

BETTER HERITAGE INFORMATION SUMMARY OF STATE HERITAGE PLACE

COMMENTARY ON THE LISTING

Description and notes with respect to a place entered in the South Australian Heritage Register in accordance with either the *South Australian Heritage Act 1978* or the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

The information contained in this document is provided in accordance with s14(6) and s21 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

REGISTERED NAME: Bush Inn (former Carriers' Arms Hotel)

PLACE NO.: 10265

ALSO KNOWN AS: The Bush Hotel (former Carriers' Arms Hotel)

ADDRESS: Bunganditj Country
Main Road, Robe SA 5276
CT 6031/581 H441800 S557
Hundred of Waterhouse

CONFIRMED IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE REGISTER:

1 September 1983

STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Erected by April 1861, the Bush Inn in Robe demonstrates the commercial prosperity of one of South Australia's key seaport towns during the 1850s and 1860s. Located on the main road into Robe, it is the town's only surviving roadside inn that specifically catered for teamsters during the 1860s and early 1870s, demonstrating the movement of wool and other goods between Robe, the South East and intercolonial and international markets.

INDICATIVE CRITERIA (under section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*)

(a) it demonstrates important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the State's history

Erected by April 1861, the Bush Inn in Robe demonstrates the commercial prosperity of one of South Australia's key seaport towns during the 1850s and 1860s. Several pubs had opened in the township during the 1840s and 1850s, including the Robe Hotel, Criterion Hotel (SHP 12539) and Caledonian Inn (SHP 12368). However, along with the Newton Arms, the Bush Inn was one of two roadside inns erected on the town's outskirts. These venues catered to those travelling to and from Robe by land, notably teamsters carting wool to the seaport at Robe. Such venues were situated along major roads across the South East and existed specifically to capture this traffic. As Robe's only surviving roadside inn from the nineteenth century, the Bush Inn demonstrates the importance of teamsters who transported wool and other goods to and from Robe's seaport via bullock and horse drays. In turn, the Bush Inn also demonstrates the general commercial and economic confidence exhibited during Robe's heyday as a thriving seaport town.

SITE PLAN

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe



Bush Inn, Main Road, Robe SA 5276, CT 6031/581 H441800 S557, Hundred of Waterhouse.

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LEGEND

-  Parcel boundaries (Indicates extent of Listing)
-  Outline of Elements of Significance for State Heritage Place

Physical Description

The Bush Inn is a single-storey rectangular structure built of limestone with two hipped-roofs with differing pitches, indicating the Bush Inn may have been erected in stages. Additional featured include:

- Coursed limestone on the front elevation,
- Random rubble on other elevations,
- Timber shingles to roof clad with corrugated galvanised steel,
- Stone chimneys,
- Rectangular and square casement windows with glazed panels,
- Timber doors with fanlights to front elevation,
- Stone arches above the windows and doors and stone sills on the windows.

Elements of Significance:

Elements of heritage significance include (but are not necessarily limited to):

- The Bush Inn,
- Coursed limestone to front elevation,
- Random Rubble limestone to other elevations,
- Stone chimneys,
- Casement windows with stone arches and sills,
- Timber doors with fanlights and stone arches to front elevation.

Elements not considered to contribute to significance of place include (but are not necessarily limited to):

- Extensions to the rear,
- Picket fence to the rear,
- Vegetation,
- Non-original fixtures and fittings.

History of the Place

'Pubs' in Colonial South Australia

Public Houses, better known as 'pubs', and hotels developed in Britain between the seventeenth and early nineteenth century and grew out of alehouses and taverns.¹ Though at first 'indistinguishable' from their adjacent buildings and usually housed in a 'cellar or separate room', pubs started to become purpose-built venues and easily identifiable during the nineteenth century.² They were quickly embraced within the Australasian colonies, 'along with many other British traditions'.³

