despite the cuts, churches became the leading educational agencies, comprising Anglicans, Lutherans, Dissenters and Catholics who not only provided teachers and schoolrooms, but through services, sermons and schools, attempted to consolidate and educate their respective communities.⁵²¹ Further, the newly formed Central Board of Education established under the 1851 Education Act made funds available to increase teachers' salaries and contributed funds to groups to build schoolhouses throughout the colony. The Act 'set out to aid and improve low-fee schools established by the colonists themselves.'⁵²²

In March 1864 there were six schools in North Adelaide in Archer, Gover, Jeffcott and Tynte streets, as well as G W Moore's school and Mrs F Sheridan's school in MacKinnon Parade. In this period 328 pupils attended these few schools.⁵²³

Some early city church schools still function such as the St Mary's Dominican School which is on the site of the earlier Poor School established by the Sisters of St Joseph in 1869. It was taken over by the Dominican Sisters in 1871, followed by the opening of new schools on site in 1898.⁵²⁴ Another city school that still continues from before or around the second Education Act of 1875, is Pulteney Grammar School which moved to its South Terrace site in the 1920s, after being located for a time in Flinders Hall at 217-219 Flinders Street. The Christian Brothers College which opened in 1879 in Wakefield Street is located in a substantial bluestone complex.

[SLSA - Grote Street School B58549 ca1876]

Under the Board of Education, the first major government school ('the Model School') was built in the city in Grote Street in 1874. With the introduction of compulsory elementary education through the Education Act in 1875, the colonial government embarked on an intense campaign to provide South Australian primary schools for children between seven and thirteen years wherever population numbers warranted them. The Tynte Street School, built in 1876, was the first to be built under the new Act and others were also built beyond the city where large populations were located. Several new government schools were built from the early 1880s to cater for the large numbers of children within the city. The two storey bluestone Sturt Street School was completed in 1883. A two storey brick school was built in Currie Street to accommodate the huge population of children in the northern part of the West End, and this opened in 1893. A one storey brick school in Gilles Street was opened in 1900.⁵²⁵ Also following the passing of the new Education Act, the colonial government built a teachers' training school in 1876 alongside its primary school in Grote Street.⁵²⁶ Teacher training took place in several buildings around the city apart from the Grote Street premises prior to the construction of the Spanish Mission style 'Hartley Building' in Kintore Avenue as a Teachers' Training College in 1927. This became part of the SA College of Advanced Education in 1982⁵²⁷. Since 1991 it has been part of the University of Adelaide.⁵²⁸

⁵¹⁹ RM Gibbs, *A History of South Australia from Colonial Days to the Present*, 1984, p 174.

⁵²⁰ C Campbell, 'Education' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History* p 162.

⁵²¹ C Campbell, 'Education' p 162.

⁵²² Pavla Miller, *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, 1986, p36.

⁵²³ SA Government Gazette Returns, 24/3/1864; see also Mortlock Library *Newspaper Cuttings*, Volume 1, p113.

⁵²⁴ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 58-59; the church building of the former catholic school on the corner of Jerningham and Stanley streets was still being used as a church in 1999.

⁵²⁵ These four city schools are all recorded in S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 188-89, 195-96, 212, 385-86.

⁵²⁶ The training school was transformed into a two storey Tudor style structure in 1908 to provide continuing education. S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 186-89.

⁵²⁷ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: pp 264-65.

⁵²⁸ Alison Mackinnon, 'Higher Education' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, p 253.

[SLSA - Teachers Training College B4003 1927]

When education in government schools was only provided to children up to the age of thirteen years, several private schools were established to provide an education to prepare children for professional work and university. Several such schools were established in North Adelaide where there had been a dramatic development from the buoyant 1870s and which had attracted the well-to-do, keen enough to pay for the best education for their children.

Between the 1870s and 1920s Queen's and Whinham colleges for boys were established, both in North Adelaide. Tormore House, Creveen, St Peter's Girls, and Wilderness School were established for girls, all within the city square mile.⁵²⁹ In the mid 1870s at 43-45 Margaret Street, North Adelaide, a small ladies school operated in the private home of spinster Eliza Lewin.⁵³⁰ However, due to the falling city population after the First World War and the 1930s Great Depression, most of the city schools had closed by 1950. Wilderness had moved to Medindie in the late 1880s and St Peter's Girls School had moved to Wattle Park.

The first government supported girls school providing secondary education, the Advanced School for Girls, began in Franklin Street in 1879, and moved to purpose built premises alongside the teachers' training school in Grote Street in 1890.⁵³¹ In this period, women's representation in the professional work force was concentrated in the two major occupations of teaching and nursing.⁵³²

In 1907 the government established secondary classes within existing primary schools and then formed a number of high schools purely for secondary education, including the Continuation School in 1908. Adelaide Boys High School initially occupied five city buildings, but moved to its own purpose built school off West Terrace in 1951. For forty years until the 1950s there were only four government high schools in the whole greater metropolitan area of Adelaide.⁵³³

7.2.2 Special Schools

From the late nineteenth century, specialist education institutions increasingly provided for population subgroups: kindergartens for the very young, special schools for the 'blind, deaf and dumb', and central and technical schools for mainly working class children. When Ebenezer Chapel in Brougham Court closed it became a school for working class boys before being taken over in 1870 by the Industrial School for the Blind, which used the building until the mid 1930s.⁵³⁴ While this building has survived, the Institute for the Blind's substantial 1914 building in King William Road in North Adelaide was demolished in 1963.⁵³⁵

7.3 Pre-schools and Kindergartens

As well as education of children and adults, facilities for pre-school children were not forgotten and kindergartens were established in the city for both 'educational and humanitarian reasons'.⁵³⁶ The earliest city kindergartens were established for underprivileged children. One of these was in Franklin Street in the West End, which started in 1906, adjacent to one of the most densely populated locations in the city. The Little Citizens' Free Kindergarten was conducted in the Archer Street Methodist Hall from 1921 and the Keith Sheridan Institute at 49-50 MacKinnon Parade was also used at one time as a kindergarten. It was in 1926 that the purpose built domestic-styled Barker Kindergarten at 193-95 Tynte Street was opened.⁵³⁷ On 17

⁵²⁹ The buildings of most of these former schools still survive in North Adelaide.

⁵³⁰ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: p 360.

⁵³¹ S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: p 186-87.

⁵³² Carol Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia', in E Richards (ed) *The Flinders Social History*, 1986, pp 427.

⁵³³ Pavla Miller, *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, 1986, p 137.

⁵³⁴ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, pp 321-322.

⁵³⁵ M Burden, *Lost Adelaide*, p107.

⁵³⁶ Helen Jones, 'Kindergartens' in *Wakefield Companion to SA History*, pp 294-95.

⁵³⁷ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*, pp 310-11.

September 1936 at 29 Selby Street on Town Acre 462, the Grey Ward Nursery School was opened.⁵³⁸ These kindergartens are still in use, although Grey Ward Nursery School moved to its current site in Wright Street in November, 1976, and is now the Grey Ward Child Care Centre. The Selby Street building is now used as offices.

[SLSA - Grey Ward Nursery School B62072 1936]

The Kindergarten Union, a 'voluntarist organisation' was located at 93-97 Palmer Place some time after it was established in 1907. The Union 'addressed itself to the problem of teacher education and supply almost immediately and launched a training programme...one and a half years after the establishment of the Union itself'.⁵³⁹ Until 1917 one principal managed both the union and the college. After this date, the two parts each had their own principal. The union had about ten kindergartens by 1940, but this was set to expand dramatically in the post-war years. In 1953 the former Creveen School building at 153-159 Kermode Street became part of the union.⁵⁴⁰ Construction of the Doris Beeston Memorial Building in Kermode Street North Adelaide did not address the phenomenal growth of the college and it moved to larger buildings in Childers Street in 1961. In 1974, under the Board of Advanced Education, the Kindergarten Union college became the Kindergarten Teachers' College which with state and federal funding was better able to provide the resources required by a new teachers' training college.

[See also 6.2 Living and Dying in Adelaide.]

7.4 Further Education

With so many private schools providing secondary education but with nowhere to pursue tertiary studies in South Australia, moves were made during the mid nineteenth century for the establishment of a local university. Following the establishment of Union College in 1872, which was set up for the training of young men for the Christian ministry and which had premises in Tynte Street, a 'university association was formed out of Union College to establish the University of Adelaide'.⁵⁴¹ When this came about in 1874, following the aid of generous benefactors, the first university building was constructed and in use by 1881. From the single structure known as the Mitchell Building, the university campus has grown to include over fifty buildings and is one of the largest employers in the city.

