

## BETTER HERITAGE INFORMATION SUMMARY OF STATE HERITAGE PLACE

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### 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*.

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**REGISTERED NAME:** Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex **PLACE NO.:** 10362

**ALSO KNOWN AS:** Robe Courthouse, Police Station, Old Cells & Stables

**ADDRESS:** Bunganditj Country  
8 Smillie Street, Robe SA 5276  
CT 5737/404 T441801 A25; CT 5737/404 D51777 A300; CT 6212/11  
D51777 A301  
Hundred of Waterhouse

### CONFIRMED IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE REGISTER:

24 March 1983

### STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

The Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex demonstrates the colonial government's role in developing key institutions throughout the colony's regional areas and specifically the expansion of South Australia's judicial system. Built between 1848 and 1864, the courthouse complex is an early example of a regional facility devoted to law enforcement and civil and criminal legal proceedings.

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

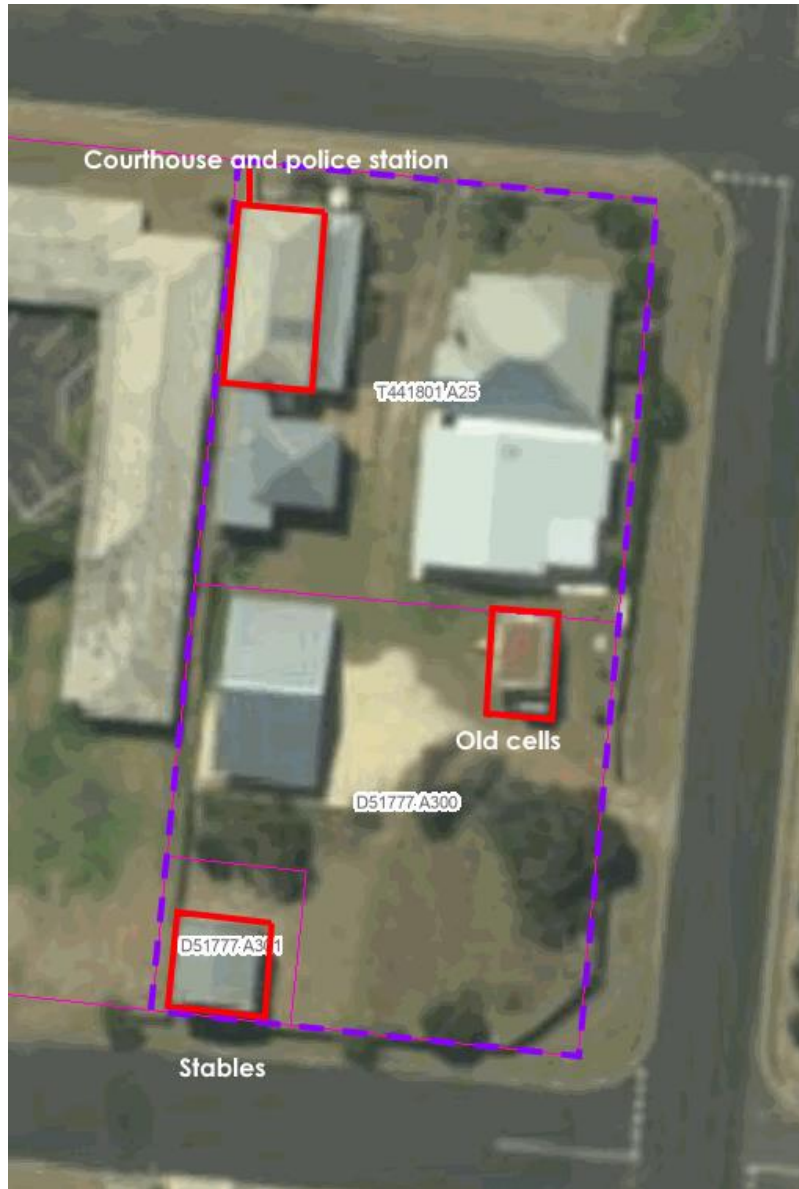
***(a) it demonstrates important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the State's history***

The Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex demonstrates the expansion of South Australia's judicial system, and the colonial government's role in developing key institutions throughout the colony's regional areas. Robe was established as a government town and seaport in 1846 and became the administrative centre of the South East when a Government Resident was assigned to Robe that same year. A police station was constructed in 1847 (since demolished) and the courthouse erected the following year in 1848. The government constructed a military barracks in 1858, which was later repurposed as Robe's second police station around 1863 (since demolished). Police stables were built in 1864 and a cell block was erected around the same time. Together, these buildings form a complex devoted to providing law and order in the South East during the first decades of the new colony.

