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*.

NAME:	Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site	**PLACE NO.:** 12547
KNOWN AS:	Royal Circus and Seawall, including remains of slipway and Chinese Memorial	
ADDRESS:	Bunganditj Country	
	Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276	
	Royal Circus Road Reserve; CR/6157/820 H441800 S528; CR 5753/660 D33446 A3; CR 5654/311 H441800 S648 Hundred of Waterhouse	

CONFIRMED IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE REGISTER:

8 November 1984

STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

The Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site at Robe demonstrates the early development of regional ports and townships in South Australia and the role such places played in supporting the expansion of government administration in the mid-nineteenth century and growth of primary industry, transport and migration. The site also has particularly strong associations for the Chinese-Australian community. Over 16,000 Chinese migrants arrived at or near the Royal Circus before walking to the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s. A Chinese Memorial, built in the 1980s, commemorates the arrival and enduring association Chinese-Australians have with Robe.

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 Royal Circus is associated with the establishment and operation of Robe as one of the earliest major seaports in South Australia. It is also the site from which the township was first surveyed by Thomas Barr in 1846. The Royal Circus was created as a roundabout to assist with the transportation of goods by providing bullock wagons with an easy way to manoeuvre to and from the port. Due to its proximity to the port, the Royal Circus became the administrative and business centre of the town with a customs house and warehousing built close by. These facilities drew thousands of seafarers and migrants to the Royal Circus on disembarkation, including migrants from Britain, Ireland, and over 16,000 people from China in the late 1850s alone.

The Royal Circus is where these Chinese migrants began arriving at Robe in 1856 to commence their long overland journey to the Victorian goldfields, which continued until restrictive measures were introduced to curb their arrival in 1857. While there are no traces of their presence at the site in the form of built structures, a Chinese Memorial to commemorate their arrival was erected at The Royal Circus, probably in the early 1980s. Along with 'Chinamans Well' at Coorong National Park (SHP 10253), the Chinese Memorial is one of only two State Heritage Places explicitly related to this history.

This recognition has taken place following the advent of multicultural policies in the 1970s. Until then, the arrival of Chinese migrants at Robe had been typically conveyed as an 'invasion'. At least since the Chinese Memorial was erected in the 1980s, their arrival has been celebrated as an important moment in the history of the Chinese diaspora and can serve as a reminder of Australia's historic attitudes and policies towards race.

In addition to the roundabout and Chinese Memorial, the Seawall and Slipway built in the 1880s derived from the earlier decision to alter the sand dunes that acted as a natural barrier between the sea and land. The Government built the Seawall in 1882 to prevent flooding. The Slipway was built around the same time as the seawall as it prevented boats from being dragged across the shore. Both the Seawall and the Slipway thus not only represent Robe as a seaside town but also convey the environmental impacts of its heyday as a seaport as well as the transfer of power from the Colonial Government to the District Council.

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(f) it has strong cultural or spiritual associations for the community or a group within it

The Royal Circus is a historically important site in the history of the Chinese diaspora and is significant to Chinese-Australians. It marks the place where around 16,000 Chinese migrants arrived in South Australia and then commenced their overland journey to the Victorian goldfields in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Chinese Memorial features two plaques that describe what they commemorate and why they have been erected (see Physical Description). As indicated by these plaques, there is local, State, and even international recognition of the importance of the site. Re-enactments of their journey from Robe to the Victorian goldfields have been supported by the Chinese-Australian communities of South Australia and Victoria, as represented by the involvement of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce South Australia in 2007, the Chinese Australian Cultural Society Ballarat Inc. in 2014, and the Chinese Community Council of Australia in 2017.

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SITE PLAN

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

Royal Circus and Sea Wall Historic Site, Robe SA, Royal Circus Road Reserve; CR 6157/820; CR 5753/660; CR 5654/311; Hundred of Waterhouse.

N ↑

LEGEND

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

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SITE PLAN

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Elements of significance at Royal Circus and Sea Wall Historic Site. Diagram is based on John Dallwitz's sketch from 1980 (see page 17).

N ↑

LEGEND

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

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Physical Description

The 'Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site' is a group of built structures and sites, comprising:

- a circular feature at the juncture of Mundy Terrace, Lipson Terrace and Cooper Street, Robe;
- the Chinese memorial;
- the remains of the original slipway; and,
- the remains of the seawall constructed in 1882.

