

A Heritage History of the South-East of South Australia

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1 Spatial Description

During the period of white settlement in the South East, the landscape has been extensively altered to allow for the expansion of pastoral and agricultural industry.

The flat basins between the ridges of the lower South East were particularly subject to flooding due to a lack of natural drainage, the presence of ground water, and a fairly high rainfall. (It was not uncommon to see land 3.7 metres, under water during winter). This land was naturally unsuitable for grazing and useless for European concepts of farming. From 1864 to 1880, teams of two to three hundred men constructed channels across the flats in an attempt to drain the sand. The first area to be drained was near Millicent and Tantanoola at the Narrow Neck Cutting. This exercise lowered the water level by 0.7 metres and with further digging by 3 metres. The drainage meant that towns could be subsequently established on rises – Millicent being built on a ridge running north-west to south-east. Drains dug after 1880 at Reedy Creek and Baker's Range, running north-west, proved unsuccessful because of too small a gradient. Between 1910–1920, drains were constructed running east-west at Woakwine and the Reedy Creek Ranges in order to achieve the greatest incline in the shortest possible distance. Cuttings of up to 30 metres deep through the ranges could now be achieved because of technological and mechanical advances.

Despite the construction of these major drains the land was still imperfectly drawn off. After the Second World War, minor drains were constructed on Biscuit and Avenue Range flats. The Blackford Drain from Lucindale to Kingston and a new drain from Mosquito Creek at Straun, through Bool Lagoon, to Beachport achieved more successful drainage; albeit at a cost to other facets of the environment.

After more than a century of drainage construction, the western flats are almost flood free. The eastern flats, with the introduction of new drains, are now becoming free from flooding. No other area of Australia has relied so heavily on the artificial drainage of the landscape to bring about successful European pastoral and agricultural methodology.

Mount Gambier, the regional focus of the South East, is situated in the southern corner of the region. Between Mount Gambier and Adelaide lies an area known as the Ninety Mile Desert. The settlement of this area, which had only a few pockets of good pastoral country near Keith and Bordertown, was slow and spasmodic. Despite a good rainfall (425mm - 550mm) the country had little value for grazing, with a carrying capacity of only one sheep to 16.2 hectares. Crop production was limited – the soil's capacity exhausted after only a few crops. Attempts were made to increase the yields of the land by the spreading of superphosphate fertilizer, however, this had little affect. It was not until 1944, that a concerted research program was launched into the solution of this problem. The sandy soils of the area were found to be deficient in certain 'trace-elements'. The addition of small quantities of these 'trace-elements' and the spreading of superphosphate created soil conditions capable of supporting a viable

agricultural industry. The A.M.P. Society was predominately responsible for the development of much of this land and its division for closer settlement.

The coastal area of the lower South East had also suffered from a period of low productivity. The stock that grazed on these pastures grew weak and often died. (This problem was known locally as ‘coast disease’). Following intensive investigation, it was found that the addition of copper and cobalt to the soil increased the nutritional value of the pasture and the health of the stock feeding on it.

From the first days of British settlement to the present, the attempts to make the land productive have altered many features of the natural environment. This heritage study is concerned with a physical area greatly changed by its inhabitants.¹

2. Themes and Chronology

2.1 Introduction

From the first European footsteps on the soil of the South East of South Australia, the area has witnessed a conflict between European man and the natural environment.

Because of Europeans’ need to be surrounded by ‘progress’, and the familiar sights of their home countries, the tussle between them and nature has resulted in a change to the material face of the natural world of the South East. This change was and is evident in the structure of pastoral properties, the layout of towns, individual house designs, Government offices, transport corridors – and other communication networks – property boundaries, an influx of new vegetation and animal life, and the growth of a belief amongst the inhabitants of the region that they are somehow separate from the rest of South Australia – a race apart. This pull and push of man and nature is strongly evident in today’s material heritage in the South East.

In 1803, James Grant, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, wrote a travelogue on his part in the voyage of ‘The Lady Nelson’ to the waters of Australasia in 1800–1802. Grant was the first Britisher to describe the coastline and mountains of the South East region. He wrote that the land looked ‘like unconnected islands, being four in number, which on our nearer approach, turned out to be two capes and two high mountains a considerable way inshore’. The capes he named Northumberland and Banks, and the mountains Schank and Gambier’s.²

This fleeting glimpse of the South East by British eyes was enough to name, but not to settle, portions of the land. The main visitors to South East shores, before the onrush of the settlement of British civilization, were whalers and sealers who intermittently sought harbour in Rivoli Bay. A more complete settlement had to wait nearly forty years. At later time, the profit conscious eyes of stock overlanders from Port Phillip, squatters from Sydney and Van Diemen’s Land, and merchants trying to establish a coastal shipping route gave permanent value to South East land by exploration and exploitation of the environment – in both its social and physical aspects.

Yet, census records show that it was not until the mid–1850s that British settlement in the South East took on any really organised social form. Even the 1851 census described the South East in vague terms. It was,

All the country to the South and West of the road leading from Wellington to Portland Bay, commencing at the East Boundary of County Russell and terminating at the 'Border Inn'.³

That census also showed, drawn on a Government map, that only 558 persons inhabited this vast area of land. They lived in 87 houses of which 72 were made of wood, 12 of stone or brick and 3 of other materials available to the builders at the time. This sparse settlement was in stark contrast to the other 67,000 people who congregated around Adelaide; a tight-knit community representing, they thought, the refinements of British middle class society.

The adventurers who moved through and opened up the South East in the period between the late 1830s and the mid-1850s were more aware of the advantages of first come first serve in this new land than the somewhat self-righteous inhabitants of Adelaide. Some of these first comers, like the flamboyant George French Angas, the artist son of the colony's progenitor, were as interested in discovering how the natural life in the South East ticked as the squatters like Evelyn Sturt and Alexander Cameron were in discovering the land's stocking capacity. So, just as Angas could write about 'the roaring of the sea against the sand-hills of the Coorong', and the ridges of Mount Benson 'Thickly clothed with banksia and sheoak', so Sturt could later write that,

When I fixed on the site of my new homestead I had not a shilling in the world; unfortunately, the boot was very much on the other leg, but thanks to the success attending sheep farming I have outlived my difficulties.⁴

However, it was Sturt also who summed up the influence that the mass exodus of white society into this region would have on the submission of nature to the British heel.

It has often been the source of regret to me that all the charms attending the traversing of a new country must give way to the march of civilization; the camp on the grassy sward is now superseded by the noisy road-side inn; the quart-pot of tea by the bottle of ale.⁵

2.2 Sub-Regional History

Although, by the last decades of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century, the *South Eastern Star* was describing the South East as a total region, the area's residents tended to regard themselves within a more local framework. Regions were described in terms of station homesteads, property boundaries or townships. Therefore, the history of the South East will be discussed from a localised, District Council level, featuring the broad sweep of general social patterns and these patterns' material outcome in the lives of people, the buildings they built, and the sites they inhabited. This mode of historical analysis is in keeping with local views in the past and present. For it is still the current belief of local historians in the South East that their concern is primarily within a confined district.

3 Beachport LGA

During the year 1843, the *Governor Gawler*, a small cargo vessel plying the South Australian coastal trade, sought shelter from the ocean storm in a bay on the South East coast. Her captain, Emmanuel Underwood, took the credit for discovering the attributes of this harbour. In one stroke, Underwood claimed, he united the interests of

ocean going trade and the young, but dynamic, pastoral industry congregating around Mount Gambier: 'I made it known through the press as a place of access for the Mt. Gambier sheep farming interests'.⁶

Indeed, the importance of the Bay had been recognised by the keen-eyed masters of whaling vessels at an earlier date. A cairn erected on the shore of the bay speaks of this early European industry in the South East. The cairn also notes what George French Angas, the early naturalist, saw on his first view of Rivoli Bay in January 1844,

The unexpected sight of two vessels lying at anchor in a bay about twelve miles distant of Rivoli Bay ... We could not account for the appearance of the vessels in an unsurveyed and almost unknown harbour, but we afterwards found them to be two whaling schooners from Hobart.⁷

The pattern of the Rivoli Bay area's growth, and eventual decline, was dictated from the outset by sea-trade, ocean going industry and the needs of the surrounding pastoral community.

By 1846, the Bay had become of such importance to the expansion of commerce and pastoralism in the South East that public servants in Adelaide were describing the physical structure of the entire region as radiating from that locality. The census of 1846 described the South East as 'North of Rivoli Bay' and 'South of Rivoli Bay'.⁸

The Government interest in the area was so intense that, in that census year of 1846, Lieutenant Governor Robe told South Australians that Rivoli Bay would receive the rubber-stamp of civilisation: a town would be laid out.⁹ The now-vanished Greytown, or Southend, came into being: the offspring of the British desire to gain influence over nature and gain profit from the planting of society's ordered structures on the land and people. Locals claim that one of the few remains of Grey Town is the diminutive St. Nicholas church in Beachport.

Within ten years of the first British settlement of South Australia, Rivoli Bay had been seen by Governors, explorers, overlanders, whalers, pastoralists, men of commerce, and their lackeys – white and black – and had had a township of quarter acre blocks designed for placement on its shoreline.

The Rivoli Bay district was not merely to be a combination of ocean trade and small town life – pastoralism had crossed South Australia's south eastern borders. During 1846–1847 the names of Mitchell, Seymour, Kippen, McBean, Hope, and the South Australian Company were listed as applying for Occupation Licences near Rivoli Bay. Sir Samuel Davenport and Archibald Johnson claimed to have been running sheep in the area even before this. It was Johnson who first took out the lease on the Woakwine South Run. The physical remnants of that 36.58 square kilometre property of Johnson's – the shearing shed and its attendant buildings – speak to those once heady days of Rivoli Bay pastoralism when tens of thousands of sheep were shepherded across the area's lush native grasses. Needless to say Johnson, and others of his early pastoral cohorts, reaped the benefits of their labour. As Cockburn said of Johnson, in his *Pastoral Pioneers*, 'Prosperity poured in upon him'. His house at Mount Muirhead came to be a resort of judges and governors. The one-time son of an Argyle crofter learnt that the land around Rivoli Bay could bring forth the fulness of the Earth.¹⁰

Just as the profits of pastoralism could disappear in an indifferent year, so the inhabitants of the Rivoli Bay area found that the hoped-for benefits of a harbour town

and coastal shipping could vanish into thin air. Greytown, declared a Government port in 1860, could not provide coastal shipping with an adequately safe anchorage.¹¹ Communications with Adelaide, both by land and by sea, were tenuous and the inhabitants of Rivoli Bay's hinterland clamoured for adequate transport routes. It remained for Ebenezer Ward, the volatile journalist, to recommend the setting up of a new town at the northern, safer end of the Bay.¹² Yet, it was not until 21 November 1878 that Beachport, 217 kilometres from Adelaide, came into existence, complete with its railway to Mt. Gambier. A new jetty, 1,220 metres long, soon reached its arm into the bay as if to entice shipping to the new port; a symbol of its population's hope of success.

Only three years after the port was declared, Beachport contained an organised town society. Traders carried on the essential business of butchering, bootmaking, baking and store-keeping. Hotel keepers, boarding house proprietors, the Custom's Officer, the Harbour Master and shipping agents catered for, and their businesses expanded with the explosion of Beachport. Even the education section of Colonial Government somehow managed to erect a school building by April 1881. Much of the material evidence of these high-flying days of Beachport remains. The two-storied stone hotel, the tiny Customs House, the really magnificent warehouses which were built by agents to store their trade, the old Post Office, and the school are left as fitting reminders of a fleeting success, and a community's confidence in their town.

Yet, Beachport was an enigma. For hidden within this boom and rapid expansion of a Government town were the seeds of its own destruction. The trade which the Government thought would make the town – thereby more evenly distributing the carriage of goods between Melbourne, South East ports and Adelaide – never eventuated in quantities large enough to justify the port's rapid growth. In 1881, eleven vessels worked into and out of Beachport. By 1911, only five attained the port, and although there was a brief resurgence in shipping in the early 1920s, in 1932 only three vessels left the harbour. By the time of the *Statistical Register* of 1951, no South Eastern ports were listed as receiving any shipping worth recording.¹³

The occupational analysis of the town over an 80 year period from 1880 to 1960 reflects similar trends to the rather depressing shipping figures. After starting at a high point, the curve peaks again in the 1910s and early twenties, only to decline rapidly until 1961, when the occupational structure returned to a higher point.¹⁴

Beachport did regain something of its initial burst of glory. The revival occurred in those early decades of the twentieth century when the benefits of health-giving seaside holidays were touted by promoters. The *South Eastern Star Almanac* of 1919 stated that the hope of Beachport's progress lay in a more efficient system of communication with the rest of the State and at the same time introduced the reader to the town's natural tourist attractions:

Beachport would ...with a more convenient train service, rapidly become one of the most popular seaside resorts in the State ... The rugged scenery in the vicinity possesses a charm and variety that is unsurpassed ... Near to the town is a natural wonder in the form of a salt lake, the saline properties of which are said to greatly benefit those suffering from rheumatic troubles.¹⁵

However, that hope of a combined tourist and health resort remained as unfulfilled as the port trade.

