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1836 SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1986

BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE SEA

A HISTORY OF WEST TORRENS
FROM SETTLEMENT IN 1836
TO THE PRESENT DAY

PETER DONOVAN



Peter Donovan graduated from the University of New England, undertook a post-graduate degree at the Flinders University of South Australia and studied also at the International Centre for Conservation in Rome. A private consultant, specialising in history and historic preservation, he has since 1976 completed many research projects for government and private agencies. He was foundation president of the Association of Professional Historians and is currently chairman of the Early Buildings Committee of the National Trust of South Australia. He has published a two-volume history of the Northern Territory: *A Land Full of Possibilities* and *At the Other End of Australia*, along with *A Guide to Stained Glass Windows in and about Adelaide* and a short *Industrial History of South Australia*.

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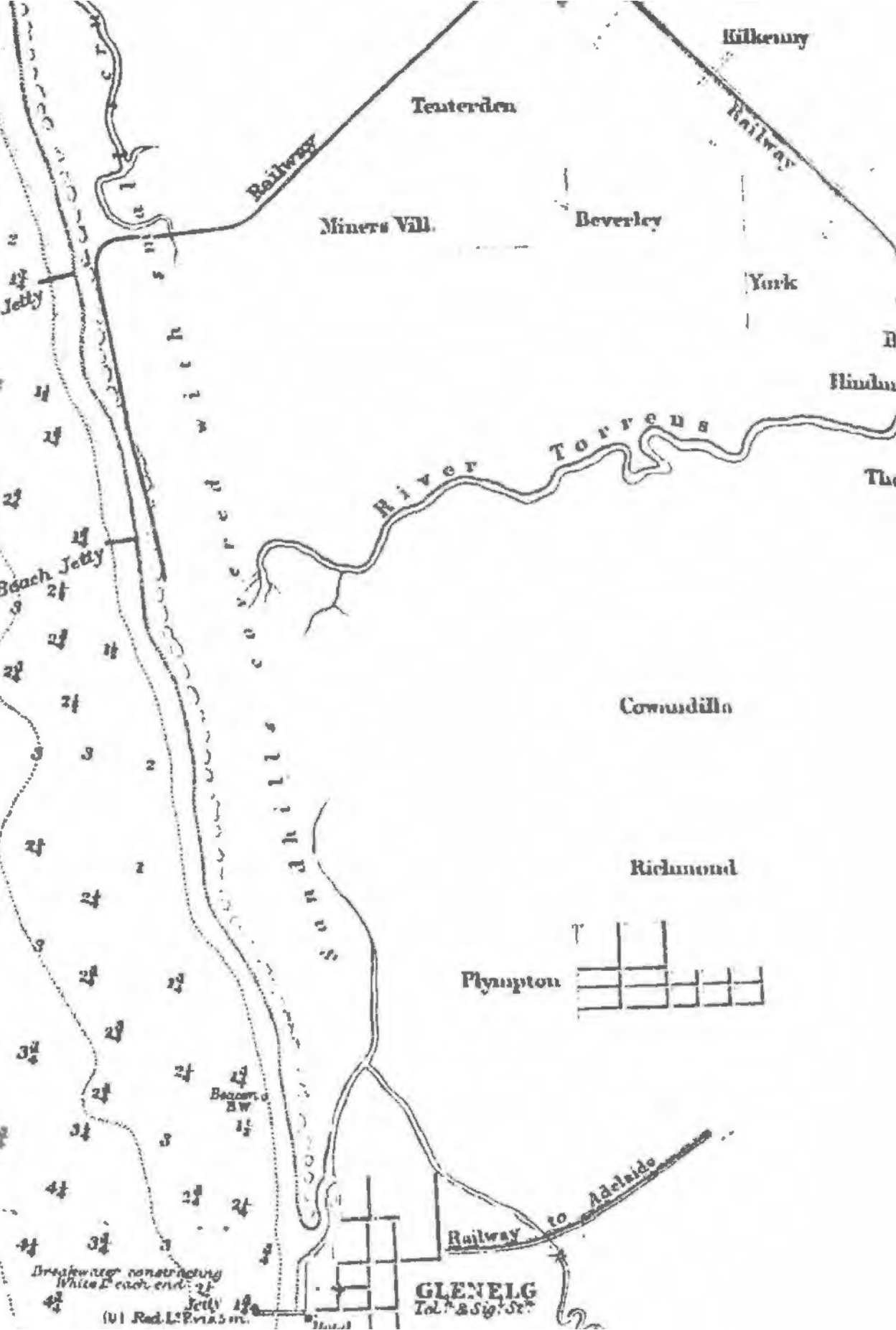
Between the City and the Sea is a history of settlement in the City of West Torrens from the time of the foundation of the Province of South Australia until the present. It is the story of the development of a number of isolated villages into a metropolitan city with its own distinctive history.

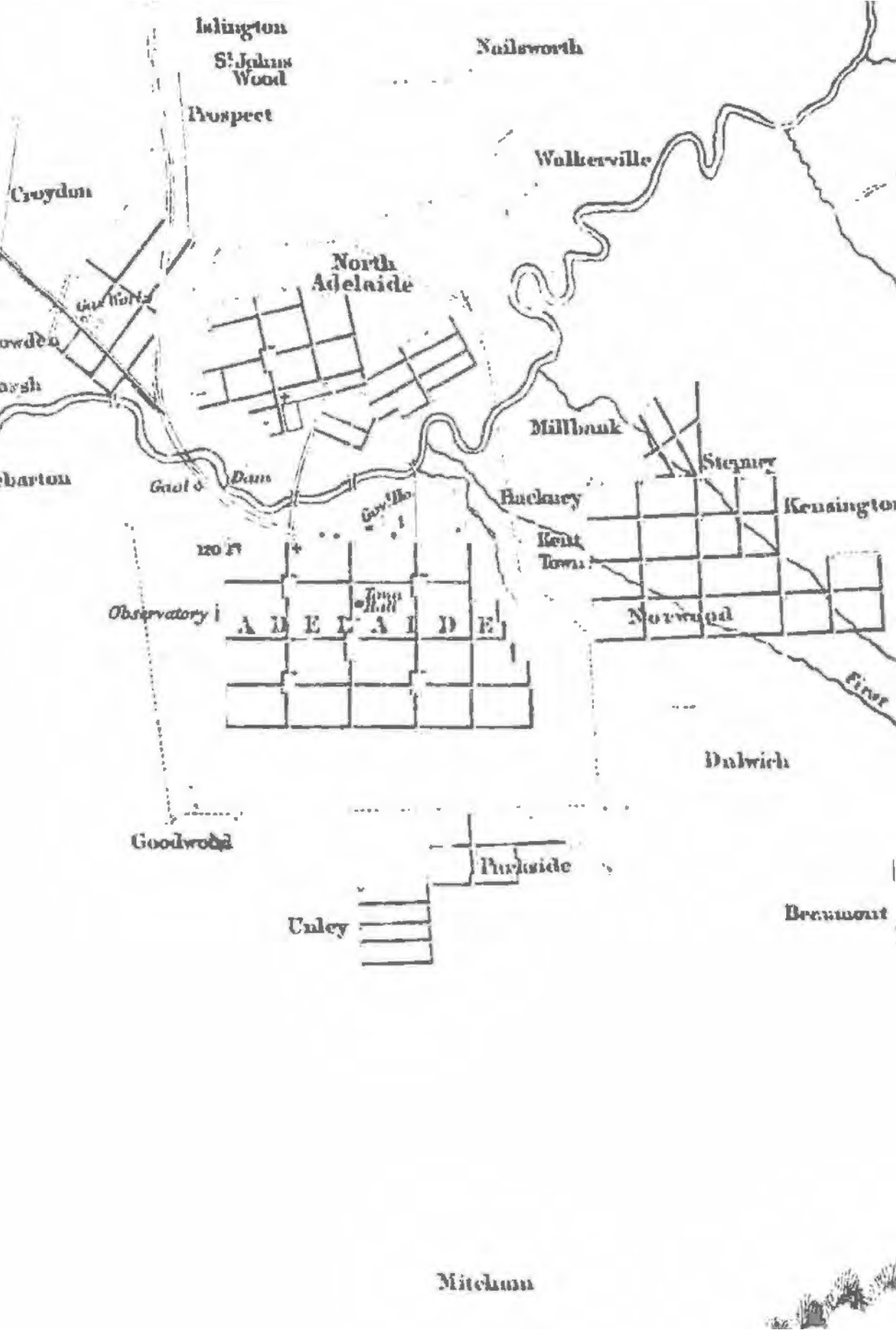
Because of its close identity with the capital, a history of West Torrens reflects most of the major themes of South Australia's history. From agricultural land, with some of the province's first vineyards, it became one of Adelaide's major industrial localities. It has reflected all the major developments of Adelaide's public transport and is now the virtual gateway to South Australia.

It has been home to generations of South Australians, citizens who were leaders of Adelaide's business community, farmers who helped supply the State's markets, and people who worked in the local industries and those of Adelaide.

At the same time this is the story of the West Torrens Council, one of the first to be established in South Australia. For a long time the Council was the only force which bound together a motley collection of communities. Rarely has the importance of local government in the history of a region been adequately explained.

The photograph on the front cover was taken from the tower on top of Telecom's Waymouth Street building.





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Hill

Norwood

First

Dulwich

Goodwood

Parkside

Unley

Bromont

Mitcham

**BETWEEN THE CITY
AND THE SEA**



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BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE SEA

A HISTORY OF WEST TORRENS
FROM SETTLEMENT IN 1836
TO THE PRESENT DAY

Peter Donovan



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A South Australian Jubilee 150 Publication

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Foreword

by
His Worship the Mayor,
S. J. Hamra, Esq., M.B.E., J.P.

'Between the City and the Sea' is a history of West Torrens from its settlement in 1836 to the present day.

This book covers many interesting aspects of the early days of settlement and was commissioned by the West Torrens Council to mark South Australia's 150 Jubilee and to preserve for future generations the historical events which formed the character of the city as we know it today.

The author, Mr. Peter Donovan, B.A. (Hons.), M.A., is a prolific writer on South Australian themes. He was the foundation president of the Association of Professional Historians and is to be commended on the depth of research which has gone into the compiling of this publication.

The reader will observe differing ways and life styles which evolved throughout the years and many will feel a sense of pride in knowing that their ancestors helped to shape the past. In turn, they are helping to shape the future of this city, so that it may be a place in which all can live in peace and harmony and share in the benefits to be derived from a way of life which provides fulfilment through 'Progress tempered by Wisdom' as depicted in the motto of the City of West Torrens.



*S. J. Hamra
Mayor*

Introduction

Another regional history!

As an historian who has long been researching and writing about South Australia's history, I am very conscious of the great number of regional and local histories which abound. For all that, I believe that there is a place for this one, and I would like to elaborate on what I believe to be some of its merits, and to explain something of what I have attempted to do in writing it.

If this introduction seems rather long-winded, please forgive my indulgence. However, once written, I have little opportunity to explain 'my story' of West Torrens, and the reasons for my writing it in a particular fashion. I am acutely conscious of the fact that many people with vastly different expectations and backgrounds will each be hoping to find something in this book, and that many people have contributed information and ideas for this book and may not find them in the expected form. While I am grateful for all help, I have had to make the interpretation of the story my own. I am sorry if this interpretation is not appreciated by all, but would emphasise that I alone am to blame and while the Council conceived and financed the project, I have been given complete freedom to write the story as I believe to be best. For this freedom I am very grateful.

At the outset, let me emphasise that the study of regional history can be very satisfying. From my point of view it has enabled me to relate many of the features of Australian and South Australian history to their effects on individuals and groups in a specific area. Too frequently, it appears to me, historians fail to see the trees for the wood when the nature of their enquiry leads them to concentrate on single issues as they affect a nation or large community and they frequently neglect other issues which might be related and the manner in which these issues affect individuals. On the other hand, many amateur historians fail in the opposite

direction frequently becoming excited about minutiae of local history and fail to appreciate the wider pattern of which they are part. I hope that this history enables the reader to appreciate both the wood and the trees which go to make it.

A word of explanation It must be said that I am not a West Torrens resident and that I embarked upon this task with no preconceptions about the importance of particular families, organisations, localities or developments. For the same reason I have had no particular local axe to grind, and the interpretation of certain events are my own. I hope that the objectivity which this brings to the history of West Torrens is one of the book's virtues.

The writing of any history is a daunting task because of the multitude of matters which bear consideration. This has perhaps meant that many matters have had to be treated in less detail than is warranted, for indeed many aspects treated here have been the subject of particular studies or are worthy of such. However, the plan of this history did not permit all of these matters to be examined in detail, even if time and space had not also been constraints. The notes at the end of the book will provide guidance for those who wish to read more deeply or widely.

My brief has been to consider *all* of West Torrens' history. Too many local historians, I believe, concentrate on origins, but have little to say about later developments, although these are the ones which affect us most closely, and which are in need of explanation. I believe all to be relevant, and that it is important to explain the manner in which our recent history has evolved from our origins. Being able to see our history in perspective helps to resolve much of the mystery about our present. In 1984, for example, the question of Asian migration featured prominently in the media, yet our history shows that this was but the latest development of a long-running theme in the history of the West Torrens district. The very pioneers, after all, were comparatively recent migrants, and were but the first of many distinctive groups to settle in the area, and to enrich it by their presence.

Yet, to treat *all* aspects of a general history invites confusion unless some order has been imposed on it. I have sought to do this in two ways. In the first instance, I have divided the history of West Torrens into three time periods which I believe are logical and the reasons for which will become evident. I have also divided the history in accordance with three themes—physical development, local politics and social life—which run through each of the time periods. The divisions are, of necessity, contrived because all historical events interplay and influence one another in a complex manner. However, I hope that the division will facilitate an understanding of the particular history of West Torrens.

It must be said that the history of any person, event or region can be written from any number of points of view. So too, there can be any number of legitimate interpretations of any one historical fact or development, even though they might differ very markedly one from another. The manner in which I have written about these is determined by my background, training, interests, and purpose in writing. I have been presented with an almost limitless array of facts and I have had to sift through these and make sense out of what is essentially nonsense.

Unfortunately, not all residents present and past—who are recorded in the Council's assessment records—can be included in this history, otherwise it would be no more interesting to read than a telephone book, and so my concern has been to concentrate on those who illustrate features of the story which I believe to be important. It would be nonsense, too, for me to present a mass of unrelated facts as they might appear in successive newspapers or Council minutes. These too must be interpreted in some way and placed in a larger context.

Because I had to be selective in the use of facts and because of a host of other limiting factors which are associated with any history, this historical work cannot claim to be definitive. Because all historians build upon the work of others, and hopefully provide new insights which successors can develop, there will yet be a great deal which can be written about West Torrens, particularly about the many families, industries, groups and organisations which reflect the activities of the residents. Reg Butler, for example, has recently completed a study of Plympton High School to mark its silver jubilee. I have not even attempted to treat the many West Torrens organisations in such detail because neither time nor space has permitted this. However, I hope that this current work will provide a broad context into which similar studies can be put, and indeed that it will encourage the writing of these studies. I expect—or at least hope—that this book will generate renewed interest in the history of the district, and would urge anyone who has extra information about any aspects of this history to pass this on to the West Torrens Historical Society so that it can be used by later researchers.

This history has been conceived as something more than simply 'another regional history' and I hope that it might be regarded as another insight into South Australia's history, with its virtue being that of an examination of a region—West Torrens—rather than a single issue. I hope that it might lead many to read more widely about their particular history, to be conscious of their distinctive identity and wish to preserve it, while yet adapting to ongoing change.

My aim in this history has been to record something of the manner in which people lived and grew up in West Torrens and the major influences that have affected them while doing so. I have tried to record the changing lifestyles of the several generations of those who have lived in the area to the west of Adelaide, and to explain how these have come about, even though many of these changes were not peculiar to West Torrens.

I have also tried to highlight that which is peculiar to West Torrens and which sets it apart from other regions, because West Torrens has a distinct history and many of its residents have had an influence far beyond its boundaries.

A feature of the history of settlement in West Torrens is the fact that there has never been an identifiable regional focus as there is in, say, Port Adelaide or Norwood, or the smaller local government areas of Glenelg or Hindmarsh. This is somewhat paradoxical, because West Torrens has always had clearly defined boundaries and despite periodic adjustments, the region has remained essentially the same. However, it was precisely because of the significance of the boundaries that settlement concentrated on the periphery. In the period prior to the Second World War, the heartland of West Torrens was rural land. Subsequently, this

was resumed by the Federal government for use as South Australia's major airport. Thus, West Torrens was prevented from developing a focal point after the manner of Tea Tree Gully and Noarlunga. It remains a U-shaped city, made up of several distinct communities, each with their particular histories.

The role of the local government Because West Torrens has always been a motley collection of distinct communities, the only local force unifying these has been that of local government. For this, if for no other reason, the story of local government in the area must figure prominently in the history of West Torrens.

The story of local government in South Australia is one which has rarely been told, although it is a fascinating and important one. In 1984–85 the West Torrens Council budgeted for an expenditure in excess of \$10 million, which in strictly financial terms is comparable to that of a fair-sized company, with its shareholders being the ratepayers. Local government affects a great many people and its role has changed markedly since its introduction in South Australia in 1840. Yet although it has frequently been given little consideration by the executive of the other two tiers of government in Australia, it has persisted and indeed has enhanced its role during recent years.

Although frequently dismissed by critics because of its identification with minutiae and its 'parish pump politics', it is precisely this association and its identification with those issues affecting 'the man and the woman in the house' which renders local government so important.

The changing role of local government has closely reflected the changing lifestyles of its citizens, and the many controversies and power plays in which it has been embroiled reflect features of the development of the district. The local council has always been concerned with more than simply the three R's—roads, rates and rubbish. It has been at the forefront of efforts to improve the health of the population; during periods of war it has been an important means of organising support for the war effort and relief for those adversely affected; during times of Depression it has been the focus for employment schemes, and more recently it has taken on baby health centres, libraries and senior citizen centres. Frequently it has been used by elected members as a stepping stone to elected office in the other tiers of government, and at all times it has been a means whereby local residents might put pressure on governments to achieve capital works in the area. Since the advent of the Federal Labor government in the 1970s, there has been considerable pressure on local government to expand its role. Much of this has promoted confusion about the future role of local government which has ensured that this mounting pressure, and the effects of new local government legislation in South Australia which came into force in 1985, will encourage more rapid change. This is therefore an excellent time to record the history of one of South Australia's important local government areas.

Wider horizons Just as people grow and change at different periods of their lives, so has West Torrens changed from time to time and the extent of the present city is not the same as that which was proclaimed a district council in 1853. Indeed,

the original local government area, which was one of the first to be proclaimed in South Australia, included what is now the Corporation of Thebarton, a large part of the City of Henley and Grange, and part of the City of Glenelg. For this reason the story which follows is concerned with an area which is wider than the limits of the present city—primarily that of the original district council, which was bounded by Adelaide's west parklands in the east, the River Torrens on the north, the coast on the west, and Anzac Highway to the south. Despite the secession of parts of the original council area from West Torrens, the residents of these areas have retained much in common with their neighbours in West Torrens, many of whom frequently identify more closely with these areas than with centres in their own city.

Just as the biography of a famous man or woman must consider more than their physical characteristics, or the influence of their immediate family and friends, and must allude also to other matters and persons which have influenced them and their attitudes, so I have alluded to matters which happened beyond West Torrens' boundaries because of the major effects they have had within them. Thus, part of this history must be concerned with the development of Adelaide and its changing role in South Australia, because one of the major features of the history of West Torrens is its development from a sparsely settled agricultural region with an urban-industrial rump, to a closely settled suburban region of one of Australia's capital cities. The history of West Torrens cannot be seen in isolation from that of Adelaide in particular and that of South Australia in general. It is said that the three essentials for a successful business are: 1, Location; 2, Location; and 3, Location. The primary factor behind much of the history of West Torrens is its location near South Australia's capital, and the many transport routes which converge on it. Its physical development was determined largely by this, and so was the social history of its inhabitants.

The readership In my own mind I have set out to achieve a great deal in this history and I hope that it will have an appeal beyond the boundaries of the city and be seen as relevant to the story of Australian urban development. However, it is primarily for the residents of West Torrens—old and new—that the history has been written and I hope that many of them will come to a more lively appreciation of the significance of the history of West Torrens in that of South Australia, and of their own role in this everchanging process.

There is one last matter. In 1980 Maybelle Marles produced *A Pictorial History of West Torrens* which I would recommend as a complement to this history. Except in a few instances when they were material to my story, I have not reproduced photographs which appear in that book.

Acknowledgements Let me emphasise once again that many people have made valuable contributions towards this history. Of course, it would not have been possible without Council and staff who have provided me with freedom of access to any information which I sought, and frequently the help in locating it. The Historical Society of West Torrens through Mrs Maybelle Marles has been

particularly helpful by providing me with the body of information which had been collected over several years and also with the transcripts of interviews with old residents. Together with the early work of Vernon Shephard, this made my introduction to the history of West Torrens very easy. Many individuals have contributed also, and it seems unfair to the many to single out a few. However, several have provided more time and help than could reasonably be expected. They include Mrs Lyn Smith and Mrs Judy Darling, Miss Vicki Hutchinson who typed the several tables and Mr Terry Buss who drew several of the diagrams. June Donovan, besides undertaking much of the research, also shouldered the task of typing the manuscript. The publication has been facilitated by a grant from the State government through the Jubilee 150 Board.

The importance of the past None of us is without a past. This is what gives us a sense of identity and belonging and it is important that we reflect on this from time to time, particularly when changes in our society are occurring at such a rapid pace as in the 1980s, for it is some consolation to know that there is a certain conservatism and repetition in society. No change is as radical as proponents hope, or opponents fear, and few changes do not have some precedent. I hope that this history might encourage this reflection, not simply out of a sense of nostalgia, but that it might be used to help to build a better city for the future.

We cannot escape our history. Our lives are governed by what happened in the past, our decisions by what we believe to have happened. Without a knowledge of history, man and society would run adrift, rudderless craft on the uncharted sea of time. (Arthur Marwick—*The Nature of History*).

Peter Donovan

Part I
FOUNDATION
AND EARLY
DEVELOPMENT

Foundation and Settlement to c. 1853

It is a truism to say that the history of South Australia is distinct from that of each of the other States of Australia. Unlike the settlements at Moreton Bay, the Derwent River, and Port Phillip Bay, that on the east coast of St Vincent Gulf was founded directly from Britain, and in accordance with a scheme which had been formulated long before the colonists left their homeland. Transportation was never a feature of South Australia's history as it had been in New South Wales—including the Moreton Bay district—Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia, nor were goldfields found in South Australia which were comparable to those discovered in New South Wales, Victoria, or northern Queensland and Western Australia. However, before any of these El Dorados had been discovered, many South Australians had made fortunes from copper from their mines at Kapunda and Burra, and although the eastern colonies developed a significant pastoral industry, South Australia was renowned for its agriculture and for a long time was regarded as the granary of Australia.

The history of West Torrens is part of this larger history and is as old as that of South Australia. It reflects many of the features of South Australia's particular history because it has always been contiguous to Adelaide, the capital, and has therefore reflected many of the influences which have helped to shape the metropolis.

Perhaps the chief factor which gave South Australia and Adelaide their particular identities was the fact that the colony was founded after the manner of 'Systematic Colonisation', in accordance with a plan worked out in Britain several years before the first settlers arrived to take up land in the new colony. For the same reason, and because much of its land was sold before the pioneers left Britain, the history of European settlement in the West Torrens district has its origins back beyond the proclamation of the colony on 28 December 1836.

Roots in the Old World The early years of the nineteenth century were ones of great social change in Britain. The so-called Industrial Revolution had fostered the growth of the many industrial towns in England, and the livelihood of many in the mill-towns like Huddersfield and Bradford was becoming increasingly reliant upon the wool which was exported from New South Wales. One of the most apparent features of the social dislocation of the time was the distress which resulted from the migration of country workers and their families to the towns in search of factory work. These towns grew rapidly but without the many services which are now considered to be a part of urban living. The industries also grew and multiplied, free of the influence of legislation and unions to ensure that the workers were protected from accident and exploitation. While the Industrial Revolution ultimately brought benefits to all Britons, in the short term it seemed to increase the gap between the rich and poor. Social distress was rife, so too was crime. Indeed, it was the need to have a penal colony to accept all those who were sentenced to transportation that ultimately persuaded the British government to annex and settle New South Wales in 1788.

The social problems of the period exercised many contemporary thinkers. A particularly pessimistic view was propounded in 1798 by the economic theorist Thomas Malthus, who believed that the rapid increase in the numbers of the socially disadvantaged was a bar to continued economic growth because of the need to earmark resources for their simple survival. Fifty years later, Karl Marx published the conclusions of his studies, in which he argued that the Industrial Revolution was responsible for increased social tension which could only be released by means of social revolution. The social problems of early nineteenth-century Britain exercised a generation of social and economic theorists. Numerous suggestions were made in the hope of relieving the distress and of averting the problems which were anticipated should nothing be done. It is against this background that the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield must be seen.

The method of South Australia's foundation is normally associated with the ideas of Wakefield, as propounded in his 'Letter from Sydney' which was published in 1829. However, he was not so much concerned with the foundation of South Australia as with a grand theory of Empire, in which new colonies would not simply be a dump for Britain's excess population—as was suggested by his contemporary, Wilmot Horton—but that they should be markets for Britain's industrial produce and thereby fulfil an important role in the economic well-being of the Empire. Thus, in his view, it was essential that the societies of the new colonies should closely reflect that of Britain, and that everything possible should be done to minimise the time taken to develop the social structures of these new societies. He was particularly critical of the manner in which New South Wales had developed, and insisted that new colonies should avoid this model, especially regarding the ready access to land. As Geoffrey Dutton has suggested, it is ironical that 'the germ of the high-minded principles of . . . [South Australia's] foundation came from the brain of a convict in Newgate prison'.

As it happened, about this time there was a great deal of interest in Australia as something more than simply a place for convicts. Interest in what later became

South Australia was aroused by the discoveries of Matthew Flinders who explored the southern coast of Australia in 1802, and whose journals were published in 1814. Soon, Kangaroo Island and the nearby mainland were visited regularly by whalers and sealers from Sydney, Hobart Town and Launceston. However, it was Captain Charles Sturt's exploration of the Murray in 1830 which led to the idea that this region of southern Australia might be the site for yet another British colony. Sturt's journals were published in Britain in 1833 when Wakefield's idea of a model colony was gaining increased support. Wakefield had convinced others of the worth of his ideas, including men such as Robert Gouger and Robert Torrens, who lobbied the British government that the colony should be founded. In the same year that Sturt's journals were published, the South Australian Association was founded by Wakefield to help implement his ideas. It was successful and, in the August of the following year, the South Australia Act was passed by the British parliament, paving the way for the new experiment in colonisation.

Soon after the passage of the enabling Act, the South Australian Colonisation Commission was established, with Torrens as chairman, Rowland Hill as secretary and a number of others including Angas, Montefiore and Hutt whose names are commemorated in Adelaide street and place names. The commission was charged with drawing up detailed plans for the foundation of the colony. One of the more novel features of the final scheme, which had been suggested by Wakefield, was to be the prior sale of land in the colony. This was calculated to finance the venture, and to help ensure that the colony might avoid the period of slow social and economic evolution which generally characterised colonies. It was expected, too, that this would ensure that a superior class of colonists would be attracted to South Australia. Thus it was arranged that purchasers should buy a preliminary land order for a country allotment of '80 acres' together with a town block of '1 acre', all of which was to sell at 20 shillings an acre, or £81 the lot, with all purchases being in multiples of the basic unit. (10 acres = 4 hectares approximately.) Despite its theoretical simplicity and attraction, the scheme was not as successful as the commissioners had hoped and for a time the price had to be dropped to 12 shillings an acre and the country entitlement for preliminary land-order purchasers increased to '134 acres'. Success was assured only after George Fife Angas and two associates bought 102 of the preliminary land orders; these they transferred to the South Australian Company which they formed in January 1836. In this way sufficient land was sold to persuade the commissioners to proceed with the scheme.

Founders and pioneers The first of the intending immigrants left Britain in February and March 1836, bound for Kangaroo Island aboard the *John Pirie*, the *Duke of York* and the *Lady Mary Pelham*, under arrangements made by the South Australian Company. Subsequently, on 4 May 1836, Colonel William Light left London aboard the *Rapid*, accompanied by the *Cygnets*, charged by the commissioners with the task of selecting the site for the capital of the new colony and having it surveyed before too many of the settlers arrived.

When he was appointed surveyor-general of the new colony in 1835, Light was

about 50 years old, having been born in Penang in about 1786, the son of Francis Light, the founder and first governor of that colony. Until his appointment he had enjoyed a wandering and adventurous life. When 6 years old he had been sent to England to be educated, and at 14 years of age had joined the Royal Navy. Subsequently, in 1808 he purchased a commission in the British Army and as a lieutenant served in the Peninsular War in Spain. Here he came under the notice of General Sir Charles Napier with whom he became closely acquainted. He resigned his commission in 1821, the year in which he married Miss E. Perois. Nothing is known about this first marriage except of its existence, but in 1824 he married again, this time Mary Bennet, the daughter of the Duke of Richmond. This does not seem to have been a happy marriage, although with Mary he spent time touring Europe and north Africa, and it was while in Egypt that Mohammed Ali, the Pasha, prevailed on him to take a position in his navy. Light served the Pasha from 1830 until 1835, when he resigned to take up the proffered position in the new colony of South Australia. It was during his period of service in Egypt that he met Captain John Hindmarsh, the colony's first governor, who secured the post largely because of this acquaintance and Light's influence with Sir Charles Napier, who had declined the offer of the governorship.



Col. William Light, self portrait (Mortlock Library)

Until this time, Light's career had been anything but settled, and it seems that he accepted this position so that at last he might be able to obtain a measure of security. His hopes were not to be realised.

Many of the 'first fleters' who arrived before the proclamation of South Australia were among the early settlers of the West Torrens area. Thomas Hudson Beare, who settled for a time at Netley, was the second officer of the South Australian Company who arrived at Kangaroo Island on 27 July 1836 aboard the *Duke of York*, the first of the immigrant ships to reach the new colony. His infant daughter was carried ashore by a sailor and was the first of the colonists to set foot on South Australian soil. John Morphett, the son of a London solicitor, an early supporter of the venture and later the 'squire' of Cummins, arrived in South Australia on board the *Cygnets* on 6 September. He became one of the most influential of the early colonists, in no small part helped by his marriage, on 15 August 1838, to Elizabeth Fisher, the eldest daughter of James Hurtle Fisher, who was the resident commissioner. Another of the pioneers was Charles Simeon Hare who immigrated as an employee of the South Australian Company and who later had a colourful career within and without parliament; he was later to be the chief supporter of local government for West Torrens in 1853. The inaugural chairman of the West Torrens Council, Abraham Hopkins Davis, was another of the pioneers and was the founder of Moore Farm at Lockleys. He was a publisher who had fallen on hard times—bankruptcy—but was an ardent Christian, and it was because of this that he, with his family, had been given free passage to South Australia by Angas. A near neighbour of his at Lockleys was John White, who left England on 20 July 1836 aboard the *Tam O'Shanter*, arriving in the colony on 14 December. He became one of the colony's first builders and was responsible for the erection of Emigration Square on the parklands at the western end of Hindley Street. Yet another of the many pioneers of the area was the surgeon Dr Charles George Everard, who established a successful farm at Ashford. He and his family were passengers aboard the *Africaine*, which, on 28 June 1836, was the first of the ships to set sail with settlers who had arranged their own passage.

Despite the social distress in Britain at the time, the decision of many of these immigrants to take their chances in a virgin colony on the far side of the world must have been a difficult one. While few of the first settlers were people of substance in Britain, none were paupers, and the fact that they were willing to pioneer a new land suggests that they would have had the fortitude to have ultimately succeeded in Britain. However, each must have calculated that more was to be gained by immigration, both for themselves and their children.

For Britons who were not used to travelling over long distances, the prospect of the long sea voyage to unknown parts of Australia which were populated by dark-skinned heathens must have been daunting. It would not have been made any brighter when the intending colonists first saw the vessels which were to take them to their destination. The barque *Africaine* was of only 315 tonnes, measuring about 66 metres from stem to stern, and about 8 metres wide. She carried about



D.C.J. Everard (M.L.)



John White—taken by son Samuel (M.B.White)

seventy-six immigrants, forty-nine in steerage, seventeen intermediate passengers including Dr C. G. Everard and his family, and ten cabin passengers, including Robert Gouger, the colonial secretary, and his wife of less than a year. This voyage seems to have been uneventful. 'Of the voyage I have little to say', wrote William Everard, Charles' son, in April 1838:

'Like most others I suppose it was long, dull, and monotonous, interrupted only by our stay at Simon's Town for two or three days . . . I was not in the least seasick, although almost all the other passengers were. In truth I never enjoyed myself better than during the first fortnight of our voyage. Being the first time I had been on the sea, everything was new whichever way I turned, so many passengers and the bussle of an outward bound vessel, the noises of the sailors, the rigging of the vessel, the white cliffs to which we were bidding a last adieu, all so fixed my attention that I had hardly time to think of anything else. I began to keep a journal but found writing on board so inconvenient that I soon gave it up, besides I could find nothing to put down but an account of the weather and the latitude and longitude when we could get it, which was very seldom owing to the surly disposition of our chief mate. Reading I had very little of, our books being all packed and the boxes cleated to the deck to prevent them perambulating the cabin in rough weather . . . But after all our voyage was a remarkable good one, hardly any rough weather until after we left the Cape and then on a few days, but more than enough for a good many on board.

The voyage of the *Tam O'Shanter* was also uneventful—until after it left Kangaroo Island to cross to the Port River. There she went aground on a bar

and was stuck fast for three days. Much of the building material which was shipped out by John White was spoilt in the hold because of the water which was let in, while other material was lost overboard in attempts to put it ashore. White was not impressed: 'We have landed at a dreadful place, being obliged to lug everything through a bog of a quarter of a mile wide to dry ground; all you who landed on Kangaroo Island fared the best'.

By the time that the *Africaine* had arrived at Kangaroo Island on 3 November, Light had already spent some time exploring parts of the nearby mainland for a site for the colony's capital. This had not yet been decided upon, but it was determined to make camp at Holdfast Bay rather than on Kangaroo Island, and here the new immigrants had to do with makeshift accommodation for more than three months before they were able to establish their new homes in the capital. However, after the monotony of the voyage, it proved to be quite an adventure.

The district was certainly beautiful. Mrs Thomas wrote that it 'resembled an English Park, with long grass in abundance and fine trees scattered about, but not so many as to make it unpleasant'. The district was full of new fauna, and Mrs Thomas continued:

The birds here were of beautiful plumage, white and black cockatoos in abundance, the former with large yellow or orange coloured crest, sometimes pink, and parrots, or rather paraquets as they would be called in England, for they were very small and of every variety of colour. Also wild ducks and flocks of geese and occasionally a black swan flying. Here was also the mocking bird and it was quite amusing to hear him imitate our cock crowing in a morning . . .

It is interesting that Mrs Thomas should have been so fascinated with the new fauna, for the multi-coloured birds long continued to be a fascination to the new settlers, particularly because they contrasted so markedly with the drab-coloured birds of Britain.

Two years later John Gould, the noted ornithologist, was similarly delighted with some of the new species which he saw in the region of the Reedbeds, beyond Holdfast Bay. He expressed particular delight in the Adelaide Parrakeet which he found 'near the coast, between Holdfast Bay and the Port of Adelaide'. He wrote of it:

It is impossible to conceive anything more beautiful than the rising of a flock of newly moulted adults of this species, for their beautiful broad blue tails and wings glittering in the sun present a really magnificent spectacle.

Gould also recorded the Elegant Grass-Parrakeet, and the Orange-Bellied Grass Parrakeet, which inhabited the same area. It is little wonder that this region should have nurtured the interest of two of Australia's premier ornithologists, the son and grandson of John White.

However, not all was wonderment and delight and the first settlers soon grew to fear the summer bushfires. On the evening of 29 November 'several fires were lighted for the purpose of burning the grass and some of them came so near us that I began to be alarmed', wrote Mrs Thomas, 'for the wind drove the flames with amazing rapidity and the grass being perfectly dry the fires burnt with such

fury as is scarcely credible'. Fires proved a problem the next day also, and a few days later yet another devoured one of the tents of the tiny camp, and the inhabitants had to work frantically to prevent greater loss.

The settlers also had to contend with heat and insects. Robert Gouger described the first as oppressive, and the mosquitoes troublesome, '... but the flies are afflicting', he complained. 'Nothing can equal their cruel perseverance'.

It is not, however, from these insects alone that annoyance has been felt, as scarcely a day passes without something turning up to excite surprise, if not apprehension. Within two yards of our tent, five centipedes of about five inches long have been caught—one actually in the tent, and one night I put my hand within an inch of a large scorpion. Enormous ants and very small frogs abound also in our tent, but the first of these are harmless, and the others cause us no disturbance.

It is certain that few of the settlers were adequately briefed on what they had to face nor had they adequate defences against the troublesome insects.

For the most part the immigrants lived in tents, which, although lacking many facilities, generally provided more room than the cramped quarters on board ship, and certainly they provided a great deal more privacy. The Everards were among those who built themselves a hut:

... the framework of straight poles let into the ground, smaller ones crossing them horizontally about a foot apart, on the inside, then we cut a quantity of flags, of which we made the walls about six inches thick, and secured them by other horizontal rods tightly bound to those on the other side. The roof was thatched with reeds similar to those you occasionally see in England, and with a good door and three windows, our hut was both wind and weather tight, cool in summer and warm in winter.

Being strangers in a strange land, the immigrants steadfastly adhered to their northern hemisphere traditions despite the very trying temperature. On Christmas Day, the colonists' first in the new land, the temperature reached '110', but for all that they 'kept up the old custom of Christmas as far as having a plum pudding for dinner, likewise a ham and a parrot pie, but one of our neighbours, as we afterwards found, had a large piece of roast beef'. Indeed, one of the features of life in the colony at large was the slowness with which the colonists came to terms with the radically different South Australian environment. So many of their early problems were compounded by their failure to appreciate the difference between conditions in Australia and England, and to adapt to these.

It was not long before the first immigrants came face to face with the original inhabitants of the region. Mrs Thomas' first encounter was on 1 December:

We afterwards found that we were comparatively no strangers to them though they were to us for they had seen and observed our landing but kept aloof, watching our motions. They subsequently paid us several visits but never annoyed us and on more than one occasion proved very serviceable by helping to extinguish the fires which some times came so near us as to be extremely dangerous Likewise on one occasion I could not get my fire to burn, for not having been accustomed to cook out of doors I did not understand exactly how to place the wood and two or three of them, who were standing near it, laughed at my deficiency in such useful knowledge and taking it to pieces reconstructed it after their own fashion and it burned brightly ...

These were members of the Kaurna tribe which inhabited the territory which stretched from Cape Jervis in the south to Port Wakefield in the north, along the eastern shore of St Vincent Gulf. The Kaurna was not a populous tribe and they were soon outnumbered by the Europeans. In 1842, their numbers were given as 650.

The first encounters between the two cultures were tentative but amiable, and evidently based upon mutual respect. However, almost immediately the Aborigines were dismissed as possible partners in this new colonial enterprise and they became little more than spectators as the European settlers set about apportioning the land among themselves, and cultivating that which had hitherto been used simply for hunting and gathering.

The Kaurna had identified themselves so completely with their environment that the Europeans failed to recognise the relationship. They apparently roamed freely over their territory, with their movements being determined by the seasons and the availability of food supplies. Their territory was not of great extent, but it contained a number of sub-regions such as the coast, coastal sand dunes, marshes, lagoons and river estuaries, wide plains, and mountain ranges, which provided a variety of different foods—plants, birds, animals and marine life.

While the Kaurna lived in harmony with their natural environment, it is undoubted that they were responsible for changing it a great deal. They had lived in the region for several thousand years and they and the dogs which they introduced must have helped change the early faunal balance during this time. So, too, their practice of setting fire to the land must have produced great changes in the early floral balance of the region, and may have been responsible for the grass lands mentioned by Mrs Thomas. The Aborigines' practice of burning the



View looking south from site of Glenelg Golf Clubhouse in 1926. The Aborigines camped here when on their way to Adelaide for supplies. (R. Gray)

dry summer grasses, in order to expose and trap animals and fowl, awed the first Europeans. It certainly made a lasting impression on Pastor Finlayson:

After our long voyage, intense interest was felt while sailing up the gulf to see what this land, our future home, was like . . . at the distance inland of twelve or fifteen miles a grand range of hills rose before us, white and glistening with the long dry grass of summer, and well wooded. Before next day's sunrise a great change took place in the landscape before us. The watches on deck beheld a fire on one of the hills, which seemed to spread from hill to hill with amazing speed . . . it seemed as if the whole land was a mass of flames. In the morning a great change had taken place; the whole range was as black as midnight . . .

For many decades after European settlement the Kaurna continued to use and visit the district. However, as European settlement intensified, their movements were restricted and their existence became aimless, particularly after the government's assumption of the practice of supplying food and clothing to the Aborigines. This altered the very basis of their lives which was built upon the necessity to find food, and in the eyes of the Europeans forced them virtually to be parasites. Older white residents recall that tribe members camped in the area of the Glenelg golf course, and periodically they would be seen trekking to Adelaide along the route of the railway for government handouts.

The Kaurna never caused concern in West Torrens, although they struck a certain fear in the hearts of children. On one occasion, however, a pitched battle at Hilton between two groups became a *cause célèbre*. The fracas occurred between a group of Adelaide Aborigines and another group from Mount Barker. 'The women also took part in the fray, using their cuttas or yam sticks. One native was killed, and some others wounded by spears and other weapons.'

The Kaurna have vanished, almost without trace. The last known member of the tribe died in 1931.

Survey and selection The area beyond the makeshift village at Holdfast Bay was one of the first regions of South Australia to be explored extensively by the settlers. Indeed, as early as 4 October, Light had gone ashore to examine the area about a little river which was first incongruously called the Thames, before it was named the Patawalonga. He was delighted with what he saw. 'I cannot express my delight at seeing no bounds to a flat of fine rich-looking country with an abundance of fresh-water lagoons, which, if dry in summer, convinced me that one need not dig a deep well to give a sufficient supply. The little river too, was deep; and it struck me that much might hereafter be made of this little stream.' Then on 23 October, Light directed G.S. Kingston, his deputy, to examine the country in more detail while he went to Port Lincoln and it was Kingston's good fortune to discover the site for the new capital. In his letter to Light of 24 November 1836, Kingston wrote of his discovery of a river—later named the Torrens after the chairman of the Colonisation Commission—and his exploration of 'a plain of exceedingly fine land'. He concluded that 'we have obtained sufficient information to convince the most skeptical of the great value and eligibility of these plains, possessing as they do, abundance of fresh water, an excellent harbour,

with at least one river running into it, which can easily be made eligible as a mode of communication between it and the plains'.

Light evidently concurred. On 24 December he walked over the plain to that part of the river where Kingston had pitched his tent, with a small party of the surveying labourers. 'My first opinions with regard to this place', he wrote, 'became still more confirmed by this trip, having traversed over nearly six miles of a beautiful flat, I arrived at the river, and saw from this a continuation of the same plain for at least six miles more to the foot of the hills under Mount Lofty, which heights trending to the sea in a south-westerly direction, were then terminated about four or five miles south of the camp ground at Holdfast Bay, affording an immense plain of level and advantageous ground for occupation.' Light left his ship and set up camp there on 28 December, the day on which Governor Hindmarsh arrived and read the proclamation which established the new colony, and on the following day he arranged to have Hindmarsh and Mr. J. Hurtle Fisher, the resident commissioner, inspect the site which he had decided should be that for the capital. He never wavered in his conviction that this was the ideal location for the capital, despite the often bitter opposition of Hindmarsh and others who believed that it should have been surveyed at Encounter Bay. John White was delighted with the selection, and described it as 'a beautiful piece of land, [with] fresh water and no Vermin, but [and he expressed the concern of many when he complained that] we shall have to convey all our things eight miles overland'. This was the essential feature of the criticism of Light which filled up many of the early copies of the *South Australian Register* and which prompted the public meeting at Mr Stephens' tent on 10 February in order to resolve the conflict. Light's choice was carried with the support of John Morphett. The voting was undertaken in accordance with the number of land orders that men had at their disposal. In the event eighteen men holding 218 land orders carried the day against the eight dissentients who could marshal only 137 land orders. John Morphett, one of Light's supporters, had at his disposal 115 votes while J.H. Fisher, the strong opponent of Hindmarsh, had another forty-seven.

History has vindicated the perception of Light rather than that of his critics.

It was not until 11 January 1837 that Light and his men began the task of surveying the site for the capital and 10 March before it was completed. However, arrangements were made so that on 17 March the several land-order holders or their agents might make their selections in accordance with the order determined by lot—the first public lottery in the 'Paradise of Dissent'. Everard, for one, was pleased with the luck of the draw for he secured five of the best sections in town, and when the remaining town sections were later put up for auction he purchased an additional five.

Once the colonists had selected their town sites, they embarked upon the arduous task of setting up their new home in the bush capital. The first task of all, however, was to move all their possessions which had been off-loaded at Holdfast Bay to the capital site 10 kilometres inland. The modern multi-lane highway which now connects Adelaide with the 'Bay', and which can be travelled within half an hour, is a far cry from the track which had been blazed only a matter of days before

LAND OFFICE.

In order that the Grants of the Town Sections of Land, which are about to be forthwith issued, may be made out accurately, the Proprietors of such Sections, or their Agents, are requested to send to me at their earliest convenience, a statement of the Christian and Surnames, places of abode, and designations of the parties, in whose names they wish the Grants to be made out, and at the same time to produce to me the Land Order, Receipt, or other Document, under which they claim Title to the Sections, so as to authorize the issuing of the Grants in the names which they may require, which Land Order, Receipt, or other Document must be deposited with me in exchange for the Grants when they are delivered out.

J. H. FISHER,
Colonial Commissioner.

ADELAIDE,
19th August, 1837.

Printed by HENRY EDWARDS and CO., No. 24, North Street, Adelaide.

Public Notice concerning land agents
(M.B. White)

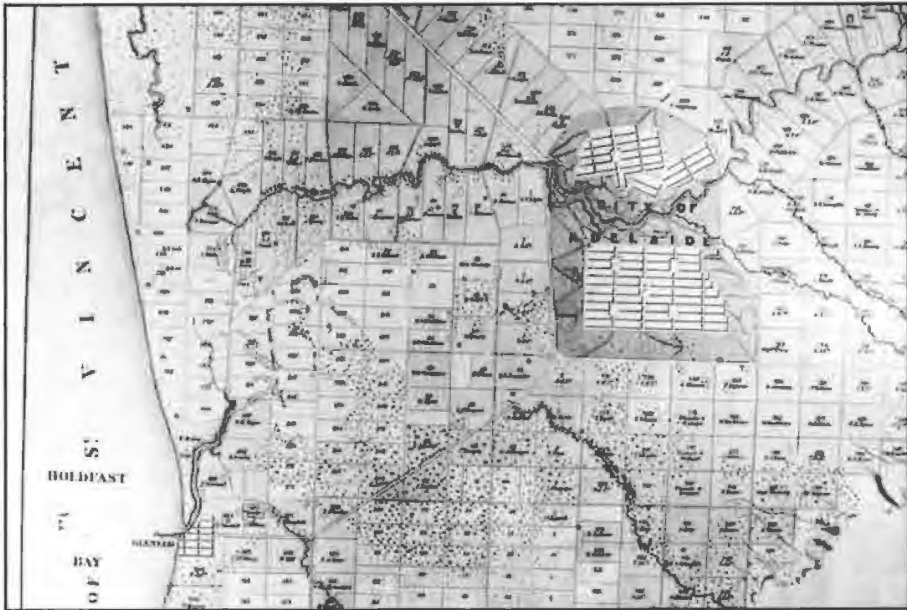
and along which the colonists had to haul their possessions as best they could. The task was made all the more arduous because it had to be undertaken in the latter part of summer, by immigrants who possessed few means of transport.

After a start was made on the building of the capital, Light and his staff commenced surveying the country sections—District B. In April, B.T. Finniss 'commenced on the western side of Adelaide, with the Torrens on his right, the range of hills to the left, and the sea in front'—in effect, the district of West Torrens.

In a very real sense Light and his men were responsible for the pattern of settlement of West Torrens because of the basic grid-iron pattern of 'one chain' roads about the capital. A major feature of the survey was the series of a dozen major roads running north-south 1.6 kilometres apart. The east-west roads were not quite so regular because of the need to provide access to all the section blocks, many of which were either of '80 acres' or '134 acres'. The few diagonal roads—the Bay Road included—were superimposed on this basic grid pattern. Later subdivision of the area suburban to Adelaide was constrained by this original road pattern, and largely followed the regularity which it imposed. The major road later known as South Road was of particular importance in the early development of the region because of its relative proximity to the city, and the fact that it connected the important Port and Bay Roads. For similar reasons, because of the significance of both Adelaide and Glenelg, and the fact that Glenelg early became a desirable place of residence, the Bay Road became another major determinant of the settlement of the region.

The River Torrens upset the regularity of Light's grid-iron plan and underscored the importance which it assumed in the early development of the colony. Light's

primary concern with the land adjoining the Torrens was to permit as many properties as possible to have access to the river, because of the anticipated agricultural nature of the country development and so the surveyors ensured that a great many section boundaries abutted the river. Given the importance of the water resource, it is little wonder that the river sections were quickly snapped up by the first land-order holders. The Henley Beach Road became the chief means of access to these river blocks on the south side and later one of the prime commercial roads of the district. Because of this and the early significance of the South Road, their junction became the most heavily populated part of the district.



Original landholders noted on a copy of Light's plan of the Country Section Survey, Arrowsmith Plan, 1841 (M.L.)

By Christmas 1837, the first 25,000 hectares of the country lands had been surveyed. However, it was 17 May 1838 before these country sections were made available for selection by ballot. By an odd fluke of circumstance, Light secured the first of the choices of country lands, after having bought a land order from B.T. Finnis, his subordinate and later business partner. He chose section 1, which adjoined both the river and west parklands.

Many of the early colonists evidently agreed with Light's early assessment of the area which was later to be known as West Torrens, for they were eager to take up their country sections there, particularly those abutting the river and the main road to Holdfast Bay. John Morphett secured sections in both regions, though later erected Cummins—his home—on section 152, on the Bay Road. Morphett's father-in-law, J.H. Fisher, took up a section next to him on the banks of the Torrens

while David McLaren, the manager of The South Australian Company, also took up a river section. C.G. Everard, however, preferred a section on the Bay Road close to the city. The sections close to the capital also proved very popular. The South Australian Company secured sections two to six which were contiguous to the parklands and which are now the railway yards, thereby effectively preventing normal residential development there and forcing any to take place to the west of South Road, even further from the city. For this reason residential development in this area was slow.

In July, with his primary job completed, Light resigned as surveyor-general to continue working in private practice in partnership with B.T. Finnis and was succeeded by G.S. Kingston. He made his home on his section 1 which he called Thebarton (sic), but unfortunately was not able to enjoy it for long because his health failed him in mid-1839, and by the October he was confined to bed. He died in the early hours of Sunday 6 October. On the following Thursday his body



Light's Cottage at Thebarton, c. 1920 (M.L.)

was taken from his cottage at Thebarton, and after a service at Holy Trinity Church was interred in Light Square. As a mark of respect all shops in Adelaide were closed during the funeral procession which was attended by 'his Excellency the Governor and all the Government officers, and by the largest body of colonists ever congregated within this Province'. The same evening a public meeting was called and chaired by John Morphett, who was a long-time acknowledged friend of Light and already one of the undisputed leaders in the colony. A subscription list was raised for the provision of a fitting monument above the grave.

Settlement Because of the popularity of the region to the west of Adelaide and its proximity to the city, settlement commenced there soon after the country sections had been taken up primarily for agricultural purposes. By 1840, C.G. Everard had 12 hectares enclosed and six of these under crop, on part sections 42 and 43, with two dwelling houses, one of pisé, the other of brick, together with a stable, stockyard and sheep-pens. At the same time, Walter Thompson occupied Everard's section 52 and had begun to grow various grains and vegetables. Further to the west, on the banks of the Torrens, on section 194, John White had established his Fulham Farm and had already enclosed 54 hectares and cultivated nearly 20 hectares. As early as April 1839, White sent some of his produce to the governor, with a covering letter claiming that his was 'the only corn at present grown in the colony after the proper farming style with plough and harrow'. He urged the governor to forward the intelligence to England 'to show the people who wish to come here that there is full certainty that with common measures all sorts of English vegetables will grow abundantly'. White had two dwelling houses on the farm together with two cottages, a dairy, a barn, and a stockyard. A little to the east, his neighbour, A.H. Davis, had built his Moore Farm on section 220 and part of section 192, and had already brought 20 hectares of it into production. Yet further east, and also on the Torrens, James Hurtle Fisher had established Lockleys, and the improvements there comprised two dwelling houses, a stockyard, cow-sheds, dairy and a piggery. Thomas Hudson Beare had established his farm, Netley, on section 101 by this time. Besides the farm this section also featured an inn known as the Half-Way House. Mine host at the time was Jacob Prowse, who was granted a licence on 26 March 1840. There were at least another dozen farms located in the district by this time. These



Moore Farm, 1868 (M.L.)

included Dunksey on section 50 belonging to Donald McLean, Greenslip on section 101 worked by John Woodhead, Pineshill of Thomas Cotter on section 107, Springhill on section 164 which belonged to James Masters and Price Maurice, and Lagoon Farm on section 183, belonging to John Windsor. All were being used to grow foodstuffs for the infant colony.

Villages Not all landholders had gone in for farming, however. Several of them preferred to speculate on the subdivision of their land into village allotments. Thus, by 1840, the region also featured a number of villages—at least on paper. On section 95, which had originally been granted to Robert Fletcher Bradshaw, was to be found New Richmond, which was divided by Bradshaw into ‘acre’ allotments. Already three dwelling-houses had been built there, and three more were in course of erection. It was considered ‘a great desideratum to small farmers, gardeners, cow-keepers &c, water is found at twelve feet, and an abundance of excellent wood for fencing surrounds it’. Immediately south, on section 94, North Richmond was also subdivided by Bradshaw into ‘acre’ allotments although at this time only one person was dwelling there, in a *pisé* dwelling-house. Welwyn was the name of the village which had been set out on 4 hectares of section 99, and in 1840 it comprised five cottages and a public house known as the Bonnie Owl, of which John Dunford was the licensee. Another village called Plympton had already been established on Section 108. On 20 October 1838, the *Southern Australian* noted that the proprietors of section 108, chief among whom was Henry Mooringe Boswarva, wished ‘to form a village similar to Hindmarsh Town, on this side of the River Torrens and in a direct line to Holdfast Bay’, and for this purpose shares were available in the ‘New Town’. Cowandilla, on part section 92, was another of the early villages. An advertisement in the *Register* of 1 August 1840 suggested that it was a privilege to buy into this new development, which was claimed to be:

... the cheapest in the neighbourhood of Adelaide. The proprietors of this beautiful section, and in accordance with the wishes of numerous applicants, and in order to encourage the location of industrious and deserving persons, such as market gardeners, small farmers, and other productive classes, have determined upon laying it out in 112 one-acre allotments, for sale or to be let, on moderate terms, the residue of the section to be reserved for terraces, streets, places of worship, &c. For this purpose, the land is admirably adapted, as well from its cheapness, as from the richness of its soil, as also from the facility of obtaining water—its proximity to the town—the circumstance of the road from Adelaide to Glenelg passing through the village, and other advantages too numerous to mention in an advertisement . . . A few acres on the lagoon are still unappropriated. N.B. All persons found cutting down trees or shrubs in this village will be prosecuted with the utmost vigour.

Hilton, on section 49, was not subdivided until 1849. Matthew Davenport Hill, a London barrister, was the owner at the time, but on 19 January 1849 he arranged with George Milner Stephen, a local barrister, to subdivide and sell the section. It was subdivided into thirty allotments, and the first two allotments were sold to William Washington on 21 July.

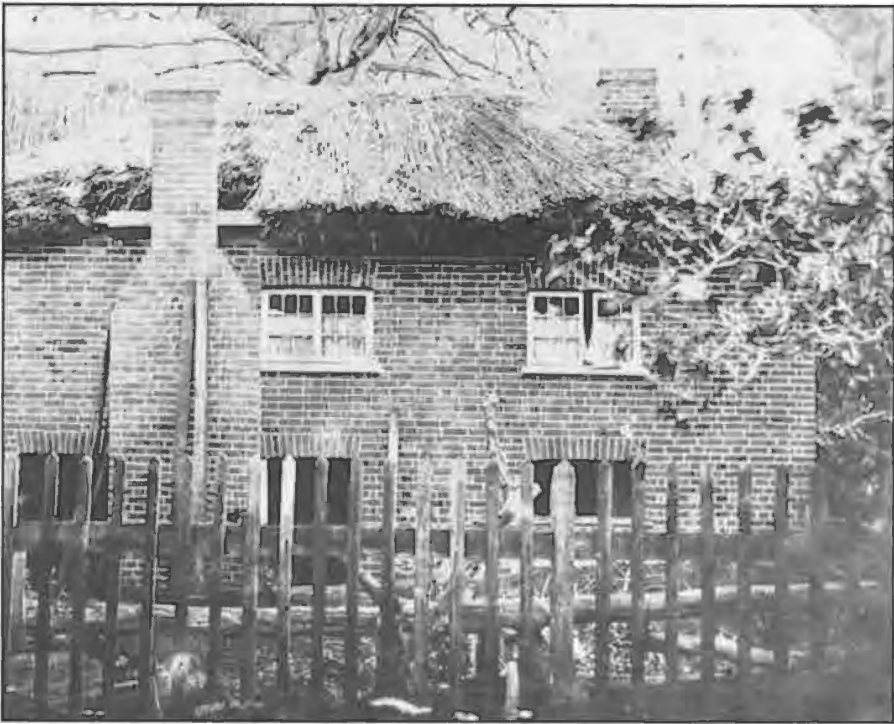
For the most part, these speculative village subdivisions developed slowly because they served only a sparsely populated rural community and were too far removed

from the city to be dormitory villages for those who worked there. By 1853, when the first assessments were made in the newly created District Council of West Torrens, there were only three dwellings at Welwyn, three at North Richmond, eighteen at Plympton, sixteen at Hilton, and eleven at Cowandilla.

However, in marked contrast to this, considerable urban development had taken place on section 1, portion of which in February 1839 had been subdivided by Light as Thebarton (sic). An advertisement notifying colonists of the sale of allotments appeared in the *Register* of 23 February 1839. The prices of the twenty-four blocks which were offered ranged from £40 to £80 and were quickly taken up. Indeed, it was Light who was primarily responsible for encouraging the early settlement of Thebarton and other villages beyond the parklands. The tardiness in surveying the country sections had encouraged the early settlers to speculate in city land and thereby to inflate the price, which meant that any workers seeking cheap land were forced beyond the parklands. The South Australian Company's ownership of sections 2-5 meant that Light's section 1 was the most readily accessible land near the city on its western side.

Thebarton prospered because of the proximity of the village to the commercial area of the city, and the ease of access thereto for the many workers who were not able to live in the capital. It was close to the Port Road, which at the time was one of the major roads leading to the city and to the commercial district which was concentrated in the northern part of South Adelaide. The village proper was surveyed at the southern end of section 1, close to the city and the main roads which went through the district. By 1840 it boasted two public houses, Robert Bristow's Great Tom of Lincoln, and the Brickmakers' Arms which was licenced by William Gandy, together with several industries, particularly brickmaking and fellmongering which abutted the river. R.L. Ingham and G.T. Bean had established a tannery there soon after the first settlement, and though the partnership was dissolved on 24 July 1839, Bean continued the business until 1871. Thebarton thrived, peopled by 'mechanics, labourers etc., who have houses of their own, cultivate small gardens, rear a few pigs and poultry and find employment among the surrounding farmers'. By 1853 it comprised 153 buildings, fifty more than were in the other ten villages of West Torrens.

These early villages differed a great deal in appearance from the suburbs of today, not least because of the small size and primitive nature of the dwellings. In the Thebarton of 1853, when the first assessments were made, sixty-five of the buildings were cottages of only two rooms, only thirty-eight of the others were of four rooms or more. Many of these dwellings have long since disappeared—forty-eight of them were of pisé, only twelve of them were of stone. In the Hilton of 1853, twelve of the sixteen dwellings were of pisé. The use of pisé was a very popular building material for the early colonists because of its cheapness and the ready availability of the raw materials. The walls of these dwellings were made of damp earth which was rammed within formwork, similar to that used for modern concrete work. These pisé dwellings were quite secure so long as they shed water readily; a few of them still remain, although their original construction has frequently been obscured by later additions. Frequently the roofs of these



John White's first home—Moore Farm (M.B. White)



Frogmore, c.1846. Mrs Gray seated, Mr P. Gray standing near dog (Miss Gray)

early dwellings were made of reeds from the river and its immediate vicinity and, indeed, Frogmore, the large brick home of W.H. Gray at the Reedbeds, and John White's home, were roofed in this manner. Others were roofed with shingles or palings.

The forty brick cottages in Thebarton—including that of Light—were also made from materials which came readily to hand. The colony's first brickmakers had established operations in the western parklands, until an order from the governor in May 1838 forced them to move. Many transferred operations to the vicinity of the Torrens at Hindmarsh and Thebarton. George Gandy is said to have been the first of the brickmakers of Thebarton. In 1839 he offered to deliver bricks 'to any part of South Australia'. The Council's first assessment records note a 0.8 hectare brickfield on section 1, occupied by John Sarre, but which was owned by the trustees of Dr Mayo; and of course, one of the first inns in Thebarton was known as the Brickmakers' Arms. Another of the early brickworks was further west, where J. and C.B. Fisher had a kiln at Lockleys and it was from here in February 1841 that the government accepted their tender for the supply of 25,000 or 30,000 bricks. Many of the most substantial village and farm houses of the time were of brick—including Cummins, the large house which Kingston designed for John Morphett, the first part of which was built in 1842. It was extended in 1854 when it gained the distinctive curved addition to the drawing room.

There were few services provided for the early villagers. Roads were primitive and generally unmade. The provision of water was the villagers' own responsibility, and was generally obtained from wells or stored in rainwater tanks; in particularly dry periods, tanks had to be replenished with water from the Torrens. The disposal of waste and rubbish was also left to individual villagers; that from the several industries at Thebarton generally went into the river, along with that which had been deposited further upstream.