# SITE PLAN

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex  
8 Smillie Street, Robe

PLACE NO.: 10362



Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex, 8 Smillie Street, Robe SA 5276, CT 5737/404 T441801 and D51777; CT 6212/11 D51777, 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 Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex is comprised of three buildings erected during the mid-nineteenth century: a courthouse located at the north-western corner, a cell block in the middle towards the west, and stables at the south-western corner of the site. Each is considered in turn.

### *Courthouse*

The courthouse is a symmetrical Victorian Georgian building featuring tuck-pointed, random-coursed, calcarenite rubble walls, with a rendered plinth and lean-to entrance to southern elevation.

- The building was painted white at the time of listing; the northern, eastern and southern walls have since had the paint removed and been repointed.
- The roof is clad with corrugated galvanised steel, which covers the original timber shingles.
- A chimney is present on the southern side of the structure.
- The front façade features two, painted, timber framed, multi-paned casement windows and a painted timber framed, timber door with fanlight above.
- A concave verandah, with painted timber posts and framing and corrugated galvanised steel roof, has been constructed along the front of the building.
- The interior appears to consist of a small courtroom and other office rooms. At the time of listing the courthouse retained its timber witness box and a slightly raised platform, with timber balustrade.

### *Old Cells*

The cells are a rectangular skillion-roofed building with parapets, pointed random coursed calcarenite rubble and a lean-to to the southern side. There are two cells in the main structure and possibly another in the lean-to.

- The walls have been repointed.
- Each cell has a timber door. The two on the main structure have transom windows containing iron bars and stone lintels. A sash window is present on the southern side.
- The lean-to also with a timber scalloped door with concaves at the end of each board.

### *Stables*

The stables are a two-storey, corrugated galvanised steel gable-roofed building constructed from random coursed calcarenite rubble with dressed-stone quoins and low parapet to gable ends.

- The walls have been repointed.

- The front of the building faces east and has a double-door and two windows. All openings feature dress-stone surrounds, while the door has a concrete lintel and the windows stone sills. The doors are painted timber with metal fixings to hinges and slide bolt. The windows feature painted timber, fixed louvers.
- The southern elevation has a timber door with dressed stone surrounds on the second storey and a vented window with dressed stone surrounds on the first storey. The northern elevation has a vented window with dressed stone surrounds.
- The interior appears to be comprised of three stables and a loft.

### **Elements of Significance:**

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

- The Courthouse,
- The Old Cells,
- The Stables,
- Original doors, windows and fanlights and fittings and fixtures.

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

- All other structures, including the house erected in c.1947 and its subsequent extensions, the two buildings immediately to the south of the courthouse, and the garage to the north of the stables,
- The verandah on the courthouse,
- Non-original fittings,
- Fencing.

### **History of the Place**

The Courthouse and Police Complex at Robe encapsulates the evolution of the justice system in colonial South Australia, particularly the development of policing and the judiciary. Less than a week after South Australia was declared as a British colony on 28 December 1836, European colonists established a judicial system on 2 January 1837. The South Australia Police Force (SAPOL) was created the following year. As Robe was founded less than a decade later, the complex thus represents these institutions during their formative phase, especially their place within the colony's expansion into regional areas.

### **Centralised Authority and the Justice System in South Australia**

South Australia was the first Australian colony to introduce a police force. Prior to settlement, the colony's founders theorised that crime would not exist, the belief being that as South Australia was established as a free settlement rather than a penal colony, it would lack a 'criminal class'. A police force was thus deemed unnecessary.

