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Historical Consultants Pty Ltd and Hames Sharley Australia

Survey of the Heritage of Eight Lower North Towns

Angaston; Auburn; Burra; Clare; Kapunda; Port Wakefield; Saddleworth; Tanunda

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THE SURVEY of the Heritage of Eight Lower North Towns in South Australia was jointly undertaken by Historical Consultants Pty Ltd and Hames Sharley Australia. The grant for the survey was allocated as part of the State Heritage Fund for 1989/90 and was administered by the State Heritage Branch of the South Australian Department of Environment and Planning.

The survey team comprised Rob Linn, Jane Linn and Chris Lane of Historical Consultants Pty Ltd and John Gratton and Alistair Tutte of Hames Sharley Australia. The survey began in July 1989 and was completed by August 1990.

For heritage conservation purposes, the State of South Australia is divided into fourteen regions and a programme is under way for the systematic coverage of these regions by heritage surveys. In 1981–3 the first such survey was conducted in Region 8, the Lower North (see the report: J. Dallwitz and S. Marsden, *Heritage of the Lower North*, Department of Environment and Planning, 1983).

Because of budgetary constraints, ten towns known to be rich in heritage resources were omitted from the regional survey. Two of these, Gawler and Morgan, have been subsequently covered by smaller-scale surveys. To complete the coverage of the Lower North region heritage surveys were undertaken by the consultants in Angaston, Auburn, Burra, Clare, Kapunda, Port Wakefield, Saddleworth and Tanunda.

The survey was constructed to provide an authoritative description and evaluation of the heritage resources of the eight towns for the purposes of conservation, planning and assessment.

The general objectives for the survey were:

(a) to make recommendations for the inclusion of places on the Register of State Heritage Items and for the declaration of State Heritage Areas,

(b) to identify areas which could be declared Historic (Conservation) Zones, or otherwise incorporated into local government planning,

(c) to provide an inventory of heritage places to assist in the assessment of the environmental impacts of development proposals.

These objectives were approached through the use of the criteria for the inclusion of places on the South Australian Register of State Heritage Items. These relate to land, buildings or structures which are:

(a) important to the understanding of the evolution and pattern of South Australia's environmental, social or cultural heritage;

(b) examples of rare, endangered or unusual aspects of South Australia's environmental, social or cultural heritage;

(c) important representatives of the range of South Australia's environmental, social or cultural heritage;

(d) associated with the activities of persons or organisations significant in South Australia's past;

(e) important natural or cultural landscapes;

(f) possessed of aesthetic values or demonstrate outstanding creative and/or technical accomplishment;

(g) likely to yield important information contributing to the understanding of South Australia's environmental, social or cultural heritage.

In order that the objectives be fulfilled and the criteria exercised, the consultants planned out a programme for surveying the eight towns. This programme ran in a series of stages of research and identification of sites and buildings. The first stage began in general research and with setting up local contacts. The second was a house by house, street by street assessment of each town. At this time local peculiarities of design and construction were noted and buildings and sites previously unrecorded, yet of obvious merit, were listed for further investigation. This particular stage took some six months to complete. The third stage included contacting owners and occupiers of buildings and sites that were likely to be recommended as State Heritage Items. (Owners and occupiers received letters, were telephoned and had personal calls.) It was mostly at this point in the Survey that the consultants struck determined opposition, and a small amount of misinformation, in regard to the Survey itself—in some cases from the local press, at others from individuals, corporate bodies and organisations. These matters were handled carefully and in consultation with the State Heritage Branch. Probable items for the Register of State Heritage Items were then visited for internal photographs and further exterior photographs if the owners agreed. Out of the 102 property owners contacted, sixteen either refused access to properties or were unable to make access available. A number of others chose to write to the consultants or telephone in regard to the survey. Usually those who contacted the consultants were not against the aims of the Survey. Most displeasure with the idea of heritage came when the consultants had to contact other owners who had not replied to the letter of contact.

The natural environment,too, with relevance to cultural landscapes and engineering and civic works, to name but two examples, were fully considered.

All these matters were discussed with local, interested parties—historical societies, tourist associations, National Trust branches, Local Government, and other consultants working in the region. At times the local press and the Adelaide press and media gave the Survey good coverage which helped in local communications. In fact, the consultants handled a good deal of public relations within the scope of the Survey and found it necessary to do so well beyond the scope of the brief in order to fulfil other requirements of the Survey.

Essential to the study of the towns was the realisation that each of them had its own history. While it is true to say that these individual town histories were to a large degree generated by outside forces—regional, State, national and international economies; political life; social and cultural trends on a broad scale—there are most definitely local peculiarities that cannot be overlooked. These parochial manifestations are made from a collection of particular things: individual personalities; local building skills; local economy; local government; local industry; local society etc. They give a town its social and architectural colour—its heritage. Some parts of this heritage are of State importance, others not, but in total they form the pattern of the town's character. Neither facet can be disregarded in any Survey.

From the first, it was recognised that the town of Burra was unique. While the other seven towns had many buildings or sites of outstanding character, the entire town of Burra was of exceptional importance. The first stage of survey revealed that another possible 29 items could be recommended for the Register of State Heritage Items at Burra. After consultation with the State Heritage Branch it was agreed that rather than singling out these buildings, a case be put for the town of Burra to be recommended as a State Heritage Area. Item identification data will not therefore be included for Burra's individual buildings.

In other towns, recommendations for State Heritage Areas or Historic (Conservation) Zones will be made in a section following the individual item identification sheets.

Each of the towns, as previously noted, has a distinct history. Because of the very nature of historical research, information is not always available on certain places during certain eras. It is also true that there are some situations in which information is either inaccessible or non-existent. Therefore, some of the individual town histories contain more information than others. Likewise, with assessment reports for individual items, some reflect a dearth of available material, others a superfluity. This was also the case with architectural descriptions of buildings. If the consultants were unable to gain access to the interiors of buildings, because of the wishes of owners or other circumstances, then descriptions naturally were curtailed.

The consultants record their gratitude for the assistance of many people in the Lower North and in Adelaide. Local Government bodies and their representatives were helpful on all occasions. In particular we wish to thank Maureen and Barry Wright; Joyce Jones; Marjorie Powell; Helen Dickeson; Kev Rohrlach; Greg Tucker; Jan Davis; Kingsley Ireland; Brian Ward; Lyn Leader-Elliott; Ian Auhl; Kay Lambert; Lois Dempsey; Marie Popperwell; Jean Glover; Stan

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PHYSICAL CONTEXT OVERVIEW

As the 1982–3 survey of the *Heritage of the Lower North* noted, 'the present physical character of the Lower North is the result of the modification of the natural landscape by the actions of man'.[1] The description continued of a varied environment settled by Europeans and then changed by them through agriculture and grazing. This environment has been classified into regions: Coastal Plains; Central Hill Country; and Murray Plains. Generally, the soils of the Lower North range from red–brown earths, with patches of sandy soils around Clare–Auburn and mallee soil towards the coast near Port Wakefield. The vegetation is also diverse. Much of the country is Eucalypt savannah woodland, but nearer to the coast there are regions of mallee and from Burra to Jamestown there is a sweep of grassland.

It was to this land that settlers came from the United Kingdom and Europe. Their task was to utilise the resources of the environment as best they could and to create new societies. As one commentator on land settlement wrote, 'it was innocently believed that these pioneers would at once settle down into an old country groove, with distinct lines of demarcation between the professions and occupations of the people'.[2] They did not, of course, and the rough and tumble settlement that took place, beginning with the pastoral era, phasing into a mining boom and then to a time of agricultural expansion — all these periods encompassing a gradual urbanisation in village settlements—created an extraordinarily rich and diverse series of farmsteads, rural buildings, improvised sites, town houses, civic works and engineering, transport centres and industrial groupings.

The eight towns—Angaston; Auburn; Burra; Clare; Kapunda; Port Wakefield; Saddleworth; and Tanunda—are spread throughout the Lower North. Their individual histories and heritage are parts of the overall journey of South Australia and its people.

In many ways their stories are microcosms of the general experience. Some of their industries, at Kapunda and Burra in particular, dictated the economic fortunes of South Australia. Others, like Angaston and Tanunda, were social and cultural laboratories in which the transplanting of small-scale European environments onto Antipodean soil were attempted. Angaston mirrored the hopes and prejudices of George Fife Angas, one of the powers behind the European

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1 John Dallwitz and Susan Marsden, *Heritage of the Lower North, South Australian State Historic Preservation Plan Regional Heritage Survey Series : Region 8*, Adelaide, South Australian Department of Environment and Planning, 1983, p. 5.

2 William Epps, *Land systems of Australasia*, London, Swan, Sonnenchein & Co., 1894, p. 118.

settlement of South Australia. Tanunda and its outlying settlements were attempts by German settlers, again with Angas' assistance, to transpose their notions of village life and agriculture.

Other towns evolved as service centres to local grazing or agricultural activity. While others again were stopovers on major transport routes, or the village settlement at an outport for primary commodities.

Unlike the hopes of E.G. Wakefield, the theorist, whose ideas were utilised in the colonisation of South Australia, the history and heritage of the towns appear to show that settlement was neither restricted nor concentrated. Rather, the formation of these towns at various times grew from the desire to expand the boundaries of civilised existence. As one interested observer wrote: 'There is a constant tendency in civilised man to undue aggregation. The law of providence is *dispersion*, that the earth may be peopled and subdued'.[3]

Overall, the founders and settlers of South Australia—those who peopled the Lower North and established its towns—shared a common goal. That goal was the success of the new colony and later the State. Their tenacity, seen today in the buildings and sites of the towns that they constructed or used, was outlined by one prominent settler Edward Stephens:

> . . . never, never can this Colony now retrograde; its moving power of 16,000 souls upon its fine hills and dales, and its immense internal resources stamp it with permanence, and will crown it with prosperity, and it shall remain for ages to come a proud monument of English skill and combined energy and exertion, seconded by British capital.[4]

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[3] W. Bennett Hays, *Engineering in South Australia; being an account of the principal public works . . .*, London, John Knott, 1856, p. 5.

[4] Edward Stephens to George Fife Angas, 15 January 1841, Angas Papers, Mortlock Library, PRG 174.

1. TOWN HISTORIES

1.1 ANGASTON

George Fife Angas had a monumental vision for peopling that portion of Australia called South Australia. He saw himself as another William Penn—the founder of a godly, civilised colony away from the social constraints of the Old World.[5] This new society would be free from convicts; have concentrated settlement; take pious colonists with both capital and brains; encourage the settlement of young, industrious and moral couples; and have freedom in all aspects of trade, government and religion.

More than this, Angas knew how the pattern of settlement should progress. To one of his managers he wrote:

> encourage the foundation of villages on our lands . . . you could have Blacksmiths, Cartwrights, Butchers, Bakers, & other useful trades at each place, and supply them with schools & religious instruction, a good large room would serve for a place of worship & school. It would be a great advantage to you to have proper workmen and labourers always within call & at your command, & it would keep them from intercourse with bad associates.[6]

This view of how a 'village' should be formed was later enlarged after his son John Howard had made his way to South Australia. In this account George Fife Angas' opinions are further honed and made directly applicable to the town created on their land, Angas Town, or Angaston as it was later called.

> I want to call your particular attention to the following points:— 1. That you would find it useful to form a committee of three or four chief persons resident in Angaston, with yourself as chairman, to watch over the improvement of Angaston, its buildings, roads, pavements, common sewers, supplies of water, &c.; and you would do well to keep one or two acres free for town use as a green—not to give it to the town, but to let the inhabitants have the free use of it. 2 and 3. See to its sanitary arrangements; each house must have proper offices; also for baking, washing, gardens, &c., &c. 4.

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[5] E. Hodder, *George Fife Angas, father and founder of South Australia*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1891, pp. 99–100.

[6] G.F. Angas instructions on departure to Joseph Keynes, 21 May 1839, papers of Joseph Keynes & Co., Angas Papers, in private hands.

> Discourage by every means spirit shops and public-houses. Encourage the growth of vineyards and the use of wine made therefrom . . . 9. A good style of buildings in our villages and farmsteads, with gardens and so on, is worthy of our attention; as well as proper regard to roads, places for relaxation, &c. 10. It strikes me that if houses in South Australia were built more upon the Italian plan , to keep out *heat* as well as cold, it would be good. 11. Take care, above all things, to have schoolrooms and libraries everywhere; *give* ground to any good people, for schools, more especially Sunday Schools, and invest it in trustees.[7]

Prior to John's departure, Angas had been in personal financial difficulty due in large part, he believed, to the rash purchases of land by Charles Flaxman, his agent, in the Barossa Ranges.[8] The land itself was 11,000 hectares of some of the finest in South Australia. One account described the fertile soil, large tracts of pasture, magnificent timber and other abundant natural resources.[9] However, the purchase of the land very nearly caused Angas' financial downfall. The outlay for the land, £28,000, came at a time when many of his other South Australian ventures were going bad. He was totally embarrassed. The only way that he could reckon on solving the problem was to sell off parcels of the land. In 1842, he published a map of his 'Special Surveys' and offered 4,000 hectares for sale. Of this, 125 sections were of 200 hectares and 160 lots were town lands of 1.25 hectares per lot. Such were the beginnings of Angaston, a town founded to be settled by 'respectable families'. Angas lodged a plan of the town at the General Registry Office in 1857.[10]

The situation of Angaston, nestled in the pass called German Pass, separated from other sections of the Barossa land by the ranges, was idyllic. Originally, the 1842 village consisted of one house and two dug-outs with thatched roofs. The number of houses soon increased, being largely built from any available local material by new settlers.[11] When George French Angas, George Fife's artist–naturalist son, painted an able portrait of the situation in the mid–

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7 Hodder, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–2.

8 This issue of the land purchase by Flaxman in the Barossa ranges has been hotly disputed over the years. One of the most able monologues on the subject is Charles H. Bright, T*he Confidential Clerk: a study of Charles Flaxman in South Australia and his relationship with George Fife Angas*, Adelaide, Gillingham Printers, 1983. The other side of the argument has been put by Hodder, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–50.

9 Hodder, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

10 'The *Special Surveys* of the Barossa Ranges, in South Australia', 1842, leaflet and map in possession of Historical Consultants Pty Ltd. Geoffrey H. Manning, *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia*, Adelaide, The Author, 1986, p. 6.

11 E.T. Dean, *History of Angaston*, Mortlock Library D6829, p. 2.

1840s. He showed a collection of cottages of simple vernacular design clustered together next to the creek, a cart track winding through their midst. Some of the buildings were of timber, some pug, their roofs variously slated, shingled or thatched. The author of an 1849 book described the town as having 'a considerable number of comfortable habitations . . . a good hotel, and an excellent place of worship, with a cemetery, enclosed with stone walls . . . Angaston . . . has also the advantage of medical advice, good schools, stores, and other accommodations of social society'. It was, claimed another, a place of 'quiet and repose'.[12] Perched on a hill to the north-east of the town was a small rectangular building, a non-denominational chapel.

The chapel was constructed in 1843–4 and opened as a 'place of worship, where all Christians harmoniously associate who hold the essential truths of the Christian religion'.[13] It was Angaston's first public building. Stone was quarried nearby to construct this simple building, quoins and window surrounds were of brick. The roof was originally slated and there was at one time a baptismal cavity installed. This chapel was a transposed example of the British vernacular chapel tradition—'a rectangular structure with a gable end to the roof, incorporating a door or doors, windows and usually a plaque.'[14] The foundation stone was laid by Mrs Henry Evans, George Fife Angas' daughter, on 28 February 1844. Angas provided the funds for building the church.[15] Here, in a physical form, stood something of the hope that Angas held for South Australia.

While the thrust of settlers' lives was often built on the church, their day to day existence revolved around an interplay of working the soil, manufacturing or trading. The land surrounding Angaston was of excellent quality. Settlers' diaries tell of the fine harvests of cereals, vegetables and fruit and confirm that wine was made early in that region by folk like Evans, Salter and Smith.[16] Certainly by the early 1850s there was a thriving agricultural and horticultural show society functioning and there was pride in the stock and produce exhibited at the shows held by it.[17]

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[12] "Agricola", *Description of the Barossa Range and its neighbourhood in South Australia*, London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1849, South Australian Government Printer reprint 1979, pp. frontispiece and 19.

[13] *ibid.*, p . 19.

[14] Jack Bowyer, *The Evolution of Church Building,* London, 1977, p. 92.

[15] Dean, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11. Barry Chinner, *Angaston Sketchbook*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1976, p. 16.

[16] J. Heath, Diary, 21 March, 4 May, 24 October 1859, Mortlock Library, PRG 411. *Yalumba*, typescript ms., Angaston, S. Smith & Son Ltd, *c.* 1960.

[17] J. Keynes, Daily Journal, 26 September 1856 in possession of Historical Consultants Pty Ltd.

The town's future was entwined with the fortunes of those who tilled the soil and grew crops, set out fruit trees, used pasture to fatten sheep and cattle and sold the produce of their livestock. At the forefront of those pioneers were the Angas family. Their homestead, Tarrawatta, and later Lindsay Park and Collingrove, was the centre for most of the district's land broking and planning. In one sense the squierachical tradition of England had a home at Angaston. George Fife, while yet resident in England, called himself the 'Lord of the Manor'.[18] The Angases, as they had done with the Union Chapel, Penrice Gully, financed the erection of public buildings, places of worship and others. Their investments promoted Angaston's social and cultural life.

They also had a hand in a nearby mining venture that eventually spawned the adjacent township to Angaston—now within its boundaries—Penrice. The Barossa Mining Company was established by Angas in early 1846 to help work mines on his land. Captain Richard Rodda was selected, 'with a dozen miners, including a carpenter and blacksmith and their families' to proceed to South Australia to work out the claims.[19] Rodda became a key figure in South Australian mining, an expert on general mining, quarrying and, in particular, smelting. He was a man of formidable character.[20] By 1854, Rodda was involved in many dealings. He laid out and named the village of Penrice in 1849 near the ironstone quarries of some note; he helped establish a Penrice Building and Investment Society; and began the first flour mill in the Angaston area at Penrice. The Penrice flour mill was working by 24 July 1852 and its produce was highly sought after by diggers en route to the goldfields to the east. Rodda died on 7 July 1860, but he left his mark at Penrice.[21]

By 1866, Penrice was described as having a small population of principally farming folk, a chapel and a flour mill. It was termed a 'hamlet'. [22] Yet within those small confines there was a bustle of activity. Businesses included a butcher, cheese factory, bakery, hotel, general store, flour mill brickworks, carpenter's shop and quarry.[23] The butcher's shop and dwelling was a plain, rectangular edifice with a conventional gable roof. It was situated on lot 87, first bought by Henry Mansfield for £21 in August 1856. In October Mansfield took out a mortgage from the Penrice Building and Investment Society for £100. This sum suggests that he had

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[18] George Fife Angas to John Howard Angas, 13 May 1846, quoted in Rob Linn, 'George Fife Angas: on mining operations', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 6, 1979, p. 60.

[19] *ibid.*, p. 58.

[20] Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[21] Chinner, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Jean P. Fielding, *The Golden Grain: a history of Edwin Davey & Sons . . .*, Melbourne, Hyland House, 1985, p. 6.

[22] Robert P. Whitworth, *Baillere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide . . .*, Adelaide, F. F. Baillere, 1866, p. 182.

[23] Chinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

developed the land by this time. In 1862 he sold the premises to Daniel Ward.[24] One section of the building was a dwelling, the other a shop. It was constructed of local stone in random sizes. It remains a significant example of the progress of service trades within a mid-nineteenth century South Australian community.