For the most part, West Torrens of the 1850s was a loosely knit rural area and in November 1850 was decried by an 'Old Colonist' who travelled through the area and recounted his impressions in the *Register*. The dominant impression is one of wide open spaces, characterised by isolated farms, which colonists sought to model on those of 'home' and which seemed incongruous in the shimmering heat haze of the South Australian summer.

All hands were in full activity. A few hot days, on one of which the thermometer had reached 103° in the shade, had just preceded, and no rain having fallen for some time previously anxiety was entertained in this quarter lest the present might prove a dry season. A beginning was therefore industriously made among the hay crops, but with a manifest deficiency of labour in anticipation of the threatened drought . . . Everywhere oats grown for hay were under scythe; of meadow, so prized at home, little is attempted to be grown, and that little is not valued, as the grasses and the climate are ill-adapted to produce an average crop . . .

Messrs Fisher's crops were some of the first we passed. From what we know and observed, hands were also in request in their hay-fields; and we may add that labour has been generally in demand in this quarter for several years. It is some time since we have received a passing call for a mowing job, or employment at harvest work. The wages here given for mowing are 4s 6d a day, and half a gallon of beer—the usual price in this district.

We passed on our right a field of about forty acres of wheat, of Messrs Fisher, and a corn crop of the widow Prettyjohn—an industrious, hard-working dame. On the left is the farm of Mr Sayers, where the wheat looked thriving; the straw, however, on these plains will be short this season.

We turned into a cross-road between the villages of Cowandilla and North and South Richmond on the left, and Twickenham (a very incipient village indeed) on the right.

Cowandilla is the only village at all populous on this part of the route; we did not pass through it on this occasion; but emerging from the fenced road into an unfenced portion of the line, we resumed it after an interval between enclosures, leaving to our right 'Netley', the farm and residence of Mr Beare, and passing on the left more thriving oat crops. Then on the right we noticed 'Chingford'—so-called from its English namesake in Essex—the residence of Mr Smart, one of our oldest and most respected colonists, and formerly Sherriff of the province . . .

Close beside his [Mr Hare's] southern boundary is the village of Plympton; so-called we presume, from that of the same name in Devon. Here a few houses are being erected in various scattered allotments, perhaps ten or a dozen, and abutting on the road is a small chapel, capable of containing about fifty persons; it belongs to the Wesleyans, and was erected in 1847. This will no doubt, as it ought to do, attract settlers to the village itself . . .

We turned westwards into the Bay road, and a fine broad, solid highway it was. Opposite to the cross-road we had quitted was another, continuing the line, and leading on to the Sturt, and at the corner is the public pound. Cattle in considerable numbers were feeding right and left in sections which we well recollect as thickly timbered, and which now are or were the property of Mr Heath of London . . .

On the same side of the road [as Dr Yates' home] is 'Cummins', the residence of Mr John Morphett, a member of our Legislative Council. The house is substantial, a large brick edifice, with comfortable, cool-looking jalousies and spacious offices. The entrance from the road is close by the public bridge over the Sturt, which, when we were there, spanned an almost dry bed; but the river, even then, contained a good deal of water within Mr. Morphett's grounds, which, with his gardens and vineyard are extensive. Orchard fruits flourish here, and the soil is favourable to the peach and nectarine.

Mr Morphett, like his neighbours, was making hay . . .

Local Personalities in Politics to c. 1853

Douglas Pike has said of South Australia generally that ‘personalities played a more important part than principles during the turbulent days of the early settlement’. Much the same can be said of West Torrens. Pike went on to speak of the ‘intractable individualism of the colonists’ and elsewhere of ‘their fractious individualism’. Because society was so small, the self-styled leaders in the new community exercised an influence much greater than they were able to do later, or than is now possible. Thus, several West Torrensians were to the fore in contemporary debate about many of the major issues which divided the early colony—the site of the capital first of all, later the matters of a constitution and the question of state aid and religion.

West Torrens personalities were also to the fore at the time the first elections were held for a municipal corporation for the city of Adelaide on 31 October 1840. This represented the colony’s first venture into self-government after the enabling Act provided for an elected council to consist of a mayor, three aldermen, and fifteen councillors. The election was hotly contested, with sixty candidates presenting themselves. J.H. Fisher, the one-time resident commissioner and the bane of Governor Hindmarsh, headed the poll with 255 votes and became the city’s first mayor. The outspoken merchant A.H. Davis of Moore Farm, also with a major importing business in Gilles Arcade, became one of the first aldermen. Another West Torrens resident, W.H. Gray, who also had large holdings in the city but was not given to public display, polled only twenty-nine votes to finish thirty-fifth. That other pioneer, John Morphet, who held elections in disdain, became treasurer of the corporation.

This first attempt at local self-government—indeed the first municipal government in Australia—was not a success. The corporation was always strapped for money and the dishonouring of Governor Gawler’s money drafts precipitated

a recession which made its continuation impossible, so that in 1843 the affairs of the city were taken over by executive council. It was not until February 1849 that a five-member nominated City Commission was formed, and June 1852 before the City Corporation was re-established, when once again, Fisher assumed the role of mayor.

Despite the failure of South Australia's first venture into self-government, a vociferous faction lobbied hard and long for an increased measure of self-determination and were finally rewarded when an Act of 1842 provided for the establishment of a legislative council to consist of the governor and seven nominated members, three of whom were to be government officials with the other four being private citizens. John Morphett, at this early stage already considered to be one of the patriarchs of the colony, was appointed as one of the non-official members, despite his lack of legislative experience. The appointment underscored his position in the society and was the beginning of a 'parliamentary career' extending more than thirty years. He continued as a member of this council until it was reformed under the terms of the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850, which marked a major constitutional advance. Though the franchise was restrictive, the Act provided for a legislative assembly of twenty-five members, sixteen of whom were to be elected. Morphett preferred to sit in the assembly as the nominee of the Queen, and had not offered himself for election, and it was as a nominated member that he took his place and, indeed, became the first speaker of this new legislature. Pike says of him that he was 'unpopular with constitutional reformers and voluntaryists' but was deemed to be an influential colonist who 'was nevertheless accepted as an independent spirit who had served already eight years as Councillor'.

The first elections to the new legislative assembly took place on 1 July 1851, when all but four seats were contested. The candidates for the electorate of West Torrens—C.S. Hare and A.H. Davis—provided one of the great contests of the election.

Davis was already a public figure in the area because of public utterances on a number of lively issues. Indeed, he was a prime example of the manner in which—with a little effort—an ambitious man could achieve prominence in the new colony. He had become a successful merchant and renowned orator as early as May 1839, when he was one of the chief voices at a public meeting held to discuss measures to be taken to protect colonists from the Aborigines, after the killing of four Europeans late in April. He preached moderation and self-control for, as he claimed, 'to adopt measures of retaliation, would be unjust and wicked, unworthy of those who possess a giant's strength . . .' Later in the year he was one of the principal speakers at yet another public meeting which was called to urge greater freedom for the colonists to determine the manner in which funds raised from land surveys could be spent. In October 1838 he was one of a group of 'our leading citizens' who were included in the deputation to welcome Governor Gawler, and was one of those at a meeting in December 1839 to organise a banquet 'as a tribute of personal respect for the Governor, as well as to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the province' and was requested to act as one



A.H. Davis (M.B. White)

of the stewards. Moreover, by 1851 Davis had gained a measure of representative experience after having served as a commissioner on the district road board after its proclamation on 7 February 1850.

In the contest for the legislative assembly, however, Davis was pipped by only two votes by Hare, who was to become something of a larrikin in South Australian politics and administration. Pike suggests that Davis' office told against him because of the unpopularity which he generated as chairman of the board.

Davis' opponent, Hare, was the son of a London carpenter who had emigrated to South Australia as a clerk with the South Australian Company. Retrenched by the company when it abandoned its operations on Kangaroo Island, he set himself up at Port Adelaide as a carrier and contractor but later he took up farming—undoubtedly on his property to the west of Adelaide—and from there launched his political career.

According to the *Register*, the contest between Hare and Davis was 'a tough neck-and-neck contest . . . [which] but for a few little incidents, not worthy of being called to remembrance now, the majority would have been on the other side'. First impressions were that the election was a tie.

When the poll closed, the friends of C.S. Hare, Esq, claimed the field as indubitably won, and insisted upon bearing the gentleman upon their shoulders to the hustings. Arrived there he paused to assure himself of the reality of his success, and being only partially convinced upon the important point, each of his pithy and laconic sentences was begun with the conjunction described by a learned lexicographer as "a hypothetical particle", and the result showed that his caution was not uncalled for.

In the event, a recount indicated that Hare had won by two votes and he 'made his entry into Adelaide accompanied by some of his adherents, and afterwards

delivered an address at the Freemasons' Tavern to the persons assembled there'.

The defeat rather soured Davis, who to that time had been outspoken on many issues, and who, 'in the battle of representative government . . . was a champion of enlightened intellectual democracy . . . never again courted the public suffrages, but went to the contrary extreme of denouncing the ballot [restricted though it was] and fearing an overdose of democracy. Under a feeling of this kind he established . . . a weekly journal called the *Thursday Review*. It was a quasi-conservative organ, and opposed many things which were then very popular'.

Hare became one of the more outspoken members of the assembly, and one of the most vocal supporters of a democratic constitution. However, during the debate on the composition of an upper house, in August 1853, he agreed to accept the government proposition of an upper house with members elected for nine years despite the claims of the reformers who contended that such a compromise would be but a caricature of the House of Lords and entrench men of property in the parliament and perpetuate social divisions. Thereafter he was branded as one of the 'rats of compromise' and the constitution of the upper house remains the bane of would-be parliamentary reformers.

In July 1854 Hare resigned his seat in the assembly because he had taken up public office, and at the subsequent by-election the seat was won by Thomas Reynolds.

Local government The District Council of West Torrens was proclaimed on 7 July 1853, at the time when gold mania was at its height, fanned by real and apocryphal stories of the easy riches to be won on the fabulous Victorian fields at Ballarat and Bendigo and a score of others besides. It is an exaggeration to suggest that Adelaide was all but deserted except for women and children during the years 1851 to 1854, because those enticed to the goldfields varied according to their occupations and professions, and in accordance with the seasons, and as Douglas Pike has shown, 'for many, digging was as seasonal as their other occupations'. Indeed, the rural settlers to the west of Adelaide probably prospered during this period because the goldfields created large markets for grain and other foodstuffs, and the farmers of South Australia were admirably placed to capitalise on this. Many did so, and many others hastened to take up land in the Willunga Basin to the south, so that they could exploit the goldfields in a vicarious fashion: 'By 1855 two out of every five adult males were engaged in agriculture'.

It seems somewhat anomalous that it is at this time that a system of local government should be extended throughout the settled areas. However, it is precisely because of the effects of the exodus of the gold-seekers that an earlier form of regional administration had broken down, and the government of the day considered it necessary to introduce a new form of local government.

Local government was introduced to South Australia very early in its history. The colonisation commissioners in their wisdom had recommended that elective municipal institutions might be established when regions acquired populations of 2,000 inhabitants or more, and so it was that in 1840 the Corporation of the City of Adelaide was established. The development of district councils, however,

was based upon another tradition which embodied the need for well-maintained roads, and for agencies to oversee this.

The harbinger of the system of district councils was the proclamation of hundreds in the settled areas of South Australia on 29 October 1846. These hundreds were proclaimed primarily 'to regulate the occupation of Crown Lands in South Australia'; the area to the west of Adelaide, and south of the River Torrens comprised the Hundred of Adelaide. The several hundreds soon became the basis for an embryonic local government when in 1849, the government formed a Central Road Board, and provided for the appointment of district road boards in each hundred for the improvement of roads therein. Under the terms of this ordinance, landowners were to be rated in accordance with the number of 'acres' they occupied, with these rates being devoted to road making and maintenance.

Soon afterwards, local landowners to the west of Adelaide met to consider who should represent them on the district road board. Finally, on 7 February 1850, the district commissioners of the western division were appointed by the lieutenant governor. They included C.G. Everard, C.B. Fisher and A.H. Davis, all of whom were pioneers of the district and prominent in the colony at large. Davis became their chairman.

The arrangement was not the success which had been anticipated, because the hundred proved to be far too great an area to be administered efficiently by the respective district boards, and the absence of men on the goldfields made the maintenance of the roads a major problem. The government's solution was to constitute a new Main Roads Board, and to provide for the establishment of a system of district councils.

The District Councils' Bill which was introduced into the legislative assembly on 8 September 1852 had already been condemned by the *Register*. Predictably, the main argument against the Bill was that it was inopportune, 'The men are not in the colony to give effect to the measure' argued the leaderwriter. 'What we want for the country districts now is a sufficient number of Policemen to protect property and ensure the safety of defenceless women and children, not more lawgivers or judges of the law'.

When presenting the Bill, however, R.D. Hanson, the advocate general, simply elaborated on the merits of democracy and self-government, and pointed out that the measure would not be imposed on the various districts, but must be requested by a certain proportion of ratepayers. There was little dissent, and the Bill which was committed on the day of the second reading, received the Royal Assent on 2 December 1852.

The District Council of West Torrens C.S. Hare, the region's representative in the legislative assembly, was also one of the early champions of local government in the region to the west of the city. On 11 March 1852 an advertisement in the *Register* notified South Australians at large that certain inhabitants of Plympton, Cowandilla, Hilton, Thebarton, Reedbeds and Hindmarsh intended to hold a public meeting that very night at the Hilton Arms Inn—the birthplace and cradle of West Torrens local government—to discuss the formation of a district council.

Hare's name was first in a list of eleven, and it was he who was prevailed upon to chair the meeting at which a special committee was appointed to advance the cause. Davis was a member of this committee of twenty-seven.

A succession of public meetings followed at hotels in Hilton and Hindmarsh to clarify matters and to engender support. Invariably, Hare was asked to chair the meetings, and on each occasion he made the most of the opportunity to enlarge on the merits of local government. At the meeting on 14 March he appealed to



Hilton Hotel c.1900, eastern elevation. For a long time this was the social centre of Hilton. The meeting which determined to found the Council was held here, together with elections to succeeding Councils.

It was also the focus for local sporting and other leisure activities W.T.H.S.

a spirit of democracy and affirmed that 'no despotism could last long where the element of self-government was introduced'. He complained that 'even in South Australia there are sordid, grasping, and selfish men, who would never contribute their proper quota towards local improvements', and suggested that under the provisions of the Act 'the burden of local taxation, when imposed would fall fairly on all'. At the same meeting Hare suggested that the district should be all that country bounded by the Port Road, the west parklands, the Bay Road and the coast—though an L. Egan of Hindmarsh was concerned that his area should not be divorced from Bowden and Brompton, which was on the other side of the Port Road. At the subsequent meeting at the Land of Promise Hotel at Hindmarsh it was Egan who argued for a union of Hindmarsh, Bowden and Brompton, which should be separate from both Port Adelaide and the area south of the Torrens.

Finally, at yet another meeting, on 25 March, a memorial was drawn up requesting the governor to establish the District Council of West Torrens with an area comprising that contained within the parklands on the east, the coast on the west, the River Torrens and the northern boundary of the Hundred of Adelaide on the north and the Bay Road to the south. Finally, the memorial, signed by 115 residents of the area, suggested that the first councillors should be George Dew, George Foreman, A.H. Davis, C.S. Hare and John Hector.

The push for local government was not unanimous, however. Fifty-five other prospective ratepayers, one of whom was Thomas Hudson Beare, complained to the governor that their opponents had called a public meeting on 25 March, Good Friday, with only twelve hours' notice and they requested the governor to set aside the memorial because of the 'present unsettled state of the labour market . . . and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient men to carry out the ordinary wants of the community'. The opponents of local government were unsuccessful. This was not entirely surprising because the government was eager to have the responsibility for local affairs devolve upon local people and it was evident that the opposition to the establishment of the district council was motivated simply by a suspicion of official interference, and an unwillingness to bear increased taxation. It is evident that not all of the opponents were hostile to the nature of local government, because Beare was elected to the Council at the first elections in 1854, and served as a member for two years.

The District Council of West Torrens was duly proclaimed on 7 July 1853. The first meeting of the Council took place at the city office of John Hector on 13 July 1853. Davis, who had had considerable experience as chairman of the road board, was elected to the chair and agreed to act also as the clerk until a suitable appointment was made. The most important matter of business at this meeting was the resolution to advertise for a 'valuer' for the purpose of drawing up an assessment for the district.

A notable absentee from this meeting was Charles Hare. Indeed, he failed to attend any meetings, and on 28 December 1853 was fined £20. When he failed to comply, legal action was taken to recover the money. It is not evident why Hare should not have attended the Council which he had so strongly promoted, unless he was piqued that Davis had been preferred as chairman. However, his actions appear consistent with his very inconsistent career. Although he no longer played a part in West Torrens affairs, he continued to play a variety of parts on the South Australian stage. When the bicameral system of parliament was introduced in 1857 he was elected for the seat of Yatala, although he resigned this within two months to take up the position of Superintendent of the Stockade only to relinquish this after about two years, when, in July 1860, he succeeded to the position of Manager of Railways. In this role he gained considerable notoriety, as the *Observer* of 29 July 1882 recalled in his obituary.

In connection with his duties in that capacity he performed a feat which he was wont to make merry over of late years, his joke being that though he never held office in a Ministry he upset a Ministry and a Governor on top of them! It was on April 13, 1865. His Excellency Sir Dominick Daly, the Chief Secretary (Sir Henry Ayers), and

several other Ministers forming part of a select party were being conveyed by an express train from Adelaide on a visit to H.M.S. sloop of war *Falcon*. Mr. Hare was in charge of the train, and he gave instructions to the engine-driver to put the engine at top-speed. The result was that two of the carriages were overturned, though the passengers escaped uninjured.

A commission of enquiry laid the blame on Hare and on 8 May he was dismissed from his post. He left South Australia and worked for a time in Fiji but found no success there, and returned to South Australia and worked as a mining manager at Moonta. In 1875 he again stood for election to parliament for the seat of Wallaroo but though unsuccessful on that occasion, he was returned three years later, and remained in the House until 1880. He died in July 1882, not long after his return to the colony from a visit to England.

Establishing priorities Although the pioneer colonists of South Australia were eager for a form of democratic government so that they might have a chance to participate in its deliberations, they were reluctant to have government intrude into their lives. They believed that the role of government was primarily to provide those expensive facilities like roads, railways and other social services which they could not provide themselves, but which were necessary for the maintenance of society. For many decades, particularly in a rural area such as West Torrens, the role of local government was seen as little more than that of the repairer of roads and bridges—though of course this was vital in a time of generally unmade roads—the licensing authority for hotels and abattoirs, and the collector of stray cattle. Thus, one of the first initiatives of the new District Council was to appoint George Francis to assess the area so that a rate might be struck and money raised. Francis completed his task on 25 October 1853, within two months, and the first rate of 1 shilling in the pound was accepted by a meeting of ratepayers in February 1853. With funds available in March, the Council let tenders to the contractors Heywood and Robinson for the raising of stone for the ever important road-building purposes.

The rate revenue became the major source of funds for the Council, although this was supplemented by annual fees from the licensing of public houses and slaughter houses in the area. In addition, funds specifically earmarked for road-building purposes and based upon the actual rate revenue, were passed to the Council from the central government through the Central Roads Board. In 1857–58 the £483 derived from the rates was complemented by £486 from general revenue at a time when the annual cost of running the Council was £215 2s 0d. Many of the early initiatives were undertaken on an informal basis. George Rankine, mine host of the Hilton Hotel, which was strategically situated on East Road—now South Road—was approached and agreed to provide a pound and to act as pound keeper 'provided there was no immediate haste'. The first pound was erected at the north-west corner of section 4 near the Hilton Hotel.

After providing for the pound and a programme of roadworks, most of Council's attention was given over to that of policing local regulations. In 1854 Council took action against the builder Charles Farr, for having taken stone 'from the

road adjoining the Park Lands near Section 5', and in 1860 Mr J. Chambers was ordered to cut 'his live fence to prevent its encroaching on the Footpath'.

Day-to-day The early days of local government provided for much readier access by local people than is now the case, although this ready access applied only to ratepayers who possessed certain property qualifications. Public meetings of ratepayers were a regular, if not a frequent, occurrence and were used to decide many important issues.

The first elections were generally informal affairs where councillors were elected at an annual meeting by a show of hands; only if a poll was demanded would it take place. Though informal, many early elections were frequently close contests because of the interest in local government and the few ratepayers who were concerned and entitled to vote. At the meeting at the Hilton Hotel in July 1859 there were five nominations for only three vacancies. Davis, who was in the chair, declared himself, Dew and C. Jenkins elected by a show of hands. However, a poll was demanded on behalf of the unsuccessful candidates W.H. Gray and C.M. Pearson and polling took place between 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. Jenkins was secure with forty-six votes, but Gray bested Davis by one vote (30 and 29) with Dew and Pearson being the two to miss out, although they secured 28 and 27 votes respectively. For both unsuccessful candidates this proved to be but a brief setback because Dew was returned the following year and served until 1876 except for two other brief periods in the wilderness, while Pearson was also returned in 1860 and served until his death in 1866. Both Dew and Pearson shared the chairmanship of the Council from 1860 until 1866.

TO THE RATEPAYERS
OF THE
DISTRICT
OF
WEST TORRENS.

Moore Farm, August 24, 1859.

Gentlemen,

The Special Magistrate having decided that the recent election for the District Council of West Torrens was closed a few minutes before the legal hour, and that therefore my election to the office of District Councillor was null and void, and that a new election must take place—I have resolved, on consideration, not to prosecute an appeal to the Superior Court, but rather at once to refer the matter to your own decision.

It is for the Ratepayers to determine, whether a fair and independent representation is to be secured for the District, or whether they will submit to the dictation of a self-constituted knot of men, whose whole strength, exerted at the late contest, was indicated by 32 votes, and the sum total of whose contributions to the Rate of the District, amounts to less than £40, being about one-fourteenth part of the whole Assessment.

I have the honor to be,

Yours respectfully,

A. H. DAVIS.

Public Notice concerning Council election
(M.B. White)

The yearly rate was also decided by a majority vote of ratepayers, with the Hilton Hotel again being the usual venue. For the most part the rates recommended by the Council were adopted. However, at the meeting on 20 February 1860 at the height of controversy about the division of the Council into wards, the suggested rate was opposed as an expression of opinion that 'the present Council does not possess the confidence of the Ratepayers'. This was carried and no rate was adopted, although at the next Council meeting the suggested rate of 1 shilling in the pound was struck.

Important issues such as the division of the Council into wards were the subjects of several public meetings. This issue was first broached in 1859. The supporters of the measure—the opponents of the majority of the Council at the time—claimed that the creation of wards would promote the more equitable distribution of rate revenue. Gray, with his extensive holdings at the Reedbeds, was a firm supporter of the ward system, although Davis and others opposed the measure. Petition and counter-petition to the governor followed amid talk of secession from Davis and others who lived along the Henley Beach Road, to the west of Thebarton. The campaigns waged until March 1861 when the governor proclaimed the division of the Council into five wards. Perhaps regional politics had a lot to do with this outcome, for Gray and his supporters had secured the support of John Morphett who was chief secretary at the time of the proclamation.

Most of the issues which came before Council were mundane and routine, but despite the fact that council meetings were frequently abandoned for want of a quorum, men were eager to serve, and disputed returns were frequent.

It is impossible now to determine the precise motives of the many who offered themselves for Council duty, although it is evident that many were businessmen and men of property who did so to protect and to further their own interests. In view of the fact that Gray had appealed against his very first assessment, it is of interest that he should have sought election to the Council in 1856. He was such a firm supporter of the introduction of wards because the new system was guaranteed to provide better representation for part of the district in which he was the major landowner and the tenacity with which he sought to retain his seat on Council suggests that there were more personal reasons other than philanthropy for wishing to do so. Throughout his time on Council, Gray was insistent that that part of the district in which he was a major landholder should receive a fair distribution of the rate revenue. At the 1861 elections he lost his seat on Council under the new five-ward arrangement, which he had been so successful in promoting and immediately he lobbied hard and long for an extra, sixth, West Ward. Debate was intense, parochial and sometimes spiteful, but the sixth ward was proclaimed, again because Gray was able to secure the support of Morphett. When elections were called his was the only nomination and he returned to Council and served there continuously for the following seventeen years, eleven and a half of them as chairman; indeed, he remained a councillor intermittently until 1890.

Similar motives probably prompted Thomas Beare of Netley to seek election to the second Council. He was one of those who had voted against its creation,

but had evidently decided that if he could not oppose it, the next best thing was to seek to influence it. He served for two years.

Abraham Davis had long been an outspoken colonist, and one of the region's first representatives, so to one such as he, membership and the chairmanship of the Council undoubtedly pandered to his sense of self-importance and confirmed his standing in the community and, of course, permitted him to influence Council's activities. Davis, too, clung to his position with a tenacity which suggested that there were definite, personal benefits to be had from the Council. He opposed the idea of dividing the Council into wards but in the event that it should succeed, threatened to secede and become a leader of the breakaway region, and for a time he was in the anomalous position of being both chairman of the Council and chief apologist for the secession movement. He was not returned at the election of 1860, when his attention was undoubtedly taken up with his financial affairs for in the following year he was declared insolvent, and he no longer took an active role in politics. He died in June 1866.

Though not paid, many men evidently found sufficient reward in Council service. George Dew, a baker of Chapel Street, Thebarton, served until 1876 except for a few years when he was not returned; in 1859 he failed by only one vote. Dew was typical of many of the local businessmen who sought a position on Council, and thereby undoubtedly enhanced their position in the community.

During the first thirty years the responsibilities of the Council were few, and the need for staff was small. Davis, in addition to his role as first chairman of Council, also served as the first district clerk until the appointment of J.W. Colley on 8 November 1853. Colley remained but three weeks, then was succeeded by W.A. Hughes who also remained only a short time in the position. In March 1856 J.K. Penney was appointed to the position at a salary of £100 per annum on the production of two sureties of £50 each, but he, too, did not remain long, and resigned in April 1858, though in 1879 he returned to the Council as an elected member for West Ward.

John Hunt was appointed as Superintendent of Works in March 1855, but the extra position was undoubtedly deemed to be an extravagance because in 1858, when Penney resigned, the opportunity was taken on 1 April to amalgamate the positions of clerk and superintendent in the person of John Ruddock, who continued in this role for twenty years.

Given the nature of local politics in the nineteenth century, personalities loomed large in many of the issues with which councillors had to contend. Several of them revolved about W.H. Gray, who was for so long a member of the Council. It was he who embroiled Council in a long-standing confrontation with the Glenelg Corporation over about 6 hectares of his Section 203. This was a small peninsula of land between the Patawalonga River and the beach which by a proclamation in May 1857 was annexed to Glenelg so that there might be easier access to the beach. Although West Torrens did not officially protest against this until 1875 when plans to dam the Patawalonga were mooted, Gray refused to accept the annexation and continued to regard that portion of Section 203 as West Torrens territory, and it was to West Torrens that he paid the rates.



Home of District Clerk John Ruddock on Burbridge Road, Hilton, which for a time also served as the Council offices (W.T.C.)



Councillor W.H. Gray (W.T.C.)

Because of his prominence, Gray attracted a certain amount of jealousy which was sometimes vented by other councillors. In 1879 after his nomination for West Ward was declared informal, J.K. Penney was elected in his stead. Penney urged several actions which sniped at his predecessor, such as having a notice served upon him to have his hedges cut and in seeking reimbursement for funds spent on fencing. Gray reacted by cancelling his authority to act as one of the Council's principal guarantors. His large landholdings also enabled Gray to frustrate a drainage scheme of Council which was proposed in 1880 and thereby gained a measure of satisfaction for a perceived slight from Council eighteen months earlier when he had been injured in an accident.

The district clerk was not immune from the personal politics and had to be a model of discretion. In 1881 C. Loader, Ruddock's successor, evidently strayed beyond acceptable bounds when it seems that he favoured particular members. On 18 January after Councillor Prettyjohn had left the meeting, the prickly Councillor Penney rose to move that Loader's term of office be terminated and with the support of Councillors Evans and Errington, the motion was carried. A special meeting of ratepayers was called on 25 January to debate the issue and a motion was carried calling for the resignation of the three councillors who supported the dismissal of the district clerk. At the succeeding meeting, the earlier Council decision was overturned, by but one vote. This satisfied no-one and the affair finally settled down after Evans—one of Loader's antagonists—resigned from Council in April.

The respite was only temporary however, and the movement to unseat Loader persisted, against a background of allegations of bribery. A meeting of ratepayers held on 13 September 1881 suggests that the movement came from without the Council. On 27 September Council acclaimed the innocence of Loader on the bribery charge, but warned him to be more discreet, and that in the future, he should 'refrain from taking any part whatever in election for Councillor for this District only so far as his duties to this Council require, except when requested by the Chairman of meeting of Ratepayers'.

Loader survived in the short term, but resigned in March 1883 to become town clerk of the new Corporation of Thebarton where he continued to attract trouble and on one occasion one of the councillors challenged him to a fight. He resigned from there in June 1884.

In local politics, as in colonial politics generally, West Torrens closely reflected the wider community. One of the features of early South Australian history was the rapidity with which the colony was established in an alien environment with all the social conventions and customs of the Mother country, and so it was in West Torrens. Within fifteen years of their occupying the district, many of the residents lobbied for and obtained local government so that they might have direct control of many of the matters which affected them most closely. The District Council of West Torrens was one of the first local governments to be established, only a few months after the enabling legislation was passed.

Almost immediately, the local Council assumed many of the features which have persisted until the present. Modern local government might accomplish its tasks with the aid of high technology and modern equipment, but it is the manner with which it satisfies the basic demands of the ratepayers which remains the measure of its success. It is the same criterion which determines the electoral prospects of hopeful candidates, whatever their reasons for seeking elected office.

Physical Development: c. 1853–83

The three decades after 1853 were ones of economic development in the area of the new District Council of West Torrens. It consolidated that physical character which was to persist for the best part of a century, essentially that of an agricultural region of farms and scattered villages, though with an embryonic industrial area and suburban settlement in the east, near the colony's capital.

Wider context The development of the West Torrens district during this period owed a great deal to the development of the colony in general and to that of Adelaide its commercial centre. These were years of almost continuous economic expansion, checked for only a short time in the mid-1860s by a Depression which was caused by drought in the far north of the colony beyond Port Augusta.

In the years immediately after the Victorian gold rushes, the earlier copper discoveries at Kapunda (1842) and Burra (1845) were exploited and served to underpin the economic recovery from the recession of the 1840s. When the output of these mines began to decline, even more fabulous discoveries of copper lodes were made at Wallaroo (1859) and Moonta (1861).

It was during this time, too, that South Australia took on its role as 'the granary of Australia'. The impetus given to the industry by the markets on the Victorian goldfields enabled South Australians to take advantage of British markets. These had hitherto been closed to them because of the Corn Laws which were repealed in 1846 and the Navigation Acts which were repealed in 1849. Vast areas of South Australia were brought under cultivation during this time, encouraged by legislation and made possible by cheap coastal shipping which could use the gulfs to tap much of the new agricultural land. By the 1880s optimistic farmers were setting about the cultivation of regions far to the north of Port Augusta, and the

governor was so optimistic as to rename the railway siding of Government Gums, 290 kilometres north of Port Augusta, as Farina, in anticipation of it becoming the centre of an agricultural region.

As a result of all this economic activity, Adelaide prospered, and in a very short time its physical appearance was transformed, with the early makeshift dwellings and buildings being replaced by substantial homes, offices, public buildings and warehousing more fitting for the capital of a prosperous colony. Adelaide was the economic centre of South Australia and its politicians and businessmen ensured that it would remain so by insisting that the expanding transport network—roads, railway, and coastal and river shipping—should be centred on the capital.

These years were ones of immense optimism and righteousness among South Australians, and perhaps nothing illustrates this better than their attempt to found their own colony—the Northern Territory—on the north coast of the continent in 1863, less than thirty years after the foundation of South Australia. The foundation of the mother colony in the temperate south had been fraught with difficulty and frustration, yet colonists believed that the new colony in the tropical north would present few problems, and would guarantee South Australian prosperity.

Most West Torrensians shared in this prosperity to a greater or lesser extent. Many like W.H. Gray, benefitted directly from the colony's prosperity for he had extensive real estate holdings in the city and reaped enormous profits from his property dealings there, and he was one of the larger investors in the Northern Territory venture. Edward Meade Bagot was another who had diverse business interests and prospered because of this, and he had the distinction of being the successful contractor for the erection of the southern portion of the Overland Telegraph in 1870. To others, who lived in the growing working-class villages, the benefits were less tangible and came in the form of employment in the city or in the industries which grew up locally to provide for the needs of the new colony. There were inevitably a few casualties, however, two of them being notable early colonists and West Torrens pioneers. Early in 1859 Thomas Hudson Beare of Netley was declared insolvent and when his affairs were settled he was able to pay his creditors only 3 shillings in the pound. He subsequently moved to the area about Yankalilla. The fall of A.H. Davis, the first district council chairman, was even more spectacular because of his earlier prominence in the community. He was able to pay his creditors only 2 pence in the pound and his Fulham Park estate was later snapped up by William Blackler.

The village of Thebarton closely reflected the fortunes of the capital, and it became one of the first clearly defined suburbs. In 1866 it was described simply as 'a postal suburb of the city of Adelaide. The district is an agricultural one, crops of hay being the principal produce', the chronicler continued. 'There is a fellmongery and a tannery (Peacock's) in Thebarton, and a considerable number of the population are engaged in gardening pursuits . . . Thebarton has 2 hotels—the Wheatsheaf, and the Squatters' Arms . . . The population, including that of the surrounding agricultural neighbourhood numbers about 450 persons'. By this



Woolscouring in the Torrens at Thebarton, n.d. (M.L.)



Parkin House, Plympton. Originally built for William Parkin in 1859 (W.T.H.S.)

time Thebarton was already lit by gas, being one of the first villages to be so. Gas works had been built at Brompton in 1861 with the first supplies being delivered to Adelaide in June 1863. The following year gas was supplied to North Adelaide and parts of Thebarton and Hindmarsh.

Thebarton at this time was by far the largest and most diverse of the villages in the district. Plympton was described as but 'a small postal agricultural village . . . in the midst of an agricultural district taken up by small farmers engaged in the culture of wheat and hay'. The population was said to be 'small and scattered'. Already, however, it was seen as a desirable place of residence. The successful Adelaide businessman William Parkin had built his home there in 1859. Besides his business interests which included shares in the *Advertiser*, he was a member of the house of assembly from 1860 to 1862 and the legislative council from 1866 to 1877, and one of the most important benefactors of the Congregational Church, and after whom Parkin Theological College was named. Twickenham, one of the few other villages to be included in the *Gazetteer*, was described simply as a 'small agricultural hamlet . . . inhabited by a few farmers and gardeners'.

The few industries in Thebarton were located on the banks of the Torrens, generally in the region between South Road and the parklands, close to the saleyards and slaughterhouse which were at that time located on the west parklands. A description of the industries at Hindmarsh and Thebarton in the *Adelaide Observer* of 9 October 1859 judged them to be 'as good as any to be found in the Southern Hemisphere'. However, their very existence and the problems which they created reflect a great deal upon the primitive nature of much of the industry of the mid-nineteenth century. Bagot's fellmongery proved to be particularly troublesome, so much so that in 1875 a Commission of Inquiry into Sanitation examined the premises:

The establishment appears to be conducted in as cleanly a manner as might be expected from the nature of the business, but notwithstanding all the precautions adopted by the proprietor, the odours arising from the works are exceedingly unpleasant . . . [there] is a most unsatisfactory method of disposing of the refuse from this establishment, which may be supposed to accumulate in large quantities from the fact that about 5,000 sheep per week are boiled down . . . At the time of the Commissioners' visit a strong south-west wind was blowing, which must have carried the smell, which was very perceptible in the field, over North Adelaide and other portions of the city.

Samuel White of the Reedbeds, a son of John White, was particularly concerned at the steady deterioration of the Torrens. Before the Commission of Inquiry into Sanitation in 1875 he claimed that the river was first affected noticeably about ten or twelve years earlier by the woolwashing operations at Thebarton. 'It is made dirty, foul and greasy, and smells badly', said White. The nuisance created by Bagot's works was a constant source of complaint to the Council, but Bagot was reluctant to take steps to abate the problem.

The pollution of the Torrens had been a constant problem to those living downstream and at one of the early Council meetings in 1853, Councillor Dew of Thebarton 'complained of the Torrens being discoloured by the blood and refuse from the slaughter house'. Twenty years later it was still a major concern because

of 'the discharge of sewers within the City of Adelaide, and from the woolwashing and other works at Hindmarsh and Thebarton', and it was precisely because the Torrens had become such a health hazard that steps were taken to construct a system of deep drainage for the city and inner suburbs.

Secondary industry was confined to that part of the district in and about Thebarton, while the remainder of the district council was rural and generally unremarkable. Ebenezer Ward, a publicist who became one of the renowned demagogues of the South Australian parliament, described much of the region in 1861 in a publication concerned with *Vineyards and Orchards of South Australia*. On one of his journeys to the west of Adelaide, along the Henley Beach Road, he remarked on only two properties:

There is very little in the immediate vicinity of the road from Adelaide to the Reedbeds to awaken the admiration of a lover of the picturesque. Post and rail fences enclosing grazing and cultivated paddocks, with a few scattered houses of every imaginable material, from stone to mud, comprise almost all there is to be seen for the first few miles. Lockleys, the estate and residence of Mr. C.B. Fisher, situated on the right of the road, about four miles from Adelaide, presents the first and most welcome relief to the sameness of the plains. Here the majestic-looking trees, both English and Colonial, the tastefully laid out shrubbery, the well-bred stock depasturing on the extensive paddocks, and the long range of substantial and roomy stabling, where repose some of the noblest scions of the best blood of the Knowsley and other equally famed studs—all these recall memories of old English Sportsmen's homes, and justify the anticipation that the yeomanry of Australia will be entitled to rank with the proudest of those who derive wealth and enjoyment from the broad lands of the old country.

Beyond Mr. Fisher's estate the country has in places a more English appearance—green hedge-rows and rustic cottages enlivening the scene. Near to Mr. Davis's the scenery is very pretty, and a beautiful view of the hills is obtainable, whilst the immediate neighbourhood of Moore Farm is much improved by two picturesque bridges over the Torrens, built by private subscription, supplemented by a grant from Government. These bridges cost about £600, and lead, one to the beach and the other to the Port. Mr. Davis's residence is on the left of the road, and on the right is the oldest portion of his vineyard and the orchard. The other portion, and the dairy paddock adjoins the house.

Ward then proceeded to describe Davis' vineyard which was remarkable because it was the first of several important vineyards to be established in the area. Indeed, it was among the first in South Australia. He planted his first 2 hectares of vines in 1839 with cuttings brought from Sydney. During the next ten years he increased the plantings to 10 hectares. It seems that Davis had been very successful with both his red and white wines and samples of his 1858 vintage were selected by the Wine Committee for showing at the International Exhibition in London in 1862.

The rich alluvial flats of the Torrens Valley proved attractive to other wine-growers including J.D. Holbrook, who established his Wilford vineyards at Underdale in 1855. Holbrook had emigrated to South Australia five years earlier aboard the *British Empire* with Thomas Hardy, and it says a great deal about shipboard life and about that in the infant colony that Holbrook subsequently married a sister-in-law of Hardy. He built a substantial cellar on his property in 1865 and by 1873 had 9 hectares under vines. His 1876 vintage produced 38,600



Early Fulham, n.d. (M.L.)



Home of A.H. Davis at Moore Farm with post office shown on left (M.B. White)



Bankside Winery, c.1904 (Thos. Hardy & Sons)



Bankside Winery, c.1900 (Thos. Hardy & Sons)

litres of wine. Like that of Davis, however, Holbrook's winery has not continued and it ceased operations in the early years of the twentieth century.

Thomas Hardy, Holbrook's fellow passenger aboard the *British Empire*, established a wine empire that was much more enduring. He, too, commenced operations at Underdale—two years prior to Holbrook—in 1853. Hardy was only twenty when he migrated to South Australia and upon his arrival his first job was general labouring in the employment of John Reynell. When gold was discovered in Victoria, he forsook his labouring job—at that time on the Heathcote property near Yankalilla—and joined the rush, though he was not successful in his gold digging and fell foul of the law for not possessing a miner's licence, and was fined one pound. Subsequently he opted for the steady income from a butchering business rather than the tenuous fortunes of the miner, and was primarily employed in droving for the following eighteen months. By 1853, however, he had had enough. He returned to Adelaide, married Joanna, then bought land at Underdale, and there established his Bankside winery. He planted his first vines in 1854 and reaped his first vintage three years later. Hardy's Bankside Winery prospered, for by 1863 he had 14 hectares under vines and was making 6,800 litres of wine. His success was marked by the construction of extensive cellars.

The wine house is built principally of the earth obtained from the cellars, being 70 feet by 25 feet with walls nearly 2 feet thick. Above is a loft available for storing fruit. There are five cellars, each opening into the other, the two biggest being 30 feet by 16 feet and 50 feet by 18 feet and 13 feet deep with a vaulted roof and limestone and concrete walls. There is underground accommodation for 20,000 gallons of wine.

One of the highlights of May each year was the traditional vintage festival at Bankside which was established by Hardy in 1862. It was a gala occasion which 'partook much of the character of the English "harvest home"'. At the 1877 festival according to the Register,

... about 200 persons partook of the hospitality of the proprietor, and joined with him in celebrating the gathering-in of the fruit of the vines. A large proportion of these were children who had personally worked at the grape-gathering, and the remainder of the large party was made up of employees, their wives and families, and of personal friends ... About 6 o'clock tea was served in the main entrance to the cellars ...

The period between 1865 and 1885 was a shaking out period for the South Australian wine industry, when many wine-growers and wine makers ceased operations because of the intense competition generated by over-production. In this same period, however, Hardy's enterprise boomed. In 1876 he purchased the Tintara vineyards of Dr Kelly at McLaren Vale and eleven years later with his three sons formed the company of Thomas Hardy and Sons Ltd.

Though not as spectacular as Hardy, success was also achieved by Jesse Norman, who purchased 3 hectares of land at Thebarton in 1853 and established the original Norman vineyards there. Norman had been a brewer in his native Cambridgeshire, but in the new colony became a noted winemaker. He married Lucy Peacock in 1857 and founded the family which grew with the business. The original winery

was only a small cellar with a room above, which was built in 1863 but another cellar was built adjacent to this a few years later and it is said that this became the centre of local entertainment when it served as a community hall for occasional 'get togethers'.

Jessie died in 1881, when the business passed to his sons and continued to expand. In 1911 land was purchased for vineyards further to the south on the Sturt River, though the centre of the business remained at Underdale.

The most notable farm in the south-eastern part of the district was that of Dr Everard at Ashford. Unfortunately for the historian, however, Ward omitted to describe his 1861 journey along the Bay Road. He considered it to be unnecessary 'for who is there amongst us who has not journeyed upon the Bay-road?' he asked. However, he did describe in detail Everard's orchard, established eighteen years earlier and one of the oldest in the colony. It was notable because of the extensive works undertaken by Everard to divert the Brownhill Creek so that he could better irrigate his orchard. This comprised the cutting of a channel nearly 'a mile long' and the construction of a brick culvert of about 30 metres with sluice gates. The success of this system was evident in the productivity and diversity of fruit which was grown in the orchard and exemplified the enthusiasm with which the colonists set about experimentation in order to have it conform as closely as possible with conditions in the mother country.

A feature of the district, and one noted by Ward in his description of Fisher's property, was the establishment of a number of horse studs. Charles Brown Fisher, the son of John Hurtle Fisher the first resident commissioner, was one of the colony's early 'sportsmen', and he established the Lockley's Stud very soon after settlement commenced in the district. He and his father were largely responsible for the foundation of the racing industry and their horses won many of the early races. The *Gazetteer* of 1866 noted that at their stud 'repose some of the best blood of the Knowsley and other famous studs [which] recall memories of old English sporting horses'. Edward Meade Bagot was another prominent 'sportsman' who kept a good stable and helped to consolidate the racing industry. William Blackler was another who established a famous stud in the district, on the Fulham Park Estate of about 120 hectares which he purchased in 1868.

However, perhaps the most long-lived of the several studs was that established at Richmond Park on Section 90, by John Chambers who bought the property in 1857-58, and carried on by James Henry Aldridge after 1889. John Chambers was one of South Australia's early notable pastoralists, who with his brother James was a close friend of John McDouall Stuart. They sponsored Stuart's explorations into the centre of Australia which opened up a route across the continent from south to north in 1862, and paved the way for South Australia's annexation of the Northern Territory the following year. He was one of the prominent men who rode in triumphal procession with Stuart, when the latter returned to Adelaide on 21 January 1863, and it is undoubted that Chambers would have entertained Stuart at the large Richmond Park home. Chambers died there on 27 September 1889. Under Aldridge, Richmond Park became one of South Australia's premier

racing stables, and because of this pre-eminence it was the location for the shooting of much of the feature film *A Woman Suffers* in 1914, which was set against a racing background.



Still from the film *The Woman Suffers*. The scene was taken at Morphetville Racecourse. The jockey on the extreme left with back to the camera is Jack Keily, whose father Thomas Keily is in the centre pointing. Lottie Lyall, with the parasol, was the leading lady (W.T.H.S.)

Local people who played parts in *A Woman Suffers* included Thomas Keily, who provided many of the horses for the race scene. At the turn of the century he owned the Mosleyville Training Stables, and trained three Adelaide Cup winners.

The western portion of the district between the Bay Road and the Henley Beach Road was entirely taken up for farming purposes. Known as the Reedbeds, which extended along that part of the coastal plain from the Port River to the Patawalonga Creek, in 1868 it was described as 'a vast area of flat swampy agricultural land. . . either under cultivation, hay being grown in large quantities upon it, or form[ing] excellent fattening pasture for sheep and cattle, which are depastured upon it all the year round'.

Transport facilities West Torrensians, like their contemporaries throughout Australia, had a deep-seated belief in the ingenuity of Anglo-Saxon enterprise which was borne of the Industrial Revolution and the extension of the British Empire.

Lost!

Her good name gone — her respect of herself — the respect of others — the love of a man she had trusted too much!

Guilty — because she was a woman! Because her brother had treated another girl — and that girl's brother had wreaked his vengeance upon her!

An eye for an eye, life for life, honor for honor!



Heart made and built for love and a life made of suffering for the good of her humbled man.

The WOMAN SUFFERS

—while the man goes free!

A thrilling drama in Australia — life-saving from the hands of the bush to the shores of the city.
 What was the cause? — such a woman! — (dressed in the dress and a man's shirt) — and what was the cause?
 returned to find the man — at the time she had believed her. Her brother's name is in the play and is a man of worth.

She found Philip — (dressed in the dress and a man's shirt) — and what was the cause?
 returned to find the man — at the time she had believed her. Her brother's name is in the play and is a man of worth.

She found Philip — (dressed in the dress and a man's shirt) — and what was the cause?
 returned to find the man — at the time she had believed her. Her brother's name is in the play and is a man of worth.

The play is a tale of great love and conflict, with the courage of their own selves, women and men together, in the end and with triumph, they are for us here in truth for a hour.

She found Philip — (dressed in the dress and a man's shirt) — and what was the cause?
 returned to find the man — at the time she had believed her. Her brother's name is in the play and is a man of worth.

The play is a tale of great love and conflict, with the courage of their own selves, women and men together, in the end and with triumph, they are for us here in truth for a hour.

She found Philip — (dressed in the dress and a man's shirt) — and what was the cause?
 returned to find the man — at the time she had believed her. Her brother's name is in the play and is a man of worth.

The play is a tale of great love and conflict, with the courage of their own selves, women and men together, in the end and with triumph, they are for us here in truth for a hour.

LYRIC THEATRE

Tomorrow and all the Week.

Flyer for *The Woman Suffers* (A.N.L.)



Thunder Queen, 1895, winner of the Morphetville Plate, trained by Tom Keily (W.T.H.S.)



Anzac Highway, n.d. (H.D.)

They welcomed innovation and delighted in the manner in which new technologies marked progress, growth and development and it was thus that they welcomed new forms of public transport and grafted them on to their developing city.

The great public transport boom in metropolitan Adelaide occurred in the late 1870s and was a direct product and reflection of the period of sustained prosperity from the mid-1860s. Ever seeking new fields for investment, Adelaide's businessmen turned to public transport and the speculation in suburban land which the new routes were designed to tap. Unlike modern state initiatives, which lag behind residential development, these private initiatives anticipated and promoted the rapid extension of the suburbs in the West Torrens district as elsewhere.

In a very real sense it can be said that the necessity for the early development of public transport in Adelaide was determined by Light, and his town plan. The belt of parklands about the city, and the early speculation in city land, meant that workers seeking cheap residential land were forced into the areas beyond the parklands and as the early inner suburbs expanded, readily available cheap land became even further removed and the need for some form of public transport became pressing.

Indeed, Adelaide's very location—inland from both its port and its major seaside resort—prompted early plans for public transport. The idea of linking Adelaide and its port by means of a railway was mooted soon after the colony's foundation, and the line which was opened in 1856 was the first government-built and operated line in Australia. Then, as the city developed, so did its major resort at Holdfast Bay, which had become the residence of many of the colony's leading men, and the destination of many weekend pleasure seekers, and as the popularity of the Bay grew, so too did the call for more efficient and commodious public transport than the coach services which were provided first by Cobb & Co., and later by the local firm of John Hill & Co. An early proposal to construct a railway from the North Terrace station to the Bay received parliamentary approval early in 1869, but the promoters were unable to attract enough support to begin construction. The idea of constructing a line from Port Adelaide to Holdfast Bay also came to nought.

In 1871, however, another group of promoters successfully formed the Adelaide, Glenelg and Suburban Railway Company, to construct a railway to the Bay. That the company was successful in obtaining government approval for the scheme was significant, for until this time the only steam railways built in South Australia had been built by the government, as part of initiatives to develop particular industries or regions, under the widely held nineteenth-century belief that development followed railway construction and although the Port line had first been mooted by private enterprise, it had been finally built by the government. This line to the Bay therefore has the distinction of being the first railway to be built by private enterprise as a purely commercial exercise, although because of this its history is more akin to the later history of tramways and public transport about the metropolis than that of the State's railways.

A glance at the list of shareholders in the Bay railway suggests that it was but another of the many speculations which were entered into by the commercial



Public conveyance which operated between Hilton and Adelaide before the trams. This photograph was taken at the corner of Bagot Avenue and Burbridge Road (W.H.S.)



Horse conveyance at Skinner's Corner, the intersection of Brooker Terrace and Burbridge Road, Hilton (W.T.H.S.)

leaders of the colony. Most of the shareholders were Adelaide businessmen, who were ever eager for new forms of investment and whose names reappear on many of the sharelists of companies which were floated during this period. It was not the form of enterprise which appealed to many West Torrensians particularly, because the route of the proposed line to the south of the Bay Road meant that few of them would have benefited directly except from dividends. However, it is of interest that John Morphett was one of the promoters and leading shareholders while the largest shareholder was W.W. Hughes of Torrens Park, who had made his fortune from the Wallaroo and Moonta copper mines.

Parliamentary approval for the line was forthcoming in November 1871, and the first sod was turned with fitting ceremony in March 1872. Construction of the line was completed in May 1873, and it was formally opened by Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave on 2 August 1873. It proved to be an immediate success, at least in the opinion of the correspondent for the *Portonian*, who reported on it within a week of its opening:

No inconvenience was in any way experienced by the passerby on horseback, and the animals seemed to take no notice of the carriages whatever, except that of an individual who had evidently been sent by an adverse influence to stand in a narrow way on a shy horse, and requested to touch it with the spurs when the train came up. Going by the train is a decided improvement on the "busses", were it only for the charming look out to where the picturesque little village of Mitcham, with its pretty little church, nestles comfortably upon the slope of the verdant or park-like hill.

Despite the 'improvement on the "busses"', the Bay railway failed to satisfy all. The city terminus in Victoria Square was inconvenient for many, and did not provide ready access to the government's lines which terminated in North Terrace, and patrons claimed that the company's virtual monopoly of public transport to the Bay led it to disregard their wishes, particularly in the way of intermediate stops between Goodwood and Glenelg.

Another group of promoters hastened to take advantage of this dissatisfaction and on 20 May 1878 formed the Holdfast Bay Railway Company, their chief intention being to take a line of railway to the Bay from the North Terrace station through Thebarton, Richmond, Plympton and Camden, cutting diagonally across the rigid grid pattern of West Torrens. Objections from Morphett, a shareholder of the rival company, about the proposed route through his property were to no avail. The plan to tap the crowds wishing to patronise the Morphettville racecourse meant that for a third of its length the line was in close proximity to both its rival and the Bay Road, thereby limiting its potential to promote residential development and to attract potential travellers to the region. However, this did not bother the early promoters who seemed concerned only to poach Glenelg travellers from the South Terrace line.

The Holdfast Bay Railway Company, like its rival, was little more than a speculation entered into by members of the Adelaide business community. The shareholders were identical in kind to those of the rival company and, indeed, there were some such as W.C. Buik who held shares in each. However, it is noteworthy that this company attracted the interest of some of West Torrens

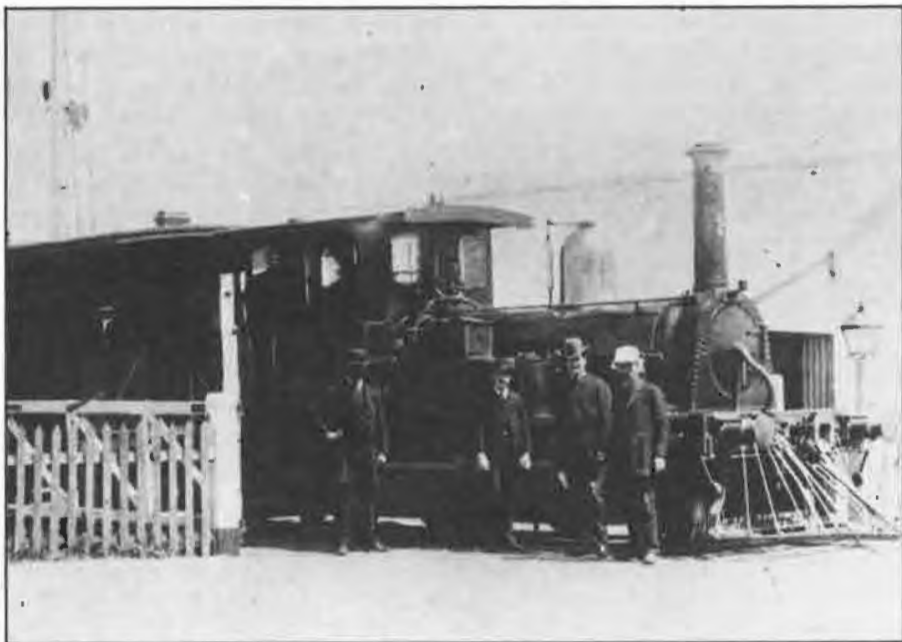


"The above shows how a knowing old Farmer stopped the Glenelg train. He had paid his fare, but thought he would start first and take a walk along the line. When he saw the train coming he planted himself on the rails and shouted, "Hi! Hi!", gesticulating wildly. The guard, fancying there was danger, stopped the train: "Thanks," said old party, and quietly walked up the steps!" *Portonian*, 12 January 1876, held in South Australian Collection.

premier land owners. Both W.H. Gray, the squire of the Reedbeds, and William Parkin of Plympton who were large landholders in the vicinity of the proposed line, were members of the first seven-man board of directors; indeed, Parkin was one of the largest shareholders. The only other West Torrens identity noted in the original list of shareholders was Frederick Ransford, also of Plympton. Few were concerned that there might not be sufficient custom for the two lines, and the capital of the company was oversubscribed on the same day that the prospectus was issued. Approval for the line was forthcoming from parliament in November 1878, construction began soon afterwards and the new railway was opened on 25 May 1880.

Competition between the two companies was intense but shortlived and proved so financially disastrous for both companies that meetings of the two companies on 6 January 1881 voted for amalgamation. As W.F. Stack confided to a parliamentary select committee, 'when the two companies were running in opposition to one another neither of them paid; and up to that time neither of the companies had charged the limit which they were entitled by their respective Acts'. The only real objections to the amalgamation came from Plympton residents who feared a downgrading of services. Their complaints were easily pacified and the amalgamation was completed with W.H. Gray becoming one of the directors of the new company, along with eleven fellow capitalists.

The amalgamation of the companies did not prove to be the panacea, and two years later, with the new company yet to pay dividends to its shareholders, the directors petitioned parliament so that they might cut back on services on both



Locomotives and staff of the Glenelg Railway Co., c.1885 (S.T.A.)



Locomotive of Glenelg Railway Co., c.1883 (S.T.A.)

lines, although it was adamant that there were no moves to close the North Terrace line. Financial problems became even more acute during the late 1880s after the onset of Depression in South Australia, and the closure of two of the banks. The North Terrace line in particular remained a problem, bedevilled as it was by poor returns, and difficulties with the railway commissioners over use of the North Terrace terminus, but travellers along the line, particularly those at Plympton, opposed any moves to close it. During the 1890s several proposals were made by the government to take over the system, but few met with the approval of the company. On 15 December 1899, however, the government assumed control of both lines.

Tramways Except for the lines to the Port and the Bay, suburban railways were of little significance in the transport history of metropolitan Adelaide, unlike other Australian cities. The primary means of mass public transport about Adelaide were the many tramways which provided a service which was both more flexible and cheaper to operate. Extensive networks developed early in and about Adelaide, largely because of the promotional activities of W.C. Buik. The first of these horse tramways was that built by the Adelaide and Suburban Company which opened a line from Kensington and Norwood to the city in 1878 and extended it to North Adelaide in the following year.

Other promoters hastened to invest in this new enterprise and the Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company was floated on 6 October 1877, with W.C. Buik as the chairman of directors. At the hearing before the parliamentary select committee in 1877 there was some fear expressed by 'several landowners at the Reedbeds and Henley Beach' that the proposed route through the city might 'debar Mr Gray and Mr White from having a tramway to the City'. However, the company's proposal was approved, and the tramway to Hindmarsh was opened for traffic in 1880 and a year later extended to Henley Beach via Henley Beach Road. The optimism of the promoters was evident in the fact that at that time there were only twenty houses at the new seaside resort.

The tramway to Henley Beach was the only one to be built through the West Torrens district during this time, for the Gray-White company was never formed, and two others, though floated, never commenced operations. Indeed, the impression is strong that these were simply land-jobbing schemes of the type in which South Australians were ever eager to participate during economically buoyant periods. The Keswick, Ashford, Richmond, Edwardstown, and South Road Tramway Company which was floated in December 1882, certainly fitted this image, for three of the seven promoters were land agents, and the route of the proposed line served scarcely any population. Although Buik was also chairman of directors of the Adelaide Hilton and Garfield Tramway Company which was floated on 22 November 1882, it seems that this, too, was but a stratagem to arouse interest in the large subdivision at Brooklyn Park in 1881. Five of the seven promoters were land agents and brokers, the sixth was a solicitor, the seventh a 'gentleman'. Still, this company appealed to many Hiltonites who had a few pounds to spare and a penchant for speculation. There were ninety-five initial



Horse tram on Henley Beach Road, n.d. (M.L.)

shareholders and while most of the promoters had portfolios of 1,000 or more shares each worth £1, the fifteen local folk had folios of ten or twenty. George Burton a blacksmith of Hilton had twenty, so too did hotelkeeper A. Berryman. W.H. Holman, a confectioner, held ten shares, as did J. Ruddock, the butcher; John Marles, designated as a 'gentleman', held 100 shares. None made their fortune from the deal and at a meeting on 30 April 1884 it was decided to wind up the company.

The tramways played a vital role in the spread of residential development in suburban Adelaide and became the most common form of transport for many of those in West Torrens who had no private means of transport. For this very reason they suffered the problems which continue to afflict public transport. The *Register* of 5 February 1890 recorded the complaints of one dissatisfied patron.

Sir. It is time something was done for the convenience of the public as regards the Henley Beach tram. There is printed a time table for trams to run at certain hours, but a more disgusting management could not exist. For instance, last Saturday there was a car to start at 10.10 p.m. for Thebarton, but instead of it starting at the hour advertised it started at 11.40 p.m. . . . Not alone do we put up with waiting about for trams, but have to stand being insulted by the drivers. On Sunday there were four cars returning



Horse tram on Henley Beach Road, c.1905 (S.T.A.)

from town standing in front of the first one. I was told there was another car coming. The same thing was said by the second and third cars, and, of course, when the fourth car came up the car was loaded, there barely being standing room. Speaking to the driver about this rotten system, he said the foreman was on the car ahead. Well, I think it is time they found a better man to manage affairs. On coming home on Saturday on the 11.10 car some ten young men, drunk as could be, were standing on the back platform swearing and smoking, with the car door wide open, and some four or five women inside. I spoke to them about it and was only insulted. Now, Sir, if this is the way our trams are to be conducted it is no wonder they don't pay. I have spoken to several residents, who complain in a similar way.

H.G.H.
Piening

Land boom The proliferation of tramway companies during the decade after 1875 was a reflection of the buoyant South Australian economy during this time, along with the spate of residential subdivision. In this matter, developments in the West Torrens district reflected those of the metropolitan area in general, though they were no less important because of this.

The new public transport services to the city certainly encouraged the establishment of new townships, but the causal relationship between them is not clear. The new subdivisions in West Torrens, at least, were generally in the vicinity of established villages, or along main roads and the new transport routes primarily consolidated those trends which had already been established. Thus there were major subdivisions at Hilton, Richmond and Plympton, and an extensive speculation at Brooklyn Park, where 545 allotments were put up for sale by the Garfield Land Proprietors and where the comparison of street names in this subdivision such as Buik and Farrgate, with those of the directors of the abortive

tramway company (which had reserved one of the allotments), suggests that both enterprises were floated as speculations. The Keswick Land Company was also optimistic about its subdivision of 504 blocks on Section 45 at Keswick, which it had purchased from W. Everard in 1883. Edward Lipsett was another who hoped to benefit from the contemporary economic boom and at this time he subdivided 211 lots of Section 162, and another fifty-six on Section 145. John Marles senior was another hopeful speculator, who hoped to profit from sixty lots on Section 50 at Marlestone in 1879. Many townships—now long forgotten after attempts to rationalise name—were established at this time. Ellenville (part of Richmond) was subdivided in 1879, Hayhurst, now part of Plympton, was subdivided at various times from 1876 to 1880.

