

The Influence of Transport on the Development of South Australian country towns

Peter Donovan

No town can grow and develop in isolation from the region it serves, other towns and major markets. Various forms of transport provide the linkages with these.

Thus it can be taken for granted that the influence of transport on the development of South Australia's country towns has been immense. Rather than demonstrating this, perhaps there is more to be gained by considering the manner in which changes in South Australia's intrastate transport have affected the State's country towns. We have a perfect model in this very town.

This paper is in two parts. The first part is very general and is concerned primarily with establishing a few benchmarks and notions. The second part includes a brief history of one country town, Peterborough, which illustrates many of the notions raised.

A premise

At the outset, I believe that it is necessary to differentiate between two forms of transport

- (a) Trunk route transport, and
- (b) Local transport

The first of these was crucial to the foundation and early development of most of South Australia's country towns. There were a few towns like Kapunda, Burra, Wallaroo and Moonta that were established because of mining, but they developed because transport routes and facilities were quickly established to connect these towns with Adelaide and its port.

These major trunk routes then prompted the foundation of other towns and stages along these routes. These became nodes of local economic activity that served the transport needs of the regions about them.

Similarly a town was established at Port Wakefield in 1850 because it provided more ready access for the Burra ore to world markets, numbers of towns developed along the so-called gulf-route, such as Mintaro, Auburn and Balaklava.

The major trunk routes were characterised by numbers of different forms of transport. Coaches and drays were used for the early overland transport of passengers and freight and towns and staging points developed along these at suitable intervals: coastal shipping served the far flung coastal regions of South Australia and ports were established in appropriate places through which the agricultural and pastoral produce could be shipped to Adelaide: for similar reasons towns served by riverboats grew to serve the region about Australia's premier waterway.

A Competitor for Rail

Yet for a long time the effects of the impact of the democratisation of motor transport was masked.

Most of the change in South Australia's transport infrastructure has occurred in the years since the Second World War, and largely because of it, though the preconditions were established during the latter years of the interwar period.

The changes to South Australia's country towns have appeared the more sudden because of the artificial legislative protection given to the railways which masked the fundamental changes taking place in South Australia's transport industry, though it is doubtful that the end result would have been little different if this protection had been removed earlier. The changes to these towns were compounded because the railways had grown bloated and inefficient under the protection afforded by the protective legislation and the poor conditions of many country roads. The railways had become institutionalised.

Until the post-war years, road hauliers were tightly regulated by State governments. South Australia, in 1930, became the first State to impose restrictive legislation, specifically to preserve the monopoly enjoyed by the railways. Freight transport by road was tightly controlled beyond sixteen kilometres from the Adelaide General Post Office and a licence was required to operate a commercial vehicle on any main route in the State. Trucking firms had to be licensed and they were restricted in the distance they could operate from their bases. Yet though this applied to commercial operators an increasing number of private operators, farmers and others acquired better motor transport and minimised their use of the railways.

The conditions of the war changed the balance. Main country roads were greatly improved during the war due mainly to massive government expenditure on them, and many in the army gained the skills and licences to drive heavy trucks. Afterwards, numbers of surplus motor vehicles in Australia gave many farmers, ex-servicemen and others the opportunity to obtain modern vehicles.

For a short period in 1949 those regulations governing commercial operators were relaxed in response to a nation-wide rail strike. Many road hauliers took advantage of the situation to increase their business. By the time regulations on interstate transport were re-imposed, some hauliers found that they could operate at a profit over selected routes despite the heavy penalties.

This was the beginning of the end of protection for rail. A futile attempt by the New South Wales Government to re-establish controls by prosecuting the carrier Hughes and Vale Pty Ltd for breaches of the regulations only resulted in the abolition of rail protection for interstate freight.

Where South Australia led Australia in regulating road transport it was also the first state to deregulate intrastate road haulage, thereby creating additional competition for her railways. After 1964, following a parliamentary enquiry into the State's transport, the regulations were relaxed and any person was permitted to act as a freight carrier 'on any road in any part of the State' subject to legislation protecting certain licences until their expiry later in the decade.