The physical remains of Beachport's history speak clearly to the social forces of its

past. The relics of early sea-borne industry, of the natural environment and of the pastoral occupation of its hinterland, are overshadowed by the images of that boom of 1878–1881 when glorious progress seemed to be upon the infant Beachport – when Government and private enterprise united to bring into being a settlement which could provide a trading port for the interior.

Today Beachport fulfils a different role, yet uses many of the features of its past in so doing. It has lost its significance as a port for major shipping, although its population still cleaves to the ocean for its living. Now, also, tourism's success is a reality and that early twentieth century vision has been recaptured through the preservation and sensible use of some of those buildings which featured so prominently in Beachport's zenith as a town in the nineteenth century.

4 Coonalpyn Downs LGA

In the second volume of Henry Burgess' *Cyclopedia of South Australia*, published in 1909, the section describing the Coonalpyn Downs was entitled, 'Through the Desert'. This somewhat misleading title was rectified by Burgess in the text which followed where he stated with more accuracy,

The region was never barren. It was no stony, or sandy sun-scorched and wind-swept waste. Poor country, undoubtedly, but not worthless, and capable of improvement.¹⁶

In his short article Burgess combined both the historically popular view of the area as 'the Ninety Mile Desert' and the prophecy of the land's eventual rejuvenation.

Long before Burgess wrote his *Cyclopedia*, British settlers had attempted to fathom the state of the land at Coonalpyn Downs. As always, these settlers measured their success in terms of wool produced and meat sold from the flocks and herds which scattered over the vast tracts of land. The progenitors of British settlement were the Glaswegian brothers James and Archibald Cooke. Their holdings supposedly covered 313.4 square kilometres amongst that country of the Coorong, Tilley's Swamp and Mount Monster.¹⁷ At Tintinara, T.W. and J.H. Boothby, sons of Chief Justice Benjamin Boothby, forsook the sophistication of Adelaide's respectable community to make their fortune from the sheep they bred. As Robert Lowe said of his colonial contemporaries in New South Wales, the first settlers of any Australian colony were essentially 'money making creatures'.¹⁸

The remains and records of this first phase of pastoral settlement in Coonalpyn Downs are, unfortunately, slim. The relics of this period which speaks most to the present day are the numerous wells which dot both the one-time pastoral landscape and its attendant transport networks. For they are a clear reminder that although those first British inhabitants saw wealth, and perhaps power, in those vast pastoral holdings, the conquest of the environment inevitably depended on water being readily available for both stock and people.

There was another reason for the proliferation of these wells which stretched from Bordertown to Wellington on the Murray, running through Coonalpyn Downs; they serviced the Gold Escort route from Mount Alexander in the Victorian gold-fields to the Adelaide Treasury. The route, ostensibly founded by Alexander Tolmer, the boastful and self-centred Captain of Cavalry in Adelaide, spanned the wells which were constructed at 30 kilometre intervals. The wells which had once

been the life-line for Aboriginal travellers were deepened and strengthened to the organised requirements of British engineers.¹⁹ One of these wells, Binnie's, devastated by time and neglect, still remains close to the remnants of a cottage on that escort route's, now hidden, path through the Hundred of Strawbridge. The Gold Escort route, itself, lives on in the present day through the cairns which mark its course, like that on the Tintinara-Woods Well road near Tintinara.

Over a decade after the Gold Escort vanished from the Mount Alexander-Adelaide road, and the South Australian Government was deprived of the revenue from the gold shipments, William Harding and George Bunn bought out the Boothby brothers at the Tintinara station. Their task, as was the Boothby's, was to attempt to extract handsome profits from the land, part of which land the indefatigable Alexander Tolmer had suggested might one day be useful to graziers despite its outward appearance,

Passed two or three small plains well-grassed, containing [20.25 to 40.5 hectares], surrounded with scrub, no water, possibly it could be obtained by sinking, as the soil differs from the generality of that found in the scrub; it is of a rich black loam and might be useful for growing hay and other produce.²⁰

Harding and Bunn gave outward form to their intentions to profit from their work on this land. Although their homestead is no longer extant, the massive structure of the 16 stand shearing shed with one metre thick walls, and its accompanying shearers' quarters, speaks of their optimistic determination. As with so many other pastoralists in the South East, their hopes failed under the effects of a fickle environment and falling prices for wool. As Cockburn noted, their aspirations fell under the doom of the auctioneer's hammer, 'On July 2, 1872, W.G. Luxmoore sold at auction all of George Bunn's pastoral interests in the South East'.²¹

In 1887, a man-made line was to cut through the 'Desert' district and, thereby, both change the face of the environment and alter the lives of the district's inhabitants. The Adelaide-Melbourne railway, when completed, again sparked optimistic comment amongst South Australians about the expansion of their influence over the land. Burgess wrote in his Cyclopedia that the Coonalpyn Downs' territory through which the line passed,

Is destined in the future to sustain a much larger population than it has done in the past, and to largely augment the sum total of national wealth.²²

To correspond with the growth of the railway the Government planned the growth of small settlements along its route. In 1887, a Post Office was opened at Coonalpyn and was soon followed by a school.²³ On 15 August 1906, Tintinara township came into being. By the following year the residents had erected a hall, to double as a school, and a Post Office and, in 1908, the store was completed.²⁴

Between the opening of the town of Tintinara and the Second World War, many of the settlers still regarded themselves as the pioneers of the area. In their one-roomed shanties they raised families and on their land they attempted to cultivate crops and raise stock; a modern equivalent of the selectors of the nineteenth century.²⁵

However, it was not until 1943 that a local farming enterprise, D. Bell and Sons, and the C.S.I.R.O. detected the cobalt and copper deficiencies in the soil which had so

retarded those dreams of pioneers and held in limbo the prophecies of prior generations.

5 Lacepede LGA

Contained within A. Molineux's own compilation of his *Register* articles on the South East, 'Both Sides of the Victorian Border', is a section on the port-town of Kingston. Following the advice of Kingston's local entrepreneurs, Molineux calls the town the focus of 'the largest and best harbour in South Australia'. Further, he repeats one of the entrepreneur's belief in the town's future growth, "'Kingston will be the future Liverpool of South Australia'", is the prophecy of Mr. James Cooke.²⁶

Cooke's utterance came after many years connection with the town of Kingston, and its hinterland, in Lacepede. He and his brother Archie were involved in the settlement and evolution of the Lacepede area. Their spheres of activity included exploration, pastoralism, local government, commerce, and transport and communications; to name but a few. They saw Kingston grow from dream to reality and at the same time witnessed the immeasurable change in the face of South Eastern nature. This is not to argue that the Cookes were the sole originators of organised settlement in Lacepede, but rather that their lives and work are a reflection of a common experience all important in a study of the area's heritage.

Archie Cooke was the first of the brothers to arrive in South Australia. This young man from Glasgow soon showed his intentions: land and stock. It was this intense desire for land which sent him pushing south-east from Adelaide, beyond the fringes of that early settlement, towards Wellington, thence across the 'Ninety Mile Desert', thence again to the Tatiara, and finally returning homeward across the Coorong. Rodney Cockburn described this extraordinary feat not as exploration, but, in terms of its true intent, as 'run-hunting'.²⁷

Cooke's quest for land, and its subsequent rewards, eventually led him to take out the Government lease on the Maria Creek run, with David Wark as partner, in 1851. Cooke and Wark were in the company of many other pastoralists during this early settlement of Lacepede. Margaret Hutchison established Woolmit, where she later engaged in partnership – both business and matrimonial – with Andrew Dunn; Henry Morris and John Hindmarsh founded Bowaka; the respectable James Brown reputedly subdued the local indigenes to gain a stranglehold on his station Keilira [Kalyra]; and other settlers, the physical reminders of their existence long gone from the land, took that land and tried to bend it to their British rules.²⁸

The material remnants of this early pastoral expansion in Lacepede contain numerous reminders of the strength of those settlers' belief in their ability to rule the earth. The range of buildings clustered around Woolmit head-station are prime examples, as are those at similar properties like Bowaka. The now-deserted Woolmit, with its homestead and three major outbuildings all linked by series of stone walling, forming courtyards once interspersed with massed English gardens, and its substantial woolshed, speak to the relative success of that British doctrine which sought to subdue an alien land.

Archie Cooke and his brother James, who arrived in South Australia six years after his brother following an apprenticeship in the Liverpool shipping industry, had a dream for exploiting the Lacepede area by means other than pastoralism. They saw the necessity for transporting the products of pastoralism to the outside world and of

creating a base for their trade. That base for the marketplace lay at their doorstep. In 1858, in conjunction with George Kingston, who was essentially a respectable figurehead for the enterprise, they created a private port-town named Kingston. In that same year the Cooke brothers, merchants and shippers, established their business at the town.²⁹

Their dream went further. They saw this new port-town tapping the produce of a vast south-eastern interior by road and, with a certain degree of visionary madness, by rail to the port and thence to the world. The Government would not back the Cookes' claim for this extraordinary port which,

Without any protection, to the eye, ... is precisely the same as if it were land-locked against the ocean waves. It is beyond our ability to clearly explain the cause of this apparent phenomenon.³⁰

Rather, that political body sitting in Adelaide decided that the advantages of such a port were too favourable for the mere exploitation of private enterprise. Accordingly on 21 January 1865 the South Australian Government proclaimed the town of Port Caroline on Lacepede Bay adjacent to the Cooke brothers' Kingston.

During the next decade, symbols of governmental authority were constructed on the shores of Lacepede Bay in line with the grid layout of a surveyor's map. The police station and courthouse emerged out of the materials of stone, mortar, timber and corrugated iron. Authority and solidity went hand in hand at Port Caroline.

The Cooke brothers were not to be outdone by the Adelaide politicians. They had created their local sphere of influence and meant to retain it. Consequently they bought large numbers of blocks in the Government township and shifted the centre of their mercantile operations there. Archie and James Cooke then manoeuvred their scheme of a railway connecting the South East interior to Lacepede Bay. Their town was already an important staging post on the road from Adelaide to Mount Gambier, still witnessed by the existence of the Royal Mail Hotel, and they were now to battle out the future transport goals of the area with the other inhabitants of the South East.

Nothing more clearly emphasises the separateness of local areas in the South East than the issue surrounding the building of the rail link from Naracoorte and Bordertown to Kingston. Penola, Robe, Naracoorte and Mount Gambier all had their self-interested spokesmen who fought to gain advantage for their own district. Eventually, at the end of 1875, the spirited arguments of James Cooke and the careful machinations of Government saw the completion of that railway to Kingston.³¹ The original stone station-master's cottage survives in Kingston as a witness to the railway expansion of the 1860s and 1870s.

The expansion of commerce, trade and transport in the town on Lacepede Bay was evidenced in the steady rise in occupations until the turn of the twentieth century, when the depressed conditions of local shipping and the effects of the Adelaide to Melbourne railway put paid to those early dreams of the Cookes. Yet, in its heyday, Kingston was widely celebrated. Molineux scoffed at critics who predicted the downfall of the Kingston-Naracoorte railway,

which line, when first constructed, everybody almost said was a foolish piece of extravagance, and would never pay: but a strange perversity is now making a profit.³²

Other writers preferred to emphasise the town's tourism potential or local facilities, 'Kingston is a pleasant seaside resort' wrote one reporter, whilst a later commentator preferred to comment, somewhat patronisingly,

Kingston is a well-built little town possessing an institute, an agricultural society, and a number of fine stone residences, public institutions, and sporting associations.³³

A resurgence of interest in the land went hand in hand with the growth of Kingston in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. William Hutchison and his step-father Andrew Dunn, for example, bought Bowaka, Murrabinna, Conmurra, and Mount Benson, most of which have material remnants surviving today. Yet pastoralism, which had ruled the area for so long, was being squeezed by Government acts which wanted to put small holders on the land. Those early pastoralists, like the Cookes, held on grimly to their properties.