Building boom The period of prosperity which was evident in the intense speculation in land was also exemplified in the consolidation and extension of many of the landmark dwellings of the district, many of which have fallen victim to later so-called 'development'.

This was particularly evident in the farming regions of the district. William White, a son of John White, had long been resident at Fulham and in 1878–79 extended his 'Large Stone House', doubling its value. Known as Holmfrith it was more particularly identified with John Mellor, whose father helped found the firm of Mellor Brothers, who became noted agricultural implement makers. Though trained as an ironmoulder, Mellor retired from the firm, bought Holmfrith in about 1881, and there lived the life of a farmer until his death in 1914.



The Oaks, 1979, before incorporation into a retirement village (W.T.H.S.)

The nearby Oaks at Fulham, owned by Charles White, was also built at this time in 1878-79.

Secession The long period of sustained economic buoyancy after the recession of the mid-1860s left many tangible legacies in West Torrens. One of these which affected the very structure of the Council was the secession of Thebarton Ward, and its organisation as a separate local government area.

All of the West Torrens district benefited from the buoyant economy, but none more than Thebarton Ward. Thebarton had always been more closely settled than the other parts of the district and its economy and social stratification differed from the rest of West Torrens, and in 1881 when the total population of West Torrens was 2,930, more than half lived in Thebarton. As the 1870s progressed, the distinctions became more evident, with the residents of working-class Thebarton having little in common with the rural workers of the major part of West Torrens, and the Thebarton residents became eager for an increased measure of local government. In view of the population imbalance, they believed that they received less than other residents of the district and although an extra ward had been created to represent New Thebarton in 1881, thus providing Thebarton representatives with three seats (with Mile End) in the seven-seat Council, they remained dissatisfied. In November 1882 residents petitioned the governor that they might have their own local government and although there was a counterpetition, it lacked force, and carried little weight with the governor. The new Corporation of Thebarton was proclaimed on 8 February 1883 with three of the seven councillors, Pritchard, Hemingway and Stevenson becoming foundation members of the new corporation.

Although the boundary rearrangement necessitated new elections in March, a new clerk (after Loader transferred to Thebarton), and the use of a new venue for meetings (a return to rooms offered by J.M. Ruddock), the secession seems to have had little influence on West Torrens at large. Indeed, because of the lack of close identity between Thebarton and the other parts of West Torrens, the practical recognition of this probably made for the better government of each area. However, this was but a short-term solution and subsequent development in the region has made West Torrens a much more homogeneous suburban-district, similar to Thebarton, but with the larger population which makes for more efficient local government.

After the redefinition of boundaries, West Torrens comprised five wards. It was perhaps because of the alteration that there was a fair degree of interest in the elections for the new Council which was held on 2 March 1883, for there were three candidates in each of three wards, none of whom served on the previous Council. Once matters had been resolved there was only one member who remained from the previous Council—Charles Louis Taylor representing the Reedbeds. Edward Lipsett became the new chairman and John Marles jnr., who had served as an elected member for Hilton Ward from 1878 to 1882, became the new district clerk.

While West Torrens lost a significant part of the district when Thebarton became

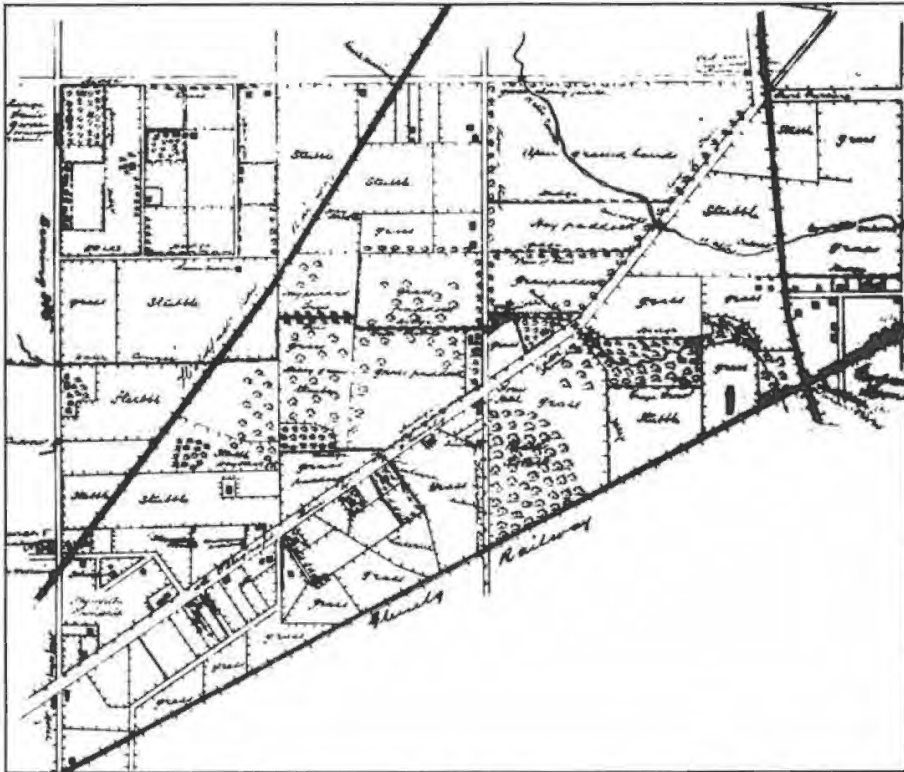
an independent corporation, not all adjustments to West Torrens' boundaries made for a net loss of area, for on 15 January 1903 West Torrens gained from the District Council of Marion all that area between the Bay Road and the southern railway line to the Bay, from South Road to Brighton Road.

Embryonic suburbs In 1879, just as thirty years earlier, a correspondent for the *Register* travelled throughout the settled regions near the city, recording what he saw. The greater portion of the region had changed but little during the intervening thirty years, though it is evident that there was considerably more industrial development in the area about Thebarton.

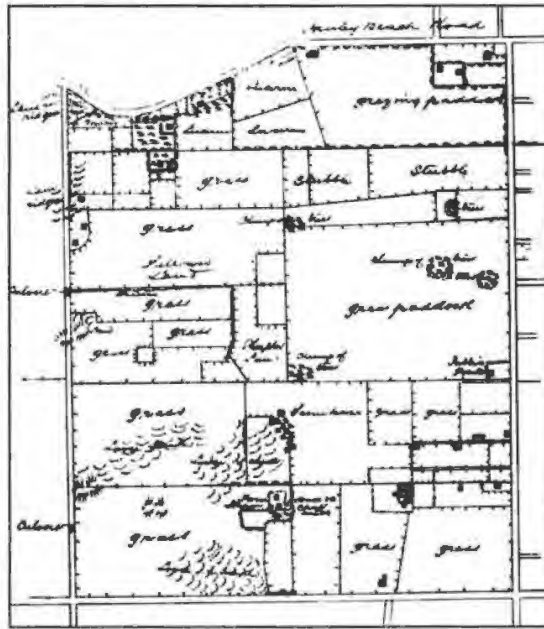
In making for the south-western coast we come upon several embryo townships, more or less in our way. Abutting on the Bay-road to the right hand, somewhat below the Forest Inn, is Hayhurst, a section which has been cut up and mostly sold, and on which signs of building are visible.

... we find no trace of habitation, present or prospective, to the northward of Glenelg until we arrive at Henley Beach, where a very commodious and well appointed hotel speaks eloquently at all events of good intentions.

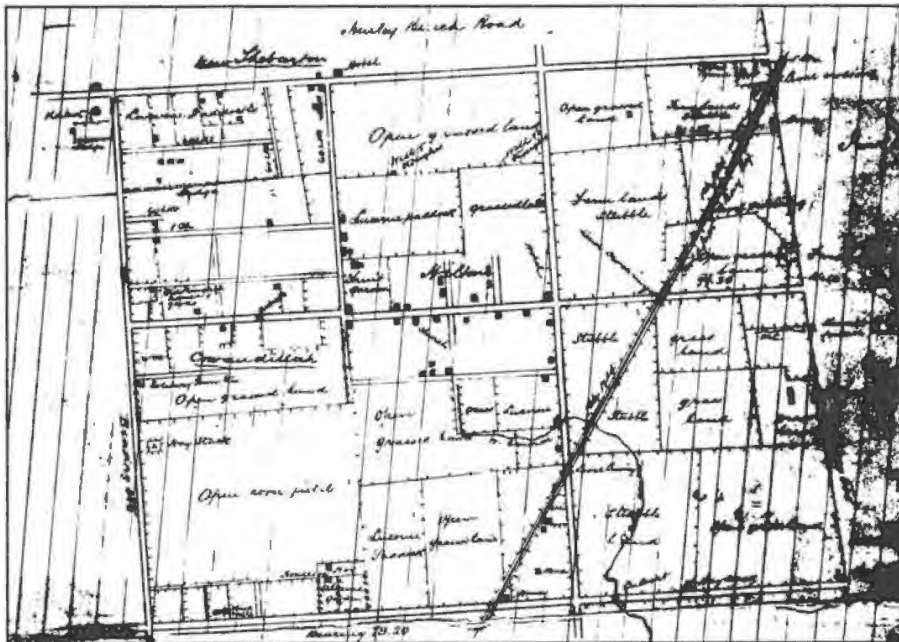
... After leaving the limits of the new township the road to town is for some distance a most agreeable one, winding as it does through the most verdant and wooded part



Sketch of area of Camden Park and Plympton, 24 November 1881, with Richmond Road to the north and Marion Road to the west (Public Records Office)



Sketch of Brooklyn Park and Netley, 2 December 1881, bounded by Henley Beach Road on the north, Morphet Road on the west, Richmond Road on the south and Marion Road on the east (M.L.)



Sketch of area of Cowandilla, Hilton and Richmond, 22 November 1881, bounded by Henley Beach Road on the north, Marion Road on the west, Richmond Road on the south and the Parklands on the east (P.R.O.)

of the Reedbeds and crossing the Torrens—here a small stream . . . Large tracts on both sides of the way are the property of one family, some of whose members have recently erected substantial and even elegant residences, while the surroundings show the fertility of the soil, which evidently, to use a common and here literally correct term, will “grow anything”. Further along we pass other dwellings of an English farmhouse type; and extensive ranges of stabling, accompanied by training grounds, show that we are in the neighbourhood of the nurseries and schools of the champions of “the turf”. As we near the Park Lands, with Thebarton and Hilton to the right and left ahead of us, another large two-storied hotel and a commodious store and butcher’s shop warn us that we are approaching a fresh township. This is New Thebarton, nearly opposite what were so long—and sometimes unfavourably—known as Bagot’s Boilingdown Works, now, for the present at any rate innocuous to sight or smell. In addition to some rows of cottages, complete and tenanted, Mr Stevenson, a builder whose yard is conspicuous, has turned his business abilities to good practical account by the erection of a commodious and attractive villa residence for himself, and several other cottages of superior style are in progress. Fastidious persons might object to the site of this new settlement as being somewhat devoid of natural aesthetic attractions, and liable to undue interruptions of the neighbouring soil in a pulverized state. Its proximity to the city, to which there is frequent conveyance by omnibus, will nevertheless doubtless attract some to whom such a consideration is of paramount importance.

Instead of accompanying these to our headquarters in Adelaide we will now turn sharp to the left, and passing Thebarton and the extinct furnaces of the Provincial Gas Company make for Hindmarsh. Before reaching the latter centre of industry our attention is attracted by a second edition of “Mushroom Town” on our left, between the two suburbs last named. Perhaps it is rather premature to attach a name so significant of rapid progress to a site where the progress has all yet to be made. Yet it is the case that this section of a hundred acres, stretching from Thebarton to the Torrens, has been purchased by the National Building Society with a view to the repetition of the sensational operation in townships so successfully carried out by them at Goodwood. Bearing in mind the manufacturing tendencies of the neighbourhood and its proximity to the river, the name chosen for this future industrial resort is not infelicitous. Southwark has already several cottage erections in hand or bespoke, but some delay has been occasioned by difficulties in the negotiation for the necessary water supply, which now have been overcome. Leaving out of the question, for the time, the interest attaching to the future fortunes of Southwark, the spot is almost a classic one—at any rate in the memories of old colonists—as the erstwhile abode of Colonel Light, whose modest mansion still remains in tenanted order. On this section, too, were made the first of those bricks which have furnished an appellation and a means of livelihood to so many surrounding workmen. Hallowed by such associations, we feel inclined to ejaculate, May Southwark flourish! adding with bated breath, And may she concentrate within her borders as many as possible of the noxious but necessary avocations which now find unsuitable resting-places in the metropolis.

Physical and Political Development: c. 1883–1914

Economic recession became general throughout the colony after 1884. This and the slow recovery was the major influence upon the history and development of West Torrens during the next two decades. The gravity of the recession was described succinctly in the 1886 annual report of the Adelaide Chamber of Commerce.

The year which has just closed will long be remembered in South Australia, marked as it has been by a universal depression heavily felt by all classes. The almost entire failure of the cereal crop has spread distress far and wide in our agricultural districts. The great depreciation in the price of wool, coupled with the lessened clip in many districts, has caused much anxiety as to the future of this important interest, while the low figure at which copper has stood for some time renders the probability of an increase in the working of our mines for a long time to come exceedingly problematical. These dark clouds resting on the three principal products of this colony are sufficient to account for the serious depression in trade, but added to them all the disastrous results of the recent land speculations, which have only been fully realized during the last twelve months, and also the stoppage of the Commercial Bank of South Australia, an event unprecedented in the history of this colony, causing misery and ruin to many and adding considerably to the prevailing vein of confidence.

In each of the years from 1885 to 1890, the colony lost more of its population through emigration than it gained by immigration. Like the recession in the mid-1860s, the Depression of the 1880s was initiated by the onset of drought in the north of the colony, but the effects of this later Depression were aggravated by depressed world prices for wool and copper. These external factors prevented the rapid economic recovery which had characterised the end of the drought of the 1860s. Furthermore, the onset of Depression in eastern Australia during the 1890s acted as an extra brake on the South Australian recovery, and prolonged the depressed conditions. Many companies were forced into liquidation, but it was the unprecedented bank failures of 1886 which shocked the South Australian

commercial community and underscored the severity of the Depression. Two banks ceased operations in 1886, the Town and Country Bank and the Commercial Bank of South Australia. The T. & C.B. which was a victim of the rural Depression, avoided complete failure by selling out to the Commercial Bank of Australia, but the failure of the C.B.S.A. was a complete disaster. Because of the fraud and embezzlement of its manager and accountant, and its unwise lending policy, no other bank was willing to assume its liabilities and its liquidation meant that its numerous shareholders and depositors lost heavily.

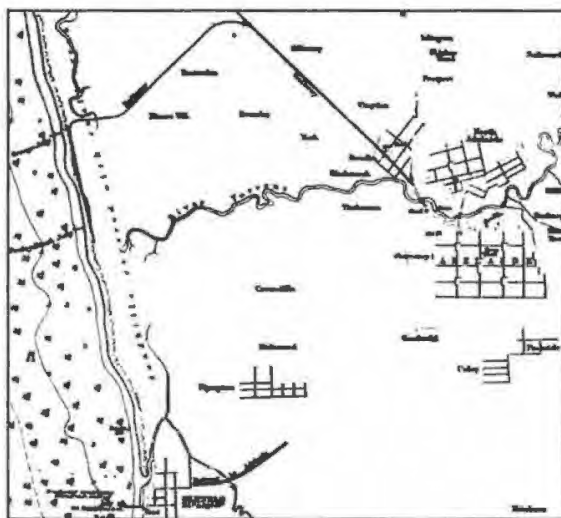
However, the period after the drought was not one of unrelieved gloom. Like the pastoral industry during the 1870s, the agricultural industry went through a period of reorganisation and structural change, and, as in earlier periods of recession, mining helped to alleviate the depressed conditions. During the mid-1880s gold was discovered at Teetulpa in the east of the colony, and the development of silver and lead mining at Broken Hill, together with the discovery of gold in Western Australia at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie, directly stimulated the South Australian economy. Indeed, the stabilizing effect of mining with its linkages with other industries meant that, though earlier, the Depression in South Australia was less severe than that in eastern Australia, particularly in Victoria where reckless land speculation continued until 1893.

West Torrensiens shared in all of this more or less directly. J. Millikan of Richmond was one who joined the rush to the Teetulpa goldfields in 1886, and along with his mate T. Williams was one of the lucky ones. In December, after two months fruitless and demoralising searching, the two happened upon a '19 ounce' nugget, which was one of twenty-seven to be displayed at the Jubilee Exhibition the following year. However, that was his only real success and on his return to the city, Millikan preferred the less adventurous but more secure work as a driver for James Marshall and Co.

West Torrens reflected the slow economic activity of the last decades of the nineteenth century, and its population increased steadily from 1,387 in 1891 to 2,337 in 1901 and 3,608 in 1911, while the number of occupied dwellings increased from 268 to 441 to 731. Most of this development took place about those centres which had long been established.

Despite the economic downturn, it was at this time that the first permanent quarters were built for the Council, although the economic climate encouraged the Council to hasten slowly. The matter of new chambers had become a matter of some concern after the secession of Thebarton in 1883 and for a time meetings of Council had had to be held in the home of the district clerk, John Marles junior. On 22 February 1884, almost immediately after the secession, the decision was made to proceed with the erection of the new chambers. However, the idea failed to get sufficient support at a public meeting which was called to approve the raising of the requisite loan. Subsequent resolutions followed, but the only determination was that the new chambers should be built on the Pound Acre on Marion Road. In November 1887, Council finally accepted plans from Wright, Reid and Beaver, but then failed to agree on the contractors to be appointed and it was not until the following May that John King was appointed to complete the task.

Thereafter matters progressed rapidly. The foundation stone was laid by the chairman, S.C. Tolley, on 5 June and the building was completed by the following August with the first meeting being held in the new chambers on 16 October 1888.



Settlement to the west of Adelaide, 1888 (M.L.)

It was during this period of post-Depression recovery that Plympton took on the appearance of a superior residential area when a number of substantial homes were built for successful businessmen on or near Marion Road. Bucklands, which is now occupied by Quarry Industries, was built in 1882 for A.E. Tolley, but later bought by Captain William Morish, after his retirement as a mine manager at Broken Hill. He gave the neighbouring northern property to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage to Arthur Hill, and in 1906 there built Kandahar. This later became the home of Harry Watson who was a member of Council from 1911 to 1923 and its chairman for two periods from 1917 to 1919 and again from 1920 to 1922. Kandahar was designed by the noteworthy architect Edward Davies, who in 1880 had designed and built for himself the nearby Nesfield.

Workingmen's blocks Much of the land speculation and development in West Torrens which characterised the 1870s and early 1880s was cut short in the mid-1880s with the widespread Depression in South Australia. Edward Lipsett was one who was quick to cut his losses and move to Victoria in 1886, where the economy remained buoyant until 1893.

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, economic activity in South Australia was slow. However, it was this very Depression which brought about a significant residential development in Richmond, the resumption of land by the government and its subdivision for use by workingmen. This represented one of

the significant initiatives implemented by successive governments during the 1890s to help relieve social distress. Others included the establishment of village settlements on the Murray and elsewhere, and the subsidising of men who were willing to prospect for minerals.

The champion of the workingmen's blocks was George W. Cotton, who in 1879 retired from business and embarked on an overseas tour. While in England he was captivated by the ideas and the influence of A.R. Wallace, who argued that social distress and political tension could be alleviated by encouraging small scale farming. Cotton returned to South Australia to campaign for a scheme whereby the government would provide blocks of land for workingmen so that they might supplement their normal income and have a means of subsistence in times of Depression. He entered the legislative council in 1882 to continue his campaign and by dint of personal effort and persuasion was ultimately successful in 1885 when new land legislation provided for workingmen's blocks of up to 8 hectares to be surveyed on government land. The blocks were eagerly sought, and the deepening Depression encouraged the government to extend the scheme. In 1890 an amendment to the legislation enabled the government to purchase land for the purpose. It was thus, in 1895, that the government purchased from J.H. Aldridge 49 hectares of land on Sections 49 and 50, subdivided this into blocks of approximately 1 hectare, and offered these for lease under the terms of the Act. The land was not long in being snapped up and, indeed, before ever it was purchased by the government, forty-nine hopeful applicants had paid their deposit. Until 1902 the blocks could only be held under lease, but afterwards blockers were permitted to convert this to freehold. Most hastened to take advantage of this.



Location of Workmen's Blocks at Richmond (S.A.P.P. 131-1895)

Albert Retallack's family took up one of the Richmond blocks in 1909. 'The block, when purchased contained an old wood and iron building—this was partly dismantled and four brick rooms added for the family', Albert recalled. 'About half the property was planted in fruit trees—pears, apples, peaches and plums'. His father was a carrier who kept a couple of horses and a cow, and grew some wheat, hay and lucerne for the stock.

Senator Jim Toohey well remembered the blocks and the area known as Tin Town 'from the fact that it was one of the areas in Richmond in which the majority of houses were built of the old style narrow corrugated iron'. Despite this, all was not apparent dreariness however, and Toohey also remembered Sutton Terrace which was a very out-of-the-way place 'locally known as "Lovers' Lane"'.

The subdivision of the Richmond blocks was part of a significant South Australian development. In West Torrens, however, it was particularly important because it created a close-knit working class community in what had hitherto been a rural district. The sense of community among those who lived about Richmond and Mile End was enhanced by the rapid development of industry in this area in the years immediately prior to the First World War.

Though slow, the residential development which occurred in the more far-flung parts of the District Council during this period was underpinned by significant technological developments, including those which were associated with the extension of electricity.

Prior to 1909 West Torrens was a dark place after sundown, and the only energy for public lighting purposes was kerosene or acetylene, with the regulation light outside the few public houses, while kerosene lamps or candles were the only means of illumination in the home. Thebarton had been lit by gas since 1864, but the mains had never been extended into the less populous West Torrens and it was not until April 1909 that ratepayers welcomed the South Australian Electric Light and Motive Power Company into the district. This company had built the power station in Grenfell Street in Adelaide in 1901, and at the time was engaged in intense competition with the South Australian Gas Company for the provision of energy for street and domestic lighting. As the service was extended electricity became the main source of energy for light and later for heating.

The new energy also prompted the electrification of Adelaide's wide-ranging tram network. The Municipal Tramways Trust was formed in 1906 with the first trials being held on 30 November 1908. The line to Henley Beach was electrified in the following year, with the maiden run of the electric tram being made with great fanfare on 23 December.

Railway development A major encouragement to the development of industry in the West Torrens district occurred in the years immediately prior to the First World War when the government decided to relocate the railway goods yards. It was evident by 1904 that the yards at the Adelaide station needed extension, but it was 1908 before the government secured 73 hectares of land adjoining the west parklands at Mile End at a total cost of £47,469, and another two years before the goods yards were relocated there.



Henley Beach Road, before widening, looking to east (H.D.)

The development of the new yards proved to be an embarrassment to the government, for in 1917 a royal commission found that 'the arrangements at the Mile End Yards and its associated works are faulty, inasmuch as they do not secure efficiency, economy, and safety in handling goods traffic'. However, whatever the inefficiency of the yards, their very location attracted new industries to Mile End, and the area south of the industrial centre at Thebarton became one of South Australia's early centres of heavy industry.

One of the first new industries attracted to the area was that of the machinery manufacturer, J.S. Bagshaw and Sons. This firm commenced operations in 1838 when John Stokes Bagshaw set up a small engineering and implement-making works at Elizabeth Street in Adelaide. By the early years of the twentieth century, however, there was little room for expansion at the city site and a new factory was built on a 5 hectare site at Mile End.

Another of the major industries to move to this area was that of Hume, when in 1912 the firm purchased 6 hectares of land extending from Railway Terrace through to South Road. The firm had begun in 1910 when Walter and Ernest Hume settled in Adelaide and commenced the manufacture of steel fences and gates. However, it was for the manufacture of reinforced concrete pipes, using a revolutionary new process, for which Hume became renowned. Their experiments in 1910 had proved successful but a new larger site was required. Within two months of the factory being established at Mile End concrete pipes were being produced, and so successful was the new process that factories were soon established in all States, and in several countries overseas. By 1920 the firm had produced 1,600 kilometres of pipes.

A third notable firm was that of the Perry Engineering Co, which descended from the small blacksmithing business founded by Samuel Perry in 1897 in Hindley

Street, Adelaide. By dint of hard work business increased and diversified to such an extent that in 1902 he purchased a small foundry adjacent to his smithy. By this time Perry's business lay primarily in the provision of builders' ironwork, the demand for which increased markedly with the increased use of reinforced concrete, and with a view to future expansion Perry purchased a 5 hectare site at Mile End in 1908. The necessity to use the site became evident in 1912 when he secured a contract to provide ten locomotive boilers to the government. This work could not be undertaken at Hindley Street and immediately plans were made to transfer operations to the Mile End site and activities commenced there in 1913.

Bankside For all the industrial development on the eastern fringe of the district, West Torrens remained predominantly rural in character. Those vineyards which survived the 1880s and had been firmly established as family businesses—the Hardys and the Normans—prospered in the years prior to the First World War and were characterised by a constant increase in the amount of land being put under vines. In 1904, however, fifty years after the first plantings, Hardys were checked for a short time by the destruction of the Bankside Cellars by fire and the loss of a great amount of wine. The reporting of the incident in the *Register* of 17 October highlights the size attained by Hardys while at the same time reflecting upon the standard of fire protection available at the time.



Bankside Wine Cellars, n.d. (Thos. Hardy & Sons)

The fire occurred on the afternoon of Saturday 15 October 1904, 'one of the first hot days of the present season'.

The fire appears to have started shortly after the workmen left at 1 p.m. When first seen at 1.20 it was well alight. The difficulty of combating the flames when the brigades arrived was enhanced by the fact that the nearest water mains were half a mile away. The only supply on the premises was that from a well pumped up through a $\frac{3}{4}$ in. service pipe. The bed of the river was dry . . . The Hindmarsh Volunteer Brigade . . . was first on the scene, but they found the flames had gained such an ascendancy that it was impossible to save the cellars or their contents. The Hindmarsh men were quite unable to do anything until the arrival of other reels. When Superintendent Booker of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade reached the place he ordered that the several lines of hose should be connected, and a line half a mile long was thus formed and brought into play on the fire.

Meanwhile the flames were doing great destruction, and every few minutes the spirit suspended in the large tubs of wine would boil and cause the great casks to burst with a loud report, and throw up a crimson fountain of liquor, which flooded the cellars. It was the spectacle of a life-time. Superintendent Booker's resourcefulness saw in this development a new fire extinguisher. He at once ordered the suction pipe of a steam fire engine to be put down into the cellar beneath Mr. Hardy's dwelling . . . In a few minutes two branches were working at full pressure, compressing steady streams of red wine through inch jets on to the mass of burning debris. In this costly manner the flames were largely overcome, and the fire was prevented from spreading . . . and setting alight to Mr. Hardy's dwelling which was only about 30 ft off. For one and a half hours streams of wine were passing through the engine and hoses at a pressure of 350 gallons per minute . . . The fumes of the heated spirit also told severely on the fire fighters, who had to be relieved frequently in order to recover from the effects of the gases generated.

When the fire had been finally extinguished, the scene was one of great destruction. Hardy later estimated the total loss to be in the order of £25,000, with insurance covering only £15,976 of this. It proved but a temporary setback.

The incident revealed a great deal about the want of adequate fire protection available at the time and provided Booker with yet another instance with which to urge changes to the Fire Brigade's Act—for neither West Torrens nor Thebarton Councils contributed towards the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, and Booker was under no legal obligation to have his brigade attend the fire which was outside the city and risk leaving the city unprotected. Though the problem was highlighted, it was some time before the area to the west of the city was protected, and 1917 before a brigade was established at Thebarton.

During this period the bulk of the district was given over to farming. There were also many dairies and piggeries, and in the latter years the Bronzewing Poultry Farm, which was a local landmark because of its extent. It was located on an area of about 4 hectares at the corner of Morphett Road and Mooringe Avenue, and George Hague recalled that there was a small 'wildlife park' associated with the farm which contained kangaroos and emus. He remembered that it was a particular curiosity on Sunday afternoons when 'there would be 40 or 50 horses and traps there, people just viewing the poultry farm'.

Civic matters attracted few headlines during this period, when it was generally a matter of 'steady as she goes'. For most of this period the corporation was under the guidance of the district clerk John Marles junior, who succeeded Loader in



Damage caused by the fire at Bankside in 1904 (Thos. Hardy & Sons)

1883, and except for the period from August 1909 to February 1912, when William Woods held the position, remained in office until November 1914. Most of the chairmen held shorter terms. James Rowell was one of the longest serving of these who was appointed chairman by his colleagues in 1890 and continued in that capacity until 1900. Rowell did a great deal to enhance the status of the West Torrens corporation and for several years was president of the District Councils' Association and for a time was vice-president of the Local Government Association. In 1917 he sought a wider field and was elected to the federal senate and served there for six years. In the meantime, his brother John Rowell had also joined the Council and served as its chairman from 1906 until 1910. Henry Sherriff succeeded to the position in 1911 and remained there until 1917.

Except for the building of the Council chambers in 1888 and the connection of the telephone to the offices in 1909, there were few civic highlights. Alterations to the boundaries of the district in 1911 prompted the internal rearrangement into seven wards, but there was little else of significance.

Health Although the traditional responsibilities of the Council was carried on with little fanfare, an increasing amount of time and attention was given to matters concerned with community health.



Councillor John Edward Rowell, 1900 (W.T.C.)

As the population of the district increased, so too did the Council's task of monitoring the health of its residents. This had been a matter of some concern from the time of the foundation of the Council because of the use of the Torrens as a sewer, and it became a matter of direct concern to the Council after 1873 with the passage of South Australia's first comprehensive health Act. It is interesting that during debate on the Bill members made direct reference to the need to curb the 'filthy emanations from boiling-down establishments and such concerns at Hilton and that neighbourhood'. Under the terms of the Act provisions were made, among other things, for the cleaning of streets, the disposal of rubbish, the seizure of unwholesome food and the inspection of premises. A Central Board of Health was established to superintend the Act, and provision made for setting up a local board in the district. The Act was amended and strengthened from time to time, and in 1884 provided for the notification and isolation of cases of 'dangerous contagious or infectious diseases'.

However, despite the long-standing concern of individuals for sanitation questions in the district, the Council was slow in appointing a medical officer under the terms of the 1873 Act. Ten years later it had yet to do so, and the Central Board of Health was persuaded to order Council to make such an appointment. Three years later the Central Board still remained critical of 'the very perfunctory manner' with which Council administered the Health Act and 'resorted to the extreme course of issuing orders on the local board to cause the removal of the nuisances within a given time'. The report of the Central Board of Health which

led to this order underscores the primitive attitudes towards sanitation during the late 1880s.

A large number of nuisances were found to exist. In one portion of the district (Hilton) some of the houses are crowded on very small plots of ground. In other parts the houses have ample space. There is scarcely any natural drainage, and notwithstanding that a few water channels have been constructed to carry off stormwaters, large quantities of stagnant water collect. Residents have to make their own arrangements for disposal of refuse. At Keswick a nuisance existed caused by refuse brought from the city. At Ellenville, Richmond, West Hilton, and Fulham &c., residents take their water supply from wells and tanks. In other parts of the district the waterworks are available. Slaughterhouses, piggeries, and cowyards were in a very unsatisfactory state. Some dilapidated and offensive privies came under notice.

Although the Local Board of Health was established, the central government remained critical of the way local authorities policed the Health Act. Ultimately, the increasing urbanisation of the metropolis and the shortcomings of the local boards, which sometimes included a reluctance to prosecute in instances when councillors or their supporters were concerned, persuaded the government to take over full responsibility for the oversight of food supplies in the metropolitan area. Thus under the Food and Drugs Act of 1908 provision was made for the creation of the Metropolitan County Board, which would take from the several local boards responsibility for the regulation of food supplies and it was hoped that this new body would be free from the pressure of local politicians. The chief responsibility assumed by this new instrumentality when it came into existence on 1 June 1909 was the inspection of food outlets, dairies, and dairy cattle, and the supervision of Adelaide's milk supply. It is an interesting commentary on the cyclical nature of much of our history that amendments to the Food and Drugs Act in 1984 should revert to the situation prior to 1908 when local government officers were responsible for the administration of the Act.

One of the long-standing matters of concern to the Central Board of Health had been the cleanliness of the many dairies in the district. They were admirably suited to the small farms which predominated in the area, and there was a ready market for milk in the city, beyond the parklands to the east. In 1883–84 local boards were asked to insist that all dairies— along with cowyards and piggeries— should be paved and drained. However, though the granting of licenses was dependent upon annual inspections, it is clear that proprietors were reluctant to comply with the conditions laid down by the authorities, and had a poor appreciation of the need for cleanliness. In July 1902, the local inspector visited fifteen dairies and reported that only four were satisfactory. Seven years later, an application for a dairyman's licence by T.K. Watson was refused because 'the Earth Closet was in to [sic] close proximity to the milking sheds'.

By dint of perseverance, however, these attitudes were changed and though its achievements were not as spectacular as some of those from more tangible initiatives, Council, as the Local Board of Health, played an important role in improving the health of its citizens.

The decades immediately prior to the First World War were ones of consolidation

within West Torrens after the period of hectic—frequently speculative and unsubstantial—development in the early 1880s. There were significant industrial developments, however, which included the relocation of significant industries from Adelaide to Mile End, and which were to persist throughout the twentieth century.

This was also a period of consolidation for the West Torrens Council, after the secession of the predominantly urban Thebarton Ward. For a time the district remained almost exclusively rural. However, the nascent industrial development about Mile End ensured that the secession of Thebarton was only a short-term solution to any problems caused by the urban-rural dichotomy within the district. Indeed, the logic of West Torrens' location near the capital was that it should become increasingly urban in character.

The West Torrens Way of Life to c. 1914

So much of our written history is about politics, wars, great people and scoundrels, largely because it is easy to write about these. The main actors generally kept diaries or had other people, like journalists or Hansard reporters, record their dealings and achievements, and many of the matters with which they were involved are inherently interesting. However, while it is easy to write about great people, it is difficult to write an interesting story about ordinary people, precisely because they are ordinary. Yet most West Torrensians were ordinary people, and it is possible to learn about them only from inferences in official statistics, or from developments in the region at the time.

Early census figures suggest that family life was strong in the district, with the sexes being generally evenly balanced, and indeed, this seems to have been a characteristic which has prevailed until the present. In the 1860s the average West Torrensian was of Anglo-Saxon stock; of the total population of 1,346 in 1867, 744 were migrants from the United Kingdom, while 584 others had been born in Australia. These origins ensured that Protestant Christianity was the prevailing religion, with the dissenters forming a large minority. In 1871 when the total population had increased to 1,472, there were 446 Anglicans and 336 Wesleyans, while the Roman Catholic population numbered only 230. The main breadwinners were almost evenly divided between rural and urban workers: the 1861 census recorded 186 agricultural workers which represented the highest figure of any occupational group except that which denoted wives and children (811), while the next largest group represented the 128 in service industries. Sixty-three were denoted as unskilled workers, while there were only fifteen in professional occupations and five who were of 'independent means'. These figures simply exemplified the fact that West Torrens was essentially an agricultural district, with a significant working-class rump about Thebarton.

A matter of perspective In order to understand the social history of West Torrens in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to appreciate the sparse settlement of the district because this had such a direct impact on the way of life of the local people. All had to be largely self-reliant, even those who lived in the villages. The Gooleys who lived at Richmond were fortunate in having a large backyard where they kept their horse and a cow and grew their own vegetables and fruit trees. Mrs Gooley always made her own butter together with something she called 'quack'—'a type of cottage or white cream cheese, which was eaten on bread'. The Potters who lived on a 2 hectare property on Burbridge Road had a similar way of life. Potter was a carpenter, but he kept a horse, a cow and fowls for which he grew crops, as well as fruit and vegetables for the family. Water came from a large underground tank on the property which had to be pumped by hand.

Until the twentieth century, services were few and each household was dependent upon candles or kerosene for lighting at night, upon wood for cooking and heating, and for a long time most had to use wells and tanks for water. Shops and stores were generally far removed. Albert Retallack, who grew up at Richmond, recalled in 1981 that the family shopping was done at Nelson's Store on Richmond Road. However, at this time many shopkeepers, such as butchers and bakers, brought their wares to the house.

The 'Rabbit-O' is one of these who has long since disappeared. 'Housewives used to go out to the cart as it came along the street. Rabbits hung from the back of the cart and were skinned for each customer and duly placed on the plate provided by the housewives—at a cost of 9 pence per pair.' At this time, too, numbers of Chinese hawkers, many of whom represented businesses in Hindley



Thomas' fuel yard at Mile End, 1909-10 (S.T.A.)

Street, plied their wares about the district. Arthur Shiers remembers them 'arriving by horse and buggy and then they used to carry their goods from house to house in two boxes balanced on their shoulders by a spring bar and ropes'.

Despite the sparseness of population, however, most residents of West Torrens were close to Adelaide should they have particular needs, and at least the main roads were well served by public transport.

Life before Medicare While West Torrens was primarily a rural district, the demands made by its inhabitants on the available health services were few and reflected the sense of self-reliance and self-sufficiency which was required of country folk and also the fact that few services were available. For most complaints home remedies had to suffice, or if medical expertise was required, it was generally obtained from the doctor who called. There was no surgery or hospital in the district, and treatment and convalescence was generally undertaken at home along with confinement and childbirth. Mrs Cahill of Washington Street was one of those who was in frequent demand about Hilton as a midwife. On those rare occasions when hospitalisation was required—as in the case of Samuel Skinner who was scalded during the Bankside fire of 1904—the Adelaide Hospital which had been founded in 1840 was relatively close at hand.

During the nineteenth century, however, as the Health Act of 1873 demonstrated, there was an ever-increasing concern for the health of those who lived in the growing suburban villages. In the working-class areas to the west of the city, these villages were frequently characterised by the relative overcrowding of simple dwellings on small blocks of land. In the district clerk's report of 2 July 1884 there is mention of 'the prevalence of Typhoid at Richmond' and in the same sentence reference to the 'state of George Rossan's Piggery'. In this instance the local board simply served notice on Rossan 'that he will not be allowed to keep any dray or other vehicle loaded with offal upon his premises at Richmond later than 6 a.m.'. The Local Board of Health frequently reported instances of tuberculosis in the villages of Richmond and Hilton but in such cases there was little that could be done other than to try to isolate the patients.

Water of life One of the chief reasons for the abatement of many diseases in the urban regions of the district was the provision of reticulated water, and, later, the installation of deep drainage. Both of these developed early in the history of Adelaide and their extension progressed at a rapid rate, aided in part by the easy geography, but also by an awareness of their benefits.

Adelaide was first served by a reticulated water supply soon after the construction of the Thorndon Dam in 1860 but by 1876 only a small part of Thebarton had been connected to this system, and a report of the Central Board of Health noted that in 1887 the residents of the villages of Hilton and Richmond were still dependent upon wells and tanks. It was not until the completion of the Happy Valley reservoir in 1897 that reticulated water was readily available to the developing western suburbs and residents were able to obtain fresh water without the fear of its being contaminated by animals or refuse.

The provision of deep drainage was a corollary of the readily available water supply and also helped to eradicate water-borne diseases such as typhoid and cholera which were particularly prevalent in urban regions.

The impropriety of using the Torrens as a city sewer had become apparent in the 1860s and investigations were made to provide something which was more satisfactory. In 1878 one of the schemes suggested that sewage from the city and major suburbs might be piped to the Reedbeds, but the idea was abandoned because of the low gradient of the proposed sewer. Ultimately it was determined to establish a sewage farm at Islington, and construction work began in 1879 with the first homes being connected to the system in 1881. The system was constantly extended thereafter, although it was near the turn of the century before the western suburbs were connected to it largely because of the inadequacy of the water supply before 1897, but also because of the geography of the region to the west of the parklands. The area about Glenelg had to wait for the new century for deep drainage. Tenders for the erection of a pumping plant as part of the Glenelg system were let in December 1903 to service the seaside area and in 1909 the construction of a pumping station at Cowandilla enabled homes about Hilton and Cowandilla to be connected.

In addition to helping eradicate water-borne disease, the provision of a reticulated water supply had other social consequences. As an increasing number of properties were connected to the deep drainage system, the night carter—'the dunnican divers'—became redundant and so too did the provision of lanes at the rear of properties in the new subdivisions.

The reticulated water, which is now taken for granted, also promoted changes in the design of the family home, though it was several decades before these were totally accepted. Prior to provision of piped water, privies and laundries, and perhaps bathrooms, were frequently detached from the house with the privy being banished to the rear of the property within easy access of the lane provided for the purpose. With reticulated water the privy became a watercloset and subsequently moved closer to the house, first being accommodated in lean-to additions at the rear, along with the laundry and bathroom, though later these items became an integral part of the design of new homes. All this had major consequences for the lady of the house who had traditionally been occupied with domestic duties by both custom and circumstance.

Not by bread only Given the nature of the foundation of South Australia with its strong dissenter influence, it is no surprise that the church brooked large in the lives of nineteenth-century West Torrensians and was yet another instance when developments within the district reflected those in South Australia at large.

As census figures indicated, Wesleyans and Baptists comprised a high proportion of the population of the district, particularly among the 'yeomen' farming community. Indeed, as religious historian David Hilliard has observed, by 1900 Wesleyans regarded themselves as 'the rural Church of South Australia'. This was typical of South Australia in general, where one-third of the population belonged to the nonconformist tradition, with 24 per cent being Wesleyans, a much higher

proportion than in the colonies to the east. At this time, too, Wesleyans were also the most influential and aggressive of the different Protestant denominations.

Thus it is not surprising that the Wesleyans should have been the first to build their places of worship in the district. They built a small chapel at Plympton in 1847 before, though only by a year, a chapel was built at Thebarton. Like many of its secular neighbours, the chapel was a primitive affair, and by 1856 it was replaced by a new church which was capable of holding 250 worshippers. It was typical of the village church of a rural village in England and was served by a minister from the circuit centred on the Pirie Street church.

The first Wesleyan services were held at Thebarton at least as early as 1841 when they were held in the home of a Mr Weston who lived in Maria Street. In 1847 land was bought in Chapel Street, and the chapel opened for service in 1848. This, too, formed part of the Pirie Street circuit. As at Plympton, so at Thebarton, the congregation soon outgrew the first primitive chapel, and on 7 December 1863 the foundation stone for a new church was laid on property bought in George Street.



Plympton Methodist Church, Marion Road (W.T.C.)

The Pirie Street circuit was extended further when local Wesleyans took over the chapel at Fulham, which was built by John White. The foundation stone for this simple building was laid by White on 3 September 1855, and the building was completed in April 1856. It was a simple structure of brick with a slate roof, built on White's land on the south-west corner of the intersection of Henley Beach Road and Tapleys Hill Road and it has long since gone to make way for new road works. It was White's intention to offer the chapel to any denomination which

might claim it, so long as it held regular services. The Wesleyans were quick to take advantage of this offer and commenced services there on Wednesday, 30 April 1856.



The Chapel at Fulham with the tram on Henley Beach Road, n.d. (M.L.)

In the rural parts of the district religion, most notably Wesleyanism, brooked large in the lives of the residents, with the church fulfilling an important social role. Several of the leaders of the secular life of the district were also leaders of the church life. John White, who built the Fulham chapel was, of course, held in high regard together with other members of his family, but later trustees included James and John Rowell, Thomas Stanford, and Thomas and Henry Butterfield, while John Mellor and Franklin Gray were also counted among the worshippers. Something of the immediacy of the faith is evident from a report of one of the regular revivals held in the Fulham chapel in the latter years of the nineteenth century.

God has graciously revived and cheered his people of late in this place. The whole Church has felt a quickening impulse and at least forty souls have been converted to Christ. The blessed work began on the first Sunday evening in June, when twelve or fourteen souls in distress came up to the communion rails at the prayer meeting after sermon groaning and weeping . . . Several whose piety had declined, and who were on the verge of backsliding, humbly confessed their faults and came back to the precious blood which makes the wounded whole.

Because of the depth of belief, the union of Wesleyan Methodist, Primitive Methodists, Methodist New Connexion and Bible Christians, which took place in May 1900, was important in the life of the community. Thereafter was formed a new 'Western Suburban Circuit', which comprised the churches at Thebarton, Fulham, New Thebarton, South Road, Jervois Street and that at Plympton.

The development of Methodism in the district at this time reflects a great deal of the secular development, particularly at Lockleys and in the vicinity of Henley Beach Road, which was occasioned by first the installation of the horse tramway, and then by its electrification in 1909. In September 1906 the foundation stone for a new 'United Church' was laid in Torrens Avenue, though six years later the trustees of the Fulham church decided to establish a new church at Brooklyn Park. This new church was dedicated on 14 February 1914 but not all the Fulham congregation welcomed the move. Many preferred the older church and they continued to hold services there until 16 January 1927, when it reverted to the White family; it was demolished in 1936.

Of the Church of England, Hilliard observed that it 'claimed more followers and had greater social prestige, but it was less rigorous than Methodism, and many of its adherents rarely or never attended church'. In addition, the Church of England was strongest in the urban areas and those which were favoured by the rich and successful in the colony. Anglicans formed a relatively small proportion of the rural areas and the predominantly working-class areas, so the church did not assume a high profile in West Torrens, which was primarily rural in character, with the working class industrial region in the east. For these same reasons the Church of England was a relatively late starter in the district.

The Anglican church to the west of Adelaide was centred about St James' of Mile End, which had its origin on 3 December 1882 when the Rev. F.R. Cogan of St Luke's Church in the city commenced a mission in the state school on Henley Beach Road. Soon afterwards land was bought at Falcon Avenue in Mile End and St James' Church was built; it was dedicated on 3 February 1884. For the following decade it formed part of the Bishop's Home Mission Society, then the Hindmarsh parish, until in 1893 it became an autonomous parish under the Rev. J.S. Pitcher and it was from there that the Keswick Mission was established.

The first services at Plympton were held in 1883 in the school. The Rev Fr French of St Peter's Church at Glenelg had responsibility for this outpost until it was transferred to the charge of St James' parish and the Rev. J.S. Pitcher. At this time Plympton was but a small village in a sparsely settled district and regular services at the school lapsed after the death of Fr Pitcher, until in August 1902 a hall was built in Long Street to serve several denominations.

St James became the central church of the district, drawing worshippers from beyond simple local government boundaries and it was 1926 before Anglican services were held in the Soldiers' Memorial Hall at Lockleys. For a time St James' was noted for its Anglo-Catholicism and thus reflected part of the revolution inaugurated by the Oxford Movement in England. The rector in 1912 who was so impressed by the Oxford Movement was the Rev. W.F. Wehrstedt, described as a 'scholar priest and preacher', who attracted overflow crowds to his services: 'Popular outside the Church, the sway he wields when in the pulpit is immeasurable'. A reporter of the day noted that the Anglo-Catholicism of St James' 'adds greatly to the dignity of the Church of England'.

The Baptists, too, were eager to establish their presence in the district, but unlike

the Wesleyans they were highly urbanised and drew their adherents from the skilled tradesmen and shopkeepers of the working-class districts. In 1901, though they formed but 8 per cent of the urban population, they comprised 12 per cent of that of Thebarton. As with so many of the denominations, it is inappropriate to equate their foundation in the district with the building of churches because early services were invariably held in private homes. However, the structures do provide a means of chronicling their development and growth in the district. The first of their churches in the district was built at Hilton in 1872, the foundation stone for another was laid in Phillips Street at Thebarton in September 1883, and yet another was built in the burgeoning working-class suburb of Richmond in 1895.



Part of the congregation of the Hilton Baptist Church, Burbridge Road, detailed off for cleaning duties. The church is now part of Theatre 62 (W.T.H.S.)

However, the churches—particularly those of the nonconformist denominations—fulfilled a much more important role in the district than that of simply providing a meeting-place for divine worship. Mrs Wesley recalled in 1976 that the church activities were the only ‘amusement’ practically and, as Hilliard has observed, they also played a major social role as part of their efforts to attract members. Thus they organised a great number of social, recreational and educational activities, ‘sales of work, fairs, fetes and bazaars . . . social teas, drawing room socials, magic lantern shows, musical evenings and concerts; evening lectures by scholarly ministers . . . and the highlight of the year, the eagerly awaited Sunday School picnic’. At one time it became the practice in the district that each of the Sunday Schools of the Wesleyan circuit combined for a gala occasion on

the Easter Monday holiday. In 1867 Brownhill Creek was chosen as the venue, and upwards of 600 children attended.

The Sunday School was a major part of Protestant endeavour. Indeed, it was the recruiting ground for the faithful. While many adults—particularly men—preferred not to attend weekly worship, they were all insistent that their children should attend Sunday School, and in 1911 when there were 67,880 young South Australians enrolled at State and private day schools, there were 66,296 enrolled in the State's many Sunday Schools. At this time there would have been few children who had not been exposed to Christianity for the Roman Catholics, of course, had fashioned for themselves a complete system of education, based on Christian principles, and were well served by parish schools at Thebarton.

In so very many respects the Roman Catholics were the reverse of the Methodists. They formed a smaller proportion of the South Australian population (14 per cent) than was common in the eastern colonies, and they were numerically strongest in the predominantly working-class suburbs and towns where the Wesleyans were weakest, and they represented 17.8 per cent of the population of Thebarton at the time of the census of 1901.

As with the other denominations, the first Catholic services were held in the homes of prominent adherents. However, in 1869, at the urging of the Rev. Julian Tenison Woods, efforts were made to establish a more permanent presence in Thebarton and in September 1869 a chapel and school were opened.

The congregation grew rapidly and in 1881 it became the responsibility of the dynamic Fr John Healy, along with other districts to the west of Adelaide. Like many of his fellow Irish priests, he was a great builder and was responsible for the first Queen of Angels church in 1883 and a new school and convent which were begun in 1885.

The three other 'Rs' If religion touched all West Torrensians, another matter of consequence to all was that of education. The year 1875 is significant in the history of education in South Australia, and, of course, West Torrens, for it was on 15 October that the Act received the governor's assent which established that system of 'free' and secular education which is today provided by the State's Education Department.

Prior to 1875, only those children whose parents could afford to pay were able to receive an education, and many of these went to schools in the city. Frederick Norman, for example, attended Whinham College at North Adelaide.

Of course, those whose parents could afford the fees had patronised colleges outside the district from the beginning and had been little concerned with the quality of education which was available locally. W.A. Blackler of Fulham Park was one of many to be educated at St Peters College at Hackney, while Mrs Ruby Woods (nee Rowell) was another who completed her education outside the district. She first attended a local school at Fulham, but then went on to the Methodist Ladies College at Wayville, although this required daily travel by means of two trams.

Many others, particularly those who lived in the eastern part of the district,

went to school in Adelaide. Mrs Hine (nec Potter) whose family lived at Cowandilla, attended the Sturt Street School and she remembered walking to school 'up Hilton Road over the Railway lines (there were only two railways then . . .) then . . . across the park near the cemetery and into Sturt Street. If they got wet walking to school, they would go straight home again so this was quite a happy event for them!'

The quality of teaching in many of the early local schools left a great deal to be desired. In 1851 a Central Board of Education had been established to subsidise so-called 'vested schools' which belonged to a local body, to licence teachers and to pay them a stipend. However, its power was weak and insufficient to overcome the problems which militated against schools. In rural areas—which included most of West Torrens—local transport services were almost non-existent and children frequently formed an essential part of the labour force of many of the early farms. It is little wonder that attendance at these early schools was erratic and in 1873 an inspector lamented this fact.

So long as the state of public education remains dependent on the degree of interest in it taken by the people, the condition of the licensed schools will continue to be as viable as at present. Indeed it is pretty certain that numbers of parents are too ready to neglect the education of their children in prosperous times, for the value of their services in various kinds of employment, and in bad times from the pressure of circumstances. Many children are also kept from school, entirely, or at intervals, in consequence of the want of suitable clothing, especially in the winter season. Whether improvidence, bad management, or unavoidable poverty be the cause of this, the effect of it is much to be deplored, and very difficult to know how to deal with.

This irregularity of attendance meant that many of the early schools were short-lived. In 1859 there were only four schools in the West Torrens district, two in Thebarton, one at the Reedbeds and another on the Bay Road. The largest of these was that at Thebarton, run by Henry Watson and his wife, where there were fifty-one boys and thirty-two girls enrolled, although the average daily attendance was sixty-two. Sarah Rogers in Thebarton had ten boys and twenty-nine girls. Alexander Holmes' school at the Reedbeds catered for eleven boys and twenty-one girls, while that of Sarah Johnston on the Bay Road had fifteen boys and fifteen girls with an average daily attendance of eighteen. This latter was described as 'a small and fluctuating school, conducted by a painstaking teacher, in as satisfactory a manner as circumstances will allow'.

The subjects which were taught in these early schools were very basic, and discipline was strict. Henry Watson offered Arithmetic, Writing, Grammar, Geography, History and Drawing. In 1859 the inspector praised his 'unwearied attention and zealous endeavours to supply the pupils entrusted to his charge with a sound and useful education'.

Prior to 1875, teaching provided but a precarious existence. In 1864 there were still four schools in the West Torrens district, but only that of Sarah Rogers had survived from 1859. At that time the four schools—two at Thebarton, and one each at Fulham and Plympton—had 171 children enrolled, eighty-six boys and eighty-five girls. Ten years later there were only three schools in the West Torrens

district, one in Fulham, another at Plympton, and only one at Thebarton, although all of these continued until the new Act came into force.

None of the early schools in the West Torrens district were vested schools in the sense that they were owned by local authorities; all were privately owned. That at Fulham, under the charge of Charles Gregory in 1874, was conducted in a chapel. So, too, Richard T. Burnard of Thebarton used an old chapel—indeed, the one which had been built earlier by the Wesleyans and after which Chapel Street was named. Margaret Myles' school at Plympton was conducted in a dwelling house.

Burnard's school at Thebarton was the only one of the three to continue under the terms of the new Act. Both of the schools at Fulham and Plympton were closed in 1875, though new departmental schools opened later in the year when William West took charge at Fulham, and Edith Howie at Plympton. The board regretted any inconvenience occasioned by the closures during the year, but was adamant that henceforth only competent teachers would be employed.



Fulham Public School (M.L.)

Under the terms of the new Act schools were erected and a system of teacher education and teacher promotion ensured the development of the modern system. In the period prior to the First World War the schools at Thebarton, Plympton and Richmond all developed in a fashion similar to other schools throughout South Australia and that at Plympton took on its departmental look when the new school was built there in 1880. In 1898 the continued residential development in the eastern working-class part of the district prompted the establishment of the school on South Road at Richmond, otherwise developments in education in the district were confined to the physical development of the established schools.



Richmond School (W.T.C.)

Though under the control of a State department, after 1875, it is evident that the curriculum changed little and that the emphasis of teachers was similar to that which characterised the better pre-1875 private schools. The inspectors invariably commended order, discipline and industry and those subjects which easily tested these. Inspector J.T. Smyth said of the Plympton School of 1909 that 'the discipline and tone are of an excellent type'. He was delighted that 'the scholars are mentally active, and display both industry and application towards their work' and noted that 'in Reading Spelling & Arithmetic, a high degree of efficiency was shown generally'.

In those years there was a great deal of emphasis on order and regimentation and health. The inspector of the Plympton School in 1912 gave a similar report to that of his predecessor of 1909. However, when noting that 'fall-in and Breathing Exercises [were] Regularly carried-out', he urged 'greater precision of movement to be striven for at the "march-in" following the general assembly'. This emphasis on healthy activities was also the reason why the boys were expected to do some regular gardening about the school.

It was during this period too that the first Catholic schools were founded and which developed into an independent system of education. Indeed, this is one of the most dominant themes in the history of the Catholic Church in South Australia, and which more clearly than most exemplified the 'siege mentality' of nineteenth-century Catholics. West Torrens has been closely identified with this development from the beginning, and particularly with the Sisters of St Joseph, whose order was founded in South Australia and who have a particularly prominent place in the history of the Catholic Church in Australia.



Outdoor activities at the Plympton School, c.1900 (W.T.H.S.)



Interior of Plympton School, c.1900 (W.T.H.S.)

Mary McKillop founded her congregation of nuns in Penola in 1866 with the aid of the noted geologist priest Father Julian Tenison Woods. In February 1869 Woods, who was then the Director of Catholic Education, called a public meeting at Thebarton where the decision was made to establish a Catholic school. A small school opened in Thebarton in the following September where some of the Sisters of St Joseph taught forty Catholic pupils. They continued to teach in this school until 1885 when a new school was built for them near the newly built Queen of Angels Church.

West Torrens has been even more closely identified with the Brothers of St John the Baptist, whose Order was founded in the district at the urging of Fr John Healy, who was responsible for the Catholics of Thebarton and its neighbourhood after his arrival from Ireland in 1881. In 1891 Fr Healy purchased a house in Formby Street, Hilton, and there opened a school for Catholic boys which was conducted by his brothers. It remained there only until 1895 when land was bought at George Street, Thebarton, and the school was transferred there, though it still drew lads from West Torrens which formed part of the Thebarton parish. The attention which these schools had for Catholic West Torrensiens was the fact that they were conducted by religious nuns and brothers who instilled in the pupils the tenets of thier religion, for in the teaching of secular subjects they differed not at all from their State-run counterparts.

Defence The emphasis on discipline and healthiness which was manifest in the nineteenth-century schools was but one aspect of those mores which held militarism in high regard. It was in this atmosphere that the Boy Scout movement developed and flourished, born as it was out of the Boer War and the ideas of Baden-Powell, the hero of Mafeking. The development of the movement in South Australia is but another instance of the intensity of imperial sentiment at the time. Baden-Powell published his *Scouting for Boys* in 1908 and the following year there was a troop at Richmond, the twenty-third to be established in South Australia. At that time the 1st Richmond troop had four patrols under the leadership of Mr Whitbread and the extensive undeveloped regions of West Torrens gave the first scouts ample opportunity to develop their survival and leadership skills.

Many other West Torrensiens devoted part of what would otherwise be their leisure time to military matters and enjoyed it. Many no doubt simply enjoyed playing at soldiers and strutting about in uniform, but the question of defence had seriously occupied the minds of colonist for many decades. Until 1901 South Australia was a separate state and was responsible for its own defence, and although the Royal Navy was expected to forestall any large-scale invasion, colonists were aware that it was no guarantee against attacks from lone enemy raiders which might attack shipping or hold a port to ransom as part of a diversionary tactic in a large campaign. As Britain became involved in continental wars in the mid-nineteenth century, and as Russians and French assumed an ever-increasing presence in the Pacific basin, colonists became uneasy, and because West Torrens lay between Glenelg and the colony's capital, the residents took an interest in the long-running debates.

West Torrensians, along with Australians generally, became particularly concerned in 1854, when Britain entered the Crimean War and the fear became widespread that the colonies might become involved in some way. The government was galvanised into action and took steps to raise a Volunteer Military Force. However, the war ceased and with it any perceived immediate threats. Thereafter interest in the volunteer force and defence waxed and waned in accordance with perceived threats from overseas.

It was in 1860, during one of the periods of concern, that the Reedbeds Cavalry was formed. It exemplified many of the features of the volunteer movement in general and was raised in early 1860 soon after the proclamation of the Militia Act. This Act provided for the compulsory service of able-bodied men though members of volunteer units were not liable for the compulsory service. The Reedbeds Cavalry was one of the more notable units to be formed during this time. Most of the volunteer units comprised infantry, but the men of the Reedbeds formed a cavalry unit which reflected the rural nature of settlement there. The initiative for the formation of any unit was dependent upon local identities, in this instance by W.H. Gray and A.H. Davis. After calling upon Commander Biggs of the Volunteer Military Force to enquire about the manner of raising the troops, they convened a public meeting at A.H. Davis' large barn on 20 February 1860 to raise the unit. W.H. Gray chaired the meeting and although still a bachelor of 52 years, took charge of the unit pending the appointment of a captain and a lieutenant, when he as Cornet Gray became the third-ranking officer. Samuel White of Weetunga, another of the early volunteers, served as trumpeter and among the original twenty-one troopers were A.H. Davis and Councillor C.M. Pearson.

Gray resigned from the cavalry in May 1861, soon after his marriage to Rosetta Bagshaw, the eldest daughter of John Stokes Bagshaw, the founder of the engineering firm. Thereafter interest in the unit flagged, along with that in defence matters generally, although it was 1868 before the Reedbeds Cavalry lost its separate identity after becoming part of 'D' Troop. The regiment of volunteer cavalry was finally disbanded in 1869.

The members of the Reedbeds Cavalry had evidently enjoyed their volunteer service, but not all local people were so enamoured of it, and in 1886 several farmers including Charles White and James Mellor wrote to the chief secretary complaining of the damage done to their crops by members of the volunteer forces exercising in their neighbourhood.

However, besides encouraging the development of the colony's military forces, the Crimean War scare also set the government to contemplate the erection of fixed defences. Again, interest varied according to perceived threats, and it was nearly thirty years—in October 1880—before Fort Glanville was opened, followed in 1882 by Fort Largs. These forts were to be part of a system of fixed defences which were designed to protect the port. A third fort, to be located near Glenelg, was planned to protect the capital. Plans for this third fort were set in train, armament was ordered and a site was selected a little to the north of the Patawalonga, on W.H. Gray's property.

However, Fort Glenelg was never built. Gray haggled long over the price which he should receive for the land to the extent that many members of parliament accused him of greed and a lack of patriotism. However, as the fruitless negotiations dragged on, an increasing number of members came to doubt the efficacy of the fort, and because of the colony-wide Depression of the time it is doubtful that such an expensive enterprise would have proceeded even if Gray had been eager to part with the site. In 1889 Major-General Bevan Edwards recommended against the construction of the fort, and on 27 August the enabling Bill was withdrawn.

The huge 9.2 inch breech-loading guns which had been ordered for Fort Glenelg arrived in the colony on the ill-fated *Star of Greece* in 1888. They were landed on the beach, and there lay amid the sandhills, a constant object of curiosity for local boys while politicians debated what to do with them. A shed was built over them in 1891, but they remained on the beach until they were returned to Britain and mounted on railway carriages for use in the First World War.