The Royal Circus is a circular feature that includes a grass mound at its centre and is encircled by roads. A platform made of stone blocks and pavers (not original), is located in the middle of the mound and features a flagpole, monument to seafarers, cannon, and tourist binoculars. Two sets of stone stairs, one to the north and one to the south-west, provide access to the platform, while to the south-west there is a brick crossing to the Former Customs House (SHP 10261).

The Chinese Monument is located across the road and to the northwest of the Royal Circus and is set within a lawn area on the foreshore. It comprises a standing stone mounted on a concrete plinth and features two plaques. The first plaque, was made as a replacement to an earlier one by the local Chambers of Commerce in 1986, and reads:

> DURING THE YEARS 1856-1858 16500 CHINESE LANDED NEAR THIS SPOT AND WALKED 200 MILES TO THE VICTORIAN GOLDFIELDS IN SEARCH OF GOLD. RE-ENACTED FOR THE STATE'S JUBILEE 150TH CELEBRATION IN 1986. ERECTED BY THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

The second plaque was added in 1996 and features the above text translated in Mandarin, and the following description:

> THE CHINESE TRANSLATION WAS UNVEILED ON 9TH JUNE 1996 BY MR. LIANG JIANMING CONSUL GENERAL, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, IN MELBOURNE, AS PART OF ROBE'S SESQUINTENARY YEAR CELEBRATIONS.

The old Slipway is located slightly further to the northwest past the Welcome Gate. The Slipway is now a skeletal structure consisting of wooden sleepers, concrete, and some rusted iron railing.

The Seawall is located along the beachfront, beginning near the Slipway and ending to the east of the Royal Circus. It is a drystone wall, constructed from limestone and reaches a height of about three metres. It is in two segments, one comprising cut stones to the west and the other comprising rubble stone to the east.

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Elements of Significance:

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

- Circular layout of the Royal Circus,
- Mound at the centre of the Royal Circus,
- Limestone blocks comprising the remains of the seawall,
- Wooden sleepers and iron railing comprising the remains of the original slipway,
- The Chinese memorial.

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

- Built structures like the stone platform at the centre of the Royal Circus and the steps leading to it, footpaths, seats, water fountains
- The flagpole,
- Asphalt road and line markings,
- Brick road crossing,
- Surrounding vegetation.

History of the Place

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 larger area for at least 30,000 years.[1] 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.[2]

European exploration of the South East took place from 1839 and settlement began as early as 1840.[3] 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.[4] It was officially declared as a port by the Government in 1847.[5]

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,[6] and was established as the administrative centre of the region when a Government Resident was appointed in 1846.[7] 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.[8]

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The Royal Circus, or the 'Royal Roundabout of the Teamsters'

In 1846, Thomas Burr, the Deputy Surveyor General of South Australia, along with three men from the Royal Sappers and Miners under his direction, surveyed the township from the area that would soon become the Royal Circus.[9] The site itself was designed as a junction that connected Lipson Terrace to the west and Mundy Terrace to the north. The latter faced the coastline and linked with the main roads that led in and out of the town.[10]

As suggested by its name and layout, the Royal Circus likely drew from the urban roundabout concept popularised in London in the early nineteenth century. While major roundabouts had been built in England during the eighteenth century, most notably the Circus in Bath, Somerset, it was John Nash's designs for Regent Circus North and Regent Circus South - later known as Oxford Circus and Piccadilly Circus - that reconceptualised them as utilitarian and civic centres. Nash designed both to ease traffic congestion and to serve as commercial hubs, particularly for shopping. He believed the latter would, in turn, increase the value of the land.[11]

In the case of Robe, the Royal Circus served as a transportation hub and civic centre.[12] The junction was developed as a roundabout to facilitate the heavy traffic of bullock-drays that would carry wool and other goods between the pastoral properties throughout the entire South East and the ships docked in Guichen Bay.[13]

Accordingly, many of the utilities associated with the operations of a port were situated at or near the Royal Circus, including, 'customs facilities, bond stores, and Omerod's warehouse', the latter owned by George Omerod, a key business figure at Robe.[14] The first three jetties were also all situated nearby, and land was reserved for a post office and a customs house, built respectively in 1858 and 1863. When built, the post office included a telegraph station. A flagstaff was erected in 1855 and remained in place until it was removed following the Second World War.[15] The Royal Circus quickly went on to be a hive of activity and the heart of Robe's portside happenings. Accordingly, locals came to refer to it colloquially as the 'Royal Roundabout of the Teamsters'[16]