Anticipating their popularity in South Australia, colonial administrators immediately enacted legislation to regulate pubs, based on similar measures operating in Britain.⁴ Passed in February 1837, the Act introduced licencing requirements for publicans, intended to regulate the 'sale of Wine, Beer, and Spirituous Liquors'. As its name specifies, the purpose of the Act was the 'Prevention of Drunkenness, and the Promotion of Good Order in Public Houses'.⁵ Additional legislation was enacted in 1839 that further refined licencing.⁶

Following the 1837 Act, pubs mushroomed across Adelaide. By 1840, there were 63 licensed pubs in Adelaide, serving a population of 6,657 people. This meant that there was one pub for every 105 residents.⁷ Though their number briefly declined during the early 1840s, by 1855 there were 376 throughout South Australia.⁸ Pubs were established 'on major transport routes, in new towns, at river crossings, major junctions, mining and railway towns, ports and seashores' and were 'often the first business in a new township and the last to close when a town was abandoned'.⁹ Their number peaked at 719 in 1893.¹⁰

In addition to selling alcohol, pubs provided a variety of services to their patrons. Many sold food and most offered guest accommodation.¹¹ Moreover, as Patricia Sumerling notes:

They have provided venues for religious worship, theatrical entertainment, meetings small and large, public and private, balls, banquets, fetes and sporting events, and have been used as school classrooms, commercial rooms for travelling salesmen, electoral polling places and venues for inquests. As well as planned events by both publican and the community, pubs are renowned for unplanned interaction between regulars and strangers.¹²

J. L. Hoad further observes that '[h]otels played an important part in the early history' of South Australia and 'seem to have been looked upon as semi-official establishments', sometimes even housing the local post office.¹³ Pubs, then, were typically important community and civic venues as well as places to drink, eat and find accommodation. Indeed, the 'early life of the Colony centred largely around the nearest Licensed Premises'.¹⁴

The size and quality of pub buildings increased over the second half of the nineteenth century and additional regulations were introduced, including age restrictions and limits on operating hours.¹⁵ The number of pubs decreased after 1893 and regulations began to intensify in the early twentieth century, owing in part to the political rise of the temperance movement. Notable regulations included the introduction of the 6pm closing time and gender-based restrictions on licensing and patronage, both of which persisted until the late 1960s.¹⁶

Establishing Colonial Robe

Guichen Bay in the South East of South Australia forms part of the traditional lands of the Bungandidj people, who have been present in the area for at least 30,000 years.¹⁷ Europeans first charted the coastline of the region in 1802 during the Baudin and Flinders expeditions and sealers established a presence at Guichen Bay in 1831.¹⁸