However, West Torrens also has distinguished martial traditions based upon soldiers of renown, in addition to local fixed and mobile defences. One of the most respected of South Australia's soldiers of the nineteenth century was James Rowell of Lockleys. Rowell who was born in Cambridge, England, on 20 January 1851, the son of John Rowell a farmer and orchardist, immigrated to South Australia as a child with his family in 1854 and grew up on the farm established by his father at Lockleys soon after the family arrived. In 1884 James became the member on the West Torrens Council for the Reedbeds Ward and went on to serve Council for sixteen years, being chairman for eleven of these from 1890 to 1900. Rowell was a keen horseman and became attached to the Adelaide Cavalry Regiment in 1878 and two decades later in 1897 was given the honour of leading the South Australian contingent of troops to represent the colony at Queen Victoria's Jubilee



Col. James Rowell, 1884 (W.T.C.)



The South Australian Contingent to Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations in 1887. James Rowell is seated in the centre (M.L.)

celebrations in London. A contingent of twenty-five men, including only two officers, was selected with Rowell, the commanding officer, being described in the local press as 'well and favourably known as a first-class horseman, a good shot, and an enthusiastic member of the Defence Force'. This first South Australian 'expeditionary force' to perform overseas service was made up of a wonderful body of men who 'do credit to the colony in smartness and physique; they are all men more or less inured to open-air life, full of health and enthusiasm, excellent horsemen, well-disciplined, and good shots . . . Athletic, wiry, sinewy, clear-eyed, the troop looks typically Australian . . .'

Rowell's credentials were undoubtedly sound, for three years later he was again called upon to lead a contingent from South Australia—that of the Imperial Bushmen—the fourth to leave South Australia bound for the South African War on board the SS *Manhattan* on 1 May 1900. The two South Australian squadrons, comprising twelve officers and 222 other ranks, formed an Australian regiment under Rowell together with squadrons from Western Australia and Tasmania. After service in South Africa, the fourth contingent returned home on 27 July the following year and was disbanded three days later; thirteen had been killed, sixty-five had been wounded.

Rowell was not the only West Torrensian to see action in South Africa. Among others who are known to have served there were his son, Charles Frederick Rowell, Sgt A.W. Watson who was a member of the first contingent and Lieut Samuel White, the grandson of John White, who served under James Rowell.

Samuel White—birdman West Torrens has produced many notable sons and daughters, including the noted ornithologist Samuel White. Samuel, the son of John White, the founder of Fulham Park, was born in England on 15 June 1835, and with his elder brother William followed his father to South Australia in 1842.

It was on the farm at the Reedbeds that Samuel White nurtured his fascination for ornithology, and honed his skills of observation, though until his father's death in December 1860, Samuel was required to work on the farm and had little time to devote to his obsession. However, thereafter he was enabled to indulge his passion for collecting. He made several short collecting trips in 1861 and two years later embarked on a major journey into the far north of South Australia where he observed and recorded numerous species.



Samuel White (1835-80) (M.B. White)

White visited England first in 1869 and forged a close friendship with John Gould and subsequently engaged in a lifetime of correspondence with him, providing him with a great deal of information and many specimens. However, White was a noted ornithologist in his own right and wandered far and wide throughout Australia and the South Pacific seeking to extend scientific knowledge about the birds which inhabited the region. He died on 17 November 1880 after a particularly hazardous and onerous expedition to New Guinea. His son, also Samuel, who had accompanied Rowell to South Africa, continued the work of his father and established a fine ornithological collection of his own.

Notable personalities In the years prior to the First World War when settlement was sparse and life was simple, local identities were notorious. One of the most colourful in and about Richmond was 'Charlie Dazzle', who in the records is noted as Charles Dassell. He was of the stuff of which local legends were made.

Charlie was a scavenger who would destroy sick or maimed animals and dispose of the carcasses. He worked from a yard on the south-west corner of the intersection of South and Richmond Roads and was first noted in the records in August 1899 when he occupied land belonging to G.T. Lane, though by 1912 he owned his own land nearby. Mrs D. Smith recalls that 'he rode around the district on a dray—sitting high up and [presumably for the benefit of children] would have a nasty

(bloody) butcher's knife gripped across his mouth' and he evidently struck terror into the hearts of many young West Torrensians.

Not all the characters were men. Another was Mrs Pilkington, who had a dairy on the corner of South Road and Davenport Terrace and delivered milk throughout the district and into the city by horse and cart. Arthur Shiers from the Richmond blocks recalled that she was often regaled with the children's chant to the effect that 'Old Mrs Pilk puts water in her milk'. Another identity was a Mrs Grumpas, known locally as Gum Patsy, who was derided for allegedly wearing a tea cosy on her head.

Father John Healy was another notorious local character. According to Arthur Shiers many young errant West Torrensians quickly mended their ways—albeit temporarily—when confronted with the threat that 'Fr Healy would take them away to the Reformatory . . . if they didn't behave'.

However, this aspect of Fr Healy's considerable reputation was ill-deserved, and represented an unfortunate but typical ignorance of the work undertaken by him. Indeed, his achievements brook large in the history of the Catholic Church in Australia as the founder of a religious order of men, and of South Australia's Boys' Town. His work eclipsed that of many of his Irish clerical contemporaries, almost all of whom were noted for their dynamism in consolidating Catholicism in Australia by the building of new churches and parochial schools.

Like many of South Australia's Catholic clergy of the late nineteenth century he was an Irishman, being born at Waterford in 1852. In 1881 after his ordination to the priesthood he arrived in Adelaide at the invitation of Archbishop Reynolds where he was given responsibility for the Catholics living to the west of Adelaide, and when the church was built at Thebarton he was appointed as its first parish priest.

However, Fr Healy was not content simply to tend his parish. His social conscience was as well honed as that of many a contemporary Wesleyan, and he did all in his power to combat what he regarded as the prevalent social evils. He was particularly concerned to combat the drunkenness which few of his Irish charges regarded as reprehensible as he, and to this end he established the Guild of St John the Baptist, whose members promised total abstinence from intoxicating liquor. Throughout his life he campaigned for the extension of this movement, but he was concerned, too, for the care of delinquent boys and homeless men and in 1883, in pursuit of his aims, he began to gather about him young men whom he hoped to fire with a similar missionary zeal. In 1885 he established his presbytery at Brooklyn Park and there set about forming his followers into a religious order.

Matters progressed apace in the 1890s. In 1892 the archbishop sanctioned the establishment of the Institute of St John the Baptist whose members were to devote themselves to the care of delinquent boys and homeless men, the management of parochial schools, and atonement for the excesses of drunkenness. In the following year Healy bought 10 hectares of land at Brooklyn Park which contained a cottage and was designed to serve as a site for his welfare activities. Two years later, in 1895, another of his goals was fulfilled when the new parochial school

was opened at Thebarton with one of his brothers, Jerome Luddy, as headmaster.

The reformatory on the Brooklyn Park site was officially recognised by the government on 14 September 1898, when Catholic boys from the reformatory at Magill were transferred to the care of Fr Healy and his brothers. A little later Fr Healy also placed under the care of the brothers the men's shelter, which he had opened at Garfield in 1900 and was intended to serve as a halfway house for recently released prisoners. By 1911 Fr Healy's brothers were responsible for 107 boys at the parochial school at Thebarton, twenty-two boys at the Brooklyn Park reformatory and six men at the Garfield Shelter.

In recognition of his many achievements Fr Healy was made a Monsignor in 1920, but died the following year.

The work of Fr Healy and the Brothers of St. John the Baptist was but one of several examples of efforts made by philanthropic organisations in the district to encourage the social rehabilitation of those who had fallen foul of the law. Another of these was the Salvation Army with its Prison Gate Brigade Home at Lockleys on Henley Beach Road.

This home was opened on 14 October 1890 in a large house of twenty rooms set in nearly 7 hectares of farmland on land owned by J.W. Mellor. It was intended as a halfway house for released prisoners who could help farm the land and thereby develop skills which might be put to use in honest pursuits in the community. Each day an officer from the home waited at the gate of the gaol for any men being released. All were welcomed at the home, but once admitted were expected to conform to the strict rules of the establishment. A contemporary report noted that:

Some men come and stay two or three weeks and then leave to look after themselves. Several men have been dismissed either for being out without permission, not returning home before nine, or else for having been drinking. We do not wait until a man becomes intoxicated; if we find he has been drinking we dismiss him.

In 1899 the Salvation Army extended its work for newly released prisoners when it purchased the Bushman's Club in Whitmore Square, Adelaide, and established it as an industrial home to complement the work of the Lockleys farm. The farm specialised in market gardening and the raising of pigs and continued until it suffered considerable financial loss because of an outbreak of swine fever in 1904. It was given up soon afterwards and the rehabilitation activities of the Salvation Army were concentrated in the Whitmore Square premises.

For West Torrensians in general who fell upon hard times, help was pretty thin. It was established tradition that charity would be the preserve of the churches and private philanthropic institutions, although the state did provide relief in the last resort for 'the deserving poor'. Those deemed to be so could receive indoor relief at the Destitute Asylum which had been established in Kintore Avenue, and in times of Depression this also became the centre for the government's outdoor relief. A Destitute Board was formed in 1849 to oversee the distribution of state welfare, though it was another eleven years before Dr Lane of Hindmarsh was appointed as the first medical officer for the destitute poor of West Torrens.

Afterhours Despite the need to carve out British civilisation in an alien land, it was never a question of 'all work and no play' in the new colony. However, any play was similar to that which pertained in Britain at the time, and as in Britain the type of 'play' in which the colonists partook was very dependent upon the class to which they aspired, or on the part of the working classes, the time which they had available.

For the first several decades of the colony, leisure time was very much the preserve of the upper-monied class and indeed the manner in which members spent their leisure time was a barometer of their social standing or of their social aspirations.

Although there was a high degree of social mobility in the early years as colonists sought to find their level, definite social divisions emerged very early in the new colony and although the colonial elite were not wedded to long-standing wealth and family connections as in Britain, the stratification which developed in South Australia was as exclusive. Although several West Torrensiens such as A.H. Davis and W.H. Gray were considered to be 'leading colonists', few were judged to be part of the colonial elite, and those like the Morphetts who were did not really consider themselves as part of West Torrens, except as befitted a squire or a patron. Thus, though many West Torrensiens might dream of the governors' levees and balls which were the highlight of the Adelaide social calendar, few from the West Torrens district were regular attenders.

Throughout the nineteenth century, and particularly in South Australia with its strong radical dissenter influence, it must be appreciated that the work ethic was strong. This was reflected in the long hours demanded of employees in shops



Pioneers of the Reedbeds, taken at the opening of the Tapleys Hill Road Bridge at Fulham on 11 May 1911 (M.L.) *Standing from left:* R. Simmons, H. Sherriff, W. Livett, A. Stanford, J.E. Rowell, J. Mellor, B. Jones, J. Hewmys. *Sitting from left:* C. Norman, Mrs J. Tewings, Mrs. R. Simmons, Mrs. J. Butterfield, H. Pearson

and industries, which were open six days a week with shops having one day of late trading. In 1854 workers gained a major concession when work places were closed at 3 p.m. on Saturdays, but it was another decade (1865) before they received the Saturday half-holiday, and it was 1873 before the eight-hour day was introduced in particular industries. Thus, for the working class at least, there was little opportunity to participate in organised sports until the latter part of the nineteenth century and of course, those in the rural industries worked as they had done traditionally, in accordance with the number of hours of daylight.

Throughout West Torrens, as throughout the colony at large, Sunday was *par excellence* the day of rest. The most evangelical of the colonists might frown on any activity other than churchgoing, but others used the time to tend gardens, to visit friends, to picnic with family or to visit the seashore but even then piety declared that the form of recreation should be subdued, as befitted the Lord's Day. None but the most ungodly would disturb the peace by engaging in noisy sports.

For all that, one such as Mrs Wesley who had so much religion 'poured into' her believed that church activities were some of the few amusements which she could remember as a child. She well remembered the annual Sunday School picnic at Belair as an event to which all looked forward. 'A special train would be used', she recalled. 'There would be quite a few carriages. We would all walk to the Keswick Station. Organised sports were put on—it was always the second Saturday in November. We would walk from Belair Railway Station.'

For the most part, West Torrensians of the nineteenth century had to make their own entertainment. Village children occupied themselves in the streets as had been traditional with ball games and anything which was then in fashion, while those who lived on farms played about the property—if they were not helping with chores. According to Mrs Hine, 'One of their chief sources of amusements occurred when the crops were cut and the holes of the field mice were exposed—the children used to hunt for the holes and dig out the mice'.

Gala family occasions such as birthdays or weddings provided a welcome break in routine and were eagerly anticipated and appropriately celebrated. The beach proved to be a popular destination for summer holidays, particularly New Year's Day, for it was an easy ride for those with a horse and cart and not much more onerous for those who had to use the train or tram.

Certain annual events left a major impression on the children of the day. 'One of the big events of the year', as Arthur Shiers recalled, was Guy Fawkes' night, when a big bonfire was lit on a property on the north-eastern corner of Milner Street and Burbridge Road at Hilton. He recalled that 'people used to flock there from near and far [and that] local children used to take their billy-carts and collect old wood and boxthorn from as far away as Lockleys'.

There were few places of entertainment in the scattered rural district which was West Torrens at the time. Perhaps the most important was the Democratic Hall on Richmond Road near the railway crossing. It was simply made of wood and corrugated iron but was long remembered for the dances, concerts and socials which were held there. Mrs Vera Foran, who was born at Richmond in 1897, was a regular attender in the immediate pre-war years. Indeed, this was frequently



The children of John Martin of the Pines, c.1895. At the time when the Royal Navy was pre-eminent, sailor suits were popular (W.T.H.S.)



A rare photograph showing first Police Station, Democratic Hall and Baptist Church on Richmond Road, c.1906 (W.T.H.S.)

a family affair which included her sister who was confined to a wheelchair. 'A place would be made for her near the stage out of the way of the dancers.' She recalled that a dance was held every Monday night, and once a month there would be a 'long night' when dancing went on until midnight.

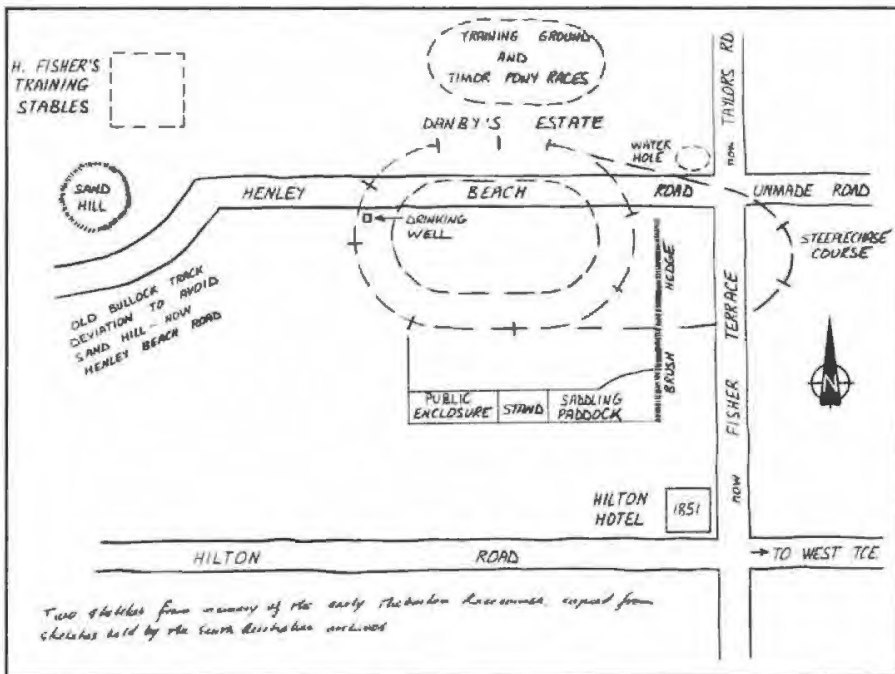
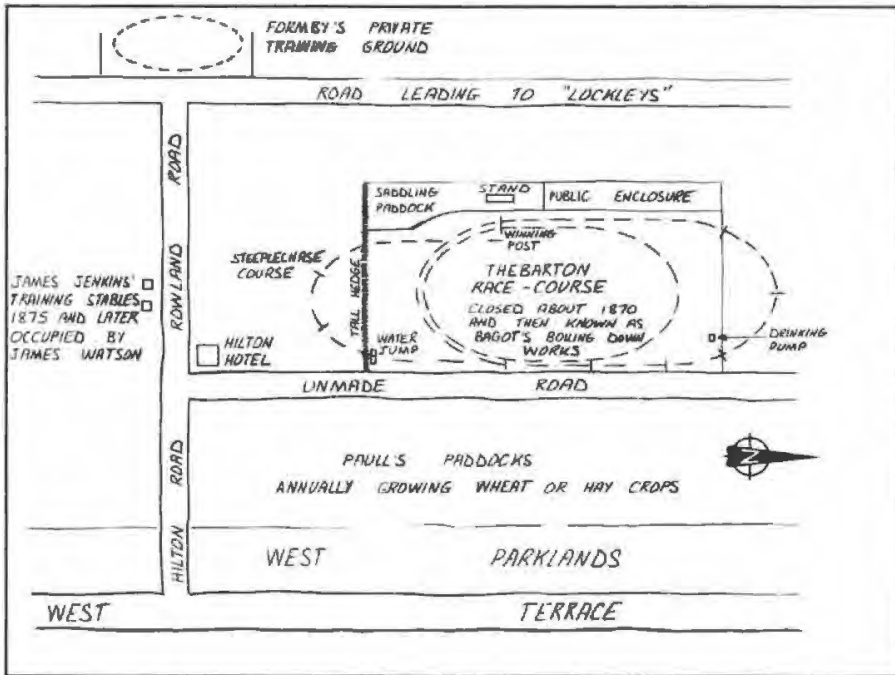
Though there might have been few West Torrensians who were regular attenders at Government House socials, several of them were 'leading colonists' who were adjudged to be prominent in sports, though in the mid-nineteenth century, a sportsman was generally identified with horse sports. Thus, J.H. Fisher was prominent in the organisation of the early race meetings, along with his son-in-law, John Morphett. Fisher's second son, Charles Brown, was also one of the founders of the first South Australian Jockey Club in 1856, and with Edward Meade Bagot was one of four who in 1861 were appointed to rescue the club from the doldrums. Bagot became secretary to this new S.A.J.C. which also included W. Blackler of the Reedbeds on the committee of management, C.B. Fisher and John Morphett as stewards, and John Chambers was appointed judge. When the Jockey Club was re-formed yet again in 1874, John Morphett became its president.

Horse racing was popular among all of the classes, although there was an evident distinction between those who owned and raced the horses and those who could but place a wager on them. And it was in the working-class West Torrens district, at Thebarton, that the South Australian racing industry was born.

It was certainly true as the Earl of Winton observed in 1869, that 'wherever a few Englishmen assemble in any quarter of the globe . . . it may be safely predicted that a horse race will be organised'. The first meeting to be organised in South Australia was that held on New Year's Day 1838. It was a gala occasion attended by 800 of the colony's 2,000 people, when 'Adelaide left for a while its speculative orgy in town acres, forgot for a space the discussion in high places, neglected for a day the evolution of a town, and sought surcease on a gum-studded plain to the westward of Mr James Hurtle Fisher's home "down near the river"'. Fisher was one of the organisers, along with Light and Morphett.



J.M. Skipper, Adelaide Racecourse, 1 January 1840, watercolour (A.N.L.)



Two sketches from memory of the early Thebarton Racecourse, copied from sketches held by the Mortlock Library

The Thebarton track remained the premier course in the colony until 1869 and it was here that Falcon won the first Adelaide Cup which was run on 21 April 1864. It was here, too, that Adam Lindsay Gordon rode Cadger to victory in the Grand Annual Steeplechase on 20 September 1866.

It was several years, however, before the dusty paddocks at Thebarton could be termed a racetrack. A notice in the *Register* on 16 March 1853 noted that the St Patrick's Day meeting would be held 'on the best ground to be procured in the neighbourhood'. Ultimately the course which was selected for the meeting comprised a circuit 'round the village, starting from the section joining Mr. Goode's house, running towards the Reedbeds, round by Mr. Chambers's, and then to the winning-post situated on the Park Lands, in the immediate vicinity of Mr. McCarron's house, the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms where the generous landlord had two fat bullocks roasted whole, amidst the joyful acclamations of the cooks and their assistants . . .' The *Register* later remarked that 'the attendance was very numerous, and the sports went off peaceably'. It seems that although the Thebarton course was the venue for all the early meetings and although a grandstand was built there in 1860, the course itself was not regularised until 1861, when the South Australian Jockey Club took out a twenty-one year lease on a 54 hectare section owned by E.M. Bagot, who in the same year became secretary of the re-formed jockey club.

The course continued to be used until mid-1869, when the S.A.J.C. became defunct and racing was confined to the track in the east parklands. When the



S.T. Gill (1818-80), 'Winter', watercolour (A.N.L.) showing a hunting scene typical of that in the West Torrens region. J. Daly suggests that the stream is the Patawalonga

new jockey club was formed in 1874, racing commenced at a new venue at Morphettville, on land donated for the purpose by Thomas Elder and the site of the old course at Thebarton became that for Bagot's fellmongery, until it was subdivided for residential and industrial purposes.

Hunting was another of the pursuits of the colony's sportsmen, though it was considerably more exclusive than that of racing. Like the succession of jockey clubs, the early hunt clubs were short-lived affairs, although hunting was commenced early by those who sought to emulate the gentry of Britain and regular meetings were being held by 1842. Though most of the participants no doubt lived on the other side of Adelaide, the open spaces to the west of the city provided plenty of opportunity for sport and on 21 June 1845 the *Register* noted that a fox, 'a well-known predator', was killed at the Reedbeds. In mid-June 1869, when a new club was formed at the Globe Inn in Rundle Street, Mr W. Blackler of the Reedbeds was appointed master of the club and it was pointed out that he had recently brought out 'a pack of harriers' to help 'in resuscitating the exhilarating sport of hunting'.

Polo, too, was another sport which was played in the district. It was supported by many of the local horse breeders, but was another sport which was more for the well-to-do from beyond the district rather than the local people. In October 1900 the Adelaide Polo Club concluded an agreement which gave it the use of 5 hectares of land at Plympton for polo matches and the opening of the clubhouse there on 22 November 1902 was a gala occasion.

There was a very large gathering of enthusiasts and their lady supporters. The tea rooms were pleasingly decorated with polo sticks, etc., and 250 guests were entertained. The Hon. J.L. Stirling, in an appropriate speech, thanked the donor, Mr. R. Barr Smith, for his handsome gift, and called for three cheers, which were given with a will. The clubhouse is probably the only polo clubhouse in Australia . . .

Sports for the working classes of the district were played soon after settlement was established, though it was some time before these became regularised. In largely rural West Torrens during the nineteenth century, the normal means of relaxation for the working men of the villages was that provided by the local inn, despite the preponderance of dissenters with their opposition to the demon drink. Indeed, these inns became the first social centres of the district with the publicans the first sporting entrepreneurs, and it was largely because of this that the evangelists frowned on the early 'lowly' sports associated with the inns—pugilism, wrestling, football and much of the single-wicket cricket. These early sports were *ad hoc* affairs, which if they were to be longer than a few hours duration could only be played on a holiday. However, during the nineteenth century as working hours diminished, an increasing amount of time was given to these sports.

Though cricket was deemed to be a gentlemanly game, in the West Torrens district it commenced as a tavern sport. The first recorded cricket match in the colony was organised at Thebarton in October 1839 by John Bristow, mine host of the Great Tom of Lincoln. A year later Thebarton boasted a cricket club, based at this hostelry, and on 26 September 1840 challenged that of Mr Gatwood's team from the Woolpack Inn.

This seems typical of the early contests, where the many local clubs responded to challenges from others and organised the contest at a mutually convenient time. The sport was regularised as the century progressed, particularly after the South Australian Cricket Association was formed in 1871, and although it was 1892 before the Sheffield Shield cricket competition was inaugurated, the several villages organised teams and engaged in regular competition.

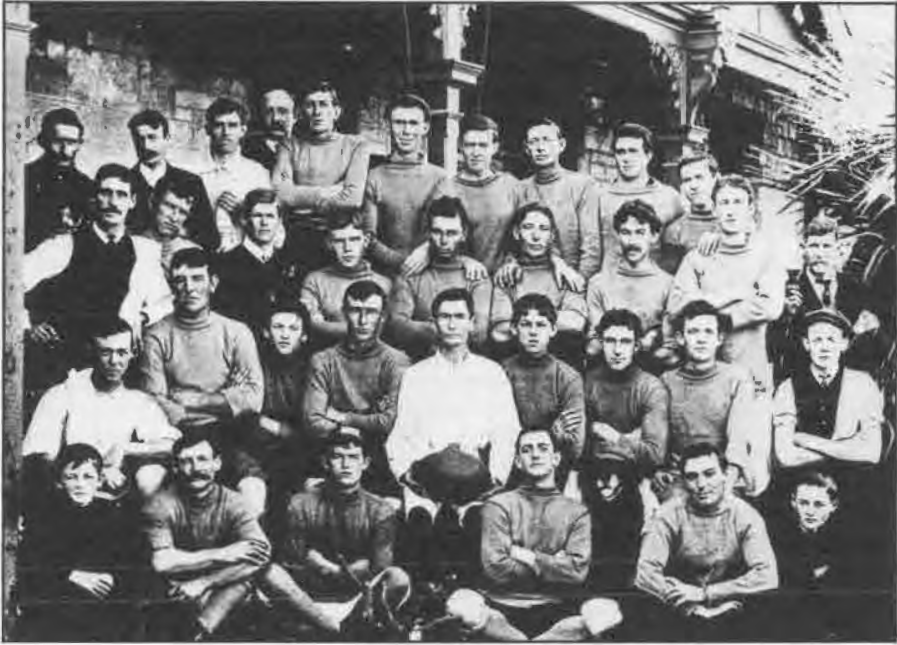
However, while many of the gentry, including Fisher and Morphett, were pleased to identify themselves with this very English and gentlemanly sport, they were reluctant to so identify themselves with football, which came to dominate the winter, as cricket did the summer, and despite the fact that the *Footballer* magazine in June 1907 described it as the embodiment of everything Australian:

The ancient empires of Rome and Greece were renowned for their historic games, and savants tell us that their sport was a strong factor in moulding the character of their peoples. In a new country, with large possibilities, and the foundation set for the upbuilding of a great nation, Australia, the outpost of the Pacific, has already her national game—one that was founded under the Southern Cross by an Australian for Australians . . . The State school “nipper” and the college lad stand together in one sport and the indomitable courage, endurance, and adaptability displayed on the battlefields of South Africa by the sons of Australia were in a large measure the outcome of their active participation in the king of winter games.

It seems that South Australian football, too, was first played at Thebarton, for the *Southern Australian* of 17 March 1843 makes mention of a game to be played by several colonists of Irish descent, in celebration of their saint’s special day. A decade later, on 28 March 1853, the *Register* noted the challenge of twelve men of Westmeath to take on any twelve from another Irish county or six each from two counties and this, too, was to be played at Thebarton. It is evident, though, that this was gaelic football rather than Australian Rules, for this latter game did not begin until 1858 in Melbourne, and it was not until April 1860 that the Adelaide Football Club was formed at the Globe Inn in Adelaide and began playing games on the north parklands. Despite the popularity of the game as one for the people, this remained the only football *club* for several years, and like cricket, local matches were *ad hoc* arrangements. It was 1877 before the South Australian Football Association was formed, though only two years later on 1 July 1879 the first intercolonial game was played in Melbourne.

Because of the largely rural nature of West Torrens, no district teams developed similar to those from Port Adelaide or Norwood, although local teams such as Hilton United, whose home ground was the ‘Hilton Hotel paddock’, were formed. Their matches might not have been as widely followed as those of the S.A.F.A., but they lacked nothing in interest for the local players and supporters. In 1887 a West Adelaide team, formed from players from the western part of the city, played in the football association for a year, though it was another decade before it was a regular inclusion and it was in 1897 before a West Torrens—largely Thebarton—team became a regular member of the association.

However, by the turn of the century football was followed enthusiastically by the working class of West Torrens and on 3 July 1909 the *Register* underscored



Hilton United football team, c.1910 (W.T.H.S.)



West Torrens Cycling Club, 1896-97. The formation of clubs such as this was only possible with an increase in the amount of leisure time (W.T.H.S.)

the popularity of the game when it affirmed that 'its admirers . . . number scores of thousands . . . Today, not to be interested in the invigorating and exciting game is to invite looks of surprise and exclamations of astonishment . . . the enthusiasts are not confined to a few lads, but include gentlemen who occupy the highest positions in the public, commercial, and business life of the city, who not only attend matches themselves, but are accompanied by their wives and daughters'.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, sport was all but revolutionised. With the introduction of the half holiday in 1865, Saturday became 'sports day', and with the formation of governing bodies, the vigorous team-sports lost much of their tavern associations. In fact, in the latter years of the century, the encouragement of sport became a particular mission of the churches, which saw participation in vigorous sports as a means of building character, befitting a 'muscular Christianity'.

Historians have frequently commented upon the rapidity with which social order was established within South Australia, even though it was one of the major aims of the systematic colonisers to transplant traditional English society in the antipodes with a minimum of delay. They succeeded admirably and this is no more evident than in West Torrens. In very little time at all villages were laid out and basic services provided, which helped to provide the framework within which colonists found their social level. Very quickly colonial South Australians established a social order similar to that from which they had come, although several found themselves socially advanced because of the change. Until at least the time of the First World War, many social conventions remained rigidly English and immutable, but particularly in the manner in which South Australians spent their increasing amounts of leisure time, local traditions developed, and in this matter at least the colony progressed more rapidly than the home country.

Part II
PART OF
THE WORLD
COMMUNITY

Development Despite Wars and Depression: c. 1914–45

The period from c. 1914 to c. 1945 was one of tremendous social stress and dislocation in South Australia, largely because of the effects of two World Wars in which thousands of South Australians were involved, and an intervening period, first of economic boom, then of intense economic Depression, the effects of which touched all. However, this same period was also one of tremendous change in the structure of the State's economy, which provided the basis for the major changes in the lifestyles of West Torrensiens in the years immediately following the Second World War. In 1914, South Australia had a rural-dominated economy which was largely dependent upon the vagaries of the seasons, and the lifestyle of South Australians had remained largely unchanged for decades. By 1945, however, South Australia had undergone a veritable industrial revolution. Long established industries expanded rapidly while new heavy industries developed, together with a multitude of other industries designed to produce a large range of consumer goods which came to characterise the new lifestyles. These locked South Australians into the world community far more closely than had been possible earlier.

The structural changes which took place in South Australia at large also took place in West Torrens. At the outset the district remained primarily rural in character, but its population increased rapidly during this period as its major industries became important vehicles in the State's industrialization, and as the period progressed new industries were established and all prospered and changed with the industrial revolution.

Something of the development of the district during this period is evident from the population figures at successive censuses which are given in the appendix. From a population of 3,608 in 1911, numbers nearly doubled to 8,585 in 1921, and all but doubled again to 16,053 in 1933; in 1947 they stood at 22,570. At

the same time the number of occupied dwellings increased from a mere 731 in 1911, to 1,905 in 1921, 3,970 in 1933 and 5,847 in 1947.

Once again, it was West Torrens' proximity to the capital, and employment opportunities this provided, which was the primary reason for this accelerated change. The increase in the population was largely in the working-class areas of the district at Hilton, Richmond and Mile End, and new subdivisions were located near the old to take advantage of the established employment opportunities and the services already established there.



Mile End Goods Sheds, 1920 (S.T.A.)



Mile End Goods Yards in 1930s, looking to the south-west (S.T.A.)

Industry and services Those industries which laid the basis for the changes in the State and in West Torrens had been established prior to the war, but it was in the period afterwards that they prospered.

Hume Brothers Cement Iron Company was one of the many local firms which expanded rapidly. Though established in the area as late as 1912, by 1920 upwards of 1,600 kilometres of pipes had been produced. In this period Hume became multinational with its pipes being made in factories in all States of Australia, in England, the United States, South Africa, India, Japan and New Zealand, and by 1920 the company had become public as Hume Pipe Co. (Aust.) Ltd, with a capital of £500,000. Three years later a sister company, Hume Steel Ltd, was formed which maintained its competitive edge by improvisation and invention, chief among which was the development of a continuous electrode for welding in 1933.

Hume was identified with many of the major capital works which were undertaken in South Australia during this time. In the 1920s it was deeply involved in the drainage and irrigation works which were undertaken in the Riverland in an effort to settle returned soldiers there, and a local plant was established at Loveday to facilitate this work. Later the company gained the contract for piping water from the Todd River to Thevenard on Eyre Peninsula and in the 1940s it was called upon to provide pipes for the Morgan-Whyalla pipeline, which was a precondition for B.H.P. establishing shipbuilding yards at Whyalla.

The other major industry at Mile End was that of Perry Engineering which became the biggest engineering firm in South Australia after the purchase of the



Premier Playford inspecting the first pipe made for the Morgan-Whyalla pipeline at the Hume factory (P.R.O.)

firm of James Martin and Co. of Gawler. At that time it was devoted primarily to the construction of locomotives and mining equipment and prospered by making locomotives for the State government. In the late 1920s the decision was made to have this work undertaken at the new Islington railway workshops. The Depression period proved to be difficult and prompted the closing of the Gawler works and the consolidation and rationalisation of the Mile End site, thereby promoting increased efficiency.

The firm of J.G. Bagshaw and Sons also continued to prosper to such an extent that it was acquired by J.H. Horwood and Co. in 1924 and all of the activities of the new Horwood Bagshaw were concentrated at the Mile End factory.

Besides these major industries, others were established at Mile End immediately after the war to take advantage of the proximity to the capital and its major transport network. These included Southern Farmers, William Charlick and later, Kelvinator Australia.

Southern Farmers' establishment of a major factory at Mile End in 1921 was most appropriate because of the traditional rural nature of the district. The South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union was founded in Jamestown in 1888 as a grain growers co-operative, but in 1919 it entered the dairy industry with the purchase of Murphy Fromen & Co. which possessed an Adelaide office and factory in Pirie Street and country factories in several localities. Almost immediately plans were drawn up to relocate the Adelaide operation on a site which would facilitate expansion, and in 1921 construction commenced on a new dairy produce factory on a 2 hectare site at Mile End. In time this became a vast clearing house for the State's milk, milk by-products, butter, cheese, smallgoods, honey and ham.

William Charlick Ltd is another firm which had its genesis in the rural industry when the company incorporated in 1904 to take over the fruit and produce business of William Charlick. It was a business which was subsequently characterised by diversification. In 1919 it established its first flour mill at Mile End and later began packaging operations there when the subsidiary Mile End Bag Co. was formed.

Yet another notable industry to be established in West Torrens in this period was that of Kelvinator Australia, which began as Mechanical Products Ltd in 1932 by William Queale with operations at the property recently purchased on Anzac Highway. The firm struggled on with little success until 1934 when Queale successfully negotiated a license with the Kelvinator Corporation of Detroit for the manufacture and distribution of that company's products in Australia. In the same year the name was changed to Kelvinator Australia.

The ramifications of these industrial developments were many and varied. They were dependent upon and indeed encouraged rapid development of new energy sources, particularly that of electricity which had been developed commercially in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although South Australia's first power station was built at Port Adelaide in 1898, and a larger station was built in Grenfell Street in Adelaide and commissioned in November 1901, it was in this inter-war period that the facility was extended to West Torrens.

Despite West Torrens' proximity to the capital, the many services which are now taken for granted were slow in being extended to this area, primarily because



Interior view of Wm. Charlick's Flour Mill (W.T.H.S.)



Kelvinator factory, Anzac Highway, 1936 (Kelvinator)

of the scattered nature of the population. Before a parliamentary enquiry in 1917 Henry Sherriff, the chairman of the Council, explained that there was no gas lighting in the district although a gas works had been built at nearby Brompton in 1863 and another at Thebarton in 1871 and pointed out that electric mains had been extended there only about two years before. Even then, in 1917, two of the seven wards were without lighting 'because there is very little settlement there'. The Tramways Trust had electrified the tramway to Henley Beach in 1909, but this was solely for the use of the tramways.



Councillor Henry Sherriff, 1900 (W.T.C.)

However, soon afterwards West Torrensians became increasingly dependent upon the new energy and this identification took on a physical form in 1923 when the Adelaide Electric Supply Company bought that land at Hilton on the east of South Road, which had long been used for all manner of outdoor activities, in order to provide accommodation for the mains and meters departments. This represented the company's first expansion beyond its Grenfell Street headquarters and occurred in the same year that J.C. Stobie, a company draughtsman, designed the first of his concrete and steel poles which were later made in great numbers at the company's property at Marlestone.

The effects of this new energy on South Australia were overwhelming and laid the basis for immense social change in the workplace and the home. Gradually, electricity became a major power source for industry and in consequence working conditions in many industries improved and working hours were shortened. At the same time, the new technologies and increased automation permitted a host of new processes to be undertaken, many of them by women. The processing and packaging of food became automated and immensely more hygienic, for example. In the city, bottled, pasteurised milk from large distributors replaced the billy of milk from the local dairy.

Work began on the electrification and extension of Adelaide's tramway network in 1909, thereby increasing the mobility of those who lived and worked in Adelaide and the suburbs. The social consequences of this alone were immense, as new suburbs proliferated—particularly in the years immediately after the war—and workers were able to live in the new subdivisions, frequently far removed from the factories or offices in which they worked. A report of the Municipal Tramways Trust appearing in the *Advertiser* in October 1914 noted that in the previous five years more than 10,700 homes in suburban Adelaide had been built near the several tramlines, while in West Torrens, principally in the area immediately north and south of the Henley Beach Road, 2,531 homes had been erected and seventy were then in course of construction.

The benefits of the tram service were evident, and in October 1916 steps were taken to extend it to other parts of West Torrens. The Hilton Electric Tramway began regular services in January 1917 and only eighteen months later, on 17 September 1918, other services were extended to Keswick.



First tram at corner of Burbridge Road and Brooker Terrace, 1921. Site of Council Chambers in background (W.T.H.S.)

New towns As the manager of the Tramways Trust was quick to appreciate, the extension of the tramway network generated a great deal of residential development and in few areas was it as hectic as that in West Torrens, particularly in the five years from 1920 to 1925, and in that part of the district near the Bay Road. In the metropolitan area generally, 1920 marked the return of new home building to its pre-war level and in that year more than 10 per cent of the new homes being built in the metropolitan area—245—were built in West Torrens. Most of that region between Anzac Highway and the tramline was subdivided for building purposes during this time while on the northern side of the Bay Road there was a proliferation of new townships such as Grassmere (1919), Marshfield



View to west above Bay Road in May 1928, showing Morphetville Racecourse on left (S.T.A.)



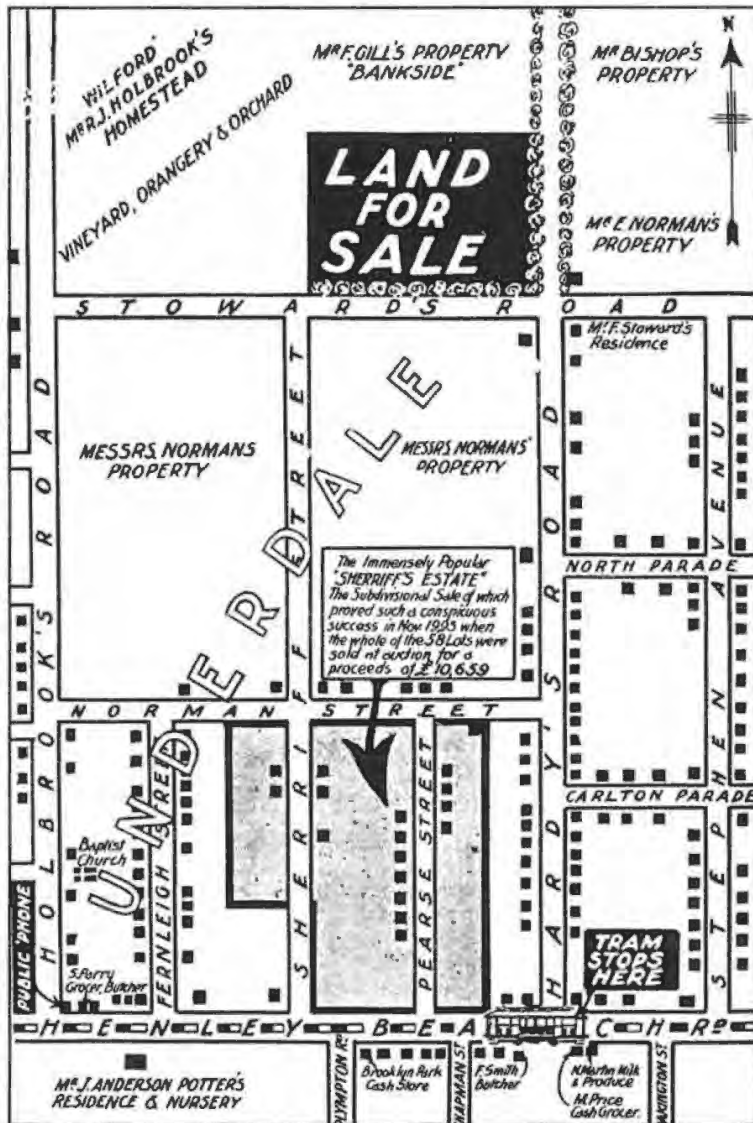
Looking east above Bay Road in May 1928, showing deviation of North Terrace railway line to Morphetville (S.T.A.)

(1923), Grosvenor Park (1923), and Sandringham (1924), and in 1919 two paddocks of Cummins were sold and subdivided to provide housing for returned soldiers. It was in 1924 also that sixty-three blocks which once formed part of the Everard estate, bounded by South and Bay Roads, were put up for auction. Projected



Land Sale notice, Ashford, 1922 (W.T.C.)

improvements to the Bay Road were a major attraction for prospective buyers and the land agents were confident of the immediate future. Grassmere they claimed 'is bound to make rapid progress to keep pace with the projected improvements and development of the Bay Road, which is the most popular artery from the City to the Seaside. A Memorial Avenue has been suggested, and the extension of the Electric Tramway may be confidently anticipated'. At the same time large areas near the Henley Beach Road were subdivided. In November 1923, 'that magnificent estate so well-known as Sherriff's Property', was advertised for sale comprising fifty-seven first-class building sites, 'splendidly located within 1 ¼ miles of the City's West Park Lands, just a short walk beyond the 2nd Tram Section and the busy Torrensville Shopping Centre'.

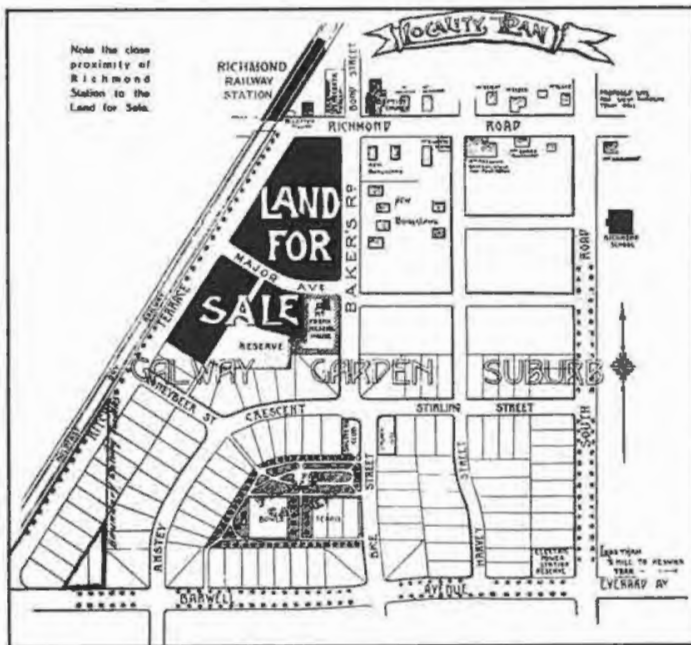


Land Sale notice, Wilford, 1926 (W.T.C.)

Perhaps the most significant of the many subdivisions which were made at this time was the Galway Garden Suburb at Marlestone which was approved by the Council in November 1919. This was significant because it was designed by visionary Town Planner Charles C. Reade and incorporated the many features and ideas for garden cities and suburbs which were at that time the desideratum of British town planners. They sought to promote winding tree-lined streets, irregularly shaped blocks with central reserves, as a change from the grid-iron

arrangement of traditional suburbs, in much the same fashion that Canberra was designed by Walter Burley Griffin. Reade was originally from New Zealand but after visiting Britain in 1906 had become a propagandist for the development of garden cities. Back in Britain in 1912 he gained tremendous influence as editor of the *Garden Cities and Town Planning Magazine* and it was in this capacity that he toured Australia in 1914 to publicise the virtues of town planning and of garden cities in particular. It was as a visiting expert that the South Australian government approached him in 1915 to advise it on drafting South Australia's first town planning legislation. The success of the Australian Town Planning Conference in October 1917, which had been organised by Reade, persuaded the government of the day to appoint him as Town Planner and it was in this capacity, after 1 July 1918, that Reade became responsible for the approval of metropolitan subdivisions.

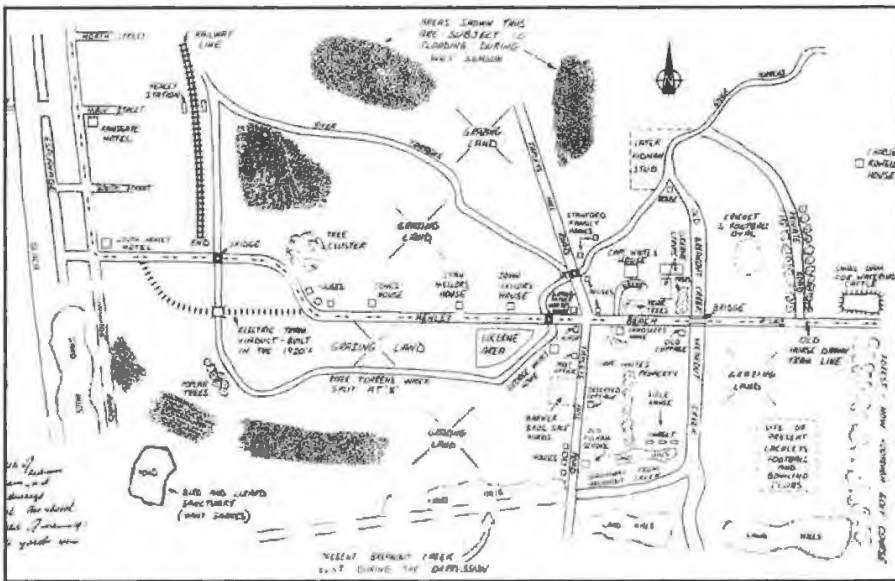
Reade remained but a short time in South Australia. In December 1920, 'a few days after his mutilated [Town Planning] Bill had received the assent of the Upper House', he left Adelaide bound for the Malay States on a year's leave of absence. He did not return. He had little lasting effect upon subdivisional development in and about Adelaide but he left examples of what might have been achieved. His plan for Colonel Light Gardens is perhaps the most comprehensive embodiment of his vision, but his ideas are also evident in the Galway Garden Suburb, and also in the Novar Garden Suburb which was approved by Council in March 1920.



Land Sale notice, Galway Gardens, 1921 (W.T.C.)

For a time South Australia was at the forefront of town planning in Australia and it is no exaggeration to say that West Torrens was among the leaders in metropolitan Adelaide. Reade's attempt to draft comprehensive planning legislation was long and involved, bedevilled as it was by an obstructionist upper house. In order to aid his cause he had liaised closely with local government bodies, and it was West Torrens' Chairman Harry Watson in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference of Metropolitan Corporations and District Councils dealing with town planning and building legislation who was one of Reade's chief allies. On 15 September 1919 Watson was part of the deputation which called upon the attorney general 'to urge on the Town Planning Bill'. Watson was in turn encouraged by T.C. Stephens, who was appointed as West Torrens' district clerk in September 1919. Stephens was a man of wide and up-to-date experience, having had local government experience in England and obtained a Shire Engineer's Certificate in New South Wales before joining the Engineer in Chief's Department. Perhaps unfortunately for West Torrens he did not remain for long as district clerk for he resigned early in 1920 so that he might take up the position of secretary to the Garden Suburb Commission.

These subdivisions of the 1920s, including those designed by Reade, are now readily identifiable because of the way that they feature street upon street of what was then the dominant example of contemporary architecture, the Californian bungalow with its characteristic low, wide gables, low-pitched roofs, exposed beams and massive pillars supporting a low-pitched verandah. The subdivisions were more



Anonymous sketch of area about Fulham. Redrawn, n.d. Original held by Heritage Conservation Branch. The sketch illustrates the tricks of memory: Barker Bros. sale yards were on Marion Road.

alike than many of the latter-day Housing Trust estates. The all-pervasiveness of the bungalow was yet another example of the increasing impact of overseas influences upon West Torrensians, and in view of subsequent political and social history it was interesting that the influences should have come from America rather than England, because this was a trend which was to continue during this period. For all that, the new design was deemed to be better adapted to Australian conditions than those which had been popular before, and it was seized upon eagerly by an optimistic population which was eager to embrace all things modern.

The previous building boom in West Torrens had been in the 1880s and had seen the proliferation of the standard villa, built in stone if possible, but with sheet metal pressed to look like stone if it was not. Many of these are still to be seen throughout the older areas of the city. Being a predominantly working-class district, however, West Torrens did not reflect the later developments of this villa which characterised Adelaide's more well-to-do suburbs, and which are identified by new plan forms and architectural and design flourishes which are termed Queen Adelaide and Art Nouveau. Because of this, the dominance of the bungalow seemed the more complete.

The bungalow had been introduced to Australia prior to the war by a few architects but it was popularised by journals, builders and developers. It lent itself to standardisation and by the 1920s when its market penetration was at its greatest, builders could readily provide bungalows for aspiring home owners of modest means. Given its popularity it is not surprising that bungalow features were incorporated in the C.W. Rutt designed Workmen's Homes which were built in 1924 on Milner Road and Davenport Terrace at Hilton.



Adelaide Workmen's Homes, Milner Terrace, 1984 (P.F.D.)

It was during this time, too, that the first controls were put on subdivisions when the Town Planning and Development Act became law in 1920—the first comprehensive town planning legislation in Australia. Thereafter all subdivision had to be approved by the town planner although, because there was no comprehensive metropolitan plan, the benefits of the planning controls were more apparent than real.

Of far more concern to the Council was the new Building Act which became law in 1923, and which enabled Council to make by-laws to prohibit the construction of specific classes of buildings elsewhere than in specific localities permitted by such by-laws.

The proliferation of the new subdivisions in West Torrens, though largely dependent upon the extension of the tramway network, also reflected something of the far-reaching changes which were brought about by the increasing popularity of the motor car.

The State's third largest industry During the inter-war period vehicle building became one of the State's major industries, providing employment for thousands of South Australians—many of them West Torrensians—in the factories of Holdens and T.J. Richards. A host of other industries were also developed to provide components for these manufacturers, so that by 1920 the motor industry was considered to be the third largest in the State, and until the late 1930s was South Australia's only significant venture into industrial manufacture for export.

The industry had a long history in South Australia and is primarily identified with the name of Holden. The saddlery firm of Holden and Frost had been established in the 1850s, but during the latter part of the nineteenth century had become more concerned with carriage building. Import restrictions during the First World War persuaded Holden to build bodies for imported vehicles and the first two bodies were produced in 1917 from the firm's King William Street factory. Demand grew, and with it orders for railway and tram carriages, so that the firm had to move to a new site at Woodville in 1923. Here production increased rapidly and the original 9.5 hectare site was enlarged to 16 hectares in 1925. In 1927 the record number of 46,934 motor bodies were produced by upwards of 5,500 men, many of whom were from West Torrens. Production slumped during the Depression, but the industry was firmly established and by 1935 the number of motor bodies being produced rose again to 25,000 a year.

The firm of T.J. Richards at Keswick, which later merged with the Chrysler Corporation of America, had a similar history and, indeed, is more closely identified with West Torrens. T.J. Richards and Sons commenced their carriage-building business in 1885 in Mitcham, but had moved to premises in Hindmarsh Square in 1914. Continued expansion prompted it to establish a new plant at Keswick in 1916 and later still, in 1930, Richards expanded to a site in Mile End and there assembled trucks and cars for the Australian market. Subsequently in 1936 the Australian distributors of Chrysler products obtained an interest in the company and contracted with the firm to produce all of the bodies required by Chrysler for its Australian market. The following year Chrysler purchased a controlling



Richards Motor Vehicle Builders (M.L.)



Motor body building at Richards (M.L.)

interest in T.J. Richards and in 1938 Chrysler's Australian headquarters were transferred to Adelaide.

The increased popularity of the motor car had far-reaching effects. It was immediately evident in the development of the new subdivisions along the major roads of the district, Henley Beach Road in the north and the Bay Road in the south but it also affected their appearance, for there was no longer a need to provide stables for horses but rather garages for the cars, and neighbourhood garages with kerbside petrol pumps were built to service the new vehicles.



Paramount Service Station, north-east corner of Anzac Highway-South Road intersection, c. 1940 (W.T.H.S.)

Of perhaps far greater importance, however, was the fact that the needs of the motor car required the remaking of all of the district's major roads. Macadam roads were adequate so long as vehicles had hard metal tyres which compacted the broken stone and loam binding material, but motor vehicles, with pneumatic tyres, tended to break up these roads by sucking out the binding material and the practice of laying wooden blocks was not suitable in areas of heavy traffic.

The Bay Road was frequently a bone of contention. In 1919, the Minister for Local Government reported to parliament that work was well in hand in repairing this road from Unley to St Leonards, but only three years later the *Advertiser* on 26 September 1922 complained of its lack of repair and dangerous features.

This road carries heavy traffic, but in its present condition needs to be carefully negotiated, especially between the Keswick Bridge and the Forest Inn. The portions within the boundaries of the Adelaide City Council and the Glenelg Corporation are in good order, but the intervening miles are reminiscent of what the pioneers had to endure over the rough tracks of the bush in bullock-dray days.

Matters remained unsatisfactory until the road could be remade with bituminous concrete. Experiments were conducted on the Adelaide to Glenelg road with the new bituminous concrete surface in 1918, but it was 19 March 1923 before the first plant for mixing the new material arrived from the United States. Soon thereafter work began on reforming the major roads leading to and from Adelaide



Realignment of Anzac Highway, n.d. (H.D.)



Realignment of Anzac Highway, n.d. (H.D.)

and was greatly expedited when a second plant was set up at Keswick so that priority could be given to the Bay Road.

The Henley Beach Road was the second major road of the district which required attention, for it was considered dangerous because of the curves at Lockleys and was subject to flooding which also played havoc with various surfaces. The first problem had only become evident with the extra speed of motor cars and was lessened by realigning the road, while the second was ameliorated by laying down a concrete roadway in the flood-prone areas and this was completed in June 1926.

Much of this work was the responsibility of a new government department, the Local Government Department, which was formed on 1 April 1917 to provide for better co-ordination between central and local governments, but more particularly to take responsibility for the building and maintenance of major roads. The State government had long been concerned that many councils had no engineer who had experience with the construction and the maintenance of the new roads and bridges which were demanded by the new technology, so although all public roads were vested in local authorities, all those principle thoroughfares which were to serve as arteries leading to centres and railways were deemed to be main roads and became the responsibility of the State government. The main purpose of the department was evident when its name was changed to that of Highways and Local Government in 1927. Its task of reforming the State's major roads continued to receive great attention throughout the inter-war period.

Many of the effects of the increased use of the motor car were less evident, however, although no less real for that. Some experts believed that it was responsible for the decline in the prevalence of certain diseases which were associated with the proximity of stables to dwellings with their associated manure and flies. A contemporary report noted that:

The infant mortality rate has been steadily decreasing in South Australia since the beginning of the century . . .

One of the most notable aspects in the saving of infant life is the reduced number of deaths from diarrhoeal diseases. A startling illustration of this can be found by comparing the figures for 1921 when there were 212 deaths from gastro-enteritis, with those of 1933, when only 10 deaths from that cause occurred . . . The replacement of horses by motor cars has a bearing on this matter, for it has been proved that the death rate of young children is higher when they are reared in the vicinity of horses and stables. Fewer horses mean fewer flies and therefore less disease. Associated with the improved diarrhoeal conditions is the more efficient hygiene in the home: wire blinds protect occupants from flies and mosquitoes, there are better bathing facilities, deep drainage, and closer inspection of sanitary arrangements.

However, if the replacement of the horse helped to promote a more healthy living environment it also brought new hazards to road users. Many of the first motor accidents were caused simply because of the confusion which resulted from both horses and motor vehicles using the same road, as a report in the *Advertiser* of 8 June 1917 indicated.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Percy Kelsey, carrier, of Henley Beach, was proceeding homeward from the city with his two horse trolley laden with goods, when near Lockleys he pulled on to the tram rails to avoid a motor car, with dazzling head lights, that was

approaching. He did not notice a tram that was close behind the motor car, and the tram crashed into the horses and the front part of the trolley. Mr. Kelsey was thrown from his seat and was considerably injured. In a dazed condition he was removed to Henley Beach, where Dr. F. Burden found it necessary to insert 15 stitches in the side of his face and head, one ear being almost severed. One horse was killed on the spot, and the other so seriously injured that it had to be destroyed. The trolley was smashed and the front part of the tram damaged.

Traffic on Henley Beach Road was frequently the subject of complaint and in another report on 10 February 1916, the *Advertiser* noted that 'the excessive speed of motor cars and cycles on the Henley Beach-road was the subject of a discussion at a meeting of ratepayers at Lockleys on Tuesday'. It continued,

The chairman of the council (Mr. H. Sherriff) stated that on 'band nights' at Henley Beach the vehicular traffic on the road was particularly heavy, and two motor accidents had occurred recently, one resulting fatally. Not only was the speed limit in many cases exceeded, but motorists frequently ran on the wrong side of the road. The council had written to the Commissioner of Police on the subject.

A month later, a Lancelot Gray was charged with 'having on March 11, driven a motor cycle along the Henley Beach-road at a speed of over 20 miles an hour', although in this instance there was reasonable doubt and the charge was dismissed.

The increased popularity of the motor car which prompted the upgrading of the State's road network increased the efficiency and versatility of road transport and ultimately undermined the profitability of the rail and tram network with which it competed directly. Such a prospect was not evident at the time, however. In 1922, W.A. Webb, the American railway administrator, was appointed Commissioner of Railways with the prime task of supervising the rejuvenation of the State's railway system which was bedevilled by breaks of gauge, underpowered locomotives and small, inefficient rolling stock.

When Webb left South Australia eight years later in 1930, the railway system had been virtually rebuilt. The building of a grand new terminal at Adelaide was perhaps one of his most obvious achievements, but it was one of the least significant for of far greater importance was the introduction of large powerful locomotives from America, the building of larger rolling stock, the reorganisation of the Islington workshops and the Adelaide railway yards, and the implementation of a new organisation and administration to take full advantage of these.

For many contemporary West Torrensians, however, Webb's contribution was regarded as a negative one, for in accordance with the Railway Transfer Act of 1927 he sold the two Adelaide-to-Glenelg railway lines to the Municipal Tramways Trust and both ceased operating as railways in 1929. Extensive plans to include these routes in the metropolitan tramway network had been drawn up in 1927, but only the South Terrace line was converted for use as an electric tramway and inaugurated with much fanfare on 14 December 1929. Despite the lobbying of residents, Council and other groups over succeeding decades, the North Terrace line, which had never been a particularly popular or profitable venture, was never re-opened. A select committee had enquired into the proposition in 1930 and in 1938 its re-opening formed a plank of Labor Party policy. It was all to no avail.

In the short term the worsening of the Depression and the need for financial economies dissuaded the government from proceeding with its scheme of electrification, then the war meant that scarce resources had to be directed elsewhere. The implementation became much more difficult after 1938 when the M.T.T. sold the rails and that part of the route between Burbridge and South Roads to private enterprise.

Despite the constant lobbying of supporters for the re-opening of the North Terrace route over several decades, no government seriously entertained the proposition. In 1968 the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (M.A.T.S.) proposed that the route of the North Terrace railway should form part of the proposed freeway network to the southern metropolitan suburbs but this was never implemented, and was finally abandoned in 1984. In the meantime, the route remained as open space and most recently has been landscaped as a linear park.

Industrial revolution Webb's revolution of South Australia's railways was but a small part of the structural change which took place in the State's economy during this time, most notably in the heavy industry sector.

The take-off period of South Australia's rapid industrialisation occurred between 1935 with the appointment of the Chamber of Manufactures' Industries Committee on 24 July and the outbreak of the Second World War. J.W. Wainwright, who was appointed the State's auditor-general in 1934, was a member of this committee, which was given the task of investigating the State's secondary industry, and later became the most effective advocate of the need to increase South Australia's industrial potential which he highlighted in his 1936 report to the government.

The very urgent need for absorbing unemployed people, especially the boys and girls who were leaving school each year, was the immediate reason which prompted the enquiry [into the State's level of industry]. But it was also realized that the general prosperity of the State is dependent to a very large degree on the prosperity and the growth of the secondary industries, no less than the primary . . .

If this State were left with only those secondary industries which are absolutely necessary to a rural community, it is indeed doubtful whether it could support much more than half its present population, even at reduced standards of living . . .

Industrial conditions in South Australia have not kept up to the needs of the existing population, and the State has been losing its population to other States at the rate of approximately 2,200 per annum for the past eight years. Those who leave are mainly the younger and more vigorous people . . .

He was strongly supported by the Chamber of Manufactures and leading industrialists such as E.W. Holden, T.J. Richards, and F.T. Perry. The Butler government took up the challenge, and with the support of the opposition Labor Party undertook to encourage and establish secondary industry in South Australia wherever possible.

Take-off The several secondary industries in West Torrens were hard pressed by the Depression and Mechanical Products Ltd, the forerunner of Kelvinator, was saved from foreclosure only by financial assistance from the government. However, all was not doom and gloom, for the Depression promoted increased



Housing Trust homes at West Richmond, 1952 (W.T.C.)



Housing Trust sale homes, Lockleys, 16 April 1953 (W.T.C.)

efficiency in many industries and meant that these were admirably placed to take advantage of the government's industrial initiatives in the latter 1930s and the early years of the war.

The government's industrial policy at the time was a broadly based one which sought to foster any industrial initiative. It included the appointment of the Industries Assistance Corporation which was registered in November 1937 with E.W. Holden and F.T. Perry among its directors, who were at that time also president and vice-president of the Chamber of Manufactures.

Another government initiative calculated to encourage industry was the establishment of the South Australian Housing Trust in 1936 with the primary function of providing housing for industry workers and low-income groups in the State. The Trust succeeded in its object, and in ensuring that rents in South Australia remained low, it helped to establish the low-cost structure in South Australia which encouraged many industries to locate there after the Second World War.