The Royal Circus continues to be the administrative centre of Robe, incorporating the town and surrounding district. The District Council of Robe's chambers are located towards the south of the Royal Circus, and the Former Customs House (SHP 10261) is situated to its west, which has been repurposed to serve as a maritime museum. The site also features several artefacts and memorials. These memorials do not necessarily derive from the periods they commemorate, but draw attention to the importance of seafarers, fishers, and Chinese migrants – figures who would have been part of the Royal Circus' once vibrant atmosphere at the port.

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Chinese Immigration

In addition to facilitating the logistical operations associated with shipping, the Royal Circus is also where many thousands of seafarers and migrants arrived. Over the course of the 1850s and 1860s, migrants arrived from across the world. Being a British colony, many of these migrants came from England, Scotland, and Ireland, however, Robe was also a popular port for Chinese migrants arriving to find their fortune on Victoria's goldfields.[17]

In 1855 in a bid to reduce the number of Chinese prospectors arriving on the gold fields, the Victorian government implemented a £10 poll tax on each Chinese person entering its colony. To avoid the tax, thousands of Chinese migrants, predominantly men, began landing at Robe, then one of the closest ports to Victoria, to walk the hundreds of kilometres to Bendigo or Ballarat.[18]

At first, Chinese migrants began arriving at Adelaide after departing from Hong Kong on British or European vessels, however, in early 1857, vessels began travelling directly to Robe.[19] It was reported that 10,154 Chinese migrants had arrived at Robe from Hong Kong between 17 January and 3 May 1857 alone.[20]

While Robe was primarily a stopover on their journey to the Victorian goldfields, there was still a Chinese presence in the town that provided both an economic boost, while also arousing animosity. Temporary camps were initially set up around the foreshore, before being relocated to the rear of town, ostensibly due to emerging concerns about sanitary conditions.[21] The influx of Chinese migrants is estimated as contributing about £16,000 pounds into the local economy, attracting more settlers to the town and stimulating the construction of new buildings, as well as the renovation of older ones.[22]

Even so, the mass arrival aroused discontent and racial animosity not only in Robe, but also South Australia more broadly and in Victoria, their destination. Many white colonists in both colonies viewed the arrival of the Chinese migrants as an 'invasion'.[23] These critics asserted that the Chinese were 'uncivilised' and that their behaviour was inconsistent with British values. They ultimately believed that a large Chinese presence threatened the social progress of their relatively young colonies. A letter to the editor of the *South Australian Register* authored by a pseudonymous 'Australian' captures such thinking:

> We left the home of our fathers to found in this distant part of the world a nation which should put to the blush in its institutions and society that of our own native land. But our hopes will be frustrated, our anticipations blasted, and our love for our adopted land quenched, unless an effectual stop is put to the introduction of an element which promises soon to disorganize [sic] society by introducing the

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> manners, customs, and vicious institutions of the most depraved nation on the face
>
> of the earth.[24]

In addition to its open hostility towards the Chinese, Victoria was also aggrieved with South Australia for allowing these migrants to circumvent its poll tax, so much so it accused the Colony of being a poor neighbour.[25]

In 1857, the Governor deployed police officers and dispatched infantry from the 12th Regiment to Robe.[26] Despite the Chinese being generally peaceful, there were minor incidents related to collecting duties on opium.[27] There were also concerns about civil unrest in China and potential issues stemming from the onset of the Second Opium War between China and Britain.[28] Regardless, the police and military presence appears more to have been an attempt to quell local anxieties.

The most drastic measure taken was to curb Chinese arrivals altogether. The South Australian Government eventually acquiesced to local and intercolonial pressure and instated a poll tax of its own.[29] Passed in June 1857, the Act authorised a £10 poll tax and effectively ended the largescale migration of Chinese people to South Australia.[30] By this time, some 16,000 Chinese immigrants had arrived at Robe in less than two years.[31] The Act was repealed in 1862 and Chinese immigration recommenced, but nowhere near the level it had been in the late 1850s.[32]

Over a century later, the arrival and overland journey of the Chinese migrants was re-enacted to celebrate South Australia's 150-year jubilee. The Chambers of Commerce attached a plaque to the Chinese memorial to commemorate the Chinese landings between 1856 and 1858. The memorial itself appears to have been created several years prior, though it is not clear when. Subsequent re-enactments have taken place since.