While not all secondary school pupils qualified or wanted to undertake university studies, there was also a need for technical and agricultural education, which became an option following the establishment of the School of Mines in 1888 (later known as the Institute of Technology in 1960 and then the University of South Australia in 1991). Until the Brookman Buildings on North Terrace were built east of the University of Adelaide in the early 1900s, the school operated from the Jubilee Exhibition Buildings, (now replaced by the Napier Building of the University of Adelaide.)⁵⁴²

The Workers' Educational Association of South Australia (WEA) was formed in 1914 for working men to 'undertake social and political studies, equipping them to become effective leaders of working-class movements'.⁵⁴³ The links WEA had to the University of Adelaide ceased in 1957-58 when it opened a teaching centre on South Terrace under its own direction. The popularity of the institution saw it moving to larger premises in Angas Street in 1983 and it is still as popular in the early twenty first century, especially as it now caters for all types of interests, with a great variety of studies and courses.

⁵³⁸ Bridget Jolly, *Historic South West Corner*, 2003, photo by John Adey, 1941.

⁵³⁹ C Dowd, 'The Adelaide Kindergarten Teachers' College, 1907-1974, in *JHSSA*, Vol 10, 1982, pp 72-83.

⁵⁴⁰ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, pp341-42, 371-72.

⁵⁴¹ S Marsden, P Stark and P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide*: p 266-68; See also North Adelaide Heritage Survey, 2004-5, Local Place at 178 Tynte Street.

⁵⁴² Some of the stone steps of the Jubilee Exhibition building still survive north of the Napier Building.

⁵⁴³ Denis Binnion, 'WEA' in 'Wakefield Companion to SA History', pp 591-92.

Commercial colleges were also established in Adelaide in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the increasing use of typewriters, telephones, shorthand and other business machines. Not only were males taking the opportunity to study at commercial colleges for a job such as in the public service, but so were an increasing number of young women. Opened sometime in the early 1890s, the commercial college known as Muirden Brothers Shorthand and Commercial College provided a general education along with tuition in its shorthand and commercial department under the personal supervision of W Muirden.⁵⁴⁴ The college was located in several places until 1909 when a new college building was opened by Premier A H Peake in Grote Street adjoining the Central Market. In the early 1900s 'commercial education had passed through the experimental stage to a position which commands the respect and attention of our highest educational authorities'.⁵⁴⁵ Muirdens is now located at 368 King William Street.

[SLSA - Muirden College B31374 ca1911]

As late as the 1940s Mr Bejou's 'famous' North Adelaide Clerical & Commercial Academy was advertising as a classical, mathematical & commercial academy and 'preparatory & finishing school for young gentlemen'.

7.5 Libraries, Institutions and Museums

North Terrace is identified with the cultural life of South Australians. The precinct includes the State Library, the SA Museum and the Art Gallery of SA, and has been one of the most visited places in the city for more than 100 years. It reflects the population's interest in recreational and cultural pursuits to be found within each institution on the Terrace.

The trend for cultural institutions in this locality was entrenched with the opening of the Institute Building in 1861 on the corner of Kintore Avenue and which became the centre of cultural life in Adelaide. The Institute movement provided libraries, education classes and pioneered technical, vocational and higher education in South Australia. It was from the S A Institute that the public library, art gallery and museum connected South Australians to the metropolitan centres of scholarship and high culture.⁵⁴⁶

Having originally been located within the Institute Building, the Art Gallery, museum and library developed into separate entities with their own buildings. The library moved into its own building in 1884, after a protracted construction process. The museum set up on its own in 1895.

Reflecting the importance of libraries and institutes to readers, when the people of North Adelaide lobbied for their own library facilities in the 1870s, a handsome building was constructed and opened by the colonial government in 1884. What made the construction of this building noble is that a combined Post and Telegraph Office and an Institute were built as one structure. The library is still an important part of the cultural life of North Adelaide residents.

Apart from the State Library, there are several other major and important libraries located on North Terrace, all fulfilling specialised functions. One is the library in Parliament House which is set within surroundings reminiscent in character to a British university library.

The University of Adelaide's Barr Smith Library is also reached from North Terrace. The Barr Smith Library was established in the first building constructed for the University of Adelaide, known as the Mitchell Building. In the mid 1930s a Georgian style purpose built library was constructed. With its grand entrance leading into the spectacular reading room, its deep coffered ceiling is one of the main architectural features of the University of Adelaide. The library has

⁵⁴⁴ *South Australian Register*, 1/12/1894, p4, 'Shorthand and commercial college'.

⁵⁴⁵ *South Australian Register*, 5/10/1909 'Muirden College - opening of new building'.

⁵⁴⁶ Before the construction of this permanent location on North Terrace in 1861, the proceedings of the Institute were held in churches, schools and business premises. See Wilson & Borrow, *Bridge over the Ocean*, pp 294-5; they also met at the Queen's Theatre after John Lazar offered rooms adjoining the theatre in September 1842 and the Mechanic's Institute's first lecture was held here and several more until late 1843, *South Australian*, 9 & 21/9/1842.

undergone several major additions since. Apart from these libraries, the various institutions along North Terrace accommodate specialist libraries to suit their specific functions.

8.0 CITY PLACES REFERRED TO IN THE THEMATIC HISTORY

Note: The information provided below is representative only. For accurate information on the status of State and local heritage places within the City of Adelaide, refer to the Adelaide (City) Development Plan.

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
1.1			
Government House, North Terrace	✓		✓
2.2			
Native Location, Base of Montefiore Hill	x		
Iron Store, Base of Montefiore Hill	x		
Mounted Police Barracks, (now South Australian Museum), North Terrace	✓		✓
2.3			
Emigration Depot, West Park Lands	x		
Queen's Theatre, Gilles Arcade	✓		✓
Criterion Hotel, 137 King William Street	x		
Residence, 120 Sussex Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 57 Stanley Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 78 Jerningham Street	✓		✓
Residence, 31 Lakeman Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 152-154 Kermodie Street	✓	✓	
Shop, 59 O'Connell St	✓		
Shop, 89-91 O'Connell St	✓	✓	
Former German Club, 89 Pirie Street	✓		✓
Woodman Hotel (former Producers), 233-235 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Tivoli Hotel (former National), 261-269 Pirie Street	✓	✓	
Bethlehem Church Lutheran Church, 170 Flinders Street	✓		✓
St Stephens Lutheran Church, 152 Wakefield St	✓	✓	
Former Menz Biscuit Factory, 82 Wakefield St	✓		✓
Shop/residence, 242 Pirie St	✓		
Former butcher's shop, 270 Pirie St	✓		
Woodman Inn, 233-235 Grenfell St	✓		✓
Prince Alfred Hotel, 254 Wright St	✓		✓
Destitute Asylum Kintore Avenue	✓		✓
Hooker Building, 163-179 Hindley St	✓		
Gladys Sym Choon, 4 shops, 229-237 Rundle Street	✓	✓	

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Former City Mission Hall, 69 Light Square	✓		✓
Mosque, 22-28 Little Gilbert Street	✓		✓
2 storey house, 181 Sturt Street	✓	✓	
Former Star Grocery, 159 Hindley Street	✓		
Greek Orthodox Church, 282-288 Franklin Street	✓		✓
3.2			
Medina Grand Hotel, former Treasury Building, 142-160 King William Street	✓		✓
Government House, North Terrace	✓		✓
Adelaide Gaol, 18 Gaol Road	✓		✓
Three schools buildings, 101-139 Grote Street	✓		✓
Children's Hospital, 58-70 King William Road	✓		✓
St Peter's Cathedral, 1-19 King William Road	✓		✓
Stock Exchange, 53-57 Exchange Place	✓		✓
Residence, 118 Buxton Street	✓	✓	
Group of cottages, 22-24 & 26-28 Brougham Court	✓	✓	
Residence, 102 Hill Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 88-94 Jeffcott Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 189 Jeffcott Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 114 Mills Terrace	✓	✓	
Residence, 137 Strangways Tce	✓	✓	
73-79 Light Sq, former Sands & MacDougall Building	✓		✓
State schools 208 Currie Street (SHP), 111 Gilles Street (SHR) and Sturt Street (LHP)	✓✓✓	✓	✓✓
School of Mines, Brookman Building, University of SA, North Terrace	✓		✓
Supreme Court, Former Moores Department Store, Victoria Square	✓		✓
Her Majesty's Theatre, 58 Grote Street	✓		✓
Former Printing Works 93-99 Grote Street	✓		✓
Church of Christ, 96-100 Grote Street	✓	✓	
Gawler Chambers, 188 North Terrace	✓		✓
Verco Building, 178-179 North Terrace	✓		✓
T&G Building, 82-88 King William Street	✓		✓
Norwich Union Building, 47-51 Waymouth Street	✓		