Although the history of Lacepede does not end with the death of either Archibald or James Cooke, James's death, in 1892, signalled the demise of that inspiration which had guided and fought for Kingston's supremacy in trade and pastoral shipping in the South East. As Cockburn, his latter-day biographer, noted, those early hopes of Kingston as the 'Liverpool of the South' had turned sour:

Border duties and preferential railway rates effectively diverted much of the business, and Mr. Cooke's day-dream developed into a nightmare. He had been too wrapped up in the general welfare of the community to become prosperous himself ... His name was a household word in the South East.³⁴

Cooke's residence at Kingston, Otter House, is a material statement of the man's concerns of life. His hope lay in the expansion of a town and its hinterland, not merely in his personal property. His wife recalled that one of his guiding principles was,

What's the good of riches? A man can wear only one coat at a time, and if he eats too much he is soon sorry for himself.³⁵

Kingston was built on the ideas of men like Archie and James Cooke.

6 Lucindale LGA

In 1876, the first Government surveyors moved in to block out a pattern of British settlement on approximately 388.2 square kilometres of country which ran over three pastoral properties, Crower, Baker's Range and Ardune. By January of 1877, another instrument of British progress, the railway, brought the first phase of 'civilised' townlife to the area. A shopkeeper and hotelier very soon introduced commerce into the lives of the new settlers.³⁶

Thirty-four years before those new settlers arrived with the locomotive, John (Jacky) White, of the Reedbeds, had claimed areas of the Lucindale district as his own. In the 1846 and 1847 listings of Occupation Licences, White's name appeared next to three runs which Cockburn maintained covered some 349.65 square kilometres.³⁷ By 1849, White had over two thousand prime cattle on his station – which he drove overland to the Adelaide market – and was shipping his wool out

through Robe to its destined markets. Yet, all that remains of White's occupancy of the land is a site where locals say he 'kept his overworked stockyards about one mile east of the Avenue Range township'.³⁸

There were areas of land other than White's stockyards which were to be subject to successive waves of pastoral settlement. It seemed to be a truism of pastoralism that as one age of graziers fell on hard times another would wolfishly engulf that previous epoch with their own brand of pastoral exploitation. So it was that John Hensley founded Cairnbank in 1852 from part of John White's property where 'the difficulties appeared very great'.³⁹ Hensley proceeded to pay off that property in only six years and then amassed sufficient wealth to get the local gentry builders, Smith and Agar, to erect his two storeyed mansion in a Georgian style.

Nearly twenty kilometres south of Cairnbank, John, William and Malcolm McInnes, immigrants from the Western Isles of Scotland, were to employ Smith and Agar to build their mansion at Crower. Local writers at the time described the opulence of the Crower homestead:

A magnificently constructed nine roomed double story, slate roofed stone homestead, four bedrooms with dressing room adjacent main bedroom, two bathrooms, pantry, office, detached laundry and three store rooms.⁴⁰

The produce of 40,000 sheep and 481.74 square kilometres of land could indeed pay its dividends.

Enormous pastoral dividends were often transitory. For example, John Hensley, the once fortunate owner of Cairnbank, became a victim of that cycle of pastoral wax and wane. He recorded in his diary that even during successful times of opulence unexpected adversities could occur:

For 18 years we had been making more money than asked or expected, adding station to station, freehold to freehold, and house to house, but at the end of that time reverses came one after another, in quick succession, till it looked as if all was going to be taken from us of worldly property, accumulated during anxious years. Our first loss was in the failure of the Provincial and Suburban Bank, then the resumption by the S.A. Government of the Cairn Bank and Ardune runs and £20,000 loss on Pinaroo Stations.⁴¹

As the pastoralists started to have their land forcibly resumed for agricultural selection, or smaller pastoral holdings, the Lucindale township started to take on a more organised appearance. By 1886 the store and hotel were joined in business by a boarding house and blacksmith. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches also gave the town an outward veneer of respectable religiosity. Both the commercial and religious aspects of the town's structure were linked to the outside world by the advent of the postal and telegraph office.

As in so many communities around the British Empire, during this Victorian era of expansionism, the railway was the forerunner of town

life in all its varied aspects. Yet, it was also the railway which prevented Lucindale from ever becoming more than a service centre for its local area. It linked Lucindale so intimately to Kingston that the port-town with its larger range of services and wider attractions drew in the business and diminished, or held static, the local trade. In 1909, H.T. Burgess held out great hope for the future progress of Lucindale:

Lucindale, about halfway, (on Naracoorte railway) is the most important settlement on the road. It is a visibly prosperous and progressive town, which, as there is considerable extent of good land in the vicinity that is being brought into cultivation, is bound to go ahead.⁴²

However, as the occupational survey of the settlement shows, the town neither grew nor appreciably deteriorated over time apart from a surge of life after the Second World War. It continued to remain a localised service town with few other aspirations.

7 Meningie LGA (Part)

George French Angas had only recently arrived in South Australia. His travels in search of 'Savage Life and Scenes' took him to the South East of that newly settled colony. Only a few days journey from Adelaide, he caught sight of an area of the Coorong,

From a bleak hill at the southern extremity of the lake, a grand and extensive view is obtained. Looking over the surrounding country: with the barren sand-hills of the Coorong, that loom like mountains in the distance, tinged with a rosy hue at sunset ... The Coorong is truly a wild and desolate place.⁴³

Ever since Angas described this scene the eyes of Europeans have viewed the Coorong with wonder. A Government surveyor once remembered the 'romance attached to that piece of country', while, in 1974, John Noyes spoke of its,

sense of tranquility, the only movement being those of the black and white pelicans bobbing up and down on the water or soaring effortlessly in their squadrons overhead. And all the time, in the background, can be heard the muffled sound of the ocean rollers crashing onto the Ninety-Mile Beach, over three miles away on the seaward side of the Younghusband Peninsula.⁴⁴

Over time, newcomers to the Coorong would sink wells, make roads, drive stage coaches and stock over its length and breadth, mine salt from its interior, and attempt to settle on its earth. Indeed, in the history of the Coorong, the natural environment speaks for itself as loudly as the remains of attempts to civilise it. Just as Angas saw its wild and desolate side, so there have been a preponderance of stories about its inhabitants which tend to emphasise the disordered, violent side of society; nature and human action become interdependent.

The first story of violence on the Coorong to reach Adelaide was that, in 1840, of the murder of the survivors of the wreck of the *Maria* – although the death of Captain Collet Barker in 1831 had already given British settlers a distrust of the area. In the years to come, the Coorong would witness numerous other outrages,

perhaps the most infamous of which was the story of the hotel keeper Malachi Martin who despatched his guests to a somewhat sounder sleep than they had expected. Indeed so horrific had the legend become by 1944, that a Meningie local, J.G. Hastings of Glengowan, wrote a series of stories based on local hearsay called, 'The Tragedies of the Coorong'.

There was always more to the Coorong than murder or mayhem. Since the earliest journeys of Overlanders it had provided an easy, well-watered route to Adelaide for men and stock to follow. It was not surprising therefore that the main Adelaide to South East road should walk its shoreline, nor that Chinese labourers on the way to Victorian goldfields should take their route there in the 1850s, nor that it retained favour as a stock route up to the present.⁴⁵

Dotted along that same coast road are the remnants of staging posts and one time hostelries. Probably the most notable example of these stopovers is at McGrath's Flat where the entire staging post is still in existence; saddlery, smithy, harness room, stables, coach-houses, homestead and outbuildings. This complex is a detailed reminder of the importance of that route and the intricate requirements of a nineteenth century staging post.

Despite the road's importance, the journey was seldom pleasant. During Molineux's travels of the 1880s he described the Coorong road beyond McGrath's Flat as being, 'frightfully rough going over boulders for miles'. In another description of the area Molineux wrote that both the natural environment and Britishers' use or abuse of it assured travellers of discomfort:

The most disagreeable thing on the whole journey was the flights of 'midges' as the driver called them, which every now and then assailed us in myriads ... The other nuisance proceeded from the carcasses of 3,000 sheep scattered along the road, portion of a huge flock of 10,000, which was being most indiscreetly travelled in one mob.⁴⁶

The crude conditions for travellers and the district's savage reputation could never take away from its amazing natural beauty. Throughout the history of contact between the environment and the British force of settlement, men have been staggered by the depth and extent of the natural conditions. In an interview with Alf Schute, who has had 50 years contact with the area, he maintained that the Coorong 'Just gets in your blood'.⁴⁷ From Angus' nineteenth century view of the Coorong, through the modern seminars on retaining its environmental integrity, up to the opinions of the present generation of residents, there prevails a sense of its being larger than the people who settled it: rough yet beautiful, murderous yet ever enticing.

8 Millicent LGA

On 24 September 1857, Millicent Short, the attractive and refined daughter of the Bishop of Adelaide, married George Glen at Trinity Church, North Terrace in Adelaide. Glen, in conjunction with Samuel Davenport, had created the base of a pastoral empire in the South East. Davenport's Occupation Licence No. 24 of 1847 described his property as being in County Grey near Mount Burr.⁴⁸ In a sense, the marriage of Glen and Millicent Short set the pattern of the outplay of British settlement in the area which Glen and Davenport pioneered. Their property, Mayura, appeared to be a model for many of those aspiring settlers around the district – as did the structure of their lives

with its intermingling of religion, the application of British pastoral and agricultural techniques onto the soil, and its part in the growth and progress of the Millicent area. The history of the Millicent area is constantly bound up in the attempt of settlers to overcome the obstacles set by the environment, to exploit the potential of the land, to bring the structure of British town life to the area and to live out the moral and religious values of their British world in this new environment of their own making.

When Millicent Glen first set eyes on the Mayura homestead complex, she saw a material statement of her husband's progress in his life as a pastoralist. Next door to the new stone house with its shingled roof, French doors and amenities for genteel living, sat the slab hut which George Glen had first occupied: the lowly giving rise to the sophisticated when woman arrived.⁴⁹ As the accumulated profits of pastoralism were given to the softening of their bush existence, the Glens set new trends in pastoral living. As she reared her eight surviving children, Millicent saw the introduction of sewing, pianos, the setting out of gardens, and to cap it all off – the ultimate in genteel social amenities – a tennis court.

Just as Glen had sought to exploit that area around the present day town of Millicent, and his wife bring the refinements of civilisation to the district, some 27 kilometres to the South East the brothers Leake had created the nucleus of a vast pastoral empire. Everything about Edward and Robert Leake, including their bodily dimensions, was huge. All things that they did were on a grand scale. Their voyage from Tasmania, in 1839, eventually led them to the South East of South Australia where, so Cockburn claims, their eventual freehold of 52,000 acres ran 53,000 sheep, 3,000 head of cattle and 300 horses. The dimensions of the Glencoe woolshed, the visible reminder of the Leake empire, speaks to the enormity of their undertaking. Its cost of construction, in 1863, was £1,500 and it was designed by the South East's most important architect, W.T. Gore.⁵⁰ Its dimensions are gargantuan, allowing a board of 36 shearers. All in all, it is a fitting symbol of the colossal proportions attained by the pastoral industry in the South East, and particularly within the Millicent area.

However much the Glens, Leakes and other pastoral families brought the trappings of their British civilisation to this area, the environment continued to defeat their schemes for opening up every square inch of land to sheep and cattle. The pastoralists' flocks were decimated by footrot and coastal disease, in that region where portions of the land were a bog all year round, and certain natural trace elements would not issue in the natural pasture. As early as 1863, British ingenuity tried to bend the inhospitable aspects of this environment to its way of thinking. In that year, estimates were made for a cutting at Narrow Neck which would help to drain off the surface water from the land. In 1864, the project got under way, and loud were the local praises and hopes for a better exploitation of the land by British intellect and yeoman labour.⁵¹ Even as late as 1973, a local writer could claim, 'Thus was born the eminently successful South East Drainage Scheme' – a statement yet to be justified.⁵² The material remnant of the scheme – the powder magazine – can only reawaken the cautious optimism which pervaded the British mind in its quest to subdue the earth.

In May 1870, the South Australian Government made yet another formal statement which indicated the inherent British desire to 'civilise' the landscape of the South East. A town was surveyed 'about 3 miles N.E. of Glen's homestead "Mayura"'.⁵³ In December 1871, the town blocks were auctioned off and the town became known as Millicent, after Mrs. Glen (In the meantime someone had misspelt her name on the map). Millicent, as witnessed by the Occupational Survey chart, was destined to thrive

and take over the central role in the district's affairs: a role which had once belonged to the station homesteads.

Very soon after the town was created, trades moved in – bootmakers, storekeepers, publicans and carpenters, to name but a few. Then, the more systematic symbols of structured civilisation arrived: schools, churches, police stations and telegraph and post offices. The present day town still retains something of this initial settlement.