Because of its increasing importance as an industrial area and also because of the readily available land, early Trust homes were built in West Torrens. Indeed, the group of sixty homes which was completed in December 1938 in Knight, Passmore and Britten Streets at West Richmond, was only the eighth group to be built, and was completed only thirteen months after the first group was built at Rosewater; a second group of twenty-eight units was completed at Brooklyn Park in August 1939. The design competition for these early homes was won by H.E. Cowell, a West Torrens resident who became the Trust's chief architect.

These early homes were for rental purposes only. However, it was noted in the Trust's annual report of 1940 that 'tenants display commendable interest in their gardens, achieving results which greatly add to the attractiveness of the houses. Vegetables and fruit trees are almost invariably grown in the back premises'.

The first units for sale were not built until 1946 after the war. The second group of these sale homes was completed on Rowells Road at Lockleys in November 1946, while a large group of sixty-two units was completed at Plympton only seven months later.

This take-off period also saw a number of large-scale capital works undertaken throughout the State which helped to promote fundamental changes in the economy and the lifestyles of its citizens. Many of these major projects were associated with the harnessing of the State's scarce water resources and included the locking of the Murray and the construction of major reservoirs at Millbrook in 1918 and at Mount Bold in 1937.

The need for these works had long been evident, for although West Torrensians had to contend with regular flooding during winter, they, along with South Australians generally, were often hard pressed to secure adequate water supplies in summer. This was particularly so during the drought of 1914 when the government was forced to sink a number of bores in metropolitan Adelaide to augment water supplies; one of these was sunk at Hilton, another at Morphettville. Twenty years later, when water restrictions were again in force in winter time,

these bores were re-opened so that bore water might be fed into the metropolitan mains; that at Hilton delivered 'crystal clear water . . . at the rate of 475,000 gallons a day'. Eleven years later, severe water restrictions again persuaded the government to use bore water to supplement other sources and in West Torrens bores were sunk at the Kurralta Park Reserve, at the rear of the Council Chambers, on West Beach Road near the Tapleys Hill Road intersection and on Rowells Road on the east side of the bridge.

One of the chief benefits of the major water conservation measures which were taken at this time was that they permitted the extension of reticulated water and deep drainage throughout the metropolitan area and encouraged the further curbing of the incidence of diseases such as cholera and typhoid, which were traditionally associated with close urban living.

The introduction of a sewerage system into portions of West Torrens occurred prior to the First World War, although its effects became most evident in the succeeding period. Work began in 1909, when the government decided upon a new trunk water main from Darlington to West Terrace along South Road with that part between the Bay Road and the Thebarton School being completed by November 1909. At that time the main had still to be laid along Henley Beach Road, although the sewer was even then being laid. The idea was that sewage would gravitate to collecting tanks at Cowandilla and from there be pumped to a point near the Thebarton School where it would join the ordinary sewer to Islington. The report in the *Register* of 23 November 1909 pointed out that 'no premises will be connected until the [Cowandilla pumping] station and everything else necessary to the new scheme have been completed, so that Mile End and Torrensville residents cannot expect the benefits of deep drainage for some time'. The station at Cowandilla was completed in 1909–10.

Once the various mains and trunk sewers were completed, dwellings were connected but by 1928, only those parts of West Torrens near South and Henley Beach Roads were sewered, although this system was considerably enlarged after December 1932 when new treatment works at Glenelg were commissioned. According to a report in the *Advertiser* on 14 August 1934, these represented the 'first installation of such magnitude in Australia, and represent the most modern method of sewage treatment'. In 1932 plans were announced to extend the system to include Brooklyn Park, Lockleys, West Underdale, White Park and Meldreth Park and were welcomed as much for the employment which the works would provide as the other benefits which would accrue. The *Advertiser* of 4 November 1932 estimated 'that the saving this would mean for unemployment relief would be more than sufficient to meet the interest on expenditure during the construction'.

Major capital works were undertaken throughout South Australia during this inter-war period, largely to provide relief for the armies of unemployed and socially distressed, but also with an eye to providing long-term benefits to South Australia, and included the locking of the Murray and the commencement of a pipeline grid to deliver water to remote areas. However, that work which had most impact in West Torrens was the implementation of the Metropolitan Floodwaters Scheme which was designed to lessen the flooding of the Torrens and Sturt Rivers.

Flooding had long been a problem in the West Torrens district, particularly about Fulham and Lockleys in the area known as the Reedbeds. It retarded residential development there, and caused great inconvenience to those who had taken up land there or who lived further to the west at Henley Beach.



Henley Beach Road in flood (Stanford)

A particularly severe flood hit the region in July 1917, one which district clerk Shephard 'admitted to have been the severest flood ... [the area] has yet experienced. To those members who were unable to see the floods at Lockleys, Underdale, New Mile End, in fact all along the Henley Beach Road, it is impossible for me to convey, in a formal report, any idea of their extent'.

Almost immediately a deputation from several of the western municipalities and district councils called upon the Commissioner of Public Works 'to urge the Government to undertake a scheme or schemes which would effectually cope with the problem'. Indeed, a scheme had been submitted to the government in 1916 which proposed diverting the floodwaters from the Torrens to both the Port and Patawalonga Rivers but it foundered because of opposition from the Harbours Board which feared increased silting of the Port River.

A second scheme was submitted in July 1917 proposing the cutting of a channel through the sandhills to the beach, and enabling legislation was brought before parliament but it was roundly opposed before the legislative council select committee, where few witnesses could agree upon an appropriate scheme. Architect H.E. Cowell, who had lived in the area for nearly thirty years, claimed that the only possible solution was that advanced earlier, of diverting the floodwaters to both the Port and Patawalonga Rivers. A public meeting called at Lockleys to consider the government's scheme also failed to agree on an appropriate measure.

Councillor Sherriff was reported in the *Register* of 1 November 1917 of declaring that 'it would be a sin and a shame to let the silt go into the sea, when hundreds of acres required building up', while Captain White claimed that 'if the salt-water came in through the proposed cutting it would mean "good-bye" to all the land holders concerned'.



Henley Beach Road, October 1926 (W.T.H.S.)

The idea was scrapped—for the time being. However, the flooding and the deputations continued. A lobby group calling itself the Lower Torrens Floodwaters Vigilance Committee comprising twelve members with E.A. Lasscock as secretary, was formed at a public meeting on 2 November 1923 to press for flood mitigation works. Little success met the committee's efforts, although it lobbied the government directly and gained support from surrounding Councils. In 1932 the committee took matters into its hands and determined to clear, widen and deepen the Breakout Creek at Fulham to provide gainful employment for the local unemployed. Work began on 19 March 1932 and over the next few months upwards of £1,200 was spent on the project. A popular girl competition was used to raise funds so that unemployed men could earn the basic wage, and local people eagerly lent ploughs, scoops and horses. It had no official sanction, but neither was it hindered and, indeed, attracted a Federal government grant of £500. However, although it was a socially useful exercise, it was only a band-aid measure and was eventually effort wasted when the flood mitigation works were undertaken.

The spring of 1933 brought down a particularly serious flood. 'Fed by more than two inches of rain in the Mount Lofty Ranges, the Onkaparinga and the Torrens came down in high flood in the early hours of yesterday morning', reported the *Advertiser* of 2 September. 'Considerable damage was done to market gardens,

and glass tomato houses in Lockleys and Findon; traffic was disorganised by the flooding of the Henley Beach, Grange and Marion roads, and water surrounded many houses in those districts'. After a meeting of local councils at the Thebarton Town Hall on 13 September, yet another deputation waited upon the Commissioner of Public Works 'to request the Government to put in hand quickly a scheme to prevent the flooding of the western suburbs by the River Torrens'.

The normal official procrastination ensued. The matter was referred to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works which on 8 January 1935 finally delivered a report recommending the excavation of an outlet to the gulf.

Again, the scheme drew strong opposition, not so much by western residents this time, although Captain S.A. White still condemned it, but by the many metropolitan councils who were called upon to help defray its cost. West Torrens and Thebarton Councils, whose areas received the bulk of the metropolitan run-off, both favoured the scheme, but they were a tiny minority. The Adelaide City Council claimed that it 'had successfully dealt with the problem within their area' and failed to see why it should be obliged to help, even though their solution was simply to pass the problem on to others to the west. W.A. Norman of Mitcham, which was not subject to flooding, similarly refused to accept any responsibility, simply dismissing the problem by saying that 'persons who built on areas subject to flooding took a chance, and should not expect others to relieve them of their burdens'. Indeed, the Mayor of St Peters called a meeting of local government bodies on 30 January 1935 to oppose the scheme, and on 11 February 1935 the *Advertiser* carried a full-page advertisement from those same Councils disclaiming any responsibility to contribute towards the proposed works.

Despite the strident opposition, the enabling legislation had strong support in the house of assembly and was easily carried. It was the government's contention that all of the metropolitan councils were involved, because increased residential development to the east of Adelaide had increased run-off and thereby exacerbated the flooding in the west although even before European settlement the run-off from these areas of the foothills collected in the swamps of the Reedbeds. At the same time both the government and opposition saw the scheme as a means of alleviating some of the unemployment and the government had been lobbied to this effect by the Thebarton Unemployed Workers' Association as soon as the scheme was made public. All Councils were called upon to help finance the project, jointly contributing £6,188 of the project cost of £209,000. West Torrens' share was £980 while a third of the cost of the scheme (£70,000) comprised a grant from the Federal government for unemployment relief.

In stark contrast to the difficulties of obtaining agreement on the scheme, the actual construction was an easy affair. Work entailed the clearing of the Torrens and the cutting of a channel from the Breakout Creek southwards across the Henley Beach Road then west to the beach where a concrete spillway was to be built. It began in July 1935 when the first thirty men were engaged on enlarging the Sturt Creek and was expected to take three years to complete and to employ about 300 men during this time.

In the event work on the southern portion of the scheme was completed in

December 1937, with the finishing touches being put to the outlet at Henley Beach South in August 1938. Floods promoted scouring of the river banks, so that small weirs had to be erected at various parts of the river but these works were completed in mid-1939.

This work arrested the problem, and in so doing had a tremendous effect upon the Fulham and Lockleys region of the district. Being no longer subject to periodical flooding, the area became prime residential land, although the onset of the Second World War delayed development here for several years.

'All-in' West Torrens' several secondary industries, made lean by the Depression, were admirably placed to take advantage of the manufacturing opportunities which came to South Australia during the Second World War, largely as a result of the State government's ongoing policy of industrialisation. While the war virtually wiped out many traditional markets for West Torrens manufacturers it provided new ones, many of which had long-term benefits for the companies. The problems and the opportunities of the war were elaborated upon at the annual general meeting of Richards and Sons in 1941 and reported in the *Advertiser* of 5 September. While details differed from one local company to another, the results were similar for other local manufactories:

... the past year has been a very difficult one. At the commencement of the period under review, there was almost a complete cessation of the normal activity of motor body manufacture due to restrictions on the importation of chassis imposed by the Commonwealth Government.

At the end of September, the petrol rationing scheme of the Commonwealth Government was introduced with calamitous results, so far as the sale of motor vehicles for private and business use was concerned ...

Quite a considerable amount of work now being performed by the company comes under the classification of precision engineering and production. The degree of accuracy required has resulted in the building up of a technical staff whose capacity will be of inestimable value after the war, when it is expected manufacture in Australia will become more technical and embrace a much larger field of production ...

The result of the year was that, although body production showed a heavy falling off, nevertheless our increasing production of munition items brought the total turnover up to a satisfactory figure ...

Great numbers of war materials were supplied locally. Among other things, Richards supplied aircraft and anti-tank gun parts, land mines, ammunition containers and military waggons. The nearby Perry Engineering Company underwent a similar change when the whole of production was turned over to the manufacture of a wide range of military equipment—from cranes for the new Hendon and Finsbury munitions factories to special mills for grinding gunpowder, the main engines for five Australian-built Corvettes, and 6 pounder anti-tank gun forgings. Kelvinators' premises at Keswick were also converted for war production, and, indeed, expanded at this time where mobile refrigerators were made for both the United States and Australian forces, together with parts for aircraft and anti-tank guns. The rapid increase in heavy engineering in the district made for a rapid increase in local job opportunities at a time when increasing numbers of men were

required in the armed forces and, as a consequence, many places were taken by women.

In January 1939 the Perry Engineering Company employed 370 men, five years later the number of men had more than doubled to 754 and there were ninety-three women employed. It was a similar story in many of the local industries. Though they employed only 260 men in 1939, Kelvinator employed 497 men and 107 women in 1944 while at Horwood Bagshaw there were 562 men and sixteen women employed in 1944, when there were but 522 men in 1939.

The war provided tremendous opportunities for these firms. Besides acquiring new precision tools and the expertise to use them, many of the firms, including Richards, Kelvinator, Perry Engineering Company and Wiles Chromium and Manufacturing Company, later acquired munitions factory space at very reasonable rates from the government. The *Advertiser* on 18 August 1945 commented upon the expansion of many local firms:

The floor space of the Keswick and Mile End plants of Richards Industries Ltd. has been increased in size by a third during the war and further extensions are planned. The company has new manufacturing under consideration and it is also preparing to handle big orders for motor car bodies . . .

Horwood Bagshaw Ltd. has made big additions to its Mile End works and has modernised the plant to cope with orders for agricultural implements . . .

The Perry Engineering Co. Mile End is building 200 railway trucks for Ceylon. The covered area of the firm's engineering works and foundry has been doubled since 1939. . .

There was short-term dislocation as returning soldiers replaced many of the women, and as plant had to be retooled for peace-time production, but the new skills and capacity made them admirably placed to both fuel and take advantage of the sustained post-war economic boom.

The period from c. 1914 to c. 1945 was truly one of tremendous change in South Australia and West Torrens. The effects of the structural change in the economy were all-pervading and laid the basis for immense social change. Prior to the First World War, West Torrensians—indeed all Australians—were largely isolated from major world events, with a lifestyle which had changed little during the latter half of the nineteenth century. West Torrensians chose to go to war in 1914–18 on the other side of the world to support Britain and her Empire but they had little choice in the matter in 1939–45 because they were intimately bound up with world events.

If Australia came of age as a nation during the First World War as many commentators suggest, it came of age industrially during the Second World War when Australian industry acquired precision tools, toolmaking facilities and the ability to manufacture high quality equipment, rather than simply use and assemble that which had been made elsewhere.

Key West Torrens industries were part of this transformation, and it was during the inter-war period that they were consolidated. It was this consolidation of industry in West Torrens, which also did so much to underpin the residential

development of the early 1920s, and the provision of the many services which were deemed to be part of this development. The deep economic Depression which began in 1927 caused a great deal of social distress as job opportunities were lost, but the silver lining was the fact that this made these industries more efficient and encouraged the government to promote South Australia's industrialisation so that those industries in West Torrens were admirably placed to take advantage of the opportunities provided during the Second World War and after.

The new industrialisation, and the all-pervasiveness of new technology which became established during the inter-war period, meant that by 1945 the lifestyles of South Australians differed radically from that of only thirty years earlier and were to continue to change rapidly.

The Influence of the World Community: c. 1914-45

The year 1914 ushered in a period of trauma for West Torrensians, as for all Australians. As the historian Russel Ward has said, 'After a century of peaceful and ordered development during which rumors of distant wars had hardly troubled a quietly unmilitarist people, events on the other side of the earth suddenly brought death to practically every Australian home'. The First World War impressed upon West Torrensians the fact that they were part of a much larger world community, and that events which happened elsewhere held consequences for them. No sooner had they begun to reconstruct their lives after 'The War to End All Wars' when they were plunged into a Depression deeper than any which they had experienced before, and then as the economy began to recover they were once more caught up in a world war.

This was a period which contemporaries remember very vividly. They were difficult times but everyone was 'in the same boat', particularly in a district with so little social stratification as West Torrens and in the face of the world calamities West Torrensians generally sought solace from the family and traditional and familiar pursuits.

The First World War The First World War left an indelible impression on all West Torrensians. Many were directly involved in the war and the census of 1933 indicates that 821 of the 7,954 men in West Torrens at that time had served abroad with the A.I.F. However, whether they went to the front or remained at home, all were caught up in an event which dominated their lives and that of the nation more completely than any which had gone before.

Local records which provide details of those who went to the front are few, but it is evident that men from all walks of life volunteered for a cause which they knew little about. Mrs Both recalled that the two lads which her father had

fostered from Boys' Town joined up. So, too, did two sons of James Rowell, who was himself brought out of retirement at sixty-three years of age and for a time was commandant in South Australia and took charge of A.I.F. transports to Egypt and England. One of his sons, Sydney, was among the original graduates from the Royal Military College at Duntroon and with the 3rd Light Horse Regiment saw action at Gallipoli before being invalided home in February 1916. He went on to a distinguished career in the army, being appointed Chief of General Staff in 1950 and knighted in 1953. One of James' nephews, Frank, the son of his brother John, also fought at Gallipoli, but took ill and died before he could be repatriated. Many families provided several recruits. Wilfred Baden Powell followed both his father and elder brother into the A.I.F., and the *Chronicle* of 1 June 1918 featured a photograph of Mrs J. Butterfield of Fulham surrounded by thirteen grandsons who were at the war.

Though so many heeded the call, their reasons for doing so are as numerous as those who presented themselves at the many recruiting stations, for few had any but a naive impression of what was in store. Many men and youths hastened to enlist lest they should miss out on the adventure of a lifetime. Powell recalled that he simply 'wanted to be a hero. I wanted to be in the War', he said, 'I wanted to see London' and though only a youth of fifteen years, he was able to pass himself off as eighteen because of his size. Another youth who was underage and small in stature passed himself off as a jockey. Others may have sought to evade responsibilities or the monotony of life at home and many others went because it was expected, or because their mates had gone and because 'slackers' were regarded widely as little better than traitors and the targets for white feathers.

The absence of full records renders it impossible to make mention of the many West Torrensiens who joined the A.I.F., those who distinguished themselves or those who were killed. However, there were few families which were unaffected.

The war was like a lottery. Many local lads were killed—Sergeant A.J. Napier of Hilton died of wounds in 1915 while the son of T. MacGillivray was killed in action the same year. Sgt J.L. Gordon, the Council's legal advisor was killed, so in 1916 was Lieutenant R. Forwood, the brother of Councillor Forwood, very shortly before Councillor Ingerson's brother.

Others returned as heroes. Captain S.H. Watson, the son of Councillor Watson, who enlisted in 1914 at the age of twenty-seven, received the D.S.O. and the Order of the White Eagle of Serbia. He had been an engineer in the South Australian Railways before he enlisted, and as an engineer, he was responsible for building 'Watson's Pier' at Gallipoli over which supplies and men were landed for several months during 1915.

However, all who returned were changed men. Some were physically maimed by the war like Wally Satterley who joined the A.I.F. in October 1914 when only eighteen years of age and served at Gallipoli for seven months. He was seriously wounded in action in 1916 and lost an arm. Powell returned broken in health because of his experience, the effects of which were probably intensified because of his youth. He was deeply upset when a mate was killed soon after swapping places on a detail with him, and he always vividly remembered the distorted face

of a particular German frozen grotesquely at the moment of death. Many families, too, were broken because of the deaths of former breadwinners, or because they simply preferred not to return home; Powell's father was one of the latter, though fortunately his children were then adults.

The last man and the last shilling In so many ways the war effort was total. Patriotic women found an outlet for their energies in organisations such as the Red Cross or the Cheer-Up Society and busied themselves with the provision of comforts for the men at the front. There were numerous ways in which they could help, as the *Glenelg Guardian* of 23 December 1915 suggested:

The Women of Australia
 who cannot help to fight
 Can make themselves quite useful
 By knitting with all their might

The things that are needed badly
 For boys on the battle-field,
 We will make them gladly
 Until the Germans yield

etc.

Children, too, were caught up in the war effort with boys being expected to join cadet troops and present themselves for drill each week. If they lived about Cowandilla they did so on the land now occupied by the Electricity Trust. They trained on Saturday afternoons for four hours and also held several night parades and a fortnight's training at the Gawler racecourse once a year. Scouts helped with the innumerable collections and socials. Albert Retallack, who was a member of the Richmond troop, remembered 'one occasion when they mounted a tableau



1st Richmond Boy Scouts' display in fund-raising procession during World War I. A.E. Retallack is driving (W.T.H.S.)

on the back of his father's trolley, paraded through King William Street, then back to an oval at the back of Barwell Avenue to join in a carnival being held there'. The girls, like their mothers, were called upon to knit and Mrs Ada Both clearly recalls knitting 'balaclava helmets and socks for the soldiers in wartime' and the strong competition between classes to see which could get the most done. 'We were given a "brick" for doing a certain number I remember. The bricks were made of paper and put up on the wall or the window.'

Schools became a particularly convenient means of galvanising patriotism. In 1915 collections were made for the Belgian Fund with the Richmond school collecting £1 12s 6d. Twelve months later an additional £3 15s 9d was collected and sent away 'for Trench Comforts'.



Richmond School, c.1917 (W.T.H.S.)

Patriotism took many, sometimes, strange forms. In 1917 State parliament decreed that all German place-names in South Australia should be changed—although many of these names honoured pioneers who had contributed a great deal to the State. West Torrens was affected by this edict, to the extent that the village of Bismark—now the northern part of West Richmond—became known as Weeroopa.

However, the depth of feeling about the war was no more evident than in the Commonwealth referenda of October 1916 and December 1917, which were held in order to gauge popular opinion on the question of military conscription for overseas service. Prime Minister Hughes' support for the 'Yes' vote and his stratagems to secure it split the ruling Labor Party with debate being bitter and the sides clearly drawn.

Numerous meetings were held within the district with the first being held in the Hayhurst Hall on 12 October 1916. The town clerk let slip his attitude towards conscription when he reported that 'there was a fair attendance of residents, but we were unable to form a committee at that meeting to further the interests of

the campaign'. Subsequent meetings were held at the Richmond Democratic Hall and at Hilton.

However, despite the intensity of the campaign, the actual day of the first referendum seemed rather an anticlimax and, as the *Register* of 30 October reported, 'So far as the public was concerned, the big race for the referendum had a tame finish. The people had seen the contest begun under exciting conditions that gave promise of a great burst of popular feeling, but the end was far from spectacular'.

In the event the majority of South Australians voted 'No'. Indeed, in each electoral division except Boothby the majority voted 'No', and there the win for the 'Yes' vote was in the order of only 100 votes. The heaviest 'No' vote was generally to be found in the working-class areas.

Conscription Referendum : 28 October 1916

Division	Subdivision	Yes	No
Adelaide	West Adelaide	1,149	3,933
Barker	Glenelg	2,494	2,035
Hindmarsh	Thebarton	3,275	5,178

The second referendum on 20 December 1917 was as bitterly fought, but saw a more decisive majority for 'No Conscription'.

War's legacy Because its influence was so all pervasive and its effects so deep, the First World War had a tremendous effect on the development of Australian nationalism and gave a soul to the new nation which had been born on 1 January 1901. Indeed, it is Russel Ward's contention that after the war it was the Anzac—rather than the pastoral worker—who most completely embodied the attributes of the ideal Australian. 'Ginger Mick' was a Melbourne city larrikin, but he was the sort of 'bloke and cobber' with whom any Australian could identify in the inter-war period. 'I dunno wat 'is ratin' wus in this 'ere soshul plan', wrote C.J. Dennis, 'I only know, inside o'me, I intrajuce a man'. It was the war which also gave Australia its national day. As Ward wrote, 'Since the slaughter at Gallipoli the anniversary of the landing has become not only a day of Australian mourning and remembrance for the war dead, but also the Australian national day above all others'.

The memory of the First World War lingered on, perhaps to become idealised during the hard times of the Depression. It was during this time that the first steps were taken to form the several West Torrens sub-branches of the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia. The local sub-branches



Soldiers Memorial Hall at Lockleys, c.1953 (W.T.C.)



Turning the first sod for beautification works of Anzac Highway, 1 February 1938 (W.T.C.). A.P. Blesing, Minister of Local Government, W. Fisk, Mayor of Glenelg, J. Soutar, Mayor of Unley, A. Chambers, Chairman of West Torrens Council

were rather late in being formed, but perhaps this was yet another product of the relatively late development of the region. A State branch of the Returned Soldiers Association was formed in December 1915, with the national body being formed in Melbourne in June 1916. However, it was 21 January 1930 before the first of the local sub-branches—that of Keswick and Richmond—was formed with ninety-two members. Hilton followed on 17 June 1930 with Lockleys on 2 August 1935, though it was April 1941 before the Hayhurst sub-branch was formed.

The returned soldiers formed an effective lobby group. Something of their effectiveness was demonstrated on 6 November 1924 when the name of the Bay Road was changed to that of Anzac Highway, thereby culminating eight years of work by the Anzac Highway Memorial League.

Council was no less patriotic and in 1935 Shephard set in train the idea of upgrading this highway by means of a dual carriageway and cycle tracks as a centenary measure, but the wheels of government grind slowly and it was not until 1937 that agreement was achieved between the Highways Department and the councils of Unley, Glenelg and West Torrens for the apportionment of costs for such a work. However, work commenced soon after the dignatories turned the first sod on 1 February 1938.

The Council also sought to commemorate those of its residents who had served in the First World War and in 1915 the district clerk suggested that an honour roll should be established. In 1919 steps were finally taken to have one designed but little seems to have come of this and there is now no record of such a roll. However, in November 1945, soon after the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific, and perhaps mindful of the failure to implement the good intentions after the First World War, the proposal went before Council that a war memorial garden should be laid out immediately south of the Council Chambers. Plans were formalised in 1947 and on 15 April 1951 the Governor Sir Willoughby Norrie dedicated the garden with its central Cross of Sacrifice to the memory of those who had enlisted in both the First and Second World Wars.

Six o'clockers One long-lasting effect of the war was to entrench a measure of conservatism in the community. Clean-shaven faces and 'short back and sides' became virtually compulsory for men as beards or moustaches had been in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Thus it was in March 1915 that the forces of temperance carried the referendum for 'six o'clock closing' of hotels. The fight was not an easy one and as the *Register* reported on 31 March, 'Never probably in the history of the State was witnessed such bitter platform fighting, and the violence and virulence, unfortunately, were not confined to one side'.

The *Register* had observed two days earlier that 'no other social question in recent years has so stirred the State'. It continued, 'the "Six o'clockers" . . . put the larger amount of time and organization into the fight . . . Here, there, and everywhere they stirred up public interest. Hardly a town was too remote, hardly a city street was too noisy, for the speakers on reform . . . The disastrous war furnished the temperance advocates with much ammunition, for the Russian prohibition regarding Vodka, and admonitions and actions of the British



Unveiling of Cross of Sacrifice by Governor Sir Willoughby Norrie on 15 April 1951. Mayor Charles Veale speaking (W.T.C.)

Government and War Office leaders in connection with the consumption of alcohol by soldiers and workmen, and the conduct of a small number of Australian troops, were instanced to sharpen an argument or adorn a tale about the evils of excessive indulgence in drink'.

Through a bitterly fought campaign there were rare instances of humour. 'Close the bars and save the boys' was a plea of the early closers, to which the retort made was 'Keep the bars open and save the girls'.

Given the strength of Protestantism in the West Torrens district, it was no surprise that of the 9,413 votes which were cast, 5,120 were in favour of 'six o'clock closing'. The Press noted of West Torrens that 'both the temperance and the liquor parties worked indefatigably to get their respective voters to the poll, and a fairly heavy percentage of votes was recorded'. This was particularly significant because in West Torrens there was no complementary voting for the house of assembly, the two local candidates Green and Chesson having been elected unopposed. All polling places in the West Torrens electoral district were in favour of the early closing.

Reconstruction Life for West Torrensians after the First World War never quite returned to the familiar pattern which had persisted before. In the first place the many returned soldiers had to be returned to the workforce and every means was taken to facilitate this. Many returned to old jobs which had been left open, and

preference was given to returned servicemen in others. Schemes were devised to settle others on the land, and the Commonwealth government provided funds to local councils to ensure employment to returned soldiers who had no immediate work to take up. In West Torrens a gang of returned soldiers was employed in tree planting, widening and clearing of footpaths, and clearing the several drains which ran through the district. Many of them found it particularly difficult returning to civilian employment after their war-time experiences, for many of them were young veterans who had rarely had a civilian job.

This was Wilfred Powell's problem. He was reinstated at Harris Scarfe's where he had worked for nine months before the war, but gave this away when it became apparent that he had little seniority and would have to start at the bottom. For a time he worked with the Commonwealth Bank, 'but couldn't handle the idea of working behind a desk again'. He became an apprentice cabinet-maker but later could find no work until his father found him a job with the P.M.G. putting in telegraph poles in the country. Finally, in 1931 he became a mail sorter.

Influenza Then, of course, there were many new problems to attract attention, one of the earliest being the influenza epidemic which followed the returning troops home. Australia was not affected as severely as many other countries, but the fear was real, and the *Observer* of 7 December 1918 described it as 'one of the most serious epidemics with which mankind has ever been menaced'.

Many West Torrensians succumbed. Mrs Ada Both, whose family maintained a milk round, remembered the epidemic. 'Families on the milk round who had the "flu" had to have a yellow flag out by the front gate to warn the milkman not to come in', she recalled, and added, 'My father got the "flu" just the same and so did two of his workmen'.



Gathering the hay on the property of Mr Collett of Harvey Avenue, Netley, c.1927 (W.T.H.S.)

Optimism For all the immediate post-war problems this was a period of optimism, hope and excitement and perhaps few events epitomised this so much as the euphoria which swept Australia immediately after Ross and Keith Smith landed at Darwin on 10 December 1919 to win the air race from England. South Australians were particularly proud that the feat had been accomplished by local lads who were already highly decorated war heroes, and they flocked to the makeshift airfield at Northfield on 23 March 1920 to welcome them to Adelaide. The *Advertiser* claimed that 'it is doubtful whether an ovation to a conquering general could have exceeded in warmth the reception of Sir Ross and Sir Keith Smith'.

West Torrensians had a particular cause to be proud because the flight engineer on the record-breaking flight was Walter (Wally) Shiers, whose family had lived on one of the Richmond blocks opposite Washington Street since 1896. He had been born in May 1890 and when fourteen years of age had gone to Broken Hill with his brother Jack where he worked in the North Mine. He enlisted in the A.I.F. on Easter Monday 1915, and left Australia in the *Westralia* to serve with the Light Horse in Egypt and Palestine. In 1916 he transferred to No. 1 Squadron Australian Flying Corps which had recently been formed in Egypt and there came into contact with Ross Smith. When the Vickers Vimy was announced the winner of the air race, Shiers was promoted to full sergeant and awarded a Bar to the Air Force Medal he had been awarded during the war, and on 1 September 1920 he was made an honorary Lieutenant in the A.I.F. Reserve of Officers.



Wally Shiers in front of his statue at the memorial at Adelaide Airport. In the background is the *Southern Cross* in which he accompanied Ross and Keith Smith and Jim Bennett in the air race from England to Australia (W.T.H.S.)

Though it was yet primitive, aviation captured the imagination of contemporaries, and the first experience of an aeroplane was one to be treasured. Albert Retallack of Plympton was but a lad of fifteen when he witnessed a forced landing by Captain Harry Butler at Richmond Park. He recalled that Butler 'had a single-engine monoplane—the boys heard a noise and saw an aeroplane overhead, the engine stopped, it passed low over their house, managed to clear the electricity wires and landed in the paddock—it only stopped when it ran into a box-thorn hedge'. George Hague of Kurralta Park was also proud of the fact that he was present at the Morphetville Racecourse to welcome Bert Hinkler after his solo flight from England. West Torrens was to become even more closely identified with developments in aviation immediately after the Second World War.

Radio Despite the rigours of the period, there were notable highlights. One of these was the development and increased popularity of radio, which proved to be one of the first trends in the revolution of home entertainment which has marked the twentieth century.

The first services were licensed in 1924. Station 5DN began transmission in about June 1924, with Station 5AB (later 5CL) beginning transmission in November 1924; 5DN was licensed in December 1924, and 5CL in January 1925. Both of these stations had direct links with West Torrens, although their broadcasting studios were elsewhere. The link with 5DN was through its founder, Ernest Hume, who had devised his company's revolutionary means of fabricating concrete pipes, while station 5CL located its 5,000 watt transmitter at Brooklyn Park.

Until the establishment of the airport necessitated its relocation, the 62 metre high mast was a prominent local landmark after it was completed on 5 August 1925. As J.F. Ross has recorded, it 'was a landmark which could be seen from a great distance. It attracted thousands of visitors from all over Adelaide. On the Sunday following the erection the roads were blocked with motor cars and sight-seers . . .' During the Second World War this transmitter was deemed to be one of South Australia's 'Vulnerable Points in Times of International Tension', and its defence became the particular responsibility of 43 Battalion.

Hand in hand with the development of radio was the proliferation of clubs which aimed to further an interest in the new phenomenon and to provide instruction about it. One of the earliest clubs was the West Suburban Club, which began meeting at a home in King Street, Mile End, in early 1924.

The early receivers were primitive affairs, but precisely because of that they were inexpensive and readily available. Jim Toohey could clearly remember the 'cats' whisker type radio' which was built by his brother-in-law and which

used a crystal enclosed in glass tubing together with a microscopic piece of thin wire on a cork. The wire was turned till it struck a sensitive spot on the crystal which would give you the one station—5DN—if it happened to be broadcasting at the time. Earphones were needed to listen, and reception depended on the stringing of an incredible quantity of wire among the fruit trees at the bottom of the garden. One waited hours to pick up a signal, and to hear a voice or a bar of music was considered to be an extraordinary achievement.



5CI Radio transmitter at Divett Street, Brooklyn Park, 1932. Engineers Retallack and O'Grady in the foreground (W.T.H.S.)

However, improvements in both transmission and reception were rapid and soon many homes boasted a 'wireless'. Early models were large bulky items which took pride of place in the sitting room and about which the family would collect in the evenings, particularly after the worst of the Depression had passed.

The 1920s were also the time of the Charleston and Hollywood, and movie houses proliferated. The movies had been very popular as early as 1919, though they were evidently still something of a novelty. The *West Torrens News* of 12 December noted that 'the concluding chapters of "Tarzan of the Apes" entitled "The Romance of Tarzan" will be screened by the Star Picture Company at Torrensville and Hindmarsh tomorrow (Saturday) evening at their respective theatres'. It went on to say that "'Tarzan of the Apes" created a powerful desire of their patrons to see the sequel, "The Romance of Tarzan", and it is with great pleasure that the management are screening same. No doubt this feature will attract large audiences, and patrons are advised to attend early'.

In 1929 the first of Adelaide's cinemas were adapted so that they might accommodate the 'talkies', and during the 1930s they became the great escape from the harsh day-to-day realities. In 1930, West Torrensiens could patronise 'talkies' at Glenelg and Thebarton or silent movies at Hindmarsh. At this time Saturday prices in the city cinemas were 1 shilling for stalls, and 1s 6d and 2s for seats in the dress circle. Eight years later there was an immense choice available to local people. Besides the many cinemas in the city—three at Glenelg, others at Hindmarsh and Thebarton, Torrensville and the Roxy on Anzac Highway—there were local houses at Richmond, Lockleys and at Hilton. On 3 September, for instance, within West Torrens, the local choice was Errol Flynn in *The Prince and the Pauper* at Richmond, Dick Powell in *Varsity Show* at Lockleys, or Claude Rains in *They Won't Forget* at the Lyric Theatre at Hilton.

The other great escape during this time, particularly for the working-class men, was attendance at sport. By this time most of the major sports had long been regularised and sporting heroes had become household names. In the 1930s there were few who had not heard of such cricket greats as Bradman and Ponsford, and who did not follow their careers closely. The summer season of 1932-33 was particularly notable because of the controversial 'bodyline' series which stirred up immense opposition to the visiting Englishmen and Britain.

Football, the great winter sport, also had its devotees among the working-class. Local folk had little to be excited about except in local competitions, for West Adelaide triumphed only once during this period. In 1927 it defeated North Adelaide by two clear goals in the grand final, while West Torrens fared only marginally better by taking out premierships in 1924 and 1933. During the war years from 1942-44, when composite league teams were fielded, West Adelaide combined with Glenelg but failed to achieve success.

Though as a team West Adelaide enjoyed little success during this period, it continued to train champions and provided five Magarey Medallists in the ten years from 1922 to 1931. R.G.L. Barnes won the distinction in 1922, R. Snell in 1929 and J.E.G. Sexton in 1931, while in 1926 and again in 1927 the coveted award went to Bruce McGregor. McGregor had begun with West Adelaide in



Hilton Sub-branch Electric Light Cricket Club, Premiers 1934-35 (W.T.H.S.). *Back row:* F. Waite, C. Joslin, S. Smith, H. Ross. *Third row:* W. Batt, W. Ladbrook, F. Kirby, F. Needham, J. Opic, J. Sop, F. Richardson, F. Pollard. *Second row:* A. Hayse, C. Johnstone, A. Stone, R. Houston, L. Cragie, C. Andrews, A. Thrussall, R. Blundal. *Front row:* B. Winkler, S. Serle

1923 after a successful career at Broken Hill and was chosen to represent South Australia against Western Australia after only three games.

During this period other sports besides cricket and football became firmly established and attracted a large number of local participants. Both the Kooyonga and Glenelg Golf Clubs were established in the optimistic days before the Depression. The Kooyonga Club was the first of these to be formed in 1923. The prime mover in this was H.L. Rymill along with W.A. Giles, J.M. McGregor, E. Leaver, P. Lamphée, A.J. Walkley and M. Wald who formed a syndicate and in May 1922 purchased 36 hectares from the estate of Caleb May, and an additional 16 from John White Mellor, and there established the club. Sir Sydney Kidman was elected the inaugural president, and with Rymill as the first captain play commenced in 1924 on a nine-hole course. The Glenelg Golf Club was opened three years later on 21 May 1927. Early progress was retarded by the Depression and then the war, but it survived and prospered in the post-war period.

Bowling, which has become one of South Australia's major participant sports, developed in the district during this inter-war period. Indeed, the decision to establish the Lockleys Bowling Club was taken at a meeting called for the purpose on 13 January 1913. The ladies formed their own club in 1939. Other clubs were formed at Underdale in January 1935 and at Glandore in May 1943. As in so many community endeavours, the leading men of the district also figured in the inauguration of these clubs. Hurtle Henry Norman, chairman of the District Council in 1940-41, was the convenor of the Underdale inaugural meeting, became the club's first president, and served in the position for ten years.



West Adelaide Football Club, Premiers 1927 (W.A.F.C.). *Back row:* V.W. Harradine (Timekeeper), S.H. Suckling (Treasurer), A.C. Myers (Committee), A.J. Knowles (Committee & Delegate), L. Birrell (Committee), E. Loughlin, E.J. Thomas (Committee), E. McDonnell (Committee). *Fourth row:* H. Solomon, F.R. Batt, K. Oliver, D. Elliott, J. Warming, M. Jarvis, W.R. Chaplin, H.W. Shugg, F. Ryder. *Third row:* J. Furness (Trainer), E.J. Bennetts, G.C. Hale, C. Bennett, H. Stokes, E.G. Schoff, R. Snell, A. Payne, J.F. Scanlon, F. Carr (Doorkeeper). *Second row:* L. Thomas, A. Oliver, E.W. Peet (Chairman), B. McGregor (Captain), Hon. W.J. Denny (Patron), H. Lee (Vice-Captain), A. Kenny (Hon. Secretary & Delegate), R. Fentrill, J. Bishop. *Front row:* S. Dance (Colour-Steward), F. Habib (Trainer), J. Graves (Trainer), T. Delbridge (Trainer), A. Brew (Head Trainer), T. Constable (Trainer), R. Bruce (Sprigger), E. Whelan (Trainer)



Richmond football team, 1923. At the time matches were played on a field on the north-east corner of the South Road-Richmond Road intersection (W.T.H.S.)



Kooyonga Golf Clubhouse, c.1953 (W.T.C.)



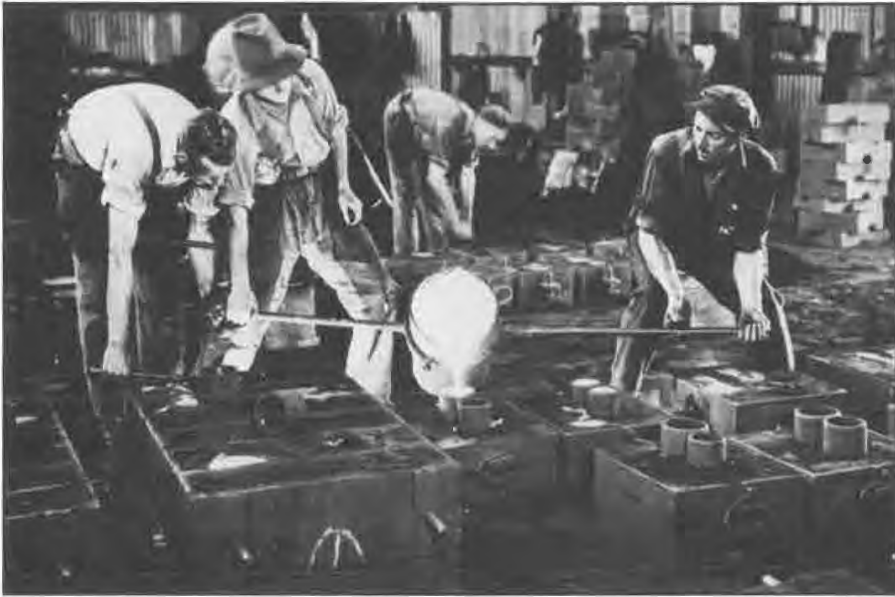
Glenelg Golf Clubhouse, 1953 (W.T.C.)



Opening of season at Lockleys Bowling Club in Cross Street. Ted Lascock is giving the occasional address (W.T.H.S.)

It was during this time that several of the ovals and sporting grounds of the district were set aside and this must rank as one of the more far-sighted initiatives of district clerk Shephard. On 15 April 1920, for example, council purchased 3 hectares of land at Plympton from H.J. Hill and J.H. Morish for what became the nucleus of the Weigall Oval, which was named after the governor of the day. Three years later Council also purchased 8 hectares of land from the State Bank for the purpose of establishing the Camden Oval and Recreation Ground. At much the same time the Adelaide Polo Club at Plympton became the home of the Birkalla Coursing Club, and the venue for regular coursing meetings.

Work The increased number of industries which located in the area provided a number of new job opportunities for West Torrensians, although A.L. Ingerson who grew up at Keswick observed that 'there wasn't much employment for local lads, except for Perrys, the railway yards and the ice works at the South Australian Cold Stores'. Jim Toohy who grew up in 'Tin Town' at Richmond was one who sought work elsewhere. After leaving school at fourteen, he took his first job with Holden and Frost in Adelaide and subsequently worked at a metal foundry at Thebarton before working locally at Baldocks in Grove Avenue, Richmond, who were carpenters and joiners. Wilfred Powell was another of many who spent most of his working life in Adelaide where after several itinerant jobs immediately after the war he began work at the Central Mail Exchange in 1931 and remained for the following thirty-four years. Others worked further afield. Norman Bollenhagen moved to Plympton from the country when twenty-two years of age and from there commuted daily to Holdens at Birkenhead until he was laid off in about 1927.



Workers in Kelvinator foundry, c.1945 (Kelvinator)

Women at work In West Torrens in the early inter-war period, many, if not most, of the women from the working-class parts of the district worked for wages at some time in their lives, though they generally did so only until they were married.

For the most part these West Torrens girls left school as soon as they were permitted by law to do so and generally went into low-status jobs. John Cook remembered that when he was at Simpsons in the mid-1930s, women worked in the enamelling shop. Mrs Esther Davis' first job was at D. & W. Murray's shoe factory at Unley and later she took work as a domestic until she married at the age of twenty. Mrs H. . . of Hilton followed a similar career path, leaving school on the day that she turned fourteen and taking work as a shop assistant to a greengrocer until she turned nineteen, when she began work as a domestic at a home in Millswood. She noted that most of her contemporaries gave up paid employment when they were married, and suggested that they were glad to do so, although Esther Davis recalled that in factory employment at least it was expected that women would leave once they had married. In the Depression years, this was demanded by the unions and John Cook recalled that in 1936, while he was at Simpsons, the union would blacklist any man whose wife also worked in the shop.

Those women who married any of the farmers of the district simply changed their occupation after their marriage, and were expected—indeed, were happy—to work beside their husbands. Ivy Webb moved to West Torrens in 1912 after she married Ben Marles who worked on his father's dairy before acquiring land



E. Stanford in delivery truck (Stanford)



Mrs Underdown's cows on Marion Road, c.1936 (W.T.H.S.)

of his own to establish a market garden. 'I did not work outside with my husband', she recalled, 'but I worked in the shed with the tomatoes, sorting them into grades and packing them; they were always sent to Melbourne'.

So, too, those who married local businessmen worked long hours. When Lilly Bollenhagen married in 1933 she lived with her husband in three rented rooms behind their mixed-goods shop on Henley Beach Road at Lockleys, which was open from 7.00 a.m. until midnight every day of the week except Sunday when it closed at 10.30 p.m. The two remained there for seventeen years, while they raised four children, the first being born in 1936.

Marion Francis also contributed a great deal to the family fortune when she shouldered much of the family drapery business after her marriage to Albert Dyke in 1904. The family business was begun by Dyke's mother Elizabeth in 1902 in Hindley Street but it prospered to the extent that in 1930 Albert opened a second store at Hilton, and soon afterwards Marion opened a third at Mile End.

Throughout the inter-war period there remained many farms, market gardens and dairies throughout West Torrens, despite the rapid residential development in the east and along the major arterial roads. The fortunate ones during the Depression were those who were self-employed in some primary industry, for Ruby Woods recalls that the Depression had little impact on her family which engaged in market gardening at Fulham. Ada Both's father had a large property of 36 hectares between Burbridge and Press Roads where he ran dairy cattle, from fifty to seventy at any time. She recalls that her father had a big milk round which stretched from Marion Road to the railway yards, with another in Adelaide and that he also grew some crops and vegetables, and maintained a few fowls. The Harris' were also fortunate in that they had 3 hectares in Watson Avenue which was primarily used for a piggery but also supported a few beef cattle, a cow and some horses.

Mrs Gladys Norman of the wine-growing family, considered that 'during the Depression they were among the best-off people in Torrensville' and precisely because of this they did what they could to help those who were less fortunate.

Those whose breadwinners were public servants were the lucky ones. Mrs Brown, the daughter of a policeman, recalled that 'we were classed as rather well off'. The State basic wage was reduced in 1930 to £1 2s 6d and yet further to £1 0s 6d in 1931. Public service salaries were cut accordingly, but public servants generally retained their jobs. It was for this very reason that Wilfred Powell lobbied for the position of mail sorter in the Mail Exchange, because although it was not a prestigious position it appeared more permanent than the one which he had had earlier and, indeed, he was never without a job thereafter.

Lack of work During this inter-war period the importance of employment was driven home to West Torrensiens, not simply as a means of livelihood but also as a requisite for a measure of self-esteem and social contact.

Perhaps it was because of the immediate post-war optimism and the hopes and expectations which this raised that the deep Depression which became general throughout South Australia after 1927 left such deep scars, in much the same

fashion that the trauma of the First World War was so intense because of the naive optimism and enthusiasm with which so many embarked upon it.

It is not possible to adequately describe the Depression and its effects on West Torrensians here, but Ray Broomhill, who has studied the social history of the Great Depression in Adelaide, observed that 'the Depression clearly had a discernible long-term effect on the later lives of those who were unemployed'. Moreover, he continued, 'its impact extended to the entire working class, while half of all workers in Adelaide were unemployed at some stage during the late twenties and thirties, at least one-half of the remainder were underemployed, all had their wages reduced by 20 per cent, and few were able to feel that their jobs were absolutely secure'. He concluded with the remark that 'the Depression profoundly influenced the consciousness and behaviour of a whole generation of Australian workers'.

In West Torrens, as elsewhere, the working class felt the brunt of the Depression, particularly the many who were unskilled and most of whom lived in the district about Hilton, Richmond and Mile End.

It was hard enough for those who remained in employment. Alfred Miller of Cowandilla was one who was never without a job during this time. He moved to the district in 1926 when he took up a blacksmithing job with the railways at Mile End at a wage of 16s 3d per day. In 1930, after he was married and at a time when he had three children, his wage was reduced to 9s 10d for a day of eight hours; more than half his wage went on rent for the family's State Bank home. In glorious understatement, he recalled that 'things were very tough'.

John Cook, a master sheetmetal worker, was another of the fortunate ones who, although he changed jobs frequently, was unemployed for only nine months after the completion of his apprenticeship in 1932. In 1933 when there were 7,954 male West Torrensians in the workforce, 1,286 were unemployed, 1,198 of them solely because of the unavailability of work.

However, while things were tough for people like Alfred Miller, they were at least as tough for the many unemployed. In December 1930 there were 907 breadwinners in West Torrens who were receiving rations, and in June 1933 there were still 600 men on the dole, 400 of whom were married. All of these men had to present themselves at the office of the Unemployment Relief Council in Kintore Avenue in Adelaide in order to receive their relief and many of them were required to work out the value of their rations in employment about the district at jobs which were organised by the Council and overseen by one of its gangers. The work was labour intensive and generally consisted of clearing out the several creeks which ran through the district and clearing weeds and rubbish from roads and footpaths.

Stanley Davis, later of Hilton, was one of the many local breadwinners who was forced to work for rations at this time. He and his wife Esther married in 1927 when both were but twenty years of age, with little capital and no special skills. Stanley worked on a chicken farm at the time of his marriage, but was put off two years later and joined the ranks of the unemployed. After he was put off from the chicken farm Stanley tried unsuccessfully to get work, except for

a few odd jobs and those which he had to perform in return for the rations. Circumstances were bearable only because the two had no children and for the first three years after their marriage lived with Esther's parents, and because Esther was able to supplement their meagre income by doing occasional housecleaning or washing. Stanley finally obtained a permanent full-time job in about '1936 or '37' when he began work as a labourer for the West Torrens Council. His wage at this time was only '£4 or £5 a week', but Esther regarded it as 'a marvellous wage . . . because you could get such a lot for that much money in those days'.

Whether unemployed or not all had to make economies at this time. Although motoring became increasingly popular during the early part of this period, the use, if not the possession, of a car among West Torrensians was deemed quite a luxury. It was 1936 before Norm Bollenhagen bought his first motor car, a second-hand Chevrolet, and although Wilfred Powell had bought his in 1932, he had to sell it soon afterwards because his wages were cut and he could not afford to keep it.

For many at this time transport meant public conveyances or a bicycle. Norman Bollenhagen took the train to his employment at Holdens at Birkenhead, having to change at Adelaide, while Alfred Miller rode his 'bike' to work at the railway yards. Indeed, though they did not travel very far or frequently after they were married, Bollenhagen recalls that he used to 'donkey' his wife on the bicycle when they went to visit family members at Thebarton.

Many other things besides the dream of a car had to be set aside during this period. Norman and Lilly Bollenhagen were not married until 1933, although they had known one another for five years and had been engaged for three. Their experience must have been common, because Mrs L.M. Brown had to wait seven years—until 1935—before her father would permit her to marry, primarily because her fiancée had no permanent employment.

An ill wind . . . Despite the rigours of the Depression there were marked technology changes during this period, and as the worst effects of the recession receded an increasing number of West Torrensians were able to take advantage of these, with the result that average lifestyles began to change markedly. One of the major developments was seen inside the home, with the increased popularity of electricity and electrical appliances as an aid to more comfortable living.

Prior to the First World War electricity in those few West Torrens homes which were near mains supplies was used primarily for lighting. The first electric iron appeared about 1908, but these and other domestic appliances remained luxuries until after the Depression and it was not until March 1935, when the economy was slowly recovering, that the Adelaide Electric Supply Company launched its hiring scheme for its 'Adelect' stoves and water heaters, and thereby made them all but necessary in those kitchens which had not succumbed to gas appliances. The scheme was immediately successful because the company was responsible for the cost of wiring, installation and maintenance of each appliance.

The continuing popularity of electricity and gas and the increased efficiency of domestic appliances had a major effect upon home life as an increasing number

of chores were undertaken with these new gadgets. Meals were cooked on electric or gas stoves, and electric or gas water heaters replaced chip burners for heating water for baths. Refrigerators slowly replaced ice chests and led to the demise of the ice-men, while coppers and scrubbing boards slowly gave way to the first electric washing machines, and vacuum cleaners became increasingly popular for cleaning the home.

However, besides eliminating much of the drudgery of housework, new appliances, most notably the wireless, also did a great deal to change home entertainment. Now the world was brought into the family home in a manner which had not been possible before. This was welcomed by all, but particularly by the many sports lovers who could follow major contests far more intimately than they could do through the newspapers.

The spiritual life of West Torrensians continued in the mould which had been fashioned in the years prior to the war and little happened socially or theologically to challenge the long-held traditions. Because of this the history of the churches in this period is primarily bound up with efforts to provide accommodation for the increasing numbers of worshippers who moved into the district at this time.

In large part these developments reflected those in the district in general. It was the increased population about Plympton which prompted Anglicans there to renew their efforts to build a church. A fete on 27 May 1920 launched the new building fund, and sufficient funds were forthcoming to have Bishop Nutter Thomas lay the foundation stone for the Church of the Good Shepherd on 25 October 1925; it was opened the following year on 9 February.

This rapid post-war development also encouraged Anglicans at Lockleys to press for autonomy. Until 1926 their nearest place of worship was St James' at Mile End. From 13 June 1926, however, services were held at the Soldiers' Memorial Hall and in private homes and in 1929 their own Sunday School was founded. From the beginning Lockleys' parishioners dreamt of their own place of worship, but all early plans had to be postponed because of the Depression and the ensuing war. Land for a church was purchased in 1934, but it was 1952 before the completion of the church hall provided an established venue for worship. The present St Richard of Chichester Church was not completed until mid-1964.

Welfare and social institutions During much of this period all of those in West Torrens were concerned with either the receiving or giving of charity and compassion. If times were difficult for ordinary citizens, they were particularly difficult for those religious orders which depended upon the support of congregations.

The Sisters of St Joseph flourished, and became more closely identified with the district. In 1933 they opened a new school at North Richmond named St Aloysius and in May 1934 they established their first junior novitiate at Cowandilla, on a property bequeathed to them by John Byrne which was adapted for the training of girls from throughout Australia who believed that they wanted to join the order.

The dynamism of Fr Healy was carried forward by his successor Fr Francis

Smyth, who had been one of his Brothers of St John the Baptist, and was reflected in new churches and schools and a mounting debt. Besides the institutions mentioned above, a large block of classrooms was opened at George Street, Thebarton, in 1933 and extensions were made to the convent.

The establishment of these institutions reflects a great deal on the aspirations of contemporary Catholics, and their willingness to shoulder heavy financial burdens to ensure the continuation of their faith. The building of St Aloysius School cost upwards of £2,000, while the renovation of the junior novitiate at Cowandilla added an additional £5,000 to the parish debt. At this time though, the responsibility for paying off large building debts was regarded as but one of the responsibilities of being a Catholic and a concomitant of that of ensuring that offspring received a religious education.

However, while the Sisters of St Joseph flourished, the Brothers of St John the Baptist languished. Unlike the sisters, the brothers failed to attract sufficient numbers of recruits so that they could expand beyond the Thebarton Parish. At the same time there were unsettling internal problems largely because of the ambivalent position of Fr Smyth. Though at one time a brother, Smyth had been ordained a priest, and was the brothers' spiritual director, although never their superior. The problems persisted to the extent that in 1942 Archbishop Beovich ordered an examination of the situation and finally recommended that the institute should be suppressed. The three oldest brothers transferred to the diocesan seminary at Magill before trying unsuccessfully to resurrect the institute in Melbourne under the patronage of Archbishop Mannix; most of the others transferred to other religious orders.



House of the Brothers of St John the Baptist at Boys' Town, Brooklyn Park, looking east, 1954
(Fr Moester)

However, if the Brothers of St John the Baptist did not survive, their work did. Boys' Town at Brooklyn Park—which in 1941 became an orphanage for senior boys rather than a reformatory—was taken over by the Salesians in January 1944, a century after the founding of the order in Italy and the parochial school at Thebarton became the responsibility of the Marist Brothers.

Regardless of the fate of the Institute of the Brothers of St John the Baptist, Catholic welfare work in the district increased during this period. In August 1941 yet another welfare institution was opened in the district, this time at Plympton, when the Good Shepherd Sisters arrived to take charge of a refuge for girls in the Martin property known as 'The Pines'. The sisters there set up a laundry to provide both industrial training for the girls and to provide some income, and they complemented this by teaching domestic and social skills. Upwards of fifty girls in their late teens were cared for at 'The Pines' at any one time until parents were able to take them, or they could be suitably placed elsewhere.



A bullock team clearing trees at The Pines in c.1942, after the Sisters of the Good Shepherd had bought the property (W.T.H.S.)

Being prepared The scouting movement continued to develop during this period and although the World Wars created a shortage of suitable leaders, they provided admirable opportunity for the scouts to participate in the war effort. In October 1931 a second troop—the 1st Lockleys—was formed in the district with N.D. Manson as the first scoutmaster. Three years earlier a group of sea scouts was formed—the 1st Underdale—under T.R. Dunn.

During the 1920s West Torrens, or more particularly Fulham, became noted for scouting for from 1923 until 1931, Captain S.A. White was South Australia's chief commissioner, and his home at Weetunga became the venue for numerous scouting activities. In January 1924, during the third Australian Corroboree, it was the site for the Tremhard Miller Shield Interstate Competition which 'involved two patrols from each State competing in such things as pioneering, first-aid, signalling and camping standards'. On this occasion South Australia's honour was



Celebrating the State's Centenary. Stanford home and garden, Henley Beach Road at Lockleys, 1936 (Stanford)



E. Stanford in his garden at Lockleys, 1936 (Stanford)

upheld by the 1st Richmond Troop. Later, beginning in 1927, Weetunga and Cummins both became the sites for advanced training.

The fortunes of these troops have waxed and waned with scouting generally, but they have survived, and the period after the Second World War saw the establishment of other troops at Camden Park, Fulham and West Beach.

The Second World War Just as the worst effects of the Depression began to wane, West Torrensians were once again caught up in a world conflict. In this instance, however, all were involved far more completely than they or their parents had been during the First World War because they were called upon to fight for themselves, rather than King and Empire, and as Ward has observed, they were more severely rationed, regimented and censored than Australians had ever been since the early convict days.

This control was deemed necessary in order to forestall possible invasion, which for a time in 1942 seemed a distinct possibility after a series of allied disasters which began with the sinking of the *Sydney* with all hands on 19 November 1941. Among those lost were a couple of local lads, Able Seaman Alan Schmidt of Hilton whose father had served in the First World War and was then in the 4th Garrison Brigade, and Engineerroom Artificer H.N. Richards of Marleston. The disasters were compounded with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December and the loss of the British cruisers *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* only three days later. Then, on 15 February 1942, the 'impossible' happened when Singapore capitulated to the Japanese, and four days later two devastating air raids damaged Darwin. The danger remained acute until the American naval victories in the Coral Sea in May 1942 and, more particularly, that at Midway early in June.

For a long time after Menzies' declaration of war on 3 September 1939, it was business as usual, with the organisation of the Second A.I.F. helping to soak up some of the remaining unemployed, either directly or by drawing men from jobs which subsequently needed filling. Unfortunately, records are not available to detail the West Torrens contribution, but many local lads joined up as their fathers and uncles had done in 1914.

In this instance women played a more decisive role on the home front than they had done during the First World War. Many of them took up their knitting needles again, or volunteered to work in the Red Cross and the many Comfort Funds, but others joined the women's arms of the forces, the Women's Land Army, or took employment as fruit pickers through the Women's War Service Council. Others joined the industrial workforce to replace the men who were called to active duty. The entry of so many women into industry was of great significance, particularly because it went counter to many traditional union policies which had been thrashed out during the recent Depression. Though many women were later retrenched and their jobs given to returning servicemen, the bridgehead which they had established in the workforce during the war enabled them to consolidate their position there in the immediate post-war boom.

Children were again pressed into the war effort in innumerable drives. In September 1942 the Council organised a scrap rubber drive, and succeeded in



**HE'LL SHOOT
'EM DOWN**

**WHILE YOU
BACK HIM UP!**

He knows, now, he's fighting a winning fight. He's got the courage to do or die. He's got a plane equal to any Jap's, and he's out to shoot 'em down!

There are thousands like him. And there are tens of thousands of kites to back him up. You'll help to see there'll never be any more "too little too late." Now that Victory is in sight we've simply got to go flat out for the knock-out blow. So lend, now, to give our fighting men the overwhelming power it's up to us to supply.

INVEST ALL YOU CAN IN THE
***NEXT* VICTORY LOAN**

Apply at any Bank, Savings Bank, Money Order Post Office or Stockbroker

collecting 1,094 car and truck tyres, 1,169 bicycle tyres, 263 tubes, 189 water bags and four and a half tons of scrap rubber. As Shephard recorded, 'The school children together with the boy scouts, were primarily responsible for the collection of practically the whole of this rubber'.

However, whether or not West Torrensians were directly involved in the war effort at the front, at home or in wartime industries, all were affected by the increased regulation of their lives. Tea, the universal drink, was rationed in March 1942, and on 13 and 14 June ration books were distributed to control sales of clothing, and coupons were introduced to tighten the rationing of tea. Just as the range of goods was restricted so, too, were the hours in which they might be purchased. In December 1941 trading after 6 p.m. was prohibited except in select instances, and all outdoor illuminated advertising was forbidden. This was later reinforced by blackouts and restrictions on street lighting and daylight saving was introduced as a means of saving energy resources on 1 January 1942. As the threat of invasion intensified, racing and bookmaking were also prohibited and arrangements were made to evacuate the metropolitan regions of Adelaide.

At this time the air-raid precautions were taken very seriously, where before they had been treated as something of a joke. The journal of the Richmond school records that by 18 February 'evacuation practice was effected in 55 seconds, without undue bustle'. Immediately following the Darwin bombing such drills took on a new urgency, and parents hastened to dig trenches for air-raid shelters, although on 24 February the principal recorded that 'our numbers are diminishing on account of children being sent to the country as a safety measure against possible air raids'.

The sense of urgency was heightened by the movement of troops about the district and the precautions which were taken to forestall invasion. Barbed wire was placed along the length of the metropolitan beaches and the several bridges at Fulham and Lockleys were mined so that they could be demolished in the face of an advancing foe.