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Confirmed in the South Australian Heritage Register on 24 March 1983

The South Australian Heritage Council endorsed the content of this BHI - SSHP on 19 October 2023

However, occurrences soon after their arrival disabused colonial administrators of this notion. Inspired by Robert Peel's professional police in England, a police force was established in South Australia on 28 April 1838.<sup>1</sup>

The rationale behind establishing a police force was twofold. Firstly, colonists were concerned about 'undesirables' entering South Australia from the other colonies, particularly escaped and former convicts. These 'undesirables' were viewed as being responsible for introducing crime to the nascent colony, intended to consist of desirable landowners and aspirant labourers. Secondly, a police force was viewed as a means to repress conflicts between frontier settlers and First Nations people.<sup>2</sup> From the outset, South Australian colonial administrators sought to advance the 'rule of law'. This approach was intended to demonstrate that crimes committed by British subjects, whether colonists or First Nations people, were intolerable and would be treated alike. Ultimately, the 'rule of law' was used to advance British sovereignty and was applied inconsistently often to the detriment of First Nations People.<sup>3</sup> The police were an integral component to this approach.

The police force was comprised of the foot police and the mounted police. The former was situated primarily in Adelaide and patrolled its streets. The latter was located at police stations, typically established in remote and thinly populated areas. Historian Robert Clyne notes that the mounted police 'were the focus and pivot of law enforcement and were also required to perform a myriad of extra duties imposed on them by the government'.<sup>4</sup> These extra duties included issuing licenses, keeping accounts and recording and preparing statistics.<sup>5</sup> The mounted police were also frequently responsible for issuing 'rations' or provisions to First Nations people, including blankets and food.<sup>6</sup>

Colonial administrators also established the judiciary system that was comprised of a Supreme Court, again the first in Australia, and lower courts. The Supreme Court was the 'venue for the trial of the most serious offences, crimes such as murder, rape and stealing' and also for 'more important civil proceedings'. The lower courts dealt with less serious offences and civil cases, and were administered by voluntary Justices of the Peace (JPs) or stipendiary magistrates.<sup>7</sup> Historians Alex Castles and Michael Harris have observed that there was 'no requirement that they [the magistrates] should have legal training, but they could be expected to devote themselves to government services'.<sup>8</sup> Many of these courts were located in regional areas and were run either by JPs or resident magistrates.<sup>9</sup>

## **Colonial Robe**

Guichen Bay in the South East of South Australia forms a part of the traditional lands of the Bungandidj people, who have been present in the larger area for at least 30,000

years.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

European exploration of the South East took place from 1839 and settlement began as early as 1840.<sup>12</sup> Much of the South East was initially settled by pastoralists and by 1847 approximately half of the region was held under pastoral licence. 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.<sup>13</sup> Robe was officially declared as a port by the government in 1847.<sup>14</sup>

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,<sup>15</sup> and was established as the administrative centre of the region when a Government Resident was appointed in 1846.<sup>16</sup> 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 migrants, including British, Irish and Chinese people.<sup>17</sup>

### **Establishing the Court and Police Complex at Robe**

Captain Gerald Villiers Butler was the first Government Resident appointed to Robe. He also served as a stipendiary magistrate for the region and was responsible for presiding over the lower court.<sup>18</sup> Butler at first had to make do with temporary accommodation and a makeshift 'courthouse'. According to Captain Emanuel Underwood, this courthouse consisted of 'a few boards set up endways' that met 'overhead'.<sup>19</sup> Police were located in either a circular tent or wooden hut,<sup>20</sup> and a 'she oak' with a 'few bushes' served as a 'prison'.<sup>21</sup>

Two mounted police were stationed at Robe from as early as 1847,<sup>22</sup> later increasing to 'one corporal, two officers, and three horses' by 1856.<sup>23</sup> Being a major port, it is likely police were posted to Robe to calm concerns about the entrance of 'undesirables' and the potential for petty crimes associated with ports. However, their presence appears to have been motivated, at least in part, by a desire to restrain frontier conflict between settlers and local First Nations people. In other words, the police were stationed at Robe to carry out the 'rule of law'.