Bowering's bootmaker's shop – originally built for J.B. O'Connor – the 1873 public school, the Grand Hotel and churches of all denominations speak to what both the first Millicent settlers, and a wider British world considered to be the essential elements of urban structure. In the churches, at least, Millicent Glen was recorded as playing an important role. One writer recalled, in 1928, 'There are living many old men who can recall with the greatest pleasure her magnetic influence over them years ago in church matters ... they naturally fell in line and attended church twice every Sunday.'⁵⁴

Much of this Millicent history can seem far off from the present day – although buildings and historic sites are constant reminders of that peopled past. Millicent Glen's life, and the growth of that town and district bearing her name, may not be satisfactorily borne in mind by the present generation of South East inhabitants. Yet, this is not altogether true in the case of Millicent – nor indeed, of other South East regions – for there remain those like Millicent Glen who have a magnetic influence over those who come into their life's walk. To say the least, these people should be treasured like the building and landscape they know so much about, for their collective memory is as much living history as the other material remains of the British and Aboriginal past.

One such purveyor of living history is Bruce J. Towers. His description, on tape, of the Hann Butter Factory, a feature of the intense small farming life of late nineteenth century Millicent, makes that factory complex and its inhabitants live again – the milk to run, the curds and whey to flourish, the butter to take its yellowish shape, and the pigs to fatten off the byproducts.⁵⁵ Hann's factory is by no means all of Towers' knowledge, his walk with the history of Millicent should be made and recorded on the same level of importance as the material past – the houses, farms, natural sites and towns – he so capably describes. For in this way, the history of Millicent, in both form and idea, will live on beyond his present lifespan, and the heritage so strongly held in his mind will be unlocked for generations yet unborn.

9 Mount Gambier LGA

Since the first sightings of the South East by British sailors, pastoralists and settlers, the Mount Gambier area has been of primary importance – the cog around which the gearing of the South East measures its rate. Because of Mount Gambier's innovation and pacesetting, the region's heritage is today in a peculiarly precarious position. Items of worth and interest are daily threatened with extinction for the sake of private enterprise and progress.⁵⁶ This link with commerce and British notions of advancement goes back to the region's nineteenth century social origins.

When Molineux was journeying around the South East in the 1880s, he observed even then something of the tension between Mount Gambier's history and its affiliation with business enterprises and the notions of commercial progress which pervaded the townspeople's thought. Even during Molineux's time, Mount Gambier was constantly eulogised for its trade and forward commercial thinking. However, as the reporter pointed out, many of the high-flying schemes, created to enrich both the town and the

schemes' initiators had gone wrong:

Few writers have dared to call attention to the many collapses that have occurred there. Every year almost some grand scheme has been proposed for the establishment of an industry that shall prove to be the making of Mount Gambier. Collections are made ... the confounded thing collapses.⁵⁷

About thirty years before Molineux's report, private investment had speculated about Mount Gambier's future prospects. In 1854, the town of Mount Gambier was settled as a private town, surveyed by Hastings Cunningham adjacent to the area's first hotel and a water-source in an underground cave. The town site stood amidst the one-time holdings of Evelyn Sturt and others of the district's pastoral progenitors. These pastoralists had first moved into the area in 1839, in the persons of Stephen Henty and four companions. The Victorians' grab at the land did not succeed, due to Government intervention, and it was left to other pastoralists like Sturt, Clarke and the Leakes to try their luck. However, on section 1103 of the Hundred of Blanche, County Grey, the pastoralists gave way to the town, Gambierton, which Cunningham created. Cunningham was the progenitor of the Mount Gambier business mind for, as a later writer said of him, 'wherever he went he did his best to develop settlement ... Energetic and far-seeing, he soon realised that a town in this fertile district was necessary for its future development.'⁵⁸ British financial promotion arrived in the guise of a private town.

The town and the district did develop – at least in nineteenth century British terms – for, by 1864, our first survey year for occupations, Mount Gambier boasted 37 of the 63 chosen trades and professions present in Adelaide. These occupations included ones as diverse as restaurant owners, surveyors, watchmakers and doctors. The town became a hub of pastoral settlement – a trading and service centre for the vast holdings around its boundaries. Yet, the town began to take on a self-generating characteristic which would eventually make it independent of that pastoralism.

The period of early settlement in Mount Gambier lasted about 25 years. It was an era without flourish during which the basics of an urban structure were created, based on that British-European mould which outlined such processes of civilisation. Relics of this first period of town settlement still exist, although their chances of survival are slimmer day by day. Basically the remnants fall into 3 classes – ecclesiastical, commercial-professional and Government – which are a clear indication of the most valued aspects of the culture which the first settlers knew from their homelands and hoped to transplant onto Australian soil.

The ecclesiastical front was early represented by Lutherans, Methodists, Anglicans and, surprisingly for South Australia and showing the area's attachment to the eastern states' history, Roman Catholics. On the commercial/professional front, Crouch's store provides one of the most worthwhile links with the material structure of early trade. These links are seen again in Mitchell's Mount Gambier Hotel and the Old Commercial Mill – later the Blue Lake Oatmeal works. As the economic spin-off from this early trade brought wealth to the area, so the traders themselves built houses which reflected, not only their own position in society, but also the aspirations of all Mount Gambier residents. Hence, the merchant Webb's house (Baldorney), Fidler's house (Pine Hill), and the residence of Dr. Wehl, the medical miller, all two-storied, speak to the thrusting business principles of the era. In fact, Wehl's appearance as a jack-of-all-trades may well have been indicative of other professionals in the area.

Wehl not only started the South East milling trade, but he also acted as doctor, midwife, or undertaker, depending on the circumstances, and travelled great distances to achieve his tasks. For example, in one instance cited by Bruce Towers, Wehl recorded on an 1852 account for a deceased sailor of Rivoli Bay, 'For coffin, boards and nails and professional attendance – 1/- for castor oil and sundries 10/-.'⁵⁹ Finally, the governmental front, as in all South East regions, emphasised order. The Court House and the Post Office – symbols of British justice and communication with a wider, ordered world – appeared in 1864 to 1865.

Side by side with this first wave of British urban settlement and its attendant cultural emphases of commerce, religion and Government, a small German community settled and grew at Yahl paddock. This ethnic minority exploited the soil in a manner more intensive than their British counterparts who saw the South East as a sheepwalk. The Germans cultivated cereal and vegetable crops, grew hops to supply the ever-needy vats of brewers attempting to cater for local thirsts, raised poultry, and initiated a dairy industry whose quality was unequalled in the area. Their basic farming existence stood in contrast to Mount Gambier's growth of service trade and industry.

The continuing economic expansion of Mount Gambier and its hinterland heralded a new phase of social growth which roughly spanned the years 1880 to 1930. In the middle of that period, Burgess was to note, in his usual optimistic style, that the area's success was continuing unabated and, most interestingly, was being shown in material terms:

Already the commercial and industrial activity is such that the large trading companies and, most of the banks which have their headquarters in Adelaide have established agencies or branches, and the belief is constantly expressed that the potential wealth of the locality is only in the early stages of its development. It is probably true that no other town in South Australia has so large a share of architectural embellishment as Mount Gambier ... Skill and good taste in the use of natural advantages have beautified both ordinary dwellings and public edifices.⁶⁰

Much of these craftsmen's skills remain in Mount Gambier today – a homage to lasting quality, rather than some modern building methods.

Burgess and other writers noted that the outworking of this new social phase appeared in the rise of tourism – a result of both the push of local commerce and the initiative of Government. In 1876, the Corporation of Mount Gambier came into existence – the town was part of an elite band of large provincial towns which supposedly achieved a suitable refinement of local culture. (A perusal of the 1881 assessment books clearly shows, in contradiction to this view of a refined culture, that local trade still ruled Mount Gambier and that the new emphasis on culture was merely an attempt to give respectability to commercial life.)⁶¹ Cultural facilities began to emerge: town hall and offices (1882); and the Institute and Kings' Theatre (1887). As the town accepted its newer glossy image, so Government built railways – first from Beachport (1879) and then Adelaide (1887) – and reinforced that refined image by bringing in the visitors who were to make the town more than a mere service centre for its hinterland.

By the turn of the century, Mount Gambier's tourist and commercial attributes were being touted to a wider world and sepia post cards depicted the famous natural attractions of the area. Burgess was unrelenting in his praises:

Commercial Street is a fine, well-paved thoroughfare, and possesses a group of buildings which for spaciousness and architectural style are not to be equalled in South Australia outside the metropolis ... Mount Gambier ... has received the appellation of the Garden of South Australia.⁶²

The propaganda spread to encourage tourism and local investment soon appeared exaggerated. One local reporter tried particularly hard to sell his product:

As a health and pleasure resort, Mount Gambier is equal to any in Australia ... the town can lay claim to possessing some of the largest and finest hotels in the state ... ample facilities for recreation ... four tennis clubs, golf club, bowling and croquet clubs, hunt club and football and cricket club. The Mount Gambier Racing Club holds three race meetings a year.⁶³

He followed this account with fabulous advertisements and photographs of the town's tourist and recreation industry and then emphasised the extent of that industry's success:

The population is steadily increasing, and there is a constant demand for houses, the number of new ones erected testifying to the thrift of the townspeople. The proximity of splendid building stone has given the houses in this town and district a substantial appearance, the fine public buildings and handsome private residences being particularly admired by visitors to this portion of the South East.⁶⁴

The accent was ever on the solid, progressive appearance of the town and the attractions of its superb natural environment.

The physical remainders of the tourist and commercial boom are many. Hotels like Jens, the scenic Cave Gardens and the massive Gothic-style wall by the Blue Lake – the majority of which was built by the entire Mount Gambier community in a single day's effort – are part of that boom.

By the 1930s, the occupational surge which accompanied the tourist-commercial expansion was declining, probably due to the effects of that Wall Street Crash which shook the world. Any stability that the area may have regained after the bust was cut short by the Second World War. Although many of the local men of commerce still held to the idea of progress and profit, witnessed by *The Official Civic Record of South Australia* writer's comment, 'Mount Gambier is, indeed, the tourist's paradise', the town was never again to witness the great flourish of grand architecture and building which accompanied its earlier aspirations to be the tourist centre of South Australia. Not only had local conditions changed, but also the requirements of one-time tourists, and their descendants, whose increasing mobility could take them to spaces and scenes beyond those at Mount Gambier.

It would appear that many of the town's business people still live in the hope of a return to those heady times of Mount Gambier's success. At the same time, because there is a need to appear progressive, the old, in their minds, must always make way for the new.

10 Naracoorte LGA

The history of the Naracoorte district centres on the rise of the pastoral industry.

The district's key figures either belonged to pastoralism or acted as service agents for its growth. Naracoorte's wealth or poverty depended on the astuteness of its pastoralists and the ability of local commerce to adequately cater for and discern trends in the pastoral economy and the local society. Yet, there is another side to the area's history – and present – which has always created intense interest from the British settlers: the amazing beauty of the environment, witnessed in the variety of underground caverns adorned with natural filigree. As an early settler of the area, William MacIntosh, said, 'The country was beautiful'.⁶⁵

The magnificence of the caves had little to do with William MacIntosh's decision to survey the site of a town called Kincaig. According to Cockburn, Macintosh first saw the future site of his town on 4 July 1845.⁶⁶ MacIntosh was preceded in the area by the forerunners of pastoral enterprise, George Ormerod and John and William Robertson. At that time, as a later writer noted, the Naracoorte area was 'the very outpost of civilisation'.⁶⁷ It was MacIntosh's astute mind which saw the possibilities of a town at that site on the Naracoorte Creek, which could not only act as a service centre to local pastoralists, but could be a stopover on the tracks that came from the Western Districts of Victoria or went towards the South East coastal settlements.

On that transport route, amidst the enormous station holdings of Ormerod and the Robertsons, Macintosh erected first a store and then a hotel. Yet, his connections with the Robertsons, in particular, went back well beyond those first years of settlement. This connection was enhanced by the presence of Lachlan McBean, a landholder near Robe, and South East agent for William Younghusband & Co., an Adelaide stock firm. Macintosh, the Robertsons and McBean all came from the same part of the Scottish highlands about 90 kilometres south of Inverness. Their homes, near the parishes of Alvie and Kincaig, were only a few kilometres from the Highland regional centre of Kingussie. Many of the local young men of that area left their fathers' houses for Australian shores, in the 1830s, with the same ideas in mind – to make money, become independent, and to reinforce the strict standards of order on the new landscape.

It was not surprising that, when Macintosh had his town set out and certified by the General Registry Office in Adelaide, he called the settlement Kincaig. Many of the features of the town came to reflect the conceptions of life which MacIntosh brought with him to Australia. Its positioning on a level plain surrounded by hills was similar to the placement of the highland towns he knew, and the predominance of the kirk, on its hilly rise, was in keeping with the singular importance of the kirk in the Highlands' social life.