Once again all manner of schemes were devised by governments and local groups to part people from their money which might go to help the war effort or perhaps, more importantly, forestall any inflation which might develop because of the shortage of many goods. The government floated a series of loans, allocated quotas to various local government areas and sought to promote local rivalries so that these were filled. Six 'barometers' were set up about West Torrens to inform locals of the progress.

Local groups worked tirelessly to raise funds for comforts and the war effort and in doing so strengthened community ties. On 14 September 1941 the Glenelg Football Club sponsored 'a greyhound racing demonstration and football programme' to support 'Miss Business (Janet Stoddart) in her efforts to raise funds', while a month later the Keswick and Richmond Unit of the Comforts Fund staged a carnival on the recreation ground at Everard Avenue, Keswick, 'included in it will be Bren Gun carriers, A.R.P. wardens, emergency firefighting services and children in fancy dress. The carnival will be opened by Lieut.-Col. W.F. McCann'. In November, on the other side of the district, Lockleys Paddys Market was held



Patriotism. Butter wrapper of Southern Farmers (P.F.D.)

in the Soldiers' Memorial Hall and it was at this time, too, that the Lockleys Show began as a series of gymkhanas organised largely by Wally Satterley with W.J. Milledge. 'The first gymkhana was to raise funds for one of the Hank girls in a Queen competition', recalled W.J. Milledge. 'It was a real success, so we went on from there'. The first of these 'Horses in Action' Shows was held on Milledge's dairy, now on airport land, while later shows were held on the Lockleys Recreation Reserve and later still, on the Lockleys Oval. Mrs Nellie Hank was one of the great workers for the Comforts Fund and Red Cross at this time and in 1978 had her long-time service for charity recognised by the award of the British Empire Medal.

Perhaps few periods in the history of West Torrens have been so traumatic as the three decades after 1914. Until that time local people were largely unaffected, if not ignorant, of major developments overseas. However, none was immune from the effects of the world wars and Depression, and older West Torrensians retain vivid memories of their efforts to grapple with the problems posed by these

developments. But, although these were difficult times, the trauma served to consolidate local bonds and to build traditions which are important for any community.

The effects of these years were far reaching, and while they affected individuals in countless ways, they also affected the nation. At the time of the First World War, West Torrensians, like Australians generally, were devotedly British, as was testified by the numbers of young men who volunteered to fight overseas for the cause of the Empire. During the inter-war period, however, Australians became increasingly tantalized by America and the lifestyle which they saw portrayed in the cinemas, and during the Second World War British loyalties, though still apparent, were strained as Australia's leaders looked to America rather than a weakened Britain for protection from a perceived invasion. The Americanisation of Australia continued rapidly after the Second World War, with evident effects upon the lifestyles of West Torrensians.

The Third Tier of Government: c. 1914–45

During the three decades from 1914 to 1945, the history of local government in West Torrens was closely bound up with that of its clerk Vernon Shephard, who, except for a short period from 1919 to 1921, remained in charge of the corporation. This was a difficult period when the Council had to contend with the effects of two world wars and an intervening Depression, as well as local controversies and power plays within the elected body. In large part the local controversies were an expression of the tension between the urban and rural regions of the district, or more particularly, the continued expansion of the former at the expense of the latter and something of the reality of this development became evident on 1 January 1944 when West Torrens was raised in status to that of a municipality.

Vernon Stanley Shephard, the man who dominated this period, was born in 1893, the son of the town clerk of Brighton who later became town clerk of Thebarton. He joined the Council as a junior clerk in 1909 on a wage of £25 per annum with a monthly bicycle allowance of 5 shillings and was appointed district clerk in November 1914 with an annual salary of £175. Shephard had quickly achieved a reputation for efficiency and punctiliousness, for in 1912–13 he established something of a record for collecting all of the year's rates of £2,150, and for this was presented with a pair of white kid gloves by the Council. He repeated his achievement the following year and received yet another pair of gloves. The high regard in which he was held was further demonstrated in March 1916 when Council presented him with a set of cutlery and carvers on the occasion of his wedding.

Shephard remained district clerk until July 1919 when he resigned so that he might join his brother in business. T.C. Stephens was appointed his successor, but when Stephens resigned in December 1920 to become secretary of the Garden

Suburbs Commission, Shephard was prevailed upon to resume his old position and was re-appointed on 14 February 1921.



Vernan S. Shephard, Town Clerk, 1953 (W.T.C.)

Shephard remained the chief executive officer until June 1958. He was a dynamic, intelligent, 'ornery', bombastic, sometimes controversial man, with a high opinion of himself. In March 1926 he had several young lads arraigned before him for bathing in the Keswick Creek at Brooker Terrace. 'I told the lads to warn others against this practice', he reported to his Council, 'and I think as a result of this warning the practice complained of will be very materially diminished even if not entirely eliminated.' For all Shephard's foibles, A.B. Cox, a contemporary who had a long association with Shephard and local government, considers him to have been above average as a town clerk, and one, who with Frank A. Lewis of Glenelg, and G.A. Ralph of Woodville, dominated local government in the inter-war period. As one of South Australia's leading local government officers he had an influence far beyond West Torrens and at one time or other he was fellow and federal president of the Institute of Public Administration, a member of the Australian Council of Town Clerks and Other Officers, a member of the Local Government Officers' Classification Board, and a member of the Local Government Officers' Salaries Board. J.T. Leaney, who was district clerk at Campbelltown for sixteen years after 1948, was, for a time, assistant to Shephard, and E.L. Perry, a town clerk of Unley from 1944 to 1966, also served under him for a time as accountant at West Torrens. He was succeeded by Malvern G. Stott, who had been his assistant for ten years.

Shephard's hand was to be seen in most, if not all, of the significant developments in West Torrens during this time. To a large extent it was he who ran the Council, and during a power struggle of the late 1930s, he was described in the popular Press as the 'King of West Torrens'. He was able to dominate councillors by means

of his quick mind and erudition and his command of administrative detail, though to a large extent this was made easier by the fact that few councillors had much formal education, and fewer still any administrative and accounting experience and, of course, all had only a part-time voluntary association with the Corporation. Many councillors resented him because they needed to rely on him so completely, but though many criticised his overbearing nature, none could criticise his efficiency and wish to advance West Torrens.



Early Council Chambers and Corporation staff, c. 1935 L. Perry, J.T. Leaney, Miss Tomlinson, V.S. Shephard (W.T.C.)

The First World War If the momentous developments of the years from 1914 to 1918 had a major impact on West Torrensiens in general, they also had a big influence on the Council and its hitherto predictable, routine and mundane considerations. Henceforth Council was concerned with a great many issues other than simply roads and rates and as the one organisation which unified the district, the Council—generally through Shephard its district clerk—was called upon to organise the local war effort.

As early as March 1915 the Council constituted itself as a committee to facilitate collections for the Belgian Relief Committee. In the following year, members of Council formed a sub-committee to advance the objects of the Federal Recruiting Appeal, to help organise meetings in the district and to expedite the work of recruiting sergeants who were appointed to recruit troops from the district. 'I regret that the results of the appeal were, in my opinion, very discouraging', noted Shephard, 'and not in any way commensurate with the amount of time and work expended on it.' For all that, there were few councillors who had not a son or brother at the front, and on 5 May 1917 A.J. Anderson, the junior clerk, resigned so that he might enlist.

If Shephard was disappointed at the results of the 1916 recruiting campaign, he was delighted with the district's efforts to contribute to the Seventh Commonwealth War Loan in 1918. Once again, a local committee was formed to facilitate a house-to-house canvass of the district and ultimately £15,420 was subscribed, which was far in excess of the quota of £10,000 allotted to the district. In recognition of the effort the Council was presented with an 'Honour Flag' with two bars.

The Council was also closely involved with efforts to facilitate the repatriation of troops and in September 1916 organised a meeting at the Richmond Democratic Hall to form yet another committee for the raising of funds for the Australian Soldiers Repatriation Fund. Subsequently in 1918 other local committees were formed for the purpose of easing returned soldiers back into the life of the local community.

At the same time conferences were held with the Minister of Repatriation to explore means whereby employment might be found for returned soldiers. Advantage was taken of the Federal government's largesse in the form of a sum allotted to local government bodies at the rate of £240 for each returned soldier to carry out improvements in the district.

Post-war In the Corporation as in the community generally, the immediate post-war period was one of optimism when matters returned to a measure of normality. During this time Council staff comprised three inside staff and up to thirteen outside staff who worked on day work. Such was the development and optimism of the period that on 15 December 1926 all were invited to the first staff picnic at Long Gully in the National Park at Belair. It was a gala occasion, complete with a printed programme of events and prizes. Staff were conveyed to Long Gully by means of charabancs, which left the Hilton Hotel at 8.45 a.m. and proceeded along the South Road for the purpose of picking up employees and friends.

The occasion was eminently successful and became an annual event, though only two years later, in 1928, it was decided not to hold it 'owing to most of the Council employees being on half-time, resulting in decreased earnings and consequently decreased contributions to the Employees' Picnic Fund'.

Depression The abandonment of the picnic was but one of the effects of the Depression which became apparent after 1927. For Council and perhaps more particularly its staff, its effects were the more intense because of the period of optimism and buoyancy which followed hard on the First World War.

Once more the Council was called upon to fulfil yet another new role and from late in 1927 until the 1940s, along with the many other local governments, it became an important instrument for the distribution of relief to the local unemployed, though it was also deeply concerned to ensure its own survival.

The survival of the Council became a matter of real concern to members in 1930 after the State government cut its rate subsidy by fifty per cent, particularly since the Depression had made rates harder to collect. For Council, as for individuals, the choice was one of increasing its debt or of minimising expenditure.

Because of the uncertainty about the duration of the Depression, the first choice was not an attractive one, particularly because the bank was also nervous and insisted in late 1930 that Council's account 'next year must temporarily come into credit' and in August 1933, when Council was obliged to ask the bank to increase its overdraft limit from £9,000 to £12,000, the manager was unwilling to oblige. It was this concern about Council's financial situation which led it to decline the State government's offer of cheap loan monies for unemployment relief in November 1929. The same rationale persuaded it not to co-operate with the government's plans in mid-1933 to make local governments responsible for the 'distribution of Relief in this District; contribute 25% of what it is now costing the Government to maintain resident unemployed in this District; and to provide work for those in receipt of rations who are physically capable of doing such work'. The provision of work was not a problem to Council, but shouldering twenty-five per cent of the financial commitment to relief certainly was, and Council did not have the resources to administer such a scheme efficiently, particularly as the office staff was 'reduced to an absolute minimum'.

Where possible, Council's own expenditure was cut, with the outside staff bearing the brunt of these economies as new works were cut to those which were absolutely essential. In September 1930 the thirty-five outside staff, with the exception of two gangers and two drivers, was reduced to half-time employment, and pay was abolished for a week's annual holiday and for public holidays. Later, this half-time work was further trimmed. At the same time the five inside staff agreed to a pay cut of five per cent, although they were already generally near the bottom of award rates. Shephard agreed that no reductions of inside staff could be made because of the urgency of collecting rates and he added that 'the depression generally has resulted in very keen competition for business and our printing, stationery, materials, and other requirements are being supplied at bedrock prices'.

Within the limits set by its own staff and credit rating, Council did a great deal to help relieve distress in the district and helped to ensure that government relief was distributed as widely as possible. In late 1927 it engaged the first twenty men under an employment scheme devised by the government, and in his report to members on 13 May 1929, Shephard argued successfully that Council could reasonably afford to contribute an extra £250 to the relief of unemployed in the district. As he pointed out, unemployed men were sent along by the Public Welfare Department 'to work out rations given them by the Department'. He was impressed by the wretched condition of the men, and noted that 'the men receive no monetary reward whatever, and the majority of them have some considerable distance to walk from their homes to their work, in some instances a distance of up to five or six miles'. Because Council was benefiting from their labour, he persuaded Council to offer them work, 'say one day per week at award rates'. Though precious little relief in the circumstances, this underscored the gravity and widespread nature of the problem. This was further highlighted by the Federal grant of £45,000 for the relief of unemployment which became available early in 1931. Shephard was advised that West Torrens was eligible for £1,904 14s 0d of this, for the benefit of the 907 who were at that time in receipt of rations. As he pointed out in his

report of 27 January 1931, 'on the basis of a minimum wage of 14s 9d per day, each man will be entitled to approximately three days work'.

What became the Annual Christmas Cheer of a few days work, also did little to provide seasonal cheer. In 1934 this Christmas Cheer in the form of a cash allowance from the government in addition to ordinary ration relief provided 10 shillings for the head of the household, 5 shillings for single men and women, and 2s 6d for children under fourteen years of age, though it was a condition of the special grant that a certain amount of work had to be performed. In 1932 Council subsidised the grant by ten per cent in order to stretch its benefits just a little further.

This necessity for Council to provide a means whereby relief could be distributed to the local people continued into the 1940s. However, Council was also responsible for co-ordinating other relief activities including the distribution of the fifty pairs of blankets which were allotted to the district in July 1933 as a result of the *News* and *Mail* Blanket Appeal. As with direct financial assistance, this measure also proved sorely inadequate. In May 1932 Council was advised that the sum of £85 had been allotted to the district by the Unemployment Relief Council 'for the purpose of supplying shoes, boots and material for making clothing to necessitous cases'. Shephard reported, 'We have communicated with the Headmasters of the various schools throughout the District and with others who are interested in Relief work, as the result of which we have received applications for assistance far in excess of the allocation.'

This 'charity' appeared so inadequate because of the vast need. On 15 October 1934, Council was responsible for arrangements made for the 'Royal Gift Tea for poor children in connection with the Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester'. West Torrens' quota from the Lord Mayor of Adelaide was £21 12s which made provision for tea for only 169 of the 785 pupils at Cowandilla, 118 of the 549 at Richmond, sixty-nine (320) at Plympton, twenty-four (110) at Camden, and fifty (235) at Lockleys.

Members of Council were alive to the demeaning nature of much of the work which was required of the unemployed, particularly that required in return for boots for boys and girls, shoes for women, leather for repairing footwear, and material for making clothes for women and girls. In mid-1934, members called upon the Unemployment Relief Council to have it drop the requirement for work in exchange for these basic items, but met with no success. In April 1940, Veale moved that Council should not accept the latest Footwear and Clothing Grant because of the degrading work test—only to withdraw the motion after it was pointed out that 'if the Council did not agree to provide work for the men entitled to receive this footwear and clothing, the men would be deprived of these commodities'.

The provision of employment so that the unemployed might work out their rations was required of Council throughout the 1930s, though the numbers of men requiring work gradually declined during the period particularly after 1939 when the threat of a new world war became apparent. From that time Council had to turn its attention from the provision of social welfare once again to the



Grades 1 & 2 students of Camden Primary School, c.1924 (W.T.H.S.)

co-ordination of a local war effort. The fact that hostilities were so close to Australia meant that Council's war effort was much more intense than that which was associated with the First World War.

The Second World War During the Second World War the Council became the authority responsible for civil defence matters within its district. Although these matters were set in train in 1939, immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, they were not carried through with much sense of urgency until after Japan entered the war on 7 December 1941, and more particularly after Darwin was bombed for the first time on 19 February 1942.

The Council, in fact Vernon Shephard, became the co-ordinator of several organisations which were concerned with matters of local civil defence. In 1939 it was also instrumental in helping to form a local branch of the Defence League of Australia, organised to perform many tasks of the militia, thereby freeing this for essentially military tasks in the event of an emergency. Later in 1941 Council became the nucleus of a local Civil Defence Advisory Committee, which comprised the chairman, the district clerk as secretary, and 'two members of the Council, together with the Chief Executive officers of all branches of Civil Defence in the District'.

Vernon Shephard was also appointed the chief air raid warden and thus helped co-ordinate the provision of protective measures in the district including the enrolment of men who could serve as ambulance officers, and the identification of halls and buildings about the district which were deemed to be suitable as first aid posts.

As the invasion of Australia appeared increasingly likely in late 1941, Council

also took an active role in the provision of slit trenches throughout the district. Private organisations were responsible for trenches and shelters for their own employees, but Council was called upon to build several for the 'Floating Population'. On 15 April 1942, Shephard wrote to the Commissioner of Civil Defence advising him that 'we are digging trenches at or near Bus Stops along the Anzac Highway, and propose digging trenches also at or near other tram and bus stops throughout the District'. He added that 'we are also digging trenches at Public Red Cross Relief Depots throughout the District and are assisting in the digging of trenches at State Public Schools. The class of trench being dug is 4 ft. deep, 2 ft. wide at the bottom, 2 ft. 6 in. wide at the top, and is of the herring-bone design. At each bus stop the trench consists of the letter "W", each arm of which is 8 ft. long with an entrance at each end 10 ft. long, thus making them an average length of 42 ft.'. The digging of these trenches continued until August 1942 when further work was suspended by order of the Department of Home Security. As fighting receded from Australia, particularly after the Battle of Midway in early June 1942, their use became less likely, and after July 1944 work began on filling them in.

Under regulations of 5 February 1942, all households were required to have a stockpile of sand in order to deal with incendiary bombs. Council made this sand available, dumping loads 'in convenient heaps in Streets throughout the District'. Council, too, became the co-ordinating authority for the distribution of 6,000 respirators which in May 1942 were provided for the population.

As in the First World War, Council also became the co-ordinator of the many war loans and appeals which were called in aid of Australia's war effort. Once again the propaganda was intense. The Council, as a local committee, distributed 5,000 encouraging circulars with rate notes, and as Shephard reported to members, 'We arranged a picture night in the Lyric Theatre, Rowland Road, Hilton, and arrangements were made for a speaker to attend the Richmond School Concert on the 25th Ult [November 1943]. We have had six barometers erected throughout the district showing the amount of the quota and the progress total of the subscriptions thereon. In addition to which the Elder Sign Co. has supplied and written gratis six notices measuring 12'x3' urging people to subscribe to the loan which notices have been erected adjoining the barometers'.

For all that, Shephard found the subscriptions 'most disappointing' and in marked contrast to the response during the previous war. This was the common West Torrens' response to the several loans which were floated during the war and it received few pennants to celebrate the filling of quotas. The West Torrens per capita subscription to the Second Victory Loan was £1 14s 6d, the lowest of the seventeen metropolitan corporations except Colonel Light Gardens. The State campaign committee in July 1944 found West Torrens' latest return 'not good' but believed that 'it was due to circumstances quite outside the control of your committee'. In a comment on the response from the area, H. Beilby, the deputy director of the State committee, added, 'I am satisfied that purely industrial areas cannot reach really high quotas, and you will, in the next list, notice a general tendency to lower the quotas in these areas'. In this respect it is significant that

f **£60,000,000**
WAR & CONVERSION
SECOND VICTORY LOAN

WAR LOAN COMMITTEE,
MUNICIPALITY OF WEST TORRENS.

October, 1944.

We have been most fortunate in obtaining from the American authorities the outstanding "Why We Fight" Films—"Know Your Ally, Britain" and "The Battle for Russia."

These films were produced for the American Government by the best Motion Picture experts in the world, and contain extracts from German Newsreels which have never previously been screened.

The films will be shown in the Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Lockleys, 24th October, 1944. They were obtained on condition that no charge was made for admission.

You are hereby accorded a hearty invitation to witness these films, and to bring any of your friends. (These are not suitable for children.)

We have been asked to raise £60,000 with 1,400 subscribers in the Second Victory Loan. This is not beyond our capacity if we all pull our weight.

Even if you are not in a position to subscribe, be sure you do not miss the opportunity of seeing these outstanding films.

Yours faithfully,

HOWARD E. COMLEY, Chairman.

VERNON S. SHEPHARD, Secretary.

Circular from local War Loan Committee, 1944 (W.T.C.)



Copy of War Loan Certificate, 1945 (W.T.C.)

Thebarton's per capita contribution to the Second Victory Loan was £1 15s 6d, only a shade above that of West Torrens while both contrasted markedly with Glenelg, with a per capita contribution of £6 9s 1d, and Walkerville with the extraordinary contribution of £15 15s 6d.

Another of Council's responsibilities was the co-ordination of the appeal for scrap aluminium in mid-1942, and after the cessation of hostilities it also became responsible for the local collection of clothing, blankets and footwear for overseas relief under the motto of 'What can *you* spare that they can wear?' As in so many instances, these appeals were organised with the help of the several schools within the district. Given the fact that only a decade earlier many local people were in need of similar relief, the response was good and returns from the suburb Mornington which were compiled by the St Vincent de Paul Society show that 246 articles of clothing weighing about 50 kilograms were forthcoming.

Despite the lack of financial support for the war effort, many West Torrensians enlisted for active service and, as at the end of the First World War, so in June 1946 Council organised a number of socials to welcome back those local servicemen who had served overseas.

Once again, not everyone who had contributed to the war effort had an easy return to civilian life, with many of the complications being determined by bureaucratic decisions. In June 1946 Council had to choose between two applicants for the appointment of officer of health with the contenders being H.H. Hurst who had been a member of the services but had not left Australia and had already

'served the council well as its Officer-of-Health', and F.B. Turner, who had returned from service overseas. In the event, Turner received the nod because of his overseas service and the fact that Council had earlier agreed to give preference to *returned* servicemen.

New initiatives Although Council during this time had to contend with momentous developments over which it had little control, it also had to maintain those basic services which were its primary responsibility. In many instances the impression gathered from the reports of the district clerk is that in the early part of this period services were certainly basic. On 5 January 1914, Shephard noted that 'during the holidays a new pair of tyres have been provided for the Council's Spring Dray. This was necessary as the old tyres were very thin and were frequently coming practically off, and I have also had the bearings of the Road-roller repaired, the Roller got out of repair in a most inopportune time as we were getting the metal on South Road rolled down in readiness for the holidays at the time of the breakdown'. Only three months later he again reported that 'owing to the bad condition of the South Road, I deemed it necessary to procure a few loads of metal for repairing the holes, as some were positively dangerous, and 4 loads have been delivered and used on that road'.

However, as the character of the more closely settled parts of the district continued to change, so, too, was Council required to take new initiatives. In January 1917 the Local Board of Health was confronted by the problem of an infestation of rats at Marleston and a rat catcher had to be called in to eradicate the pests. 'For some considerable time', Shephard reported, 'Mr. W.H. Bruce . . . used his property . . . as a pig farm etc. Mr. Bruce has now sold this property and removed the pig sties, haystacks etc. and this has had the effect of liberating the numberless rats that had used these conditions as a harborage, the consequence being that the neighbouring properties are now becoming to be infested with the pests.' Problems such as these continued so long as sanitary conditions in the district remained primitive.

Until the period of the First World War, Council had provided few services to its ratepayers, other than the maintaining of roads and the policing of health regulations. However, as residential development intensified, the hitherto simple matter of the disposal of household refuse became a major problem. The Council was called upon to rectify this and late in 1914 began consideration of the alternatives open to it. At this time, though, the need for a scavenging service was apparent only in the Hilton and Sea View wards and it is evident that Council did not consider the need a pressing one, for by September 1918 the service had not yet been adopted. Ultimately a tip was established on vacant land to the west of Netley although this proved to be another perfect 'harborage' for rats and once again, in August 1934, the Council called upon the services of a rat catcher to help contain the menace.

It was during this time, too, that Council followed Shephard's recommendation in having West Torrens become a member of the Municipal Association. In August

1915 he noted that 'this Association is composed of practically all the Suburban Area Corporations and D. Councils' and urged his own Council to join.

Power play Despite Council's concern to ameliorate the effects of the Depression and to foster the local war effort, the late 1930s was a controversial time in West Torrens local politics, which gives the lie to ideas that local government was lacking in interest. This period was characterised by a campaign by urban, largely Labor-voting ratepayers to wrest control of the Council from Vernon Shephard, and the conservative group which they considered was the means of his exercising power. For several years West Torrens' local politics was seldom far from public gaze.

The issue which the newly formed West Torrens Ratepayers' Association used as a vehicle in its campaign was that of Council finances, which although they had been sorely strained during the course of the Depression probably differed little from those of other local councils at the time. Indeed, at the time West Torrens outstanding loans amounted to only £1 4s 3d per head of ratepayers, while comparable figures for nearby councils were £2 11s 2d in Henley and Grange, £2 9s 7d in Thebarton, £2 8s 4d in Hindmarsh and £1 4s 10d in Glenelg. However, on 25 May 1939, the association convened a public meeting at the Lyric Theatre at Hilton, to complain about 'a disreputable and dilapidated state' of Council's finances, and to urge the reformation of the 'one-man, Council. Charles Veale, a salesman of Cowandilla, railed at the fact that Council employees had been retrenched, and that the district clerk was granted an annual car allowance of £78. He contended that 'that sum was equivalent to five month's remuneration for an ordinary working man'.

The attempt by A. Burt, the chairman of the Council, to parry the attack was unsuccessful and, indeed, at the council elections less than two months later Burt was defeated by a two-to-one majority by Charles Veale, at what the *Advertiser* of 3 July 1939 reported was a record poll. However, this poll was unusual. The Ratepayers' Association stood candidates in each ward where elections were held in 1939, yet despite Veale's success, and the intense interest in the election, failed to get a majority on Council. Veale joined the sitting reformers Ingerson and Norman, but they commanded but three votes against the four of Ambrose Chambers and Francis Wharton who were returned with E.L. Osborn, and Arthur McLean who was elected chairman.

Still, the erstwhile reformers made the smooth running of the Council impossible. In July each refused to serve on the finance committee, and Osborn also declined, although the Act required that half the Council and the chairman should serve on the committee. The impasse was broken only when Norman reluctantly agreed to serve.

Subsequently the reformers staged a number of 'walk-outs' in order to invalidate voting of the Council. The Local Government Act required two-thirds of Council members to vote on issues brought before it—in the case of West Torrens it required five members. Yet twice in September 1939 Ingerson, Norman and Veale

walked out of meetings, on one occasion, as the *News* of 4 October reported, over a matter 'to prohibit the barking of dogs after 10 p.m.'

Criticism of the Council, and Shephard, was maintained both within and without Council. In August 1939, the first number of the *Ratepayer* appeared, it being the 'official organ of the West Torrens Ratepayers' Association' which sought to bring about 'reform' of the Council. The reformers continued to criticise Shephard's administration and finally succeeded in having the auditor-general's department investigate alleged staff inefficiencies, although the detailed report dated 6 October 1939 exonerated Shephard's administration.

The reformer's big chance came at the elections of 1940 when Austin F. Chambers, chairman of the Ratepayers' Association, defeated McLean, and gave the reformers the balance of power in the Council. Hurtle Norman, one of the Normans Wines family of Underdale, was subsequently elected chairman.

The move against Shephard was made at the meeting on 13 August when Veale moved that his position should be declared vacant—in six month's time. Austin Chambers and Ingerson supported the motion, Wharton and the recently elected H.E. Comley voted against it.

Thereafter for the following ten months, Council was embroiled in legal action and counter-action, rather than the administration of the district, and all manner of improprieties were imputed against Shephard. Among other things it was alleged that Shephard:

- had dealt extensively in vacant land in his own district totalling upwards of £20,000 in 18 years;
- had over a period of 10 years neglected to collect rates ultimately aggregating about £100 on land in which he was financially interested;
- failed to enforce the destruction of boxthorn on land held by himself;
- upon receipt of confidential information from the Municipal Tramways Trust that the Trust was extending the Hilton tramline along Marion Road . . . purchased six blocks of land on the proposed route for £150 . . .;
- adopted a dictatorial and defiant attitude towards the Council and the ratepayers;
- attempted to improperly influence newly elected Councillors in the performance of their duties.

Shephard first appealed against his dismissal to the Clerk's Appeal Board, one of the three members of which was A.B. Cox, the Council's auditor, and one with whom Shephard had made numbers of land deals. The Council sought a Supreme Court order to have the appeal halted, because of Cox's membership of the board. However, it proceeded, and on 13 December 1940, the board upheld Shephard's appeal. Four months' later Council took the case to the Supreme Court.

After months of close scrutiny no evidence of impropriety was proved against Shephard, though the Supreme Court ultimately overturned the judgement of the Clerk's Appeal Board and upheld the right of the Council to dismiss its district clerk.

It proved to be a pyrrhic victory, for ratepayers in general were not at all interested in the vendetta against Shephard, and petitioned Council to drop the case. In an attempt to demonstrate their high principles, Ingerson, Veale, Austin Chambers and Norman, all resigned from Council on 22 April, leaving Ambrose Chambers, Wharton and Comley to continue the business of Council until the

next election in June. However, their self-immolation went for nought because only Veale and Norman were returned at the following election, although their group had nominated candidates in five of the six wards in which elections were required. The very persistence of the reformers had encouraged a campaign by others 'who declared themselves opposed to the expenditure of money on legal proceedings' and Angus McKee, the campaign director for these other candidates, was reported in the *Advertiser* of July 1941 as expressing pleasure at the 'most gratifying' result. 'There was now a majority of five to two of members who were prepared to get on with the business of the council.' The new Council declined to proceed against Shephard, and subsequently, he led moves in his several professional organisations to redraft legislation to safeguard town and district clerks against arbitrary dismissal.

After several years of controversy the Council reverted to a measure of normality, though at a time of war which was far from normal. Howard Comley was elected chairman of the Council in 1941, and in 1944 when the district was raised in status to that of a municipality became West Torrens' first mayor and continued in this position until he retired from Council in 1946. Veale opposed Comley for the chairmanship in July 1943 but was defeated by five votes to two. When he succeeded to the mayoralty after Comley's retirement, he was no longer characterised by the reformist zeal so evident in the 1930s and apparently he and Shephard formulated a compromise because there was no apparent antipathy between the two during this later period.

Boundary changes There was continued tinkering with the boundaries of West Torrens during the period which included the two world wars. The most significant change was the severance of South Henley Beach from West Torrens in 1915 and its inclusion in a new Corporation of Henley and Grange.

The reasons for this secession were essentially the same as those which encouraged the independence of Thebarton. The development of public transport, particularly a tram-line to Henley Beach in 1881, encouraged residential development there, and with it a separate identity. In support of their independence, local ratepayers who numbered upwards of 900 and of whom 500 had signed the petition, claimed that 'there was no identity or community of interests between Woodville and Henley Beach or West Torrens and Henley Beach. The towns were miles from the headquarters and the administration, and were not proportionately represented'.

The Council, which stood to lose rate revenue, lodged a counter petition, and with representatives from the District Council of Woodville called upon the Commissioner of Crown Lands to lobby against the severance—but to no avail. Henley and Grange was constituted an independent Corporation on 4 December 1915.

The arguments of the West Beach ratepayers could have been repeated by many others, because West Torrens had always been characterised by a number of district communities. However, not all residents on the fringes of the district were dissatisfied with the administration of the Council. Indeed, on 11 April 1918,

residents of the north-western portion of Thebarton, east of Hardy's Road, had their petition answered, and were re-admitted to West Torrens.

In the south-west, however, residents evidently felt more in common with the Corporation of Glenelg than with West Torrens, and in 1926 petitioned the governor to be added to Glenelg. On 24 May 1928, Graymore and North Glenelg were annexed to the Corporation of Glenelg while four and a half years later, on 17 October 1932, the Golflands Estate, Novar Gardens and Grovone followed.

A consequence of closer settlement One of the hazards of increased residential development in the area was that caused by fire, and although the spectacular fire at Bankside on 15 October 1904 underscored the lack of fire protection in the district, it was a dozen years later before the first protective measures were taken.

There had been few fires in the district to equal that at Bankside, but in April 1916 a 'serious fire' occurred in Hilton which destroyed two houses and a shop. Ironically, it occurred at a time when the government was considering extending the protection offered by the Fire Brigade's Board. Despite the fire many locals remained opposed to the idea, primarily because of the cost which was involved, although their opposition had little effect and in 1917 a brigade was provided for the Thebarton Fire District which included the populous parts of the West Torrens district. This partial protection of the district remained until 1945 when all properties within the municipality were brought under the protection of the Fire Brigade. In 1946 the annual cost to Council for this protection was £372 2s 11d.

Coming of age Something of the increased sophistication of the district and council of West Torrens was epitomised by the opening of new chambers in 1936. As early as October 1919, architect H.E. Cowell had been asked to draw up plans for a public hall, Council Chamber and offices for a site at Keswick, at the junction of Nottingham Avenue and South Road. These plans proved abortive and it became increasingly difficult to resurrect them as the post-war boom gave way to the intense Depression.

The matter of new Council Chambers was taken up again in July 1934, at a time when the recovery from the Depression, though slow, was nevertheless apparent and ultimately proceeded to a successful conclusion. Cowell, a local resident, was once again asked to design suitable premises, this time though for a site at Hilton at the intersection of Brooker Terrace and Hilton Road known hitherto as Skinner's Corner and H.J. Emery, another local man, was engaged as the builder. The foundation stone for these new premises was laid with due ceremony by D.V. Fleming, the Highways Commissioner and Director of Local Government, on 18 May 1935. Work progressed rapidly so that the new chambers were opened nine months later on 29 February 1936—in the State's centenary year. Fifty years-on, however, a town hall still remains to be built.

The aspirations of the Council—epitomised in the new Council Chambers—were fulfilled eight years later when on 1 January 1944 West Torrens became a municipality. This was significant for many reasons and not least because it



House at Skinner's Corner, site of present Council Chambers (W.T.C.)



Opening of new Council Chambers and Offices on 29 February 1936 (W.T.C.)

demonstrated the changed nature of West Torrens from a rural district to a more closely settled and developed area. Indeed, one of the preconditions for the enhanced status and which was demanded in the Local Government Act was that the governor should be satisfied 'that the portion of the State comprised within the District is occupied mainly for residential, business, industrial or manufacturing purposes or any one or more of those purposes'.

This new status was primarily Shephard's achievement. In his report on the matter to Council on 10 May 1943, he pointed out that he had first raised the matter on 12 May 1930 'when we were accommodated in the old Council Chamber on Marion Road, but it was agreed then that . . . the Council Chamber was not in keeping with the dignity and status of a Corporation'. He brought the matter forward again in July 1936, soon after the new Chambers were opened, but once again the proposal was taken no further. However, in 1943 the suggestion to explore the possibility arose from a motion by Charles Veale and in his subsequent report to Council Shephard went to great lengths to highlight the benefits of the higher status, and it is certain, too, that he was conscious of the benefits of his enhanced status from district to town clerk, should the measure proceed.

At last Council was pleased to endorse Shephard's report, and the governor was requested to proclaim West Torrens a municipality. This was gazetted on 9 December 1943, to take effect from 1 January 1944, with Howard Edward Comley, a linotype operator of Morphettville, being elected as the mayor at the first meeting after the proclamation.

All of the suggestions made by Shephard concerning procedural matters which followed upon the proclamation were also endorsed by Council. The Local Government Act required that there should be two councillors for each ward, but rather than retain the seven wards thereby making the Council in Shephard's view 'unwieldy', the number was reduced to five to include Keswick, Hilton, Hayhurst, Lockleys and Morphett and no provision was made for the election of aldermen. At Shephard's suggestion the name West Torrens was retained for the new town, 'notwithstanding that such a name is hardly appropriate in that West Torrens is a District and not a Town'. In this he highlighted one of the features of West Torrens and its history—the fact that it has failed to develop a clearly defined identity. As he observed, 'We have a number of very old townships within the District such as Hilton, Richmond, Marlestone, Keswick, Lockleys, Underdale etc., but none of these appears to me to be appropriate'. However, though not perhaps appropriate as the name of the new 'town', the adoption of the historical name ensured that it would be retained for that of the future city.

Though West Torrens became a municipality on 1 January 1944, it was not until after the following elections that all the changes could be implemented when under the terms of the Local Government Act, all seats were declared vacant. Comley was returned unopposed as mayor; five of the other six retiring members were returned, Veale, Mack, Poole, Cramer, and Wood, to be joined by F.E. Weston, E.J. Souter, H. Beerworth, A.H. Halliday and J.G. Rogers. There were contests in only three of the wards—Keswick, Hayhurst and Morphett.

This period was an important one in the history of the West Torrens Council. It was a time which had its share of controversies but also a number of achievements, and it was also a time when the Council was one of the most highly regarded in South Australia, primarily because of the eminence in municipal matters generally of Vernon Shephard its district clerk.

However, this period was also significant because of the new functions which the Corporation was called upon to perform, for the Council was the one factor which unified a motley collection of villages and communities. It helped co-ordinate the community effort during the world wars and many of the relief programmes during the Depression. This proved to be a major departure from the activities which had traditionally been the concern of the Council, but a task which it handled efficiently and proved to be but a preparation for the enhanced role of the Council in civic matters in the period following the Second World War.

Part III
THE MODERN
METROPOLITAN
CITY

Physical Transformation: c. 1945–86

The forty years since the Second World War have seen the completion of the transformation of West Torrens from a rural district to a suburban city, a process which began at the time of the first European settlement of the area. In this it has reflected the continued development of the State and the nation, and indeed, some of its leading industries have played a major part in this larger development.

The immediate post-war period was one of tremendous optimism throughout Australia and particularly in South Australia where many of the industrial initiatives set in train by the Playford government began to bear fruit. Perhaps nothing symbolised the dawning of a new era quite so much as the production of the first Holden motor car in 1948, for it canonised the achievements of Playford's industrial policy and, in turn, did much to hasten the transformation of Australian society.

Any number of indicators illustrate the transformation of South Australia in the years since the Second World War. The total population of the State all but doubled from the 646,073 of 1947 to 1,285,033 in 1981. In the twenty years immediately following the war the value of rural production increased from \$69.6m in 1945–46 to \$306.2m in 1967–68, while in the same period the value of factory production increased more than twelvefold, from \$49.1m to \$614.9m. But the effect was evident not only in statistics but also in the new industrial character of the State, particularly in the development of Whyalla as an industrial town and part of the industrial triangle with Port Augusta and Port Pirie. Nearer the capital the change was apparent in the new residential and industrial estates which were established at Elizabeth to the north of Adelaide, and in the region about Christies Beach in the south.

New heavy industries were established which broadened the State's economic base. In 1965 a fully integrated steel works was opened at Whyalla to complement the shipbuilding there, and which continued to establish records for the number and size of Australian-built ships.

The new industries demanded increased power. To help meet this need—and to prevent the power cuts which were frequent so soon after the war because of strikes and threats to vital coal supplies from Newcastle—the coal deposits at Leigh Creek were exploited and the Sir Thomas Playford Power Station was opened at Port Augusta in 1954. Thirteen years later a new station was opened at Torrens Island and a new energy source in the form of natural gas was discovered at Gidgealpa in 1963. When this was piped to Adelaide in 1969—itself a significant undertaking—it initiated a virtual revolution in industry. The very first industrial contract with P.G.H. Bricks represented the equivalent of total annual sales to industry hitherto; local firms including Perry Engineering and Menz hastened to convert to the new fuel. South Australia's own oil refinery at Port Stanvac commenced operations in 1964, which besides providing motor oils and spirits also produced gas and liquid petroleum gas.

The 1950s and 1960s were heady and optimistic times in South Australia, when at last it seemed that the State was at the forefront of progress and current technology. Being ignorant of the long-term effects, contemporaries were thrilled at the detonation of an atomic bomb at Maralinga in 1956, and although the technology was not their own, they congratulated themselves on the successful launch of the Eldo rocket from Woomera in 1966 and that of the W.R.E.S.A.T. satellite a year later.

Unlike the boom period after the First World War, this one was sustained and broadly based and in order to encourage its continuation, the Federal government inaugurated a large-scale immigration programme. The United Kingdom–Australia Assisted Passage Agreement was introduced in 1947, and to ensure a steady flow of migrants for employment in Australia's burgeoning industries, similar agreements were signed with other European countries, notably the Netherlands and Italy in 1951. This migration has been a major factor in the rapid post-war population increase so that by 1981, 27.1 per cent of the population of metropolitan Adelaide was born overseas. This rapid increase in population had a flow-on effect which maintained a heavy demand for housing and consumer goods.

The effects of the long-sustained post-war boom wrought fundamental changes in Australia, South Australia and West Torrens. The dramatic development of the region is graphically demonstrated in the annual value of new building works approved by Council:

Value of New Building Work Approved by Council

1945/45–1979/80*

1945/6	£363,542	1949/50	896,207
1946/7	441,292	1950/1	1,253,376
1947/8	692,656	1951/2	1,196,842
1948/9	598,175	1952/3	1,594,250

1953/4	..... 1,647,390	1959/60	..... 2,519,360
1954/5	..... 2,203,920	1960/1	..... 2,613,787
1955/6	..... 2,062,872	1961/2	..... 2,840,021
1956/7	..... 2,101,843	1962/3	..... 3,200,778
1957/8	..... 1,788,727	1963/4	..... 3,170,290
1958/9	..... 2,021,908	1964/5	..... 3,600,075
1965/6	..... \$5,893,278	1973/4	..... 10,329,685
1966/7	..... 4,580,099	1974/5	..... 10,369,769
1967/8	..... 6,658,211	1975/6	..... 10,443,735
1968/9	..... 7,614,233	1976/7	..... 10,104,467
1969/70	..... 8,350,878	1977/8	..... 8,577,090
1970/1	..... 6,713,578	1978/9	..... 8,917,690
1971/2	..... 7,114,175	1979/80	..... 15,403,473
1972/3	..... 5,707,136		

*Figures obtained from successive annual reports of the town clerk

Perhaps few indicators reflect the changes in West Torrens more clearly than do those of simple population figures. At the census of 1947 there were 22,570 residents in what was then the Municipal Corporation of West Torrens, up from 16,053 in 1933. In 1981 the population of what is now a city had risen to 45,099. In the same period (1947-81) the number of dwellings trebled from 5,320 to 17,477.



South Road-Anzac Highway intersection looking to south-west, 16 August 1955 (H.D.)

A residential city Despite the continued change within the region, it was only in the period since the Second World War that the many small farms and the large areas of vacant land have become but a memory. In 1946 there were still several piggeries in the district some running as many as 300 pigs, particularly in the sandhill area to the west of Marion Road. However, the encroachment of new subdivisions made this an undesirable enterprise, so much so that in the late 1930s it became Council policy to phase these out and some were reprieved for a time only by the war. In much the same way, the increasing regulation of the dairy industry persuaded the district's remaining dairy farmers to leave the industry, and, of course, these many farmers and the many market gardeners of the district came under increasing pressure to subdivide their land for residential purposes.

Several of the one-time important estates were finally subdivided during the early post-war boom period. The Morphett estate was reduced to a large suburban block in 1963 when 13 hectares were subdivided to form the new suburb of Novar Gardens and little remains to testify to the once extensive holding but the several street names of the subdivision. Indeed, in November 1976, Cummins itself was sold to the State government by John Morphett who claimed that he was unable to maintain the house adequately. The government was hardpressed to find a suitable use for it, and after toying with the idea of using it as a lodging for State guests, finally, on 1 January 1983, leased it to Immanuel College for use as an education resource centre, and for the development of a pioneer museum.

Also in the 1960s, the town planner approved of the subdivision of the Birkalla Polo Ground of 24 hectares which had been the home of the Adelaide Polo Club for sixty years. The Council was offered the first option on the land, but when it could not find sufficient funds 18 hectares of this was developed for housing. Myer purchased lot B in March 1960 and developed it as an oval while the government secured lot C and set it aside for the construction of a new high school to serve the growing population, which as Plympton High began in 1960.

On the other side of the city much the same happened to Weetunga when in the late 1950s the White estate was subdivided for residential purposes, though with Weetunga itself remaining with the White family.

Many of the older subdivisions underwent resubdivision at this time, and it was in this way that the Richmond Oval was carved out of the earlier blocks. Council began negotiations with the several owners during 1948 with the object of securing about 5 hectares of land which could be set aside as a recreation reserve. Council finally decided to proceed in February 1949. It met little resistance from the landowners and by 15 February had successfully completed negotiations with ten of the fourteen owners. At much the same time, there was increased pressure to subdivide many of the other Richmond blocks, and in 1950 the Retallack block was subdivided into 'nine or ten' building blocks. Little now remains to testify to the extent of the Richmond blocks, though many of the old 'Victorian' cottages are still to be found amid the austere 1950s homes.

A major housing development was undertaken immediately south of the Glenelg golf links at this time, when 250 war service homes were built in 1949-50,

representing the largest concentration of these homes in South Australia and was appropriately named Golflands.

Much of this early post-war development was bedevilled by continuing economies and restrictions upon building materials which were not lifted finally until 1953. Besides seeking building approval from the Council, would-be home builders and developers also required a permit from the State's Building Materials Office. These restrictions promoted the development of a black market, whereby builders were always able to command 'a little extra' for expediting matters. Still the many homes which were built during this time are readily apparent from their 'austerity' appearance, and are characterised by their generally red-brick, double-fronted design with small porches rather than front verandahs.

The more recent post-war residential development of the city has been reflected in the more intensive development of building sites, as well as the subdivision of the remaining broad acres. This multi-storey development has taken place along the major roads of the city, most notably Anzac Highway, and it was another matter in which West Torrens was a leader, though in this instance, the honour is perhaps a dubious one. However, the changes in attitude to this type of development are significant and reflect attitudes to post-war development in general.

These attitudes were admirably reflected in the local paper *West Side*. On 17 November 1965 it led off with the story that the Council was 'receiving scores of requests for permission from people wishing to build factories, flats, offices, etc., in its area'. In the early days, much of this was a matter of pride, particularly when in July 1969 the *West Side* was able to report that 'the first high-rise flats to be built in the Adelaide suburbs are at present under construction at Anzac Highway, Plympton'. This was a five-storey 'Mediterranean-style building'. However, this development set up its own reaction and it was symptomatic of changes in residents' attitudes which touched many features of later West Torrens history when, seven years later, after Council approved plans for a nine-storey block of flats at Plympton, it was met by 'a tidal wave of discontent'.

However, despite new attitudes to more intensive use of sites, this is a trend which is bound to intensify, particularly in the older parts of the city, and the current proliferation at home units is symptomatic of this. Again, this development is determined by the proximity of these areas to Adelaide, and the enhanced value of building sites in these areas.

The Cinderella seaside resort Not all of the large estates were dismembered for housing, however. In mid-1952, 7 hectares of Fulham Park was acquired from W.S.P. Kidman for recreation purposes and the establishment of the Lockleys Oval; a public meeting to elect a board of trustees for the oval was held on 16 October. The balance of the Kidman property on the south side of Henley Beach Road was subdivided into residential allotments.

Further to the south-west, 140 hectares of the early Gray Estate was reserved for recreation purposes and placed under the control of the West Beach Recreation

Reserve Trust. The South Australian Housing Trust had earlier acquired 180 hectares of land to the west of Tapleys Hill Road. However, the establishment of the airport nearby rendered the land unsuitable for housing purposes, and in 1954 about 140 hectares of this was transferred to the Recreation Reserve Trust, which was constituted comprising three representatives from both the Glenelg and West Torrens Councils and which was charged with the task of developing the recreational potential of the area. The government agreed to provide £20,000 to help develop the reserve so long as the two Councils contributed a similar amount over seven years.

Stage one of the development programme, which was estimated to cost £30,000 began in mid-1957 when 6 hectares were set aside for a caravan park and 18 hectares for playing fields, and work has continued since that time as part of the 'long-range project to make "Cinderella" West Beach the main metropolitan seaside resort'. The project received a fillip in 1968 when A.J. Boss sought approval to lease a site on which he might build an aquarium, and Marineland was opened in mid-March 1969 and has since become the centre piece of the recreational complex. In 1973 it was taken over by the Trust and later in the same year—in December—the Trust itself was reconstituted. Thereafter the new West Beach Trust came under the effective control of the government when the Councils' representation was reduced to two and the chairman and two additional members were appointed directly by the government.

Progress has continued under the new arrangement. The original caravan park has been extended and a new park of on-site vans has been opened and more recently, in 1984, a new complex comprising low-cost holiday cabins was opened. In 1986 the area set aside for active recreation purposes comprised an eighteen-hole golf course and fields suitable for games ranging from cricket to football, soccer, hockey and baseball, and a host of other activities besides.

Other tourist developments have also been promoted in the city, chief among which is the Railway Museum at Mile End. This was opened in December 1970 and since that time has collected a great many items and rolling stock which are identified with South Australia's railway heritage.

The residential development of the city represents the major physical change during the post-war period. It was not a dramatic change, but rather the logical extension of that settlement which began in 1837 and will yet continue. At this time, however, there were also significant changes in the long established industries.

Industry Those heavy industries which had been in the forefront of Playford's industrial push in the latter 1930s and during the war continued to prosper, though their very prosperity persuaded many to establish headquarters elsewhere nearer the financial centre of Australia.

Humes of Keswick, which had been largely responsible for production of the pipes for the Morgan-Whyalla pipeline, also secured a large part of the contract for pipes for the £4 million Mannum-Adelaide pipeline project; the first of the



Marineland and village, April 1985 (P.F.D.)



Mile End Railway Museum, April 1985 (P.F.D.)

pipes for this project left Humes' Keswick factory in January 1951. Continued success was reflected in the reorganisation of the company. In 1952 the Hume Pipe and Steel Companies merged to form Humes Ltd with a capital of £5m, and now with its central office in Melbourne, Humes Ltd is a large diversified multinational company with concrete, steel, plastic and earthenware interests.

Perry's continued prosperity was also underpinned by the company's involvement in many national projects and by 1953 there were upwards of 800 employees working at the Mile End site. This prosperity and the need for more ready access to markets prompted the 1966 merger of Perry Engineering with Johns and Waygood Holdings, a Melbourne-based company, and although still a major industry in South Australia and West Torrens, this has meant that control of yet another South Australian company has shifted interstate.

It was in the immediate post-war period, too, that the long-established implement maker Horwood Bagshaw reorganised its Mile End plant, and in 1954 opened what was then one of the most modern foundries in Australia. The company prospered during this period due largely to the acquisition of allied firms. In 1958 it acquired the Victorian implement maker Mitchell & Co., and in 1959 the general engineering business of J. Todd & Son. Besides supplying a wide range of agricultural goods to the Australian market, international markets have been exploited in South Africa, South East Asia and the Middle East. The firm's close identity with West Torrens persisted until 1972, when the Mile End property was purchased by the State Highways Department for use in the proposed transport corridor.

Many of West Torrens' long-established industries have undergone rationalisation because of new technologies and demands. Southern Farmers is another which has embarked upon a programme of expansion and modernisation. Since the war Southern Farmers has acquired several one-time rivals, including Jacobs Dairy Produce in 1975 and the Adelaide Milk Supply Co-op two years later. In order to meet new financial demands it became a public company in 1970, while at the same time it has continued to rationalise its operations and upgrade its plant. In 1959 it commissioned Australia's first automatic milk bottling line, while in 1982 commissioned a wholly new plant at Mile End.

The sustained post-war prosperity attracted many new industries to the region, which offered large areas of undeveloped land close to the capital and the heart of the State's transport network. One of the most notable of these new industries was that of Lightburn and Co. which in 1946 purchased 40 hectares of land at Camden.

Like so many of West Torrens' industries, that of Lightburn grew from a small family engineering firm. It began in a small shop on Unley Road in 1919, and made steady if unspectacular progress. In 1945, however, on the initiative of Harold Lightburn, it became a public company and embarked upon a period of very rapid growth and diversification. Within ten years all of the company's operations, which provided employment for upwards of 800 people, were centralised on the Camden site. Products which were made there ranged from hydraulic jacks to wheelbarrows, concrete mixers, fibreglass boats, and, after 1948, twin-tub washing machines.

Particular emphasis was given to exports, and by the early 1960s many of these products were being exported to markets in sixty-five countries. The company also had a high profile throughout Australia and along with Kelvinator it prospered with the increased market for domestic appliances. By the early 1970s these two firms, together with Simpson Pope and Wilkins Service, supplied about twenty-five per cent of the white goods which were sold in Australia.



Kelvinator factory and environs, looking to the north (Kelvinator)

A particular feature of the Lightburn story, however, was its venture into motor vehicle manufacture, which highlights many of the features of Australia's post-war boomtime. In March 1963, after a decade of research, Lightburn announced that it had made arrangements to build the Zeta, 'a true, Australian economy vehicle'. The Zeta was originally designed in Britain, but refined in Italy, with components also from Germany. It was to cruise at 95 kilometres an hour with a fuel consumption of 'sixty miles to the gallon' and was considered to be 'a winner', the ideal runabout and 'second' car. It was introduced to the South Australian market later in the year. At much the same time the firm announced plans to assemble Alfa Romeo cars, and began importing these to test the market.



Refrigerator assembly at Kelvinator factory, c.1946 (Kelvinator)



Product of West Torrens (Kelvinator)

Unfortunately for Lightburn neither venture prospered. The firm had misjudged the market by plumping for smaller European cars when the growth area was in the larger, American-inspired vehicles. For a time, Zeta sales 'moved along steadily', but in September 1965, after a severe slump in profits, the Lightburn group determined to reorganise yet again. Production of the Zeta was discontinued, and plans to assemble the Alfa Romeo were scrapped. In effect, the firm decided to concentrate its activities in those areas which had been the basis of its profitability in the immediate post-war years and after having paid the price for attempting to expand too quickly it took some time to recover.

The story of the Zeta is but one aspect of the post-war boom in the manufacture and ownership of motor vehicles in South Australia. In the year 1946-47 when peace-time production was re-established, 26,278 motor bodies were built in South Australia with the number increasing to 64,179 in 1954-55; in the same period total new motor vehicle registrations rose from 7,184 to 27,713. West Torrens and its citizens shared directly in this prosperity through its vehicle manufacturer Chrysler Australia with a plant at Mile End, and the component manufacturer, W.H. Wylie & Co. which had a plant at Hilton. In 1953, nearly 900 workers were employed at the Mile End plant of Chrysler Australia.

Much of this industrial expansion, like that of the foundation of industry at Mile End, was the product of firms outgrowing their original location in the city. Thus it was that in 1940 W. Menz & Co., the biscuit and confectionery manufacturer, purchased land at Marleston, and in 1952 began operations there in a large Nissen building brought from England.

Since the period of the post-war boom, secondary industry has remained a major factor in West Torrens. Some firms like Chrysler Australia, W.H. Wylie and Horwood Bagshaw have moved to new areas which have permitted even greater expansion, but their plant has been taken by others and new industries have moved into the area. In 1962 Advertiser Newspaper Ltd purchased 5 hectares of land at Netley so that the several functions of the successful Griffin Press might be consolidated in one locality, and the new building comprising 1.5 hectares of floor space was opened on 28 February 1964.

The district became the veritable head of job-printing in South Australia when in early 1974 the new \$5.5m Government Printing Department was transferred to large purpose-built premises near those of the Griffin Press at Netley. On West Beach Road at Richmond not far removed from either of these giants, is the smaller Mitchell Press, and yet another, the Colour Printing House Pty Ltd, is located on South Road at Kurralta Park.

In a similar fashion West Torrens has also become the virtual hub of South Australia's many transport industries because of its proximity to Adelaide and the major air and rail facilities which have been established in the city. Indeed, few modern industries have had as much impact upon West Torrens as that of aviation and the development of Adelaide Airport, but although it has been a great benefit to South Australia in general, and another indicator of post-war development, the location of Adelaide's airport within West Torrens has been a mixed blessing for the city.



Lightburn factory at Camden Park, 1941 (Lightburn)



Washing machine division of Lightburn's factory at Camden Park (Lightburn)

South Australia's gateway Though not opened to commercial aircraft until February 1955, the idea of a new airport for Adelaide had been mooted nearly twenty years before when, in 1936, C.W. Hawker raised the matter in Federal parliament. Even at that time the shortcomings of the site at Parafield, which was opened in 1927, were becoming apparent, and they became more evident with the increased popularity of air travel, and the rapid development of a new generation of aircraft during the war. Air travellers, of course, found the distance of Parafield from Adelaide to be an inconvenience and business leaders and politicians lobbied for another site. However, the major problem with Parafield was the proximity of the Adelaide Hills, which 'were a definite hazard under low visibility conditions'.

Supporters of the concept of the new airport took heart in 1939 when the government announced its policy of providing an additional airport for all capital cities, and again in 1941 when preliminary investigations of sites about Adelaide were made by N.M. Fricker, an engineer from the Department of Civil Aviation. Little could be done during the war, at a time when the country seemed under threat of invasion, but as hostilities became more remote Fricker was called upon to make a second, more detailed, report. This he completed in December 1944. The only sites which he considered to be suitable included one at Woodville (the site of the West Lakes development), another at Islington (the early sewage farm) and the West Beach site which comprised much of the one-time estate of W.H. Gray. Fricker recommended the latter as 'by far the best available' for there was little residential development in the area, the site provided good approaches from all directions, and it was only 6 kilometres from the centre of Adelaide.

Fricker's report, which was endorsed by the Department of Civil Aviation, received Cabinet approval in January 1946 and the acquisition of the land proceeded at once. The lack of development of the area to that time is evident when it is considered that the initial acquisition of 590 hectares involved that of only eight dwellings, though the provision of an access road from Henley Beach Road required the removal of another, partly-built house, and the relocation of the 5AN broadcasting tower. The land was primarily used for mixed farming, with some market gardens on the eastern fringe, several piggeries, the Council's refuse tip and some trotting tracks which were used for training. From a land-use point of view, the acquisition had little immediate effect upon West Torrens. However, what was to become of major significance was the closing of portions of West Beach and Morphett Roads, thereby cutting off direct access between different parts of the Council district. Whatever might follow henceforth, West Torrens was destined to remain a hollow city, one without a developed heartland.

The Federal government's acquisition of the airport land was facilitated by the fact that so few owners were involved. H.H. Charlick convened a public meeting at the Lyric Theatre, Hilton, on 20 November 1945 to protest against the airport, but this was a futile gesture. There were some murmurs of opposition from those who believed that aircraft noise might be a problem, but most West Torrensians felt no close involvement with the airport, and along with their fellow South



First hangar at the Adelaide Airport, c.1954 (W.T.C.)



Burbridge Road–Airport Road intersection, looking to the south-west, 1 December 1959 (H.D.)

Australians welcomed it as another indication of the growing sophistication and importance of Adelaide.

Construction of the new airport commenced in September 1947 and continued steadily, though it was 16 December 1954 before the first plane touched down, a DC3 belonging to the Department of Civil Aviation. Commercial operations began on 16 February 1955 from a makeshift terminal in one of the hangers, and continued from there until the terminal building was opened on 30 August 1957. Development of the Adelaide airport has continued intermittently since the 1950s with the improvement of runways, taxiways, the terminal building and navigation equipment. One of the most significant new developments was the commencement of regular international services from a new terminal in October 1982.



Adelaide Airport looking east, c.1957 (M.L.)

The many improvements, particularly the upgrading of facilities to handle international flights, have all been accompanied by vocal opposition from the growing number of residents who are opposed to the noise from the airport. The most vocal lobby has been the Anti-Aircraft Noise Association, though the Council, too, has long opposed the continued expansion of the airport and argued for its relocation. In 1966 it organised a petition to the Minister of Aviation against the introduction of a jet-engine maintenance centre at the airport. This was never implemented, although it was no doubt abandoned for economic reasons rather than the opposition of local residents. All other opposition has been ineffectual.

However, despite the many problems for West Torrens and its citizens, few of which were anticipated when the airport was first suggested, the airport has

meant that West Torrens has become the virtual gateway to South Australia for great numbers of migrants, celebrities and visitors. This has been a major justification for plans to upgrade the link between the airport and the city centre by means of a new multi-million dollar Hilton Bridge across the railway yards of Mile End.

The idea of West Torrens being the gateway to South Australia was reinforced in early 1984 when a new interstate passenger rail terminal was opened at Keswick. This development followed upon the agreement between the State and Federal Labor governments in 1975 under which the Commonwealth acquired South Australia's country and interstate rail services on 1 March 1978.



Australian National Interstate Rail Terminal, April 1985, with new administration building in the background (P.F.D.)

The transport history of West Torrens is yet continuing. In mid-1985 the Bannon Labor government acquired the property of United Motors with the intention of relocating the S.T.A. depot from the parklands at Hackney to the Mile End site. This means that West Torrens is also to become the veritable transport hub of South Australia.

M.A.T.S. The Adelaide airport has been a major influence upon the physical development of West Torrens. However, it was established on virtually undeveloped land, and recent development has grown up about it. Perhaps of far greater potential consequence for the amenity of the area was the threatened north-south transport corridor, eight to ten lanes wide, which was to pass through

the city. This was the major recommendation of the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (M.A.T.S.) which was completed by the Hall-led Liberal government in 1968. If implemented, this meant the virtual carving up of several inner-metropolitan working-class suburbs, particularly those to the west of Adelaide.

Opposition to the scheme was immediate and vocal. West Torrens was to be affected less than many other inner areas because the preferred route of the expressway was to follow that of the one-time North Terrace to Glenelg railway to a point midway between South and Marion Roads where it was to swing to the south, and run parallel to these roads. The impact in West Torrens was to be marked nevertheless, because of the several interchanges and the fact that for much of its route the freeway was to be elevated.

A local group calling itself the S.A. Citizens Action Committee against M.A.T.S. was formed to stimulate opposition to the scheme and more than 300 people attended a public meeting at Kurralta Park in September 1968. Speakers were greatly concerned at the effects upon neighbourhoods of the intrusive freeway, the loss of amenity and the decrease in land values. Council, too, protested against the damage to the city, for at the very least it stood to lose \$27,000 in annual rate revenue if the scheme was implemented.

The scheme never eventuated because the Liberal government was rejected by the electorate in 1970. Though it was not a major issue, Labor's opposition to the M.A.T.S. plan was certainly a factor in its return to power. Following the election, the plan was shelved and in March 1982 a succeeding Liberal government all but abandoned the plan when it agreed to retain the corridor in 'concept only' and reduced the nominal width of the freeway to that of four to six lanes. The Labor government which followed later in the year abandoned the concept completely to the delight of Council and residents generally, although in 1985, much of this euphoria was quickly dissipated when the Liberal Party in opposition again raised the spectre of a north-south corridor.

Yet though the M.A.T.S. plan was abandoned, the very threat of its implementation had a deleterious effect within the city. Upwards of 600 properties which stood along the proposed route—ninety of them in West Torrens—were acquired by the Highways Department so that they might be demolished, and though leased out by the department, these properties became run-down and contributed to a loss of amenity along the proposed corridor. Several industries were also persuaded to leave the area because of the resumption of their land for the purposes of the plan. These included Horwood Bagshaw and Commercial Motor Vehicles which were long established at Mile End; the first moved to Edwardstown, the second to Regency Park.

While there was uncertainty about the plan, the blight persisted. Only since the abandonment of the plan and the sale of the many properties which were acquired, has it been possible to halt and to reverse the degradation.