Insoluble Railway Problems

The railways were not equipped to meet the competition because of the minimal expenditure by governments on upgrading the railway network, compared with the huge expenditure to provide better roads. This meant that many country towns with a major railway presence maintained an appearance of prosperity long after others had succumbed to changes consequent on the increased efficiency of motor transport.

In order to survive as carriers of competitive general freight, the railways needed to adapt their services to customer needs and lower their costs by shrugging off the burden of practices and traditions developed during the nineteenth century. This the railways found hard to do because of the privileged position in which they had been for so long, a position which entrenched inefficient work practices. The longer the problems remained unrecognised the more inefficient and unresponsive the railways became to technological change. Indeed, the railways developed a number of seemingly insoluble problems identified by Reece Jennings. They included, "the over-staffing; the absence of standardisation; the operational problems; the lack of planning; the long historic disinterest in marketing and research; the reluctance to co-ordinate road and rail; the low morale . . ." And "worst of all" he said, was "the blight of political interference which has varied from the sheer myopic and the politically expedient, to the downright destructive". (Reece Jennings, *Some Historically Insoluble Railway Problems in South Australia*, Nesfield Press, North Plympton, 1980)

In large part the operational problems were due to a failure to keep up with technological change which meant that locomotives and rolling stock were used long

after their economic life. Garth Stevenson, a transport economist, has suggested that this was largely the result of Federal Government control of State financing. He pointed out that after the Commonwealth-States' Financial Agreement of 1929, State borrowings were controlled by the Loan Council. He claimed that the small amount of finance made available for improving railways went mostly to the more politically sensitive metropolitan areas, leaving insufficient money to finance new technologies such as dieselisation and air braking. (Garth Stevenson, *Rail Transport and Australian federation*, Research Monograph No 48, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, 1987)

However, whatever the reason, by the 1970s there was an evident need to tackle these problems. The problems were clear to numbers of senior railway men and highlighted by a report dated 5 October 1971 by the South Australian Railways' Commissioner, Ron Fitch, who dwelt at length on the 'critical situation facing railway finances'. He recommended many changes, including the elimination of all country passenger services not associated with interstate operations. But there was no political resolve to tackle the problems.

The State Government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Ivan Lees in April 1971 to enquire into all aspects of the state's railway system. The committee's report tabled in April 1973, painted a picture of an aimless, apathetic organisation, floundering in an ever-deepening financial mire. It claimed that management had few clearly defined objectives and even these few could not be realised concurrently, particularly the need to operate commercially while at the same time performing many uneconomic public services and subsidised State development.

The Committee found 'the commercial consciousness among most staff... almost non-existent'. Many traditional activities and procedures permeating South Australian Railways continued unquestioned, despite new technologies and increased competition from other forms of transport. There remained an attitude that 'they had always been done that way and they always will be done that way'. According to the report, the SAR was 'a very labour-intensive organisation,' with wages and salaries alone amounting to 60% of total operating costs.

The Lees Committee made recommendations designed to increase efficiency, but it expressed doubts that their implementation would do more than retard the rate of deterioration. It stated that 'a complete restructuring of the Railways' was required. This would require 'a statement of Government policy followed by revision of the

whole network of lines, the services to be provided and the management and labour structure'. They recommended closing 1,176 km (almost 19%) of the network immediately, and that consideration should be given to closing an additional 1,304 km.

Pointing out that it was 'ludicrous' that 90% of stations and sidings contributed only 10% to SAR's business, the Committee's report strongly recommended that many of these be closed. However, it is doubtful that any government would have had the political courage to undertake the drastic measures required to save the railway. This task fell to the new Australian National Railways Commission which assumed responsibility for South Australia's country railways in 1978.

Lees identified the problems with the South Australian railways and the measures necessary to stop the hemorrhaging. The State government did not have the will to implement these measures. In the short term it threw off the responsibility by offering the country rail system to the commonwealth government.

Cutting the Gordian Knot

The Commonwealth government assumed managerial responsibility for South Australia's country railways in July 1975, and operational responsibility on 1 March, 1978. The Australian National Railways Commission was specifically charged with running the railways in a commercial manner. In its first Corporate Plan it set the goal of becoming profitable on commercial operations within ten years. As a first step towards doing so it was evident that many established practices would have to change. In the first instance ANR identified those services which were clearly uneconomical: these were abolished. And it implemented new technologies that made for greater efficiencies, new communication technologies meant that train control could be centralised in Adelaide.

