

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) of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

REGISTERED NAME: Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

ALSO KNOWN AS: The Caledonian

ADDRESS: Bunganditj Country
1 Victoria Street, Robe 5276
CT 5843/782 F105311 A12
Hundred of Waterhouse

CONFIRMED IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE REGISTER:

01 September 1983

STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Erected for Scottish migrant Peter McQueen between 1858 and 1859, the Caledonian Inn in Robe demonstrates the social and commercial development of one of South Australia's key seaport towns during the 1850s and 1860s. It also demonstrates the role of Scottish migrants in the development of colonial Robe and the South East. Additionally, in 1975 the Caledonian Inn was the first unlicensed venue in South Australia to be legally declared an 'Historic Inn', in turn demonstrating early attempts to conserve and revitalise historic buildings in South Australia.

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 for Scottish migrant Peter McQueen between 1858 and 1859, the Caledonian Inn in Robe demonstrates the social and commercial development of one of South Australia's key seaport towns during the 1850s and 1860s. Although the Robe Hotel had opened in 1847 as the 'Bonnie Owl', the Caledonian Inn was one of the first among several other pubs that emerged in Robe during the mid-1850s and early 1860s. The emergence of these new pubs demonstrates the general commercial and economic confidence exhibited during Robe's heyday as a thriving seaport town.

The Caledonian Inn also demonstrates the role of Scottish migrants in developing colonial Robe and the wider South East. During the 1850s and 1860s, the port at Robe facilitated the arrival of thousands of migrants from Britain, Ireland and China. While Scots had previously settled in western Victoria and then crossed the border to the South East, notably Penola, others arrived via Robe, either from Adelaide or directly from overseas. Many settled in and around Robe and the Caledonian Inn is a conspicuous example of Scottish settlement in Robe.

The Caledonian Inn also demonstrates the emergence of the movement to preserve historic buildings in the 1960s and 1970s. The *Licensing Act 1967* overhauled South Australia's hotel and liquor licensing laws and among its many provisions, it enabled the Governor to declare certain premises as 'Historic Inns', which in turn made it easier for them to acquire and retain their licenses. This aspect of the legislation was ostensibly brought into effect to protect unlicensed inns. In December 1975, the Caledonia Inn became the first unlicensed venue to be declared a 'Historic Inn', under the new Act. Its reopening in 1976 was attended by Premier Don Dunstan.

SITE PLAN

Caledonian Inn
1 Victoria Street, Robe

PLACE NO.: 12368



Caledonian Inn, 1 Victoria Street, Robe SA, CT 5843/782 F105311 A12, 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 Caledonian Inn is a large rectangular building built in the Georgian style. It is constructed of random rubble and has a gable roof clad with corrugated galvanised steel. Several extensions have been made to the building since it was erected in 1859. Additional features include:

- Stone quoins,
- Casement windows with glazed panes,
- Stone lintels and sills,
- Wooden doors with glazed upper fields on the street-facing elevation,
- Stone chimneys, one in the centre and one on the western elevation,
- Bargeboards and fascias,
- A white picket fence,
- An extension at the rear including a balcony with a gable roof (non-original),
- An extension on the eastern side with a verandah covering the footpath (non-original).

Elements of Significance:

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

- The Caledonian Inn,
- Casement windows with glazed panels,
- Stone lintels and sills,
- Stone chimneys,
- Bargeboards and fascias,
- Original fixtures and fittings.

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

- Non-original extensions from the twentieth century onwards, including the shop on the eastern side,
- Non-original fixtures and fittings,
- Signage.

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

Origins of The Caledonian Inn*

In 1847, the same year that Robe was officially declared a port, J. Denford opened the 'Bonnie Owl' as the township's first hotel, which later became the Robe Hotel. During the 1850s, additional hotels emerged in and around the original government settlement of Robe. In 1852, George Lord opened Robe's second pub, the White Horse Cellar. After its license expired in 1855, Lord then opened the 'Frankfort' on Smillie Street in 1856, which became the 'Criterion' in 1859. About three kilometres outside of the township, the 'Newton Arms' had been built in 1855 by Benjamin

* The following sections are revisions and extensions of Annely Aeuckens, 'Historical Research' in 'Item Evaluation Sheet: Caledonian Inn, Victoria Street, Robe', State Heritage Branch, 1982, Ref. No. 6823-12368.