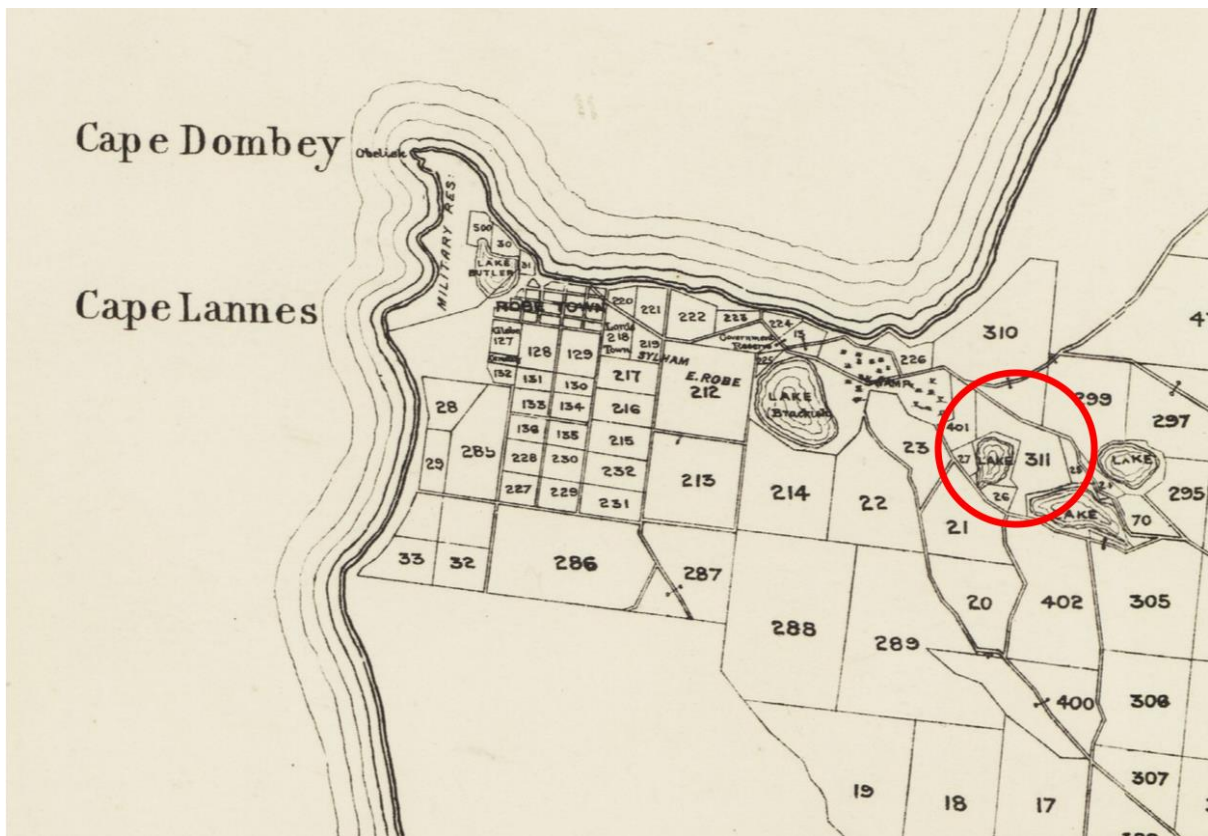
European exploration of the South East took place from 1839 and settlement began as early as 1840.¹⁹ Much of the South East was initially settled by pastoralists and by 1847 approximately half of the region was held under pastoral licences. As primary production expanded the colonial government began to provide a series of government towns as service and staging centres. The provision of ports to ship goods to market was also viewed as essential and Robe was established in 1846, to provide a port for the burgeoning wool clip then being obtained from the South East.²⁰ Robe was officially declared as a port by the Government in 1847.²¹

Situated towards the south of Guichen Bay, the town at Robe (or Robetown) went on to become the first major town of the South East.²² Robe became the administrative centre of the region when a Government Resident was appointed in 1846.²³ Over the next two decades, Robe developed as an international port that serviced the local wool industry and import and export markets. It also facilitated the arrival of thousands of immigrants, including British and Irish people, as well as Chinese prospectors during the Victorian gold rush.²⁴

The Bush Inn*

In August 1857, Philip Levi purchased Section 311, Hundred of Waterhouse, located on the outskirts of 'Robe Town', the original township section surveyed by the government in 1846²⁵ By 11 April 1861, a C. F. Fisher had acquired a publican's license for the 'Bush Hotel'.²⁶ According to Hoad, this hotel was located on 'Millicent Road, near Robe'.²⁷ Millicent Road now comprises South Port Road and a portion of Main Road, which leads into 'Robe Town'.

* Portions of this section have been adapted from Annelly Aeuckens, 'Historical Research' in 'Item Evaluation Sheet: Bush Inn, Millicent Road, Robe', State Heritage Branch, 1982, Ref. No. 6823-10265.



Portion of Hundred of Waterhouse showing Section 311 in red circle.