By the time that Daniel Ward bought his shop and dwelling at Penrice from Henry Mansfield, other significant events had occurred in Angaston itself. That town had grown rapidly in size and extent of business. The original Union Chapel had proved too small for an increasing fellowship and in 1854 it was decided that a new building be erected. This church, constructed largely from a type of 'soap stone' quarried at Lindsay Park was opened on 22 October 1855. The simple chapel design gave way to more elaborate detail, but the simplicity of the building was still evident. The minister was the Rev. John Hannay, a Baptist and son-in-law of George Fife Angas. A manse was built across the road from the Church utilising the same superbly marbled 'soap stone'. This church and manse are evidence of the impact of independent protestant religious life at the time.[25]

While George Fife Angas' hopes for a fine Christian population in his town had been partially achieved, other parts of his plan did not proceed as well. Despite his arguments, there was a hotel at Angaston by 1846 and the New Inn, constructed on the site of the present day Barossa Brahaus Hotel, came into being in 1849. These first hotels were evidently pretty rough and ready affairs. One local pastoralist later complained that men supposedly employed on Government work were not only playing cricket during work hours, but frequented a wine shop and used the Government's cart and horse to transport goods to the New Inn.[26]

Neither could the anticipated society of respectable families do without the representatives of law and order. In March 1854 one controversial local identity, Dr Horace Dean, offered premises for a courthouse and police station. By September, the Colonial Architect was instructed to consider and report on the prospects of such a building. Angas offered allotments for the purpose, and building stone, free of charge. E. and H. Radford eventually had their tender for the building accepted and in 1856 the Angaston police station and courthouse opened.[27]

As if to confirm that the coming of public houses and police were signs of a disturbance to the social order, the once united Christian denominations split. Although Rev. John Hannay was the son-in-law of George Fife Angas, an advocate of freedom of religion, he could not restrain

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[24] Lands Titles Office, Application 28161, C.T. 1743/37.

[25] Dean, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–14.

[26] Bob Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia*, Adelaide, Australian Hotels Association, 1986, pp. 15, 35, 118. J. Keynes, Daily Journal, 8 September 1879.

[27] Colonial architect's out letter book, 1855, 1856–63, Public Records Office of S. A., GRG 38/728. The intriguing story of Dr Horace Dean is told in Hodder, *op. cit.*, pp. 341–3.

his own Baptist tendencies. In 1861 'an unpleasant controversy', as one Angaston historian put it, developed over the ever thorny issue of the sacrament of baptism. The Independent members of the once united congregation hived off in the fine tradition of their dissenting ancestors and formed a new church. Their small chapel was built above the main street of the town to the south west. Their cause flourished. In May 1878, John Howard Angas laid the foundation stone of a new, grander bluestone church of Gothic Revival style—designed by Daniel Garlick. It was opened in January 1879.[28]

These controversies and the coming of hotels and government agencies were also indicators that the once small, idyllic village of Angas Town, German Pass, had virtually ceased and a new Angaston was emerging; a vibrant service town. This alteration had partially come about through the opening of a new road. For many years the main entrance to the town was gained by way of Penrice Gully. The typical journey from Adelaide to Angaston in the late 1850s was taken by train through Dry Creek to Salisbury and Gawler and from there by coach or horse through Sheoak Log, Greenock, Nuriootpa, Penrice to its conclusion.[29] In 1865 a masonry skew arch bridge was built across the stream at the western edge of Angaston. This bridge provided easy access to Nuriootpa and the Gawler railhead. One writer claimed that it 'greatly encouraged Angaston's growth from a village into a town'. It would have wanted to, for 1865 was the second year of a most disastrous drought.[30]

Angaston soon had a variety of service trades and industries and a number of fine civic buildings. A growing population and an increase in wealth of the surrounding farmers and pastoralists encouraged the construction of these new buildings. George Fife Angas and his family remained at the forefront of local development. In the 1860s he encouraged the growth of a local Institute library and reading room into a new, larger building. He donated land on Murray Street. A local committee representing the Institute and I.O.O.F. Lodge pooled resources and two storey stone building was constructed. It was formally opened by John Howard Angas in 1870.[31]

About four hundred metres east of the Institute, on the opposite side of Murray Street, a business began in about 1876 that was more concerned with physical strength and engineering skill than with the pages of intellectual achievement thronging the shelves of the local library. These premises were the smithy of John Doddridge. His father, William, set out

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[28] Dean, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–14. *Observer*, 4 January 1879, p. 5.

[29] J. Heath Diaries, *op. cit.*

[30] Dean, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3. The tragedy of the drought is recorded in J. Keynes Daily Journal, *op. cit.*, for 1865 and in J. C. Foley, 'Droughts in Australia . . . ', *Bureau of Meteorology Bulletin*, vol. 43, 1957, pp. 159–60.

[31] Chinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–1; Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 35; The *Leader*, 12 November 1936, p. 12; typescript ms. 'History of the Masonic Lodge Building'.

for South Australia in 1837. He first settled at Kangaroo Island, then Port Adelaide, then Penrice and, in 1849, Angaston. William founded a smithy and also was the first licensee of the New Inn. Another son, Charles, joined John at the newer smithy. Charles took over the land and smithy in 1881 and, later, his son Hardy took up the trade, keeping it going until his death in the early 1980s. The original smithy was built from huge chunks of local stone pieced together in a rectangular design and topped with a conventional gable roof. Over the years corrugated galvanised iron extensions were added through the centre of the older structure. Inside was situated a large stone forge with enormous bellows. [32]

Other industries developed nearby the smithy. One of these, The Eureka Roller Mills, built by Edwin Davey, was partly the result of a catastrophe at Penrice. Davey bought the Penrice mill from the family of Captain Richard Rodda in 1865 and from that time Davey's milling business expanded. On 2 July 1885, the Penrice mill burnt down. On 27 July an Angaston newspaper correspondent noted:

> This township has assumed an unusually busy appearance consequent upon the erection of a new steam flourmill for Messrs E. Davey & Sons, to replace the one recently destroyed by fire at Penrice. the machinery and all the appointments are to be of the most recent and approved style, and great efforts are now being being put forth to get the mill ready for work to meet the increasing demands of the district.[33]

This magnificent two storey stone mill served the town for over 90 years.

George Sutherland spoke highly of the mill when he visited Angaston in 1889. He also said, as had many others since the foundation of the town, that Angaston 'was picturesquely situated in a valley which runs up towards some low undulating hills, and through which a perennial stream of beautifully clear water makes its way'. Sutherland was an astute observer. He wrote of the magnificence of the vineyards and orchards that were by that time clustering to the outskirts of the town. Also, he recorded the high faith of those who felt that the district's future lay in its mineral deposits.

Yet when he penned his articles South Australia was in the throes of an economic depression. Even Angaston had its casualty. On Murray Street, near its eastern end, stood a 'handsome building . . . known locally as "The White Elephant" . . . a local memorial of a most

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[32] typescript ms., 'The Angaston Blacksmith Shop', Angaston n.d. John Doddridge is recorded as 'blacksmith, Angaston', in Josiah Boothby, *The Adelaide Almanac and Directory for South Australia*, Adelaide, J. Williams, 1878, p. 120.

[33] *Register*, 30 July 1885, quoted in Jean P. Fielding, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

anxious period'.[34] This fine two storey stone building had been built for the failed Commercial Bank of South Australia. In one of its many moments of sarcasm the Adelaide *Quiz* commented that in a type of 'justifiable pride the Angastonian will point out the handsome structure erected by the defunct Commercial Bank of SA. If he happens to have been a shareholder he winds up his oration with a word which rhymes with "lamb"'.[35] In 1894, the Bank of Adelaide took over the premises bringing, it was claimed, a sense of financial stability after the previous years of economic disaster.[36]

Despite the drawbacks of a massive economic depression and the attendant social hardship, Angaston fared as well as any other South Australian country town. Perhaps because of the local industries, and the ability of local farmers to produce high quality crops and stock, the town economy managed to go ahead. By the first decade of the twentieth century commentators were not only recording the beauty of the place, but also its prosperity. H. T. Burgess produced a lengthy piece that captured something of life at the town:

> Were a prize offered for beauty of situation and surroundings, to be competed for by rural towns, there would doubtless be several rivals, and if Angaston did not win it would certainly be "in the running." Its principal thoroughfare runs longitudinally through a pleasant valley watered by a constant stream . . . The building material available close at hand is excellent, and the various public edifices, as well as private dwellings, are consequently both substantial and tasteful. . . The three Churches—Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist—are spacious and elegant, the two former especially. The bank, post and telegraph station, and police station are in keeping with the general style. The Institute has a hall in which 300 persons may be seated, and there is a library and reading-room. Friendly societies are strong in the town. There is a flourmill and there are vinegar-, wine-, jam-, and fruit-preserving factories . . .[37]

The last mentioned industries were proving to be success stories. From the earliest days at Angaston families like Evans, Smith, Salter and Sage had produced quality wines as well as

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[34] George Sutherland, *Our inheritance in the hills*, Australiana Facsimile Editions No. 204, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1978, first published, Adelaide. 1889, p.p. 45–6.

[35] *Quiz and Lantern*, 5 May 1893, p. 13.

[36] Chinner, *op. cit.*, p .94.

[37] H.T. Burgess (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of South Australia*, vol. 2, Adelaide, Alfred G. Selway, 1909, p. 328.

other preserved fruit products. Later, fruit preserving works like the one at Mexican Vale were built and these extremely vibrant industries flourished. The Smith's winery, Yalumba, had an excellent reputation. By 1907, this company had enough capital to contemplate construction of a chateau style building. The Adelaide architects Edward Davies and Rutt were commissioned to design the edifice. Between 1908–9 the stone for the buildings was quarried nearby and the bricks manufactured at a Penrice brickworks. The building itself was described by Burgess as being the facade for a series of innovative winery additions. It was,' a substantial two-storied front, 155 ft. long, of blue marble, dominated by a handsome tower relieved by a turret clock, provided with a 5-ft. dial.'[38]

Yalumba's growth was one example of the general expansion in the region at this time. By 1900, the increasing population at Angaston and environs was feeling the need for a larger hall. The Institute in Murray Street had served its purposes well. However, a number of schemes for extending the building fell away. In August 1907 the Institute was sold to the Barossa Masonic Lodge. In 1911, a new Institute was built under the sponsorship of the Angas family. This building had a large hall, stage, committee room and public reading room. It was constructed of Angaston marble, 'an impressive monument' as one account had it.[39]

In Murray Street, Angaston, the National Bank began construction of a new building in 1912. The bank had an office in the town from 1866, but the new building built of local stone was, unlike the earlier office, an imposing, relatively ornate structure of two storeys.

While much of the pace of economic growth was taken off by the advent of war, one local businessman, John Dallwitz, began building an extraordinary house on the crest of the hill, Dean Street, overlooking Angaston. In 1901 Dallwitz became Angaston Council's District Clerk. Although he retained this position until 1919, he also established himself as a land agent in 1903. The house was designed in true federation style by the Adelaide architect C. W. Rutt, whose firm had also designed the Yalumba winery extensions of 1907–9. One Mr Frehtag, a carpenter–builder from Eudunda was the builder. The house was constructed of pink, white and blue marble with imported tiles on the roof. Evidently, construction of the large dwelling took thirteen months, even with a team of seven stone masons and one stone layer. It is one of South Australia's classic federation houses.[40]

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[38] Site inspection and discussions with Mr Peter Wall, Production Manager, Yalumba, 9 January 1990—the original architectural drawings and archival photographs are also at Yalumba. Katrina McDougall, *Winery Buildings of South Australia, 1836–1936: Part One, The Barossa Region*, Industrial Buildings of South Australia, Working Paper 6, Department of Architecture, University of Adelaide, 1980 pp. 121–7. *ibid.*, p. 334.

[39] The *Leader*, 12 November 1936, p. 12. Chinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–7. Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[40] Interview and site inspection with Mr Kev Rohrlach, 10 May 1990; Chinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–9.

At about the same time that Dallwitz's extraordinary house was being built, the Angaston Hotel was almost totally reconstructed. Its prominent corner position was further enhanced by the new two storey structure that followed around the nexus of the streets.[41]

World War One impacted on the town as it did on many others—local residents sought to perpetuate the memory of those who had fallen. Again, the Angas family had a hand in the making of a suitable monument. The memorial was descrbed as a representation of Saint Michael's 'right over might', designed by Charles Angas. The bronze figure was moulded by Andrea Carlo Lucchesi and cast in England. The memorial was funded by public subscription and Angas donated £300. The pedestal of Angaston marble, wreaths and plaques were the work of Mr Laycock an Adelaide monumental mason.[42]

The 1920s began with quite a flourish. Not only did the memorial gain great public attention, but also new Council Chambers were built in 1922 by G.N. Dallwitz on a site near the carrying business run by the Holmes family. The material used in their construction was brick and local marble.

This structure was one of the last public buildings to be constructed in Angaston for some years. The economic downturn of the late 1920s–30s forced a relative standstill, although one publication claimed that the size of Angaston's population was increasing yearly.[43] Certainly, Angaston became a market centre of some note when Elder, Smith & Co. built their stockyards in the early 1930s. John Dallwitz's 1930 office and the adjacent tourist hostel, were also signs of some activity.[44] This market continued to be the bustling stock centre of the Barossa for over three decades.

Some other writers concentrated on Angaston's beauty and the fact that its rich environs produced such prolific harvests—they described it as a veritable paradise. The Angas Recreation Park and the Council Reserve were singled out as spots for the tourist.[45]

One major change in the town was effected after a meeting of the local District Council on 14 May 1979. Council authorised the commissioning of conceptual plans for a new Civic Centre. Woodhead Hall McDonald Shaw Pty Ltd, were appointed architects for the new centre in November of that year. The interior of the building has three distinct areas: administration; of-

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[41] Colin Thiele, *Barossa Valley Sketchbook*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1968, pp. 60–3.

[42] Dean, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4. Chinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–1. The *Leader*, 29 April, 6 May 1921.

[43] *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, Adelaide, Universal Publicity Company, 1936, p. 465.

[44] *Barossa News*, 25 December 1930; Chinner, *op. cit.*, p .25.

[45] *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, p. 466. Dean , *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4.

fice and public foyer; and, Council. The exterior walls are of local marble, and the building has been landscaped into the contour of the hill.[46]

In recent times Angaston Council has purchased the original Union Chapel at Penrice Gully. Public recognition of the town's heritage has been widespread. Angaston has a history of local involvement in its growth. The large landowners, like the Angases, local industrialists, professionals, merchants and others have contributed to a large degree towards the growth of the town's institutions and buildings. Many of George Fife Angas' dreams concerning the type of settlement he wanted to develop on his lands came to fruition.

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[46] The Leader, 3 December 1980.

1.2 AUBURN

During the first months of 1839 the first European settlers living in and around Adelaide and its environs heard news of good tracts of land some 140 kilometres to the north. Edward John Eyre's exploratory party showed immense enthusiasm for the district near the Hutt and Hill Rivers. Extraordinary pioneers like William Robinson, George Hawker, John Horrocks and E. B. Gleeson were quick to take advantage of such information and sent forward flocks and herds to gain a foothold in the area. Occupation licences followed some time later.[47]

A few kilometres south of where Horrocks created his Hope Farm, adjacent to a stream called by the Europeans the River Wakefield, one William Tateham (Tatum) is thought to have set up camp. One account suggested that he watered and fed his flocks and herds in the locality acting as a shepherd–stockman for other holders of occupation licences. A William Tatum, of Crystal Brook, purchased lot 55 of the sections subdivided into Mintaro by Joseph Gilbert in 1849, so it is possible that this was the same person credited with camping alongside the River Wakefield.[48]

Whatever the truth of this story, it is known that on 29 October 1849, sections 261 and 262 Hundred of Upper Wakefield were purchased by Thomas H. Williams, General Manager of the Kooringa Smelting Works.[49] These sections took in that area of land that Tatum is supposed to have used as a watering hole. But the minds of those like Thomas Williams were not set on using the land for pastoral purposes. Rather a grander aim was in mind, to do with the transport of copper from the wonderful 'monster mine' at Burra to the head of the Gulf of St. Vincent. The fulfilment of this aim was a surveyed route from Kooringa to Port Wakefield.[50]

All along the route from Burra to the Gulf planned by Gavin Young, an Adelaide surveyor, a line of stopovers was established. These watering and feeding points were about a day's journey apart and were rest spots for bullocks and drivers engaged in the transport of copper. Most of this route was in the midst of unsurveyed land with the flocks and herds of occupation licence holders and others peppered throughout.

The Patent Copper Company, the commissioning body of this road survey to the Gulf, were astute to the extreme. On Young's advice, the Company's manager, G. S. Walters, began

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[47] John Dallwitz and Susan Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Robert J. Noye, *Clare: a district history*, third edition, Clare, District Council of Clare, 1986, p. 9.

[48] Jean V. Moyle, *The Wakefield, its water and its wealth, the story of a winding river*, second edition, Riverton S.A., the author, 1982, p. 49. See, Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[49] Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[50] Ian Auhl, *The story of the 'Monster Mine': The Burra Burra Mine and its townships 1845–1877*, Burra, The District Council of Burra Burra, 1986, p. 183.

acquiring sections of land at the watering points on the Gulf Road. Other speculators also moved in to purchase sections and the beginning of a chain of villages sprang up.[51]

The two sections purchased by Thomas Williams, who with his Burra connections had access to inside information, were obviously for the establishment, as Ian Auhl puts it, of a 'watering place' and a 'watering hole' for the bullockies.[52] Williams instructed Gavin Young, the surveyor of the Gulf Road, to pursue further his surveying talent and create a township. This was duly done and registered in 1850. These first allotments sold to teamsters, storekeepers, clergy, a blacksmith, a teacher, a tinsmith, a carpenter, a pastoralist, labourers and licensed victuallers.[53] Most of these purchasers came from towns linked to the Burra boom: Watervale; Kooringa; Aberdeen; and the like. The rush of activity and speculative investment in this Auburn land was an obvious carry over from the enormous wealth being generated from the Burra Mines. Land at Auburn, and the other villages along the Gulf Road, drew investors' capital as moths are drawn to a flame.

One traveller through the district in mid–1851, noted that little had yet eventuated on the spot selected for Auburn. The town, he wrote, 'consists of four houses and a half, one of the tenements being just built. "*Put up a public house and a blacksmith's shop and a village will soon follow*" '.[54]

This traveller's advice was either soon heeded, or someone else had summed up the situation in the same way, for in 1851 J. E. Bleechmore established the Rising Sun Inn.[55] Initially, this hotel was probably little more than a bush shanty.[56] And even as it grew there were problems as well as comforts to be found there. When Dr Davies visited Auburn in December 1863 he commented acidly that 'the water at the Inn "Rising Sun" . . . was brackish and bad; though I did not find it so disagreeable on my return. The bread was not good. No grog at night from the want of good water'. Yet, fortunately, he spoke more highly of other facets of his stay there: 'slept well at night in a clean airy bedroom. The landlord & landlady are very nice, clean, superior people, & this is by far the cleanest & most comfortable inn I saw in the whole journey'.[57] It was evidently said of Bleechmore, the publican, that he was the town's leading light, 'whose jolly good-humoured face was a sign of the prosperity of the

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[51] Much of the account of the evolution of the Gulf Road has been taken from Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–93.

[52] Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4..

[53] Jean V. Moyle, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[54] *Register*, 15 July 1851, quoted in Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[55] Bob Hoad, *op. cit.*, p. 506. Joseph Edwin Bleechmore was one of a number of the Bleechmore family who invested in Auburn.