Protecting Robe from the Sea

Beginning in the early 1870s, Robe's heyday as a major intercolonial and international port began to decline. By 1891, its population had reduced from 600 residents in the late 1860s and early 1870s to 170. [33] While due to many factors, the rise of competition from other port towns, such as Kingston, and the emergence of railways in the region are notable.

The town's administration was transferred from the Colonial Government to the District Council of Robe in October 1869. This decision created the potential for tensions to develop between the Colonial Government and the District Council. One such instance occurred when the District Council proposed levelling part of the sand dunes between the foreshore and the township so that an esplanade could be built,[34] although a local later asserted that the real reason was to prevent loose sand from 'smothering' the town.[35] Whatever the motivation, the Council understood that the dunes protected the town from flooding and thus petitioned the Colonial

Government for £500 to fund the construction of a seawall.[36] Parliament debated the matter throughout 1874 and 1875,[37] but eventually rejected the pitch based on the Engineering Department's advice that altering the dunes would expose Robe to flooding.[38] Unperturbed, the locals went on to level the dunes anyway.[39]

It is likely, too, that the intensive portside activity along the foreshore parallel to the Royal Circus and Mundy Terrace had already taken its toll on the natural environment, at least to some extent.[40] By the mid-1870s, the sandy 'hummocks' and vegetation separating the sea and the town had been trampled by 'traffic' over the course of almost thirty years.[41] Between this damage and their eventual levelling, the alteration of the dunes had been so profound that a seawall of some kind was required. Aware of this, the locals erected a makeshift seawall themselves.[42]

In 1881, locals again lobbied the Government for a more substantial seawall, insisting that Robe risked being flooded, as they had argued previously.[43] Although locals had been complicit in destroying the dunes, the Government was again initially reluctant to allocate funds to protect the town. Its hesitancy reflects the diminished importance and status of Robe, given that it was once home to one of South Australia's most vibrant ports, along with being the administrative centre of the South East. Nonetheless, the request was eventually heeded as construction of the new seawall was completed in September 1882.[44]

The new seawall prevented boats from being dragged over the shore for loading, repairs, or mooring in Lake Butler. A slipway consisting of wooden sleepers, iron rails, and a winch was built towards the north-west of the Royal Circus near the jetty to resolve this issue, likely around the same time.[45] As the international trade was virtually over by the time the slipway was built, the vessels using the slipway would have been owned mostly by locals and fishermen. [46]

 In the years since, the seawall has been damaged and repaired several times.[47] The Government transferred responsibility for its upkeep to the District Council in 1896.[48] At some point, the original slipway fell into disrepair and was left as ruins. New slipways were subsequently built, including one at the mariner in Lake Butler.[49]

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; Capitan Villiers Butler is appointed as the first Government Resident.
	The township of Robe is surveyed from what becomes the Royal Circus.

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1847	Robe is officially gazetted as a port by the Government.
1856	**Large numbers of Chinese migrants begin arriving in Robe in order to travel overland to the Victorian goldfields.**
1857	Additional police officers and troops from the 12th Regiment are deployed by the Government to Robe in response to the Chinese arrivals.
	Three ships that carried Chinese migrants are wrecked in Guichen Bay: The *Phaeton*, *Sultana*, and *Koning Willem II*. No passenger lives are lost, but sixteen crewmembers of the *Koning Willem II* die during the wrecking.
	The Chinese Immigration Act was introduced later in the year, effectively ending largescale Chinese immigration. Around 16,000 Chinese migrants had arrived by this time.
1861	Guns are fired from the Royal Circus on 3 December to call the lifeboat crew to action. This instance appears to have been a drill. Two ships, the *Alma* and the *Livingstone*, were wrecked just weeks later on 15 and 18 December. The lifeboat crew, under the direction of coxswain Fergus Fullarton, assists in the rescue to those aboard the *Livingstone*.
1863	Customs House is built to the west of the Royal Circus.
1869	**The District Council of Robe is established. Local administration is transferred from the Colonial Government to the Council.**
1874 - 1875	**Locals petition the Government to build a seawall either so they can build an esplanade along Mundy Terrace or prevent sand displacement. Doing so would involve levelling the sand dunes. The Government rejects the petition on the grounds that removing the dunes will result in flooding. The District Council levels the dunes and a makeshift seawall is eventually built by the locals themselves.**
1881	The makeshift seawall is damaged and 'repairs' are required. Locals petition the Government for a more substantial seawall.
1882	**The current Seawall is constructed. The Slipway is likely constructed soon after.**
1896	**Government transfers 'care, control, and management' of the seawall to the District Council of Robe.**
1906	Part of the seawall is 'washed away' during a storm. Repair costs are estimated at £1,200. The Premier instructs work to commence immediately.
1923 - 1924	Seawall is again damaged by bad weather in 1923. Repairs begin in 1924 and the seawall is lengthened.
1941	A new slipway is built to the west of the old slipway.