The most notable effect of the new ANRC initiatives was the significant reduction in staff levels. Another significant development was the consolidation of the former Commonwealth and South Australian bureaucracies and their centralisation in Adelaide and Port Augusta. New technologies also prompted the need for less personnel and their central location.

The effect of these changes on numbers of South Australia's country towns was immense.

Staff Reductions at Peterborough

Because of the magnitude of the reduction of staff considered necessary for AN to achieve its corporate goal, few towns along the railway lines were unaffected as services changed, stations and lines closed, and initiatives and technologies promoted more efficient operations requiring fewer staff.

In several of the 'railway towns' in rural South Australia, the staff reductions produced marked repercussions throughout the local economy, though they were rarely the sole cause of the adverse effects because there had been a general sustained economic downturn in towns like Peterborough in South Australia's mid-north, where the railway presence had loomed so large.

The cuts made to railway staff in Peterborough were extensive. Peterborough virtually owed its existence to the railway line. While part of the South Australian Railways network, it had been designated a divisional headquarters with numerous operational staff, major workshops and a bogie exchange facility.

Regardless of its pre-eminence, however, changes at Peterborough were foreshadowed as early as 1969 with the completion of the standard gauge link with Broken Hill, though it was another decade before the unions, employees and management agreed on relocating the Operating Branch to Port Augusta. This move marked the final stage in transferring the whole of the old Peterborough Division's administration to the new Northern Region headquarters.

The steady though irregular decrease in the number of all job categories continued. The completion of the Adelaide-Crystal Brook standardisation project further substantially reduced staff.

Staff numbers at Peterborough

Branch	March 1978	April 1980	April 1984	Proposed
Operations	193	164	161	109
Mechanical	238	131	89	2
	—	—	—	—
Total	431	295	250	111

With the new bogie exchange centre operating at Dry Creek from 8 December 1982 such operations at Peterborough declined dramatically.

In August 1986 the train control section from Peterborough was relocated to Mile End and three of the four train controllers joined the train control personnel there. Their duties in supervising trains working on the Crystal Brook-Broken Hill standard-gauge line and the Gladstone-Wilmington and Peterborough-Orroroo narrow gauge lines could now be conducted effectively from the new centralised traffic control premises at Keswick.

Australian National anticipated that Peterborough would become little more than a crew centre, though with faster operating times and relay working even this could be run down ultimately. Moreover, the concrete re-sleepering of the standard gauge line gradually reduced the number of gangs required to oversee line maintenance. A smaller Civil Engineering Branch of forty-five people has been estimated for this. The development of a one-spot repair facility at Dry Creek meant that the workshops were no longer required.

The effects of the Railway Rationalisation

Australian National's rationalisation programme has had a dramatic effect upon Peterborough primarily because of the rapid decrease in population.

The physical effect of the decreased population is evident in the number of closed and vacant shops and the contraction of the surviving retail business to the western end of the main street.

Many one-time major businesses have closed, no longer supported by the declining population on one hand, and unable to compete with those in larger population centres on the other.

The decline in the population has also been evident in many of the sporting and community groups within the town. The railways invariably provided the backbone of the local football team.

The exodus of railway people has been evident in the religious life of the town. The Anglican and Uniting Church communities have been forced to merge and now share pastors and facilities. The large Catholic Church is now rarely full.

Peterborough, like many country towns in South Australia developed during the nineteenth century in accordance with the restraints and opportunities provided by the

transport technologies of that time. These technologies have changed greatly during the twentieth century, particularly in the years since the second world war. They have had a major impact on all country towns in South Australia.

Highlights of the History of Peterborough

Pre 1875

This period is associated with that time prior to the establishment of the town.

For the most part the history of the area reflected that of other agricultural regions of South Australia. After explorers working from the early settled areas established the major features of the region, pastoralists hastened to lay claim to the choice parts, first by Occupation Licences, then by Pastoral Leases. Alexander McCulloch was the pastoralist to take up the land about what was to become Peterborough under the terms of Pastoral Lease No 30, which he took up on 1 July, 1851.