[56] Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[57] Diary of Dr Charles Davies, 23–4 December 1863, "V" piece 253, Mortlock Library.

town'. Over the years the Rising Sun Inn grew in size and the range of services offered. Jean Moyle wrote that 'at first, the hotel was a quaint building back from the road. To the front of this building, rooms, lounge and bar were added in 1907'. A series of accommodation rooms adjacent to the hotel and a large two-storey barn made the hostelry a meeting place for local committees, lodges and government and a noted stopover for travellers.[58]

On the opposite corner of St Vincent Street to the Rising Sun Inn a shop and dwelling was built by Henry Wylie in 1855, the same year that local government, through the District Council of Upper Wakefield, formed in the area. This corner store had a number of owners over the years with different trades being followed at the premises, as diverse as bakers and carpenters. Certainly by 1888, the executors of Joseph Edwin Bleechmore's estate were administering the property. In 1915 Isaac Meller of Auburn, who described himself as a fruiterer and greengrocer, purchased the property. Meller was a renowned market gardener and due to his and his family's skills , the store has been kept alive ever since; from 1945 by his daughter Mrs Jean Glover.[59]

Some other of the early purchasers of land at Auburn left an extraordinary amount of information about themselves in the buildings they created. Three prominent individuals whose talents helped build Auburn were Joseph Meller, William Threadgold and Robert Whitehead. Meller quarried and masoned the beautiful bluestone from his own property, Threadgold was an able carpenter and Whitehead specialised in the use of calcrete. The stone from Meller's quarry has been described as 'thin bedded . . . it splits readily along the bedding planes [and] is laid on its bedding'.[60]

These resourceful builders, particularly, Meller, constructed most of Auburn's buildings from the 1860s to the turn of the century. These buildings included simple, vernacular structures, peculiarly Australian colonial stores and houses and a mixture of imposing public and ecclesiastical buildings. They all owed much to the builders' knowledge of 'Old World' techniques.

Robert Whitehead had come originally from Wolverhampton, England, where his father had been a builder. Whitehead created a lime kiln on Auburn's high ground and burnt the necessary mortar for his masonry work. Examples of Whitehead's calcrete buildings appear around Auburn. One example of this type of structure is on part of section 260, where, in 1866, Joseph Bleechmore subdivided allotments to form a part of the town called New Auburn. Allotment 55 was purchased in February 1868 by John Dickerson. The adjacent lot was kept by Bleechmore and was placed with the other lot after 1909. J. Dickerson was listed

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[58] Jean V. Moyle, *op. cit.,* pp. 52, 70.

[59] Title search of CT 521/147, Department of Lands. Jean V. Moyle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[60] *National Trust Walk, Auburn, S.A.*; *Building Stones of South Australia, mineral information series*, S.A.. Department of Mines and Energy, 1983, p. 4..

as the blacksmith at Penwortham in 1850 and had bought one of the first allotments in Auburn at the 1850 sale. By 1878, a John Dickerson is listed as a farmer. It is likely that these were the same person.[61] Dickerson built a four-room house on his allotment in New Auburn. It was constructed of random calcrete rubble with a fireplace positioned between the kitchen and sitting room. The interior wood and plaster work are simple, but beautifully executed. An unusual verandah covers two sides of the house, supported by rounded rafters and hand planed posts. It is a peculiarly vernacular building of simple form, a fine example of calcrete construction.

Meller's stamp can be seen on many Auburn buildings. His masonry style epitomises the splendid buildings of the 1860s and 1870s—Auburn's great growth period. It was at this time that Auburn's position—on the Gulf Road, the Gawler to Clare road and the Saddleworth and Manoora junctions—made it an essential service and market town. It not only catered for travellers, but also for the hinterland of flourishing farmers and graziers. Joseph Meller had been living at Auburn since 1855. In 1874 he bought a cottage and land from Henry Pollard, an early section holder at Auburn, on the eastern side of Eyre Creek. Meller was originally a Yorkshireman and his family had worked on large construction sites in London. On arrival in Australia he created a partnership with James Scott as builders, stonecutters and masons. After Scott went to work at Clare, Meller continued to quarry his bluestone from a site above his home at Eyre Creek.[62]

Meller's work can be seen on St John's Church, 1862; the Police Station and stables, 1860; Post Office, 1861–2; Lutheran Church, 1869; Town Hall and Institute, 1866, 1884; Corn Mart, 1878; Roman Catholic Church, 1868; Uniting Church, 1860–1 and other private buildings.

St John's Anglican Church was opened for worship on 21 November 1862. There had been a strong Church of England cause in the area for many years before this structure eventuated. Vestry meetings were being held at 'St. John's, Auburn' as early as 1852. On that occasion the Rev. C. W. Hawkins presided and officers appointed for the year included one J. E. Bleechmore, the host of the 'Rising Sun' Inn, as a sidesman. At the vestry meeting for 1856, it was reported that a manse had been built for the incumbent and that the church 'building had been thoroughly repaired'.[63]

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[61] Moyle, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Josiah Boothby, *op. cit.*, p. 128; J. Statton (ed.), *Biographical Index of South Australians, 1836–1885*, Adelaide, S.A.G.H.S., 1986, vol 1, p. 403.

[62] Jean V, Moyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–5.

[63] *Newspaper clippings books of the Church of England in South Australia*, (hereafter NPC) Murray Park Sources in the history of South Australian education, no. 6, vol. 1: 1848–1856, pp. 102, 209.

This building could not match the demands of the local community and on one Friday in June 1861 it was reported that Auburn 'village presented quite a gay and animated appearance, it being the day appointed for laying the foundation-stone of a place of worship for the Church of England by the Bishop of Adelaide'. This ceremony attracted a large crowd of all denominations. As the correspondent wrote, it was the commencement of the new church 'that brought so many persons from the surrounding district and neighbourhood'. On the Sunday, Bishop Short preached in the Bible Christian Chapel 'to a crowded congregation, in a most impressive manner, encouraging humility and Christian love one to another'.[64]

By the 6 May 1862, the walls of the church were constructed and members of the St John's congregation met to discuss the practicality of roofing the structure. After they had agreed to do this, it was explained that the 'church when completed will be a very handsome building—by far the most elegant in the north'. The congregation's faith that the building would be finished was finally rewarded.[65]

The vitality of Auburn's residents was evident not only in their support of the Anglican church in their town, but also in their efforts to provide a Town Hall. Auburn's newspaper correspondent explained, in February 1866, that 'some of the enterprising inhabitants . . . feeling the want of a room of suitable size for public meetings resolved to supply the desideratum, and have formed a company and accepted tenders for the erection of a Town Hall and offices at a cost of upwards of £2,000'. This writer was correct when describing the front elevation of the building as being of 'considerable dignity and beauty'. Joseph Meller exerted all his craftsmanship, and also that of his partner Scott and William Threadgold, carpenter, to produce a two-storey front elevation of Georgian style designed by James Macgeorge. The building was constructed from the beautiful stone from Meller's quarry and the stonework itself, mouldings and dressings are exceptionally beautiful. This building was later, in 1884, extended by Meller.[66]

Enthusiasm for such significant public buildings was a symbol of the 1860s and 1870s in Auburn. The local economy, boosted by a fine farming hinterland and the successful service industries in the town that catered for travellers and locals alike, was buoyant enough to provide funds for these developments. Likewise, the town had an exceptional group of builders and a stonemason, in Joseph Meller, of outstanding ability. Another example of these skills and of the community's enthusiasm was the construction of a Wesleyan Church (now Roman Catholic). The Bible Christians were from the start the leading branch of

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[64] ibid., vol. 3, p. 556.

[65] *ibid.*, p. 608; *National Trust Walk, Auburn, S.A.*. For a full account of the church see *Thrice bought: 125 years of life and worship of St John's church, Auburn, South Australia*, St John's Church 125 Committee, Auburn S.A., 1988.

[66] *Register*, 24 February 1866, p. 5: thanks to Pat Sumerling for this reference.

Methodism in the area and the Wesleyans never made great headway. Yet they were not prepared to be without a building of stature. At a meeting in November 1866, it was decided to purchase an allotment on the Saddleworth Road, nearby the ford. The issue was taken up with alacrity. The Rev. H. Bath drew up plans for a building and a foundation stone was laid on 30 December by Rev. John Watsford. Watsford also delivered a most edifying address on that occasion on the subject of courtship and marriage. Within another seven months Meller and Scott had completed the church and it was opened on 16 July 1867. Yet the cause never really took root and after Methodist union the building became redundant. It was sold to the Roman Catholic Church in 1915—an ecumenical step at a time of little love between the two denominations.[67]

Just as public buildings were erected apace at this time, so to were commercial premises. A former corn mart, corn store, general store, saddler's shop and bootmaker's shop have all survived to the present. They are witness to the vitality of the period. The closure of the Burra Mines in the late 1870s appeared to be a major factor in the relatively static position of the town from then on.

Perhaps, too, the commercial and public buildings served the local population so well that there was little need for alterations to their fabric. While the town was the post and social centre of the district it did not support a large population within its own boundaries. The close proximity of other townships, like Watervale, Sevenhill, Clare and Mintaro, probably prevented any major growth. By the early 1900s, it was recognised as a place of great scenic beauty in the midst of a flourishing agricultural and viticultural region. It was more a place to enjoy the tourists' views than to invest in trade.[68]

Even in the 1930s, a local government description of Auburn concentrated largely on that rapid period of growth during which the major portion of the town's buildings were erected.[69]

To some degree, this situation still holds true. While there is a good town life, much of the population live in the hinterland. Modern stories on the town use the vehicle of the buildings of the 1860s and 1870s as a lever to promote tourism. The 1986 civic description of local government focused almost entirely on the period of pioneer settlement and reasons for the declining local economy. The historic and present-day concentration of the populace at

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[67] Arnold D. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven, a history of Methodism in South Australia*, Adelaide, Lutheran Publishing House, 1985, p. 78 Ian Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and district*, Adelaide, S.A. Methodist Historical Society, 1961, p. 51; Jean V. Moyle, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[68] H. T. Burgess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 454.

[69] *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, pp. 912–5.

Auburn often appears to be with those like J. E. Bleechmore, Joseph Meller and the proprietors of the Burra Mines. For they built the town and maintained it during its heyday.[70]

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[70] *SA Motor,* September/October 1989, pp. 10–11; *Advertiser*, 'Getting Out', 29 September 1989, p. 1. *South Australia: The Civic Record, 1836–1986*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1986, pp. 530–1.

1.3 BURRA

The minds behind South Australia's first major British investment enterprise were keenly aware of the possibility of South Australia having large deposits of minerals. Their selection of Johannes Menge, a man of diverse talents and a gifted mineralogist and geologist, as an adviser was remarkably astute. The South Australian Company's pathfinding move in this area was encouraged and emulated by both its own Directors and other prospective colonists. George Fife Angas, in one sense the archetypal figure of South Australia's first colonists, pursued the creation of mines on his own lands, even though his public face at times belied his interest.[71]

As early as May 1840, Menge promoted the idea of a South Australian Mining Association to search for minerals and obtain specimens. And, when the Association was proposed in 1841, the idea of exploiting the land's mineral wealth was attributed to an even earlier phase of the colony:

> The attention of English capitalists has long been turned to South Australia, as offering a most encouraging field for mining operations, and so long back as 1835, a public Company with a very large capital was nearly completed [in London], for the purpose of exploring the colony for the rich mineral treasures it was thought to contain.[72]

Some notable mineral finds, particularly at Kapunda, sent those first British inhabitants of South Australia agog.

> Nothing was, or is, now more talked of, but copper or lead; hot days or cold days, early or late, people were to be with amongst the hills, searching for mines far and near, almost bent double under the weight of massive hammers, and bags of stones, and most unmercifully were the poor rocks knocked about.[73]

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[71] Rob Linn, 'George Fife Angas: on mining operations', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 6, 1979, pp. 55–66.

[72] Bernard O'Neil, *In Search of Mineral Wealth: the South Australian Geological Survey and Department of Mines to 1944*, Adelaide, Department of Mines and Energy, 1982, pp. 7, 15.

[73] F.S. Dutton, *South Australia and Its Mines . . .*, London, T. & W. Boone, 1846, pp. 256–7.

In 1845, a mineral discovery occurred on the Burra Creek 'whose astonishing richness . . . threw all other finds into the shade'.[74] The Burra Creek was on William Robinson's Hill River run. One of his shepherds, Thomas Pickett, had come across an outcrop of copper, as previously had another shepherd, William Streair, a worker on James Stein's run. But it was Pickett's find that came to be known as the 'monster lode'.[75]

On 25 June 1845, William Giles of the South Australian Company met John Hallett and James Bunce at Pickett's hut. On the following day they ventured to examine Pickett's outcrop. From this time dates one of the great performances of South Australia's European history. All the facets of human character—mainly the worst traits—evidenced themselves as Adelaidians jostled for position in the quest for ownership of the Burra discovery. This was not out of the ordinary—a similar degeneration of human qualities accompanied the even more extraordinary story of the Moonta Mines in the early 1860s.[76]

As has been told many times, the would-be investors in the mining speculation finally arranged themselves into two camps. News coverage of the race for the site's ownership ran rife. As excitement increased, the South Australian Mining Association and any other potential investors were informed, by Governor George Grey, that the only way the Burra land could be bought was by way of an 8,000 hectares Special Survey at a cost of £20,000. Where was the money to be found in a young British colony suffering the fates of the 'hungry forties'?[77]

The opposing groups, consisting on the one hand of some of the fortunate investors in the Kapunda Mine and on the other, of a conglomerate of shopkeepers, former public servants and various tentative investors, took the long journey to the Burra Creek to see for themselves the truth of the discovery. On arrival back at Adelaide connivance and intrigue continued when the South Australian Company began throwing its muscle around seeking to gain a share in the venture. Finally, the South Australian Company itself blundered and was forced out of the deal. The two other groups, termed by the media and populace generally, 'Nobs' and 'Snobs', agreed to combine their wealth. Their joint application for the Burra Creek Special survey was about as far as their partnership went, for they would not agree to share

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[74] George Sutherland, *The South Australian Company: a study in colonisation*, London, Longmans, Green & co., 1898, p. 158.

[75] The full account of the Burra mine is in Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*

[76] ibid., p .55. For details of the Moonta shenanigans see the section written by Rob Linn in UEPG, Historical Consultants Pty Ltd, *The Moonta Commercial Core Study*, Adelaide, November 1986, p. 2.

[77] See Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 33 ff. Mr Auhl's book is the most thorough on the Mine and has been used extensively in this section.

the mineral wealth of the land, but had it divided into two parcels. The choice of the land was to be decided by lot—winner take all.

In the draw of September 1845, the Nobs drew the southern section of the survey and named their venture the Princess Royal Mining Company, while the Snobs of the South Australian Mining Association took the north and, as it turned out, the Monster Mine, called Burra Burra, as well.

By May 1851, the Burra Mine was enormously successful. S. T. Gill had painted the mine and its surrounds by this time on more than one occasion. He depicted the isolation of the mine site, nestled in those huge rolling hills; initially, the earth mounded on the diggings, the horse whims, bullock teams, ore piles, enormous amounts of felled timber, and housing; then, three years later, the sophisticated smelting works, huge chimney stacks, Roach's enginehouse, vast engineering works, large horse stables, numbers of newly built houses for workers and managers; and, the formation of a township adjacent to the mine.[78]

Others who visited the mine wrote of what they saw:

> . . . Turning from this creek and looking towards the low but gently rising ground that lies between three hills, you observe an area of from 80 to 100 acres, crowded with stone buildings, covered shafts leading under ground, machinery and engine works, engine-houses, store-houses, tanks, and dams of water, innumerable sheds of all sizes, and countless piles of copper ore of various assorted qualities, in different stages of dressing, lying almost in every direction.
>
> . . . on the brow of a hill, is a row of well built stone cottages, two of them residences of Captain Roach and another mine captain, and the third, comprising the consultation room, the changing rooms and the office of the Company's accountant and his clerk. On the right of these cottages is another similar range, the residences of the other captains of the mine and their families.[79]

Another description of the town described the villages that had sprung up around the mine as well as some of the ways that miners had built for themselves:

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[78] Ian Auhl and Denis Marfleet, *Australia's Earliest Mining Era, South Australia 1841–51*, Adelaide, Axiom, 1988, pp. 74–100.

[79] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 May 1851, in Greg Drew (compiler), *Discovering Historic Burra, South Australia*, Adelaide, Department of Mines and Energy, 1988, p. 46.

> This township . . . is already thickly populated . . . it is laid out in a valley through which runs the Burra Creek . . . two other villages, or rather collections of dwellings, called Aberdeen and Redruth, also extend along the creek . . . this creek with its habitations **in**, not **on**, the banks on both sides, forms one of the most singular spectacles ever beheld. The miners, in the true spirit of burrowing, to which their habits incline them, have excavated dwellings like rabbit-holes, in lines, as thickly under the banks of the creek as they could be placed.[80]

In 1851, one diarist noted that these hobbit-like pretensions came to grief: 'we have had a great deal of rain for the last month, more than there has been for 4 years past—several heavy floods at the Burra mine destroyed a great deal of property & completely swept the people out of the houses they had made along the Burra Creek'.[81]

The interest in the Burra Mines was immense. Even as dour a pastoralist as Joseph Keynes spent part of his honeymoon as the guest of Samuel Stocks, a director of the South Australian Mining Association, and visited Burra, not without incident: 'we lost the road once or twice and came to the mine instead of the Inn and nearly got down some shafts . . . Myself and Mrs Keynes went through the mine and smelting works with Mr. & Mrs. Stocks saw the copper drawn off when smelted and brought home some for a sample'. Edward Snell, that conspicuous commentator on colonial life, was attracted enough by Burra in 1850 to apply for the position of surveyor and draftsman at the mine—he was unsuccessful in his bid.[82]

Until the eventual closure of the mines in 1877, the copper ore had been the extraordinary stimulus to the growth of Burra's townships. £5,000,000 worth of copper metal had been produced between 1845–77.[83] This huge sum had not only provided the South Australian Mining Association's shareholders with princely fortunes, but had also created a series of townships, with an abundance of service industries, in a geographical situation that would probably not have been spawned naturally by pastoral or agricultural settlement.

The town of Burra is today an amalgamation of six separate townships laid out at various times: Kooringa, 1846; Redruth; 1849; Aberdeen, 1846; New Aberdeen, 1872; Llwchr, 1855; Hampton, 1857. The earliest extant buildings are those either directly related to the workings

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[80] *ibid.*, p. 53 from *Register*, 8 July 1851.

[81] J. Keynes, Diary, 25 June 1851.

[82] J. Keynes, Diary, 13–15 April 1850. Tom Griffiths (ed.), *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell, the illustrated diary of an artist, engineer, and adventurer in the Australian colonies 1849 to 1859,* North Ryde NSW, Angus & Robertson, 1988, pp. 83, 86–8.

[83] Greg Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

of the mines and the smelting operation, or housing, built for miners. The Thames Street cottages, erected in 1846 to G.S. Kingston's design; Paxton Square Cottages, built in 1849 by the South Australian Mining Association for miners; and, Tiver's Row, begun by James Tiver in 1856, are fine examples of early domestic architecture. The first two mentioned are amongst the earliest built company housing in Australia. Such buildings and the regimen of the mining companies caused Blainey to write that 'Burra became a small welfare state'.[84] The mine site, these dwellings, and government and ecclesiastical buildings of the period, all provide a unique glimpse of a mid-nineteenth century industrial site. Moreover, the strong Cornish cultural transposition—due to a large proportion of the mining population originally arriving from Cornwall—is encapsulated in the remnants of the houses, chapels, and mine sites.[85] The spectre of those mining days continues to force its presence on Burra. The sheer size of the ruinous mines and smelting sites ensures that the memory adheres.

While the story of the Burra mines and its impact on the area is of immense importance, it is also true that the rise of an agricultural economy and the success of the pastoral enterprises in Burra's hinterland provided the basis for the town's existence after the mines' closure in 1877. Outside the particular sphere of the mining related sites, today's heritage at Burra relates largely to the post-mining era. Market Square and Commercial Street, the majority of Aberdeen and important religious and commercial buildings in Redruth date from the last years of the mine through into the early twentieth century. Although the mining facet of community life dissolved, the economy diversified in such a way that Burra remained a regional centre.