Denning. Further still from Robe, the Stone Hut Inn, known as the 'Kooyong', operated between 1853 and 1859.²⁵

Thus, when Peter McQueen acquired a license for the Caledonian Inn (Caledonian) in 1858 and opened the premises for trade the following year,²⁶ it appears to have been the third hotel operating in the township proper. McQueen had previously been the proprietor of the Stone Hut Inn between 1856 and 1857, as well as the Robe Hotel in 1859.

McQueen was originally from Scotland and was one of many Scottish migrants who arrived in South Australia after either crossing the border from Victoria or landing at Robe.²⁷ While it is currently unknown how McQueen first arrived at Robe, he was one of several Scots who settled in the township.²⁸ Upon acquiring a hotel licence, it is clear that he sought to convey his ancestry by naming his new premises after Caledonia, the Roman name for northern Scotland. Furthermore, historian Liz Harfull notes that the Caledonian Inn is '[r]eminiscent of the plain, solid inns of [McQueen's] homeland', thus suggesting that its very style reflects its Scottish heritage.²⁹

The Caledonian was erected as a two-storey structure built of stone with a gabled roof and large chimneys. It also featured sloping roofs and seven teakwood doors that were salvaged from the wreck of the Koning Willem II, a Dutch barque wrecked two years earlier in Guichen Bay. Four attic rooms were included, as was a peep hole and a picket fence.³⁰

The new hotel was built at an ideal position to capture the trade of both the town and its surrounding villages. It was situated on the south-western boundary of Honeyton, one of Robe's villages, and faced Victoria Street, the main road into Robe.³¹ The Caledonian's central position in Robe and the 'good stabling' always to be found there seemed to ensure the relative prosperity it enjoyed during the early years of its existence.³²

During McQueen's tenure as publican, poet Adam Lindsay Gordon briefly lived at the inn. Gordon had travelled directly to Adelaide from England during the latter part of 1853 to 'seek his fortune'. He quickly applied for and was accepted as a gentleman trooper in the South Australian Mounted Police and was stationed in Mount Gambier and Penola until 1855, when he resigned to pursue a different lifestyle. From then until 1861, when he received a legacy of some £7,000 from his late mother's estate, he was an itinerant horse-breaker in the South East. He then 'gave up horse-breaking as a means to earn a living ... and his reputation as a gentleman steeplechase rider spread widely throughout the south-east [sic]'.³³ Gordon stayed at the Caledonian for about two weeks purportedly after he met his future wife Margaret Park, who may have been McQueen's niece and a barmaid at the inn.³⁴

Another notable tenant was the South Australian Banking Company (SABC), later known as the Bank of South Australia. Beginning in the mid-1850s, banks operating in

South Australia began to establish branches outside of Adelaide. In 1859, the SABC opened a branch at Robe, making it the town's first commercial bank. The SABC initially operated the branch from a section of the Caledonian Inn until its new premises, now known as Bank House (SHP 12543), opened on Smillie Street in 1861.³⁵

Peter McQueen retained the license until he passed away in 1868. The license was then taken over by his wife Elspeth the following year. Elspeth continued as the Caledonian's proprietor until 1880 or 1881, when she took over the Beachport Hotel.

Subsequent History

The Caledonian continued as a licensed hotel for a few years following Elspeth's departure. Charles Savage, the former lessee of the Criterion Hotel, held the license until it expired either in 1884 or 1885.³⁶ While Savage held the license, the inn was purchased by the owners of the Robe and Criterion hotels in 1882, who intended to allow the license to lapse and convert the Caledonian into a summer accommodation venue.³⁷ It was then sold to the Anglican Church in 1885,³⁸ apparently on the condition that it was not to be used as a public house or boarding house. Thereafter, the Church used the building as a rectory until it was sold in 1896 to Henriette Feuerherdt of Gowan and Eliza Hodge of Norwood,³⁹ the proceeds of the sale going towards the establishment of a rectory fund.⁴⁰