Kincaig was not merely about the transposition of Scots' Highland culture, nor was it merely about the success of the local pastoralists and their union with local commerce in the town's growth. The central social debate of that region's early history was the attempted manipulation of successful local enterprise by the hand of Adelaide Government. In Kingston, the brothers Cooke suffered when the Government surveyed a new settlement next door to their own. Likewise, at Kincaig, in 1859, 'the-powers-that-be' had a town, Naracoorte, set out on the opposite side of the creek and planted all the Government services on its blocks up to a mile away from the flourishing business centre of Kincaig.

Locals did not take kindly to what they saw as both aggression and stupidity on the part of Government. One reporter to the Adelaide press wrote forcefully about

local attitudes:

The whole of the population, with but a few exceptions, is found in Kinraig, yet the Government have been foolish enough to erect the post office, telegraph station, and police office, in Naracoorte, where the population is not ... The people have to go upwards of a quarter of a mile to the post office and telegraph station, whereas they might very easily have been placed at their very doors. In truth, governments sometime do strange things.⁶⁸

At a later date again, a minister, F. Slaney Poole, who had preached all over the South East in the late nineteenth century, maintained that the Government were merely trying to pay for the public services they were establishing when they set up their opposition town:

It was expected that by forcing the business and homes into the Government township they would, by the sale of land, recoup themselves for the expenditure on these civil establishments.⁶⁹

Private and public sectors did not easily coexist in the transformation of the land at Naracoorte.

The squabbles between entrepreneurs and Government did not affect the pastoral expansion in the area. The astute Robertsons (soon to become Robertson when William left for Victoria) were well versed in that industry they took up in their country of adoption. The success of their economic and social discernment, and that of other pastoralists, won the town its history of occupational expansion, as evidenced in the occupational analyses of Naracoorte. As town and country success waxed, so John Robertson began to show his pastoral success in material terms. Cockburn described the situation and adequately reflected the importance that people placed on progress and the attainment of wealth and prestige:

There was a time when John Robertson, of Struan, was as well known as the South East itself ... By industry, thrift and patience the squire of Struan built up one of the largest estates in the colony.⁷⁰

This advanced position in society was evidenced by the building of Struan, of which Cockburn spoke. It was indeed an 'ornate mansion ... which was described as being more like an English nobleman's seat than a squatter's residence.'⁷¹ This, of course, was Robertson's intent: a material statement to the world that Scots ingenuity and his enterprise had transformed the wilderness to an oasis – that this combination of work and civilisation gave him the right to claim the reward of ascending to the social heights of wealth and privilege. The privilege cost Robertson £25,000 in 1875 and took the form of an Italianate building whose brow overshadowed the lives of all Naracoorte.

The social history of Naracoorte was moulded by the likes of MacIntosh and Robertson, and other pastoralists such as Adam Smith at Hynam, and Robertson's relation William at Moy Hall. Yet, the continuing increase of the town itself was measured by the degree of building that went on in the 1870s and 1880s. Despite the once ridiculous separation of sections of the private and Government towns, by 1884, the united town of Naracoorte boasted an Institute, two fine banks – the

Commercial and National – a flour mill, general stores, four places of worship, hospital, telegraph office and the all important railway. By 1919 the *South Eastern Star* was describing Naracoorte as the South East's ongoing success story:

It is now an important and flourishing centre, prettily situated, and possessing a healthy and invigorating climate ... [the town contains] a large institute, a high school, and masonic temple, while the Presbyterian Church, situated on an eminence and adorned with a fine belfry and spire, figures as a landmark for miles around. There is also one public and one private hospital, a progressive agricultural and pastoral society, an enterprising race club, and other useful institutions.⁷²

The people of Naracoorte had grown with the times. By adapting to social changes, like the purchase of many of the 'grand' estates by Government and their splitting into selectors blocks in the first decade of the twentieth century, the town had flourished. By 1924, Naracoorte became a town corporation – a sure sign that Adelaide Government recognised the sophistication of the area's development.

For all the growth of the town and the economic success the area, the natural attractions continued to play an important part in the area's heritage. In his travels, in the 1880s, Molineux noted,

A great deal might be said about this part of the country, and about the wonderful caves, and the more wonderful prospects in the not distant future of the people who live in Naracoorte.⁷³

All through the history of the area, the caves and the lives of local people have been linked. Many locals claimed the discovery of the caves as their own.⁷⁴ From that discovery the caves with their natural beauty have been exploited by tourist promoters and town guardians. The town historians recorded that, in 1973, over 40,000 people walked the floors of two of those caves to see yet again the wonders of the natural environment which had so attracted William Macintosh and John Robertson when they first rode over the Mosquito Plains and viewed the future site of Naracoorte.⁷⁵

11 Penola LGA

In December 1983, during an interview on the ABC, Bruce Woodley, a former member of the Australian singing group the Seekers, spoke of his songwriting for the Australian advertising industry. One of the songs featured in that interview was written for a wine company whose base is in the Coonawarra district of the Penola LGA. The song spoke of the wisdom of the winery's progenitor and, again and again, told the story of 'Squire' Riddoch and the terra rosa soil he used so well. It spoke too of Riddoch's entertaining poets and princes; a grand life for a man who had successfully won the battle of the soil. All this may seem a bit far removed from the historical contemplation of the area, but in many respects – the religious affiliations of the area excepted – the song has caught much of the quickening purpose of that past existence: a modern mirror, a history for the masses. The song and its use by the winery is an admission that to the people of Penola the past is very important to an understanding of the present, that their lives are inextricably woven into the warp and weft of their historical social fabric.

In 1838 Alexander (King) Cameron was run-hunting in the area between Casterton in Victoria and the present day Penola. In his account of this story of discovery Rodney Cockburn, that affectionate chronicler of pastoralists' lives, showed that Cameron was not a man to shirk the duty of British enlightenment. Cameron sought to subdue both the land and its inhabitants in his attempt to gain independence and wealth in the Antipodes,

[The area was] then totally uninhabited, he noticed smoke in the distance, and made his way towards it. He came upon a fire, but nobody was on the ground in the vicinity of it. Then suddenly he espied up a tree a blackfellow, who was lying stretched along one of the limbs. The native could not speak or understand English, but he came down when Mr. Cameron made a demonstration with his rifle. By signs the Scotsman made the nigger understand that he was looking for good country, and the latter led him to the site of what was soon to be Penola station.⁷⁶

Cockburn's language is certainly obnoxious and understated but it does show clearly the mentality that would dispossess the indigenous people of their earth and spirituality to create another corner of empire – an empire of self and an empire of mother Britain.

Cameron succeeded wonderfully at his self-appointed task. By 1850, he was commencing to form the town of Penola; that lone Aborigine had unwittingly fostered a town.⁷⁷ The town did well. In 1864, according to the Occupational Survey chart in Section 1 of this report, Penola had the rudiments of a British town implanted on the land. Storekeeper, blacksmith, carpenter, minister, book-seller, and doctor were some of the trades and professions represented in that embryonic village.

Three years before the 1864 date chosen for our survey of Penola, John Riddoch, who had prospered since his Aberdeenshire youth by trading on the Victorian goldfields, bought Yallum station near Penola from the Wells brothers.⁷⁸ Riddoch must have been a most forceful character. He took that village, with its Post Office, dating from 1856, and its staging depot, from the 1850s, and made it his town, an offshoot of the estate he created at Yallum. He had so become the paternal squire of the area, by 1870, that he laid the foundation stone of the new Presbyterian Church, and, in 1879, he further evidenced his influence by opening the town's new Government school.⁷⁹

As Riddoch's pastoral estates grew, the town appeared to follow in his train. The well-ordered rows of cottages, neat churches and its market-town aspect all spoke to the people's subjugation by Riddoch's power and their deference to his wisdom and character. Riddoch acknowledged that 'it was the will of the supreme being that men should not be made equal mentally or physically'.⁸⁰ Just how strong that character could be was evidenced in Riddoch's time in the Adelaide parliament and in particular one incident which occurred in November 1872. According to Cockburn events ran thus:

The Speaker (Sir George S. Kingston) ordered the door to be locked to prevent the re-appearance of the Governor's messenger. Mr. Riddoch and Mr. Mortlock were outside when this extraordinary thing happened, and were so incensed at their exclusion from the Assembly chamber that between them they kicked the door in, and resumed their places. Of course, there was a great stir, but both members stood firmly to their guns, and the incident blew over.⁸¹

Such colourful narration of this event should not mask the fact that in every sense Riddoch was the fitting successor to Cameron, the King of Penola. Just as the King had disinherited the one-time owners of their land, so the Squire made sure that his estates grew and multiplied and his philanthropy stifled reaction and created a semblance of order over the district.

The overwhelming reminder of Riddoch's power is the extravagant Yallum Park house. In a book, published in 1912, the appearance of Yallum in its heyday is described:

The house was approached from the road by an entrance lodge and long drive through a deer park ... Well laid out and extensive gardens and orchards surrounded the house ... The house was a large stone mansion surrounded by balconies and verandahs, and containing many spacious, well-furnished apartments; two drawing rooms, the library, the billiard room, and Miss Riddoch's boudoir being really fine rooms.⁸²

To say that Riddoch's mansion was richly embellished would hardly do it justice. That early twentieth century writer who noted the estate's magnificence could not possibly have described the full extent of the richness and extraordinary sensuality of the Yallum interior. In her book, *Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration, 1837-1901*, Suzanne Forge portrays something of it in her description of the billiard room:

A bevy of striking papers, zany cornice lines, vibrant colours and a dazzling array of patterns on walls, floor and ceiling set it amongst the most spectacular of rooms.⁸³

The wealth of South East pastoralism took on the fancy externals of the latest European tastes and sought to show it to the world.

Riddoch's opulence pervaded the entire South East, and where his light shone dimly his brother George's shone brightly, for example at Koorine near Kalangadoo. Riddoch's benefactions increased the aura of Midasness about him, or as Cockburn so pungently put it, 'helped to keep his name fragrant'.⁸⁴

Yet, Riddoch and the material evidence of his life's work are not the only parts of Penola's history to be covered with an air of local legend. That honour also belongs to the growth of the churches in the district and particularly to the Roman Catholic denomination. The one-time presence in Penola of Father Julian Tenison Woods and that founder of Josephite teaching, Mary McKillop, have enshrined Roman Catholic values on parts of the area's heritage. Hence, the original church school and Mary McKillop Park stand today as reminders of what many locals see as a sacred influence on their town's past.

About eleven kilometres north of Penola and its sacred sites, there exists another monument which speaks to both the power, influence and vision of John Riddoch, and the excellence of the area's natural attributes. In 1890, Riddoch divided off 1,000 acres of his land into the Coonawarra Fruit Colony. Burgess said that, 'In its way... [it] is the most interesting place in the South East'.⁸⁵ Burgess went on to describe the environmental conditions at Coonawarra and Riddoch's rationale for the settlement,

The suitability of the soil and climate had been proved for many years, so that the venture was no rash experiment ... His idea was to establish at Coonawarra a

settlement that would support a large population under favourable social and healthy conditions.⁸⁶

Many of those small settlers who battled it out at Coonawarra did not receive the reality of Riddoch's grandiose dream. Their hard times were sold out to people like the large winery who took over many of those buildings of Riddoch's and have recently employed a song-writer to coin a piece about the Squire of Penola and the terra rosa soil.

12 Port MacDonnell LGA

In the 7 March 1860 edition of the *South Australian Register*, a reporter stated that a public meeting had been held in Mount Gambier to discuss the official opening of the newly discovered port at MacDonnell Bay.⁸⁷ At that stage of the South East's settlement by the forces of the Old World, shipping was seen as the transportation agent of civilisation; the opening of a new port being heralded as the arrival of a wider world on the frontier.

The South East frontier, that is, that line of conflict between British settlement and a retreating Aboriginal culture, in the Port MacDonnell area had begun with the movement of the Arthur brothers onto the Mount Schank property in 1842. This run passed to other pastoralists, the Leake brothers and John MacIntyre, and was eventually taken on by W.J.T. Clarke, in 1861, for £85,000.⁸⁸ Mount Schank station's woolshed and shearers' quarters remain to show the influence of pastoralism over that part of the South East – the shearers' quarters dotted with the graffiti of those men who worked the board for the squatter. Warreanga and Benara stations are also fine examples of the power of the British settlers to rule the land.