As the mining exodus began from Burra, commentators prophesied that cereal harvests and 'the right sort of sheep' would produce a sense of 'general prosperity and . . . fine prospects'.[86]

As early as 1869, the Clare paper noted that land north of Burra was 'particularly adapted for agricultural purposes, and well worthy of the farmers' notice'.[87] At the same time, the construction of the railway to Burra further instilled the sense of being linked to trading centres, and talk of agricultural expansion continued. Petitioners from Burra urged the South Australian Parliament to disavow the view of Goyder, the Surveyor General, that through a

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[84] Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: a history of Australian Mining*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1978, p. 111.

[85] *ibid.*, p. 116 ff., follows through the Cornish tradition to the Yorke Peninsula mines. This facet of cultural links is also explored in R. K. Johns, *Cornish Mining Heritage*, Adelaide, Department of Mines and Energy, Special Publication No. 6., 1986 and Jim Faull, 'The Cornish Miner in South Australia', Jonathan Selby (ed.),*South Australia's Mining.Heritage*, Adelaide, Department of Mines and Energy, Special Publication No. 7, 1987, pp. 139–42.

[86] Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

[87] Northern Argus, 2 April 1869, in D.W. Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth... the South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869–84*, Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1962, p. 39.

study of vegetation and climate it was possible to demark the most suitable and enduring areas for agriculture.

> The question of the suitability or otherwise of this land for agriculture should not rest on the dictum of one individual; it being notorious that much of the land now under culture and growing good crops, has been formerly pronounced totally unsuitable for that purpose by people apparently well qualified to form an opinion.[88]

Through the 1870s the false optimism of selectors, anxious for their plot of agricultural land, and the foolhardy doctrine that believed 'rain followed the plough' opened up vast areas of formerly pastoral country to farmers to the west and north of Burra. Later crop failures decimated farmers' hopes and left them, like one family, complaining after droughts, vermin assaults and failed harvests, 'that £80 is all that resulted from a year's labour of two hardworking men, with a farm to try to pay for, and nine mouths to feed'.[89]

Nonetheless, this period of agricultural growth into dubious, if not totally hopeless, country left its mark on Burra. Aberdeen, in particular, with its former flour mill, Drew and Crewes' chaff mill, late nineteenth century shops and tradesmen's yards, as well as the abundance of fine homes, is a token of the influence of that era. Many of the more conspicuous civic buildings and amenities, hotels, churches and homes, in all parts of the town date from this time. Even the Burra School was opened in 1878. The Kooringa Hotel, 1884; Elder Smith & Co.'s offices, 1890; St Mary's Anglican Church, 1879; Drew and Crewes' Store, 1880; and many others, are excellent examples of the buildings of Burra's post-mining period.

By 1909, it was evident that the mines would probably never again be worked at the level of their heyday. A writer on the district's affairs noted the reasons for the town's continuing existence:

> Its relation to the immense pastoral region lying to the north-east has made the Burra an important centre for stock sales, to which a large concourse is often attracted. While most of the country in that direction is in pastoral occupation, there is also an area of agricultural land. At Baldina, World's End, Douglas, and beyond the plain traversed by the railway, there are prosperous farms. The holdings are usually large, and the ratio of the population to the square mile is low; but when it is

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88 *ibid.*, *S.A.Parliamentary Paper No. 34* (1874).

89 *ibid.*, p. 159; Nancy Robinson (ed.), *Stagg of Tarcowie: the diaries of a colonial teenager (1885–1887)*, Jamestown, S.A., Nadjuri Australia, 1973, p. 102.

> remembered that Burra is a kind of outpost its importance as a commercial centre becomes apparent.[90]

It was also evident by this time that, while the hills around Burra had been only lightly timbered before the mining era, the mines had 'devastated' the surrounding country. 'Everything that would burn had been converted into fuel . . . and the goats had not only consumed the natural grasses and herbage, but the bushes. . . [it was] an era of barrenness'. Many of the community joined in a tree planting project to help remedy the ravages 'of the early and careless years'.[91]

The role of Burra as a service centre for this vast pastoral and agricultural hinterland did not diminish. Local sheep breeders claimed, as did outsiders as well, that by the 1930s the Burra district stood alone 'in Australia for breeding the best Merino sheep from a commercial point of view'.[92]

From that time on much of the original structure of Burra was retained. While areas of the mines and smelters degenerated under either time or the hands of men, much of the commercial and residential cores of the towns that make up Burra continued in use. This has in turn caused a great outside interest in the town and its historic sites. Tourism, as one local government publication put it, has created a new industry:

> Early mining in Burra, and the retention of a large proportion of its fine early buildings and homes, have given Burra a wealth of heritage. This heritage is the key to the area's ever-increasing tourist industry, an industry on which it must base its future survival.[93]

The rise of tourism in the area has ensured that the remnants of the mining era and the agricultural and pastoral era that followed will be retained. The entrepreneurial spirit that first founded the town is still having its impact.

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[90] H.T. Burgess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 457.

[91] *ibid.*

[92] *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, p. 179.

[93] *South Australia: The Civic Record, 1836–1986*, p. 88.

1.4 CLARE

Edward Burton Gleeson was physically a big man. He had large ideas too. He came to South Australia with his wife and family in July 1838 from India and immediately looked to make his mark in this new country. Family legend has it that he took out a sweepstake in India and brought a fortune with him. He first purchased land at the foothills of Adelaide, in present-day Beaumont, and set himself up as a wealthy farmer. Whether through inopportune investments or rash speculation Gleeson was said to have been bankrupted in early 1842—he was not alone for the 'hungry forties' caused a severe depression in the infant South Australian economy. He certainly put money into the overlanding of stock from the eastern colonies for resale and purchased sheep for a breeding programme. Like a number of other respected individuals who also put their money into livestock at this time, the venture went bad when bills were dishonoured.[94]

With some existing funds he invested in land in a survey taken out by John Morphett and Peter Horrocks some two hundred kilometres north of Adelaide. Horrocks and Morphett took out a Special Survey of 6,000 hectares in December 1839 on the Hutt River. By 1841 Gleeson placed stock there, purchased sections 41, 42 and others, totalling 200 hectares, and by 1843 had established a station homestead. In 1842, Gleeson had the village of Clare laid out on section 40 and part of section 42.[95]

There were others like Gleeson who saw this district as a sheepwalk, a place in which large pastoral holdings would be the standard. George and Charles Hawker established themselves north of Gleeson's run at present-day Clare and named their run Bungaree. John Hope acquired property at Clare in 1844 and William Robinson took up Hill River station in 1846. These men dominated Clare's early years. Largely through their own labour they built their homesteads, dug wells, constructed dwellings and fenced their properties. They were the first wave of British settlement. They shared much in common. Often even farming

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[94] R. Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, vol. 1, Adelaide, Publishers Ltd, 1925, pp. 86–7. Joseph Keynes & Co., another pastoral enterprise in which George Fife Angas was senior partner, folded by mutual consent on 8 June 1843 due to similar misfortunes. Keynes declared himself insolvent in January 1846 as a result of this crippling blow. See South Australian Government Gazette, 15 June 1843 and Public Records Office of South Australia, GRG 66/5, 66/1. Imprudent speculation in livestock in 1841–2 cost many worthy settlers their life savings and set them back a decade or more in their pursuit of position in society.

[95] Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Jean Schmaal, *The "Inchiquin" Story*, Clare, National Trust, n.d., pp. 1–3. See, also, Elizabeth Milburn's very fine article, 'From Conflict to Co-operation in Clare in the nineteenth century', Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, no. 6, 1979, p.27ff.

implements did the rounds. Their patriarchal view of local society was heavily modeled on a British ideal of the landed gentry.[96]

Whether to safeguard these men's flocks, or to bring a semblance of civilisation to the local people, the Adelaide government established a police station as early as 1841 at Bungaree. It was moved to Clare itself in 1848 and the fine building and Court House which housed the police and magistrates was a magnificent example of a symbol of law and order, based on its British forebears. In 1848 also the Clare Inn was first licensed. It was claimed to be stocked with 'the best assortment of wines and spirits etc., with good accommodation for travellers, good stabling and enclosed paddocks, at the most moderate charges'. And it was more than a mere hostelry for there were also quantities of 'drapery, hardware, slops, tea, sugar, tobacco, etc., which will be sold at the lowest Adelaide prices'. Moreover, the licensee, one Dennis Kenny, was perhaps one of the more astute, if not prophetic, voices of early colonial inn keeping. It was not enough for Kenny to just describe the attraction of his establishment—he foresaw the need for tourist accommodation for newly-weds:

> The undersigned also begs to bring to the notice of young married people, the pleasure they would enjoy by coming out of dusty Adelaide to Clare, where they could appreciate the sweets of their honey moon in all its pleasing delights . . .
>
> So lovers affianced, your election make soon,
> And spend with friend Kenny your sweet honey moon,
> With good cheer to enliven, good wines to regale,
> And a clear, purling stream in a green grassy vale.[97]

As Kenny regaled his prospective clientele with blarney Edward Gleeson was steadily building up his land holdings. He had named his homestead and property Inchiquin, a reminder of his native Ireland. The house and its outbuildings was known locally as the 'Government House' of Clare. It was a working station property, but its stone buildings, and, later under another owner its ballroom, were the natural place for the community's society to meet. Gleeson worked tirelessly for his town, just as the Angas family did for Angaston. He was the first Chairman of the District Council in 1853; first Mayor of Clare in 1868; first President of the Northern Agricultural and Horticultural Society in 1857 and of a similar local society in 1867. He was full of the town he created and his own place in it.[98]

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[96] Elizabeth Milburn, *op. cit.*; a discussion of the formation of a paternalistic ideal and its roots in the landed gentry is in David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*, London, Croom Helm, 1979.

[97] Elizabeth Milburn, *op. cit.*, p .28.

[98] *ibid.*, p. 30.

Yet even as Gleeson, the Hawkers, Hope and other pastoralists felt they were recreating the 'Old World' of noblesse oblige in Australia, the very town that should have provided those who tugged their forelocks was in fact spawning its own class of leaders. This dynamic evolution would form the shape of Clare and its public, private and civic buildings.

Clare's earliest dwellings are now virtually non-existent. A small stone cottage, in ruins, on Edward Street, with its huge chimney and primitive construction is one of the very few reminders of what the homes of local workers were like. One person, reminiscing about Clare at this time, thought that until about 1870 most of the houses were very inferior and extremely rough. Initially this section, at Edward Street, was granted to Thomas and John Magor and John Mitchell, miners of Burra, in October 1848. Thomas Magor owned the land until 1866 when William Roscrow a farmer brought it under the Real Property Act. By 1874 a hut is recorded in the local assessment books, but the building could date from the ownership of Magor; it resembles those built by the miners at Burra itself.[99]

If the details of early Clare houses are scanty, it is not the case for the churches in which many of the settlers worshipped. The earliest remaining buildings of this kind are the Anglican church and the Uniting Church, former Wesleyan, chapel. The roots of Clare's Methodism were in Burra. Some of the Cornish miners at that place were zealous in their Wesleyan faith and established strong links with Clare. Some even felt that the Burra mines would not last forever and, like Thomas Magor mentioned above, purchased land, built their huts and set out with ' a robust faith and a determination to build chapels in which to meet for fellowship, worship and instruction in the Word of God'. A small chapel was built at Spring Farm outside of Clare and from here grew the local Methodist cause. At the town, the Wesleyans met for class meetings in a cottage as early as 1851 and by 1855 were holding services in John Maynard's house. William Roscrow, who purchased the land on section 85 from Thomas Magor in 1866, 'had a passion to see a Wesleyan Chapel erected in the Clare Township'. It was he who purchased the corner block in present-day Victoria Street and gave it to the Wesleyans for their chapel. Edward Gleeson, an Anglican himself, but the town's most prominent citizen, presided over a meeting that discussed the possible erection of a chapel. The business proceeded apace and by July 1857, the building was ready for its first service. Rev. Butter preached 'three most impressive sermons' during the opening ceremonies and local adherents gathered to witness the proclamation of their faith. Within another nine years this

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[99] See Clare Regional History Group, Patullo Land History of Clare ms. and Local Government Assessment Books for Lot 29, Section 85. Many thanks indeed to the Clare Regional History Group for research assistance and guides to sources. 'Fifty Years', *Northern Argus*, 22 February 1918.

plain, simple chapel was too small and on 22 July 1866 the foundation stone of a church, of gothic revival style, was laid.[100]

The jovial, portly demeanour of Gleeson was at many meetings at Clare. He was as active in the establishment of the church of his own persuasion, Church of England, as he was with the Wesleyans. On 27 February 1850, Gleeson, with a number of other notables including Reverend J.C. Bagshaw; CH. Watts; G.C. Hawker and J. Maynard, proposed that a Church of England be erected. Later in that year, Gleeson's wife laid the cornerstone for St Barnabas' and by January 1851 construction was in progress. Gleeson was appointed a trustee and Church Warden. The Diocesan Assembly, meeting in January 1853, were informed that St Barnabas' had been completed during the last year. The church is sited on a large allotment of glebe land. It is of simple, rectangular design—without the pretensions of neo-gothicism—constructed of local stone with four lancet windows on each side. The ceiling is of a pannelled form with an infill of diagonal matchboard. In 1874 a chancel and vestry were added.[101]

The growth of the township, though, was relatively slow. In the 1850s Clare was described as 'a very small place'. Businesses were few, and at the time did not include either a butcher or baker and largely catered to the needs of the pastoralists. The decade of the 1860s was a time of growth for the town and one writer recalled eleven storekeepers, twelve hoteliers and an array of other workers including barmen, ostlers, bootmakers, butchers, saddlers, chemists, brewers, tailors, tinsmiths, greengrocers, auctioneers, bakers, postmasters, bank officers, lawyers, cabinet makers, photographers, watchmakers, carriers, painters, builders, implement manufacturers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, millers, hawkers, teachers, dressmakers, milliners, gardeners, mail drivers, doctors, clergy, teachers and a group he defined as 'prominent people'.[102]

Even though Gleeson and other of his pastoralist colleagues, called by one critic 'ignorant and purse proud mushrooms', were tirelessly involved with the evolution of Clare, its main activities were being formed by a new group of townspeople.There were those like Dr Charles Houlton Webb, a surgeon and publican, and William Lennon, an Irish Catholic teacher, who became involved in local government, politics and society. By the 1870s, Clare had ceased to be a pastoralists' town and was the service centre for an expanding agricultural hinterland. The

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[100] Stanley G. Forth, *Methodism in the Clare District*, "Gordon Rowe Memorial Lecture", South Australian Methodist Historical Society, 1974, p. 4ff. *Register,* 10 July 1857; 12 December 1862; 25 July 1866.

[101] *The Years Between: St Barnabas' Church, Clare*, Clare, n.d. p. 10; 11 January 1851 in *Newspaper clippings books of the Church of England in South Australia*, vol 1, pp. 51, 107.

[102] Thomas Dunstone, 'Old Time Memories' in *Northern Argus*, 9 February 1923. *Northern Argus*, 14 November 1941.

expansion of the town, its trades and buildings could not have been accomplished by a group of pastoralists alone.[103]

Perhaps the most striking remnants of this period in Clare's history are the Clare Hotel, the National and A.N.Z. Banks, the first town hall and others like the Institute and Court House. The Clare Hotel and the first town hall were claimed to have been designed by R. R. Page. The Clare Hotel, as we have noted, was first leased to Dennis Kenny in 1848. Dr Webb had also held its license from 1853 to 1856. The site and building were actually owned by the Roman Catholic Church until 1869. During the early 1870s the hotel was entirely rebuilt, probably during the time that it was the property of Edward Smith, a notable man of business. The first town hall was built on land apportioned to the Directors of the Clare Town Hall Company Ltd in February 1866. It was an enormously important private venture and a sign of the increasing prominence of townspeople as against the old pastoral regime. In 1875 this interesting edifice was purchased by the Corporation of the Town of Clare. A journalist reporting on the sale believed that 'the building is well worth the money, and when put in thorough repair the hall and offices will pay good interest'. The banks, moreover, were proof that the town was an established commercial success. Their solid two-storey design and their construction from fine stone provide an impressive statement about the importance of Clare to the financial institutions at the time.[104]

While these civic and commercial buildings were evidence of the economic strength of Clare, the building of the second St Michael's Church was a monumental occasion for the local Roman Catholics and their Jesuit fathers. In 1844, Father Michael Ryan first came to Clare district at the behest of Bishop Murphy. St Michael's Catholic Church, built between 1847–9, was Clare's first major building . The land bought by the Roman Catholic Church as the site for St Michael's also contains the first burial grounds for the Catholics of the district. As Clare and its hinterland prospered so it became obvious that the small church would not suffice.

On 29 June 1873, the diocesan administrator, Father Reynolds, laid the foundation stone of a new church. This grand occasion was attended by about 300 people. The church was to be of Italianate design and would cost some £3,000. While work began almost immediately, the walls were only at first constructed to about 30cms above the floor level and there, apparently, money and work ran out. In November 1876, the congregation decided that the building should continue. Money was raised through many ventures. It was not until 1881 that tenders were again called to build the church to M. McMullen's design of some ten years earlier. A. Munro, the Kapunda builder, was the successful tenderer. By January 1883, the church was

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[103] Elizabeth Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[104] *Northern Argus*, 14 November 1941. J. L. Hoad, *op. cit.*, p. 109. R. J. Noye, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 38. *Northern Argus*, 3 August 1875.

completed and its tower has ever since dominated the skyline of Clare. As one reporter stated: 'This magnificent Church is believed to be one of the best outside Adelaide'.[105]

Although the state of the town's churches and the story of its public buildings have been mentioned separately, they are part of a unified community life. This broader society depended on the strength of a local economy to survive. While the 1870s were a prosperous decade, the 1880s were not. During these latter years there were 'the highest number of insolvencies for the century, growing unemployment and people leaving Clare'. A number of the town's leading citizens established a vigilance committee to encourage new industries. While there were ideas and some of them put into action, few survived. Dr J. W. D. Bain was one of those who helped in many ways at this time as a civic leader.

Bain established a dairy factory in 1894, as well as working on numerous other public projects, and the local paper noted that 'It is fortunate we have in our midst men of means who are ever ready to take the lead in industrial pursuits, and stir up the apathetic by affording them substantial help and encouragement.'[106]

The local wine industry was given a great boost during this time as well. Elizabeth Milburn described the foundation of a long-lasting venture that utilised the buildings of the failed Clare Fruit Preserving Company in a new manner:

> The Stanley Wine Company was set up in the old Jam Factory building in 1894 by four leading men, Mr. Christison JP (brewer), Dr. Otto Wien Smith JP, Mr Magnus Badger JP (solicitor) and Mr. J.H. Knappstein (agent and vigneron). The Company had been established to solve the problem of what to do with the products of the increasing number of vineyards in the Clare district and at the October 1896 Adelaide Wine Show it won first and second prizes for a light red of 1896 vintage. Many leading townsmen themselves planted vines; for example, Christison, Knappstein, Dr. Bain, Charles Kimber and sons, and R. E. H. Hope, son of John Hope and brother-in-law of Christison.[107]

The opening of the renovated Stanley Wine Company cellars in February 1897 attracted an enormous amount of attention. The local press praised the farsightedness of the men who formed the company. The extensive machinery was described as well as the additions to the

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[105] All the material on St Michael's is taken from the thoroughly researched, A. F. Burke, S. J. et al.,*St Michael's Church Clare, 1883–1983*, Clare, the Church, 1983.

[106] Elizabeth Milburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–43.

[107] *ibid.*

old Jam Factory. Speakers heaped praise on the capacity of the land of the Clare district which 'was equal to any purpose'. The wine that would be produced, claimed Mr Christison, 'would gladden the heart of man'.[108]

By the turn of the century the town of Clare was no longer run by just a pastoral elite. Gleeson died in 1870, as did Dr Webb, and much of the old confrontation ceased. A group of educated and successful businessmen and professionals, as well as farmers and graziers, had helped to bring the economy to a new high.