Source: Flickr (user: SLSA)

The Bush Hotel looks to have become Mac's Hotel in 1862.²⁸ Around three years later, Jacob Chambers acquired a publican's license for the hotel, which he renamed the Carriers' Arms.²⁹ Chambers purchased Section 311 in 1868 and held a license for the premises until January 1871, and again between March and July the same year.³⁰ William Henry Taylor then took over the Carrier's Arms.³¹ He held the license until early 1872, when the government refused to renew his license 'on the grounds that the house was not well conducted and that the applicant supplied [First Nations people] with liquor',³² an offence at the time.³³ No other licenses were granted for the hotel thereafter.³⁴

The hotel was one of several roadside inns along the route to and from Robe and was one of two located on the outskirts of the township.³⁵ Although Hoad notes that the Carrier's Arms had originally been named the Victoria Inn,³⁶ the latter instead looks to have been the original name for the Newton Arms, another pub located on Millicent Road, also 'near Robe'.³⁷ Unlike the inns located within the township, these road inns specifically catered to the needs of teamsters who carted wool to the port.³⁸

Situated a few kilometres from the township, the Bush Inn's prosperity was inextricably linked to Robe's status as a major seaport. The Bush Inn functioned as a licensed hotel between 1861 and 1872, coinciding with much of Robe's heyday.³⁹ As Robe's economy began to wane in the 1870s,⁴⁰ traffic along the main road into the port

decreased.⁴¹ It is true that the immediate reason the hotel ceased operating was because Taylor's license was not renewed. However, the fact that no one else pursued a new one suggests that operating a roadside inn on the way to Robe simply was no longer a lucrative prospect. There simply would not have been enough traffic to sustain business.

All the while, Chambers continued to own the property. The *Government Gazette* establishes that Chambers was 'licensed to officiate as salesman of cattle in the public pound on Section 311' as of 6 July 1882.⁴² In late December 1894, Chambers sought to sell Section 311. An advertisement for the property noted that it comprised 42 acres and featured a 'first-class Stone House and other out-buildings, and a Splendid Garden'.⁴³

In March 1895, Chambers sold the land to George Bermingham, a local labourer.⁴⁴ George was the father of the well-known local historian and author, Kathleen Bermingham. Kathleen spent part of her childhood at this property, which included the inn.⁴⁵ She later described the building as 'solidly built'. She added that it had 'nine rooms with casement windows, stout doors, lath and plaster ceilings, four open fire-places with strong square chimneys, [and] a back port with (like the kitchen) a lakestone [sic] floor'.⁴⁶ She lived at the former inn until 1912 with her family while her father 'bred thoroughbred horses and grazed a few sheep'.⁴⁷

In August 1912, Section 311 was acquired by the South-Eastern Drainage Board. It remained as government-owned land until 1976, when most of the property was absorbed into Section 394. Section 557 was created for the old inn plus a small amount of land. This new section was declared a 'Reserve for the Preservation of Historic Buildings' and was leased to the District Council of Robe.⁴⁸

The Bush Inn is the only roadside inn remaining from the early days of Robe's existence as the South East's major wool port. The inn had been unused for many years and had been left in poor condition. Conservation works were commenced in the 1980s and have continued since. It was confirmed as a State Heritage Place on 1 September 1983. Since then, the Bush Inn appears to have been used variously for rental holiday accommodation and residential usage.

Chronology

Year	Event
1837	The 'Granting of Licenses, regulating the sale of Wine, Beer, and Spirituous Liquors, for the Prevention of Drunkenness, and the Promotion of Good Order in Public Houses' Act is passed by the Legislative Council in February.
1840	There are 63 public houses, or 'pubs', in or around Adelaide.
1843	The number of pubs declines to 32 due to the economic recession.
1846	Counties of Grey and Robe are proclaimed by the colonial government and are opened to claim under pastoral license. The Government of South Australia establishes Robe as the administrative centre of the South East.
1847	Robe is officially gazetted as a port by the government. The Robe Hotel (LHP), then called the 'Bonnie Owl Hotel', opens on Mundy Terrace.
1855	There are 375 pubs operating throughout South Australia. The Newton Inn near Robe Town receives its hotel license.
1856	The Former Criterion Hotel (SHP12539), then named the 'Frankfort Hotel', is erected.
1857	Philip Levi purchases Section 311, Hundred of Waterhouse.
1858	The Frankfort Hotel is renamed the Criterion Hotel.
1859	The Caledonian Inn (SHP 12368) opens on Victoria Street.
1861	The Bush Inn (SHP 10265) receives its hotel license.
1862	The Bush Inn is renamed Mac's Hotel.
1865	Publican Jacob Chambers acquires a hotel license for the former Bush Inn and is likely responsible for renaming it the Carriers' Arms.
1871	William Henry Taylor acquires a hotel license for the former Bush Inn, now the Carriers' Arms.
1872	William Henry Taylor's hotel license is not renewed due to the 'house not being well conducted'.
1893	There are 719 pubs operating throughout South Australia.