The physical changes to West Torrens in the thirty years after the Second World War have perhaps been more conspicuous than that at any time in its history,



Corner of Harvey and Beare Avenues, Netley, 1959 (W.T.H.S.)



Burbridge Road near Brooker Terrace intersection, looking east, 4 March 1965 (H.D.)

other than the years of the first European settlement. Until the war large parts of West Torrens remained farming land and many of the large estates which were founded by the pioneer settlers had remained identifiable, if not totally inviolate. There remain large tracts of open land within the city, but that in the centre has been given over for use as a modern airport while other areas have been developed for recreational purposes. The few grand homes in the district which once stood in lordly isolation are now incongruously cheek by jowl with modern housing in recent subdivisions.

This transformation has been determined largely by forces outside the district and to a great extent it reflects the post-war development of South Australia and Australia generally, which has been characterised by increased urbanisation and a greater emphasis upon industrial and tertiary industries.

However, the history of West Torrens has been more than simply a reflection of larger general trends. Many of the heavy industries which had long been identified with the district and which prospered and developed during the war years have played a major part in the significant developments which have characterised the State and the nation. Indeed, the very success and dominance of these industries has persuaded them to transfer their headquarters elsewhere, although for all that, many of them have maintained a significant presence in the city.

The physical transformation of West Torrens in the post-war period is readily apparent, but this was but one aspect—and the one which is most easily demonstrable—of the immense changes which have taken place since the war.

The attendant social changes within the district have been no less significant, though perhaps they have been less tangible.

Grass Roots Politics: c. 1945–86

The dominant feature of the history of West Torrens since the Second World War has been the rapidity and all-pervasiveness of economic and social change. This sense of change is evident, too, in the matters which affected the local government which, raised to the status of a Municipal Corporation on 1 January 1944, was proclaimed a City little more than six years later on 1 July 1950. Throughout this period of rapid change, one of the few constants has been the existence and the function of the Council. The physical transformation of West Torrens has taken place largely regardless of the Council, but it has been the task of successive Councils to help the district and its residents to adapt to these changes.

The period since the war has been a testing time for local government in South Australia in general, as it has struggled to find a new role, relevance and identity in a society which has abandoned many of the conventions which had grown during a century. The details might vary, but the experiences in West Torrens are similar to those of other South Australian metropolitan local governments. No sooner had the war finished when local government was faced with the problems which were associated with the decades of sustained economic boom. Increased population demanded new housing, and developers and new residents demanded roads and services for the many new subdivisions and while endeavouring to meet these demands, Council also strove to safeguard and to enhance the amenity of areas. For a long time Council resources, which were run down by years of recession and war-time restrictions, were stretched to the limit. However, though always a problem, the most pressing difficulties were generally associated with tangible matters such as roads, kerbing and refuse collection which could generally be met from traditional local government resources, even if they were subject to delay.

Subsequently, as Councils successfully came to terms with many of these bread-and-butter issues, increased affluence, borne of the sustained economic growth which only in the 1970s began to show signs of faltering, meant that the demands on Councils, from the higher tiers of government on the one side and residents on the other, have focused on intangible issues such as 'amenity'. This has caused considerable confusion as Councils with their limited resources and expertise have sought to resolve these issues.



West Torrens Council during its Centenary Year, 1953 (W.T.C.). *Standing:* M.H. Rowe, V.J. Martin, A.W. Hyde, W.G. Hearfield, N.A. Coombe, J. Collaghan, *Sitting:* J.C. Sexton, J.H. Giles, Mayor C.R.J. Veale, R.J. Bartlett, A.J. Dunning

The career of one of West Torrens' more noteworthy latter-day councillors, Joe Wells, illustrates something of the reality of the changes which have confronted local government in the post-war period. Wells was a small businessman who entered Council at the elections of 1959, amid a blaze of controversy on a development issue. At the time he was an acknowledged member of the so-called 'Industrial Group' which allegedly sought an easing of restrictions on industry within the city. He remained a forceful, outspoken and sometimes a controversial member of Council until he was embroiled in a controversy of his own making, which was primarily a quality of life issue. In December 1977 he had proposed the closing of Saratoga Drive at Cummins Park and successfully saw the matter to completion to the extent that the closure was gazetted as a park. However, his efforts stirred up intense opposition from nearby residents who were seriously inconvenienced by the closure and confounded by the manner in which it was done. The opposition was sufficiently intense to ensure his defeat at the election in 1980 and the re-opening of the road.

Change from above So much of the change with which the Council had to contend was beyond its control. The essential impotence of Council—even in its dealings with the other tiers of government—is no better evident than in the matter of the Adelaide airport. It was the State government which pressed for the development of a new city airport, and the Commonwealth government which decided upon its siting at West Beach—in the heart of West Torrens—without any dialogue with the Council or consideration of the effect that this would have on the development of the district.

Council certainly knew of the initiatives to develop a new airport to serve Adelaide, for this was reported upon in the daily Press. In 1944, at the time when detailed investigations were being made, members were happy enough that Adelaide should receive a new airport, but as the town clerk reported, 'the unanimous opinion of members was that the Council could not advocate or support the establishment of an aerodrome, if it meant the closing of the West Beach Road also the possible closing of the Morphett Road'. In the event, Council members had no say in the matter, and when the Federal government acquired the land both roads were closed. The only official intimation they had that the project was to proceed was the notification on 10 December 1946 of the intention of the government to resume some of the Council-owned land for airport purposes. Complaints from the Council about the lack of consultation received scant attention from the Commonwealth.

By 1945 though, members had accepted the *fait accompli*. As Vernon Shephard claimed before a public meeting on 20 November which had been called to debate the issue, whatever the advantages and disadvantages of having the airport within the Council's boundaries 'the problem with which the Council is confronted is the necessity of facing up to the march of progress'. Shephard was always one who believed in 'progress' without giving too much consideration to the consequences, and plumped for the establishment of the airport. Perhaps taking their lead from Shephard in this as in so many other matters, some members who had originally opposed the idea of the airport became its advocates. However, their expressions of support merely underscored their ignorance about the project, its implications and its prospects. Thus, in urging support for the airport, Cr Wood recounted his vision of 'West Beach itself . . . [becoming] densely populated with up-to-date emporiums because people will be coming to this airport from all over the world, and in many cases they will not have time to journey to the city prior to leaving for their various destinations'. This was typical of the rosy view of development which was shared by so many South Australians during the post-war period.

The apparent heavy-handed attitude of the Federal government was typical of the 'development at all cost' attitude which pervaded the 1950s, but it was also typical of the condescending attitude of the Federal to local government.

Adelaide airport has undergone major developments since that time, all of which have taken place with only token consideration given to the wishes of the Council and residents who are affected by the airport and the increased amount of traffic which uses it. In July 1981 the local member of State parliament, Heini Becker,



The bane of many West Torrens dwellers, April 1985 (P.F.D.)



West Torrens emblem designed by V. Shephard (W.T.C.)

when commenting upon the latest question concerning the development of the airport, was quoted in *West Side* as claiming that 'Adelaide Airport will not become a true international airport in the foreseeable future'. Only fifteen months later a new international terminal was opened, and regular international flights began using the airport.

Successive Councils have consistently opposed aspects of development of the airport—to no avail. This lack of clout had long been recognised and until the grant of arms in 1984, Council's arguments were always compromised by the fact that they were put forward on letterhead paper which featured an aeroplane, which suggested implicitly that Council delighted in the airport. This emblem had been designed by Vernon Shephard and reflected his support for the airport and his wish for what he considered to be progress. The aeroplane is like none that has ever flown. When Shephard first designed it he included propellers, and when it was pointed out that even then it was obvious that such an aircraft would soon be dated, he simply deleted the propellers—or so the story goes.

If the Federal government showed it scant regard, the Council has been regarded little more highly by State government instrumentalities.

Council was alive to the problems associated with the shortage of housing immediately after the war and turned a blind eye to many undesirable expedients so long as it was accepted by all concerned that non-conforming dwellings were to be subsequently upgraded. However, Council protested to the premier about the erection of so-called emergency housing by the Housing Trust which was built without first obtaining the consent of the Council, all to no avail. 'Neither the Premier nor Members of the Trust were in favour of refraining from building emergency dwellings within the area', reported Shephard, 'and it was pointed out to us that approximately 800 of such dwellings had been erected in the Enfield Corporation area; over 600 in Port Adelaide and approximately 260 in Mitcham, so that with the 77 emergency dwellings under construction at present it could be maintained against us that we had been dealt with very leniently by the Trust in this respect'. Ultimately seventy dwellings were built at Netley, with another sixty-eight at Camden Park, with the Council being assured that such buildings 'were to be of a temporary nature only'. However, in mid-1956 when Council urged the Housing Trust to replace these, it was informed that at that time there was no proposal to do so and that 'it seems unlikely this will be done for some time to come'.

In much the same fashion successive Councils have lobbied State governments in vain in order to have the earlier North Terrace railway reinstated.

The apparent high-handed attitudes of State government ministers is perhaps symptomatic of the low regard in which local government has traditionally been held. A noteworthy instance occurred in March 1977 when the Minister for Local Government G. Virgo sought nominations from Council for membership of the West Beach Trust. Ultimately he chose to disregard these and appointed Councillor Elaine Klaucke to the position, his explanation being that he wanted a female member of the Trust. Council protested to no effect, although the issue resolved



Kitchen interior of emergency dwelling (W.T.C.)



Emergency homes erected by the South Australian Housing Trust at Camden, 1951 (W.T.C.)

itself eleven months later when Mrs Klaucke resigned from her position and membership of the Council and was succeeded by Steve Hamra.

A more recent instance of the State government's heavy-handedness occurred on 14 March 1985 when, by means of a regulation under the Planning Act, the government stripped Council of its planning powers other than those relating to residential development, and vested them in the South Australian Planning Commission for a period of six months. The point at issue revolved about the government's attempts to relocate a transport firm from premises on South Road in the Unley district, to premises—also on South Road—at Richmond. The government even had the Highways Department undertake major roadworks at this new site to facilitate the move. It argued that the trucking firm constituted a traffic hazard at its Black Forest site, but Council believed that it would be no less a hazard at Richmond, and opposed the relocation accordingly, even taking the case to the Supreme Court after the Planning Appeals Tribunal had overruled the Council's objection. It was while the case was before the Supreme Court that the government took its unprecedented action which served only to complicate the issue further.

The affair became a *cause célèbre* and propelled the normally Press-shy Council into the headlines, primarily because the implications of the government's actions were so far-reaching and touched all local government authorities. The government's hamfistedness underscored its scant regard for local government and the tenuous nature of local government autonomy, and because of this Council's cause was quickly taken up by the Local Government Association. However, the government was so committed that it could not be seen to back down and in April it threatened to bring down legislation to facilitate the move, thereby overriding the courts. Given the strength of the government's arsenal, Council could do little but finally accept the *fait accompli* and the government's offer to bear all legal costs. Though it might have had a moral victory, the tactical victory certainly went to the government.

New problems Even without the problems thrown up by Federal and State governments, the Council was hard pressed trying to regulate the private development of the district during the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s. West Torrens proved to be particularly attractive for both residential and industrial development because the pre-war flood mitigation works had turned vast areas of earlier flood-prone land into prime real estate which was ideally located close to the capital, at the heart of the transport network and within easy reach of the beach. Yet, while it had the power to try to regulate this development, Council was reluctant to do so.

The question of temporary homes was but one complex problem of many with which Council had to grapple and which highlighted several features of the post-war years. In the first instance, of course, the proliferation of these homes exemplified the reality of the population boom, swelled as it was by great numbers of European migrants who were assisted to Australia by the Federal government. The problems inherent in this population explosion were compounded by the post-

war restrictions on building supplies which put a brake on new home construction and ensured that those which were constructed lacked flamboyance and originality.

While numbers of intending new residents were able to obtain land readily enough, few could do more than erect sheds and use these as temporary housing, although this was contrary to Council regulations. Council could do little but tolerate the situation and when reluctantly granting permission for the erection of such homes Council insisted that applicants should agree to commence the erection of permanent dwellings within a definite period. However, except by actually enforcing the law they could do little to ensure that such works took place.

To complicate matters further Council also had to contend with established residents who opposed the proliferation of these temporary homes. Established residents of Plympton were concerned that the number of such temporary homes there would become a 'shanty town', with the consequent depreciation of the value of their properties, and they petitioned Council to disallow the practice of permitting the erection of such temporary homes. The situation was complicated further by suggestions that ethnic ghettos were developing.

The problem was not confined to West Torrens, and on 16 October 1950 Council hosted a meeting of local government authorities to determine common attitudes to the matter. Most of the discussion supported the contention of the town clerk of Enfield who observed that the Councils could not hope to solve the problem 'but they could endeavour to control it'. In the event the Councils could do little more than agree on common standards and procedures which should be accepted.

As if the shortage of housing was not enough, many new residents also had to contend with the sharp deals of speculators, and Council again bore the brunt of complaints. Shephard elaborated on a 'classic example' which occurred in Kurralta Park in his report to Council on 13 June 1952. The first owner purchased an allotment for £195 and there erected a 'domestic workshop' at a cost of £150 'which he subsequently sold for £1,050, and which was again purchased by the present occupant for £1,300'. For this the purchaser received linoleum on the floor, built-in cupboards, curtains and water-trough, but no heating, cooking or other appliances.

Another problem with which Council had to contend and which was peculiar to the post-war period was the assimilation of the rapidly increasing non-British migrant population. For the most part this proceeded remarkably well, because of the rapidly expanding economy, but there were frequent instances when the wishes of the new migrants ran counter to established regulations. As the question of the temporary homes indicated many migrant groups were eager to establish themselves and their families as quickly as possible, and were prepared to forgo short-term benefits to achieve this. It was thus that in November 1951 J.A. and V.M. . . . ran foul of the Council when they sought to purchase adjoining allotments in Hampton Street, Keswick, to permit the extension of the husband's trucking business. This was a non-permitted use, and Council members were concerned that such an activity would compromise the character of the area.

Council did enjoy a clear-cut victory or two in its attempts to create a better city in which to live. The changing nature of the district was used as a means

of finally closing down those piggeries which had been a constant source of complaint to the Council and the bane of the health inspectors, although the exercise also demonstrated the reluctance of Council to use its punitive powers despite the constant flouting of its instructions. In the late 1930s it was with great reluctance and only after Council's patience was all but exhausted, that James Betterman ceased keeping pigs on his Plympton property; it took Council upwards of eight years to close down the operations of Sidney Howie of Netley.

In the period prior to the war there were many piggeries in West Torrens. A report of the Metropolitan County Board of 21 July 1938 gives details of sixteen, 'With but few exceptions, all premises were in a most unsatisfactory condition, six being in a very unsatisfactory state'. With the spread of residential development, their continued existence became undesirable, and on 5 September 1945 all pig keepers within the district were informed that the keeping of pigs within the municipality was to cease 'upon the conclusion of the war'. Howie failed to comply until he was finally taken to court on 8 May 1950.

The changing nature of the district also necessitated the removal of the Adelaide Hunt Club kennels from premises in Mooringe Avenue. During the war the pack was reduced because the club's activities were abandoned. However, new dogs were introduced late in 1948 and almost immediately numerous complaints from neighbours poured into the Council. The kennels were ultimately moved to O'Halloran Hill in 1950.

Matters of concern Perhaps the 'proliferation' of massage parlours underscored the changed nature of West Torrens as much as many other developments. These became a matter of some concern in the mid-1970s when up to half-a-dozen parlours were operating in West Torrens, at Hilton, Cowandilla and Keswick. The tongue-in-cheek solution of one councillor in 1974 was to seek to have the Council exercise control over them but in this he had little support, and the Council sought rather to close the parlours with the threat of prosecution for non-permitted use of premises under the city's planning regulations. However, the problem persisted and in August 1978 the mayor again complained of too many parlours operating in the city. 'The council is particularly concerned at problems caused to local residents when massage parlours open nearby', he said. 'Typical complaints are either unruly behaviour at the parlour or embarrassing visits at residents' doors by customers with the wrong address'. These parlours were ultimately closed down under threat of prosecution.

Not all complaints were prosecuted so assiduously, however. In September 1955 Council first received complaints about the nuisance of the noise and dust from the sand-blasting operations of Di-Met at Mile End, particularly when these operations were undertaken at night. Corporation inspectors confirmed the nuisance and activities were suspended for a time, pending some minor building works being undertaken under threat of legal action. However, despite assurances no effective remedies were taken, activities recommenced, and complaints persisted. Council seemed reluctant to act even when, in 1959, the Department of Public Health recommended that the local board should prosecute the firm. Council

declined, arguing that the company had agreed to undertake new works to eliminate the source of any complaints. The local board continued to stall in November 1962 after it was 'informed by the Manager . . . that he has issued a strict instruction to his employees that they must at all times whilst carrying out sandblasting operations in future, keep the doors closed'. When in July 1963 the Department of Health brought a successful conviction against the firm, it was advised that the local board 'deplores the action of the Central Board in having taken proceedings against the Company without first having informed the Board'. Perhaps Council's reluctance was explained by the fact that the manager of Di-Met was a member of the Council, but in this it simply exemplified something of the problems which bedevil local government because of the identification of many of those who have stood for Council with local business interests.

By-law 19 and industry If Council found it difficult to control residential home development during the boom period of the 1950s, it found the regulation of industrial and commercial development almost impossible. During this time, West Torrens developed without any integrated plan, without any effective controls over new development, and without any officer in the Corporation who was trained and charged with the supervision of development applications. This was a time of sustained economic boom, with the State government doing all in its power to attract industries to South Australia by offering attractive concessions, and for its part the Council competed strongly for the location of many industries in its area. As the West Torrens' motto proclaimed, 'Not to progress is to regress', and in the 1950s progress was closely identified with newer, bigger and better industries.

What became a matter of great concern to residents was that much of this new industry encroached upon hitherto residential neighbourhoods—with the acquiescence of the Council. Speaking before the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Subordinate Legislation on 27 October 1959, the town clerk referred to 'an interesting case in point'. He noted that 'the first street off South Road and running parallel to South Road is built in with attractive small homes' and that 'in this street there is a vacant allotment of land which adjoins vacant property on South Road'. A 'well-known large interstate trading concern' wished to centre its South Australian operations on the South Road site, and approached Council that it might also use the block at the rear, although it was in a residential street. Council acquiesced. As Stott continued, 'the Council was very anxious to have this particular business established in West Torrens, and it would have been a loss had we not been empowered to grant use of the land at the rear'.

In fact Council had the power to regulate new development under Section 82 paragraph 'f' of the Building Act of 1923, which also gave Council the power to establish zones within its boundaries. These zoning powers were ultimately promulgated as By-law 19 which was gazetted on 26 October 1944. However, a dispensation clause was included in November 1945, which stripped the By-law of much of its effectiveness. It was this clause which enabled Council to permit the 'well-known large interstate trading concern' to intrude into a residential street,

and indeed, as some critics alleged the 'chaotic condition of industries among residential areas in West Torrens was due to the too-free use of the dispensation power'.

It is evident that influential industries could obtain what they wanted—irrespective of the By-law—simply by biding their time. In one instance, W.J. Odgers was refused permission to establish an engineering workshop on West Beach Road, but following a subsequent election which brought new members on to the Council, later industrialists received permission to locate there. In a similar fashion a new Council overturned the decision of its predecessor to refuse permission for an Ampol service station to be established on the Henley Beach Road on the property known as St Ives.

Some major developments were passed with a minimum of consideration by Corporation staff or councillors. At an ordinary meeting of Council on 23 November 1965, under 'other business' at the end of the meeting, Cr Wells 'sought permission to introduce the application [of C.J. Coles to build a supermarket on Marion Road at Plympton] for consideration', and reported simply 'that he had conferred at length with 12 immediately adjoining ratepayers on the proposal . . .'. It was passed, although it had not been considered by Corporation officers.

In other instances influential industrialists were able to appeal to a higher, sympathetic authority in order to over-ride allegedly restrictive Council directives. In this manner Kelvinator was permitted to expand its Keswick plant. In 1937, in order to protect the firm of T.J. Richards & Sons at Keswick from actions by private householders, the government enacted its Manufacturing Industries Protection Act, and on 5 May 1938 proclaimed an area in Keswick in which this was to apply—it included land owned by Kelvinator. The area was extended by proclamation on 20 April 1939 and as A.W. Barker, Kelvinator's managing director, pointed out to the Joint Committee on Subordinate Legislation, his firm 'was at the same time given an assurance by the Government that its expansion in the Keswick area would be protected against interference by local government bodies as far as lay within the Government's power'. In 1958 Council opposed an application for an extension to existing buildings, but as Barker pointed out, 'due to the intervention of the Premier the council later gave us a permit'.

Despite the existence of By-law 19, there was no development plan for West Torrens during the 1950s and any zoning was simply a canonisation of existing land uses with the By-law seeking to perpetuate these. However, any semblance of development control was lost when, in 1957, and again in 1959, the amended By-law was disallowed by parliament.

Problems began in 1953 when the Mitcham Council sought to prosecute Ross Chenoweth Ltd for a breach of its zoning By-law. The case was ultimately taken to the Supreme Court where the Council was deemed to be acting beyond its powers and the earlier conviction of Chenoweth was set aside. Subsequently, the West Torrens Council was informed by the Minister of Local Government that portions of its By-law 19 would also be regarded as being beyond the Council's powers and it was suggested that amendments should be made.

For the next decade Council sought effective planning controls, only to have

successive By-laws disallowed by parliament. This effectively gave *carte blanche* to astute industrialists who sought to expand their enterprises. The director of one leading South Australian business took full advantage of this confusion, after Council opposed the erection of a new building on the western side of South Road. 'Whether it is a zoned industrial area is beside the point', he claimed in the *News Review* of February 1960, 'because it is a recognised industrial area, one in which businesses have been carried on for many years, and wherein at least three buildings of the same type as that proposed by me are now being built . . . Might it be possible that the Corporation of West Torrens administers its so-called Zoning By-law more by bluff than actual power?' In his correspondence with the Council he alluded to parliament's disallowance of the By-law and the fact that Council had received advice that the By-law 'might not withstand a challenge in court'. He claimed that so long as the application complied with the Building Act, Council was required to approve it, and closed with the veiled threat that legal steps would be taken to claim damages from Council 'if it puts this Company to any expense by pretending to powers it does not possess'.

When seeking advice on this issue from the Council's solicitors, the town clerk admitted that under the dispensation clause, Council had already permitted industries to be established on the western side of South Road 'and relatively close to the subject property'. It was this 'dispensation clause' and its ready use which had made the By-law so ineffective as a development control measure, and it was this which was the main bone of contention in later efforts to amend the By-law. The industrialists who appeared before the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Subordinate Legislation supported the clause to a man, but private ratepayers were opposed to it and claimed that so much of the amenity of West Torrens had already been damaged because of its ready use and its opponents were also fearful that the clause afforded 'possibilities of graft' and without elaboration added that 'we already have suspicions of this'.

Indeed, By-law 19, with or without the dispensation clause, became a key issue at successive Council elections after 1958 when industrialists united to ensure the election of sympathetic members to the Council.

It was yet several years before Council had any effective development control beyond that which related specifically to the Building Act. Before the controversy over By-law 19 was resolved the State government initiated steps to formulate a development plan for metropolitan Adelaide, and in accordance with this, Council was required to draw up a development plan for the city. Outside consultants were called upon in 1965 to help prepare this, together with accompanying regulations.

In the event, the West Torrens development plan which formed part of the Planning and Development Act 1967 did little more than formalise those zones which had developed 'like Topsy' within the city and suggested means whereby they might be perpetuated. It contained no vision for the future, nor steps whereby some future ideal city might develop. However, only after the acceptance in 1970 of the Regulations under the terms of the Planning and Development Act did Council have effective control over new development within the city, and it was

March 1973 before it appointed C. Barnes to be its first planning officer. By this time, though, Council could do little more than tinker with peripherals because the essential character and appearance of the city—warts and all—had been firmly established.

Controversial elections At the elections of 4 May 1985, which were the first to be held under the terms of new local government legislation, there were elections in only one ward; in October 1983 all members had been returned unopposed. But such apathy, or what sitting members would call total satisfaction with the Council, has characterised few elections since the war. Many of the post-war elections have been as vigorously fought as the most controversial in Council's history and suggests that the attraction, the challenge and the rewards of local government have changed little since its inception.

The election of Council's first woman member was one which was surrounded in controversy. At the elections for Lockleys Ward on 5 July 1958, Minnie Jones bested James Carey by 66 votes—610 to 544—and was sworn in on 8 July. Carey, however, charged that Jones had contravened Section 131 of the Local Government Act by soliciting votes at a polling station. The charge was subsequently upheld, and Jones' election was declared void. It was a pyrrhic victory for Carey, however, for although he stood at the supplementary election on 8 November, he received an even bigger defeat when he polled only 495 votes to Ronald Hitchin's 982. It was almost twenty years before another woman succeeded at the poll. This was Elaine Klaucke who was returned for Hayhurst Ward at the supplementary election on 3 July 1976 when R.I. Jennings resigned so that he might contest the mayoralty. She was returned again on 2 July 1977—with a majority of only seventeen votes over J. Brownsea—but resigned in the following December.

The late 1950s saw several controversial elections which gave the lie to the oft-repeated claim that party politics have had no place in South Australian local government. Such politics have frequently been a covert ingredient. Robert Bartlett, a fitter and turner, was councillor from 1947 until 1963 and mayor from 1954 till 1961. He was a member of the A.L.P. and secretary of its Camden Branch and claims to have been persuaded to stand for election to Council by Labor stalwarts Jim Toohey and Jack Souter. When in retirement, he observed that 'politics were in Council as far as the Liberals were concerned—they wouldn't admit it. The Labor Party also had candidates for a time—endorsed candidates. We had six Labor councillors out of ten councillors'. The push to get rid of Shephard in the 1940s turned upon the ascendancy of the Labor group in Council and for several years this group remained in the majority and provided a training ground for several members to pursue illustrious careers in the Labor movement. Frederick Hubert Beerworth, an engine driver of Cowandilla, was a member of the State and Federal executive of the A.F.U.L.E. He served as a councillor for Hilton Ward from 1944 to 1946 and went on to become a Labor senator from 1946 to 1951. Jim Toohey who was an organiser and assistant secretary of the Vehicle Builders Employee's Federation, was a member of Council from 1947

until 1949, and he was also State secretary of the South Australian branch of the A.L.P. from 1947-55, its president in 1954 and 1955 and a State Labor senator from 1953 until his retirement in 1971. Toohey's successor as State A.L.P. secretary was Joseph Sexton, who also succeeded him as member for Keswick Ward from 1949 until 1959.

This Labor influence came under challenge in the late 1950s in the form of the so-called 'Industrial Group'. As Bartlett observed, 'The other side then got organised, spent a lot of money; we had only our own money, the Labor Party was not supporting candidates then'.

The last year of Bartlett's mayoralty was made particularly difficult by the increasing polarity within Council. The *News Review* of 4 January 1961 remarked upon 'a night of uproar and heated cross-firing in the Council Chamber', when Mayor Bartlett had closed the December meeting before the completion of the agenda, and he was quoted as saying that 'if the ratepayers of West Torrens knew the kind of Council that represented them, they would be amazed. I am ashamed of it all'.

It was at the elections of 1958 that the industrial push first attracted notice. On 13 December 1958 the *West Torrens News Review* screamed about a 'plan to destroy present Council' and quoted one disgruntled ex-councillor who alleged that 'an industrial group headed by three big West Torrens Companies had formulated a policy to "annihilate" members of West Torrens Council who supported a proposed zoning by-law soon to go before the Council'. It claimed that the industrial group had spent 'between £400 and £1,000' on behalf of a candidate in the Keswick Ward election and in the recent Lockleys Ward supplementary election (in which Mr Hitchin was elected following the disqualification of Cr Minnie Jones), '40 to 60 cars and 140-odd workers were provided by the group to aid a candidate'.

The following January it reported the election to Council of Mr Joe Wells with the headline, 'Industrialist wins by-election . . .' Wells won by only fourteen votes, with a campaign which 'was extremely well planned and efficiently organised' in what was described as 'one of the best polls for years'.

The controversy continued during the next election. The *News Review* of 17 April 1959 described the 'determined effort' being made by groups to ensure that industrial and community groups would vote at the forthcoming elections. At a post-election public meeting at Golflands on 29 July, councillors Wells and Rowe 'freely admitted that they had been helped in their election campaign by local industrial concerns . . . But . . . vigorously denied that there would be any "pay-off" to the industries concerned as a result'.

Self-proclaimed organisers of this group, such as H.E.A. McCarthy of the Master Builders Company, pointed out that the group was 'simply a body of ratepayers united with a common purpose for the general good of the community'. However, the issue continued to arouse controversy and interest at successive polls, though parliament's disallowance of By-law 19 meant that this was not the controversial matter which had been anticipated. It finally lost momentum and interest but by that time the Labor domination of Council had been broken.

This later power-play, like that of the 1940s, derived from the essential development of West Torrens, from a District Council to a metropolitan City. The push in the 1940s was that of an urban group to wrest control of a conservative, rural-dominated Council. In the 1950s the conservative forces were again in the ascendant, but this time they were championing captains of industry, rather than farmers.

Other notable elections have been one-off affairs such as the supplementary election of 13 October 1973 which was called following the snap resignation of Dr Reece Jennings who had been elected to Council only three months before. The issue which sparked the controversy was his digging up of the recently laid median-strip at the Mooringe Avenue–Marion Road intersection on 14 August after the Highways Department had proceeded with the construction of the strip, despite lobbying by Jennings and calls for compromise by the Council. With a vote of five to four, Council disassociated itself from Jennings' action, and taking this as a vote of no confidence he resigned so that the electors might decide upon his actions. He was safely returned at the supplementary election, but the median strip went down.

A matter of personalities Successive Councils have been dominated by particular individuals. For most of the inter-war period Council was under the influence of its town clerk, Vernon Shephard. This galled many councillors, but their attempts to up-stage the man—even to sack him—were defeated and he remained firmly in control until his retirement in 1958, after forty-seven years' association with the Council, forty-two of them as district and town clerk.

Shephard was farewelled at a social on 19 June 1958. He would have enjoyed the evening, not least because of the laudatory remarks made by Mayor Veale who was one of the prime movers against him in 1940.

In any circumstances Shephard would have been a hard man to follow, but in the event he was succeeded by his long-time deputy, Malvern Stott. Stott joined the Corporation staff as accountant on 1 January 1946 soon after his discharge from the A.I.F. in November 1945. He came from the Bank of Adelaide where he had worked since 1929 and in so many respects was the antithesis of Shephard, but perhaps he had to be in order to survive in the position of deputy town clerk to which position he was appointed in 1948. While Shephard sought to direct the Council, Stott preferred to carry out its wishes. Stott concerned himself solely with West Torrens rather than try to project himself beyond Council as Shephard had done, and where Shephard promoted progress in terms of numbers of new industries and houses in West Torrens, Stott insisted instead upon development works—the roads and footpaths and drains—which were the necessary but less spectacular features of this development. The work of the two clerks was mutually complementary, but while Shephard was genuinely admired, Stott was loved by councillors, staff and local people who had dealings with him. His retirement on 30 August 1975 was universally regretted.

For most of the post-Shephard period, Council has been under the leadership of Mayor Steve Hamra, and its latter history exemplifies his influence and



Members of the inside staff of West Torrens Council Office and Library at the time of retirement of Town Clerk, Mr M.G.H. Stott (centre front). November 1975. *Front row:* (left to right), David Carroll, Joan Jordan, Harry Boyce, Malvern Stott, Rod Maddocks, Lyn Smith, John Haworth. *Second row:* (left to right) Paul Kokke, Josie Portolesi, Maybelle Marles, Margaret Glastonbury, Lea Nikitin, Margaret Cotton, Beryl Daniels, Bronwyn Zerbe. *Third row:* (left to right) Ray Ball, Tom Zafiris, June Harding, Margaret Eager, Jenny Campbell, Ruth Carson, Gloria Scheer, Raelene Cutting, Joan Tuckett, David Norman. *Back row:* (left to right) Ted Stewart, Les Switala, Ted Bear, Dennis Arnold, Phil Young, Bernie Alexander, Alf Keller, Ron Jones, Ted Carter, Malcolm Story, Garry Easton, Ivor Cliff (W.T.C.)

reputation for being generally low-key and conservative, though it boasts a record of solid achievement with the lowest rates in the metropolitan area. In pursuing his aims he had an admirable lieutenant in Stott, and it is a policy which has been followed by Harry Boyce who succeeded Stott in 1975.

Steve Hamra first joined the Council as the member for Hayhurst Ward in 1954, by which time he had become a successful businessman, an achievement which was all the more remarkable because of his inauspicious beginnings. He migrated to Australia from Lebanon in 1922 when only thirteen years of age with no formal schooling and little knowledge of English. He had been preceded to Australia by two brothers, who in 1924 founded a furniture manufacturing business in which he became a partner in 1939. A mark of his achievements is the fact that he was awarded an M.B.E. in the Queen's Birthday List of 1978.

Though beguilingly frank about his lack of formal education, Hamra is an astute businessman, who is tenacious in the pursuit of goals. Undoubtedly, it was because of this that he was persuaded by fellow councillors to offer himself as mayor in 1961 and he has remained as mayor since that time, except for a year from July 1976 to July 1977, and despite countless threats to stand down. During that time he and the mayoress have become immensely popular and he has had few problems in beating off any challengers for the mayoralty. The decision to step down in



Council employees' picnic, January 1985 (W.T.C.)

1976 was his own, taken after what he considered was a reasonable period of service on the Council.

The year-long mayoralty of Dr Reece Jennings was a total contrast to the extended reign of Hamra. Indeed, there could have been no greater contrast between the men themselves. Though born into a country working-class railway family, as a young man Jennings seized the opportunity to attend university and despite considerable hardship graduated as a medical practitioner. He was first elected to Council to represent Hayhurst Ward in 1973, spurred on because of the rejection of a development application. He is a man of quick wit and erudition and immense energy, and one who described himself as 'impatient and not easy to get on with'. These were the qualities which made him such a controversial figure when he was first elected to Council, and which worked against a long mayoralty. Towards the end of his term Council took the unusual step of carrying a vote of no confidence against him. Hamra was prevailed upon to contest the following mayoral election and was returned comfortably. Jennings, however, has remained a popular councillor in his ward and was returned to represent Hayhurst Ward in February 1978, again in October 1981, and he has served the ward continually since then.

Despite his popularity as a ward councillor, however, Jennings has not been successful in attempts to gather majority support in other contests. He was beaten for a second term as mayor in 1977, in a contest which foreshadowed the outcome of the 'status quo' State election in the following September when he stood as the Labor candidate for the House of Assembly seat of Hanson in opposition to Heini Becker. In March 1985, at the height of the furore which blew up when the State government stripped the Council of much of its planning power, Jennings once more resolved to enter parliament, this time as an independent candidate, so that he might champion the cause of local government.

In seeking to transfer to the State parliament, Jennings sought to follow several of his predecessors. Though this career path had been well trodden, it was unusual for a member of parliament to seek a position in local government, but this was the choice of Thomas Cleave Stott, who was an extraordinary man and one much admired by Jennings. Stott became the independent member for the country seat of Ridley in 1933 and, in addition, in July 1946 was elected as a councillor for Hayhurst Ward. He served as councillor until 1950 when he suffered his only electoral defeat. It is a significant comment on the Council at that time and on local government in general, that Stott in retirement, claimed that 'his experiences in the four years he held office were worse than anything he had ever had to put up with in parliament', because he was certainly at the heart of controversy in that latter forum. In 1962 he was one of two independents in parliament who held the balance of power when Playford's Liberals gained eighteen seats to Labor's nineteen. In return for the promise to support Playford's (last) government he was made speaker, a position which he held again from 1968 to 1970 when he held the balance of power between the Labor Party under Dunstan, and Hall's Liberals, each of whom had gained nineteen seats at the 1968 election—Labor held that of Millicent by only one vote. It was Stott alone who determined that

Hall should be premier, and it was Stott alone who two years later withdrew his support from Hall over the issue of the Dartmouth Dam and thereby brought down the government—only the second to that time which had not gone its full term.

Council policies Generally the Council's policy in the post-war period has been one of pursuing small government during a period which has been a difficult one for local government bodies because of the number and variety of demands which have been upon them by an increasingly affluent and vocal population. Many local governments have been persuaded to establish all manner of community services with the help of subsidies from State and Federal governments, but West Torrens Council has always contended that many of these services for migrants, unemployed and other disadvantaged groups, or for the arts, are already provided by other State and Federal government agencies. It has been Council's policy rather to support capital enterprises which provide tangible benefits to residents rather than the largely service enterprises.



City of West Torrens Library with fountain given by Griffin Press, February 1964 (W.T.C.)

However, without a great deal of fanfare solid achievements have been made. For a long period there were no hospital facilities available in the district until in 1936 a private hospital was opened at Ashford by Matrons Baker and Tuck. Circumstances forced the closure of this hospital soon after the war. However, with the persistence of Dr C.R.E. Downing who was able to attract support for the idea, the Ashford Community Hospital opened on 4 November 1950. Though situated in West Torrens, the hospital was also supported by the Corporations



Opening of West Torrens Library, February 1964 (W.T.C.)

of Unley, Marion and Mitcham, with financial assistance from the State government. Since that time the hospital has been expanded and upgraded several times and in 1985 it took a lead in offering 'same-day service' for particular non-essential surgery. Council continues to have members on the board.



Ashford Community Hospital, c.1953 (W.T.C.)

Council has also been quick to recognise the rapidly increasing proportion of aged folk in the population and to act accordingly. In 1981 urban Adelaide's population comprised 11.1 per cent of people aged sixty-five years and over, compared with 9.6 per cent at the previous census in 1976, and 8.8 per cent in 1971. There are particularly high concentrations of elderly people in the areas about Ashford, Plympton, Lockleys and Hilton with special needs, and it was in recognition of these that Council supported the establishment of Senior Citizen Clubs throughout the city.

The club at Cowandilla was the first to be formed, after a meeting for this purpose on 10 September 1959. The first meetings were held in the Cowandilla Youth Centre on Marion Road, but in September 1960 Council authorised the construction of clubrooms in the Memorial Gardens. They were opened by Mayor Bartlett on 15 April 1961 and since that time clubs have been established in each ward with the active support and encouragement of the Council.

Concern for the care and accommodation of the elderly citizens has been a high priority of Council while under Mayor Hamra, and it was largely due to his tenacity that Council entered into a pioneering joint venture with the Housing Trust for the establishment of a retirement village about the historic home Kandehar.



Steve Hamra Retirement Village, 1983 (W.T.C.)



Opening of Steve Hamra Retirement Village on 20 March 1983 by the Governor, Sir Donald Dunstan (W.T.C.)



Presentation of the new Coat of Arms, 7 September 1984—the Deputy Premier Jack Wright and Mayor Steve Hamra (W.T.C.)



Citizenship ceremony, 1983 (W.T.C.)

Council purchased the property in June 1979, but it was not until 27 July 1982 after many frustrations that an agreement was finally signed with the Trust. Work proceeded rapidly thereafter, and the complex comprising five two-bedroom units and twenty-eight single units was officially opened on 20 March 1983. The Housing Trust was responsible for more than \$500,000 for the construction of the units, although Council remains responsible for the ongoing administration of the village.

Encouraged by this success, Council purchased the Kingsdown Bowling Green at Fulham from D. Moran in July 1983 and subsequently entered into a second agreement with the Housing Trust for the establishment of another village. The twenty-five units were opened on 24 June 1984.

This same concern for the elderly persuaded Council to purchase St Martin's Private Hospital on 1 December 1982 for almost \$250,000. Cudmore House, the one-time home of John Chambers and James Aldridge, had been used as a guest house for pensioners until March 1964 when it became a private hospital. Council was enabled to purchase the property because of its eligibility for grants from the Federal Department of Social Security under its Aged Persons Welfare Programme, and it remains responsible for the management of the hospital while the Commonwealth underwrites its cost on a 'no loss-no profit' basis.

Co-operation In latter years, Council has been called upon increasingly to act in concert with other local government bodies because of the magnitude of some developmental tasks and because they overlap council boundaries. It was thus that Council was involved in the Metropolitan Floodwaters Drainage Scheme of 1935-38, and more recently, with the Thebarton Corporation in the Joint Drainage Authority to carry out drainage schemes in both council areas; part one of the project is estimated to cost \$20m.

In 1954 the West Torrens Council became a partner with the Glenelg Council in the development of the vast area which was vested in the West Beach Recreation Reserve Trust and it has remained a party to the development of this reserve, despite the Government's reconstruction of the Trust in 1973.

Although Council has sometimes been forced to act with others, it has always been concerned to maintain its separate identity. In 1974 the Federal government attempted to force an amalgamation of small local government bodies so that they might attract funds under the Grants Commission Act of 1972 and in accordance with the requirements of this Act the Western Metropolitan Regional Organisation was established in July 1974 comprising West Torrens, Glenelg, Henley and Grange, Woodville, Port Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Thebarton. This was not a happy arrangement. It lost its basis in 1976 when the Federal Local Government (Personal Income Tax Sharing) Act provided for direct grants to local governments, and in 1977 West Torrens took steps to leave the organisation. In that year the government grant to help in the administration of the region was withdrawn, and West Torrens faced a doubling of its annual contribution of \$4,793. To that time, as the town clerk pointed out, West Torrens had gained little from the organisation except the direct Federal grant. However, after much persuasion it reluctantly agreed to remain in the organisation.



View of engineering works associated with flood mitigation works on Torrens River, 1983 (W.T.C.)

West Torrens, along with other Councils, has been jealous to guard its identity. Just as the Federal government urged a form of regionalisation so has the State government urged the amalgamation of Councils from time to time. In April 1973 the government appointed a Royal Commission to examine current local government areas, which ultimately recommended that Thebarton and that part of West Beach south of Henley Beach Road should be added to West Torrens. This was essentially what the Council supported. However, this recommendation, along with most of the others, foundered because of the unwillingness of so many smaller Councils to merge with neighbouring larger Councils, even though they lacked adequate rate revenue.

This Royal Commission was but one of a number of initiatives by Labor State governments to 'democratise' local government. On 21 April 1977, as a direct result of the Federal funding of local government and the interest which this had aroused in the lowest tier of government, the local government franchise was extended to all persons on the house of assembly roll where previously it had been restricted to ratepayers only. There were many opinions for and against the extended franchise, with the West Torrens Council opposing it. However, with voting remaining voluntary the amendment failed to produce the radical changes which critics had predicted.

An even more complete attempt 'to assist the community to participate in local government affairs' was made in November 1983 when the draft of amendments to the Local Government Act was released for comment. The proposed changes were extensive and included the notion of two-year terms for all members with

all having to go to simultaneous elections and to be elected in accordance with optional preferential voting. They also proposed the payment of allowances to members and the maintenance of a Register of Interests.

The suggested amendments created a great deal of discussion and the fear that they would encourage increased party politicisation of local government affairs. Numerous alterations were suggested by local government authorities, although none were accepted which would have substantially changed the Bill. The Labor government had the numbers in parliament, and succeeded in passing the Bill which received the Royal Assent on 31 May 1984.

There were immediate repercussions in West Torrens in the form of a major reshuffle of wards on 14 February 1985 which attempted to redress the numerical imbalance of ratepayers in the several wards which had developed during two decades of continual social change in the city.

Otherwise there has been little evident change, for at the first elections in accordance with the new Act held on 4 May 1985 there were elections in only one ward. It is yet too early to determine the extent to which the Act will promote new directions and initiatives in local government, though it is evident that greater opportunity now exists for this to happen.

The years since the Second World War have seen tremendous social changes which have had their impact upon the Council. The West Torrens Council has been hard pressed to accommodate these forces and the extent that it has succeeded—or failed—has helped to determine the physical characteristics of the city in the late 1980s. The Council has not embraced many of the social initiatives which have been taken on board by many sister Councils, but there has been increasing pressure for it to expand its role nevertheless. Indeed, many 'experts' believe that an expanded local government—perhaps at the expense of the middle tier of government—is the direction which must be followed. However, while it is doubtful that the State government will readily pass such a self-denying ordinance, it is undoubted that local government will undergo continued reform.

A New Society: c. 1945–86

Besides the physical changes which are evident in West Torrens, and which can be quantified in numbers of new dwellings or factories and in the length of new-laid roads and drains, there has also been immense social change within the district which has been prompted by new technologies, particularly that which has flowed from the infatuation with the motor car and the idolisation of the television and easier access to credit facilities.

Just as the post-war economic development of the region has been primarily determined by developments and decisions which have been taken outside the region, so the social changes have been prompted by larger world-wide developments, all of which have done a great deal to break down long-standing local conventions and identifications and to tie West Torrens into broader State-wide, nationwide and even world-wide developments.

The rapidity with which this has happened has aborted the development of any recognisable West Torrens' identity. Prior to the Second World War residents identified strongly with their local communities and in the ordinary course of events the continued increase in the population of the district might have promoted identification with the city. However, this process of identification has been stunted by the reservation of the heartland of the district for aviation purposes and the breakdown of many of the traditional bonds which bound residents to their locality at the same time that new technologies promoted new identifications often based outside these localities.

Because West Torrens is but a component of a larger State, and thereby part of a still larger nation, local people have been affected more or less directly by all the important State and national influences of the post-war period.

They have thrilled to be part of the crowds to welcome notable visitors to South Australia. West Torrensians are no less loyal to the Queen than other Australians,



South Australian expressions of loyalty on occasion of coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. Butter wrapper of Southern Farmers (P.F.D.)

and they lined up to pay homage to her when she visited Adelaide in 1954 soon after her coronation. It was at Shephard's urging that a stand was erected on Anzac Highway so that local government people from West Torrens, Unley, Marion and Glenelg could have a clear view of the Queen as she travelled to Morphettville on 19 March. And because West Torrens is the virtual gateway to the State, West Torrensians have been well placed to greet other important visitors to South Australia. The Mayor and Mrs Bartlett were among those to meet the Queen Mother on her official visit in 1958, and their successors have welcomed innumerable dignitaries to the State. For the same reason local residents were able to greet the Beatles when they arrived in Adelaide in June 1964.

Matters that have split the nation have had their echo in West Torrens. The sacking of the Whitlam Labor government in 1975 was an action which aroused deep passions in Australians and generated intense hostility towards Sir John Kerr, the governor-general. Something of the extent of the ill-feeling was evident when students disrupted the opening of the Underdale Campus of the College of Advanced Education on 19 March 1976 because of Sir John's attendance. State (Labor) Cabinet ministers declined to attend the opening.

The Vietnam War was another divisive element in the community, and, again West Torrensiens were deeply involved. Many local lads were called up for military service after conscription was introduced by the last Menzies' government in 1965, and many served in Vietnam. When the *Sydney* left with the 1st Battalion, the Royal Australian Regiment, late in May 1965, it took D. Walker of Richmond and P.R. Norman of West Richmond. Several men saw action while overseas and were decorated for valour during their tour of duty. They included Second Lieutenant Geoffrey Kendall of Underdale and Trooper Paul McNamara, who both received awards for bravery in the battle of Long Tan in August 1966.

Freedom to move So many of the immense changes to the social history of West Torrens in the post-war period have been dependent upon rapid technological development, and perhaps there has been no more potent force for social change than the motor car, which as been so closely identified with the increased affluence of West Torrensiens.

The motor car gave West Torrensiens freedom to move, and no longer were their social contacts restrained by public transport or the distances which could be travelled by bicycle.

An entire lifestyle has grown up which is dependent upon the motor vehicle. No longer do people patronise local stores or have home deliveries by butchers and greengrocers. Instead, weekly purchases are now normally made at a large shopping centre. One of the first and largest of these new supermarkets was the K-Mart which opened on Anzac highway in 1970, although Coles supermarket which opened at Plympton on 30 November 1966 was at the time the second largest in South Australia boasting parking spaces for 110 cars, and setting the pattern for similar, if smaller, developments elsewhere in the city.

Entertainment, too, has been greatly altered by the motor vehicle. The first blow to the popularity of the neighbourhood cinema which had been such an important social centre in the inter-war period came with the advent of the drive-in cinema. The first of these to be built in South Australia was the Blueline Theatre which opened on West Beach Road in December 1954.

Many more of the changes wrought by the popularity of the motor car have been more subtle. The car, together with increased affluence, has permitted West Torrensiens to participate in a far greater number of leisure activities than had been the case in earlier generations. This is demonstrated by the number and diversity of sporting grounds which are to be found within the city, and the oft-lamented decline in attendance at major football and cricket fixtures owes a great deal to the fact that people have sought diversion in a wide variety of activities which were not available in the period prior to the war.

The mobility provided by the motor car has greatly weakened the sense of local identity, for no longer must people live near their place of employment nor near their friends and places of amusement. Grown-up children now frequently make their own homes in areas far removed from those of their families and thereby often break long family associations with the district, and residence in a locality



Realignment of Marion Road at Cowandilla, 2 August 1956 (H.D.)

is no longer a primary factor in the determination of what League football club a supporter might follow.

The new freedom provided by the motor car has promoted a decline in regular church attendance too, and the secularisation of the Lord's Day. This secularisation has been most evident in those Protestant churches which had placed so much emphasis on religious observance on the Sunday; Anglicans have found that evensong is now little more than a memory, and Methodist (later Uniting) churches were long ago persuaded to reschedule Sunday School from the afternoons to mornings in an effort to stem the defections. Whether or not the decline in regular church attendance represents any decline in the belief in an Almighty is not directly demonstrable, but it has meant that another factor which helped to promote a sense of local identity has been weakened.

Even the visual impact of the motor car on West Torrens has been immense. It has encouraged the re-engineering of roads, the proliferation of service stations on prominent intersections and the obliteration of large areas of open space or even residential land for paved car parking. In 1964 the proliferation of service stations along Anzac Highway was the bane of Mayor Hamra, who was powerless to oppose the building of such a station near his home. At that time there were already five on Anzac Highway between South and Marion Roads. 'They are being built in such numbers that they will soon change the whole face of Adelaide', Mayor Hamra complained in October 1964, 'and it won't be a change for the better.'

The demon in the corner The other major generator of social change within West Torrens as elsewhere, has been the advent of and infatuation with television. While the motor car might have dealt the first blow to traditional family

entertainment and to the local cinemas, television struck the knockout punch and it was television which proved to be a more potent attraction than religious services on Sunday evenings.

The first testing of a public television system took place in 1955–56, but it was 5 September 1959 before NWS9 commenced operations, with ADS7 commencing transmissions on 24 October. The local fashion setters purchased receivers immediately, but for many others their first impressions were gained while jostling with neighbours in front of the local electrical store. Soon, however, the market penetration was all but complete and organised local entertainment virtually collapsed as families sat about the television set. With tongue in cheek the 'typical suburban housewife' writing in the local *News Review* of 4 May 1960 captured something of the prevailing attitudes.

Discord has developed in the Smith household as a result of the entry into the Sunday night entertainment field of A.B.S.2.

When there was only N.W.S.9 on the air we were all quite content to watch the "Ray Milland Show" and "Leave it to Beaver" between 7 and 8 p.m. on Sundays . . .

The Smith household is now irrevocably divided into three camps . . .

All in all I'd just as soon shut the set off if it weren't for the fact that the uproar which would result would be far greater than the protests resulting from the disappointed ones no matter what the program is finally decided upon.

The attraction of the television and the reason for its effect on hitherto traditional forms of entertainment was highlighted by the *News Review's* 'typical suburban housewife' in another comment on 20 April 1960 concerning 'Those Wonderful Saturday Nights'.

Since A.B.S.2 came on air with its Saturday Night Screenplay (8 p.m.) Saturday night for George and I has almost resumed its glorious significance of our courting days.

For confined to the house as we more often than not are these days because of our young children, television now brings into our sitting-room almost the full range of Saturday night entertainment.

There's the cinema in the shape of the A.B.C.'s "screenplay", often a fine drama with big name stars; there are the comedy supports like Mr. Adams and Eve, and the Nelsons, or the short thriller like Peter Gunn, the travelogues (Come to the Caribbean) or the straightout "B-Grade" support such as N.W.S.9's Saturday Movie.

Of course there has to be a newsreel too and this is now supplied by Channel 2.

But it is not only the picture shows that we used to take in when we were fancy free on a Saturday night!

Sometimes we saw a stage show, which now comes to us without leaving home in the shape of the N.W.S.9 "Spectaculars" like the London Palladium series, and the B.P. Super Show, followed later by the Graham Kennedy Show.

And seldom did we see better acts, better comedy or (admits George) jazzier cuties than brought to us by television on Saturdays.

Or, should we wish to go slumming for a change, there's always the wrestling on Seven.

It is difficult to appreciate fully the extent of the changes wrought by television. However, select quantifiable effects testify to its all pervasiveness. On 22 June 1960 the general manager of the South Australian Gas Company was quoted in the *News Review* as saying that 'television has completely altered the times of peak gas consumption in Adelaide . . . [and] changed the pattern of living so much

that it could completely upset gas production calculations based on statistics for the last 100 years'. He continued:

When popular programs were on, viewers stayed up and kept gas fires burning until late into the night.

Formerly, winter consumption reached a peak at the evening meal-time, then dropped off as early as 7 p.m.

This year, the gas load was being maintained until 10:30—and even later on nights when there were popular late programs.

The most outstanding example was the night when films of Princess Margaret's wedding were televised, with peak consumption maintained until after midnight.

Most noticeable regular increase was on Sunday afternoon and evening.

Television has continued to dominate modern entertainment, and, indeed, much of our life. Through the medium of television West Torrensians have become witnesses of history in a manner which was not possible earlier. They have seen man first set foot on the moon in 1969 and Australia II win the America's Cup in 1983. As its attraction has begun to pale and new generations have begun to take it for granted, new advances have acted to renew interest in the medium. In 1970 the first direct satellite telecast was made from England to Australia, then in 1975 all this was provided in colour and on 29 July 1981 West Torrensians thrilled to the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer. More recently the popularity of video units has opened yet a new phase in home entertainment and dealt another blow to those cinemas which had survived by developing strategies to combat the attraction of television.

Perhaps because of the all-pervasive influence of television and the motor car, post-World War Two West Torrens has been characterised by an increasingly *laissez-faire* society. Despite the opposition of those descendants of the 'six o'clockers' of 1915, ten o'clock closing of hotels was introduced in 1967, and the liquor laws have been progressively liberalised ever since, even to the extent of permitting Sunday trading. In 1967 the reformist Labor government introduced lotteries, and legalised the raffles which had become the popular means of fundraising for so many local groups and organisations.

New leaven One of the most significant and long-term quantifiable social changes in West Torrens is already evident in the altered ethnic composition of the region. In 1933 prior to the war, there were only 180 non-British migrants in West Torrens, comprising merely 1.1 per cent of the population; in 1981 the number had risen to 7,058, representing 15.65 per cent.

There had been non-British migration to West Torrens prior to the war, but as the figures indicate, this increased markedly in the later period as a result of the Federal government's programme of assistance to migrants. While the British migrants generally settled in the outer northern and southern suburbs of Adelaide—generally in Housing Trust homes—the many non-British speaking migrants preferred to live in the inner suburbs, or in the case of many Italians, in market-garden areas. Parts of West Torrens, near Thebarton, at Mile End, Hilton and Torrensville were close to the city and proved attractive to many

Greeks, while there were large market-garden areas about Fulham and Lockleys which attracted Italian migrants.

It is yet too early to quantify the changes brought about by the sudden, significant increase in numbers of southern European migrants, although in many instances the changes are evident. While assisted to Australia so that they might swell the labour force, the southern European migrants, unlike those from Britain, have shunned organised labour and have preferred to enter business for themselves. Thus it is that so many of the small convenience stores in the city are owned and managed by Greeks and Italians. Such enterprises are not subject to close industrial and union regulation, and have allowed entire families to contribute towards their mutual wellbeing.

The changed composition of the population is most evident in the older, traditionally working-class areas of the city which have continued to provide the cheapest accommodation and have therefore proved attractive to new migrants. It is highlighted, too, in the older schools of these areas where the greater percentage of students are the offspring of post-war migrants. Because of the concentration of Greeks in the area, the Richmond school was for a time used after hours by the Greek Orthodox Church for Greek classes until a special Greek school was opened nearby in Thebarton. The great number of migrant children from different cultures provided new problems for teachers and an education system which was also concerned with the implementation of new pedagogical methods. It prompted many new initiatives, and encompassed the Richmond Primary School which in 1977 was included in the 'Ten Schools Project', implemented specifically to identify and ameliorate those problems which were evident in schools 'with a high incidence of attendance by students of immigrant descent'.

New education The numbers of migrant children created many new and special problems for educators, but in many instances they simply exacerbated others already apparent in the primary schools of the district and which were caused by the rapid post-war population boom. This created particular problems in the older schools, with their limited facilities and scope for expansion. At the Plympton Primary School enrolments grew from 262 in 1946 to 489 in 1950, by which time accommodation was particularly acute and the school was divided. 'Use is being made of two public halls, awaiting the opening of a dual unit classroom', reported the principal in 1950; 'A further classroom will be needed as from the beginning of 1951'. Enrolments continued to grow rapidly, and the short-term solution of providing temporary rooms only promoted other problems. 'The school grounds have become too crowded because of the erection of several portable rooms', said the principal in 1954. 'The position will not be eased for several years when the new permanent infant building has been erected.' This problem was common to all of the older schools, and at the Lockleys school the many temporary buildings so reduced the open space in the playground area that for a time recess periods had to be staggered.

Because of the rapid population growth in the area, a number of new schools

were built during the post-war period. In 1946 there were already primary schools at Plympton, Richmond, Lockleys, Camden and Cowandilla, but subsequently, new schools were built at Netley, Lockleys North, Fulham, Fulham Gardens and Fulham North, most of them in the period after 1960. It is only since the 1960s that there has been a decline in the rate of the population increase which has served to relieve some of the pressure on the schools and has permitted the relocation of resources and energies into the upgrading of the older schools to the standards of the newer ones. Richmond school, which was one of the oldest in the district, was all but totally rebuilt in 1980 and is now one of the most modern in the area.



Camden School, c.1950 (W.T.C.)

The State schools certainly had problems in the post-war period trying to cope with the rapid increase in the school population, but their problems would have been so much greater had not a number of church schools also been built at this time. Currently there are six denominational schools within the city, five of them are Catholic parochial schools, the sixth Lutheran at Immanuel College. As has been the case from the beginning, many students have preferred to attend schools outside the city, in neighbouring districts or in leading private schools.

The problems in the State educational system were magnified in the Catholic system, which in the West Torrens area in particular was put under great pressure by the rapid European, and largely Catholic, immigration. When, in March 1980, a new multi-purpose room was officially blessed and opened at St Joseph's School at Richmond, it was noted that fifteen different nationalities were represented within the school and that migrant children made up 80 per cent of the school population. A number of new parochial schools were built within the area at this time at Brooklyn Park, Kurralta Park and Plympton in order to help to ease the problem and to endeavour to provide an opportunity for each Catholic child to attend a Catholic school. The need to provide these facilities placed new debts on Catholic families, although this burden was eased by the provision of direct

grants from the Federal government for capital works and by the reorganisation of the Catholic education system which provided for older established parishes to provide financial aid to the newer parishes with large expenditure commitments.

The need to react to the new challenge necessitated a major change in the organisation of the Catholic education system in ways other than simply the more equitable distribution of funds. Where once it was dominated by priests and religious, it is now characterised by increased involvement of lay people who now have a career structure within the system. However, this is but another facet of major changes within the Catholic Church in this period, particularly since the end of the Second Vatican Council in November 1965.

The problems generated by the increased demand for primary school education flowed through the whole education system, and prompted the opening of high schools at Plympton in 1960 and at Underdale in 1966. These schools, too, reflected the major trends of post-war West Torrens. In 1980, 36 per cent of the students at Plympton High School were born overseas or had one or more parents who were. Both of these high schools have been characterised by an almost constant building programme to cope with numbers of students, but in this area, too, problems faced by the government authorities were ameliorated by the efforts of several of the churches. In March 1957 the Lutheran Church opened Immanuel College at Novar Gardens on 18 hectares, carved from the original Cummins property. The church bought the land in 1950 but it was several years of work before the new college was built. It has expanded gradually since that time, in pace with new academic and physical demands. On the other side of the city at Brooklyn Park, the Salesian Fathers began construction of a new high school in mid-1963.

The same population boom also increased demand on the State's system of occupational and tertiary education and once again, these developments had repercussions in West Torrens. Vocational and apprentice training had long been undertaken in various premises in Adelaide and for a time many of these courses were held in what was Adelaide's first electricity power station in Grenfell Street. However, increased enrolments prompted the government to purchase the warehouse and property of Australian Independent Distributors on Richmond Road at Marleston. The Building and Furnishing Trades School with enrolments of 1,300 was transferred here in 1962. In 1976 it took on a new name and an expanded role when it became known as Marleston College of Further Education, and in 1982 with the completion of major alterations, it also took on a brand new appearance.

The chief themes of post-war tertiary education are also exemplified in the history of the Underdale Campus of the South Australian College of Advanced Education. Its predecessor was the Western Teachers' College which was established to help meet the great need for teachers immediately after the war. The *ad hoc* nature of its establishment was evident in the inconvenient division of its facilities between temporary classrooms on South Road at Thebarton and the old Currie Street School, and which persisted until 1976 when the new Torrens College of Advanced Education was built at Underdale.

Many of those who studied at the new teachers' colleges, and certainly the many who were taught by the new graduates, were imbued with the new education which was championed by so many in the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps few features of West Torrens exemplify the new deal in education quite so well as does Theatre 62 on Burbridge Road.

Theatre 62 began in May 1962 in the Hilton Soldiers' Memorial Institute as part of the rejuvenation of the arts which accompanied the development of the Adelaide Festival of Arts. It was founded by John Edmund and Donald Gray as an experimental live theatre devoted to the promotion of the performing arts in the community and in education, and for providing young actors with a bridge from drama school or amateur theatre to professional theatre. Its first production was *Great Expectations* and included a young actor, John Bannon, who went on to grace a much bigger stage as South Australian premier, but a great many other actors who have risen to prominence in Australian drama also trod its boards. Like so many similar organisations, Theatre 62 existed primarily on subsidies from the State and Federal governments, but by 1975 these subsidies were not sufficient to guarantee its existence and in March it went 'into recess'.

Subsequently the Education Department agreed to take over the lease on the theatre for the use by two 'Theatre in Education Teams' and in this educative role Theatre 62 continued. It remained the direct responsibility of the Education Department until 1979 when it came under the umbrella of the Carclew Youth Performing Arts Centre. It is an intimate theatre seating 150 to 230 people which stages productions for and by young people, as well as new Australian works and those of Adelaide's ethnic communities.