One facet of the life of Clare that was seldom neglected was the education of children. Schooling, indeed, was at times a contentious issue. In the early 1870s, for example, there had been a polarisation of the townspeople over the appointment of the first public school teacher.[109] Another school of the 1870s was situated in what is now 'Windy Brae' at 21 King Street, the one-time home of Dr Otto Wien Smith, one of those who helped form the Stanley Wine Company. From 1877 to 1886 the property was owned by Dr J. W. D. Bain, the prominent townsman. During his ownership, the property was leased as a school and dwelling by Elizabeth Anne Steele. Miss Steele, claimed R.J. Noye, was a teacher from Bungaree who 'built a "commodious seminary"'.[110] This seminary was actually owned by Bain. The property was no longer used as a school in 1887 and was rented in 1890–1, and later purchased, by Wien Smith.

The State primary school was opened in what is now the Local TAFE College and was built in 1879. This building was too small for modern needs and in 1971 the primary division moved to the former high school built in 1925.[111] This later school had been agitated for by locals since 1918 and when, in June 1925, the building was formally opened, even the Premier 'congratulated those who had worked to get such a fine building erected'.[112]

By the time this school opened, Clare was the service town for a relatively affluent agricultural and viticultural district. The pathfinding ventures of the prominent townspeople had, in fact, brought their rewards. The area, too, was a noted tourist destination, even as Dennis Kenny predicted in 1849. Writers described 'charming homes', 'beautiful views', 'and a totally delightful picture'.[113] The local government by the 1930s believed that it was a 'picturesque

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[108] *Northern Argus*, 5 February 1897.

[109] Elizabeth Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[110] R.J. Noye, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

[111] *Clare Primary School Centenary, 1879–1979*, Clare, Clare Primary School Centenary Committee, 1979, p. 8.

[112] *Northern Argus*, 26 June 1925.

[113] H. T. Burgess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 468.

mid-northern town . . . surrounded by fertile hills and valleys . . . and is noted throughout the State for its ideal and healthy climate'.[114]

Perhaps the town's successful economy caused a degree of development over the years. As traders, hoteliers and businesses expanded so they demolished, re-built, or renovated or modernised their buildings. This has, naturally, been an on-going process. Clare has relatively few examples left of its earlier buildings. This could be because much of the quality of its first houses, for example, was described in the 1940s as being very poor. A Housing Trust official who visited Clare in 1944 said that 'Clare was like all old country towns—it had many hovels and sub-standard houses'.[115]

Yet the town is full of tradition, if not of early buildings. The role of the pastoral families—like the Hopes, Hawkers and originally Gleeson—has over the years joined with the names of townspeople—such as the Knappsteins, Wien Smith, Christison—and produced a vital life.

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[114] *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, p. 202.

[115] *Northern Argus*, 23 January 1947.

1.5 KAPUNDA

When Charles Harvey Bagot arrived in South Australia, having left Ireland with his family in 1839, the new British colony was in the grip of a time of furious speculation. George Gawler, as Governor, was intent on pushing the colonists forward to establish farms and productive enterprises, but was meeting with little success. As one repentant settler wrote in 1842, the scene was set for bad times:

> . . . the cause of all this has been speculation in land and other things . . . building to a ruinous extent. Whilst these things were going on people were all stopping in Adelaide, none went into the country to grow food for the colony. Consequently all ready money went to Van Diemen's Land for flour and to Sydney for stock. The first thing a new colony should do is to raise its own provisions, when it can do that it may build and make improvements.[116]

Bagot, apparently, had little time for spurious investment. He began a series of exploratory journeys, probably seeking out land suitable for pastoral enterprise, covering territory to the south of Adelaide and through the Mount Lofty Ranges. Finally, he discovered the right property some ninety kilometres north-east of the capital at a place named Koonunga. His prime aim was to develop an innovative agricultural policy. He built his flock numbers up through judicious selection, experimented with and encouraged Ridley's invention, the reaping machine, and showed enormous hospitality to allcomers. One writer stated,

> . . . pre-eminent for hospitality, is the country residence of Captain Bagot, M.C.; being situated near the thoroughfare to the north, the number of people who in the course of the year partake of his hospitable kind attentions, and that of his family, could hardly be credited.[117]

Bagot was not only gracious and amiable, but also industrious and sharp-sighted. His standing in the young colony was emphasised by his appointment to the nominee Legislative Council in 1842. He was also astute enough to recognise that a lump of coloured 'stone' found by his son, Charles Samuel, in late 1842, was a likely indication of the presence of minerals. A short

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[116] Joseph Keynes to George Fife Angas & Co., 4 April 1842, in Rob Linn (ed.), 'Scenes of early South Australia: the letters of Joseph Keynes of Keyneton, 1839–1843, *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 10, 1982, p. 57.

[117] F. S. Dutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 208–19, 248, 266ff. Rob Charlton, *The History of Kapunda*, Hampstead Gardens S.A., 1971, pp. 10–11.

time later, F.S. Dutton of Anlaby, Bagot's pastoralist–neighbour, confided to the Captain that he too had discovered a specimen of what he thought was copper. When Bagot produced his son's find and the locations matched, the two pastoralists decided to further prospect the area. Dutton described the event and its aftermath in his colourful book on the first South Australian mines:

> . . . To make a long story short, we soon ascertained that the specimens were undoubtedly copper ores; the discovery was kept of course secret; we got 80 acres surveyed, all the forms as laid down by the old land-sales regulations were complied with; the section was advertised for a whole month in the Government Gazette, and we became the purchasers of it at the fixed Government price for waste lands at £1 per acre.[118]

From these humble familial and neighbourly beginnings grew South Australia's first major mineral find. After they had purchased the land the partners sent off samples of the ore for assay. This exercise bred much optimism and the mine was named the Kapunda. It was opened by Menge, South Australia's pioneer geologist, and managed by Bagot. On 8 January 1844, the first ore was brought to the surface and five dray loads were sent to Adelaide. News of this discovery 'had the effect of stimulating the search for minerals in all directions' and 'caused considerable excitement'.[119]

By 1845, activity hummed at the Kapunda mines. When S.T. Gill visited the locality he saw an array of subjects and movement: the bullock drivers working their kine; the remnants of Aboriginal tribes viewing events; the basic housing provided for miners; the miners themselves at their work, burrowing, heaving, sluicing the ore; the horse whims and machinery.[120] Another observer spoke of how Bagot

> . . . infused into the ordinary mining routine, a spirit of activity, and a system of cheerful regularity . . . In the neighbourhood of the mine is a double row of well built stone cottages, for the miners . . . Nine teams consisting of six gigantic bullocks to each of nine ponderous drays, heavily laden with

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[118] *ibid.*, pp. 267–8. R. Cockburn, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 100–1. George E. Loyau, *The Representative Men of South Australia*, Adelaide, George Howell, 1883, pp. 48–9. Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9

[119] H. Y. L. Brown, *Record of the Mines of South Australia*, fourth edition, Adelaide, Government Printer, 1908, p. 66; William Harcus (ed.), *South Australia: its history, resources and productions*, Adelaide, Government Printer, 1876, p. 206. Geoffrey Blainey, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[120] Gill's 1845 painting of the mine is in Ian Auhl and Denis Marfleet, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

> provisions and stores, were met on their way to the mines, proving that temporal wants of the rising village are carefully anticipated, and duly provided for; and a chapel is about to be erected forthwith; to be followed by a school in the extraordinary course of events.[121]

These descriptions of the hurry and scurry of the new enterprise pointed out two important factors: a village had been begun at the mine; and, the economy was being stimulated by the venture.

That this latter fact was so, was attested to by many commentators. In the early 1840s, South Australia suffered under the international economic depression. Money was leaving the colony for provisions and supplies and little was available to generate local trade. Speculation, too, had cost many people dear. The success of the Kapunda mines, and other mines, yielded more than £25,500 worth of ore by the end of 1845, stimulated immigration—thereby bringing more capital and a greater capacity to buy goods—provided higher returns for infant agriculture and encouraged the expansion of agriculture and stock husbandry.[122]

The formation of a town at Kapunda was self evident. Miners built houses on the mine section and a settlement soon developed. But mining ground was more precious than a burgeoning village and a site about a kilometre away from the mine, close to a fresh water spring, became the nucleus for the town of Kapunda when it was laid out in 1844. Yet the fact that a town was surveyed could not dictate where people would build or settle and the town did not begin to take formal shape until after the July 1846 land sale.[123]

The primitive beginnings of Kapunda soared quickly into a more sophisticated era. The increase in the number of mines—four more soon followed Bagot's original—led to the need for more services. In 1851 a writer claimed that the mines provided the town of Kapunda's traders with large profits:

> There are four good stores, of which Whittaker owns one; several butchers, a baker, a tailor, and several carpenters—good men and true to their work when they begin it, but hard to get to work; labourers of all kinds can be found. There are two inns in the town, and a Post Office at the mines of the Great Kapunda. There is likewise a chapel belonging to the sect called 'the Howling Methodists', whose tenets,

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[121] *Observer*, 5 July 1845 in Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[122] A.I. Diamond, Aspects of the history of the South Australian Company—the first decade, M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1955, pp. 383–4.

[123] Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

> however, are not patronized in the township; and there is a Roman Catholic chapel, but no other place for public worship. About fifty children attend a Sunday-school. The great disadvantage here is the want of good water.[124]

By the time of the early 1850s, the face of Kapunda was definitely changing. At the mines Captain Bagot had largely handed over duties to one William Oldham. Oldham was as remarkable a man as his predecessor, and like others of great capacity, he strongly influenced the trends of Kapunda's life until his death in 1885. He was born in Ireland, educated at Trinity College and for a time was a confidential clerk at the Guiness Brewery. Arriving in South Australia in 1838 he soon after became a Protector of Aborigines. In 1847 he became purser at Kapunda mines. He was at times a preacher and minister in the Congregational church. As one commentator said, 'his character, if only for its ingenious versatility and wealth of resource, was worthy of admiration'.[125] It was the likes of Oldham, and Kapunda traders like James Crase and James Whittaker, who helped to forge the structure of the township into a nucleus of needful trades, services and amenities.

Before 1860 Kapunda was the major rural centre, politically and socially, for a district spreading as far as Angaston–Keyneton on the one side and, through the trade links, to the Burra on the other. Large Barossa pastoralists, for example, like Joseph Keynes was frequently at Kapunda: attending land sales and political meetings, watching sports, judging and competing at the renowned Show. The connection with Burra was due to the enormous success of the mines there. The through trade at Kapunda brought levels of business to local traders far in excess of that which the townspeople themselves offered. Although the opening of Port Wakefield in 1850 stemmed the flow, it was a momentary disturbance.As the railways shot their steel tentacles across the South Australian countryside reaching first Gawler in 1857 and then Kapunda itself in 1860, the Burra ore and supplies of necessity came through Kapunda.[126]

Paradoxically, even though Kapunda was the first paying mine in Australia and Burra's monster mine the second stupendous find in South Australia, it was the Burra mine's outstanding success that contributed most to Kapunda's growth. As the Kapunda mines became more expensive to work the through traffic and service industries spawned to supply

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[124] *Register*, 1851 in Greg Drew and Joyce Jones (comp.), *Discovering Historic Kapunda, South Australia: Australia's first mining town*, Adelaide, Dept of Mines and Energy, 1988, p. 46.

[125] Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, p .15; George E. Loyau, *Notable South Australians; or, Colonists—past and present*, Adelaide, The author, 1885, pp. 120–1;

[126] J. Keynes, Diary, 21 February 1857, vol. 6 p. 1129 and vol. 9, pp. 157, 171. Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–7.

materials to Burra created new town buildings and dwellings. So the 1860s was a time of unexampled expansion. The coming of the railway in 1860 was an essential factor in this dilation.

The railway was officially trialled on 10 August 1860 by a party including Arthur Freeling, Surveyor General and Inspector of Railways, and Richard Hanson, a one-time Attorney General. They boarded a special train at Gawler and travelled through to the Kapunda terminus. The inspection team were favourably impressed, as were others who recorded the occasion:

> . . . It may not be amiss to state here that although the Railway proper is in perfect working order the buildings referred to, especially the Kapunda station, are not quite complete. That structure is, however, sufficiently advanced to give the visitor a clear perception of the simple beauty of its design and the amount of accommodation it is calculated to secure at that important terminus.[127]

Three days after this trial the Governor, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, opened the railway at an official ceremony and unloaded a bale of wool. The Government's representatives were soon to value the completed terminus at £12,040.[128]

Hotels, civic edifices, churches, sporting centres, engineering works, government buildings and houses of all shapes and sizes flowed from the money generated by the increasing trade of the railway—from Burra and the rich agricultural hinterland. The *Kapunda Herald* crowed parochially in 1865 that:

> No township, however, has exhibited more strikingly the prosperity of the northern districts than Kapunda. The fact is noticed and noticeable by every person visiting it after a short absence.
>
> The main street, from the railway station to the north of the Victoria township, is now one continuous double line of substantial and commodious places of business . . . Buildings have been erected which do credit to the accumulated wealth of the owners, and the skill and ability of the workmen'.[129]

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[127] *Register*, 11, 13 August 1860.

[128] Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–4. South Australian Parliamentary Paper, no. 32 of 1866–7.

[129] *Kapunda Herald* ,6 January 1865.

While this local view is full of pride, another description by Dr Charles Davies helps to remind that Kapunda was yet in its infancy. After arriving in Kapunda he

> . . . put up for the day at the Railway Hotel, Harriet Forbes. the dust rose today on the Kapunda Hill as high as the foul board of the trap.
>
> The town I think is quite as large as Gawler, and stands on more ground, the houses being more straggling. I saw very few good private dwellings.
>
> The shops are not so showy as those of Gawler, but there are a few good ones in the main street.
>
> I counted 7 or 8 public houses, 5 in the principal street; and 5 or 6 chapels and churches.
>
> Walked all over the hill in which the mine is, and there a fine extensive view from the top. Went around the town but, being Sunday, there was not much to see.[130]

Some of the buildings that Dr Davies commented on and the *Herald* puffed up were doing good service. Of the hotels, the Railway Hotel had been built to cater for the traffic of the new Gawler line. It was first licensed in 1861 to H. Forbes—presumably Harriet mentioned by Dr Davies. In 1865–6, when J. Ford held the licence, large improvements were made. It was probably at this time that the two storey accommodation wing with its ground floor dining area was added, for a local journalist recorded:

> The constant thronging to our township of travellers has rendered our increase in hotel accommodation imperative and such requirements have been met in a most spirited manner—Mr Ford having so added to the Railway Hotel that its former commodious self is now almost lost sight of in the extensive improvements effected.[131]

At the same time that Ford was extending his premises another hotel in the main street of the burgeoning town was also going ahead. The journalist that recorded the extensions to the Railway Hotel wrote of James Crase's new North Kapunda Hotel which was already making 'rapid strides' and would soon 'be second to none in the colony for substantiality, commodiousness, and elegance'. The North Kapunda had first begun life on 8 November 1849 with John Bickford the licensee as the North Kapunda Arms and from 1853–5 as the

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[130] Diary of Dr Charles Davies, 17 January 1864, "V" piece 253, Mortlock Library.

[131] Bob Hoad, *op. cit.*, p. 488. *Kapunda Herald*, 5 January 1866, p. 2.

Garland Ox. From 1856 on it was the North Kapunda Hotel. James Crase ran this hostelry from 1850–60 and from 1864–86. During Crase's time the hotel was a great favourite, for his large meeting hall and other facilities leant it towards being a community centre for social and political purposes. After the visit in 1867 by Alfred the Duke of Edinburgh, when the royal person lunched at the North Kapunda, Crase never ceased to mention this erstwhile patronage:

> Hotels & Livery Stables—Crase's North Kapunda Hotel. Patronized by HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, Sir James Fergusson . . .
>
> James Crase having again taken possession of this old established house which has been thoroughly renovated throughout, thanks his friends for past favours, and assures them that in resuming possession it is his intention to devote his whole energy to promote the comfort of those who may favour him with their patronage.
>
> Charges Moderate.[132]

There were, however, not merely two hotels in the town. The number included the Victoria Hotel on Mildred Street from 1854–92, the Clare Castle Hotel from 1859, the Prince of Wales Hotel from 1858, and the Sir John Franklin from 1849–50, as well as other public houses at various times—Charlton records a possible nineteen.[133]

While the number of hotels indicated the need for accommodation for travellers and food and drink for allcomers, the strong religious prejudices of the local community were evidenced in the spate of church building that occurred at the same time as the expansion of the trading and commercial sectors of the town.

In 1844 Captain Bagot and other local Anglicans petitioned the Colonial Secretary for the provision of a priest. When this request was refused, the inhabitants were thrown on their own resources and Dr Blood and others made their homes available for services. By 1851 the congregation at Christ Church, Kapunda was well established and in the following year churchwardens, synodsmen, sidesmen and choir were functioning. After Rev. F. P. Strickland was appointed to Riverton, fortnightly services were held at Kapunda . Then, in 1855, locals met to form a committee for the building of a church. By 1857 funds were found to proceed: the foundation stone was laid on 28 April and the church opened on 11 October. The Bagot

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[132] *Kapunda Herald*, 5 January 1866, p. 2. *Register*, 14 May 1872.

[133] Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, pp .128–9.

family not only donated stone for the building, but also a significant amount of money. The church was considerably enlarged in late 1868.[134]

Methodism first came officially to Kapunda in 1845–6 when it and Gawler were added to the General Plan for South Australia. A meeting house was constructed at the mines for the first services. By April 1849 a new chapel was constructed on Main Street and its minister had a circuit running to Gawler, Lyndoch Valley and Angaston. Such was the growth of the population that this chapel, too, proved inadequate and a new church was opened on Christmas Day 1858. In August 1860, following the ministry of the Rev. H.T. Burgess, a revival was claimed when 200 were added to the church. Such an increase in congregational numbers led the trustees to recommend extra seating.[135]

The churches prospered in these years. The Congregational church and manse were constructed in 1858 and the Roman Catholics always had a strong cause in Kapunda due to a large Irish population. The 1866 Baptist Church in Hill Street is, probably, one of the major churches of its era in South Australia—a mammoth testimony to the non-conformist cause.

The Government also had its centres of influence. A Police Station had been built in 1852 on Chapel Street and in 1866 one of those provincial Courthouses, designed in a suitably formidable mode, appeared alongside.

Along Main Street and its commercial precincts a rash of buildings developed—banks, stores, offices. These are examples of the degree of success that accompanied Kapunda's growth. The National Bank, 1862, designed with an eye for an imposing two storey building of Georgian style is an exceptional piece of period architecture. If the increase in hotels and the building of new churches are indicators, Kapunda's major growth occurred in the 1860s–70s.

Yet it was not only in their places of trade that the business people of Kapunda showed their affluence.[136] Andrew Thomson, the Main Street trader and brewer who once entertained the Duke of Edinburgh at his house and witnessed that Royal dignitary succumb to the taste of the distilled essence of malt, built a magnificent house, 'Osborne House', on a large parcel of land at the southern end of High Street. The massive front entrance door opened into a lobby tiled with black and white marble and capped with a turret-like skylight. The rich brown woodwork and panelling spoke of his success. Over the years he added to the house, always retaining that gracious, yet understated, design that reflected his business prowess.

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[134] *ibid.*, pp. 65–6. Brian Condon (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 84, 102. *Register*, 30 November 1855, in L. P. G. Smith, *Centennial of Christ Church Kapunda . . . A Short History, Kapunda* S.A., 1957, unpaged. *Kapunda Herald,* 1 January 1868, p. 2.

[135] Ian Giles, *A brief history of the churches that make up Light Parish*, Kapunda S. A., Uniting Church in Australia, 1986, pp. 1–17.