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Former Alliance Assurance Building, 14 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Executive Trustee & Agency Building, 22-24 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Balfours Bakeries, Morphett/Franklin Streets	✓ (Development site)		
Balfour's Cafe, 72-74 Rundle Mall.	✓		✓
Holdens Factory, King William Street (Now demolished)	x		
Former Hoopers Furniture Store, 41-47 Hindley Street	✓		✓
Residence, 92 Brougham Place	✓	✓	
Residence, 76-79 Lefevre Terrace	✓	✓	
Residence, 68 Mills Terrace	✓	✓	
Residence (Gleeson House), 19 Palmer Place	✓		✓
Residence, 235 Ward Street	✓	✓	
Goldsbrough House, 171-175 North Terrace	✓		✓
Shell House, 169-171 North Terrace	✓		✓
Former Liberal Club Building, 175-177 North Terrace	✓		✓
CML Building, 41-49 King William Street	✓		✓
AMP Building, 19-23 King William Street	✓		✓
Former Savings Bank (State Bank), 97-105 King William Street	✓		✓
Bank of NSW (Westpac), corner of North Terrace, 2-12 King William Street	✓	✓	
Royal Adelaide Hospital, North Terrace	✓		✓
Da Costa Building, Grenfell Street, cnr Gawler Place	✓		
Advertiser Building, corner Waymouth and King William Streets	x		
3.3			
Old Parliament House, North Terrace	✓		✓
Trinity Church, North Terrace	✓		✓
Christ Church, 31-39 Palmer Place	✓		✓
Catholic Bishops Palace, West Terrace	✓		✓
Nurney House, 126-133 Kingston Tce	✓		✓
Residence, 157 Strangways Terrace	x		
Keith Sheridan Building, 49-50 MacKinnon Pde	✓	✓	
Ebenezer Chapel, Brougham Court	✓		✓
Buffalo Cottage, 88-90 Finnis St	✓		✓
Former Beresford Arms, 188 Gilles St	✓		✓

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Residence, 126-130 Sussex Street	✓	✓	
3.4			
MLC Building, 181-189 Victoria Square	✓		✓
Former Bank of South Australia (Edmund Wright House), 57-63 King William St	✓		✓
Bank of Adelaide, 81-87 King William St	✓		✓
State Bank (former Savings bank), 97-105 King William Street	✓		✓
Westpac Bank, 2-12 King William Street	✓	✓	
Reserve Bank, 182-188 Victoria Square	✓		✓
Bank SA (former Savings Bank of SA), 97 King William Street	✓		✓
Former Friendly Society Hall, 141 Tynte Street	✓		✓
Former NMLA (former Marine & Harbors Building), 199-201 Victoria Square	✓		✓
Former NMLA, 89-93 King William Street	✓		✓
T & G Building, 82 King William Street	✓		✓
Norwich Union Building, 47-51 Waymouth Street	✓		
CML Building, 41-49 King William St	✓		✓
AMP Building 19-23 King William St	✓		✓
Elders Building, 27-39 Currie Street	✓		✓
Former Bennett & Fisher Building, 12-18 Currie Street	✓		
Offices, Darling Building, 28-30 Franklin Street	✓		✓
Young Street Chambers, 25-29 Young Street.	✓		✓
3.5			
Former Halifax Street Depot, 41-81 Halifax Street	✓		
Shop, Federation Trading, 127-133 Waymouth Street	✓	✓	
Offices, 222-228 Hindley Street (now part of Uni of SA)	✓		✓
Former tobacco factory, 63 Light Square	✓		✓
Former Brewery, 50-62 Wyatt St	✓		✓
Former Brewery Building, Old Lion Hotel, 173 Melbourne Street	✓		✓
Former Fowler Factory, 69-78 North Terrace	✓		✓
Former AM Bickford's Building, 42-48 Currie Street	✓	✓	
Fish Processing factory, Angelakis, 32	✓		

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Field Street			
Southcott Engineering, 243 Halifax Street.	x		
George Gross & Harry Who, 214 Gilbert Street	✓		
3.6			
[Former hotels]			
Botanic, 309 North Tce	✓		✓
Crown, Gover Street, TA906 (between Tower Street North & Fenchurch St)	x		
Dover Castle, 47 Archer St	✓	✓	
Eagle, 42-46 Hindley Street	✓	✓	
Gilles Arms, 67-79 Gilles Street	✓	✓*	
Globe Hotel, 30-34 North Street	✓		✓
Golden Rule, 246 Pirie St	✓	✓	
Horse & Jockey, Carrington St (TA447)	x		
Old Colonist, 78 Angas St	x		
Orient, 144 Wakefield St	✓		
Oriental, 63 Rundle St	x		
Shakespeare Chambers, 123 Waymouth St, 2-10 Cannon St, TA 196	✓	✓	
Sportsman Club, 185 Grote St	✓		
Supreme Court Hotel, 7 Gouger Street	✓		✓
Wheelwrights' Arms, 27-29 Roper St (TA 299)	✓	✓	
Beresford, 188 Gilles Street	✓		✓
Bull & Bear Tavern, 95 King William Street (in basement of State Bank Building)	✓		
Dog & Windmill, off Rundle Street East	x		
Adelaide Arcade, 111-117 Rundle Mall	✓		✓
Waterhouse Chambers, corner Rundle Mall, 42-46 King William Street	✓		✓
Beehive Corner, corner Rundle Mall, 34A King William Street	✓		✓
Former Kither Butchers shop, (Commonwealth Bank) 135-139 Rundle Mall	✓		✓
Conrad Butcher, 290 Rundle St	✓		✓
Central Market, 22-60 Gouger Street	✓	✓	
East End Market and shops	✓		✓
Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange	✓		✓
Crown & Sceptre Hotel and shops, 308 King William Street	✓		✓
North Adelaide Village Centre, O'Connell	In part		

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Street			
Former David Jones Building, Rundle Mall	✓		
Former Moores Department Store (Supreme Court Building)	✓		✓
Woolworths, 80-88 Rundle Mall	✓		
Harris Scarfe, 81 Rundle Mall, Grenfell Street	✓		
Former shop, 293 Morphett Street	✓	✓	
Greek coffee house, barber shop, 311-315 Morphett St	✓		
Attached shops 185-187 Sturt Street			
2 storey shop, 188-190 Sturt Street	✓	✓	
One storey shop, 175-177 Sturt Street	✓	✓	
Shop, 41-43 Whitmore Square	✓		✓
Former shop, 204 Jeffcott Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 261-62 North Terrace	✓		✓(261)
Residence, 263-65 North Terrace	✓		✓
Residence, 181 Sturt Street	✓	✓	
Verco Building, 178-79 North Terrace	✓		✓
Royal Adelaide Hospital, North Terrace	✓		✓
Angas Building, Adelaide Children's Hospital, 66-74 King William Road	✓		✓
Calvary Hospital, 81-100 Strangways Terrace	✓	✓	✓
Memorial Hospital, 1-10 Sir Edwin Smith Avenue	✓		✓
Former Ru Rua Hospital buildings, 101-109 Barton Terrace	✓	✓	
Former Sanatorium (Ethnic Affairs Building), 14-20 Flinders Street	✓		✓
Wakefield Private Hospital, 300 Wakefield Street	✓		
St Andrew's Hospital (Waverly House), 360 South Terrace.	✓		✓
3.8			
Former Trades Hall, now part of Franklin Hotel, 88-92 Franklin Street	✓	✓	
Trades Hall, South Terrace	✓		
Former G & R Wills, 201-205 North Terrace	✓		✓
Former Hat factory, former saw mill, 12-22 George Street, North Adelaide	✓		✓
Former Standard Steam Laundry, 25 Eliza Street	✓	✓	
Former MTT Administration Buildings,	✓		✓