- 1895** George Bermingham acquires the former Bush Inn.
- 1912** The South-Eastern Drainage Board acquires the land where the former Bush Inn is located.
- 1976** Most of the land is absorbed into Section 394 and Section 557 is created as a 'Reserve for the Preservation of Historic Buildings'. The District Council of Robe becomes responsible for Section 577.
- 1983** The timber section of the rear wall is removed.
- The Bush Inn is confirmed as a State Heritage Place on 1 September.**
- 1986 The District Council of Robe seeks to rehabilitate the Bush Inn by finding a new tenant for the property. The Robe Arts Council gains the tenancy soon after.
- 1987 The State Heritage Branch approves Development Application 822/0074/87 to undertake major conservation work on the Bush Inn. However, the project does not proceed.
- 1989 The State Heritage Branch awards a \$2,000 grant to the Robe Arts Council to undertake conservation works on the front doors and entrance of the Bush Inn.
- 1990 The State Heritage Branch approves Development Application 822/0047/90 to build a toilet block at the rear of the property.
- c.2006 The Crown Lease to the District Council of Robe expires.
- 2008 After being vacant for several years, the Bush Inn is in a damaged state. The building had been 'reroofed ... but apparently in an inappropriate material' which 'caused accelerated corrosion of the gutters and rainwater goods'. Additional damage had been caused by possum infestation, vandalism, and salt damp.
- The Heritage Branch authorises and pursues re-roofing of the Bush Inn.
- 2009 The Heritage Branch approved Development Application 822/89/09 to use the Bush Inn as a residential property, to undertake conservation works, siteworks and drainage improvements, and to erect an extension at the rear.
- The Government sells Section 557, and it is purchased by a private owner.

References

Books and Chapters

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- Bermingham, Kathleen. *Gateway to the South East: A Story of Robetown and the Guichen Bay District*. Millicent: The South Eastern Times Ltd., 1961.
- English Heritage. *Pubs: Understanding Listing*. London: English Heritage, 1994.
- Harfull, Liz. *Almost an Island: The Story of Robe*, reprinted edition. 2013; Mile End: Wakefield press, 2015.
- Hoad, J. L. *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia, 1836 – March 1993*, Second Edition. Adelaide: Self-published, 1999.
- Jennings, Paul. *The Local: A History of the English Pub*, third edition. 2007; Cheltenham: The History Press, 2021.
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- Sumerling, Patricia. *Down at the Local: A History of Hotels in Kensington, Norwood and Kent Town*. Kent Town: City of Norwood, Payneham and St Peters, 1998.
- Young, Gordon, et al. 'The Adelaide Pub, 1837-1900' in *Preserving Historic Adelaide*, Colin Bond and Hamish Ramsay (eds.). Adelaide: Rigby, 1978: pp.97-105.

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- Adair, Daryl. 'Respectable, Sober, and Industrious? Attitudes to Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide. *Labour History* no. 70 (1996): pp.131-155.

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- Aeuckens, Annely. 'Historical Research' in 'Item Evaluation Sheet: Bush Inn, Millicent Road, Robe', State Heritage Branch, 1982, Ref. No. 6823-10265.
- Dallwitz, John, and Marsden, Susan. *Robe Historical Interpretation Study: Stage 1 in the Establishment of the Robe Historical Interpretation Centre*. Adelaide: Department of Environment and Planning, 1983.