Tellingly, two First Nations people were murdered during a dispute with settlers near Robe in January 1847. According to Clyne, Boyle Travers Finniss, South Australia's second police commissioner, responded by distributing 'blankets and food' to the local First Nations community and promised to maintain a 'strong police presence to avoid conflict'.<sup>24</sup> The same month, two First Nations men, whose names are unknown, were taken into custody for attempting to 'injure a white settler'. With no holding cells,

the police cruelly detained the First Nations men by chaining them by the neck to each other and a tree.<sup>25</sup>

Given the lack of facilities, a formal police station was constructed in late 1847 by Robert Denford for £154 (since demolished).<sup>26</sup> A new courthouse followed in 1848, built by Charles H. Earle for £310.<sup>27</sup> Extensions were added in 1859.<sup>28</sup> These two buildings formed the nucleus of the complex.

In the mid-1850s, large numbers of Chinese men began arriving in Robe to travel to the Victorian goldfields. By arriving in Robe and walking to the goldfields the men avoided the £10 poll tax the Victorian government had implemented to dissuade them from coming to Victoria. In 1858, in response to the mass arrival of Chinese migrants at Robe, the South Australian government built a military barracks at the police-court complex to house the officers of the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment who had been dispatched to preserve order in the town.<sup>29</sup> A few years later in 1863, the barracks was turned over to the police, who appear to have used it as a new station, though it may have been used as a police residence.<sup>30</sup> William Hanson, a government engineer and architect, advised that:

The police quarters appear to answer the purpose. They are not conveniently arranged, having been built as a Barracks during the Chinese irruption, and there is no fireplace in the kitchen. A stable is also much needed.<sup>31</sup>

In the years that followed, several new additions and extensions were made at the site. The government's Return of Works for 1864 shows that stables were completed that year for £186/16.<sup>32</sup> It is likely that additions to the police barracks and the erection of the cell blocks took place during the 1860s. Together, these buildings and their extensions constituted the police-courthouse complex.

Beyond the police-courthouse complex's role in law enforcement, the site was also used for other purposes. Notably, it was used as a rations store for items distributed to First Nations people, likely beginning in the 1860s and continuing in to the twentieth century.<sup>33</sup> Towards this end, the police barracks was used to store '[s]upplies of tea, sugar, flour, blankets, fishing lines, hooks, pannicans [sic], and other things.'<sup>34</sup>

### **Subsequent life of the Courthouse and Police Complex**

As the Robe court was a lower court, serious cases had to be heard in the Supreme Court in Adelaide creating logistical and financial pressures as all individuals required to attend had to travel to Adelaide. Consequently, locals advocated for a circuit of the Supreme Court to be established in the South East, in addition to the construction of a bespoke prison. The government heeded to these requests and established a gaol at Robe (Gaol Ruins (SHP 10262)) in 1861 and a Circuit Court for the South East in 1862.<sup>35</sup> The Supreme Court's first session at Robe took place on 25 April 1863.<sup>36</sup>



The establishment of the Circuit Court appears to have aroused dissatisfaction with the facilities at Robe,<sup>37</sup> with critics describing the courthouse as being unfit for purpose and calling for it to be either altered or rebuilt. In 1867, one critic assumed that a new courthouse was inevitable, stating that a 'much better, and more convenient site for the new Court-House, which will certainly have to be erected, would be on the Government Reserve'. It was suggested that the existing courthouse could then be used for other purposes, such as a public school or an institute.<sup>38</sup>

However, the locals reserved the worst of their ire for the police station, writing that it was 'more inadequate, and more wretched in its inconveniences than the so-called Court-House'. They went on to describe it as 'simply a hovel' consisting of 'one poor apartment, which is used as a trooper's messroom, rooms for two troopers, and two cells, which are unhealthy and unsafe'. These cells were 'small, low, ill-ventilated and unsound; the timbers are rotting, and the walls and ceiling are barely weatherproof'.<sup>39</sup> This critique does not appear to have amounted to much. In 1882, a commentator described the police station as a 'dilapidated villainous-looking row of stonework'.<sup>40</sup>