Yet, in order for the land to be ruled, the ocean traffic had to be guided to local ports and the South East community serviced from the established districts around Adelaide – trade had to be opened up for the produce of the district to reach markets. Hence, by the time of the driving of the first pile at the Port MacDonnell jetty, on 3 December 1860, a small but thriving society had sprung up at the new port town, eager to create this new trading centre and service its needs.⁸⁹ Even that jetty pile was cut locally and the metal work forged at a blacksmith's shop which is still in existence today. A reporter could note that here a town was being created around a harbour – the natural environment bringing a British settlement into being – and the rudiments of civilised urban structure had arrived,

Port MacDonnell has 15 dwellings. A stone building for a public house being the noblest in construction. A large wooden building for storing goods is being erected by Captain French which is very much required at present, there are about 30 children of school going age and a school-master is required.⁹⁰

By 1863, only three years after the declaration of the port, that town at Port MacDonnell had been officially recognised as an essential trading centre by both private enterprise and Government. The jetty was completed in 1861, the Victoria hotel in 1862, and the magnificent solid and stately facade of the Customs House-Government Offices stood watch over the shoreline and the comings and goings of the bay. In the shipping registers of 1864 it was noted that Port MacDonnell was the third busiest port in South Australia, after Port Adelaide and Wallaroo, seeing 38 vessels

carrying nearly 5,000 tons each way of the voyage.⁹¹ Clustered behind the frontline of Government buildings, hotels, stores and service industries were the houses of seamen and workers, built in weatherboard and stone. There was nothing complex about these cottages – they served their purpose well over time. Indeed, the cottages and the other buildings still standing in Port MacDonnell speak clearly to the demarcations between the various stratas of that early society. From administrator to storekeeper to hotelier to churchman and thence to humble labourer, each had their station outlined in material terms. Yet, the town structure still has the feeling of the unitedness of that early port-town existence.

As Port MacDonnell flourished and its people dwelt amongst the natural wonders of that beautiful shoreline – the wonders including the breathtaking aspect of Piccaninnie Ponds – another settlement at Allendale East was set out by William Crouch, the entrepreneurial Mount Gambier storekeeper, and Peter Prankerd, a cunning Adelaide land shark.⁹² This small settlement gained churches, hotels and stores in order to serve the travellers between the ocean and Mount Gambier and to supply the needs of local graziers and farmers.

It was not only the towns of the Port MacDonnell district which took on stature over time. People, too, created legends around themselves and had their lives' tales repeated to locals and willing (and unwilling) visitors. Adam Lindsay Gordon, fabled horseman, parliamentarian and poet, fits this mould. To say the least the idolatry surrounding his person is overdone. Dingley Dell may well have been a fit holiday home for this so-called bard of the bush, but for everyone's grandfather to have known him personally, or for Gordon to have written poetry under every tree between Mount Gambier and Penola, or between Port MacDonnell and Robe, is carrying a legend beyond its means. The humanity of the man himself is greater than the legend; his melancholy moments and self-doubt being of more importance than startling leaps on horses. After the death of one of his favourite steeds he could write,

With the flash that ends thy pain
Respite and oblivion blest
Come to greet thee. I in vain
Fall: I rise to fall again:
Thou hast fallen to thy rest –
And thy fall is best.⁹³

Just as Gordon's glory departed this world in 1870, so Port MacDonnell, by 1880, had reached the peak of its life as a port and was losing its lifeblood: trade. The Rev. F. Slaney Poole blamed Port MacDonnell's loss of shipping on the wider settlement of the South East and the improvement of inland transport networks:

I have been told that 'Ichabod' is written on the doors of Port MacDonnell and that its glory is indeed departed ... I suppose that in a new country where at first everything is more or less tentative, we have here and there derelict townships and villages. Others there are which at one time showed promise of a brilliant future, but have to be content to jog along with other mediocrities. The far-reaching effects of the drainage, the improvements of the lines of communication, and of transport, and consequent establishment of Beachport as the place of shipment for much of the south-eastern produce could have but one, and an expected, result to the future of the old port.⁹⁴

Progress had commanded the doom of that port she founded.

The story of Port MacDonnell does not end on this depressing note of departed poets and departed dreams. Rather, the people took the nettle of this dispossession by trade and Government and eventually turned it into the town's pride and future. Locals stopped the demolition of the jetty, in the 1930s, and helped establish the cray-fishing industry and the tourist work which have so helped retain the town's independent character.⁹⁵

13 Robe LGA

Robe is commonly known as a 'Historic Town'. However, that appellation is somewhat misleading for it applies to any settlement which has emerged over time into an individual society with its material outworkings. This is not to downplay Robe's importance to the South East. Rather, to view Robe in a truly historical, rather than nostalgic or memorable, perspective is to see its individuality evolve: for the butterfly to emerge from the popular caterpillar.

From 1845, Governor Robe commanded that the South East be opened up to the forces of civilisation. This expansion of the British settlement around Adelaide into the interiors was to be accomplished, initially, by Government survey parties converging towards each other, in a scissor movement, by land and sea. Robe was adamant: that successful harbours must be opened on the South East coast to cater for this expanding settlement. After sending off the inland survey teams, Robe and helpers sailed up and down the South East coastline in the cutter 'Lapwing' dashing into little known bays and inlets. After deciding that Guichen Bay was the best port along that length and breadth of coast, Robe himself began the laying out of a harbour town on its shores. As he took the necessary levels from a small rocky ledge above the beach, to begin the survey, Robe could take pride in the fact that this town was to bear his name.⁹⁶

The Adelaide population were not long in responding to the surveyors' information on that map of Guichen Bay, which showed a town sprawled along 52 acres of coastal land. The town lots started selling from the first auction, on 17 October 1846, and when sales were totaled, in June 1854, each allotment had averaged £5/15/-.⁹⁷ Governor Robe had helped settle an area of the South East with the civilisation he knew. As he had made abundantly clear in his correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies he wanted to implant order on the land,

The objects of my visit were to establish a police force there, for the prevention of disorders near the borders of the province ... to make arrangements for the conveyance of a letter post between Adelaide and Port Phillip; and to survey and examine Rivoli Bay with a view to establishing it as a port of shipment for the wool of that district ... but ... Guichen Bay ... was well adapted for a place of shipment. Here, therefore I determined on laying out a small township.⁹⁸

In the minds of the Governor, the first settlers, and the land speculators who bought those blocks at Guichen Bay all the forces of their culture –

imposed order and restraint, transport and communication, and the dream of profits and independence – came to bear on the new foundation of a town.

The Government town began to come to life on the harbour coast which an Adelaide reporter said was, ‘in the form very nearly of a half-moon ... It is protected from the west by reefs, and at the south side by a bend inwards of Cape Dombey.’⁹⁹ [Locals claim that two examples of that very early evidence of town life survive until the present. The first house supposedly is part of Robe House, now holiday flats, and the second, part of ‘Granny Banks House’.¹⁰⁰] Yet, by the time of the proclamation of the port of Robe in 1847, Emmanuel Underwood, a discoverer of another South East port who may have wished to disparage Robe, stated that the infant settlement was having societal teething problems,

The social state of the community at Port Guichen is anything but enviable. There are three Government officials with little to do, except to quarrel with each other ... The collector has three large half-starved hounds, which go round to the tent of the police or the doctor, and rob them of their beef ... The servants are all dissatisfied with living in such a desolate spot ... There are several good-looking cows, and a few goats in the township, besides several horses and a cart; a dray also arrived from Adelaide while I was there.¹⁰¹

The hoped for arrival of ordered civilisation would have to wait until civilisation’s members came to grips with their new life.

As these Britishers battled it out with the environment, in its physical and social aspects, they also managed to construct the ordered facade which their culture dictated as necessary for an urban situation. Between 1847 and 1874 a rash of Government and private building occurred in the town, and many of these structures, complete or incomplete, are still extant. A Court House was built in 1848, the Cape Dombey Obelisk in 1855, a Military Barracks in 1858 – erected to house personnel who would control the massive numbers of Chinese disembarking at Robe; the foreigners being seen as another threat to the creation of an ordered society – the Gaol in 1860 to 1861, a Customs House in 1862 to 1863, and a sea wall in 1874.¹⁰² On the private side of building construction, hotels, like The Caledonian, churches, private residences, stores and warehouses were cramped into blocks around the harbour. This building boom and rapid town growth is reflected in the Occupational Survey of Robe; the graph showing the increased diversity of occupations reached a peak in the early 1870s.

It was during this period of town boom, that Robe became the shipping centre for South East produce which Governor Robe had envisaged it would. Local personages like George Ormerod, Andrew Dunn, Edward Stokdale and Francis Grote gained wealth and social prestige from the wool they grew, or that they shipped through Robe. Ormerod was the leading merchant of Robe. In the nine years from 1856 to 1865, he claimed to have shipped over £1,000,000 worth of wool through his hands at Guichen Bay. The house, Moorakyne, was built for him, in 1856, by Henry Smith and was later sold in 1872, with his shipping business.

For all the boom, the port-town languished. Burgess wrote, in 1909, that the town of Robe was covered by a mist of inactivity, a sea-town becalmed and unable to repeat past glories: 'over all there seems to brood a spirit of quietness and repose. Grass grows in some of the streets and on most of the footpaths'.¹⁰³ There were many factors which brought about the decline of this settlement. The depression of the 1890s hit agricultural and pastoral affairs heavily, and therefore local commerce. Further, as the South East press reported in 1888, the region had suffered a decline in population.¹⁰⁴ Further again, it was the provision of alternative transport routes and the increased mobility of a once relatively static population which helped the demise: 'The building of railways and the establishment of other ports ... robbed it of its advantages, and the population and prosperity of the town have declined.'¹⁰⁵

Eventually, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the virtual fossilisation of the 1850s to 1880s town has attracted people. They can detect something of that spur to town life which brought wealth to its merchants and the pastoralists of its hinterland. They too, can sense something of the strength of Government in those times in the monuments they left to future generations. The easier pace of the nineteenth century life gives a sense of solitude amidst the rush of the twentieth. One can easily agree with the picture Burgess gave nearly 70 years ago,

It is nearly a perfect refuge for anyone who desires temporarily to retire from the busy world.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps the comfort of a 'Historic Town' lies not in its historicity as such, but rather in its ability to show us the inadequacies of the present.

14 Tatiara LGA

When South Australia was founded the young colony's boundaries were little more than lines on a map. Overlanders and land-hungry men, in search of properties and pastoral wealth, traversed the supposed colonial divisions unsure of where one ended and one started. The Tatiara was an area where boundary ran into boundary, a communication route and transport corridor from the earliest days of white settlement. It must have been intensely strange for the area's indigenes to see the white usurpers of their homeland making a distinction between areas of the vast expanse of Tatiara. Suddenly, with the lines drawn on that surveyors map, the ordered mind of Britain descended on a landscape.

As the Tatiara became recorded in British geographic terms, so the first waves of European settlement took over the earth. By the time that the Adelaide Government listed its Occupation Licences for 1847, British pastoralists had a firm hold on the area. Robert Lawson at Padthaway, John and Charles Scott at Cannawigara, John Binnie at Wirrega, and Loudon Hastings McLeod at Nalang turned the Tatiara (at least the South Australian section of it) into one vast sheepwalk.¹⁰⁷

Although Scott's head station and Binnie's are now reduced to piles of rubble

or single walls, the empires of pastoralism started by Lawson and McLeod still have their physical faces mostly intact. Padthaway is a startling example of early settlement in the region and the degree of success these men met with. Nalang, too, echoes the basic nature of the first British contact with the land and the increased sophistication as that land bore its fruit. At Padthaway, what was supposedly the first Lawson Home built, in 1846, out of local stone, stands next door to that grand mansion which Robert Lawson's vast pastoral wealth bequeathed to his family, after his death in 1876.¹⁰⁸ At Nalang, we are faced with all elements of that British settlement – from the masters to the servants. The original slab buildings – erected for the use of both livestock and men – stand next to that beautifully simple homestead built by McLeod in 1857.¹⁰⁹ The Georgian graciousness of its delicate features must have shone a strange glow over that landscape which had previously been used to rough gum timbers rather than cedar, and rough hewn rocks rather than mason-edged stone. The material statement of that early pastoralism does not always speak of rough times; rather it says that the pastoralists had images of what men of wealth and importance did with their money – they built lasting memorials of success for future generations to ponder.