The Caledonian was then transferred solely to Hodge in 1898. Hodge may have used it as a summer residence for herself and guests, though the Church held an encumbrance on the title until 1917, suggesting it may have continued to use it for accommodation up to that time.⁴¹ In 1917, Emma Samwell bought the Caledonian and renamed it 'Upton'. For the 'next twenty years or so', Emma 'became the hospitable [hostess] to an interesting clientele from many parts of Australia'.⁴² After her departure, the inn had a quiet existence and changed hands several times until 1975. Owners during this period included Mr and Mrs Barrows, Scottish migrants who 'operated it as a guesthouse in the 1960s and set up a Scottish-themed dining room complete with tartan wallpaper'.⁴³

In 1975, the Caledonian Inn was acquired by Ken and Rhonda Whitehead. Ken and Rhonda restored the building throughout the year, and the Governor declared it an 'Historic Inn' on 20 December.⁴⁴ This designation was created by the *Licensing Act, 1967*, which was introduced by politician Don Dunstan in the late 1960s. The act overhauled South Australia's hotel and liquor licensing laws and came into effect in September 1967. Among its other provisions, including the abolition of early closure law and prohibitions against female ownership and patronage, it enabled the Governor to declare certain premises as 'Historic Inns'. Any hotel identified to be of 'national, special historic or architectural interest' and deserved to be 'preserved for the benefit of the public generally' could be deemed as such, which in turn made it easier for such venues to acquire and retain licenses.⁴⁵ The Caledonian Inn was the

first unlicensed place to be declared an 'Historic Inn' and it was officially reopened on 26 February 1976 by Don Dunstan, by now the Premier.⁴⁶

The Caledonian relaunched as a combined inn, restaurant and guest house. The restaurant comprised a dining room with seating for ninety and the guest house entailed accommodation for fourteen in six upstairs rooms. It was confirmed as a State Heritage Place in 1983. The venue has changed hands several times since then and has expanded to become a larger complex.

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.
1858	The Frankfort Hotel is renamed the Criterion Hotel. Peter McQueen acquires a license for his proposed Caledonian Inn.
1859	The Caledonian Inn (SHP 12368) opens on Victoria Street.
1861	The Bush Inn (SHP 10265) receives its hotel license.
1862	Renowned poet Adam Lindsay Gordon briefly resides at the Caledonian Inn.
1868	Peter McQueen dies. The Caledonian Inn, including its license, is transferred to Elspeth McQueen, Peter's wife.

- c.1881 Elspeth McQueen leaves Robe to become the publican for the Beachport Hotel.**
Charles Savage acquires the license to the Caledonian Inn.
- 1882 The owners of the Robe and Criterion hotels purchase the Caledonian Inn, who intend to allow the license to lapse and convert the place into a summer accommodation venue.**
- c.1885 The Caledonian Inn loses its hotel license and is acquired by the Anglican Church, which uses the property as a rectory.**
- 1893 There are 719 pubs operating throughout South Australia.
- c.1899 The Anglican Church sells the property to a Mrs Hodge of Adelaide who uses the Caledonian as holiday accommodation for herself and her family.**
- 1908 The Licensing Act of 1908 prohibits single women from acquiring new hotel licenses or becoming barmaids. Those already with a license or working as barmaids are excepted.
- 1909 The Former Criterion Hotel officially loses its liquor license.
- 1917 Emma Samwell purchases the Caledonian and leases rooms for holiday accommodation over the next two decades.**
- 1967 The *Licensing Act 1967*, assented on 28 September, allows for the proclamation of 'Historic Inns', which permits such venues to receive a new liquor license and exempts them from other provisions in the Act.
The Act also repeals the prohibitions placed on women by the Licensing Act of 1908 and repeals early pub closure laws in South Australia.
- 1975 After purchasing the Caledonian in 1974, Ken and Rhonda Whitehead restore the building and acquire a license after being legally declared an 'Historic Inn', the first of such in South Australia.**
- 1976 The Caledonian Inn reopens as a licensed venue after being proclaimed as an 'Historic Inn'. Premier Don Dunstan, who introduced *the Licensing Act 1967*, attends the reopening.**
- 1983 The Caledonian Inn is confirmed as a State Heritage Place on 1 September.**
- 1984 The Heritage Conservation Branch approves Development Application 822/0090/86PB to rebuild the 'Manager's flat' at the Criterion Hotel into function rooms.