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Botanic Gardens, Hackney Road			
Mounted Police Barracks, Port Road, Thebarton	✓		✓
Education Department Building, Wakefield Street	x		
Crown & Anchor Hotel, 196 Grenfell St	✓	✓	
Heritage Hotel, former Colonel Light Hotel, 41 Light Square	✓		✓
Royal Oak Hotel, 208 Hindley Street	✓		
Former Brothel, 245-253 Waymouth Street	✓	✓(251)	
Hooker Buildings, 163-179 Hindley Street	✓		
Former Tattersall's Club, 12-14 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Former City Mission Hall, 67-71 Light Square	✓		✓
4.2			
Reconstructed Valve House, corner North Terrace/Dequetteville Terrace	✓		
Covered Reservoir, off Barton Terrace.	✓		
Royal Admiral Hotel, 125-127 Hindley St	✓	✓	
Cathedral Hotel, 45 Kermode Street, cnr King William Road	✓		✓
Caledonian Inn, 211-219 O'Connell Street	✓	✓	
Former Tram Depot, Gover Street (16 William Buik Court)	✓		✓
Former Iron Tram Barn, Angas Street	x		
Former Tram stop driveway, outside Oval	x		
Waymouth Hotel (former Lord Raglan), 109 Waymouth Street	✓		
Cumberland Arms Hotel, 205 Waymouth Street	✓		✓
Former Grenfell Street Power Station, now Tandanya, 243-253 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Residence, 120 Sussex Street	✓	✓	
Former Beresford Arms, 188 Gilles Street	✓		✓
Friends Meeting Hall, 41 Pennington Terrace	✓		✓
Walkley Cottage, 42-44 Pennington Terrace	✓		✓
Executive Trustee and Agency, 22-24 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Former Liberal Club, 175-177 North	✓		✓

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Terrace			
Tavistock Building, 228-240 Rundle Street	✓		✓
Bishops Court, 41-50 Palmer Place	✓		✓
Scots Church, former Chalmers Church, 237 North Terrace, cnr Pulteney Street	✓		✓
Sands & McDougall Building, 73-79 Light Square	✓		✓
Mitchell Building, University of Adelaide	✓		✓
4.6			
Nurney House, 126-133 Kingston Terrace	✓		✓
Residence, 78 Jerningham Street	✓		✓
Buffalo Cottage, 88-90 Finnis Street	✓		✓
Former Keith Sheridan Institute Building, 49-50 MacKinnon Parade	✓	✓	
Cottages, 14-28 Harriett Street, off Gilles Street	✓	✓	
Former shop, 273-277 Waymouth Street	✓	✓	
Residences, Alfred Street	✓	✓	
Row houses, Gray Street	✓	✓	
Residence, 10 Maxwell Street, smallest house in Adelaide	✓		✓
Row Houses, Bower Street, 72-80 Stanley Street, Kingston Terrace	✓	✓	
Attached houses western end of Wright Street on southern side (261-275 & 271 & 279)	✓	✓	
Taylor House, 9 Brougham Place	✓		✓
Carclew House, 11-20 Montefiore Hill	✓		✓
Former Girls Friendly Society, 59-60 Pennington Terrace	✓		✓
St Ann's College, 190, 195 Brougham Place	✓	✓	
University residences of Lincoln College (32-45 Brougham Place), St Mark's (42-55 Pennington Tce) and Aquinas (1-25 Palmer Place)	✓✓✓		✓✓✓
Former Milford House Private Hotel, 93-99 Jeffcott Street	✓	✓	
Residence, Kingsmead, 74-78 Brougham Place	✓		✓
Residence, St Corantyn, 261-275 East Terrace	✓		✓
Apartments, Ruthven Mansions, 15-27 Pulteney Street	✓		✓
Apartments, Sunningdale, 21-29	✓	✓	

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Wellington Square			
Apartments, Felicitas Flats, Wellington Square	✓		
Apartments, Greenways, 41-51 King William Road	✓	✓	
Apartments, Deep Acres, 283-291 Melbourne Street	✓		✓
Former Cottage Homes, 82-100 Stanley Street	✓	✓	
Adelaide Workmen's Homes, 214-226A Angas Street & 220-230 Frome Road	✓		✓
Attached houses, Vinrace Street	x		
St Vincent De Paul's hostel, Whitmore Square	✓	✓	
Former Lady Buxton Home for Girls, Whitmore Square	✓		
William Boot Memorial Home, 67-70 Whitmore Square	✓	✓	
Adelaide Railway Station, North Terrace	✓		✓
Adelaide High School, West Terrace	✓		✓
6.2			
Former lying in hospital, nursing home 97 Jeffcott Street	✓	✓	
Destitute Asylum Kintore Avenue	✓		✓
Torrens House, 295 South Terrace	✓		
Tilletts Monumental Masons, 162 West Terrace	✓		
Pengelly & Knabe, former undertakers shop, 210 Rundle Mall (Street)	✓		
6.3			
Women's War Memorial, Cross of Sacrifice, Pennington Gardens	✓		✓
Australian Light Horse Memorial, East Tce	✓		
Soldiers' Memorial, MacKinnon Parade	✓		
7 Memorials adjacent to First World War Memorial	✓		
Australian/American Association-Memorial, Botanic Gardens	✓		
6.4			
Heritage Hotel, formerly Colonel Light Hotel, 41 Light Square	✓		✓
The Exeter, 246-248 Rundle Street	✓	✓	
Ambassadors Hotel, 107-109 King	✓	✓	

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
William Street			
Brecknock Arms, 401 King William Street	✓	✓	
Criterion Hotel, 137 King William Street	✓		
Duke of Brunswick Hotel, 207 Gilbert Street	✓		
Flagstaff Hotel, 233 Franklin Street	✓		
Former Star Grocery, Hindley/Morphett Street	✓		
Former West's Coffee Palace, 104-120 Hindley Street	✓		✓
Chesser Cellars, 29 Chesser Street	✓		
The Jerusalem, 131 Hindley Street	✓		
Marcellinas, 273 Hindley Street	✓		
Gawler Chambers (Bohemian Tea Rooms), 188 North Terrace	✓		✓
Tivoli Hotel, 261-269 Pirie Street	✓	✓	
Stag Hotel, 299 Rundle Street	✓		✓
Former Empire Theatre, market facade, Grote St	✓	✓	
Keith Sheridan Building (former theatre), 49-50 MacKinnon Parade	✓	✓	
Former Q Theatre, John Edmund Theatre, 87-89 Halifax St	✓		✓
Repertory Theatre, 53 Angas Street	✓		
Former Wests Theatre, Cyclorama, skating rink, Weimer Rooms, 91 Hindley St	✓		
Regent Cinema, 101-109 Rundle Mall	✓		✓
Lotteries Commission (Former Grand Picture Theatre, Mayfair), 23-25 Rundle Mall	✓	✓	
Youthworks, 101-107, former Liberty, former Curzon Cinema	✓		✓
6.5			
Holy Trinity, 80 North Terrace	✓		✓
St John's, 373-383 Halifax Street	✓		✓
St Mary Magdelene's Church of England, 26-28 Moore Street	✓		✓
Society of Friends (Qakers), 41 Pennington Terrace	✓		✓
Christ Church, 36-40 Palmer Place	✓		✓
St Luke's Church, 21-29 Whitmore Square	✓		✓
St Paul's Church, 192-200 Pulteney Street	✓	✓	
Scots Church, formerly Chalmers,	✓		✓

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
Pulteney Street/North Terrace.			
Flinders Congregational Church, 71-75 Flinders Street	✓		✓
Bethlehem Lutheran Church, 170 Flinders Street	✓		✓
St Stephen's Lutheran Church, 152-160 Wakefield Street	✓	✓	
St Dominic's, 127-129 Molesworth Street	✓		✓
St Patrick's Catholic Church, 260 Grote Street	✓		✓
Convent of Mercy, 34 Angas Street	✓		✓
St Francis Xavier's Catholic Cathedral, 11-19 Wakefield Street	✓		✓
Former Synagogue, 1-9 Synagogue Place	✓		✓
Adelaide Mosque, 22-28 Little Gilbert Street	✓		✓
First Church of Christ Scientist, corner Frome Road & North Terrace	✓		
Maughan Church, Pitt Street	✓		
St Andrews Presbyterian Church, 92-98 Archer Street	✓	✓	
Providence Hall of Jesus Christ, 21-23 Finnis Street	✓	✓	
Our Lady Help of Christian Catholic Church, 173 Stanley Street	✓	✓	
Former Seventh Day Adventist Hall, 116 Grote Street	✓	✓	
St Peter's Cathedral, 1-19 King William Road	✓		✓
6.6			
Irish Club, 11-15 Carrington Street	✓		
Former German Club 87-95 Pirie Street	✓		✓
German Club, 223 Flinders Street	✓		
Royal Caledonian Society of SA, 379 King William Street	✓		
Estonian Cultural Centre, 200 Jeffcott Street	✓		
Victoria League, 28-42 Austin Street	✓	✓ (28-30)	
Adelaide Benevolent Society, 17 Morialta Street	✓		✓
Former WCTU Building, 145 Hutt Street	✓	✓	
Former Girls Friendly, 59-60 Pennington Tce	✓		✓
SA Auxiliary British & Foreign Bible Society, 73 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
Freemasons Grand Lodge, 254-260	✓		✓