Born in Scotland in 1809, McCulloch had migrated to South Australia in January 1838. He first took up property on his own account about the Gilbert River in 1841 and this remained the centre of his interests until the government began resuming pastoral land for agricultural purposes. This northern lease became part of his *Eldoratrilla Run* which later became an out-station of the *Gottlieb's Well Run* which he purchased in 1859. In 1863 he purchased the *Princess Royal* station near Burra, and six years later the lease of the Yongala Run from Daniel Cudmore.

Eldoratrilla was on marginal land. In 1865, following the disastrous drought of 1864, when Surveyor-General George Woodroffe Goyder delineated the line that represented the limit of reliable rainfall, he considered the region that was to become Peterborough to be beyond the Line.

Regardless of the lessons of the drought of the 1860s, a succession of good seasons in the 1870s encouraged farmers to venture beyond the regions of reliable rainfall. The County of Dalhousie and the Hundred of Yongala were proclaimed in July, 1871. Goyder's Line of Rainfall effectively divided the Hundred of Yongala diagonally.

Though the site of Peterborough was on the margins of the limits of credit lands under the terms of the land legislation of 1872, application for agricultural land there was made in 1875, when section 216 was taken up by Peter Doecke from Bethel and section 218 by his son-in-law Heinrich Herman Rohde.

The town of Peterborough grew primarily on these sections. Though the stimulus its growth was the governments' railway programme, Peterborough was a private town,

subdivided in accordance with the wishes of the original land owners. Its plan reflects this private initiative.

Landmark dates

- 1851** Alexander McCulloch took out a pastoral licence over the area that was to become Peterborough from 1 July.
- 1865** Surveyor-General Goyder established his Line of Rainfall.
- 1869** Proclamation of Strangways Act which provided for the resumption of pastoral land for agricultural purposes and the credit selection of agricultural land.
- 1871** County of Dalhousie and Hundred of Yongala proclaimed on 20 July.
- 1875** Section 216 taken up by Peter Doecke in July, section 218 was taken up by Doecke's son-in-law, Heinrich Herman Rohde.

1876 - 1886

During this period the town of Peterborough, originally Petersburg(h), was established, and took on that essential plan-form that has persisted to the present.

The form of the town was quickly established. The first businesses were established there in 1878 and 1879, though the first subdivisional survey was not made until 12 May 1880 when it was given the name Petersburg. The town boomed after the first allotments were put up for sale in August.

The stimulus for this enthusiasm was the government's programme of railway construction. The government had determined that here should be the junction of the broad gauge line from Burra and Jamestown in the south, and the narrow gauge line from Port Pirie which was to be extended to join the northern line from Port Augusta at Quorn. As the junction of these major lines Peterborough was bound to become a major railway town, and its prosperity was assured. Many hastened to take advantage of this.

Peterborough was founded, essentially, because of the railway. Its later fortunes were closely related to those of the railways.

Landmark dates

- 1876** Heinrich Koch, who married a niece of Doecke was appointed his manager, and in July, section 216 was transferred to him. Koch was later joined by his brother, William.

- 1878** In December, storekeeper, H.F. Peters began building a store on part of section 216.
- 1879** First blacksmith's forge was built in January by William Heithersay on a half-acre of Rohde's land, on site of later Railway Hotel. Union church was opened on 29 October with a Presbyterian service, on a half-acre of land given by Rohde. Railway surveyors in the area late in the year.
- 1880** First survey of townsite dated 12 May, and named Petersburg. In July, Koch transferred 30 acres to the government for railway purposes. First public auction on 18-19 August. Methodist church was opened in August. Post Office opened on 13 December.
- 1881** Railway was opened to Petersburg on 17 January from Jamestown. Line from Terowie was opened on 11 May. Police were stationed in the town in January and the first school was opened. Work began on the construction of the Petersburg Hotel in April, which opened for business later in the year. First bank was the English, Scottish and Australian Bank that opened a branch on 7 June. A football club was formed on 4 July, and the first race meeting was held the same year.
- 1882** Primary school was opened on its present site on 4 January. Railway connection was made to Port Augusta on 22 May.
- 1883** District Council of Yongala proclaimed on 8 March.
- 1884** Show Society was formed on 8 June. Catholic school and church opened in the former Wesleyan church on 23 November. Union Church was dedicated as the Anglican Church of St Peter on 7 December. Flour mill built on corner of Railway Terrace and Silver Street. Bill authorising construction of the railway line to the New South Wales border passed on 13 November.
- 1885** Institute was officially opened on 7 January. Lutheran Church on Railway Terrace was opened on 12 July.
- 1886** Corporate Town of Petersburg established on 7 October.