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1950	Another slipway is built giving fishers direct access to Lake Butler.
1984	**Listed as a State Heritage Place on 8 November.**
1986	A re-enactment of the Chinese landings is conducted to celebrate South Australia's 150-year jubilee**. The Chambers of Commerce attach a plaque to the Chinese memorial to commemorate the Chinese landings between 1856 and 1858.** The memorial itself appears to have been created several years prior, though it is not clear when.
1996	**A plaque featuring a Chinese translation of the 1986 plaque is added to the Chinese memorial.**
2017	An additional Chinese monument called the 'Welcome Gate' is created on the shore in front of the Royal Circus (DA/71/16 V). The Welcome Gate is raised by 900mmm (DA 822/71/16 V2) and relocated along the beach to align with the Chinese Monument (DA 822/51/17).
2018	A rock wall is built on the shore front to the east of the historic seawall.

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SITE DETAILS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

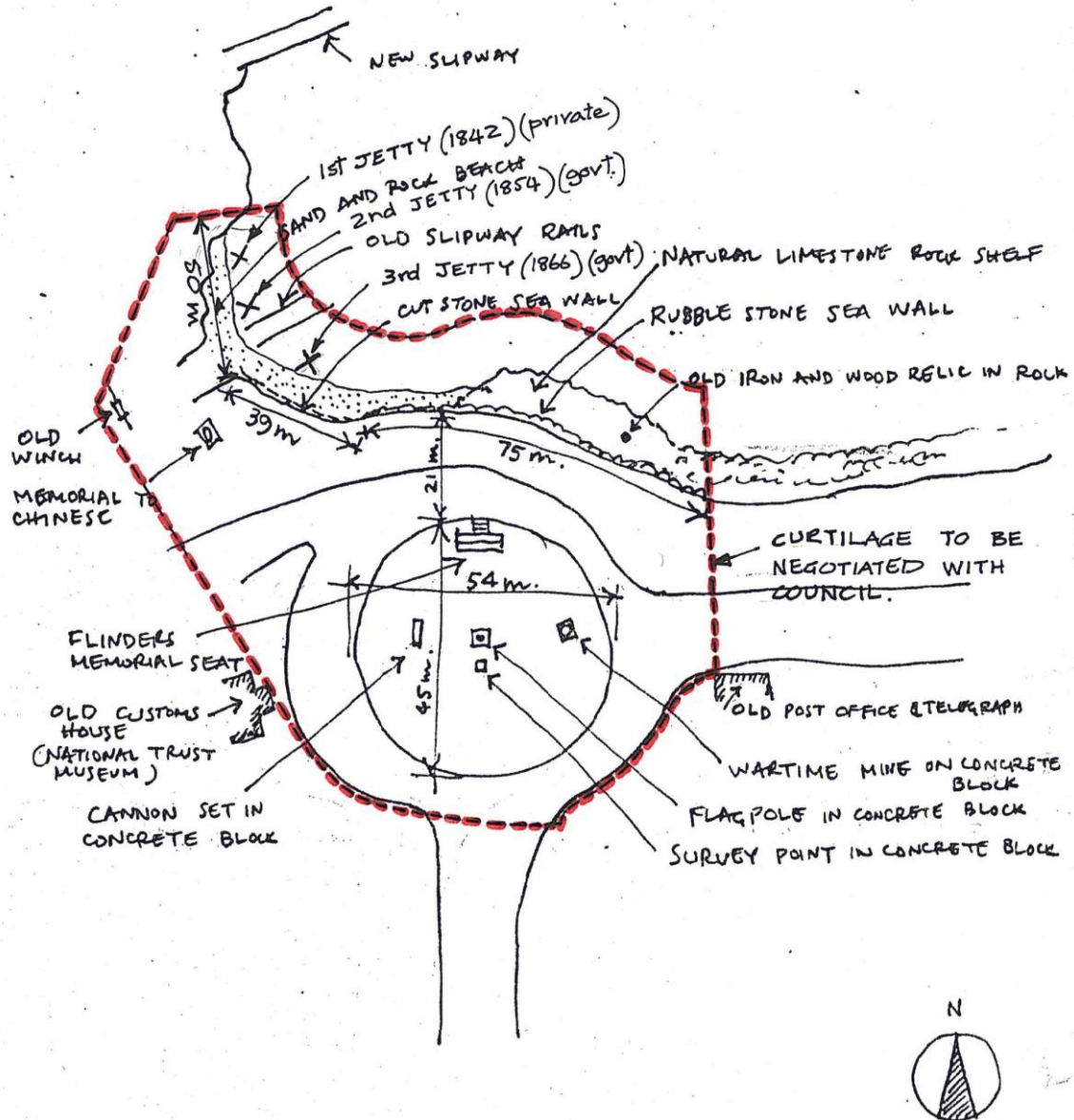**Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276**

DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	Comprises a roundabout featuring a grass mound surrounded by roads; the remains of a stone seawall; the ruins of a wooden and iron slipway; and a stone memorial featuring commemorative plaques to Chinese migrants (built in the 1980s).
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:	Seawall 1882 Chinese Monument c.1983
REGISTER STATUS:	Confirmed 8 November 1984
CURRENT USE:	Royal Circus, roundabout and civic centre 1846 – Seawall 1882 – Memorial c.1983
PREVIOUS USE:	Slipway c.1882 – unknown
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	District Council of Robe

LOCATION:

Street No.:	N.A.
Street Name:	Royal Circus
Town/Suburb:	Robe
Post Code:	5276

LAND DESCRIPTION:

Title Reference:	Royal Circus Road Reserve; CR/6157/820 H441800 S528; CR 5753/660 D33446 A3; CR 5654/311 H441800 S648
Hundred:	Waterhouse

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PHOTOS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

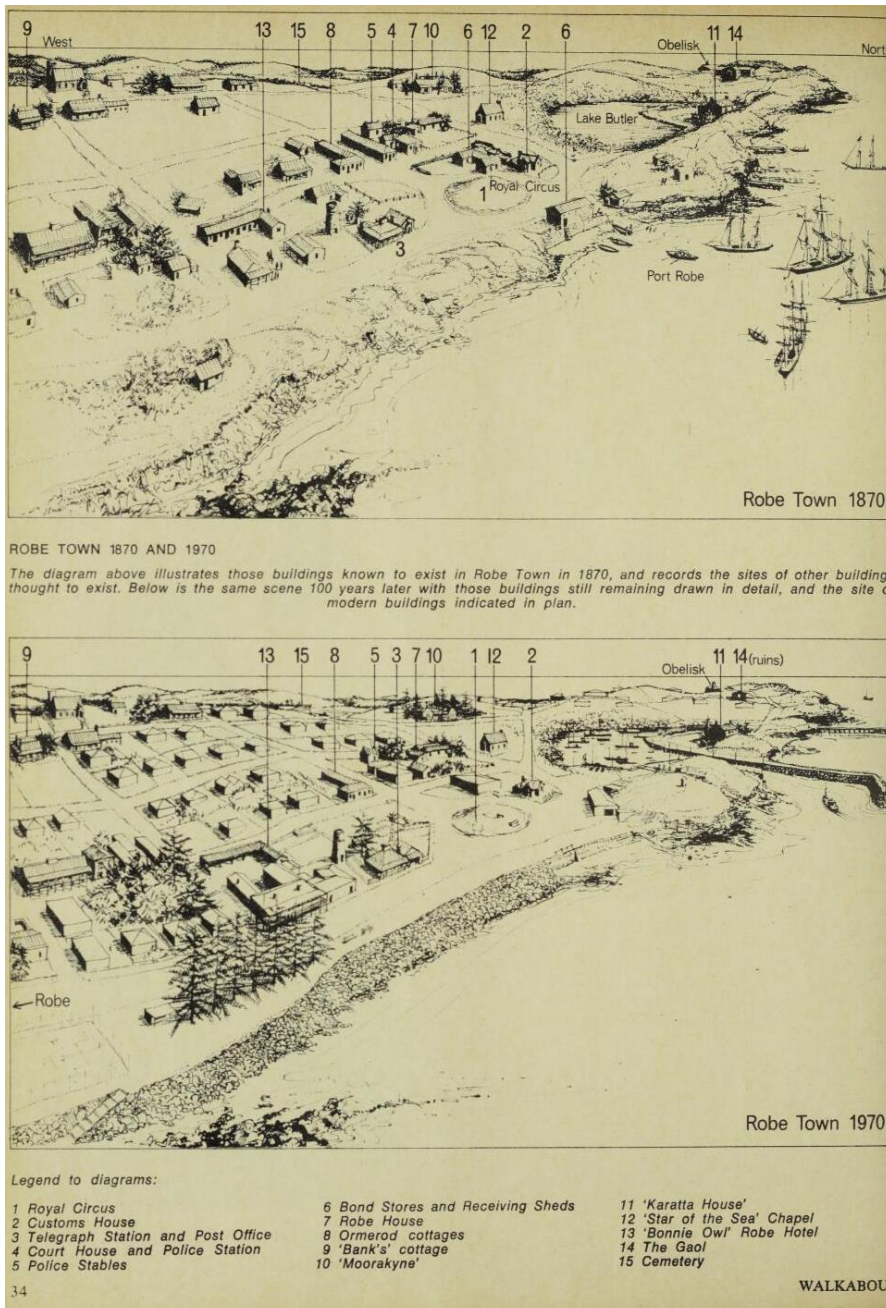**Sketch of the Royal Circus by John Dallwitz showing its key features and proximity to the historic jetties, 1980.**