Place	Extant	LHP	SHP
North Terrace			
Former Housewives Association, 10 Compton Street	✓		
Naval, Military Air Force Club, 101-119 Hutt Street	✓	✓	
Adelaide Club, 165 North Tce	✓		✓
Tattersalls Club, 12-14 Grenfell Street	✓		✓
6.7			
Museum of Economic Botany Building, Adelaide Botanic Gardens	✓		✓
CSIRO, Kintore Ave	✓		
IMVS, Frome Road	✓		
North Adelaide Institute, 166-176 Tynte Street	✓		✓
North Adelaide Art School, 42-60 Stanley Street	x		
Elder Conservatorium Hall, North Terrace	✓		✓
SA Museum (East Wing)	✓		✓
7.2			
Sheridan Building, 49-50 MacKinnon Parade	✓	✓	
St Mary's Dominican, 273 Franklin Street	✓		✓
Pulteney Grammar School, 205 South Terrace	✓	✓	
Creveen, 155 Kermode Street	✓		✓
Advanced School for Girls, 101 Grote St	✓		✓
Kindergarten (Consulting Rooms), 27 Selby Street	✓		
Barker Kindergarten, 193-195 Tynte Street	✓		✓
Muirden's Business College, 368 King William Street	✓		
7.5			
Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide	✓		✓
State Library, North Terrace	✓		✓
North Adelaide Institute, 166-176 Tynte Street	✓		✓

9.0 ADELAIDE HISTORICAL THEMES CHRONOLOGY

1.0 THE ADELAIDE ENVIRONMENT

1.1 *City Plan*

- 1839 Arrowsmith Map published
1842 Kingston Map published

1.2 *Topography and Geology*

- 1 Mar 1954 Earthquake hits Adelaide
1956 Severe flooding of River Murray

2.0 PEOPLING A CAPITAL CITY

2.2 *Aborigines: Tradition and Displacement*

- Apr 1837 Native Location established in North Park Lands by Capt W Bromley. Kaurna people had choice of site

2.3 *Immigration*

- Aug 1836 Arrival of Colonel Light in brig Rapid
Jul 1837 Emigration Depot established on west Park Lands between Currie Street and North Terrace
1844 Twenty five Jews living in SA
1852 Adelaide female Immigration Depot established
1856 Adelaide Female Immigration Depot closed
1860 360 Jews in SA.
1861 Forty Chinese in SA
1947 First 'displaced persons' arrived mainly from Baltic States

3.0 DEVELOPING A CITY ECONOMY

3.2 *Economic Cycles*

- 1864-7 Severe drought causes recession
1882 Peak of land boom and speculation
1886 Collapse of Town & Country bank, Commercial Bank of SA
1991 State Bank collapses

3.3 *Utilising Natural Resources*

- 1837 Brickmaking, limestone quarrying and limeburning on the Park Lands
1840 Opening of Adelaide's slaughter house on west Park Lands
1841 Quarry on north side of Government House opens, (parade ground)
1842 Copper at Kapunda discovered.
1845 Copper at Burra discovered

- 1899 BHP starts mining at Iron Knob near Whyalla
- 1941 Large scale coal mining at Leigh Creek commences

3.4 Financing Adelaide

- Mar 1852 Arrival of first gold escort at Treasury buildings from Mt Alexander
- Jun 1878 Bank of South Australia Building completed (Edmund Wright House)
- 1887 Adelaide Stock Exchange formed (Henry Street premises built 1901)
- 1896 State Bank of SA established
- 1913 Commonwealth Bank established
- 1926 State Bank opened
- 1979 Bank of Adelaide taken over by ANZ
- 1984 State Bank amalgamates with Savings Bank
- 1991 State Bank collapses

3.5 Manufacturing

- 1890 First SA built loco at Gawler
- 1895 Formation of SA Electric Light & Motive Power Co Ltd
- 1908 Banning of remaining 50 city private slaughterhouses
- 1912 When Gepps Cross Abattoirs established, cattle market and city slaughterhouse close down to relocate there
- 1913 Metropolitan Abattoirs and stock markets at Gepps Cross opens making the North Terrace site redundant
- 1917 Holden & Frost starts mass producing motor bodies
- 1931 General Motors (Aust) Pty Ltd takes over Holden's Motor Body Builders
- 1948 Holden car goes into full-scale production

3.6 Commercial, Marketing & Retail

- 1839 Foundation of Adelaide's Chamber of Commerce
- 1840 Pre 1840 former Beresford Arms Hotel at 188-190 Gilles Street, oldest former pub building in South Australia
- 1841 75 hotel licences issued in city and 37 lose licence
- 1842-3 No hotel licences issued in city
- 1844 One hotel licence issued but shuts months later
- 1847 Savings Bank of SA established
- 1847 Waterhouse Chambers, city's oldest shop, 42-46 King William Street
- 1855 SA Register and Observer newspapers printed for first time by steam-powered presses
- 1859 Holden & Frost, saddlers established in Grenfell Street
- 1865 John Martins began as drapery shop
- 1866 East End Market established by Richard Vaughan
- 1869 Establishment of City Market (to become Central Market)
- 1869 Foundation of SA Chamber of Manufacturers
- 1874 East End Market Co Ltd formed, though operating before this date
- 1880 First refrigerated carcasses sent from Australia to England from Adelaide
- 1880 Kither's Butcher shop, until recently Commonwealth Bank at 135-39 Rundle Street, reputed to be the first place in Adelaide to have electric lighting in 1882

- 1880-83 South Australian Company's most substantial buildings which include the Austral Hotel in Rundle Street East completed
- 12 Dec 1885 Adelaide Arcade opened
- 1904 Adelaide Electric Supply Co acquires interest of the earlier Electric Co
- 1904 Second part of East End Market opens between Rundle Street and Grenfell Street
- 1910 Bowmans Arcade constructed alongside Edmund Wright House, demolished 1972
- 1920 First petrol bowsers established on footpaths outside garages
- 1936 First Woolworths store opens Rundle Street
- 1940 Petrol rationing commences
- 1942 Rationing of tea, sugar and clothing
- 1943 Rationing of butter
- 1944 Rationing of meat
- 1950 Petrol rationing ceases
- 1955 Sunday Mail and Sunday Advertiser merge Elizabeth opens
- 1967 End of 6 o'clock closing, liquor trading hours extended to 10 pm
- 1976 Rundle Mall opens
- 1977 Late night shopping introduced
- 1992 *The News* ceases publication
- 1994 Sunday trading 11-5pm begins in city
- 1998 Closure of John Martin's store in city

3.7 Professional Services

- 1886 SA Institute of Architects formed
- 1912 Verco Building completed as first multistorey medical building and started a trend along North Terrace

3.8 Working

- 1839 Completion of first part of Government House, the oldest public building in South Australia
- 1876 Passage of Trade Union Act recognising Trade Unions as lawful bodies
- 1884 Inaugural meeting of Adelaide Trades and Labour Council
- 1884 United Trades and Labour Council formed
- 1890 Working Women's Trades Union is formed in response to abuse of employing cheap female and child labor (known as sweating).
- 1891 Australia wide maritime strike and shearers strike
- 1891 United Labour Party formed
- 1894 Factory Act: all workshops employing 6 or more to be registered (in city & metropolitan area) Augusta Zadow appointed first female factory inspector
- 1895-6 Trades Hall built on corner of Grote Street and Trades Hall Lane, was demolished in 1972 and a new hall built on South Terrace
- 1910 Liberal Union formed
- 11 Apr 1918 Large demonstration in Botanic Park organised by 20 unions protesting at Ted Moyle's internment, such support led to his release
- 1930 Unemployed Relief Council formed
- 1948 40 hour week introduced