As the early Tatiara pastoralists were carving the shape of their images for their societal inheritors to worship, the region was being opened up to the force of transport, and the increasing transport needs of an expanding society. Alexander Tolmer successfully led a Gold Escort from the Mount Alexander diggings in Victoria, across that newly drawn out border, along a well-watered route to Adelaide treasury vaults. In 1852, the Adelaide Government, after years of failing economy and instability, saw a way to strengthen Adelaide's financial base. For that base to remain firm, the gold needed easy access to those vaults – the journey had to be made direct and well serviced. In 1852, at a site near Scotts' woolshed, Government surveyors mapped out a new service town, Bordertown. Cockburn, a biographer of South Australian pastoralists, claimed that the main objection to the settlement came from Tolmer.¹¹⁰ The rather self-centred police officer maintained that the town should have received the benefit of his surname rather than its mundane border image: flamboyance rather than utility.

Utility was to become the essence of this town's life, a factor of pride rather than scorn as Tolmer might have had it. (Indeed, all the towns in Tatiara LGA were inaugurated and continued as service centres: Mundulla, Wolseley, Padthaway and Keith were all towns of stores, hotels and trades.) By the time that Alexander Molineux, an Adelaide journalist with several axes to grind, came upon Bordertown in the 1880s, the settlement had progressed at a great pace – (this growth is evidenced in an Occupational Survey chart, which shows the effect of the 1870s railway building and the success of local pastoralism). Molineux had noticed how the town projected its expansionary success, although his occasional sarcasm at the state of the town was an attempt to get Adelaide Government to open their eyes to the South East. His description covers a range of private and public buildings:

At the back of the Institute, a fine large building, is a deep hole containing the sewage of the whole town, slightly diluted with the water that has percolated through the rubbish above ... There are three inns

(one being built), a post-office and telegraph station of fairly large size, but a pillbox kind of place for the Postmaster to live in; a fine large building for an Institute which is well frequented; two large general stores doing a roaring business; a stationer's shop with newsagency, several small stores, a butcher or two, two blacksmiths and machinists, two branch banks (one in a small stone hut, rented, but about to build; the other in a sort of Custom-house box or sedan chair – freehold) ... there is a public school, built of stone by the inhabitants.¹¹¹

For all the reporter's sarcasm he revealed that Bordertown was a vibrant, active spot which needed to be considered as a major town; his main point was that the town was outgrowing its facilities,

Bordertown is in a transition stage, like a great hobbledehoy with his legs and arms too large for his clothing.¹¹²

The point is ever before a historical researcher: Bordertown's status as a service centre which could accurately read its markets, helped it to survive

It was not only trade and commerce which were centred around Bordertown to serve the Tatiara. In ecclesiastical and medical fields too, the town became a base for mission.

In 1860, in response to requests from the local pastoralists, Dr. Robert Penny, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., arrived at the Tatiara to serve the local community as its medical officer. His home, Charla, near Bordertown, still stands. It was once the centre for an enormous practice which spanned the Ninety Mile Desert across to Naracoorte and across that Victorian boundary so vehemently held to by politicians.¹¹³ Bordertown was also rich in its variety of religious denominations which served the hinterland. The area was perhaps most famed for the influence of the Rev. David Milne, a Congregationalist who started his mission activities in the 1860s. In 1874, he moved to the Tatiara and served the locals and, one Sunday in four, he ventured across that fictitious map drawn line into Victoria to spread a gospel which was not distinctly South Australian nor Victorian.¹¹⁴ Today his house remains on the outskirts of Bordertown and the many churches he preached in and built up stand throughout the Upper South East communities.

Part of the reason that David Milne arrived at the Tatiara at this point in time, and part of the reason that the town of Bordertown expanded so rapidly, was the breaking up of many of the older pastoral estates for agriculturists and smaller graziers. At Emu Flat, in 1887, the South Australian Government had attempted to show agricultural settlers how it could be done on an experimental property which was to cultivate fruit trees, vines, wattles, oaks, olives and other horticultural specialities. However the Government found, just as many of the selectors did, that there was something lacking in this soil, so sheep again came to the fore.¹¹⁵

At Clayton Farm, near Bordertown, there remains the nucleus of a more successful and longer lasting farming operation. This factor was almost certainly due to the quality of the country nearer Bordertown. Built by the Wiese brothers, the Clayton Farm complex is something quite unique for the area. The magnificent red gum slab shearing shed and the stone outbuildings clustered around the farmstead give the appearance of a vibrant operation. As

the Government found out on their experimental farm near Keith, not all the land in the Tatiara could yield the fruits for the farmers' labours.

Keith, though, the hinterland of which needed soil development, grew up as a town, learning to serve the pastoralists and smaller farmers within its sphere of influence. To a degree it was the overland railway which formed Keith as a town: even though settlement occurred much earlier. The railway tended to unify the dispersed elements of settlement into town foci – just as Keith proper came into being, so Bordertown boomed with the new transport. By the first years of the twentieth century, Keith boasted an Institute, churches, stores, and hotel; all the necessities for the itinerant travellers and the local settlers. As Burgess noted in his 1909 reports on these South East towns,

Keith is manifestly becoming a local centre; it has a place of worship, and agricultural settlement in the vicinity has recently increased.¹¹⁶

Around 1940, thanks to the research of Professor Donald and Dr David Riceman who discovered the lack of trace elements in that soil near Keith and through the Ninety Mile Desert, the dead soil began to come to life. Rather than the sheep hoofs pounding the earth, the green blade rose and agriculture became an accepted rather than exceptional form of land use.¹¹⁷

Through nineteenth century transport and commercial needs, the requirements of pastoralism and the influx of twentieth century science on the environment, the Tatiara changed shape under the influence of human hands. Yet, it was not merely humanity which shaped this area, the district itself had natural proportions which gave it significance for those human inhibitors. As H.T. Burgess said,

The locality was ... a kind of halfway house and the nearest convenient stopping place ... It (had) an unfailing water supply, excellent grass for the horses ... an almost ideal camping place.¹¹⁸

15 Reflections

In a sense, the history of the South East of South Australia is a history built around the isolation of that group of European settlers in their landscape, from the wider, more organised centres of colonial life at Adelaide and Melbourne. In H.T. Burgess' 1909 account of the area he wrote that this isolation was a recurring theme:

While the productiveness of the country was never in doubt, its relative isolation was a serious drawback, and for a long period progress was comparatively slow. This difficulty has not yet been fully overcome, and the best method of dealing with it has been a perennial theme of discussion for over fifty years ...¹¹⁹

The attempts to overcome the problems of distance have both opened up the South East to a wider world and, at the same time, brought Government influence. As ports were created for shipping, or railways for transport, the Government was ever in competition with local enterprise; either usurping local initiative or causing the failure of one sub-region's aspirations, while boosting the welfare of another.

Not all Government intrusion necessarily had harmful effects. However, the South Eastern mind over time has had a distinct aversion to the meddling and muddling of

external politics, preferring to create a localised, progressive attitude. This attitude originated in the first attempts of settlers to exploit a hostile environment and plant their version of British culture onto Australian soil. As the planting bore fruit and more organised urban structures grew, and land usage became more refined, so locals intensified their beliefs in progressive society and fought at all times to retain the individuality of their societal creations. To retain this sense of society, locals believed that progress must go on at all costs. Hence, societal progress, to them, was a negative force – a type of bouncing back from the buffers of the local environment and outside interference. Perhaps this explains why today many South East communities are prepared to see their heritage go for the sake of progress; a progress by which their fathers fought to break down the isolation of their communities and create an ordered social world within a bountiful, yet at times terrifyingly hostile, environment.

16 Regional Architecture

Edward Twentyman of Melbourne earned the distinction of designing, for John Riddoch a local pastoralist, ‘Yallum Park’, a twenty roomed, two storey mansion near Penola, in the popular mid-Victorian Italianate style. Indeed, so grand was Twentyman’s work that parallels may be drawn between ‘Yallum Park’ and other grand mansions such as ‘Astolat’ in Camberwell, Victoria.¹²⁰ What set ‘Yallum Park’ apart in the South East, even up to the present day, was the staggering variety and opulence of its interior decoration and the botanical garden that form the building’s forecourt. The building is testimony to the art of mid-Victorian decoration. The crafts of marbling, stencilling and graining are featured in an extraordinarily elaborate scheme of highly decorative wallpapers, dadoes, ceiling papers, multicoloured striped cornices, elaborate ceiling roses and decorative Minton tiles in superb marble fireplaces. Extensive gilt work adorns egg-and-dart mouldings, rosettes and acanthus pilaster capitals. A brilliant four metre high stained glass window, which includes romantic landscapes symbolising spring and winter, enriches the staircase.¹²¹

Suzanne Forge says of this mixture of effects, in a reference to ‘Yallum Park’s’ dining room, it ‘achieves a powerful and cohesive effect’.¹²²

The heritage significance of ‘Yallum Park’ is plain to all who gaze in wonder at the interior finishes. It is one of the finest examples of that opulent extreme of mid Victorian decoration in Australia.

St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church in Penola is at first glance a mixture of styles. The Italianate tower, and its adjacent large, pointed, arched window embellished with patterned brickwork, may be evidence of influence from Melbourne in the architecture of the South East. The proliferation of architectural styles, in the 1860s, in Melbourne, was foreshadowed by Reed’s Independent Church in Collins Street, described by J.M. Freeland as ‘a red brickpile with a tower in two-toned Sienese style’. Freeland continues: ‘A building need no longer be restricted to Gothic or Classic, no matter how debased it may become in the hands of inepts striving for variety’.

The architect W.T. Gore, designed St Andrew’s and it was constructed in 1870. It was not finished until 1909, allowance having been made in the original design for a tower and portico. Gore was based in Mt. Gambier and Naracoorte, but later moved to Melbourne.

Gore was also responsible for the design of several houses for South East pastoralists.

A preponderance of pseudo-Georgian style mansions around Naracoorte could perhaps be attributed to his influence. The symmetrical facades of these houses, such as 'Kybybolite' (1861), 'Cairnbank' (1868) and 'Crower' (1865), though exhibiting Georgian elements, do not truly reflect the proportions of Georgian buildings and therefore cannot be described as such.

These houses appear insignificant in comparison with the Italianate opulence of 'Struan House'. Gore designed Struan for John Robertson in the early 1870s. The soaring tower, and heavily moulded window and door surrounds, are an extravagant architectural statement.

J.M. Freeland described the influence of Italianate architecture, in designs like Struan: 'The concern with Italian influence spread beyond mere decoration. Italianate buildings with a block-like main bulk, shady arcades and loggias and a tall square tower topped by a flag pole became the popular form for mansions'.¹²³

The internal decoration of Struan was also extravagant. The imported Italian marble pieces throughout the house, particularly the drawing room, are exquisitely carved and ornamentally adorned.

However, despite Gore's flirtations with Georgian and Italianate styles, his designs emerged from a wide range of influences. There is not one single style which is truly Gore's own.

Many of the buildings identified in the South East fall into a style that may be loosely described as 'rural vernacular', although all of these buildings contain other influences. Some will have been brought to the area by skilled tradesmen, such as in the cedar window joinery at Nalang homestead in Tatiara. Others brought ideas and memories from the Old World and transplanted them directly in the Antipodes, such as the distinctly Highland cottage style of Cameron's House near Meningie, on the Coorong.¹²⁴ Extraordinarily, the Coorong landscape, in which the house is set, has a barren, wild quality that is evocative of highland landscapes and Western Isle seascapes. Other buildings make use of materials available in the particular locality, such as the pioneer technique of red gum slab walling at 'Cannawigara' and crude red gum pole structures with thatched roofs as at 'Clayton Farm' in Tatiara.¹²⁵ Only a handful of such structures remain. They display high standards of craftsmanship and thoughtful design.

Local stones predominate throughout the entire area as a building material and include limestones and sandstones of particularly delicate hue. These are normally in random work and sometimes random coursed.

The architect A. Crouch of Mount Gambier appears to be the first to make use of Mount Gambier stone, in 1857, in the rusticated walls of the Old Sisters of Mercy Convent and, in 1858, in the National Schoolhouse also in rusticated work.¹²⁶ Use of Mount Gambier stone was taken up by others. W.T. Gore used it in the stables of Christ Church Rectory in Mount Gambier and it was used in the attractive house built for Dr Wehl in Wehl Street, Mount Gambier, in 1866. Its use beyond Mount Gambier last century was not extensive, examples being in Port McDonnell and 'Kalangadoo House' at Kalangadoo. Although the material is old and easily sawn into blocks it seems, in these early buildings, to have withstood the effects of weathering over a considerable period. Many fine Mount Gambier buildings were built in dolomite in square stones, often rusticated, including the Mount Gambier Town Hall.¹²⁷ Architect T.M. Hall made extensive use of Mount Gambier dolomite in civic buildings in

Mount Gambier. It seems that local stones predominate sub-regionally.