1887 - 1913

Peterborough became a prosperous town. This was evident in the major building activity that took place during this period. The present appearance and the physical character of the town date from this time. It is somewhat paradoxical that Peterborough should have boomed during this period, because the major part of South Australia languished in depression, brought on by an extended period of drought in the north of the colony and the collapse of two banks.

Peterborough, like Port Pirie, was insulated from the worst effects of this depression because of the development of the fabulous silver-lead deposits of the Barrier Ranges. Major silver finds were made in the Barrier Ranges in 1884, with mining beginning at Broken Hill the following year. Construction of a railway to the New South Wales border was authorised in late 1884, and finally opened to Cockburn on 14 June. Thereafter ore was railed from Broken Hill to Port Pirie for smelting. The significance of Peterborough as a major railway town was enhanced.

At the same time Peterborough prospered because of the location of the government battery and cyanide works there. Traditionally in times of depression, men had been persuaded, and frequently encouraged, by governments to engage in prospecting for precious metals. This was so during the 1890s and once the battery was established in August 1897, Peterborough reaped some of the benefits.

Landmark dates

- 1887** Railway completed to Cockburn on 14 June. First edition of the *Petersburg Times* published on 12 August. Lutheran school opened in the church.
- 1891** Workingmen's Blocks designated in June. New German School built.
- 1894** Opening of town hall on 22 November.
- 1897** Foundation for Cyanide Works laid on 3 March. Government Battery opened on 6 August. Six kerosene lamp pillars erected in August. Sisters of St Joseph took over the Catholic school.
- 1900** A branch of the District Trained Nursing Society formed.
- 1907** Continuation school begun at the primary school.
- 1908** Continuation School was designated Petersburg District High School.
- 1912** A branch of the Railways' Institute established on 21 July. Lutheran school closed because of the decline in enrollments.
- 1913** Foundation stone for power station laid on 13 June.

1914 - 1918

The period of the First World War was a significant one in Petersburg as it was in many South Australian towns, particularly those with evident German associations. However, the significance of this period lies in the social developments within the town rather than any physical growth or development. Indeed, the town underwent little physical change during this period, except perhaps for the major additions to the Catholic church and the completion of initiatives to light the town with electricity.

For the most part the towns folk were concerned with the military conflict half a world away, and their own efforts to contribute to this. The period was characterised

by outpourings of imperial patriotism. Something of this is evident in the number of war memorials in the town which were erected immediately after the war, several of them in public parks, others in churches and public buildings. The negative side of this patriotic fervour was the abrogation of all things German. For the most part this took the form of the harassment of those townsfolk of German descent. It received more tangible expression in the changing of many street names that commemorated the founders of the town, and more particularly in the change of the name of the town itself. Thereafter the town became known as Peterborough.

Landmark dates

1914 Electric light turned on 16 February. Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August.

1917 New street nameplates erected in February.

1918 Name changed to Peterborough in January.

1919 - 1927

The immediate post-war period was a boom time in Peterborough as it was in many parts of Australia as investment was redirected to peace-time activities. A number of major public buildings, including the new Town Hall and Y.M.C.A. Hostel were built at this time. However, the effects in Peterborough were more evident than in many other towns because of the revitalisation of the State's railway system that was undertaken at this time by Commissioner Webb.

Because of its important position in the South Australian railway system, the new initiatives had a major impact on Peterborough. In the heart of the town there was the almost total redevelopment of the Railway Reserve with the construction of up-to-date facilities, the most notable of which was perhaps the roundhouse and turn-table. To the south of the Railway Reserve the initiatives found expression in the new subdivisions and homes that were built for railway employees.