1977	City workforce 87,537 persons
1994	Compulsory retirement abolished

4.0 BUILDING ADELAIDE

4.2 *Development of City Services*

1855	Plans for damming Torrens first mooted
21 Apr 1856	First trains run between Adelaide and Port
1857	Thorndon Park Reservoir for city's water supply being built
1858	Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney joined by telegraph
28 Dec 1860	Water supply from Thorndon Park piped to Adelaide
1861	Formation of SA Gas Board by Act of Parliament
1865	First drainage pipes installed along city's main streets
Jun 1867	Building of wooden weir on present site
5 Oct 1867	Flood destroys wooden weir, 14 years before replaced
1867	Gas lighting in Adelaide
1872	Overland telegraph joins Adelaide to the world
1873	Railway from city to Glenelg
1876	Adelaide & Suburban Tramways Act to permit horse-trams to operate in city and suburbs
1878	Horse drawn trams begin to North Adelaide and Norwood
	Telephone communication between Semaphore, Adelaide and Kapunda
1882	Deep drainage connection
1883	Adelaide Telephone Exchange opens
1885	Deep drainage scheme wholly working
2 Jun 1887	Victoria Drive between Frome Road and King William Road opens (originally called Exhibition Road for which it was built)
1887	First express trains run between Adelaide and Melbourne
8 Jun 1889	West wing of Parliament House opened. East wing opened 50 years later in 1939.
1899	Lighting of streets by electricity
1900	Adelaide Electric Supply Company opens in Grenfell Street. City lit up
1906	MTT takes over private horse tram companies
21 May 1908	Hackney Tram Depot - works commence
1909	Electrification of tramway system
1910	Operations begin at the refuse destructor plant in Halifax Street
1913	Electric Power Station in Grenfell Street completed, now Tandanya
1914	Last horse-tram runs
1917	First steam trains to Perth
1918	Millbrook Reservoir on Chain of Ponds completed
1922	First non-human means of controlling road traffic by a 'silent cop'
1923	First bituminous concrete road constructed
1924	Regular airmail service between Sydney and Adelaide begins
1924	Osborne Power Station starts operations, Grenfell Street plant closes
1925	MTT provides motor buses on several routes

1926	First stage of Stormwater drainpipes laid
1927-28	Traffic lights in city being trialled
1928	Present Adelaide Railway Station completed
1929	Alice Springs connected to Port Augusta and Adelaide by rail
1929	Torrens Weir rebuilt
13 Apr 1937	First traffic lights installed in city
19 Apr 1937	Use of Park 27A, North-West Park Lands, as an airport closer to the city than that at Parafield Garden, refused by Markets & Parks Committee
1 Feb 1938	Glenelg-Adelaide Road becomes Anzac Highway
1946	ETSA established
1 Mar 1954	River Murray water pumped from Mannum into met reservoirs
1955	Adelaide Airport opens at West Beach
1958	Adelaide electric trams cease running except between Adelaide and Glenelg
30 Jun 1959	Cessation of trams - only Glenelg tram left
1982	Direct international flights from Adelaide Airport begin
1986	O-Bahn guided busway opens

4.3 City Planning

11 Jan 1837	Light begins survey of city from TA 1 at site of Newmarket Hotel
1839	SA Company built first road to give better access to Pt Adelaide.
Aug 1839	First bridge over Torrens opens 600ft east of present Morphett St bridge, but washed away in 1844
31 Oct 1840	Formation of first ACC
1843	City bridge re-built
1846	First Hackney Road bridge built (Company Bridge)
1848	New Hindmarsh Bridge opened
June 1856	First flood proof bridge over Torrens River opens and extension of King William Road to North Adelaide
1856	First trees planted on Park Lands off Pennington Terrace
13 Oct 1856	3 miles of fencing on Park Lands
Jun 1856	First flood proof bridge over Torrens River opens and extension of King William Road to North Adelaide
1856	First trees planted on Park Lands off Pennington Terrace
1856	Building Act to oust timber as building material
13 Oct 1856	3 miles of fencing on Park Lands
1864	Completion of first 5 miles of Park Lands fencing
21 Jun 1870	Victoria Bridge (Morphett Bridge) opened
1873	57 miles of Park Lands fencing
25 Mar 1877	New City Bridge opened
1877	Quarry north of Government House filled in as rubbish dump
7 May 1879	Albert Bridge near zoo opened
21 Jul 1881	Opening of Torrens Lake
1881	Publication of CW Smith Survey of the city
1881	Building Act, legislation for general control within municipalities of building construction (modelled on 1855 Act for London)
1882	Building Act demands planning permission for all city buildings

20 Jun 1884	Opening of carriage drive through Botanic Park
1894	Creation of Parade Ground on former rubbish tip, and limestone quarry
July 1907	Official naming of Elder Park
1908	Beginning of wood blocking in King William Street
1912-13	Commonwealth try to 'filch' Park Lands near Keswick
1917	Subdivision of Land Act
19 Dec 1918	Glover Playground, South Tce opened by mayor
14 Dec 1920	Lefevre Terrace playground opened
1920	Opening of playground on South Terrace
1929	City Parking Station built in Pulteney Street, demolished 1977
5 Mar 1931	Opening of Adelaide Bridge
Jan 1942	Construction of air raid shelters in Park Land commences
1946	New policy for Park Lands formulated
Aug 1954	Kintore Avenue made a through road
11 Aug 1954	Master plan for Adelaide and metro. area announced by premier
1957	First Land Use Survey undertaken of city
10 Mar 1958	Parking meters installed in city
22 Feb 1960	Rymill Park opens
1962	Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS)
31 Jan 1963	Veale Garden with restaurant opens
1963	First metropolitan regional shopping centre established at Arndale
1964	35 miles of fencing still remaining in Park Lands
1968	Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study MATS plan published
1974	First Adelaide Plan. Population falls to all time low caused by direct displacement of housing by commercial activity, public works and open lot parking
7 Aug 2001	National Estate registers City of Adelaide historic layout.
2004	Demolition of 1920s buildings of the Advertiser newspaper

4.4 Development of the Building Industry, Architecture and Construction

Mar 1837	Town Acres up for auction.
4 Jun 1840	Quakers timber prefabricated imported Meeting House constructed by this date. It is the city's oldest timber building.
1846	First part of Nurney House at Kingston Terrace completed. Has been owned by the Bagot family since its construction
1846	Catholic Bishop's Palace built on West Terrace
1850	Adelaide's first purpose built court completed as the Supreme Court, now Magistrates Court at 262-280 Victoria Square and is the oldest original public building in Victoria Square
1857	Southern wing of Treasury rebuilt. Original pre 1840 building replaced in stages, until final northern wing built in 1908. Original cellars of earlier building survives
1860	Observatory built on Park Lands off West Terrace
29 Jan 1861	Institute Building opens as oldest public building facing North Terrace between Kintore Avenue and Frome Road
Jun 1866	Completion of Adelaide Town Hall
1867	Opening of new GPO building
1873	Construction of six storey Education Building. Demolished 1973 to make way for present Education building.

Jun 1878	Bank of South Australia Building completed (Edmund Wright House)
1879	First building for Adelaide Children's Hospital opens
1879	Advanced School for Girls opens
5 Apr 1882	Mitchell Building as the first of the university buildings to be completed
1880-83	South Australian Company's most substantial buildings which include the Austral Hotel in Rundle Street East completed
21 Jun 1887	Jubilee Exhibition on North Terrace opened in building constructed for the event. The building was demolished in early 1960s to make way for the University in the form of the Napier Building. A set of steps still survive
1884	Combined buildings of North Adelaide Institute and Post Office completed, representing a milestone the local community
1910	Bowmans Arcade constructed alongside Edmund Wright House, demolished 1972
1912	Verco Building completed as first multistorey building and started a trend along North Terrace
23 Nov 1925	Tallest building to date, in city, T& G opened
1936	Sunnyside, mansion built in 1936 at 227-231 Stanley Street designed by F Kenneth Milne won Merit of the Institute Architects in 1944 for its design
1942	Commonwealth ban on building in Second World War
1979	Facade of Marine & Harbors Building in Victoria Square moved in unique engineering feat, 34 metres to the north to make way for SGIC building
2005	Completion of Federal Court buildings in Angas Street

4.5 Residential Building Types and Living Conditions

1850	2,922 dwellings in city and North Adelaide
1865	Kingsmead, substantial mansion designed by Edmund Wright in Brougham Place completed
1899	Building begins of 48 dwellings for the Adelaide Workmen's Homes, now known as Elder Mews. 33 demolished in 1965
1901	Carclew House built as Stalheim for tobacco manufacturer, Hugh Dixon. Undoubtedly, the most flamboyantly designed mansion in Adelaide
1910	Advances for house schemes making cheaper housing obtainable
1912	Ruthven Mansions, Pulteney Street, completed as city's first multistorey apartment building
1936	Sunnyside, mansion built in 1936 at 227-231 Stanley Street designed by F Kenneth Milne won Merit of the Institute Architects in 1944 for its design
1937	SA Housing Trust appointed under Act 2,333 of 1936
1866-67	Destitute Person's Relief Act formally established the Destitute Board
1849	Leading members of churches join Destitute Board
1851	Destitute Asylum at Emigration Square ceases
1852	Destitute Board granted temporary use of Police Barracks on North Tce
1858	Destitute Asylum constructed, demolished in early 1960s to make way for State Library building.
1917	Destitute Asylum closes; Magill Old Folks Home opens