In the early 1870s, the Circuit Court at Robe was briefly closed and then restored.<sup>41</sup> Its initial closure occurred due to the government's attempt to relocate the administration of criminal justice in the South East to Mount Gambier. Local agitation at first prevented this objective from being realised,<sup>42</sup> but in 1878 the Circuit Court at Robe was abolished and conducted exclusively in Mount Gambier and Naracoorte.<sup>43</sup>

These closures reflect the decline of Robe as a major colonial seaport and mark its transition to becoming a 'quite country village'.<sup>44</sup> Its decline began early in the 1870s owing to various factors, but was primarily due to the rise of competition from other port towns, such as Kingston, and the emergence of railways in the region.<sup>45</sup> Reflecting this downturn, the population dwindled from about 600 residents in the late 1860s and early 1870s to 170 in 1891.<sup>46</sup>

Nonetheless, despite the closure of the Circuit Court at Robe, the lower court continued operating and the police remained at Robe. At some point, likely during the twentieth century, the police station appears to have been again relocated, this time to the courthouse.<sup>47</sup> A new cell block was constructed to its south (since demolished). This relocation must have occurred prior to 1947, when the police barracks was demolished, and a house erected in its place.<sup>48</sup>

The 'police court' continued to operate during the century, indicating that the police and the court may have operated from the same building. Eventually, however, the court ceased operating, and the courthouse operated exclusively as a police station. It may have continued to do so until a new police station was built on Lord Syleham Street around the turn of the millennium, a post-modern building that appears to pay homage to the original complex on Smillie Street. The former Robe Courthouse

Complex including the courthouse, later police station, stables and cells was entered in the South Australian Heritage Register on 24 March 1983.

## Chronology

Year	Event
1846	Counties of Grey and Robe are proclaimed by the colonial government and are opened to claim under pastoral license. Government of South Australia establishes Robe as the administrative centre of the South East; Captain Gerald Villiers Butler is appointed as the first Government Resident. The township of Robe is surveyed from a location that becomes the Royal Circus.
1847	Robe is officially gazetted as a port by the government. First Police station built by Robert Denford for £154.
<b>1848</b>	<b>The courthouse is erected by Charles H. Earle for £310.</b>
1849	The Colonial Engineer calls for tenders to repair and make additions to the police station.
1850	Captain Charles Philip Brewer replaces Captain Butler as Government Resident and serves for fourteen years.
<b>1858</b>	<b>Military barracks are constructed next to the courthouse.</b>
1859	Additions are made to the courthouse.
1861	The gaol at Robe begins operating on 4 March (Gaol Ruins (SHP 10262)).
<b>c. 1863</b>	<b>The police station is relocated to the military barracks.</b> The Government establishes a Circuit Court for the South East.
1863	Colonial government establishes a Circuit Court for Robe and Mount Gambier.
<b>1864</b>	<b>New police stables are built.</b>
1878	The Circuit Court ceases operating from Robe.
1881	The government closes the gaol at Robe.
<b>1947</b>	<b>Police residence/barracks is demolished.</b>
<b>1983</b>	<b>Courthouse Complex – Former is listed as a State Heritage Place on 24 March.</b>
1999	Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/0088/99 to convert the courthouse from a police station to an antique shop.

- c.2000 A new police station is built on Lord Syleham Street.
- 2001 Heritage SA conditionally approves Development Application 822/99/01 to convert the courthouse to tourist accommodation. Notes that the 'main changes' will be to the '20<sup>th</sup> century cellblock, which is not significant'.
- 2012 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/14/12 for conservation works to the courthouse, including removing cement render and the construction of a verandah.
- 2014 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/13/14 to undertake conservation works on the old gaol cells.
- 2019 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/93/19 to undertake conservation work on the stables.
- 2020 The National Trust of South Australia commences conservation work on the stables after receiving a \$10,000 grant from Heritage South Australia and \$5000 from the Robe and Districts Community Bank Branch of the Bendigo Bank.
- 2022 Heritage SA approves Development Application 22013853 to undertake conservation works to the stables and the adjacent fence.