[136] For more on Kapunda's commercial origins in built form, see Greg Drew and Joyce Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Thomson was as much a force in the community as Captain Bagot or Dr Blood or James Crase. He was a pivot around which many community and commercial ventures spun. As the historian of Kapunda so rightly noted:

> It is doubtful if early residents gave Andrew Thomson as much credit as he deserved for his quiet and unobtrusive influence in building up Kapunda's commercial strength, as it is only after careful research that his financial backing of business ventures can be discovered.[137]

Kapunda was immensely fortunate in the quality of its most influential citizens. Names like Bagot, Dutton, Blood, Oldham, Thomson, were to be joined in years to come by David James, Sir Sidney Kidman and the manufacturers Hawke, Rees and Cameron.[138]

By the late 1860s much of Kapunda had assumed its modern shape—at least in town planning terms. William Oldham and his assistant O'Hara had refined the design of the town by integrating modern details such as the railway and section boundaries. More care had been taken with conserving the water run-off in suitable dams. Without doubt the buildings of the town reflected the affluence of the time. Dwellings were often of basic design and construction, based on an 'Old World' model—for example, row cottages with slate roofs and simple rectangular floor plan and lean-to kitchen were common. By 1871, the population was in excess of 2,200.[139]

It was a truism that the locals saw any slowdown in new building numbers as an indictment of the way of things. In its yearly review, the *Kapunda Herald* exaggerated any slight touch of a gentle breeze of change into a major gale—its commentators did not recognise that consolidation often follows the rapid rise of a commercial infrastructure:

> In our town there is not much to note in the way of new buildings—this being a natural result of the stagnation of trade . . .
>
> We cannot boast of very many additions to the buildings of Kapunda . . .
>
> In the way of buildings we have no considerable additions to chronicle.[140]

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[137] Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[138] *ibid.*

[139] *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

[140] *Kapunda Herald*, 1 January 1869 p. 2, 31 December 1869, p. 2, 5 January 1872.

Despite the press's exaggerated pessimism there were signs of a continuing expansion in building. The principal example was the construction of an Institute on Hill Street, adjacent to the magnificent Baptist church and the *Herald* office. By December 1869, it was known that the Government had set aside funds for the building and that 'one well-known citizen . . . with his wonted liberality [had] promised a very handsome donation'. The *Herald* 's reporter noted with typical gloom, 'we may hope soon again to hear the almost-forgotten music of the trowel and the stonecutter's hammer on the Institute's land'. In October 1870, the foundation stone was laid: the mine band played, a 'cold collation' was served, a great entertainment held, and, remarkably, a holiday declared by local traders and holiday fares arranged by the government for the railway. This 'veritable castle in the air . . . [began] to assume a more substantial form'.

The Institute was opened to the public on 12 July 1871 at a gala affair which featured a 'torchlight procession, a conversazione, an exhibition of works of art, scientific apparatus, and the electric light, with music'. Even the Adelaide press was ecstatic about the building. Its 'beautiful grey Kapunda stone, finished with white freestone also obtained in the neighbourhood, the quoins with sunken joints, and alternatively tooled and brooched' was described, as was the Mintaro slate steps and interior plan. The front two storeys were to have a large lecture hall added later. Kapunda people themselves saw the building as probably the most important social and educational venture in the town's history; a success achieved by the few zealots in the community and that led 'those prophets of evil [to be] confounded.'.[141]

There were other instances in the next few years that showed Kapunda's coming-of-age. F. H. Dutton, Bagot's philanthropic neighbour, gave £3,000 to the local community to found a hospital and recreation reserve. £500 was used to buy the recreation ground and Dutton Park was the result. Its beautifully wrought gates, given by Henry Dutton, are a testimony to the ability of local iron founders. Then, in 1876, new Corporation Offices were opened on Clare Road. The Council chamber, as well as the obvious external signs of civic pride—the engineering works, stone gutters and water tables, cast street name signs—gave the people of Kapunda much satisfaction. The opening was finished with 'an excellent dinner . . . toasts, speeches and songs . . . lively and pleasant'.[142]

Even as the Institute was being built, Dutton Park coming into being and the Corporation Offices opened, the backbone of Kapunda's economy, the mines, were running out of time. Ore was becoming increasingly difficult to raise at economic prices by the 1870s. Then, in 1878, Dunstan's lode struck a massive influx of water and the pumps could not cope with the quantity. The doom of the mines was sealed. In 1879 the plant of the mine was auctioned. Yet, as Rob Charlton wrote, even though the grand old mine—the progenitor of Australia's

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[141] *ibid.*, 31 December 1869, 30 December 1870, 5 January 1872. *Register*, 12 October 1870, 12 July 1871, 4 January 1872.

[142] *Register*, 20 May 1875, 15 May 1876.

paying mining industry—had closed, 'Kapunda was far too distracted by its civic achievements to give it much thought'.[143]

Part of the reason for the townspeople's scant attention to the closure was portrayed in the *Kapunda Herald*:

> Kapunda is year by year becoming increasingly a manufacturing centre, our machinists, founders, and others having obtained so high a reputation for the excellence of their work that their orders are not simply confined to this district or colony, but come in from more distant parts of this and also from other colonies.[144]

Industrialists, like the Hawke family, were producing extremely high quality materials. Their lace work found its place on some of Kapunda's finest buildings, and their weighbridges were renowned through South Australia. The Hawkes owned other buildings in the town as well, including one fine two storey store just beyond Ford Street on the western end of Main Street.

One house that used some of the local ironwork was later owned by Sir Sidney Kidman and named Eringa by him. It is now the high school's main administration and library centre. It was built in 1876 by P. McLaren to the design of John Leech an Adelaide architect, for A. H. Greenshields, a successful Main Street trader. One writer thought that Greenshields should be 'congratulated on having one of the prettiest, most commodious and best furnished villa residences in the neighbourhood'.[145]

As if to cap off the civic pride of the town, more was done to catch that vital water supply for its inhabitants. In 1879, a series of public buildings were erected for the, then, Waterworks Department. These houses, offices and sheds cost £1,500 and are a token of the fine masons available in Kapunda at the time. One wall of the outbuildings stretches for nigh on thirty metres. After the following year, residents were still not satisfied that the money had been entirely well spent. One reporter felt that

> . . . At Kapunda but little has been done during the past year, the works having been practically completed on November 26, 1879. The water hitherto caught has not been nearly sufficient to fill the reservoir, and is much discoloured by gum

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[143] H.Y.L. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Rob Charlton, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[144] *Kapunda Herald*, 9 January 1877.

[145] *Kapunda Herald*, 9 January 1877. Other sources, including Greg Drew and Joyce Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 29, give the date of Lanark House at 1879. It was, however, being built in 1876 and certainly finished by early January 1877.

> etc., and consequently not pleasant for domestic purposes.146

Then in 1882, Kapunda's local pride was directed towards the construction of a new showground and the resuscitation of the once-proud show society. Since 1879 there had been a move afoot to provide renewed vigour to the Society. What one writer called a 'splendid piece of ground' was purchased from the mines and a substantial wall was built around the site. Permanent buildings were set up each year until finally, in 1900, a hall and pavilion were erected. The shows themselves must have been amazing occasions. The rural exhibits of livestock and produce spread around the site in their splendour and, as a correspondent noted,

> Although cheap-jacks were prohibited there was no lack of amusements for everybody. The Kapunda Band enlivened proceedings with excellent selections.
>
> On entering the enclosure the principal features were the large and varied collections of agricultural implements.
>
> The verandah under which the poultry was exhibited was crowded with interested exhibitors all the afternoon. In the centre of the ground a space was roped-off for the trial of the buggy pairs, roadsters and jumpers, and formed whilst the jumping proceeding the chief centre of attraction.
>
> Inside the iron building was a small but excellent collection of miscellaneous exhibits.
>
> Attention was immediately attracted to the natural resources of the district by the excellent samples of copper ore from the old Kapunda Mine and of marble from the newly opened marble quarries.147

While the Show society's resurrection was to be applauded, the increasing emphasis on agricultural machinery, stock and vehicles and the viewing of copper ore as some type of antiquarian phenomenon was an indicator that Kapunda was now an industrial and agricultural service town. By 1913, Hawke and Co. employed about 100 men at their foundry and plants. Their skills were in high demand. Their success had largely been due to the expansion of

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146 *Register,* 2 January 1880, 3 January 1881.

147 *Observer*, 7 October 1882. Greg Drew and Joyce Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

South Australian agriculture and the need for locally manufactured implements of high quality. Their careful workmanship and innovative designs won them a place of repute.[148]

At this time, too, Kapunda could still attract people of great talent to work in its industries and trades. One of these was Paddy Macmahon Glynn who was variously a newspaper journalist, solicitor and politician. Glynn was an ardent Catholic, yet a staunch royalist, and had one of South Australia's finest minds for the study of English literature. Glynn left his mark on Kapunda, in both his writings and in the memorable fracas following his defeat at the 1893 elections. He went on to become one of the major minds in the federation movement and an Attorney General of the Commonwealth. Some of his work on the River Murray and its intra-State legislation was seminal.[149]

Even though the town was prosperous, the period of consolidation after the closure of the mines, continued through until the Second World War. There can be no doubt that the town was a highly respected stock sales centre for Coles, Kidman and other agents and producers used it as their market. Elder Smith & Co. built their fine Main Street offices on the corner of Hill Street in 1908 to show their confidence in the local markets. This fact, and others like its engineering and agricultural base were emphasised.[150]

In the 1930s, the same sentiments about the town were again published:

> The town is now the centre of a very prosperous agricultural and pastoral district, with a large dairying industry. Phosphate rock had also been discovered in large quantities, and the chief products of the area are wool, wheat, dairy produce, and phosphate rock.
>
> Kapunda also possesses up-to-date engineering works, where many large contracts have been carried out for both the Commonwealth and State Governments.[151]

In a real sense Kapunda never regained the impetus of the years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Eventually, in 1984, even Hawke and Co. were forced to close their doors and one of the grand reminders of Kapunda's heyday was simply demolished. Throughout the town's history there have been companies like Hawke's and individuals, like

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148 *The Kapunda Herald Handbook and Directory for 1913*, Kapunda, The Kapunda Herald Ltd, 1913. *Back to Kapunda Official Souvenir, 1927*, Kapunda, Back to Kapunda Committee, 1927, pp. 12, 56.

149 Rob Charlton, o. cit., pp, 92–4. For more on Glynn see the unpublished ms., Rob Linn, Baker McEwin a history, Adelaide, 1987, pp. 11—14.

150 *Back to Kapunda Official Souvenir, 1927*, Kapunda, Back to Kapunda Committee, 1927, pp. 12, 56

151 *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, p. 284.

Thomson, Oldham, Bagot, Blood, Dutton, Kidman, who have contributed to the growth and stability of the district. The town's buildings are reminders of an era of extraordinary flux when copper was king, inspiring trade and innovative civic works, and when the wealth of grazing and agriculture created folk heroes like Kidman.

1.6 PORT WAKEFIELD

The explosion of investment and interest in the Burra Mines reached far beyond the borders of South Australia. Burra not only changed the landscape in its vicinity, but also created trade routes, roads, railways, towns, villages, industries in the wake of its success. The fruitful discoveries of copper at first Kapunda, then Burra, then again Moonta, Wallaroo, Kadina, changed the course of South Australian history. These finds were catalysts for the expansion of agriculture and urban based manufacturing. Moreover, many towns in South Australia's Mid North would never have existed but for the mining boom. One of these towns that grew from the Burra mines and, later, owed its further existence from agriculture was Port Wakefield.

G. S. Walters,colonial manager of the Patent Copper Company, arrived in South Australia in July 1848. Within a short time he employed Gavin Young, a surveyor with interests in the mining industry, to plan a route from Burra to the head of St Vincent's Gulf. This was no easy undertaking. The country over which the survey had to progress was barely inhabited. Eighteen months later when Edward Snell searched for the surveyor W. S. Chauncy a short way inland from Port Wakefield he found the environment to be most exacting:

> I found the cook of the survey party who told me that Chauncey was in the scrub about 3 miles further to the westward, so taking the direction from him I rode into it until the scrub became so thick that it was impossible for the horse to get any further. I "cooeed" as loud as I could bawl but couldn't get an answer from anything in the shape of a human voice, however I started lots of opposums, kangaroo rats, and turkey buzzards . . . well finding the scrub impenetrable I turned back.[152]

Yet by November Young had marked out a track for bullock teams and guided one convoy to its destination. By December, the lighters carrying the ore arrived down the coast and were soon returning to the head of the Gulf with a load of goods.

About six months after the successful culmination of Young's road survey, a route from Burra to the sea was firmly established. At this time a *Register* reporter noted with excitement that:

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[152] Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, Chapter 16, p. 179ff, is the most authoritative account of the roads that led to and from Burra. Gavin D. Young is an immensely interesting figure in the history of South Australian mining. He also had a hand in the first days of the Moonta Mines and was involved in the township of Auburn. For an incredible piece of reading on Moonta see Young's account of its beginnings in Barr Smith Papers, Mortlock Library, PRG354/76. Tom Griffiths (ed.). *op. cit.*, pp. 114–5.

> An important discovery has been made at the head of the Gulf St Vincent by Mr Buck, lighterman, being nothing less than the existence . . . of an available harbour for coasters of some burthern, with good natural accommodation for the purposes of loading and discharge. The harbour is the emboucheure of the River Wakefield and though anything but obvious to a mariner uninitiated in the mysteries of the locality, is nevertheless easy of approach and secure. By this discovery about fifty miles of land between the present shipping place at Port Adelaide and the Burra Burra, will be cheaply substituted by water conveyance.

The 'port' was little more than the outlet of a small creek, perhaps 9 to 18 metres wide at high tide and a chain of ponds at low water. The lighterman who had made the monumental discovery could have exaggerated his find because of the healthy contract he had been offered by the manager of the Burra smelters.[153]

As Peter Donovan pointed out, the Government was interested in the port for reasons other than copper. A rapidly expanding agricultural and pastoral economy to the north of Adelaide necessitated a shipping base. Thomas Lipson visited the spot in November 1849 and was asked for his opinion by the Government. Lipson was Collector of Customs and Harbour Master at Port Adelaide. He had a wealth of naval and survey experience behind him. When he recommended that £1,000 should be spent dredging a channel through a shoal obstructing entrance into the creek, Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, the Governor agreed immediately. By March 1850 what was now known as Port Henry was being monotonously attacked by a dredger.[154]

The ever hopeful G. S. Walters, of The Patent Copper Company, trusting perhaps that his firm's pathfinding venture would allow them to lease the major portion of the Wakefield River's frontage at the port, applied to the Governor for this privilege. Others in Adelaide thought differently and advised Governor Young to survey a town on section 2138 and then to sell town allotments and lease sections of the waterfront. In early 1850, a town was surveyed and named Wakefield—eventually both it and the port were called Port Wakefield. So, a short distance away from where Chauncy the surveyor-friend of Edward Snell was working in almost

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153 *Register*, 12 June 1849, in Peter Donovan, *Port Wakefield and District a history—commemorating a century of local government*, Adelaide, D. C. Port Wakefield, 1978, p. 14 and Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–80.

154 Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 14. George E. Loyau, *The Representative Men of South Australia*, p. 160.

impenetrable scrub a new town on a grid pattern with a central circus was subdivided and sold off by the Government.[155]

The first few months of the new port were hectic indeed. International vessels were naturally reluctant to lay anchor at such a small inlet. Because of this the South Australian Mining Association purchased a fleet of barges to ply the route to Port Adelaide. In just six months about 6,000 tons of coal were shipped to Port Wakefield and over 1,000 tons of ore to Port Adelaide. By 1850, too, the value of mineral exports from South Australia 'exceeded that of wheat and wool combined and the mines provided more employment and higher profits than any other part of the colony's economy'.[156]

As the mining industry formed Port Wakefield, so the town's early years were tied to the fortunes of that industry. When the rush to Victorian goldfields occurred in 1851–2 the exodus of miners from South Australia caused an extraordinary decline in the workings at Burra and subsequently its outport. By 1853, however, as the mining population trickled back both sadder and wiser and, very occasionally, richer, Port Wakefield, too, had its fortunes restored.[157]

All the towns lying on the route surveyed by Young from Burra to the port were dependent on the continuing traffic. Mintaro, Auburn, Watervale and other centres survived from the mine economy. The road for the precious cargoes, though, was notoriously bad. What more could be expected of a rough track that was constantly exposed to the pounding of tonnes of heavy traffic, the steel tyres of wagons and the hoofs of bullocks and stock. There were other effects on the environment too. In the early 1850s, William Cawthorne saw 'above 30 drays, with about 200 bullocks' camped at one watering hole. The water itself was 'black in colour and has a fetid smell' but was otherwise suitable.[158] It was not surprising that James Hamilton, manager of the English and Australian Copper Company, should inform the Government in the mid–1850s that the Gulf Route was a road

> . . . originally made, and has hitherto been kept in repair at a great expense, by the English and Australian Copper Company.
>
> That the money paid for cartage on this road during the last seven months has exceeded Twenty Thousand Pounds,

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[155] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*

[156] Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent, South Australia 1829–57*, Melbourne, M.U.P., second edition, 1967, p. 338.

[157] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[158] Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

> and cannot have fallen short of One Hundred Thousand Pounds for the last seven years . . .
>
> That the townships or villages of Mintaro, Auburn and Watervale are mainly supported by the money expended by the English and Australian Copper Company in cartage. That the opening up of this road has occasioned the sale of very large quantities of land in the neighbourhood of the said townships, and in other parts contiguous to this road. That the road can no longer be considered a private one, and of no use to the public generally, as wood to a considerable extent was last year shipped at Port Wakefield, and stores are landed there for settlers at all Seasons—and both are transported on his [sic.] road.
>
> That the stockyards, wells , bridges, &c. belonging to this Company were last year used indiscriminately by all travelling on this road.[159]

Although the road was obviously poor, Port Wakefield was, by 1857, the destination of and exit for the produce of an ever-increasing agricultural hinterland. A group of petitioners wrote that

> . . . Port Wakefield has been the shipping' place for a large portion of the produce of the Burra Mine; that the largest portion of the wool grown on the sheep runs within a radius of 50 or 60 miles has also been embarked there; and that flour and wheat to a great amount has been conveyed thence to Port Adelaide.[160]

These positive statements of the worth of Port Wakefield could not change the fact that by 1857 the railway from Adelaide had reached Gawler and by 1860 would arrive at Kapunda. This rail link did away with the need for the Gulf Route, its tedious and expensive haulage. Soon the drays would be heading for Kapunda and that town would flourish as its traders and industrialists took advantage of the markets at their disposal.[161]

As with so many other towns that were established because of the Burra Mines one of the prerequisites for the fledgling settlement was an inn or public house. A rough shanty was in

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[159] South Australian Parliamentary Paper 170–1855/6, in Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[160] *Register,* 17 April 1857 in Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[161] See the section on Kapunda in this report for a fuller description of the impact of the railway on the town and the Burra trade.

existence from 1849—even before the Government survey in April 1850—and called the Wakefield Arms. Later, the building was reconstructed, had a second storey built and was known as the Port Wakefield Hotel. Hoad records that it was also named the Terminus during its life and perhaps also Traveller's Rest. In 1856, another hotel was licensed and called the Rising Sun. It was not, however, until 1870 that the large 'u-shaped' two storey building was finally constructed.[162]

The hotels of Port Wakefield were favourite spots for the drivers and teamsters on the road. In 1851, one rather observant traveller called the town 'a place unmentionable, rendering it more likely to resemble the scene of Dante's 'lasciate agni speranzi' etc. than any place we had yet heard of in this province'. Another recalled that

> . . . There is a big open space in front of Johnson's store. In the hectic days of Port Wakefield this field was commonly covered with the camp fires of teamsters who had brought their loads from Burra Burra to be shipped away. That old camping ground could tell tales of high revelry—of tragedy and comedy. They were a hard living, hard drinking, and hard working crowd, those early day teamsters. It was not uncommon for the proprietor of the store to take £10 before breakfast.[163]

Such rough society was largely due to the lack of law and order in the locality. It was not until 1855 that police took up residence in a house provided by the Copper Company. They remained stationed there until a new limestone and brick building was completed in January 1858. Included in this structure were a Court room, Magistrate's office, Police room, troopers room, a store for Aborigines' rations, stables and living quarters.[164]

These Government offices, even in their simple form, were reminders that this town had importance. They were also indicative of the type of construction that suited Port Wakefield's residents. All major buildings were of calcrete, with a coarse lime mortar holding the stones together around the brick quoins and surrounds to openings. Most of the buildings were of basic form and construction. Some, like the Anglican Church and Bank, used more refined techniques—possibly due to the supervision of architects.