4.6 Housing Styles in Adelaide

N/A

4.7 Memorable Development Eras

N/A

4.8 Civic and Heritage Consciousness

1855	45 acres of North Terrace becomes 3rd site of Botanic Gardens
Oct 1857	Botanic Gardens open
1878	Residents' protests leads to cessation of firing at rifle butts on south Park Lands
1880	JE Brown's 'Report on the System of Planting the Adelaide Park Lands' completed for ACC
28 Nov 1882	Opening of Elder Park Rotunda, gift of Thomas Elder
1883	Iron palisading for Victoria Square
20 Jun 1884	Opening of carriage drive through Botanic Park
21 Jun 1887	Jubilee Exhibition on North Terrace opened in building constructed for the event. The building was demolished in early 1960s to make way for the University in the form of the Napier Building. A set of steps still survive
20 Jun 1889	First Arbor day held in southeast corner of Park Lands, junction of Fullarton and Greenhill roads
1903	Park Lands Preservation League formed
Jul 1907	Official naming of Elder Park
19 Dec 1918	Glover Playground, South Terrace opened by mayor
14 Dec 1920	Lefevre Terrace playground opened
1920	Opening of playground on South Terrace
1934	The 1886 AMP building was demolished to make way for its new building. New structure was considered one of the grandest city office buildings.
16 Aug 1944	Filling in air raid shelters on Park Lands commences
1955	National Trust of SA established
22 Feb 1960	Rymill Park opens
31 Jan 1963	Veale Garden with restaurant opens
1965	The English Scottish & Australian Bank building of 1882 in King William Street, demolished to make way for AMP building
1973	Historical Society of South Australia established
1978	Passing of Heritage Act
1981	History Trust of SA Act
Dec 1984	KJ Tomkinson 'Review of opportunities for, and feasibility of returning land occupied by Crown Agencies in the City of Adelaide Parklands to Parkland use'
27 Apr 1987	Reformation of Adelaide Parklands Preservation Association
23 Dec 1987	Gazettal of City of Adelaide heritage Register
7 Aug 2001	National Estate registers City of Adelaide historic layout.

5.0 GOVERNMENT

5.2 Local Government

31 Oct 1840	Formation of first ACC
20 Aug 1840	James H Fisher first mayor of city
31 Oct 1840	Formation of first ACC
Oct 1842	City Council ceases functioning
1843-49	City administered by Police commissioner and magistrate

1849	Ordinance 11 of 1849 for formation of City Commission (1920 acres of Parklands left to be transferred to control of council)
1849	Schedule J of Municipal Corp Act, land between Morphett St and Hackney Rd to middle of river, 312 acres - North Terrace land
1 Jun 1852	Re-Formation of Adelaide City Council
1863	Racecourse Act 14 - powers to lease (Victoria Park)
1866-67	Destitute Person's Relief Act formally established the Destitute Board
1873	First Health Act establishing Central Board of Health
1881	Building Act, legislation for general control within municipalities of building construction (modelled on 1855 Act for London)
1917	Subdivision of Land Act
1919	The Lord Mayoralty conferred on Adelaide
1920	Town Planning and Development Act
1929	Town Planning Act
1934	Local Government Act
1955	Town Planning Committee Act
1966-67	The Planning and Development Act repealing Town Planning Act of 1929-63

5.3 State Government

28 Apr 1838	Establishment of the SA Police Force
2 May 1838	First public execution held on site of North Adelaide golf course
1839	Completion of first part of Government House, the oldest public building in South Australia
15 Oct 1839	Bill read for first time for 'An Act for improving the City of Adelaide and the Park or Public Lands thereto adjoining and for preventing nuisance therein'.
1840	Completion of first part of Adelaide Gaol, 2nd oldest public building in SA
1842	Legislative Council established
1843	SA government passes first legislation to deal with poverty
1849	First Building Act
1850	Adelaide's first purpose built court completed as the Supreme Court, now Magistrates Court at 262-280 Victoria Square and is the oldest original public building in Victoria Square
1851	New education Act cuts of aid to church schools
1854	West Terrace cemetery parliamentary enquiry following mismanagement
1856	Building Act to oust timber as building material
3 Oct 1856	Telegraph joined Adelaide to Port Adelaide
1857	First elections of House of Assembly and Legislative Council under responsible government
1858	Real Property Act creating Torrens system
1861	Formation of SA Gas Board by Act of Parliament
1873	First Health Act establishing Central Board of Health
1875	Education Act introduces elementary education
1878	Adelaide Sewers Act, powers taken away from City Corporation and given to Comm of Public Works
1882	Fire Brigade Act
1882	Building Act demands planning permission for all city buildings
8 Jun 1889	West wing of Parliament House opened. East wing opened 50 years later in 1939

1894	SA women win right to vote
1894	Factory Act: all workshops employing 6 or more to be registered (in city & metropolitan area) Augusta Zadow appointed first female factory inspector
1904	Motor Traffic Regulation Act
1906	Driving licences introduced, but not driving tests. About 200 cars in Adelaide, speed limit 19 km/h
Nov 1910	Sunday entertainment- Places of public Entertainment Act passed
1933	Tom Playford elected to parliament as member for Murray
1937	SA Housing Trust appointed under Act 2,333 of 1936
1938	Tom Playford becomes premier of state until 1965
1942	Compulsory voting for House of Assembly begins
1944	First state election with compulsory voting
1965	First labour government since 1933 led by Frank Walsh
1967	State Planning Authority established
1971	First SA born governor appointed
1973	First Labor government to retain office since 1910. Don Dunstan
1978	Constitutional Museum Act
1978	Passing of Heritage Act
1981	History Trust of SA Act
1979	Don Dunstan resigns

5.4 Federal Government

1858	Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney joined by telegraph
1859	Rifle Butts installed in south Park Lands
1901	Commonwealth assumes control over customs
1911	Northern Territory relinquished to the Commonwealth
1912-13	Commonwealth try to 'filch' Park Lands near Keswick
1915	Referendum closing liquor bars at 6pm wins
1939	Aborigines Act Amendment Act 1939
8 Jan 1942	5KA & 5AU closed down (subversive activities)
1963	Commonwealth Marriage Act allows outdoor weddings
1972	Abolishment of White Australia Policy
1984	Equal Opportunity Act
1989	Aboriginal Heritage Act proclaimed
2005	Completion of Federal Court buildings in Angas Street

6.0 DEVELOPING ADELAIDE'S SOCIAL & CULTURAL LIFE

6.2 Living and Dying in Adelaide

2 May 1838	First public execution held on site of North Adelaide golf course
Jul 1837	First burial in West Terrace Cemetery
22 May 1837	House on TA 67 near Trinity Church made into first General Dispensary (Adelaide's first hospital)
6 Jul 1840	Official register of burials at West Terrace Cemetery although burials before this date

1841	New brick building of 2 wards built as Adelaide Hospital on present site
1842	Civil registration of birth, deaths and marriages begins.
1843	Jewish sector at West Terrace Cemetery opens
12 Apr 1845	First catholic burial in 4 acre sector of West Terrace Cemetery
1851	Lunatic Asylum constructed within what is now Botanic Gardens (demolished after Botanic gardens took over site in the mid 1930s)
1856	Female Refuge founded
1866-67	Destitute Person's Relief Act formally established the Destitute Board
1849	Leading members of churches join Destitute Board
1851	Destitute Asylum at Emigration Square ceases
1852	Destitute Board granted temporary use of Police Barracks on North Tce
1858	Destitute Asylum constructed, demolished in early 1960s to make way for State Library building.
1873	First Health Act establishing Central Board of Health
1879	First building for Adelaide Children's Hospital opens
1883-84	Custody of Infants Act introduces limited reforms which in some instances enables mothers to gain custody of their children
1886	State Children's Council established
1891	Cremation legalised
1896	Married Women's Protection Act secures maintenance for wives forced to leave their husbands due to 'physical or moral cruelty'
1909	First Mothers & Babies Health Centre built
1909	Commonwealth old age pensions begin
1910	Invalid pensions begin
1917	Destitute Asylum closes; Magill Old Folks Home opens
1918	Government Lying in Hospital in Kintore Avenue closed
Mar1919	Jubilee Oval to become quarantine isolation camp for influenza victims
1940	Petrol rationing commences
1942	Rationing of tea, sugar and clothing
1943	Rationing of butter
1944	Rationing of meat
1950	Petrol rationing ceases
1970	Abortion legalised
1971	Daylight saving introduced

6.3 Remembering the Fallen

25 Apr 1923	Women's War Memorial - Cross of Sacrifice opened
18 Apr 1931	National War Memorial unveiled, 12 years after first proposal
19 Apr 1941	Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden opened by Lady Muriel Barclay-Harvey