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- 'The Government Gazette', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 12 July 1882, p.2.
- 'Land Sale ... L. DeGaris [advertisement]', *Narracoorte Herald*, 4 December 1894, p.2.
- 'Publicans' General Licenses... 425', *South Australian Government Gazette*, 18 April 1861, p.319.
- 'Robe Licensing Bench', *Adelaide Observer*, 4 May 1872, p.11.
- 'Robe Town Licensing Branch', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 21 March 1865, p.3.

Land Titles

Certificate of Title Vol. 114, Folio 122.

Crown Lease Vol. 1617, Folio 77.

Websites

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Sumerling, Patricia. 'Pubs', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 2015.
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SITE DETAILS

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe

FORMER NAME:	Mac's Hotel (1862-1864), Carriers' Arms (1865-1872)
DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	A single-story rectangular building constructed of limestone with two hipped roofs with timber shingles.
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:	1857-1861
REGISTER STATUS:	Nominated: 12 May 1980 Identified: 2 June 1982 Provisionally entered: 7 April 1983 Confirmed: 1 September 1983
CURRENT USE:	Private use, c.2022 -
PREVIOUS USE(S):	Hotel, 1861-1872 Holiday Accommodation, c.2009 – c.2022 Crown Land/Reserve, 1912 – c.2009 Dwelling, 1872 - 1912
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	District Council of Robe
LOCATION:	Street No.: N.A. [Lot 557] Street Name: Main Road Town/Suburb: Robe Post Code: 5276
LAND DESCRIPTION:	Title Reference: CT 6031/581 H441800 S557 Hundred: Waterhouse

PHOTOS

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe



The Bush Inn, 1977.

Source: Valmai Hankel, SLA B 33519



The Bush Inn with signage, c.1980

Source: DEW Files

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe



Front elevation of the Bush Inn, c. 1980.

Source: DEW Files



Rear of the Bush Inn, c.1980.

Source: DEW Files

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe



Rear of the Bush Inn, c.1990.

Source: DEW Files



The Bush Inn following conservation works, including repointing, 2003.

Source: DEW Files

Bush Inn

PLACE NO.: 10265

Main Road, Robe



The Bush Inn following conservation works, including reroofing, 2009.

Source: DEW Files



Repointing work, c.2013.

Plaque on the front elevation, c.2008.

Source: DEW Files

Source: DEW Files



Interior of Bush Inn prior to conservation work showing one of the fireplaces, c.2008.

Source: DEW Files



Interior of Bush Inn prior to conservation work showing one of the fireplaces, c.2008.

Source: DEW Files



Interior of Bush Inn prior to conservation work showing torn calico ceiling, c.2008.

Source: DEW Files



Interior of Bush Inn prior to conservation work showing timber shingles, c.2008.