The era of refined buildings came in the 1870s and later when Thomas Smith arrived. He was a carpenter and builder trained at Angaston by James Wishart one of the finest and highest quality builders in the Barossa district. Smith's skills are evident on many of the later

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[162] Bob Hoad, *op. cit.*, pp. 468–9, 508. National Trust File notes, 1888.

[163] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[164] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

structures. His own store in Edward Street was nothing out of the ordinary, but its 16 pane shop window, central door and 12 pane cottage window were common throughout the town. Another shop that Smith might well have built, or perhaps it dates from slightly earlier, lies on the eastern end of Edward Street. It was probably constructed as a shop and dwelling for John Liddle, butcher, after he acquired the site from the Saint family in January 1872. This building had a shop on the western side, with double doors opening in and a 16 pane window. Beneath this shop a cellar was dug out to store goods and trapdoors led to it from the pavement and the shop. The dwelling section took over the other half of the building and lean-tos at the rear housed a kitchen, laundry and storerooms. Externally, the structure had a serviceable, utilitarian appearance, inside the dwelling there was an attempt to provide some comforts.[165]

Other buildings that show the trends of construction in Port Wakefield are its churches. The Methodist cause constructed the town's first church in 1868. This simple chapel, based on the sparse English design, was typical of so many of the first places of worship for non-conformists in South Australia. And when the chapel became too small for the growing congregation, a new church of Gothic Revival design was built adjacent to it. The church was linked, initially, to the Auburn circuit as part of the Wesleyan ministry. By 1870, it had its own circuit and minister.

The Roman Catholics were first served by Jesuits from Sevenhill and, later, from Kadina parish. The small, but well constructed, church was opened on 19 September 1879 at a great celebration. The Anglicans also were full of joy when their church, St Alban's, had its foundation stone laid by Bishop Short, assisted by Archdeacon Marryat and three priests, on Thursday 20 November 1873. On the following night the Bishop 'lectured to a large and appreciative audience on "The Authenticity of the Bible, proved from Ancient Monuments", Collections were made, and a considerable sum was thus added to the Building fund'. Opening services were held on 22 June 1874 and the church was free of debt.[166]

Even though the cessation of the Burra trade had made it inevitable that Port Wakefield would have to be a port for rural commodities, it was probably not foreseen how successful that would come to be. This success was helped greatly by the construction of a tramway to the east immediately after the 1870 harvest. Within a year the necessity of the line was proven and in 1875 it was extended to Blyth Plains. Eventually trains, not horses were the means of locomotion. Another major step was the connection of the railway with Kadina in 1878 and the

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[165] LTO records.

[166] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 32. B. E. Innes (comp.), *Victory Carnival, Back to Port Wakefield Celebrations, 1849–1946*, Port Wakefield, 1946, pp. 11–13. *Kapunda Herald*, 18 June 1909, supplement. Brian Condon (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p.1285.

establishment of railway workshops at Port Wakefield. Another industry came to benefit the town's economy.[167]

The railway and the rise of economic activity stimulated the town's commercial development and building ensued. By this time, Thomas Smith, the local builder, had gained recognition and his work with the local calcrete extended into more detailed and ornamental designs. One of the finest buildings he erected was the National Bank in Edward Street, later to become the Commercial and later still the Westpac Bank, when he was in the employment of J. Knowles. This fine building was designed by Daniel Garlick the Adelaide architect and was under construction during 1877. One newspaper said that 'the building will apparently be a large one and affords already a striking contrast to a small wooden shed, formerly the "Bank" which is apparently now used as a lumber shed'.[168]

In 1878, when the new bank was open for business, the District Council of Port Wakefield was proclaimed. It was a time of great community pride. Also in that year the local Institute was established. The building itself was completed in 1880 and consisted of a library, public reading room and a subscribers' reading room. As one reporter later noted, 'if there is one public institution more than another that the residents of Port Wakefield are proud of, it is their Institute'. Locals attributed the success of such enterprises to the eager citizens. In the Institute's case it was F. Cherry, who promoted the cause.[169]

Although Port Wakefield was the first port to Adelaide's north along the Gulf, it did not hold on to its trading base forever. Part of the problem was that only coasting craft could actually moor at the wharf and also that there was no land available locally of any quality because of the salinity and swamps. Yet, as Peter Donovan noted, many of the special features of the town have been retained. The *Chronicle* wrote in 1932, that 'Port Wakefield is a town of limestone. Its roads are of limestone, and so are its houses and its public buildings . . . This gives the place a distinctiveness which immediately impresses the visitor—the limestone houses and the avenues of pepper trees in the street'. While little remains of the era of this small port when Burra copper was shipped out to the world, yet something of the character of a port town has been retained.[170]

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[167] Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–1.

[168] H.T. Burgess, *The Cyclopedia of South Australia*, vol. 2, p. 426. *Wallaroo Times*, 28 April 1877. *Register,* 1, 18 January 1877, 1 January 1878

[169] Peter Donovan, op. cit., p. 34. *Kapunda Herald*, 18 June 1909.

[170] Ronald Parsons, *Southern Passages, a maritime history of South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1986, p. 90. H.T. Burgess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 421. Peter Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

1.7 SADDLEWORTH

The impact of the opening, and the ongoing success, of the Burra Mines cannot be underestimated in South Australia's history. It was not merely fortuitous for the shareholders in the South Australian Mining Association, but a kindly light of economic goodwill spread throughout the Lower North, especially to Adelaide. New towns and villages sprang up along trade and transport routes, local economies benefited from the sale of foodstuffs, timber and provisions and from the hiring of workers. Almost every settlement in this region was touched by Burra's fortune. Saddleworth was no exception.

A choice of three arterial roads connected the Burra to Adelaide. Ian Auhl has pointed out in detail how these routes developed. He described them as 'one via Gawler, Kapunda, Tothill's Creek, Apoinga and Black Springs; a second via Gawler, Kapunda, Springfield (north of Marrabel) and Black Springs; and a third, via Gawler, Templars Inn, Stockport, Gilbertown, Stone Hut (now Saddleworth) and Black Springs'. Which of these roads proved the most fortuitous at any given time depended on the natures of the creeks and rivers to be crossed, the availability of water for stock and men, and the distance of daily travel between stopovers.[171]

There can be little doubt that these roads were incredibly exacting. Some of the principal watering holes attracted the attention of bush publicans. At Saddleworth, as it was later called, the Stone Hut Inn began life in March 1846 even before the land was purchased from the Crown. Like institutions were along the length and breadth of Burra's roads. As one traveller reported of a road to Burra in 1856

> All along the route empty flasks of every description may be seen—pale ales, London stouts, Martell's, Hennessy's, square Schiedam's and unlabelled bottles in abundance. These memorials of a thirsty race are interspersed with the skeletons of hapless bullocks, whose toil was over before their work was done. In fact bottles and bones are the characteristics of the wayside.[172]

Tonnes upon tonnes of bullocks, drays and their cargoes slogged ponderously over these rough roads bound for their destination.

As the waste products of British colonial culture began to discolour the Australian bush and enterprising individuals opened their rough pubs for business, other settlers and

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[171] Ian Auhl, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[172] *ibid.*, pp. 157, 160, 209.

businessmen began purchasing land along the transport corridors. They were apparently certain that the Burra mines would provide sufficient trading opportunities along these road networks. In 1846, one James Masters bought section 2800 on which he laid out a town in 1853. Masters was a memorable character. He kept the Commercial inn, Grenfell Street Adelaide during the 1840s, invested in pastoral enterprises and possibly financed others who wanted to buy land and stock—certainly prominent landowners patronised his hotel.[173]

Masters, claimed one writer on South Australian pastoralists, first looked at taking occupation of the land around present day Riverton and Saddleworth in 1840. He took part in this venture with his nephew Charles Swinden and Dr Matthew Moorhouse. Masters chose his country well, making sure that he gained watering points along the Gilbert and Wakefield Rivers. His headquarters were at a station homestead he named Saddleworth Lodge. Eventually he moved from his Adelaide hotel to this place and was a benefactor to many people supporting the Church in its efforts to provide places of worship and schooling. He was a man of enterprise and hospitality. In 1861 he returned on a visit to his Yorkshire origins and died while at York, never again to see that rich grazing land he owned, nor the seemingly endless succession of bullocks pulling their loads from Burra to the railheads at Gawler and Kapunda.[174]

Even though Masters' pastoral interests were successful, for some seven years the trade from Burra fell away as Port Wakefield and the Gulf Road from Burra took the bulk of cargo. His town at Saddleworth took years to even begin to look like a village settlement on the 'Old World' model. One who intimately knew the story behind the survey and sale of Saddleworth's allotments claimed that the town 'had a singular origin', due mostly to Masters' beneficent character. It was decided that:

> . . . from a compact entered into between Mr. Masters & others that the selling price of land was not to exceed more than £5 an allotment to any purchaser . . . also two allotments were given to Bishop Short, one for an Anglican Church on which he, Mr. M, built a school room, & house & to which I was appointed teacher by the Diocesan Society, say 1857 . . . the adjoining allotment was set apart as a cemetery, in which several bodies were buried. The two allotments were fenced by public subscription, & before the work was commenced

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[173] Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 183. R. Cockburn, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 56–7. J. Keynes, Diary, 18 August 1851.

[174] R. Cockburn, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 57.

> Mr. Masters gave a written memo stating for what object these two allotments were intended.[175]

Unfortunately for the Church of England the necessary information needed to retain these allotments apparently vanished with Masters.

The dynamic formation of the town and apparent activity in the early years were not true indicators of the overall situation at Saddleworth. One journalist reviewing the Mid North in 1866 wrote quite disparagingly:

> Saddleworth is quite embryotic, so much so that in the neighbourhood it is still called by the original name of the public-house that formed the nucleus of it—The Stone Hut.
>
> The first building you come to is the store, a good-sized, well-stocked est. whose bustling appearance speaks well of the consumptive powers of the other three householders. In saying three we a speak a little at random, there might be four or even five but there are certainly not more than the half-dozen.
>
> The store has one side of a prospective street nearly all to itself. On the other side, and at the further end is the public house. It looks none the better for wear, and not overdone with custom. Sensible people these at Saddleworth, who invest their money in tea rather than colonial ale. From circumstantial evidence we should infer that there is a flourishing Temperance Society in the place.[176]

Such caustic journalism perhaps hid the fact that the town was considered 'a postal township' in 'essentially an agricultural district, producing large quantities of wheat, but very little else . . . There is one steam flourmill, just erected, a post-office and a public pound. There is one hotel (Stuart's).'[177]

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[175] L. S. Burton, Gawler, to E. G. Richardson, Saddleworth, 4 March 1893, Mortlock Library, D4770 (L), from a copy made by R.J. Noye.

[176] *Register*, 'Round the North in 1866', in R. J. Noye (ed.), *The Midlands Chronicle of History*, Saddleworth & Districts Historical Society, Saddleworth, S. A., vol. 1, 1967, pp. 29–30.

[177] Robert P. Whitworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–8.

The quiet atmosphere of this settlement was to change markedly three years later, in 1869, when the navvies working on the Burra railway set up camp. One writer described the scene as 'a hive of industry'.[178]

The Burra line was the first constructed during the railway boom of the 1870s–80s. Prior to this expansionist period there had only been the Port Adelaide and Kapunda lines, a small branch line from Port Adelaide and a tramway from Goolwa to Victor Harbor. Naturally the first thoughts for the creation of this line grew from the mighty success of the Monster Mine. It would be a railway to transport ore, smelted copper and supplies. However, by the time that construction was agreed, in 1866–7, the mines themselves were working at a fast diminishing output. The construction of the line, therefore, was stimulated by the knowledge that the district around it was becoming of prime agricultural importance.[179]

In December 1869, seventeen months after construction began, the public were 'respectfully informed that the Northern Extension Railway will be temporarily opened . . . to Riverton, Saddleworth, and Manoora Stations for the carriage of wheat and agricultural produce only'. The Engineer in Chief seemed pleased with both the quality and cost of construction and felt that goods sheds were 'substantially and well executed'. At this time, the stations were of basic design and built of weatherboard with skillion roof. The whole project was a triumph of economy.[180]

While the bare essentials served the needs of agricultural transport, few of the passengers who used the line enjoyed the Spartan conditions. In August 1885, Saddleworth residents met 'to consider the unsatisfactory accommodation for passengers going to and returning from the railway station and to take steps to try to have a more convenient and direct road to the station'. These folk also asked for a verandah to be erected in front of the passenger station. While they may not have gained immediate satisfaction, by 1897–8 a number of new stations were being erected along the line and Saddleworth gained a fine building. The Railways Commissioner noted in 1899 that 'during the year new stations have been built at Saddleworth, Manoora, Mintaro and Farrell's Flat out of loan funds, the original cost of the old structures having been charged to working expenses and credited to the capital account'.[181]

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[178] R. J. Noye (ed.), *The Midlands Chronicle of History*. See also District Council of Saddleworth and Auburn, *Know Your District*, Saddleworth, S. A., Saddleworth and Auburn District community Development Board, 1985, pp. 6–7.

[179] Much of the information on this section dealing with the Burra railway is from a thorough, well researched publication, John Wilson, *Rails to the Burra*, Walkerville, S. A., Australian Railway Historical Society S.A, Division, 1970, pp. 1–10.

[180] *South Australian Government Gazette*, 9 December 1869, pp. 1748–9; *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, No. 16 of 1870–1, vol. 2, pp. 4–5. John Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

[181] *Observer*, 22 August 1885. *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, No. 47 of 1898–9, p. 5, No. 47 of 1899, p. 5.

The railway was without doubt the catalyst for the growth of Saddleworth. The town became a coaching terminus for those living in Auburn, Clare and that section of the Mid North. Such traffic encouraged trade, building and an influx of population to service these needs. In 1861, the Primitive Methodist cause got in before this rush and built a chapel. Then, in 1869, the local Baptists began building a fine chapel. By 1870 this building was finished as was the superbly positioned Roman Catholic Church.[182]

By January 1879 the National Bank of Australasia announced that it had built a branch office at Saddleworth. Daniel Garlick had been the architect for this bank chamber–dwelling that was constructed from local stone by the Burra builders Sara & Dunstan. Such a fine building showed a degree of confidence, on the Bank's part, in the future of the town. By this time, too, John Gurr had built his large two storey shop in Belvidere Road. Soon this thoroughfare would be lined with shops small and large. The town gained an Institute building, finely constructed with materials from the best quarries in the region, and other stores and an hotel on the Burra Road.

Down by the railway station a building on two levels was erected. At one time the land on which the building stands was owned by Frederick Gray, a carrier from Clare. While much of the origins of this building are shrouded in mystery there are some clues available. The building was well constructed of regional bluestone and in the underground rooms are numbers of large concrete pickling baths—used in the process for manufacturing ham and bacon. Outside is a brick smokehouse used for curing the product. A brand hangs on a rafter—Murmac Ham & Bacon Factory. So, possibly, Gray leased the site to this factory in the 1880s. This was also the time of the rapid rise of dairy co-operatives in the district and any ham and bacon industry would have been a direct offshoot of the establishment of a creamery or dairy factory.[183] In 1899 Walter Henry Bee and Christopher Columbus Hill, partners in a Saddleworth trading, storekeeping and wheat buying business, took the building over to be used as a warehouse and store. Their trading name was painted on the railway-facing wall in bold letters.[184]

Christopher Columbus Hill had a share in other Saddleworth property. Another allotment, lot 4, was jointly owned with Joseph Coleman, stockowner, and Frederick Richardson, licensed surveyor. This was in a particularly fine position on the Burra Road, adjacent to the Institute and close to the Post Office and Bank. In June 1894, a Society of the Church of England

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[182] *Centenary Booklet, 1869–1969*, Saddleworth Baptist Church Centenary Services. *Register*, 2 July 1869.

[183] See, Rob Linn, *Dairy Vale, a history of co-operation*, Adelaide, Dairy Vale Co-operative Ltd, 1988, pp. 19–36.

[184] *Observer*, 4 January 1879, p. 5. Site visits, Saddleworth, 30, 31 August 1989, 1 June 1990. Interview with Mr Dick Sporn, Saddleworth, 30 August 1989. LTO references.

formally acquired this piece of land. The transaction must have been accomplished earlier for on 10 April 1894 the Bishop of Adelaide, Archdeacon Dove and the incumbent Rev. E. K. Yeatman, laid the foundation stone of a church to be called St Aidan's. This building was designed by W. K. Mallyon of Port Pirie, said by one writer to be 'the hon. architect to the Anglican Church in South Australia' and James & Monroe of Kapunda were builders. Mallyon waxed lyrical to the Clerk of Works about St Aidan's and called it 'my greatest triumph in Church Architecture'. On 23 August 1894 St Aidan's Church was opened and dedicated.[185]

St Aidan's was the last major building in Saddleworth in the nineteenth century. By the early 1900s, the town had assumed a major role in the district. The *Cyclopedia of South Australia* drew this picture of Saddleworth in 1909:

> Several cross-country roads converge on Saddleworth, and as it has also a railway station the importance of the town, both as a gathering and distributing centre, is enhanced thereby. . . One result of its geographical position is that it has been a suitable and favourite place for stock sales, and the extensive yards which are used for that purpose are a feature of the town. Wheat-growing exceeds in importance all other industries in the neighbourhood, and a very extensive area is under crop. The public buildings of Saddleworth include a fine Institute (which has a very good library), a handsome post office, and a good public school. The eye of the passing traveller is caught by its well-stocked stores and busy shops. There are four Churches—Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, and Roman Catholic—and two benefit societies.[186]

From this time there has been little change in the face of Saddleworth. A recent résumé of the town's history concluded: 'After the First World War the serious drift from the land started, and this became even more evident after the Second World War . . . rural employment ceased almost entirely'.[187] Pessimistic words such as these hide the fact that the major part of the town's business is still the storage and shipment of wheat and fertilizers. While the slow tramp of the bullock drays from Burra have been left far behind, the role of people like James Masters, early farmers and traders, are left in the very fabric of the town.

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[185] LTO references. Supplement to the *Review*, 1 May 1894, p. 1. From the letters of W.K. Mallyon to the Clerk of Works, National Trust File notes no. 245. The *Review*, 1 September 1894, p. 134.

[186] H.T. Burgess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 443–4.

[187] *South Australia: The Civic Record, 1836–1986*, p. 531.

1.8 TANUNDA

When George Fife Angas became interested in the colonisation of a piece of the southern section of Australia he would not have expected many of the events that followed. His commercial skills and religious zeal were channelled into promoting the colony, South Australia; forming a company to utilise the land and people; persuading Government officials to ease the path of emigration; planning his investments in the colony; and, helping those with non-conformist religious convictions to settle in the colony. This last matter not only gave Angas numerous contacts in the British churches, but also prompted a Lutheran pastor, Augustus Kavel, from Klemzig, and a German missionary, Rev. D. Shrievogel, to seek out Angas. Kavel gained an interview with Angas, by way of Charles Flaxman, Angas' 'confidential clerk',and told a story of religious persecution in his homeland. For Kavel and his people there seemed no alternative but to leave Brandenburg for another country. South Australia promised much.[188]

Although the negotiations to effect the emigration of Kavel's people were both arduous and tedious, by April 1838 the first ship-load of Lutherans left Hamburg for South Australia. They arrived in November and were followed soon after by another vessel. These immigrants settled first at some of Angas' land on the River Torrens and, later, looked further afield for suitable agricultural land.[189] These settlers brought their mores that delineated them from the broader British-based society. Because of the strong religious views and, through language, a certain cultural isolation, they clustered together pursuing their new lives with vigour. They transposed their 'Old World' values to Australia:

> It was no virtue in the immigrant Lutherans that their lives, languages and customs were as far as possible a continuation of their native ways; it was inevitable. They did not disperse among the English in the growing coastal towns, but had from the beginning their *closed village settlements*. In the hills or in their new settlements forty to sixty miles from Adelaide they could live undisturbed in the manner of their fathers. The few English who by chance came to live among them learned to speak German. The fact that the English language was unknown to the first immigrants and even to the first generation born in Australia,

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[188] E. Hodder, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–181. R. E. Teusner (comp.), *A short history of the Barossa Valley*, Tanunda, Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1984, pp. 4–5.