6.4 Recreation

1847	Horse Racing begins in east Park Lands
21 Dec 1861	First city baths constructed on site of Festival Theatre
1863	Racecourse Act 14 - powers to lease (Victoria Park)
1866	New cricket ground at NA completed
31 May 1871	South Australian Cricket Association formed

23 May 1883	Adelaide Zoo opens (Note this is because zoo was originally opened for recreational purposes not scientific endeavour).
Dec 1884	First test match played at Oval. England wins by 8 wickets
1908	Opening of West's Cinema, the first purpose built in city
Nov 1910	Sunday entertainment- Places of public Entertainment Act passed
1915	Referendum closing liquor bars at 6pm wins
1916	Hotels close at 6 O'Clock
4 Dec 1924	Opening night of the floating dance hall on Torrens Lake
1924	First radio stations commence broadcasts
Jun 1928	Hoyts 'Regent' opens as 'Australia's most luxurious theatre'
4 Sep 1939	Ban of Sunday sport on Park Lands, remains in force until 1967
23 Oct 1940	Opening of North Adelaide's first cinema, the Piccadilly Cinema
8 Jan 1942	5KA & 5AU closed down (subversive activities)
24 Dec 1944	First Carols by candlelight
22 Aug 1953	Circus uses the site that became Bonython Park for first time
15 Nov 1954	Hopalong Cassidy visits Adelaide
22 Nov 1954	Death of Roy Rene (Little Mo) Adelaide born comedian
28 Dec 1954	First drive-in opens at West Beach
5 Sep 1959	Opening of NWS 9 in former Primitive Church, 62-80 Wellington Square, formerly used by Joanne Priest's dancing studio from 1930s
24 Dec 1959	Opening of ADS 7 at 124-129 Strangways Terrace
10 Mar 1960	Opening of ABS 2
1967	End of 6 o'clock closing, liquor trading hours extended to 10 pm
1969	Voluntary cessation of speakers at Hyde Park Corner, Botanic Park
1971	Demolition of South Australian Hotel
1972	University Radio 5UV begins broadcasts
1993	Poker machines introduced

6.5 *Worshipping*

August 1838	First stage of SA's oldest church complete, Holy Trinity.
August 1850	Adelaide's Synagogue consecrated, 5-11 Synagogue Place
1851	Scots Church (formerly Chalmers) completed as first with a spire
29 Jun 1876	First divine service held in first stage of St Peter's Cathedra
1889	City Mosque at 22-28 Little Gilbert Street opens
1900	Union of Wesleyans, primitive Methodists, Bible Christian to become Methodist Church
1966	Last major place of worship built in the city, Greek Orthodox Church, Franklin Street
1976	Demolition of 1851 Pirie Street Methodist Church for construction of Light Building. Church hall behind survives

6.6 *Forming Associations*

1849	Oldest charity Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society formed
1854	Establishment of the German Club
27 Dec 1858	Property for North Adelaide Masonic and Public Hall Association completed and opens in Belmont, 71-75 Brougham Place
23 Jul 1863	Adelaide Club formed, clubhouse completed on North Terrace 1864

1869	Foundation of SA Chamber of Manufacturers
5 Sep 1880	First official meeting of Salvation Army in Australia takes place in Botanic Park
1884	Inaugural meeting of Adelaide Trades and Labour Council
1884	United Trades and Labour Council formed
1910	Liberal Union formed
1932	Liberal & Country League formed (renamed Liberal Party 1974) by amalgamation of Liberal Federation (1923) and the Country Party Association (1915)
1963	Country Party formed
Sept-Oct 1967	Visit by Duke of Edinburgh
1973	Historical Society of South Australia established

6.7 Significant Events

2 May 1838	First public execution held on site of North Adelaide golf course
1899	Boer War begins in South Africa
1901	Death of Queen Victoria
1933	First John Martin's Christmas Pageant
12 Oct 1934	One day visit to Adelaide by HRH Duke of Gloucester
1936	SA's Centenary celebrations
Sept 1939	Declaration of Second World War
Jan 1942	Construction of air raid shelters in Park Land commences
1945	War ends
18 Mar 1954	Visit of Queen Elizabeth and Duke of Edinburgh
1956	Explosion of atomic bomb at Maralinga
12 Jun 1964	Beatles in Adelaide
1968	First Australian born governor sworn in
1968	Demonstrations against Vietnam War
1970	Vietnam Moratorium
1975	First Come Out Festival
1986	South Australia Jubilee celebrated

6.8 Arts and Sciences

28 May 1838	First theatre opens above Adelaide Tavern, Franklin St
1860	Observatory built on Park Lands off West Terrace
1865	Goyder's Line proclaimed
1865	Duryea's Panorama of the city taken in this year
13 Apr 1868	Opening of Theatre Royal in Hindley Street
1868	Closure of Royal Victoria Theatre in Gilles Arcade
21 Jul 1871	First balloon ascent, after abortive first attempt
1895	Natural History Museum opens
7 Apr 1899	First wing of Art Gallery of SA opened by Lord Tennyson
1860	Observatory built on Park Lands off West Terrace
1920	Sir Ross Smith & party fly to Adelaide non stop from Melbourne
Nov 1921	Conan Doyle in Adelaide 'I saw lovely SA in full beauty of the spring, with all her winsome, growing graces upon her...'
1952	West Terrace Observatory, dating from 1873 demolished
12 Mar 1960	First Adelaide Festival of Arts

1962	Demolition of Theatre Royal
2 Jun 1973	Festival Theatre opens
1986	Migration and Settlement Museum opens
1987	Adelaide convention Centre opens
1989	Bicentennial Conservatory in Botanic Gardens opened

7.0 EDUCATING

7.2 *Schooling*

1851	New education Act cuts of aid to church schools.
1873	Construction of six storey Education Building. Demolished 1973 to make way for present Education building
1874	Completion of Grote Street Model School. First city purpose built school under the Board of Education to be built in city
1879	Advanced School for Girls opens
1892	Education made free to compulsory age and standard
1907	Secondary continuation classes at some city and country primary schools
1951	Adelaide High School opens off West Terrace
1963	School leaving age raised to 15 years

7.3 *Pre-schools and Kindergartens*

1875	Education Act introduces elementary education
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7.4 *Further Education*

11 Nov 1874	Act of Incorporation to found University of Adelaide
5 Apr 1882	Mitchell Building as the first of the university buildings to be completed
1885	First woman to graduate from University of Adelaide, Edith Dornwell BSc
1887	University of Adelaide Medical School opens
1889	School Of Mines opened
7 Apr 1899	First wing of Art Gallery of SA opened by Lord Tennyson
1925	Foundation stone for Teachers Training College in Kintore Avenue laid
1991	University of South Australia formed

7.5 *Libraries, Institutions and Museums*

1860	South Australian Museum first established within the Institute Building
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CITY POPULATION

Extracted from ACC Annual Reports

1840	City population	8,480 -1,615 buildings in the city
1844	City population	6,107
1846	City population	7,413
1855	City population	18,259
1865	City population	8,303
1866	City population	23,229
1871	City population	27,208
1876	City population	31,573
1881	City population	38,479
1912	City population	42,294
1913	City population	42,523
1914	City population	42,828
1915	City population	43,133
1916	City population	40,681
1917	City population	39,643
1918	City population	39,474
1921	City population	39,458 (state population exceeds 500,000)
1923	City population	39,084
1922	City population	39,458
1924	City population	38,811
1925	City population	38,538
1926	City population	38,265
1927	City population	37,992
1928	City population	37,719
1929	City population	37,446
1930	City population	37,173
1932	City population	36,627
1933	City population	36,354
1936	City population	31,390
1937	City population	31,390
1938	City population	31,390
1946	City population	33,000
1947	City population	34,990
1948	City population	35,032
1949	City population	35,032
1950	City population	35,032
1951	City population	35,032
1952	City population	34,990
1953	City population	34,990
1954	City population	34,990
1955	City population	34,990
1956	City population	34,990

1957	City population	29,000
1958	City population	28,000
1959	City population	28,000
1960	City population	28,400
1961	City population	27,000
1962	City population	27,000
1963	City population	23,000 (state population passes 1 million)
1964	City population	21,300
1965	City population	21,300
1966	City population	21,300
1967	City population	19,000
1968	City population	17,000
1970	City population	15,800
1972	City population	14,058
1976	City Population	13,773
1998-99	City Population	12,893

10.0 GLOSSARY

SLSA	State Library of South Australia
ACA	Adelaide City Council Archives
SAPP	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
SRSA	State Records of South Australia
MLSA	Mortlock Library of South Australia