Settlement of the South East, in towns and country, often involved the construction of several houses on the one site. There are many examples of the humble cottage adjoining the comfortable home or mansion, none more outstanding than Austin Cottage at 'Yallum Park'. This small stone cottage, dating from the early 1850s, has no internal communication between rooms and presents a rich fabric. In many parts of the South East one may see in the early buildings of each region the poverty that often came hand-in-glove with settlement. Although pioneer families of Coonalpyn Downs and Tatiara can recall with pride the huts made of scrap material, including flattened kerosene cans, these have been demolished in recent times. A shed of this construction exists in Keith, however. These buildings are early reminders of the pioneer's battle with the environment and their isolation.

The houses of Petticoat Lane in Penola tell a visual story as rich as the local legends about them. The little cottages of Port McDonnell and Penola also give these towns their special character. They offer colourful and evocative streetscapes, dramatic reminders of early port and rural settlement.

Of the Colonial architects, E.J. Woods is well represented in Beachport, between 1878 and 1882. R.G. Thomas, G.T. Light and W. Hanson are all represented with public buildings of interest, generally in the mid-Victorian classical style, a universally popular style for public buildings. Hayes may have been responsible for the Cape Dombey Obelisk built in 1855, while the Police Station and Court House at Robe may be attributed to E.C. Frome.

¹ M. Williams, *South East of South Australia* (Longmans Australian Geographies No. 22).

² H.C. Talbot, 'The early history of the South-East district of South Australia', *Royal Geographical Society (S.A. Branch) Proceedings*, Vol. 21, 1921, pp.107-108.

³ *Census of South Australia – 1851*, (Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics Library).

⁴ G.F. Angas, *Savage Lives And Scenes In Australia And New Zealand* (London; Smith, Elder, 1847) vol, 1, pp.131 & 150, E.P.S. Sturt, letter 20 October 1853, in T.F. Bride, *Letters From Victorian Pioneers*, (Melbourne; 1898) p.374.

⁵ Bride, p.365.

⁶ E. Underwood, 'Recollections of a pioneer', in T. McCourt & H. Mincham (eds), *Two Notable South Australians* (Beachport, Beachport National Trust, 1977) p.21.

⁷ French Angas, p.155.

⁸ *Census of South Australia – 1846*, (Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics Library).

⁹ H. Carthew, *Rivoli Bay*, (Rendelsham, The Author, 1974) pp.36-37.

¹⁰ R. Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, (Adelaide, Publishers Limited, 1925), vol.2, p. 126.

¹¹ J. Berger, *Beachport and the Rivoli Bay District of the South East of South Australia*, (Adelaide, Peacock, 1978) p. 22.

¹² Berger, p.26.

¹³ Statistical Register of South Australia, 'Shipping Inwards and Outwards': 1881, 1911, 1932, 1951.

¹⁴ The reader is referred to the Statistical Section of the original heritage Report for fuller details.

¹⁵ *South Eastern Star Almanac*, (1919), p. 77.

¹⁶ H.T. Burgess, *Cyclopedia of South Australia* (Adelaide, The Cyclopedia Co., 1909), vol.2, p.942.

¹⁷ Cockburn, vol.2, p.148.

¹⁸ Robert Lowe's statement, quoted in G.M. Young (Ed.), *Early Victorian England: 1830-1865*, (London, 1951), p.380.

¹⁹ D. Fry, *The Story of Keith : 1851-1953*, (Keith, L.P.H. 1953), p.19.

²⁰ Extract from Tolmer's *Reminiscences*, in Fry, p.18.

²¹ Cockburn, p.213.

²² Burgess.

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- ²³ *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, 128 of 1896, p.11; 44 of 1890, p.58; in SLSA/566, *Notes On The Coonalpyn District*, p.2.
- ²⁴ P. Twelftree, *The History of Tintinara*, (2 ed) (Tintinara, the Author), pp.12-13.
- ²⁵ Oral interview with Pat Twelftree, Tintinara, 1 August 1983.
- ²⁶ A. Molineux, *Both sides of the Victorian Border*, (author compiled extracts from the *South Australian Register*, in S.A. Collection, SLSA), p.18.
- ²⁷ Cockburn, vol.1, pp.148-149.
- ²⁸ E.M. Dunn, *A Man's Reach: the story of Kingston in the South East of South Australia*, (Millicent, South Eastern Times, 1969), Chapter 2, p.20ff.
- ²⁹ Dunn, pp.39ff.
- ³⁰ Cockburn, p.149.
- ³¹ Dunn, p.66.
- ³² Molineux.
- ³³ *South Eastern Star Almanac: 1888*, p.73; 1919, p.100.
- ³⁴ Cockburn, pp.148-49.
- ³⁵ *ibid.*
- ³⁶ P.W. Dow, *Lucindale Story*, (Adelaide, Rigby, 1975) Ch 1, p.13 and Occupation Listings, South Australian Directory (1878).
- ³⁷ SRSA/249: Lists of Occupation Licences in the South East. 1846-1847. Also, Cockburn, vol. 2, pp.216-17.
- ³⁸ B. Durman, *A History of the Baker's Range Settlement*, (Conmurra South, the Author, 1978), p.5. See also R. Linn, *Nature's Pilgrim: The life and journeys of Captain S.A. White, naturalist, author, and conservationist*, (Adelaide, South Australian Government Printer, 1989), chapter one.
- ³⁹ John Hensley, diary extract in Dow, p.20
- ⁴⁰ Durman, p.10.
- ⁴¹ John Hensley, diary extract in Dow, pp.21-22.
- ⁴² Burgess, p.984.
- ⁴³ French Angas, vol.1, p.64.
- ⁴⁴ *Register*, 24 March 1928; B.J. Noye, 'The Coorong: A Personal View', in B.J. Noye (ed.) *The Coorong - A Symposium*, (Adelaide, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1975), p.1.
- ⁴⁵ For further information on the Gold Escort Route. see Coonalpyn Downs LGA section of this report.
- ⁴⁶ Molineux, p.18.
- ⁴⁷ Oral interview with Alf Schute, Salt Creek, 4 October 1983.
- ⁴⁸ SRSA/249, List of Occupation Licences in the South East, 1846-47.
- ⁴⁹ For early settlement of Mayura see B.J. Towers and J. Richards, *Early Millicent*, (Millicent, National Trust, 1974), p.4 and J. Melano, *Walking Tall*, (Adelaide, Lynton, 1973), p.11ff.
- ⁵⁰ Cockburn, vol.1, pp.104-105.
- ⁵¹ Towers & Richards, pp.10-12.
- ⁵² Melano, p.26.
- ⁵³ Melano, p.34.
- ⁵⁴ *Register*, 28 March 1928.
- ⁵⁵ Oral interview with B.J. Towers, 8 October 1983.
- ⁵⁶ The survey team has been greatly helped in this section by the assistance, and published work, of Mr. Les Hill. Mr. Hill's attention to detail and his methodical recording of historical sources were not only invaluable to the present work, but also showed an acute mind which has systematically prepared his ideas of the past for future researchers.
- ⁵⁷ Molineux.
- ⁵⁸ H.C. Talbot, 'The early history of the South East district of South Australia', *Royal Geographical Society (S.A. Branch) Proceedings*, vol.21, 1921, p.129.
- ⁵⁹ Oral interview with Bruce J. Towers, Millicent, 8 October 1983.
- ⁶⁰ Burgess, vol.2, p.952.
- ⁶¹ Mount Gambier Corporation Assessment Books, 1881, Mount Gambier Library.
- ⁶² Burgess, p.953.
- ⁶³ Burgess, pp.4-5.
- ⁶⁴ *The Official Civic Record of South Australia*, (Adelaide, Universal Publicity, 1936), p.310.
- ⁶⁵ J. Murdoch and H. Parker, *A History of Naracoorte*, (Naracoorte, The Authors, 1974), p.8.
- ⁶⁶ Cockburn, vol.1, pp.166-67.

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- ⁶⁷ The Revd F. Stanley Poole, 'Memories of the South East', *Register*, 19 September 1923.
- ⁶⁸ Murdoch & Parker, p.15.
- ⁶⁹ The same.
- ⁷⁰ Cockburn, vol.1, pp.202-203.
- ⁷¹ The same.
- ⁷² *South Eastern Star Almanac*, (Mount Gambier, South Eastern Star, 1919), p.87.
- ⁷³ Molineux.
- ⁷⁴ Murdoch & Parker, p.122.
- ⁷⁵ Murdoch & Parker, p.125.
- ⁷⁶ Cockburn, vol.1, p.170.
- ⁷⁷ Talbot, p.131 claimed that the town was formed in 1858. In a private typescript by Ms. G. Clifford, 'The Founding and Development of Penola', the author's research indicates that the town emerged from a Land Grant on 1 November 1850.
- ⁷⁸ Clifford; Cockburn, vol.2, p.60.
- ⁷⁹ Clifford.
- ⁸⁰ *Border Watch*, 29 March 1893, in L. MacGillivray, 'Land and People', (PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 1982), p.294.
- ⁸¹ Cockburn, vol.2, p.9.
- ⁸² E. Humphris and D. Sladen, *Adam Lindsay Gordon and His Friends*, quoted in Talbot, pp.126-127.
- ⁸³ S. S. Forge, *Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration - 1837-1901*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 66.
- ⁸⁴ Cockburn.
- ⁸⁵ Burgess, vol.2, p.971.
- ⁸⁶ Burgess.
- ⁸⁷ *South Australian Register*, 7 March 1860.
- ⁸⁸ E.A. Milstead, *Port Macdonnell Centenary Celebrations*, (Port MacDonnell, 1960), p.3f.
- ⁸⁹ *South Australian Register*, 12 December 1860.
- ⁹⁰ *South Australian Register*, 21 November 1860.
- ⁹¹ *Statistical Register Of South Australia: 1864*, p.88; Milstead, p.13.
- ⁹² Milstead, p.13.
- ⁹³ A.L. Gordon, 'The Last Leap', in *Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes*, (Melbourne, Lloyd O'Neil, 1950), p.80.
- ⁹⁴ F. Slaney Poole, 'Mount Gambier and MacDonnell Bay', in *Register*, 24 December 1925.
- ⁹⁵ Milstead, p.7.
- ⁹⁶ A.H. Barrowman, *Souvenir of Historic Robe*, (Millicent, The Author, 1979) and Burgess, vol.2, p.987.
- ⁹⁷ SRSA Research Note, 1324/7, Robe.
- ⁹⁸ Despatch: Robe to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 September 1846, in SRSA, Research Note 192.
- ⁹⁹ *South Australian*, 17 February 1846.
- ¹⁰⁰ K. Bermingham, *Gateway to the South East*, (Millicent, 1961), p.85.
- ¹⁰¹ *South Australian Register*, 23 January 1847.
- ¹⁰² See SRSA Note 192, pp. 10-12.
- ¹⁰³ Burgess, p.988.
- ¹⁰⁴ *South Eastern Star Almanac (1881)*, pp.20-21.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Almanac 1919*, p.102.
- ¹⁰⁶ Burgess.
- ¹⁰⁷ SRSA research note/249 'List of Occupation Licences for Runs in the South East, 1846-47'.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cockburn, vol. 2, p.212.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cockburn, vol.1, p.116ff.
- ¹¹⁰ Cockburn, vol.2, pp.212-13.
- ¹¹¹ Molineux.
- ¹¹² The same.
- ¹¹³ D.F.M. Fry, *The Story of the Tatiara - 1845-1947*, (Bordertown, The Author, 1947), p.30.
- ¹¹⁴ Fry, p.36.
- ¹¹⁵ D.F.M. Fry, *The Story Of The Tatiara*, (Wirrega, the Author, 1953), pp.90-91.
- ¹¹⁶ Burgess, p.943.

¹¹⁷ D.F.M. Fry, *The Story of Keith*, pp.84-89.

¹¹⁸ Burgess, p.944.

¹¹⁹ Burgess, p.950.

¹²⁰ J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972), p. 163.

¹²¹ G. & G. Clifford, *The Grass Is Green: the story of Yallum Park*, (Hawthorndene S.A., 1980), p.27.

¹²² S. Forge, *Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration - 1832-1901*, (Sydney, Oxford University Press, 1981) p. 49.

¹²³ Freeland, p.145 for these quotations.

¹²⁴ C. Sinclair, *The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands*, (Edinburgh, 1953).

¹²⁵ D.W. Berry & S.H. Gilbert, *Pioneer Building Techniques in South Australia*, (Adelaide, 1951), p. 8.

¹²⁶ L. Hill, *Mount Gambier: the city around a cave*, (Leabrook, S.A., Investigator Press, 1972), p.146.

¹²⁷ B. Colechin & L. Hill, *Mount Gambier Sketchbook*, (Adelaide, Rigby Ltd., 1976), p.5.