## References

### Books and Book Chapters

- Bermingham, Kathleen. *Gateway to the South East: A Story of Robetown and the Guichen Bay District*. Millicent: The South Eastern Times Ltd., 1961.
- Bermingham, Kathleen. *The Second Eleven Tales of Robe*. Millicent: The South Eastern Times Ltd., 1971.
- Castles, Alex, and Harris, Michael. *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs: Government and Law in South Australia, 1836-1986*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987.
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- Hirst, J. B. *Adelaide and Country, 1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- Marsden, Susan. *A Glimpse of Golden Days*. Robe: District Council of Robe, 1985.

## Reports

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.

'Return of Works for the Year ending 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1864', in Appendix to Public Works Report (Adelaide: Government of South Australia, 1864), p. xviii.

## Newspapers

Campbell, Roland. 'Installation of Police Force at Mount Gambier; Events of 95 Years Ago; Erection of First Station'. *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 5 September 1940, p. 6.

'The Circuit Court [letter to the editor]', *Adelaide Observer*, 15 April 1871, 3; 'Government Gazette', *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 December 1872, 3.

'Closing Guichen Bay Gaol', 4; 'The Circuit Court [letter to the editor]', 3.

'The South-Eastern District'. *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (Adelaide), 21 September 1867, p. 4.

'Robe', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 28 August 1882, p. 3.

'South-Eastern Circuit Courts', *Narracoorte Herald*, 27 March 1877, 2.

Underwood, Emanuel. 'The New Townships'. *South Australian Register* (Adelaide). 23 January 1847, p. 2.

'£500 Already Towards Robe RSL Club... Old House Demolished', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 21 August 1947, p. 9.

## Websites

André, Roger. 'Wool', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 19 March 2014. <https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/wool>

Foster, Robert. 'Aboriginal Ration Depots', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 30 June 2015. <https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/aboriginal-ration-depots?hh=1&>

## SITE DETAILS

**Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex**  
**8 Smillie Street, Robe**

**PLACE NO.: 10362**

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**DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:** A complex comprising of a courthouse building, a cell block and stable. All buildings are constructed from pointed random course calcarenite rubble.

**DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:**

**REGISTER STATUS:** 24 March 1983

**CURRENT USE:** Historical site, dwelling c. 1999

**PREVIOUS USE(S):** Courthouse and Policing Complex c.1848 – c.1999

**ARCHITECT:** Edward C. Frome, 1848 (Courthouse)

**BUILDER:** Charles H. Earle, 1848 (Courthouse)

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:** District Council of Robe

**LOCATION:**

<b>Street No.:</b>	8
<b>Street Name:</b>	Smillie Street
<b>Town/Suburb:</b>	Robe
<b>Post Code:</b>	5276

**LAND DESCRIPTION:**

<b>Title</b>	CT 5737/404 T441801 A25; CT
<b>Reference:</b>	5737/404 D51777 A300; CT 6212/11 D51777 A301
<b>Hundred:</b>	Waterhouse

## PHOTOS

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex

PLACE NO.: 10362

8 Smillie Street, Robe

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FILM 44 POLICE STATION (FORMER COURT HOUSE) ROBE  
No 6 19-2-79

**View of courthouse to the front in 1979, now operating as a police station. The walls are painted white.**  
Source: DEW Files



**View of the Courthouse in c.1983 showing the lean-to to the southern elevation and the chimney.**  
Source: DEW Files

## PHOTOS

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex

PLACE NO.: 10362

8 Smillie Street, Robe

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**View to front of the Courthouse in December 2003. The roof sheeting has been replaced and the 'Police Station' sign is still on the building.**

Source: DEW Files



**View of the front of the Courthouse in 2020, showing the removal of the paint and repointing of the walls, addition of the verandah and removal of the 'Police Station' sign.**

Source: Google Street View

## PHOTOS

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex  
8 Smillie Street, Robe

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**View of the front of the Old Cells in 1980.**

Source: DEW Files



**Rear view of the Old Cells in 1980.**

Source: DEW Files



## PHOTOS

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex  
8 Smillie Street, Robe

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**Front view of the Old Cells in 2012 showing the removal of the render.**

Source: DEW Files



**Southern elevation in 2012 showing removal of the render.**

Source: DEW Files

## PHOTOS

Former Robe Courthouse and Police Complex

PLACE NO.: 10362

8 Smillie Street, Robe

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**View of front and southern elevations of the Police Stables in 1981.**