- 2000 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/061/00 to paint the Caledonian Inn on the condition that unpainted stonework or masonry on the original building remains untouched.
- 2002 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/44/02 to undertake external repointing and stonework repairs on the condition that soft lime mortar is used.
- 2004 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/108/04 to construct additional building at the rear of the Caledonian Inn.
- 2013 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/63/13 to erect a balcony at the rear of the Caledonian Inn.
- 2020 Heritage SA approves Development Application 822/54/20 to erect additional structures in the yard and beer garden located at the rear of the Caledonian Inn.

References

Books and Chapters

- Bermingham, Kathleen. *Eleven Tales of Robe*. Robe: Robe Institute Centenary Appeal Committee, 1968.
- 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.
- Hutton, Geoffrey. *Adam Lindsay Gordon: The Man and the Myth*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978.
- Jennings, Paul. *The Local: A History of the English Pub*, third edition. 2007; Cheltenham: The History Press, 2021.
- MacGillivray, Leith 'Pastoralism' in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, eds. Wilfred Press, Kerrie Round and Carol Fort (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2001), pp.402-404.
- Monckton, Herbert Anthony. *A History of the English Public House*. London; Sydney; Toronto: The Bodley Head, 1969.
- 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.

Reports and Theses

Aeuckens, Annely. 'Historical Research' in 'Item Evaluation Sheet: Caledonian Inn, Victoria Street, Robe', State Heritage Branch, 1982, Ref. No. 6823-12368.

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.

Land Titles

Certificate of Title Vol.447/Folio 102.

Legislation

Licensing Act, 1967, No. 41 of 1967, Parliament of South Australia.

Websites

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<https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/wool>

Sumerling, Patricia. '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.>

SITE DETAILS

Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe

FORMER NAME/S:	Caledonian Hotel; Upton
DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	A rectangular Georgian style building constructed of random rubble featuring gable roofs, stone chimneys and casement windows.
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:	1858-1859
REGISTER STATUS:	Nominated 22 June 1982 Provisionally entered 07 April 1983 Confirmed 01 September 1983
CURRENT USE:	Licensed hotel, 1859 – c.1885; c.1975 -
PREVIOUS USE:	Anglican rectory, 1885 – 1891 Private holiday residence, 1891 – 1917 Accommodation only, 1917 – c.1975
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	District Council of Robe
LOCATION:	Street No.: 1 Street Name: Victoria Street Town/Suburb: Robe Post Code: 5276
LAND DESCRIPTION:	Title Reference: CT 5843/782 F105311 A12 Hundred: Waterhouse

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn

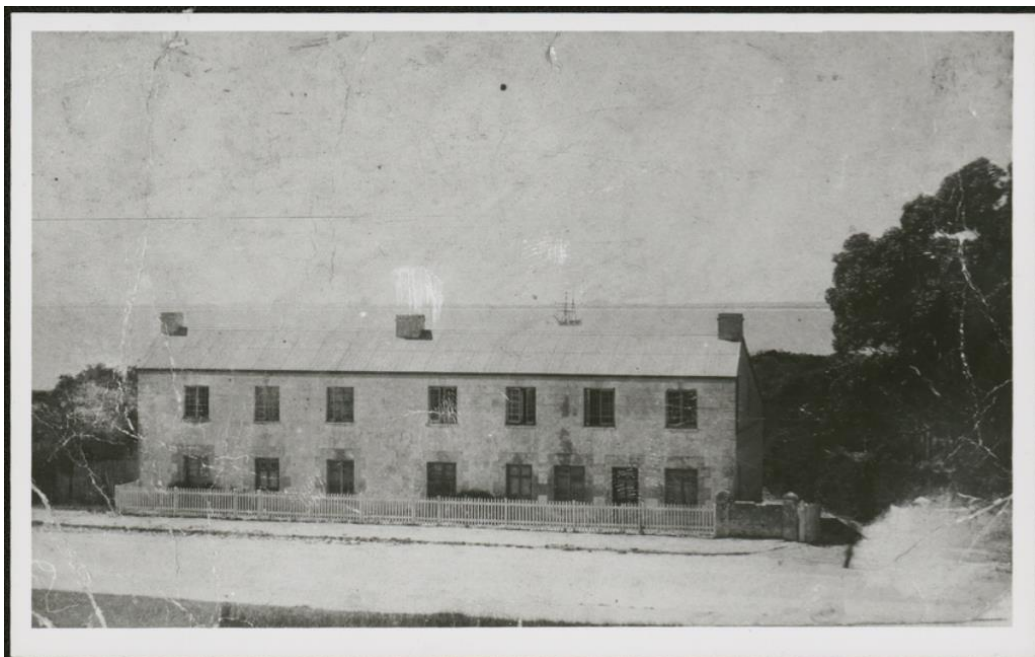
PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe



The Caledonian Inn (then Hotel) on Victoria Street, c.1890.

Source: SLSA, B 7778



The Caledonian Inn with Guichen Bay in the background, c.1899.

Source: SLSA, B 19127

BHI Summary of State Heritage Place: 10265

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Confirmed in the South Australian Heritage Register on 1 September 1983

The South Australian Heritage Council endorsed the content of this BHI - SSHP on 23 May 2024.

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe



The Caledonian Inn showing ivy and picket fence, c.1923.

Source: SLSA B 2225



The front of the Caledonian Inn, c.1938.

Source: SLSA, PRG 287/1/4/103

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe



The Caledonian Inn on Victoria Street, c.1982.

Source: DEW Files



The Caledonian Inn (then Hotel) showing eastern extension, c.1982.

Source: DEW Files

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe



Ivy coverage, c.1982.

Source: DEW Files



Western elevation, c.1982.

Source: DEW Files

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn
1 Victoria Street, Robe

PLACE NO.: 12368



Rear of the Caledonian Inn, c.1982.

Source: DEW Files



**One of the teakwood doors purportedly salvaged from the wreck of the *Koning Willem II*,
c.1982.**

Source: DEW Files

PHOTOS

Caledonian Inn

PLACE NO.: 12368

1 Victoria Street, Robe



The Caledonian Inn, 2023.

Source: Google Street View

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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 Kathleen Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East: A Story of Robetown and the Guichen Bay District* (Millicent: South Eastern Times Ltd, 1961), pp.233-235.
- ²⁶ Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, pp. 233-234; Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.216.
- ²⁷ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.216; Leith MacGillivray, 'Pastoralism' in *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, eds. Wilfred Press, Kerrie Round and Carol Fort (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 2001), pp.402-404; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p.33.
- ²⁸ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.70.
- ²⁹ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.216.
- ³⁰ Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.234.
- ³¹ Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.234.
- ³² Kathleen Bermingham, *Eleven Tales of Robe* (Robe: Robe Institute Centenary Appeal Committee, 1968), p.21.
- ³³ See Geoffrey Hutton, *Adam Lindsay Gordon: The Man and the Myth* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978), pp.33-93; quotation from p.91.
- ³⁴ Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p.234; Hutton, *Adam Lindsay Gordon*, pp.91-92.
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Confirmed in the South Australian Heritage Register on 1 September 1983
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- ³⁵ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.66.
- ³⁶ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.216.
- ³⁷ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.216.
- ³⁸ Certificate of Title Vol.447/Folio 102, transfer no. 195595.
- ³⁹ Certificate of Title Vol.447/Folio 102, transfer no. 332199.
- ⁴⁰ Bermingham, *Eleven Tales of Robe*, p.21; St Peter's Church, *100 Years of Progress, Centenary Souvenir* (Robe: self-published, 1958).
- ⁴¹ Certificate of Title Vol.447/Folio 102, encumbrance no. 332200; discharge of encumbrance no. 332200.
- ⁴² Bermingham, *Eleven Tales of Robe*, p.91.
- ⁴³ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.217.
- ⁴⁴ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.217.
- ⁴⁵ *Licensing Act, 1967*, No. 41 of 1967, Parliament of South Australia.
- ⁴⁶ Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p.217.