Source: DEW Files

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PHOTOS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

Sketch of how the historic township changed between 1870 and 1970. The Royal Circus is located towards the centre and is marked as 1 in both diagrams.

Source: Robert Ingpen, 'Robe – A Picture of the Past', *Walkabout* 37: 1 (1971): 34.

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PHOTOS

Aerial view of Robe from the East, 1938. The Royal Circus can be seen towards the centre and the image captures its proximity to the third jetty built at Robe, since demolished.

Source: SLSA, B 7522

View of the platform atop the grassy mound at the centre of the Royal Circus, c. 2011. Neither the platform nor the items on it are considered to contribute to the elements of significance of the place.

Source: DEW Files

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PHOTOS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

The Seawall in front of the Royal Circus, c.1983.

Source: DEW Files

Closer view of a portion of the Seawall in front of the Royal Circus, c. 2011. Given the various repairs made over the years, the Seawall likely consists of original and non-original stones.

Source: DEW Files

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PHOTOS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

The remains of the original slipway, c.1983

Source: DEW Files

Side view of the original slipway and Seawall, c.2011. The Royal Circus and Former Customs House (SHP 10261) are visible in the background.

Source: DEW Files

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PHOTOS

Royal Circus and Seawall Historic Site   **PLACE NO.: 12547**

Royal Circus, Robe SA 5276

The Chinese Monument, c.1983, demonstrating that the Monument was created before 1986. The plaque in this image was later replaced by a new one in 1986.

Source: DEW Files

The Chinese Monument with Guichen Bay in the background, May 2015. Note the two plaques, the first (top) erected in 1986 and the second (bottom) in 1996.

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[1] Liz Harfull, *Almost an Island: The Story of Robe*, reprinted edition (2013; Mile End: Wakefield press, 2015), pp. 12-14; Susan Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days* (Robe: District Council of Robe, 1985), pp. 11-12.

[2] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, 11; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p. 12.

[3] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, 14-16; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* p. 14.

[4] Roger André, 'Wool', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, 19 March 2014. https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/wool. Accessed 9 June 2023; 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.

[5] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 4-10.

[6] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 4-10.

[7] Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* pp. 21-24.

[8] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 10-16.

[9] Kathleen Bermingham, *The Second Eleven Tales of Robe* (Robe: Self-published, 1971), p. 6.

[10] Bermingham, *Second Eleven Tales*, 6; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* p. 18.

[11] 'Oxford Circus' in *The Survey of London*, *Volume 53*, ed. Andrew Saint, draft (London: Bartlett School of Architecture, c. 2020), p. 1.