[189] Gordon Young, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia*, Adelaide, Techsearch S.A., 1978, pp. 17–18.

> raised an almost impassable barrier against people of another Volkstum (national way of Life).[190]

This cultural emphasis was transmitted even to the housing forms and village plans of the Lutherans.

The Lutherans moved from the Klemzig land to a number of sites. Pastor Fritzche took one group to a portion of Angas' land 60 kilometres NNE of Adelaide and named the site Bethanien. About a year later Kavel and his congregation established a similar settlement at Langmeil. These small villages were laid out on a German farmlet plan called Hufendorf—narrow, long strip-farmlets running contiguously along a water source. The farmsteads themselves were, as Colin Thiele wrote:

> . . . usually grouped around a yard—the house, sheds, stables, barn, and sties enclosing a kind of keep. The smoke-house usually adjoined the kitchen, and the bake-oven was a low igloo with a small door above or to the side of the kitchen fireplace. To this day some of the old smokehouse walls remain as brown as varnish from a century of smoke fires (wet sawdust or damp wood chips) necessary for curing bacons, hams, and smoked sausages.
>
> Walls of houses and sheds were of timber and daub or stone and pug; roofs were of thatch. Hand-cut roofing beams, lintels and door-frames can still be seen in some of the old buildings, although lime mortar, galvanized iron, and sawn timber came into use as the resources of the settlers increased.[191]

One house with these attributes was built at Langmeil by the Traeger family. The first date on the title for the Traeger's land was October 1859, but it is possible that they were part of the first group there; the official survey occurred ten years or so after settlement in *c.*1853. Their house was built in two sections: one part as a simple cottage of rectangular design topped by a steep gabled roof; the other, connected to this, was a skillion-roofed portion. Both parts were constructed of the local ironstone.[192]

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[190] From Hebart, quoted in Charles A. Price, *German settlers in South Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1945, p. 14.

[191] Colin Thiele, *Barossa Valley Sketchbook*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1968, pp. 12–13.

[192] Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Site visits to former Traeger property, Langmeil Rd, Tanunda, 16 January, 11 May 1990.

By 1849 a map of the Barossa Ranges showed the Langmeil and Bethany townships situated on the Tanunda rivulet and Para–Gawler River respectively. Skirting the settlements were the ranges themselves and a thick belt of scrub on the road to Angas Park and Angaston. An author described Bethany as 'in a very thriving condition'.[193] Within only a couple of years the outer edges of these villages met at the town of 'Tanunda proper' and a new settlement began in the midst of what these German emigrants called so 'blessed a country'. A plan of this new town was lodged at the General Registry Office in 1854 and was headed 'situated on the banks of the River Gawler and Angas Park the property of Chas. Flaxman'. Whether Flaxman or his erstwhile employer Angas owned the land at this point in negotiable.[194]

By 1851 Tanunda was beginning to become an important town. There were about 60 houses there at the time including a number of 'good-looking' stores. There were many trades established: butchers, bakers, shoemakers and the like. A steam flour mill worked incessantly and one visitor stated that he could 'testify to the tenacity of its vigour'. The Alliance Hotel was only twenty-five metres away from the mill and many guests there suffered under the noise and vibrations: 'after being ceaseless in noise all day, it [the mill] began to work day and night; and as there was no possibility of closing our windows from the state of the weather we had its running accompaniment of puffs and blows constantly in our ears.' At the time there were also three Lutheran chapels in the vicinity and the Langmeil one, nearby the hotel, was a place in which its congregation voiced 'hymns harmoniously sung'. The Alliance Hotel, although opened in 1848 only remained licensed until 1853. Perhaps it was the constant noise of the steam flour mill that defeated it. Yet the building itself survived and its low walls and deep verandah still contain the major elements of that old inn.[195]

From this time Tanunda, with its attendant settlements at Langmeil and Bethanien, began to develop as a sophisticated provincial town. It was, however, a town with a difference. For just as those first settlements of the Lutherans had the church as their social and cultural base, so it was in Tanunda. By the mid-1860s it was a thriving centre, but its main ingredient was the particular Germanic culture and, of course, the influence of the church. As one modern writer noted,

> The Valley was born in an atmosphere of deep religious faith, and it remains to this day a Valley of well-used churches. Indeed it is an incontrovertible fact that the most powerful influence in the Barossa today is . . . that of the church.

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[193] The map is included in "Agricola", *op. cit.* pp. 9, 11.

[194] E. M. Yelland (ed.), *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the colony of South Australia*, Melbourne, 1983, pp. 104–7. F.S. Dutton, *op. cit.*, p. 138. Geoffrey H. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[195] E. M. Yelland, *op. cit.*, p .104. Bob Hoad, *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 8.

> It shepherds its thousands of followers with an almost paternal and benevolent discipline. It sets a code of moral behaviour. The Church looks after the welfare of the old, the teaching of the young, and it guides its followers in the years between, all with the same devotion.[196]

That small church nestled next to the noisy mill, where a congregation joined in harmonious song, was the first Langmeil Church. This plain rectangular chapel, with a small porch, squat lancet windows and shingled roof was a reminder of the Lutheran's great Reformation heritage. By the late 1860s–early 1870s, other churches were being built. Part of Kavel's congregation hived off into their own congregation in 1860 after a theological difference of opinion. Although they had much difficulty finding a suitable venue they dedicated a new church, St John's in 1868. This beautiful building has a relatively ornate interior with statuary added in the 1890s. Further to the north, another church, Tabor, began its life in about 1850. By 1860 new pews were bought for the church and then in 1871 major additions were made to the building. Each of the churches mentioned have magnificent spires, towering their way heavenward—a reminder of the old gothic traditions of their forebears. Today these spires are one of the Barossa Valley's most important cultural symbols.[197]

And the town itself was taking on a more refined air. the main thoroughfare was lined with neat shops, mainly of single storey. The large, multi-paned windows of the shops displayed goods in an enticing manner for the passer-by. There were Christen's 'Fancy Bazaar'; Henry Schroeder's grocery, drapery and ironmongery; Witt's grocery and drapery; Menner's bread and biscuit bakery; Schulz's butcher shop; Heuzenroeder's chemist shop and residence; Weichmann's Tanunda store; not to speak of the Victoria and Tanunda hotels; the bank; Schlinke's mill; the tinsmith's shop; the blacksmith's and wheelwright's businesses; and others. If the size of a tradesman's or craftsman's residence tells anything, the butcher and pharmacist were ostensibly ahead of the others. Photographs of the town in the 1860s show a well-organised, thriving settlement.[198]

In 1865, a two storey post office and telegraph station was added to the list of buildings along the main street. Its presence was not just a reminder that government services were extending across the landscape, bringing order and bureaucracy. For in this case the people

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196 Alan Gallagher, *Tanunda in the Heart of . . . Barossa Valley*, Adelaide, Commercial Printing House, 1975, p. 4.

197 See 'Tanunda 1865', a framed composite photograph in the Barossa Valley Archives & Historical Trust Museum, Tanunda, 1981 reprint for a view of the 'Old Langmeil Church'. R. and M. Teusner, *Churches of the Barossa Valley,* Adelaide, Lutheran Press, 1971, pp. 12 – 14. Colin Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 21–5. Also, L.H. Leske, *Langmeil Congregation 1843–1968*, Adelaide, Lutheran Press, 1968.

198 'Tanunda 1865', *op. cit.*

of Tanunda had provided a portion of the wherewithal that brought the post office into being. The residents of the town, probably anxious to gain contact with Adelaide and elsewhere through new technology and to see their mail move faster, purchased land on a main street corner block and donated it the the Government. By March 1865 estimates for the building were made. A month later a tender by one Isaac Bertwistle was accepted for the works. Soon, this fine limestone building with stuccoed blockings and embellishments was a major feature of Tanunda.[199]

Within a short space of time another government building, a court house, was also erected. Designed by the Colonial Architect and built by Tapson and Niesche, this large, relatively lofty structure was the preserve of law and order in that community. In design it was remarkably similar to other court houses at Kapunda and elsewhere in South Australia. With such facilities in place Tanunda was starting to be included in the administrative network that was spreading out from Adelaide.[200]

Tanunda residents were not only concerned with being part of the system of government in their colony. They had a rich cultural life, springing from their Germanic origins and this was displayed in their diet, sport and recreational activities. It is true to say that they had a longing for intellectual, as much as physical, recreation. After the District Council of Tanunda was formed in 1855, moves were made to provide for the community's educational needs. The Tanunda Institute was formally launched in 1869. The first subscribers read like a who's who of Tanunda: C. Wilberth, Secretary; C. von Bertouch Sr, President; Henry Schroeder; B. Clarke; Julius Sobels; Theo. Heuzenroeder; H. Juncken; R. Homburg; Benno Seppelt; George Fischer; A. Schmidt; W. Eberhard; and T. Brock. Ten years later the foundation stone of a fine institute building was laid on the main street, adjacent to Langmeil church and the house that was the erstwhile Alliance Hotel. This building was completed by the end of 1879 at a cost of £1,440.[201]

In the early 1880s, Tanunda was described as being the 'focal point of numerous German settlements'. The young man who gave this description, Wilhelm Wendlandt, further expanded our view of Tanunda at the time. He wrote:

> . . . Tanunda is fortunate in having a two-storied stone post and telegraph station. Next door, an old hunch-backed Hanoverian has neatly decorated his shop-window,

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[199] Alan Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Colonial architect Outgoing Correspondence 84/65, National Trust File noted 2020.

[200] National Trust File notes 291—SACON reference nos, 227–8, Colonial Architect's outgoing letter book, 871.

[201] Back to Tanunda Committee, *Souvenir*, Tanunda, 1927, unpaged. *Register,* 2 January 1880.

> delighting young and old with his jewellery and fancy-goods that are in popular demand.
>
> Adjoining that is a tinsmithy, then several guest-houses, and finally a German printery which in earlier years issued an attractive newspaper, the "Australian German News" as well as "A Selection of Readings". . .
>
> Opposite the Tanunda post office we find the commercial world represented. Three large shops offer all kinds of wares for sale in motley confusion. As a rule, the interior of the shop is arranged in such a manner that only colonial wares are displayed along the one side, while on the other only articles of clothing appear, with crockery, ceramic ware and ironmongery well to the back . . . A pharmacy and even a doctor (admittedly, of doubtful erudition) are not to be found wanting.
>
> In the centre of the town a powerful steam-driven mill, which provides flour to a wide neighbourhood, operates both day and night. . .
>
> The agricultural population . . .live mainly on the annual returns from field and stable.
>
> A few big farmers have acquired distinction due to their magnificent horses, extensive vineyards and well-filled cellars; yet, almost every small landholder had a vineyard. And during the Australian autumn . . . all hands may be seen busily picking and treading grapes.[202]

It was the blossoming of this last mentioned industry that gave Tanunda an industrial base, yet it also linked the town to the rise and fall of grape prices on the open market. Eventually this led to the rise of grower-operated wineries and the establishment of a more stable wine industry.

By the time that George Sutherland was making his way through the countryside of South Australia in the late 1880s, penning his articles on rural life for the Adelaide papers, the wine industry was extraordinarily important. Sutherland saw that the country around Tanunda was so greatly planted with vines that 'the general effect is that of an immense estate devoted to

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[202] Wilhelm Wendlandt (trs. P. A. Scherer), *Germans in a Strange Land: Tanunda in the 1880's*, The translator, 1986, no place of publication, pp. 9, 11–14, 17–18.

viticulture'. One further thing he noticed was that because Tanunda was the local centre of this industry it was proposed to form a Company that would manufacture wine. Other winemakers were not troubled by this new concern, for the market appeared to be almost limitless.[203]

The resulting enterprise, G. F. Cleland & Co. Ltd, had as its main founder G. F. Cleland, an Adelaide winemaker. Other shareholders in G. F. Cleland & Co. Ltd were William Jacob of Moorooroo, Sir Samuel and Lady Davenport Dr and Mrs E. D. Cleland and C. J. Horrocks. Cleland responded to approaches from local Tanunda growers such as John Basedow who sought a market for their unsold grapes in glut years. The formation of a new winery would give a certain sale for their grapes. From these origins Chateau Tanunda was formed. The cellars were begun in 1889 and completed in the next year. An 1893 visitor to the site wrote that:

> . . . the principal building is built of stone with brick dressings, and is 250 ft long by 110 ft wide and 40 ft high, and capable of holding 1,000,000 gals of wine. The cellars are built on the face of a hill sloping towards the south. Owing to the fall of the ground the grapes are delivered into the top storey direct from the wagons, and are taken by the steam elevators to the strippers and crushers, which are capable of treating 100 tons of grapes per day. The crushed grapes fall into shoots, which carry the must into vats by gravitation. In addition to the wine cellars there are other buildings including the distillery and bonded stores.[204]

When the delegates to the convention for the British Association for the Advancement of Science made an excursion to Tanunda on Monday 10 August 1914—a fateful time for humanity—they were told that Chateau Tanunda's 'specialty' was 'their well-known Chateau Tanunda Brandy; of each season's production of 600,000 gals of wine, 500,000 gals are distilled for brandy'. By 1916, though, the Adelaide Wine Co., which now ran the Chateau, could not stand the financial pace and the operations were taken over by the long-running firm of Seppelts.[205]

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[203] George Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–9.

[204] Katrina McDougall, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–7.

[205] British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Excursion to Angaston, Seppeltsfield, and Tanunda, Monday 10 August, 1914*, Adelaide, the Association, 1914, p. 16. Katrina Mc Dougall, *op. cit.*

Another local Tanunda winery of distinction at the time, Arrawarra, was run on the old Langmeil Road by the Petras family. Petras had founded the firm about 1879 and built a large two-storey ironstone building as his wine making centre. In 1908, J. F. W. Petras inherited the winery and by 1928 was making about 30,000 gallons of wine from his grapes. The winery closed in the 1930s and its vats were used for storage by other wineries.[206]

By the time that these and other wineries were being formed, Tanunda's basic appearance had been created. It was a town that people wanted to visit, as tourists or for business. As one commentator described: 'It has a very clean and tidy appearance with its white road and white buildings, its broad main street, bordered by well-grown Moreton Bay fig-trees, and its general air of substantial comfort'. The arrival of the railway from Gawler in 1910 only accentuated the move towards tourism. By the 1930s, the late nineteenth century description of Tanunda was superseded by the promotional phrases of transport and tourist operators bringing in visitors. Now it was 'Tanunda, the Vineyard of the State. One of the most popular year-round holiday resorts in the State'. This fact was reinforced by a local government publication of the time which stated that 'the district is well known as a tourist resort, and has many places of interest, which are visited periodically by visitors from all parts of the Commonwealth'. Tanunda District Council's entrance, in May 1946, as a member of the newly formed Barossa Valley Tourist Association was a sign of how important visitors were to the district.[207]

Tanunda was favoured for a number of reasons. That this trend continued is of little surprise. In the 1960s and 70s tourism expanded extraordinarily quickly, as visitors were attracted by the town's character. While today some of the historic buildings that graced its streets in 1865 have long passed, traditions then followed are still continued. The town's heritage is as much in the people, their faith and culture as it is in their buildings. As Colin Thiele so perceptively wrote,

> The Barossa is not just a place. For over a hundred years it has been much more than that—a way of life, perhaps, an attitude of mind, a quality of spirit. It has been labour and music, church festival and vintage, worship, and the ringing of bells. Nobody born within earshot of that deep-toned tolling can ever forget the sound: it wrings the air, a sweet-sad note of joy and sorrow, a pain-joy, birth-marriage-death note as mellow as autumn sunlight. Out of the past, out of

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206 Katrina Mc Dougall, *op. cit.* p. 42. National Trust File notes 288.

207 George Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p, 49. Bonds Science Motor Tours, *Tanunda, the Vineyard of the State*, Adelaide, Bonds, c. 1937,unpaged. *South Australia: The Civic Record, 1836–1986*, p. 887. *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, p. 573.

Silesian history, out of Lutheran conviction, it wells and flows over the Sunday valley.[208]

[208] Colin Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

2. INVENTORY OF AND NOMINATIONS FOR HERITAGE ITEMS & ITEM REPORTS

2.5 KAPUNDA

INVENTORY OF PLACES OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE, INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REGISTER OF STATE HERITAGE ITEMS

S denotes State recommendation or listing on the Register of State Heritage Items

1.	Dwelling, 5 Carrington St	
2.	Dwelling and fence, 12 Harriet St	
3.	Coachhouse, cnr Harriet St and Hancock Rd	
4.	Warehouse–store, 26 Railway Pde	
5.	Former hotel,24 Railway Pde	
6.	Kapunda Railway Station	S
7.	Railway Hotel, Railway Pde	S
8.	30 (2) Railway Rd	
9.	Stone water tables and gutters (example), Railway Rd	
10.	Dwelling, 13 Railway Rd	
11.	Barn-store, Queen St	
12.	Pluckrose cottage, 2 Queen St	
13.	House and Barn Complex (Hampel's), off Hancock Rd	
14.	House, opp. item 13, Hancock Rd	
15.	Slate-roofed, outbuilding, Geoff Platten's, Hancock Rd	
16.	Dwelling, 3 Way St	
17.	Dwelling, 17 James St	
18.	Grandstand, Dutton Park	
19.	Dutton Park Gates, Elliott Memorial	S
20.	Dwelling, cnr Maxwell and Hare Sts	
21.	Dwelling, 32 High St	
22.	Dwelling, 26 High St	
23.	Row cottages, 16 Hare St	
24.	Former 'Eringa', main house, High School	S
25.	Dwelling, cnr West Tce and High St	
26.	Dwelling, 51 Clare Rd	
27.	Dwelling, 57 Clare Rd	
28.	Row cottages, 35 Clare Rd	
29.	Kapunda Hospital, off Nash St	
30.	Former warehouse, East Tce, opp. Joshua St	
31.	House and outbuilding, off Light St	
32.	Dwelling, 5 Rowett St	
33.	Dwelling, 4 Havelock St	
34.	Dwelling, 55 High St	
35.	Osborne House, 65 High St	S
36.	Dwelling, 65 High St	
37.	Dwelling, 14 Jeffs St	
38.	Dwelling, 10 Jeffs St	
39.	Dwelling, cnr Whittaker and Jeffs St	
40.	former Evangelical Lutheran Church, Whittaker St	
41.	Kapunda Primary School, main building	S
42.	Prince of Wales Hotel, outbuildings & wall, Mildred St	S
43.	2 storey dwelling, 48 Mildred St	
44.	Row cottages, 36–38 Mildred St	
45.	2 storey dwelling, 45 High St	
46.	Dwelling and former shop, 26 Mildred St	
47.	Dwelling, 22 Mildred St	
48.	CAFHS centre, Kapunda St	
49.	Dwelling, 28 Kapunda St	
50.	Outbuildings, E.&W.S. site, Alfred St	
51.	Dwelling, 14 Clare Rd	
52.	Stone water tables and gutters (example), Clare Rd	
53.	Former Corporation Offices, Clare Rd	
54.	Dwelling, 22 Clare Rd	
55.	Dwelling, 24 Clare Rd	
56.	Dwelling, 8 Gawler St	
57.	Underground arched stone drain, cnr Mill Lane and Baker St	
58.	Former showgrounds, stone wall & pavilion, Perry Rd	S