This had a major effect on the plan of the town. It was significant because it reflected contemporary attitudes to town planning and contrasted with the grid pattern that had characterised the town hitherto.

This latter initiative was also particularly important because it represented a major initiative on the part of one of the State's major employers to provide housing for many of its workers.

By the close of this period the town had effectively reached its maximum extent and had established its physical character.

Landmark dates

- 1920** Foundation stone of the Soldiers' Memorial hospital was laid by the governor on 9 September.
- 1922** Hospital was officially opened on 5 April. W.A. Webb appointed Chief Commissioner of Railways on 16 November.
- 1923** The town became the head of a railway division of narrow gauge lines on 5 April.
- 1924** Commercial Bank of Australia opened its branch in July. Flour mill was converted for use as a rabbit freezing works and ice factory.
- 1925** Railway roundhouse was built.
- 1926** New St Joseph's Catholic School opened on 24 January. The sisters took over the two storey building recently vacated by Bishop Killian and used part of it as a boarding school. Capitol Theatre opened on 15 May 1926. Foundation stone of new High School laid on 17 September by the Premier. Sixty cottages completed for the South Australian Railways, with another fifty nearing completion.
- 1927** Foundation stone for new Town Hall laid on 23 March, it was officially opened on 15 November. Y.M.C.A. building opened on 26 May. Students occupied the new High School on 30 August.

1928 - 1938

This was the period of the Depression in South Australia when the earlier post-war boom collapsed. The worst effects had passed by the mid-1930s, but the effects and the low level of economic activity continued until the outbreak of the Second World War. Once again it is the social history of this period that is the most important, but it is a history that has left few tangible relics.

One of the most significant developments at this time was the provision of reticulated water from nearby bore-fields. The provision of this service had a major impact on the design of houses, and marked a major improvement in the quality of life.

Landmark dates

- 1928** Reticulated water introduced on 5 March.
- 1929** First talkie picture show held in the Town Hall on 4 July.
- 1930** W.A. Webb resigned as Chief Commissioner of Railways from 16 May

1939 - 1945

As in the period of the First World War this was a time when the attention of the townsfolk was directed to developments elsewhere and when there was little opportunity to invest in the town itself.

Landmark dates

1939 Australia followed Britain in declaring war on Germany on 3 September.

1945 V-E Day on 7 May. Atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima on 6 August and on Nagasaki on 9 August. V-P Day on 15 August.

1946 - 1978

Once again the period after the war was one of optimism when investment was redirected to peace-time pursuits. However, because the town had reached its maximum extent, new investment was evident in changes to long-established buildings rather than extensive new building.

The town continued to be associated with significant developments its railways. When in December 1969, the standard gauge rail link was completed from Port Pirie to Broken Hill, Peterborough had the distinction of being one of the few towns in the world to be astride three railway gauges. Except for Gladstone, there are certainly no other towns in Australia with this distinction.

Landmark dates

1946 Contracts let for construction of first Housing Trust homes in Queen street.

1948 First migrants under Commonwealth scheme arrive.

1949 A group of twenty homes built for the SAR.

1958 The town was connected to the Morgan-Whyalla pipeline in January.

1959 SAR discussions with the Commonwealth for the standardisation of the Peterborough Division. The new swimming pool was officially opened on 17 January.

1961 Meatworks officially opened on 25 October.

1965 Survey and design work for standard gauge link to Broken Hill completed.

1968 Broad gauge extended to the town with first train arriving in July.

1970 Standard gauge rail link between Port Pirie and Broken Hill opened on 16 January, first Indian Pacific train ran on 24 February. *Times* merged with other papers of the region on 2 April.

1973 Catholic boarding school closed.

1978 Australian National Railways Commission assumed managerial as well as financial responsibility for the State's country railways from the 'Declared Date' of 1 March.

Post 1978

Virtually since its inception, Peterborough has been a railway town and changes there have reflected those in the railways. This has also been reflected in this latter period.