[12] Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* 19; Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, 8.

[13] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, 36; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* p. 19.

[14] Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* 19-20; Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 7-8.

[15] Kathleen Patitsas and Carol Wigg, Register of State Heritage Items, Survey Sheet: Royal Circus and Seawall, Robe, Ref. No. 6823-12547, c. 1983.

[16] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 36.

[17] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, p. 15.

[18] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 15-16; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* pp. 33-34; Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, 107-111; Harfull, *Almost an Island*, pp. 59-63.

[19] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 60.

[20] "Miscellaneous; Chinese Immigration", *South Australian Register*, 16 July 1857, p. 4.

[21] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 15-16.

[22] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, pp. 15-16; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* pp. 33-34.

[23] For example, see 'Chinese Invasion', *Adelaide Times*, 5 June 1857, p. 2, and 'The Chinese Invasion [letter to the editor]', *Adelaide Observer*, 28 June 1856, p. 5.

[24] 'Chinese Immigration [letter to the editor]', *South Australian Register*, 14 May 1857, p. 3.

[25] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 109.

[26] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 112; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p. 34.

[27] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 109.

[28] See 'Parliament Proceeding: The Chinese', *Adelaide Times*, 3 June 1857, p. 2, and 'The War in China', *South Australian Register*, 18 March 1857, p. 2.

[29] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 109; Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 63; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, p. 34.

[30] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, 109; Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 63.

[31] Dallwitz and Marsden, *Robe Historical Interpretation*, 15; Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days*, 33. Liz Harful provides a lower estimate of 15,000. Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 59.

[32] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 63.

[33] Harfull, *Almost an Island*, p. 42.

[34] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 28.

[35] John Grice, 'Robe [letter to the editor', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 31 October 1881, p. 6.

[36] 'House of Assembly', *Adelaide Observer*, 8 August 1874, p. 11.

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[37] 'Sea-wall at Robe', p. 1; 'Proceedings in Parliament', *South Australian Register*, 17 September 1874, p. 4; 'House of Assembly', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 16 May 1875, p. 3; 'House of Assembly', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 23 September 1874, p. 2.

[38] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 28.

[39] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 28.

[40] 'Repairs to the Sea-Wall at Robe', *Narracoorte Herald*, 11 October 1881, 3.

[41] 'Repairs to Sea-Wall at Robe', *Narracoorte Herald*, 11 October 1881, p. 3; 'Sea-wall at Robe', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 19 September 1871, p. 1; 'Meeting at Robe', *Adelaide Observer*, 4 July 1874, p. 6.

[42] Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, p. 28.

[43] 'The Robe Sea Wall', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 19 October 1881, p. 2.

[44] 'Robe', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 6 September 1882, p. 3.

[45] It is unknown when the slipway was actually built. The District Council of Robe's *Lake Butler Marina Review* advises that 'Lake Butler was a safe haven for boats with the original slipway bringing boats over the dunes and into the lake during the off season'. Innovation Enterprises Pty. Ltd., *Lake Butler Marina Review* (Robe: District Council of Robe, 2021), p. 1. Also see Patitsas and Wigg, Royal Circus and Seawall, Robe, Ref. No. 6823-12547. See also A. H. Barrowman, *Souvenir of Historic Robe*, reprinted edition (1979; Millicent: self-published, 1980), p. 2.

[46] Marsden, *A Glimpse of Golden Days,* 47; Wilf Sprengel, *The Ecstasy and Agony of Guichen Bay* (Robe: Self-published, 1986), pp. 32-33.

[47] For example, see 'Robe Seawall', *Observer* (Adelaide), 14 July 1906, p. 44; 'Robe', *South Eastern Times*, 17 September 1909, p. 2; 'Repairing Robe Seawall', *Register* (Adelaide), 12 November 1924, p. 13; and 'Repairs to Robe Seawall', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 16 May 1953, p. 6.

[48] 'Government Gazette', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 8 February 1896, p. 4.

[49] There is another ruinous slipway to the west of the old slipway. This is likely the slipway that was built in 1941. See 'Robe', *South Eastern Times* (Millicent), 1 April 1941, p. 4. Another slipway for fishermen to access Lake Butler was completed by September 1950. See 'Fisherman's Co-operative', *South Eastern Times* (Millicent), 5 September 1950, p. 2.

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