Source: DEW Files

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- ¹ English Heritage, *Pubs: Understanding Listing* (London: English Heritage, 1994), p.1.
- ² Heritage, *Pubs: Understanding Listing*, pp.1-2; Paul Jennings, *The Local: A History of the English Pub*, third edition (2007; Cheltenham: The History Press, 2021), chapter two.
- ³ Patricia Sumerling, *Down at the Local: A History of Hotels in Kensington, Norwood & Kent Town* (Kent Town: City of Norwood, Payneham and St Peters, 1998), p.5.
- ⁴ See Herbert Anthony Monckton, *A History of the English Public House* (London; Sydney; Toronto: The Bodley Head, 1969), pp.77-86.
- ⁵ *Granting of Licenses, regulating the sale of Wine, Beer, and Spirituous Liquors, for the Prevention of Drunkenness, and the Promotion of Good Order in Public Houses, 1837*, South Australia.
- ⁶ See J. L. Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia, 1836 – March 1993*, Second Edition (Adelaide: Self-published, 1999), p.4.
- ⁷ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.5.
- ⁸ Gordon Young, et al., 'The Adelaide Pub, 1837-1900' in *Preserving Historic Adelaide*, Colin Bond and Hamish Ramsay (eds.) (Adelaide: Rigby, 1978); p.97.
- ⁹ Patricia Sumerling, 'Pubs', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 2015.
<https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/pubs#:~:text=The%20Edinburgh%20Castle%20in%20Currie,licensed%20pub%20in%20March%201879.>
- ¹⁰ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.5.
- ¹¹ See Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, pp. 12-13, p.15 and p.17; Sumerling, *Down at the Local*, pp.6-7; and Young, et al., 'The Adelaide Pub', pp.99-101.
- ¹² Sumerling, 'Pubs', SA History Hub.
- ¹³ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.5.
- ¹⁴ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, pp.14-15.
- ¹⁵ Sumerling, 'Pubs', SA History Hub.
- ¹⁶ Sumerling, 'Pubs', SA History Hub.
- ¹⁷ Liz Harfull, *Almost an Island: The Story of Robe*, reprinted edition (2013; Mile End: Wakefield press, 2015), 12-14; Susan Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days* (Robe: District Council of Robe, 1985), pp.11-12.
- ¹⁸ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.11; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.12.
- ¹⁹ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, pp.14-16; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.14.
- ²⁰ Roger André, 'Wool', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 19 March 2014.
<https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/wool>; Michael Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 339-341.
- ²¹ Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.4-10.
- ²² Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.4-10.
- ²³ Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, pp.21-24.
- ²⁴ Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.10-16.
- ²⁵ Annelly Aeuckens, 'Historical Research' in 'Item Evaluation Sheet: Bush Inn, Millicent Road, Robe', State Heritage Branch, 1982, Ref. No. 6823-10265.
- ²⁶ 'Publicans' General Licenses... 425', *South Australian Government Gazette*, 18 April 1861, p.319; Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.83.
- ²⁷ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.83.
- ²⁸ Kathleen Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales of Robe* (Robe: self-published, 1972), p.36.
- ²⁹ Chambers had applied for a country license, but received a town licensed as the hotel was 'within the distance allowed by the Act'. 'Robe Town Licensing Branch', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 21 March 1865, p.3; Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.36.
- ³⁰ Certificate of Title Vol. 114, Folio 122; Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89.
- ³¹ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89.
- ³² 'Robe Licensing Bench', *Adelaide Observer*, 4 May 1872, p.11.
- ³³ Daryl Adair, 'Respectable, Sober, and Industrious? Attitudes to Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide', *Labour History* no. 70 (1996), p.145.
- ³⁴ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89.

³⁵ Aeuckens, 'Historical Research'; Kathleen Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East: A Story of Robetown and the Guichen Bay District* (Millicent: South Eastern Times, 1961), pp.230-242.

³⁶ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89.

³⁷ Hoad includes entries for the Carriers' Arms and the Newton Arms and states both were located on 'Millicent Road, near Robe'. He further mentions that they were on Section 394, Hundred of Waterhouse. However, Jacob Chambers purchased Section 311 in 1868, a former land parcel where the Bush Inn is located. Additionally, local historian and resident Kathleen Bermingham notes that Chambers became the publican of the 'Old Inn' (the Bush Inn) in 1865. It is thus highly likely that the Bush Inn was the Carriers' Arms, not the Victoria Inn. The Victoria Inn instead looks to be the original name of the Newton Arms. The former received its first license in 1858 and the latter in 1865. See Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89 and p. 309; Certificate of Title Vol. 114, Folio 122; and Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.36.

³⁸ Aeuckens, 'Historical Research'.

³⁹ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans*, p.89; Aeuckens, 'Historical Research'; Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.36.

⁴⁰ Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, pp.46-48; Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.42.

⁴¹ Aeuckens, 'Historical Research'.

⁴² 'The Government Gazette', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 12 July 1882, p.2.

⁴³ 'Land Sale ... L. DeGaris [advertisement]', *Narracoorte Herald*, 4 December 1894, p.2.

⁴⁴ Certificate of Title Vol. 114, Folio 122, transfer no. 289630.

⁴⁵ Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.37.

⁴⁶ Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.37.

⁴⁷ Bermingham, *The Third Eleven Tales*, p.37.

⁴⁸ Crown Lease Vol. 1617, Folio 77.