Source: DEW Files



**The southern elevation of the Police Stables in 2020, note the repointing of the walls.**

Source: Google Street View

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- <sup>1</sup> Robert Clyne, *Colonial Blue: A History of the South Australian Police Force, 1836-1916* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987), p.xxi
- <sup>2</sup> See Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p. xx, pp. 43 -66 and pp.67-80.
- <sup>3</sup> See Julie Evans, 'Colonialism and the Rule of Law: The Case of South Australia' in *Crime and Empire, 1840-1940*, Barry Godfrey and Graeme Dunstall, eds. (Uffculme: Willan Publishing, 2005), pp.57-75.
- <sup>4</sup> Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p.40.
- <sup>5</sup> Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p.40.
- <sup>6</sup> See Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p. 100 and 'The South-Eastern District', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (Adelaide), 21 September 1867, p.4.
- <sup>7</sup> Alex Castles and Michael Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs: Government and Law in South Australia, 1836-1986* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987), p.64 (Supreme Court) and p.86 (lower courts).
- <sup>8</sup> Castles and Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs*, pp.87-88.
- <sup>9</sup> Castles and Harris, *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs*, p.86.
- <sup>10</sup> 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.
- <sup>11</sup> Harfull, *Almost an Island*, 11; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.12.
- <sup>12</sup> Harfull, *Almost an Island*, 14-16; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.14.
- <sup>13</sup> 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.
- <sup>14</sup> Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.4-10.
- <sup>15</sup> Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.4-10.
- <sup>16</sup> Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, pp.21-24.
- <sup>17</sup> Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.10-16.
- <sup>18</sup> Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.22.
- <sup>19</sup> Emanuel Underwood, 'The New Townships'. *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 23 January 1847, p.2
- <sup>20</sup> Robe's local medical officer and Gerard Butler quoted in Roland Campbell, 'Installation of Police Force at Mount Gambier', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 5 September 1940, p.6
- <sup>21</sup> Underwood, 'The New Townships', p.2 (prison).
- <sup>22</sup> Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p.94.
- <sup>23</sup> Kathleen Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East: A Story of Robetown and the Guichen Bay District*, reprinted edition (1961; Millicent: South Eastern Times Ltd., 1963), pp.84-85.
- <sup>24</sup> Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, p.100.
- <sup>25</sup> Underwood, 'The New Townships', p.2.
- <sup>26</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.84.
- <sup>27</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.113.
- <sup>28</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.113.
- <sup>29</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.112.
- <sup>30</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.112.
- <sup>31</sup> William Hanson quoted in Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.112.

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- <sup>32</sup> 'Return of Works for the Year ending 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1864', in Appendix to Public Works Report (Adelaide: Government of South Australia, 1864), p.xviii.
- <sup>33</sup> See Robert Foster, 'Aboriginal Ration Depots', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 30 June 2015. <https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/aboriginal-ration-depots?hh=1&>
- <sup>34</sup> 'The South-Eastern District', p.4.
- <sup>35</sup> 'Guichen Bay', *Adelaide Observer*, 4 June 1859, p.3.
- <sup>36</sup> 'Guichen Bay', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 1 May 1863, p.3.
- <sup>37</sup> Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.114.
- <sup>38</sup> 'The South-Eastern District', p.4.
- <sup>39</sup> 'The South-Eastern District', p.4.
- <sup>40</sup> 'Robe', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 28 August 1882, p.3.
- <sup>41</sup> 'The Circuit Court [letter to the editor]', *Adelaide Observer*, 15 April 1871, p.3; 'Government Gazette', *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 December 1872, p.3.
- <sup>42</sup> 'Closing Guichen Bay Gaol', 4; 'The Circuit Court [letter to the editor]', p.3.
- <sup>43</sup> 'Government Gazette', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 30 March 1878, p.2.
- <sup>44</sup> Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.46.
- <sup>45</sup> Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp.19-21.
- <sup>46</sup> Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.42.
- <sup>47</sup> See the historic photographs of the courthouse below.
- <sup>48</sup> Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p. 23, and '£500 Already Towards Robe RSL Club... Old House Demolished', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 21 August 1947, p.9.