The creation of the Australian National Railways Commission promoted a major reorganisation of South Australia's country rail network, and many of the divisional function at Peterborough were transferred elsewhere. This reorganisation has meant a major rundown in the numbers of railway personnel stationed in the town. This in turn left many hitherto railway houses vacant, until many were sold to a private owner. This abundance of cheap rental housing has attracted new folk to the town so that population figures have changed only marginally since the reorganisation of Australian National. However the changes have been reflected in the decline in the central business area with the closure of many shops and the contraction of commercial activity to the western end of the town.

SUBDIVISION ACTIVITY IN PETERBOROUGH

Approved		Deposit plan
980	12 May 1880*	
958	2 September, 1880*	
971	14 September, 1880*	
1047	3 June, 1881*	
1050	3 June, 1881*	
1302	1 August, 1883*	
1439	24 December, 1885*	
1471	14 January, 1891	
1475	10 June, 1891	
1483	5 June, 1891	
1482	11 September, 1891	
1544	15 April, 1897	
1549	29 September, 1897	
1550	22 November, 1897	
1557	22 November, 1897	
3020	19 July, 1923	
3214	30 June, 1924	
3220	28 July, 1924	
3232	25 October, 1924	
3224	15 December, 1924	
3384	9 November, 1925	
3443	15 February, 1926	
3523	21 August 1926	
3873	13 October, 1930	

The * denotes

the date of the survey rather than that of the approval.

This indicates that there were three distinct periods of subdivisional activity in Peterborough. It indicates too that the form of the town was basically established by the end of the nineteenth century.

POPULATION FIGURES

					Census
Year	Males	Females	Total Population	Dwellings	
1901		1051	1106	2157	
1911		1196	1124	2320	451 (471)
1921		1070	1119	2189	499 (556)
1933		1567	1490	3057	732 (755)
1947		1448	1442	2890	(776)
1954		1808	1665	3473	889 (944)
1961		1747	1683	3430	858
1966		1580	1537	3117	786
1971		1529	1494	3023	830 (922)
1976		1399	1361	2760	812 (913)

Figures in brackets

denote total dwelling stock and include unoccupied dwellings.

Peterborough Bibliography

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Morris Index, Catholic Church Archives, Adelaide

Index to Railway Plans, Plan Room, Australian National, Keswick

JOURNALS

Chronicle, 26 January 1933

Progress in Australia, June 1932

Quiz, 28 July 1983

South Australian Railways, Annual Reports

THESIS

Moten, B.M., 'History of Peterborough: First Ten Years, 1881-1891', B.A. Hons thesis, University of Adelaide, 1967

BOOKS

The Catholic Story of Peterborough, Peterborough Catholic Centenary Committee, Peterborough, 1976

Official Souvenir and Programme, 'Back to Peterborough' Celebrations, Peterborough, 1933

Burgess, H.T., *The Cyclopedia of South Australia: A Historical and Commercial Review*, Vol II, Cyclopedia Company, Adelaide, 1909, Facsimile edition, Austaprint, Hamstead Gardens, 1978

Gaudie Robert, and Walls, Bill, *Peterborough Profile*, Peterborough Museum and Art Gallery Trust, Peterborough, 1976

Jennings, R.I., *W.A. Webb, South Australian Railways Commissioner, 1922-30; A Political, Economic and Social Biography*, Nesfield Press, North Plympton, 1973

Kerr, Colin and *The Vital Spark: The Story of the Electricity Supply Margaret in South Australia*, Electricity Trust of South Australia, Adelaide, 1979

Marsden, Susan, *Business, Charity and Sentiment: The South Australian Housing Trust, 1936-1986*, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986

Meinig, D.W., *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier, 1869-1884*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1970

O'Neil, Bernard, *In Search of Mineral Wealth: The South Australian Geological Survey and Department of Mines to 1944*, Department of Mines and Energy, Adelaide, 1982

Robertson, J. Edward, *Progressive Petersburg; Describing and Illustrating a Town and District with great possibilities*, J. Edward Robertson, Petersburg, 1909

Williams, Michael, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*, Academic Press, London, 1974

Woods, Anita,

Petersburg to Peterborough: A Journey from 1875 to 1986,
Peterborough and Local Districts History Club,
Peterborough, 1986