Though leased by the Department of the Arts, Theatre 62 since the dissolution of the Hilton Soldiers' Memorial Institute in 1970 became the direct responsibility of the West Torrens Council. In January 1981 Council also purchased the long defunct Baptist Church which was immediately adjacent, and soon afterwards the Carclew Centre also leased this as the 'Theatre Next Door' to be used in conjunction with Theatre 62.

In mid-1985, however, the days of Theatre 62 seem numbered after Premier Bannon's announcement that the theatre would have to be sacrificed to a road-widening scheme. To John Edmund, its founder, this was sad news indeed, but it was also a loss to Adelaide, as he said, 'because of the dearth of theatres in Adelaide and the dwindling opportunities for young actors to have those professional baptisms before moving on to the big companies'.

West Torrens has been host to other achievements in education, however. One of these was the opening of the Ashford House School for Cerebral Palsied Children in the old home of Charles Everard on 18 April 1952. Pioneering work of the Crippled Children's Association with cerebral palsied children, which had begun six years earlier, received a tremendous fillip in these new premises, and soon children attended the school from all parts of the metropolitan area. Gradually during the early years of the 1960s old and temporary buildings were replaced by a modern complex of buildings and recreation areas, much of which was made possible by several Telethon appeals, the donations from business houses and



Children from the Ashford School visiting the airport, 21 October 1961 (*Advertiser*)



Annual cricket match at the Ashford School, 4 December 1962. W. Hickman in foreground, Gil Langley, Garry Sobers, Victor Richardson. J. Diack is the batsman with M. Wooley (seated) the umpire (*Advertiser*)

service groups and financial subsidies from the State government. Subsequently the Education Department took responsibility for the academic training of the children, and late in 1975 when the Crippled Children's Association moved to new premises at Regency Park, the department took complete responsibility for what was called the Ashford Special School.

Pilgrims all While many of the changes to West Torrens' society brought about by the increase in southern European—and more recently South East Asian—migrants are evident in the appearances of shops and dwellings, others have been subtle. The increased numbers of Italians and Greeks, and more recently Vietnamese, in the district have brought about a rapid increase in the proportion of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians in what has traditionally been a Protestant region. In 1947 Catholics were but 12.54 per cent of the total South Australian population; by 1981 they were 19.87 per cent. The corresponding figures for Anglicans declined from 29.12 per cent to 20.30 per cent. The evident population increase has been reflected in the many new churches within the city, though the influence of the post-war migration has meant that the majority of the new churches have been Catholic.

The changed percentages have not been determined solely by immigrants, however. All churches have suffered the effects of the increasingly mobile and secular society, but none more so than the more evangelical Protestant churches. In 1947, 7.18 per cent of South Australia's population aged fifteen and over professed membership of either the Methodist, Presbyterian or Congregational churches. However, by 1977, the figure professing membership of the Uniting Church was only 3.40 per cent, while Anglican membership has declined from 4.00 per cent of the population above fifteen years in 1947 to 2.27 per cent in 1981. The Protestant churches had traditionally used their Sunday Schools as recruiting grounds for members and have suffered as the Sunday Schools have lost popularity. In 1911, 97 per cent of non-Roman Catholic children were enrolled at Protestant and Anglican Sunday Schools; the percentage declined to 75 per cent in 1933, 56 per cent in 1954 and in the 1980s is less than 10 per cent. In large measure church attendances are of an increasingly older age group, and predominantly of women.

The Catholic Church has not been immune from the effects of increased secularism but because of its authoritarian tradition, the concern to extend the separate education system and the influence of the southern European migrants, it has continued to hold members.

The declining membership—particularly among the young—is a matter of grave concern to all the churches. However, positive developments have stemmed from efforts to make the gospel relevant to the 1980s, particularly by attempts to alter the public face of the churches and perhaps no denomination has changed so much as the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council. From 5 July 1964 the first steps were taken towards an English order of service, and on 5 May 1967 Catholics were freed from the grave obligation to abstain from meat on Fridays, to the delight of the younger members of the church. On the other hand there



Nissan hut converted for use as a church and parish primary school for the Franciscan Fathers at Lockleys (W.T.H.S.)



Opening of Franciscan House at Lockleys by Archbishop Beovich. Behind him is Fr Farigi O.F.M. from Malta who founded the house. On his right are the Mayor and Mrs Hamra (Franciscan Fathers)

was a great deal of confusion among older members, that such vast changes could take place so rapidly in a church which had seemed immutable, but, again, the authoritarian tradition ensured that members complied with the changes if they did not approve of them. Another significant development is that individual denominations have become less introspective and exclusive, and have sought dialogue with others. The formation of the Uniting Church on 22 June 1977 was but one feature of that spirit of ecumenism which has become increasingly more evident among the several churches. In the West Torrens district this is no more evident than in the Southern Cross Homes at Plympton, which though managed by the Roman Catholic Knights of the Southern Cross, welcomes residents and ministers of all denominations.

That other religion The relocation of the West Adelaide Football Club to new headquarters in West Torrens is but another result of the social forces which have been at work since the Second World War.

The West Adelaide Club has a proud record. It is one of the earliest of the South Australian National Football League Clubs, having been formed in 1887 with its support coming from the predominantly working-class population of the south-western quarter of Adelaide. However, this basis of support dissipated as the city developed and the area became run down, portions being taken over for commercial and industrial purposes, and much of the population moving to the suburbs. For a period the club resembled the ancient Israelites in search of a homeland; at one time it trained at Hindmarsh and later used the oval at Wayville as a home ground, before returning to Adelaide Oval which it shared with the South Adelaide club. With all this to-ing and fro-ing the club was in danger of losing its identity until 1952 when the club entered into an agreement with the Council so that it might use Richmond Oval for training. Three years later the South Australian National Football League began discussions with the Council with a view to upgrading the oval to league standards so that it might become West's home ground.

When the necessary works were completed, the new oval was a credit to the league and represented a milestone in its development. At the time, the oval was the second largest football ground in South Australia, and the first to be built for league football since the Thebarton Oval had been opened in 1922, thirty-six years earlier.

The first league match to be held at Richmond was a local derby between West Adelaide and neighbouring club West Torrens on 26 April 1958, at the opening of the 1958 season before a crowd of 15,000. As the *Advertiser* reported, 'West Adelaide made the first chapter of its Richmond Oval history a success after a thrilling struggle with West Torrens. In a fighting finish, West nosed in by 11 points after the teams had been locked together for most of the game'. Ken McGregor, the son of former champion Bruce McGregor, and Frank Sedgman's partner in Australia's Davis Cup victories over the Americans in 1950 and 1951, was considered best afield for the manner in which he 'almost single-handedly transformed an expected West Torrens ruck supremacy into a West strongpoint

with a lion-hearted display'. Another player to do well was 'Ruckman Kerley [who] kept West in attack for most of the last quarter by playing loose across centre, driving the ball back whenever Torrens cleared'.

Since that time the record of the club has been solid if not spectacular. Its first real success was in a memorable game on 30 September 1961, when before a crowd of 40,400 people in 43°C temperature in the sun—the hottest September day on record—West stormed over Norwood to win the premiership with the score of 16 goals 13 behinds 109 points to 11 goals 7 behinds 73 points. Success was sweet. It was West's first premiership for fourteen years, only its seventh in league history and its third since the First World War, and was made particularly sweet because West had played unsuccessfully in four grand finals in the previous seven years. It was another twenty-two years, in 1983, before it triumphed again, this time against Sturt by thirty-four points, and again under the direction of Kerley.

This most recent victory was particularly welcome after the club had spent several years in the doldrums. It represented the result of years of concerted effort begun in 1973 by Ken Eustice, the former champion, successful businessman, and at that time president, who persuaded Fos Williams to leave Port Adelaide and to guide the future of the club in which he had first played league football.



West Adelaide Football Club—Premiers 1961 (W.A.F.C.). *Back row:* T.B. Barker, P.J.R. Phipps, L.F. O'Driscoll, D.V. Roach, B.L. DeBroughe, T.N. Reu. *Third row:* F.P. Hogan, K.J. Eustice, R.M. Benton, J.F. Wright, J.A. Ryan, B.C. McLeod, B.H. Johnston. *Second row:* J. Bennetts, J.J. Wallace, D.N. Kerley (Captain-Coach), J.P. Bray (Vice-Captain). L.B. Lovegrove, M.G. Brooks. *First row:* P.M. Garnett, T.A. Shrubsole, D.W. Thomas, A.G.E. Tregenza

This quest for greater professionalism in all sectors of the club reflected the efforts of other clubs and the league to lift their standards in the face of stiff competition for players from Victorian clubs and declining local attendances because of the diversity of other attractions. Sponsorship of clubs by major business firms has now become almost a requirement, though it is interesting that West Adelaide attracted sponsorship only after its success in 1983. This success breathed new life into the club and it achieved something of a coup when in 1984 it gained the coaching services of John Cahill to succeed Kerley, who had resigned so that he might direct the training of the crew for South Australia's challenge to defend the America's Cup. Though regarded as another Port Adelaide champion, Cahill had begun his football career at Cowandilla.

It has always been a matter for some minor confusion that the league football club bearing the name West Torrens should not have its headquarters in, or indeed its recruiting area synonymous with, the city of the same name. Only a small part of the football club's area lies in West Torrens city, yet it was from Lockleys that it recruited the Hank brothers who were three of its best players. Bob was both Torrens and State captain and a Magarey Medallist in 1946 and 1947 and was well complemented by brothers Bill and Ray.

The declining attendances at league fixtures which are constantly lamented by football officials is but symptomatic of the post-war period with the increased amount of leisure time available, the increased affluence of the population, the broader horizons and the new mobility. This is evident in the increasing number of sporting activities and clubs which are now available for both participant and spectator within the city. Traditional games like football, cricket, golf and tennis are still to be played and seen, and a fair number of champions—of the ilk of David Hookes—have been associated with the region. However, there are now



Scrub being cleared for Holdfast Bay Women's Bowling Club on Anzac Highway, 1948 (R. Budgen).
L. Buick, I. Howie, M. Stock, A. Smith, M. Baker, R. Budgen, A. Fuller, M. Boswarva

many other sports such as soccer, hockey, lacrosse and baseball which are played at the highest level in the State and which attract their own devotees. Indeed, the Birkalla Soccer Club has been a force since its formation in 1933. Other games such as basketball and badminton are available in purpose-built venues and are little affected by weather. The Apollo Stadium, the headquarters of the South Australian Amateur Basketball Association, was completed at Richmond in August 1969 and at the time was the biggest single court basketball stadium in Australia and a showpiece for the association. Besides the host of sports and activity groups which are available within the city, other exotic activities, from bushwalking to skydiving, are available to any of the city's population who are mobile.

This increased sophistication of West Torrens—and South Australian—society is reflected in countless ways. The Democratic Hall at Richmond which was once the local centre for live entertainment has become but a memory, and the city's cinemas have long been closed. However, since its completion in 1969, the Apollo Stadium has been the venue for much world-class entertainment and a capacity crowd of 4,000 packed the stadium in April 1970 to see Peter, Paul and Mary. The difference now is that patrons come from all over the metropolitan area rather than from the immediate surroundings.

A new community Although the post-war period has been characterised by the disintegration of many traditional community bonds, it has also witnessed the forging of new ones as a direct counter to these destructive forces, and frequently these new linkages make use of the new technology.

While on the one hand post-war society has witnessed the atomisation of families with the result that older folk have frequently been left to live alone and have often had to fend for themselves, it has also seen the development of organisations such as Meals on Wheels whose express purpose is to help those who are not able to care properly for themselves. The development of organisations such as these suggests that a sense of community is still evident although the concept of the community might have changed.

The first efforts to establish a local Meals on Wheels centre were made in letters to the Council in October 1960. Council was sympathetic to the idea but unable to contribute financially, so as a short-term expedient the West Torrens area was served from kitchens in Hindmarsh, Henley Beach and Edwardstown and by November 1963 fifty-five West Torrensians were receiving the service. The persistence of the organiser Miss Doris Taylor was finally rewarded when on 15 July 1967 the West Torrens' kitchen was opened at Brooklyn Park. The service has grown since that time, and in 1985 serves 103 people.

The Royal District Nursing Society is another organisation which has developed in the district as the need for domiciliary nursing services has grown. The West Torrens' branch, formed in 1950, was the twenty-second to be established and its work has grown to such an extent that the early volunteer spontaneity and enthusiasm has had to be complemented by hard-nosed professionalism. The society is currently subsidised by both the local and Federal governments and most of



Original Council Chambers converted to Ambulance Station, 1951 (W.T.C.)

the funds come from these sources, with the result that the earlier volunteer component is no longer greatly in evidence.

Another organisation with a similar identity crisis which is symptomatic of the 1980s is the St John Ambulance Service. The need for an ambulance service in the municipality became evident soon after the war as a direct result of the rapid population increase, and in 1948 interested citizens sought financial support for it from local manufacturing firms. Contributions totalling £200 were forthcoming, with the Council supporting these efforts by extending the old Council Chambers in Marion Road and altering the building for use as ambulance headquarters. This was ready for occupation on 16 December 1951. Though sufficient for a time these soon became outmoded and on 25 February 1980 new premises were opened at Camden Park. It was the continued and increasing demand for this service which required a time commitment which could not be provided by volunteers. The integration of full-time staff and volunteers has not been without its problems, but both have enabled the service to undertake work which would not have been possible with only one group or the other.

The number of these community organisations is very extensive and touches on almost all aspects of West Torrens' life. The Good Neighbour Council of South Australia was an organisation which developed in response to the problems experienced by Australia's immigrants. The State organisation was formed in August 1949 to assist new settlers to integrate into the community and a local branch was formed soon afterwards. This was particularly necessary because so many of the migrants' first home in Australia was the hostel at Glenelg.

Many of the sporting organisations throughout the district grew in the nature of service and community groups. The Western Youth Centre was founded in 1956 precisely because local people were concerned at the lack of sporting, cultural and recreational facilities for the young people of the district. Like so many kindred



Weigall Oval Trust, 1946 (W.T.C.) *Standing:* Messrs. Ryal, Giles, Rowe, ? *Sitting:* Antcliffe, Witt, Veale, Bertram, Stott. *Insets:* ? Bennett, West, McKay



Southern Cross Homes, Marion Road, April 1985 (P.F.D.)

organisations it has prospered because of the continued voluntary efforts of numerous concerned people and by 1961 was the largest of its type in South Australia. Though dependent on the work of volunteers, the results of this work have been thoroughly professional, and were recognised in 1979 when the gymnast Kerry Bayliss was included in Australia's national team to compete in the world championships that year, and at the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980.

The churches have also been active in community service and have been particularly alive to the problems inherent in the ageing population. Perhaps the most visible evidence of this is the large complex on Marion Road at Plympton under the management of the Catholic Southern Cross Homes. The building of fifty-two units of a retirement village as the first stage of this complex began in May 1972 and was completed in the following February. The three-storey hostel building comprising seventy-nine units followed on 11 December 1977, and on 29 October 1978 the third and final stage, the 142-bed nursing home, was completed. The complex when completed cost in excess of \$5.2 million.

A little to the north is another institution managed by the Catholic Church, the Flora MacDonald Nursing Home on Burbridge Road at Cowandilla. For many years the junior novitiate of the Sisters of St Joseph, this was extended and opened as St Joseph's Providence on 17 June 1951.

Private enterprise, too, appreciated the long-term implications of the ageing of the population, and in 1984 the first stage of the Fulham retirement village was opened. It was built about the White home, 'The Oaks' at Fulham, and is managed by Arlington Retirement Estates.

It is this recognition of the increasing numbers of aged people in West Torrens, and the steps which have been taken to obviate their problems, which has been a feature of the development of the city since the 1970s.

Community service Through the many organisations great numbers of local people have continued to work tirelessly to make their community a better place in which to live. Wally Satterley of Lockleys was one of these. For twelve years after the Second World War, and while still in full-time employment, he was the secretary and the force behind the Lockleys Show Society, the successor to the war-time gymkhanas. Under its auspices he organised the first Christmas Carols at the Lockleys Recreation Reserve in 1949, and when the Lockleys Oval Trust was formed on 16 October 1952 he was appointed secretary. Subsequently, he helped build clubrooms for the several sporting bodies which used the Lockleys Oval, and assisted with the construction of additions to the Western Youth Centre and the building of the Hayhurst Senior Citizens Club. In a strictly monetary sense, his contribution to the community was worth thousands of dollars.

Wally Satterley received little formal recognition for his community work and achievements, though in recent years such achievements have been recognised by successive Citizens Awards granted annually to mark Australia Day. The first of these to be recommended by Council in 1981 was to John Thorn of Marlestone for his 'unparalleled services in the area of coaching and encouraging young people to play sport'. Later recipients have been Mrs Jean Potter of the Camden



Wally Satterley at opening of Hayhurst Senior Citizens Club, February 1978 (W.T.C.)



Christmas fund raiser by Lockleys Show Society at Lockleys Reserve, c.1962 (R. Wait)

Community Centre in 1983, Mrs Hilda Hocking of Fulham in 1984 and Mrs Thelma Aistrop of Richmond in 1985. In 1982 a Young Citizens Award was made to Carol Harrison of Camden Park for her work with the youth of Camden and Plympton, and in the following year it was presented to Glynnis Nunn for her gold medal achievement at the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane.

These awards provide the opportunity to recognise the work of some of the local people who contribute to the well-being of their community and others who have made a mark in the larger community. One of these was Ray Whitrod of Fulham, who in 1984 was acclaimed South Australian Senior Citizen of the Year for his long-standing work in the larger community through the Victims of Crime Service which he founded. Ray Whitrod was one of Australia's most distinguished policemen. He started his career in the South Australian Police Force in 1939 but subsequently went on to become Assistant Director of ASIO, Commissioner of the Commonwealth Police, Police Commissioner in Papua-New Guinea and in Queensland. It was this wide experience which enabled him to recognise an area of concern to which he could devote his energies after his retirement.

Despite the many social changes which have taken place since the war, and the fact that West Torrens has yet to develop a sense of identity, the sense of community in the city has not been lost. It has certainly changed a great deal from that which characterised the early villages and smaller suburban suburbs, but it remains appropriate for the present.

The years since the second world war have seen a greater degree of social evolution—if not revolution—than was apparent during the previous century. So many social traditions and attitudes which sustained and guided successive generations of West Torrensians during world wars and Depressions wilted in the face of new technologies, particularly in the fields of transport and communication. These technologies have meant that West Torrensians are now identified with broader world-wide developments far more intimately than was possible before. The recent social history of West Torrens reflects this, and, indeed, has been caused by it.

Work remains an important factor in the lives of West Torrensians and it continues to determine their social standing and social opportunities, but it is no longer a primary determinant. Indeed, it is the manner in which West Torrensians spend their increasing leisure time which now characterises their lifestyle and contrasts so markedly with that of their ancestors.

Looking to the Future

What of the future? Only the most foolhardy of historians would make firm predictions about the future, because any study of the past reveals that apparently minor causes can have major consequences and that frequently significant developments are based upon simple premises which are easily changed. For all that, however, a study of history also reveals basic themes which permit comment to be made about likely developments in the future.

Because of its continuing appeal as an admirable location for business and industry, it is evident that the physical appearance of West Torrens will continue to change. However, where once it was the region where small secondary industries sought to expand after having outgrown early locations in Adelaide, now it is the region from which many of these industries are moving to larger estates elsewhere because of physical constraints on expansion in West Torrens. These industries are frequently being replaced by new modern and less obnoxious industries, or office and warehouse development. The long-time attraction of a West Torrens location still applies. Land costs are cheaper than in Adelaide and there is easy access to the commercial centre which means that firms suffer little commercial disadvantage. Indeed, the ease of parking means that for many businesses there is a decided advantage in a West Torrens' location. The large properties also facilitate the new office and commercial development.

With the abolition of the M.A.T.S. plan and the uncertainty which it generated, together with the upgrading of access to Adelaide by means of a new Hilton Bridge, it can confidently be expected that succeeding decades will see a profusion of good quality commercial development in the areas of Hilton and Mile End.

One of the major reasons for the new Hilton Bridge is to upgrade the link between Adelaide and its airport. The location of the airport in the heartland of

the city has long been a bone of contention for West Torrens' politicians and residents. Despite succeeding parliamentary enquiries, however, it is doubtful that the airport will be relocated from this site for many decades—if at all. Rather than simply bemoaning this, those who are in charge of West Torrens' destiny should seek to take advantage of the fact that the city is the gateway to South Australia and that its commercial-industrial sector is astride the main route linking the airport and Adelaide. The ideas of early councillors that the district might be renowned for its emporiums remains fanciful yet, but perhaps there is much that could be done to benefit from the commercial traffic which passes through the airport, particularly if the Federal government should act on ideas current in 1985 that there would be advantages in it selling off the major airports to commercial interests.

Just as the commercial and industrial character of West Torrens is bound to change in succeeding years, so will there be continued residential development and for essentially the same reason, that is, the location of West Torrens so close to Adelaide making it a desirable locality in which to live. This development will also be encouraged by the abandonment of the M.A.T.S. plan. In this sector, too, the continued pressure will encourage more intensive residential development. Where once large estates were subdivided for home building, an increasing number of building blocks are being used for multi-unit development. This pressure is greatest on the major city thoroughfares, and can be expected to continue.

In the years immediately after the Second World War the physical appearance of West Torrens changed rapidly as the last open spaces were resumed for industrial and residential development. Much of this took place with a minimum of control and direction, and much of it was less than desirable. In succeeding decades the pressure for change will be no less intense. However, because so much of this will be concerned with the redevelopment of industrial sites and major roads, the opportunity exists to rectify many of the excesses of the past and to enhance the appearance of the city, provided there is a vision for the future and a plan whereby this might be achieved.

Just as the physical appearance of West Torrens will continue to change, so, too, will its social character. The directions which this will take are harder to anticipate because many of its features are dependent on the effects of technological change which at present is occurring so rapidly. Certainly the social mix of West Torrensians will become more homogeneous unless there are new government immigration initiatives. Those migrants who came to South Australia in the inter-war period have long been fused with the descendants of earlier arrivals, the perfect example of which is West Torrens' mayor for quarter of a century. However, many of the post-war migrant groups remain largely distinct and under-represented in many community groups. This will change. The older and original migrants found strength and support in their ethnic groups, but their sons and daughters have no need of this. As they marry and have children, the hard edges between the several groups will become blurred. However, though the differences will disappear, it is essential that the traditions do not, so that West Torrens might be further enriched.



West Torrens City Council 1985–87. *Standing*: I. Frances, K. Richards, T. Tucker (Deputy Town Clerk), M. Antonello, F. Norton, D. Matthews, D. Perry, G. Mander. *Sitting*: R. Wait, H. Boyce (Town Clerk), S. Hamra (Mayor), G. Robertson, G. Palmer. *Absent*: R. Jennings, J. Buckingham

The folly of making predictions about the future is highlighted by the very recent history of local government in West Torrens. Many students of local government have argued that its future lies in a greatly expanded role, with both it and the Federal government expanding at the expense of the several State governments. It is argued that this would require small local areas to amalgamate into larger units, so, for instance, that there might be one local government for metropolitan Adelaide. Arguments such as these have gained currency as local governments—West Torrens included—have satisfactorily assumed new responsibilities since the war, particularly since they have received a fixed percentage of income tax revenue from the Federal government. However, the tenuousness of this more responsible role was revealed when, in early 1985, Federal ministers suggested that the funding of local government should devolve upon the States. Its lack of substance became evident when the State government brought down new local government legislation in 1984 and in 1985 when it stripped West Torrens of much of its planning power. Whatever the students might wish, local government in South Australia exists in accordance with State legislation which is dependent upon the policy of the party in power.

It is doubtful that members of State parliament would ever be willing to curb their powers voluntarily, so it is to be expected that local government in West Torrens will continue in its traditional role. Members were unhappy about features

of the 1984 local government legislation, but it is doubtful that this will do much to alter the traditions in West Torrens.

Whatever the future of West Torrens, there will be on-going change; its location contiguous to the State's capital guarantees this. However, traditions and habits have deep roots, so it is doubtful that any changes will be very radical. An appreciation of the history of the district might not provide answers for the future, but it does provide the basis upon which plans might be built which might help to ensure a better West Torrens. An appreciation of the features of its past will certainly help to prepare for its future.

Notes on Sources

When talking to people about this book I went to considerable lengths to emphasise that this was to be *a* history of West Torrens, rather than *the* history, because, as I said in the introduction, 'all historians build upon the work of others, and hopefully provide new insights which successors can develop'. I also said that it was my hope that many who do not normally read history might be encouraged by this book to want to find out more about particular features of West Torrens' past. It is for reasons such as these that the following notes on sources are provided.

All historians must acknowledge their sources so that others can check them and their interpretation, and also take matters further if they wish. There are many references to specific sources which are scattered through the text. However, in a history such as this I believe that many references to other books and studies are better left to a separate section. I expect, and certainly hope, that any interested readers who want to pursue specific matters will find the chapter-by-chapter discussion of sources to be sufficient for their purposes. However, those few students who wish to have even more specific references to matters raised in the text should refer to copies of the final draft of the book which are held by the West Torrens Library and the Mortlock Library; these contain footnote references.

Part I—Foundation and Early Development

Chapter 1: Foundation and Settlement to c. 1853

Much of the background to this chapter has been provided by the few books which are concerned with the foundation of South Australia. Chief among these is Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829–1857*, Longmans, Melbourne, 1957, but that by Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History*, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1966, was also useful. Detailed books about South Australia's foundation included June Philipp, *A Great*

View of Things: Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Nelson, Melbourne, 1971, and A. Grenfell Price, *Founders and Pioneers of South Australia*, Mary Martin Books, Adelaide, 1978. Information about William Light was also obtained from Geoffrey Dutton, *Founder of a City: The Life of Colonel William Light, First Surveyor-General of the Colony of South Australia: Founder of Adelaide*, Seal Books, Adelaide, 1971, and more particularly from his journals which were reproduced in *Proceedings*, Geographical Society of Australasia: South Australia Branch, Vol. XI, 1910. The experiences of the first settlers were chronicled in Penelope Hope, *The Voyage of the Africaine: a collection of journals, letters and extracts from contemporary publications*, Heinemann Educational, Australia, Melbourne, 1968, with other details in Capt. S.A. White, *The Life of Samuel White: Soldier, Naturalist, Sailor* (W.K. Thomas & Co.), Adelaide, 1920. A modern study of the original landscape is to be found in Ann Riddle 'The Vegetation of the Adelaide Metropolitan Area in 1836', B.A., Adelaide, 1981. Gould's comments about the early landscape came from John Gould, *Handbook To The Birds of Australia*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1972. Comments on Light's plan of Adelaide can be found in Andris Zeieman 'Road Planning and Development in Metropolitan Adelaide 1836-1978', M.U.R.P. Thesis, University of Adelaide, and also Michael Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: a study in the historical geography of Australia*, Academic Press, London, 1974. Useful descriptions of early settlement patterns are to be found in 'Papers relative to South Australia' which are held in the South Australian Archives, while details of early occupiers are to be gleaned from records in the General Records Office (G.R.O.) of the Department of Lands. An unpublished history of Thebarton has been compiled by I. Srubjens and is held by the Corporation of Thebarton, while a history of Plympton by R. Butler has recently been published.

Chapter 2: Local Personalities in Politics to c. 1883

Again, much of the general background information for this chapter has been derived from Pike, *op. cit.*, though the contemporary comments are taken from the daily Press. All of the official notices which were concerned with the establishment of the district council are to be found in the *South Australian Government Gazette* of the day, and the information about the early deliberations of the Council are taken from the minute books which are held by the West Torrens Council. Comments on the early pollution of the River Torrens derive from *South Australian Parliamentary Paper (S.A.P.P.) 38 of 1875*. Many of the early deliberations of the Council, particularly as they affected W.H. Gray—one-time chairman—are featured in E. Hasenohr *W.H. Gray: A Pioneer Colonist of South Australia*, E. Hasenohr, Adelaide, 1977.

Chapter 3: Physical Development: c. 1853-83

Descriptions of the several villages in the district in 1866 are to be found in Robert P. Whitworth (ed), *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer*, Adelaide, 1866. Minutes and proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry into Sanitation comprise *S.A.P.P. 18-1876*. The history of the Hardy family has been written by Rosemary Burden in *A Family Tradition*, Thomas Hardy & Son, Reynella, 1978. So, too,

the story of public transport to Glenelg has been told by R.T. Wheaton, *Rails to the Bay*, Australian Electric Traction Association, Sydney, 1971. There are several parliamentary papers which provide information about the numerous discussions about the future of the lines and about transport matters generally; they include *S.A.P.P. 108-1881*, *S.A.P.P. 210-1877* and *S.A.P.P. 128-1881*. Records of the several companies involved in these schemes are to be found with the South Australian Archives and include G.R.G. 119/3/115-1871, G.R.G. 119/3/7-1878, G.R.G. 119/3/5-1883 and G.R.G. 119/3/36-1882. Information about the land boom in West Torrens derives largely from the assessment records which are retained by Council, though information about the several subdivisions is complemented by records of the G.R.O. and land-agent plans which are held by the Council.

Chapter 4: Physical and Political Development: c. 1883-1914

The background to workingmen's blocks can be found in the B.A. Thesis by J.B. Hirst, 'G.W. Cotton and the Workingmen's Blocks', Adelaide University, 1963, with specific West Torrens references from *S.A.P.P. 131-1895* and *S.A.P.P. 107-1896*. Much of the information on the Mile End railway yards derives from R.I. Jennings, *W.A. Webb South Australian Railways Commissioner 1922-30: A Political, Economic and Social Biography*, Nesfield Press, North Plympton, 1973, together with *S.A.P.P. 64-1917*. Details about the early industries in West Torrens came from occasional publications of the firms themselves, copies of which are held by the West Torrens Historical Society. The several health matters were taken from minutes of the Local Board of Health, reports of the Metropolitan County Board, *S.A.P.P. 33-1884* and *S.A.P.P. 67-1888*.

Chapter 5: The West Torrens Way of Life to c. 1914

An excellent discussion of religion in colonial South Australia is to be found in David Hilliard, 'The City of Churches: Some Aspects of Religion in Adelaide about 1900' in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* No. 8, 1980. Aspects of this have been developed in David Hilliard, 'Religion in South Australia in the 1890's', *Election 1893-1983 Come Out Historical Essays*, Constitutional Museum, Adelaide, 1983. The story of Methodism in West Torrens is detailed in John Andrewartha and Robert Goldsmith, *The Church at the Third Section*, Brooklyn Park Methodist Church, Brooklyn Park, n.d. Some more personal background is to be found in the West Torrens Historical Society file 85. Much of the early information about education in West Torrens is to be found in various reports published as parliamentary papers, viz. *S.A.P.P. 26-1875*, *S.A.P.P. 161-1876*, though the records of the Plympton school are held in the State Archives as G.R.G. 18/80. Information about Fr Healy and the Catholic Schools is to be found from an index to the *Southern Cross* which is held at the Catholic Church Archives and from incidental information gathered by Fr Moester of Brooklyn Park. For information about the early days of scouting in South Australia see Don Harris (ed.), *Scouting in South Australia: A Brief History 1908-80*, Adelaide, 1981. Details about the Reedbeds Cavalry are given in E. Hasenohr, *op. cit.* Samuel White's life and work has been told by his son Capt. S. A. White, *op. cit.* Many

of the personal observations on West Torrens and notable inhabitants are to be found in the files of the West Torrens Historical Society, viz. 114, 116, 215, 271. John A. Daly, *Elysian Fields: Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*, John A. Daly, Adelaide, 1982, gives background information about sport and recreation in colonial South Australia and is complemented by South Australia's Jockey Club, *History and growth of the South Australian Jockey Club*, Adelaide, 1954, and Bernard Whimpress, *The South Australian Football Story*, South Australian National Football League Inc., Adelaide, 1983.

Part II—Part of the World Community

Chapter 6: Development Despite Wars and Depression: c. 1914-45

Information about the development of the several firms in West Torrens is to be found in information held by the West Torrens Historical Society and also in V.S. Shephard, *The Corporation of the City of West Torrens, Centenary 1953*, City of West Torrens, Hilton, 1953. The Council retains many of the plans of the residential subdivisions which were undertaken during the 1920s. For information on Charles Reade see John Tregenza, 'Charles Reade, 1880-1933, Town Planning Missionary' in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 9, 1981, and for the history of the Galway Gardens subdivision see Michael Williams, *op. cit.* The evidence before the parliamentary enquiry into energy is contained in *S.A.P.P. 22-1917*. For information on the career and accomplishments of W.A. Webb, see R.I. Jennings, *op. cit.* The Metropolitan Floodwaters Scheme has been studied by Elizabeth McLaren, 'Draining the Adelaide Reedbeds', unpub. typescript. See also Dr D.G. Binnion, 'Lower Torrens Floodwaters Vigilance Committee and Control of Floodwaters in the Lower Torrens Valley' in *South Australiana*, Vol. 17, No. 2, September 1978. For background to later industrialisation see R.R. Hirst, 'Aspects of the Development of Secondary Industry in South Australia in Recent Years', M.Ec. Thesis, Adelaide University, 1948.

Chapter 7: The Influence of the World Community: c. 1914-45

Broad aspects of the effect of the First World War on Australians are treated by Russel Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901-1975*, Heinemann Educational Australia, 1977. Many of the personal reflections on contemporary life in this chapter are derived from interviews of local people which were made as part of the Australia 1939 Bicentennial History Project. Copies of interviews are held by the West Torrens Historical Society. These interviews complement those already undertaken by the society. J.F. Ross has compiled a *History of Radio in South Australia*, J.F. Ross, Plympton Park, 1978. The story of Kooyonga Golf Club has been told by V.M. Branson in *Kooyonga 1923-1983: the Story of a Golf Club*, Kooyonga Golf Club Incorporated, Lockleys, 1983. For a study of the Depression see Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1978. The early history of electricity in South Australia is detailed by E.A. Boehm, 'The Economic Development of Electricity Supply in South Australia', B.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide. Michael McKernan has published

a valuable book which looks at the domestic history of Australia during the Second World War; Michael McKernan, *All In: Australia during the Second World War*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1983.

Chapter 8: The Third Tier of Government: 1914-45

This chapter is based almost exclusively upon information derived from records held by the Council. These include Council minutes and reports of the district clerk. The papers concerned with Shephard's dismissal are to be found in docket 965/71.

Part III—The Modern Metropolitan City

Chapter 9: Physical Transformation: c. 1945-86

Much of the information about recent developments in West Torrens is derived from the local newspaper *West Side*; a book of cuttings is held by the West Torrens Library. For information on West Torrens' industries see R. R. Hirst, *op. cit.* The history of Adelaide Airport, together with further reading, is to be found in Nigel K. Daw, *Adelaide—West Beach Airport*, Nigel K. Daw, Plympton, 1982.

Chapter 10: Grass Roots Politics: c. 1945-86

The information for this chapter is derived almost exclusively from *West Side* and the many records of the Council.

Chapter 11: A New Society: c. 1945-86

Much of the background for this chapter is to be found in cuttings from *West Side*. Statistics are taken from census records. Details about Plympton school are to be found in the records of the school which are held in the State Archives, *op. cit.* Comment upon later religious history is to be found in an unpublished paper by Dr D. Hilliard, 'South Australian Religious History: Some Preliminary Thoughts', 4 November 1983.

APPENDICES

POPULATION OF WEST TORRENS

Year of Census	Males	Females	Total
1861	633	713	1,346
1866	764	757	1,521
1871	739	733	1,472
1876	891	837	1,728
1881	1,503	1,427	2,930
1891	711	676	1,387
1901	1,205	1,132	2,337
1911	1,813	1,795	3,608
1921	4,267	4,318	8,585
1933	7,954	8,099	16,053
1947	11,136	11,434	22,570
1954	16,440	16,488	32,928
1961	20,094	20,587	40,681
1966	22,619	23,603	46,222
1971	24,560	25,537	50,097
1976	23,418	24,574	47,992
1981	21,804	23,295	45,099

Source: Bureau of Statistics figures.

BIRTHPLACES OF RESIDENTS OF WEST TORRENS

Census Year	Australia Incl. South Australia	New Zealand	United Kingdom & Ireland	Greece Italy & Malta	Europe (balance)	Asia	Africa	U.S.A. Canada	Other	Total
1861	584	—	744	—	12	—	—	—	6	1,346
1866	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,521
1871	806	—	654	—	6	—	—	—	6	1,472
1876	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,728
1881	1,755*	—	1,115	—	44	—	—	—	16	2,930
1891	1,021	1	348	—	16	—	—	—	1	1,387
1901	1,897	3	404	—	25	—	—	4	4	2,337
1911	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,608
1921	7,436	14	1,048	1	44	8	14	4	16	8,585
1933	14,276	37	1,560	25	79	41	10	13	12	16,053
1947	20,823	48	1,269	218	145	33	15	16	3	22,570
1954	27,751	70	2,108	927	1,809	173	51	32	4	32,925
1961	32,903	74	2,409	1,986	2,883	235	135	43	5	40,681
1966	36,247	88	3,928	2,780	2,501	359	216	87	3	46,222
1971	38,955	135	4,212	3,206	2,673	501	244	127	44	50,097
1976	37,546	180	3,718	3,260	2,251	670	190	125	55	47,995
1981	34,461	282	3,294	3,150	2,098	997	234	120	459	45,095

RELIGIONS OF RESIDENTS OF WEST TORRENS

Census Year	Total Population	Church of England	R.C. Includes Catholic	Wesleyan/ Later Methodist	Lutheran	Presbyterian	Congregational	Baptist	Chruch of Christ	Total Christian
1871	1,472	446	230	336	—	43	72	113	—	—
1881	2,930	962	449	589	12	101	58	263	—	—
1891	1,387	511	196	262	9	22	28	187	—	—
1901	2,337	549	153	297	29	43	22	194	49	2,210
1911	3,608	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1921	8,585	3,465	877	1,860	46	308	129	749	392	8,278
1933	16,053	4,985	1,531	3,252	91	556	148	811	761	13,072
1947	22,570	6,962	3,150	5,599	221	658	223	891	810	19,285
1954	32,928	10,054	5,871	7,268	869	944	305	1,013	1,048	28,956
1961	40,681	10,925	8,918	8,393	1,424	1,183	353	1,087	1,816	35,976
1966	46,222	12,438	10,812	9,091	1,412	1,268	428	1,107	1,409	41,365
1971	50,097	12,015	12,339	8,530	1,595	1,152	408	1,034	1,314	43,440
1976	47,992	10,218	11,608	7,117	1,508	995	—	1,019	—	39,240
1981	45,099	8,713	11,252	6,159	1,397	584	116	857	779	35,610

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENTS OF WEST TORRENS

Census Year	Total Population	Total Employed	Total Unemployed or Not at Work	Professional	Administrative	Clerical	Sales Workers	Farmers Etc.	Miners	Transport Workers	Trades- & Crafts-men	Service Workers	Armed Services	Others Not Stated
1947	22,570	9,453	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1954	32,928	13,426	107	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1961	40,681	15,881	519	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1966	46,222	19,585	353	2,078	1,607	4,074	1,899	276	20	1,100	7,180	1,426	59	219
1971	50,097	22,066	338	2,394	1,914	4,582	2,134	204	18	1,119	7,249	1,643	88	721
1976	47,992	22,374	803	2,682	1,737	4,681	2,062	273	18	1,071	7,181	1,826	71	773
1981	45,099	19,803	1,753	2,575	1,479	4,163	1,966	233	15	929	5,711	1,840	84	803

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RESIDENTS OF WEST TORRENS

Census Year	Total At Work	Employer	Self-Employed	Not In Work Force	Employee	Helper	Total Population	Total Unemp. or Not at Work
1921	3,071	134	360	5,289	2,570	7	8,585	225
1933	4,870	323	582	9,610	3,965	29	16,053	1,544
1947	9,308	578	678	13,040	8,031	21	22,570	222
1954	13,426	759	887	19,386	11,751	29	32,928	116
1961	15,881	945	930	24,281	13,988	18	40,681	519
1966	19,585	1,049	934	26,284	17,540	62	46,222	353
1971	22,066	957	908	—	20,135	66	50,097	338
1976	22,374	— 2,268 Included	— Together	24,814	19,972	135	47,992	803
1981	19,803	893	1,261	23,543	17,570	79	45,099	1,753

NUMBER OF PRIVATE DWELLINGS IN WEST TORRENS

Census Year	Occupied Private Dwellings & Flats	Unoccupied Private Dwellings	Materials Used				
			Stone, Brick & Brick Veneer	Concrete	Iron	Wood	Canvas, Slab Huts, Mud Huts Pisé, Fibro & other materials
1861	279	59	240	37	—	12	118
1866	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1871	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1876	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1881	585	52	458	157	4	23	—
1891	268	19	242	27	—	18	—
1901	441	21	340	35	19	68	—
1911	731	—	—	—	—	—	—
1921	1,905	—	1,490	129	131	90	60
1933	3,970	—	3,563	98	128	114	39
1947	5,847	—	5,304	183	150	106	97
1954	9,116	326	7,758	699	171	197	284
1961	11,536	360	10,150	971	97	140	69
1966	13,746	578	—	—	—	—	—
1971	16,141	653	15,332	511	50	121	127
1976	17,114	1,112	15,544	1,090	42	84	98
1981	17,477	1,110	—	—	—	—	—

NUMBERS AND VALUE OF NEW BUILDINGS 1936-37 to 1979-80

	1936/37		1937/38		1938/39		1939/40	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	102	£ 79,326	136	£103,863	227	£146,606	115	£ 94,018
Flats	—	—	21	8,340	21	13,306	54	31,020
Other Buildings	7	6,815	19	9,799	22	14,697	20	9,255
Adns & Alts	49	7,530	81	11,511	142	9,821	92	12,314
Garages & Sheds	115	2,778	187	5,326	331	6,402	177	3,335
	<u>273</u>	<u>£ 96,449</u>	<u>444</u>	<u>£138,839</u>	<u>743</u>	<u>£190,832</u>	<u>458</u>	<u>£149,942</u>
	1940/41		1941/42		1942/43		1943/44	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	164	£136,999	153	£130,745	27	£ 18,001	6	£ 3,240
Flats	66	41,844	7	800	11	1,622	8	694
Other Buildings	12	10,740	8	9,267	2	2,400	5	10,079
Adns & Alts	93	9,552	97	11,111	102	12,090	95	12,689
Garages & Sheds	270	5,821	316	8,656	174	3,281	188	3,256
	<u>605</u>	<u>£204,956</u>	<u>581</u>	<u>£160,579</u>	<u>316</u>	<u>£ 37,394</u>	<u>302</u>	<u>£ 29,958</u>
	1944/45		1945/46		1946/47			
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value		
Dwellings	55	£ 46,207	246	£261,755	330	£376,139		
Flats	1	87	2	489	13	34,837		
Other Buildings	9	5,737	13	70,936	3	837		
Adns & Alts	118	25,855	197	20,847	176	16,899		
Garages & Sheds	207	3,777	302	9,515	382	12,580		
	<u>390</u>	<u>£ 81,663</u>	<u>760</u>	<u>£363,542</u>	<u>904</u>	<u>£441,292</u>		

	1947/48		1948/49		1949/50		1950/51	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	473	£586,699	324	£426,060	500	£726,980	698	£1,083,728
Flats	4	20,290	1	250	2	2,500	4	3,000
Other Buildings	13	47,092	42	126,694	47	101,622	57	95,098
Adns & Alts	157	19,340	164	14,350	261	26,915	267	23,733
Garages & Sheds	378	19,235	517	30,821	716	38,190	614	47,817
	<u>1025</u>	<u>£692,656</u>	<u>1048</u>	<u>£598,175</u>	<u>1526</u>	<u>£896,207</u>	<u>1640</u>	<u>£1,253,376</u>
	1951/52		1952/53		1953/54		1954/55	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	413	£937,626	458	£1,195,920	484	£1,266,189	497	£1,613,147
Flats	—	—	1	54,000	—	—	—	—
Other Buildings	28	102,139	37	155,419	33	166,973	52	352,236
Adns & Alts	301	60,769	297	76,262	291	127,374	279	132,055
Garages & Sheds	736	96,308	767	112,649	819	86,854	724	106,482
	<u>1478</u>	<u>£1,196,842</u>	<u>1560</u>	<u>£1,594,250</u>	<u>1627</u>	<u>£1,647,390</u>	<u>1552</u>	<u>£2,203,920</u>
	1955/56		1956/57		1957/58		1958/59	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings/Flats	369	£1,427,343	546	£1,600,354	288	£1,036,385	269	£992,711
Garages/Adns/Alts	941	167,042	880	191,468	921	159,756	921	168,977
Other Buildings	79	468,487	71	310,021	96	592,586	132	860,220
	<u>1389</u>	<u>£2,062,872</u>	<u>1497</u>	<u>£2,101,843</u>	<u>1305</u>	<u>£1,788,727</u>	<u>1322</u>	<u>£2,021,908</u>
	1959/60		1960/61		1961/62			
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value		
Dwellings/Flats	469	£1,499,579	365	£1,394,101	398	£1,463,144		
Garages/Adns/Alts	858	173,018	920	181,366	924	222,580		
Other Buildings	131	846,763	120	1,038,320	104	1,154,297		
	<u>1458</u>	<u>£2,519,360</u>	<u>1405</u>	<u>£2,613,787</u>	<u>1426</u>	<u>£2,840,021</u>		

	1962/63		1963/64		1964/65		1965/66	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	332	£1,310,207	338	£1,584,745	523	£1,702,388	226	\$2,200,306
Adns & Alts	840	172,996	953	241,181	993	240,418	1027	592,923
Other Buildings	154	1,717,575	197	1,344,364	191	1,657,269	179	3,100,049
	<u>1326</u>	<u>£3,200,778</u>	<u>1488</u>	<u>£3,170,290</u>	<u>1707</u>	<u>£3,600,075</u>	<u>1432</u>	<u>\$5,893,278</u>
	1966/67		1967/68		1968/69		1969/70	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	215	\$2,160,911	261	\$2,613,780	216	\$2,330,457	134	\$1,641,931
Adns & Alts	925	519,768	951	528,433	999	528,653	929	545,670
Other Buildings	130	1,899,420	146	3,515,998	200	4,755,123	233	6,163,277
	<u>1270</u>	<u>\$4,580,009</u>	<u>1358</u>	<u>\$6,658,211</u>	<u>1415</u>	<u>\$7,614,233</u>	<u>1296</u>	<u>\$8,350,878</u>
	1970/71		1971/72		1972/73		1973/74	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	117	\$1,310,619	81	\$1,151,101	89	\$1,234,034	104	\$2,126,835
Adns & Alts	966	528,975	1023	748,208	1103	1,073,273	1068	2,257,774
Other Buildings	197	4,873,984	157	5,214,866	140	3,399,829	132	5,945,076
	<u>1280</u>	<u>\$6,713,578</u>	<u>1261</u>	<u>\$7,114,175</u>	<u>1332</u>	<u>\$5,707,136</u>	<u>1304</u>	<u>\$10,329,685</u>
	1974/75		1975/76		1976/77		1977/78	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
Dwellings	29	\$770,746	45	\$1,412,675	40	\$1,428,924	20	\$837,100
Adns & Alts	938	1,974,960	1189	3,126,604	1068	2,983,745	1063	3,472,130
Other Buildings	57	7,624,063	80	5,904,456	78	5,691,798	50	4,267,860
	<u>1024</u>	<u>\$10,369,769</u>	<u>1314</u>	<u>\$10,443,735</u>	<u>1186</u>	<u>\$10,104,467</u>	<u>1133</u>	<u>\$8,577,090</u>
	1978/79		1979/80					
	No.	Value	No.	Value				
Dwellings	29	\$1,034,063	87	\$2,627,919				
Adns & Alts	1016	2,734,377	905	2,738,152				
Other Buildings	95	5,149,250	162	10,037,402				
	<u>1140</u>	<u>\$8,917,690</u>	<u>1154</u>	<u>\$15,403,473</u>				

ROLL OF WEST TORRENS COUNCILLORS

No.	Date					
1	1853	A.H. Davis (C)*	G. Dew	J. Foreman	J. Hector	C.S. Hare
2	1854	A.H. Davis (C)	G. Dew	J. Foreman	J. Hunt	T.H. Beare
3	1855	A.H. Davis (C)	G. Dew	R.B. Colley	J. Foreman	T.H. Beare
4	1856	A.H. Davis (C)	W.H. Gray	J. Woodhead	J. Morris	G. Dew
5	1857	A.H. Davis (C)	W.H. Gray	J. Woodhead	G. Dew	J. Morris
6	1858	A.H. Davis (C)	G. Dew	W. Harrold	J. Hemmingway	C.M. Pearson*
						J. Morris*
						C. Jenkins
7	1859	A.H. Davis (C)	W. Harrold	J. Hemmingway	C. Jenkins	W.H. Gray
8	1860	G. Dew(C)	W.H. Gray	C. Jenkins	C.M. Pearson	J. Haines
		Hilton	Thebarton	Mile End	Plympton	Reed Beds
9	1861	G. Dew (C)	C.M. Pearson	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard	K. Merchant
		Hilton	Thebarton	Reed Beds	Mile End	Plympton
10	1862	G. Dew (C)	C.M. Pearson	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
11	1863	G. Dew	C.M. Pearson (C)	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
12	1864	G. Dew	C.M. Pearson (C)	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
13	1865	G. Dew	C.M. Pearson (C)	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
14	1866	W. Douglas	G. Dew	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
15	1867	W. Douglas	G. Dew	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
16	1868	W. Douglas	G. Dew	R. Marjoram	J. Hemmingway	C.J. Everard
17	1869	W. Douglas	G. Dew	Jn. Rowell	J. Hemmingway	R. Shephardson
18	1870	J. Boase	G. Fisher	Jn. Rowell (C)	T. Newman	R. Shephardson
19	1871	J. Boase	G. Fisher	Jn. Rowell	T. Newman	R. Shephardson
20	1872	J. Boase	G. Dew	Jn. Rowell	J. Hemmingway	R. Shephardson
21	1873	J. Boase	G. Dew	C. White	J. Hemmingway	W. Ayliffe
22	1874	G.S. Knight	G. Dew	C. White	R. Strutton	W. Ayliffe*
						W. Mock
23	1875	G.S. Knight	G. Dew	C. White	R. Strutton	W. Baker
24	1876	G.S. Knight	W. Charlesworth	C. White	E. Middleton	T. Errington
25	1877	G.S. Knight	W. Charlesworth	F.C. Davis	E. Middleton	T. Day
26	1878	J. Marles	W. Charlesworth	F.C. Davis	G. Foreman	T. Day
27	1879	J. Marles	W. Charlesworth (C)	J. G. Prettejohn	G. Foreman	T. Errington
28	1880	J. Marles (C)	T. Pritchard	J.G. Prettejohn	J. Evans*	T. Errington
					T. Adcock	J.K. Penney

		Hilton	Thebarton	Reed Beds	Mile End	Plympton	West	New Thebarton
29	1881	J. Marles	T. Adcock	J.G. Prettejohn (C)	E.C. Hemmingway	A.P. Cook	C.L. Taylor	T. Hardy
30	1881	J. Marles	T. Pritchard	J.G. Prettejohn (C)	E.C. Hemmingway	A.P. Cook	C.L. Taylor	J. Stevenson
31	1882	J.M. Ruddoch	T. Pritchard (C)	J.G. Prettejohn	E.C. Hemmingway	A.P. Cook	C.L. Taylor	J. Stevenson
		Hilton	Underdale	Reed Beds	Plympton	West		
32	1883	A. Rankine	E. Lipsett (C)	C.L. Taylor	J. Woodhead	J.K. Penney		
33	1884	J.M. Ruddoch	E. Lipsett (C)	Jas. Rowell	J. Woodhead*	J.K. Penney		
					T. Errington			
34	1885	J.M. Ruddoch	E. Lipsett	Jas. Rowell	S.C. Tolley (C)	W.E. Bagshaw		
35	1886	J.M. Ruddoch	E. Lipsett	W.H. Gray	S.C. Tolley (C)	W.E. Bagshaw		
36	1887	J.M. Ruddoch	Jas. Rowell	W.H. Gray	S.C. Tolley (C)	W.E. Bagshaw		
37	1888	J.F. Turner	Jas. Rowell	W.H. Gray	S.C. Tolley (C)	W.E. Bagshaw		
38	1889	J.F. Turner	Jas. Rowell	W.H. Gray	A.P. Cook	W.E. Bagshaw (C)*		
						G. Errington		
39	1890	J.F. Turner	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	A.P. Cook	G. Errington		
40	1891	J.F. Turner	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	A.P. Cook	F.J. Gray		
41	1892	J.F. Turner	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
42	1893	J.M. Ruddoch	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
43	1894	J.M. Ruddoch	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
44	1895	M. Wilkes	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
45	1896	M. Wilkes	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
46	1897	M. Wilkes	Jas. Rowell (C)	W.C. Prettyjohn	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
47	1898	G.H. Holt	Jas. Rowell (C)	M. Wilkes	R. Streeter	F.J. Gray		
48	1899	G.H. Holt	Jas. Rowell (C)	M. Wilkes	R. Streeter	A.P. Cook		
49	1900	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter	A.P. Cook (C)		
50	1901	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter (C)	A.P. Cook		
51	1902	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter (C)	A.P. Cook		
52	1903	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter (C)	A.P. Cook		
53	1904	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter (C)	A.P. Cook		
54	1905	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell	R. Streeter (C)	A.P. Cook		
55	1906	J.F. Turner	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell (C)	R. Streeter	A.P. Cook		
56	1907	J.A. Hardy	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell (C)	R. Streeter	A.P. Cook		
57	1908	J.A. Hardy	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell (C)	R. Streeter	A.P. Cook		
58	1909	G.H. Holt	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell (C)	J. Patten	A.P. Cook		
59	1910	G.H. Holt (C)	H. Sherriff	J.E. Rowell (C)	J. Patten*	G. Errington		
					E. Moss			
60	1911	R.S. Caldicott	H. Sherriff (C)	J.E. Rowell	E. Moss	G. Errington		

61	1912	Hilton R.S. Caldicott	Underdale H. Sherriff (C)	Brooklyn J. Fewings	Richmond H. Watson	Keswick E. Moss	Plympton G. Errington	Sea View J.E. Rowell
62	1913	R.S. Caldicott	H. Sherriff (C)	J. Fewings	H. Watson	E. Moss	G. Errington	J.E. Rowell
63	1914	Hilton R.S. Caldicott	Underdale H. Sherriff (C)	Brooklyn J. Fewings	Hayhurst H. Watson	Keswick E. Moss	Plympton W.J. Harvey	Sea View F.H. Menkins
64	1915	R.S. Caldicott	H. Sherriff (C)	J. Fewings	H. Watson	F.W. Ingerson	W.J. Harvey	F.H. Menkins
65	1916	Hilton J.McL. Sutherland	Underdale H. Sherriff (C)	Brooklyn J. Fewings	Hayhurst H. Watson	Keswick F.W. Ingerson	Plympton W.J. Harvey	Morphett C.P. Forwood
66	1917	J.McL. Sutherland	H. Sherriff (C)	J. Fewings	H. Watson	F.W. Ingerson	W.J. Harvey	C.P. Forwood
67	1918	J.McL. Sutherland	H. Sherriff	J. Fewings	H. Watson (C)	F.W. Ingerson	A.I. Watson	W.A. Starling
68	1919	A. Spencer	H. Sherriff	J. Fewings	H. Watson	F.W. Ingerson (C)	H. Bower	W.A. Starling
69	1920	A. Spencer	H. Sherriff (C)	J. Fewings	H. Watson	H.D. MacDonald	H. Bower	W.A. Starling
70	1921	A. Spencer	H. Sherriff	J. Fewings	H. Watson (C)	H.D. MacDonald	H. Bower	W.A. Starling
71	1922	A. Spencer (C)	G.J. Rowell	F. Fewings	H. Watson	H.D. MacDonald	H. Bower	W.A. Starling
72	1923	A. Spencer (C)	G.J. Rowell	J. Fewings	W.E. Grosvenor	H.D. MacDonald	H. Bower	W.A. Starling
73	1924	A. Spencer	G.J. Rowell (C)	J. Fewings	W.E. Grosvenor	C.C. Leitch	H.A. Suter	F.A. Harris
74	1925	A.J.L. Wilson	G.J. Rowell (C)	J. Fewings	W.E. Grosvenor	C.C. Leitch	H.A. Suter	F.A. Harris
75	1926	A.J.L. Wilson	G.J. Rowell	J. Fewings	W.E. Grosvenor	C.C. Leitch (C)	H.A. Suter	G.J.T. Dowding
76	1927	A.J.L. Wilson	T.A. Powell	C. Stanford	W.E. Grosvenor	C.C. Leitch (C)	H.A. Suter	G.J.T. Dowding
77	1928	A.J.L. Wilson (C)	T.A. Powell	C. Stanford	W.E. Grosvenor	C.C. Leitch	E.L. Osborn	G.J.T. Dowding
78	1930	A.J.L. Wilson (C)	T.A. Powell	C. Stanford	F.G. Schmidt	C.C. Leitch	E.L. Osborn	G.J.T. Dowding
79	1931	A.J.L. Wilson	T.A. Powell (C)	C. Stanford	F.G. Schmidt	J.J.A. Weathers	E.L. Osborn	C.D. Sandison
80	1931	A.J.L. Wilson	T.A. Powell (C)	C. Stanford	D.R. Potter	J.J.A. Weathers	E.L. Osborn	C.D. Sandison
81	1932	A.J.L. Wilson	T.A. Powell	C. Stanford (C)	D.R. Potter	J.H. Allen	E.L. Osborn	C.C.L. Rogers
82	1933	A. Burt	T.A. Powell	A.F. Scott	D.R. Potter	J.H. Allen	E.L. Osborn (C)	C.C.L. Rogers
83	1934	A. Burt	T.A. Powell	A.F. Scott	D.R. Potter	C.W. Lloyd	A. McLean	E.L. Osborn (C)
84	1935	A. Burt	H.H. Norman	A.F. Scott (C)	A. Chambers	C.W. Lloyd	A. McLean	E.L. Osborn
85	1936	A. Burt	H.H. Norman	A.F. Scott (C)	A. Chambers	C.W. Lloyd	A. McLean	E.L. Osborn
86	1937	A. Burt (C)	H.H. Norman	F.H. Wharton	A. Chambers	C.W. Lloyd	A. McLean	E.L. Osborn
87	1938	A. Burt (C)	H.H. Norman	F.H. Wharton	A. Chambers	W.A. Ingerson	A. McLean	E.L. Osborn
88	1939	C.R.J. Veale	H.H. Norman	F.H. Wharton	A. Chambers	W.A. Ingerson	A. McLean (C)	E.L. Osborn
89	1940	C.R.J. Veale	H.H. Norman (C)	F.H. Wharton	A. Chambers	W.A. Ingerson	A.F. Chambers	H.E. Comley
90	1941	C.R.J. Veale	H.H. Norman	W. Cromer	H.R. Mack	F.E. Weston	C.J. Poole	H.E. Comley (C)
91	1942	C.R.J. Veale	H.H. Norman	W. Cromer	H.R. Mack	F.W. Ingerson	C.J. Poole	H.E. Comley (C)
92	1943	C.R.J. Veale	C.E. Wood	W. Cromer	H.R. Mack	F.W. Ingerson	C.J. Poole	H.E. Comley (C)

		Mayor	Hilton	Keswick	Hayhurst	Lockleys	Morphett
93	1944	H.E. Comley	C.R.J. Veale F.H. Beerworth	F.E. Weston E.J.N. Souter	H.R. Mack C.J. Poole	W. Cromer* R.L. Babidge C.E. Wood	A.H. Halliday J.G. Rogers
94	1945	H.E. Comley	C.R.J. Veale F.H. Beerworth	F.E. Weston E.J.N. Souter	H.R. Mack T.J. McKay	C.E. Wood W. Cromer	J.G. Rogers A.H. Halliday
95	1946	C.R.J. Veale	F.H. Beerworth	F.E. Weston	T.J. McKay	R.L. Babidge	J.G. Rogers
96	1947	C.R.J. Veale	R. Wall A.J. Dunning	E.J.N. Souter E.J.N. Souter	T.C. Stott J.H. Giles	C.E. Wood R.L. Babidge	A.H. Halliday A.H. Halliday
97	1948	C.R.J. Veale	R. Wall A.J. Dunning	J.P. Toohey J.P. Toohey	T.C. Stott J.H. Giles	C.E. Wood C.E. Wood	R.J. Bartlett R.J. Bartlett
98	1949	C.R.J. Veale	R. Wall A.J. Dunning	E.J.N. Souter J.C. Sexton	T.C. Stott T.C. Stott	R.L. Babidge S. Douglas	D.A. Graetz D.A. Graetz
99	1950	C.R.J. Veale	R. Wall A.J. Dunning	E.J.N. Souter J.C. Sexton	J.H. Giles J.H. Giles	A. Warhurst S. Douglas	R.J. Bartlett R.J. Bartlett
100	1951	C.R.J. Veale	R. Wall A.J. Dunning	V.J. Martin J.C. Sexton	A.W. Hyde J.H. Giles	A. Warhurst S. Douglas	M.H. Rowe R.J. Bartlett
101	1952	C.R.J. Veale	A.J. Dunning J.J. Callaghan	V.J. Martin J.C. Sexton	A.W. Hyde J.H. Giles	A. Warhurst A. Warhurst	M.H. Rowe R.J. Bartlett
102	1953	C.R.J. Veale	A.J. Dunning J.C. Callaghan	V.J. Martin J.C. Sexton	A.W. Hyde J.H. Giles	W.G. Hairfield W.G. Hairfield	R.J. Bartlett R.J. Bartlett
103	1954	R.J. Bartlett	J.C. Callaghan A. Cys	V.J. Martin A.L. Geddie	A.W. Hyde J.H. Giles	A.N. Coombe W.G. Hairfield	M.H. Rowe A.C. Smith
104	1955	R.J. Bartlett	J.C. Callaghan A. Cys	J.C. Sexton A.L. Geddie	S.J. Hamra J.H. Giles	A.N. Coombe W.G. Hairfield	D.E. Wilson D.E. Wilson
105	1956	R.J. Bartlett	J.C. Callaghan A. Cys	J.C. Sexton A.L. Geddie	S.J. Hamra S.J. Hamra	W.G. Bourne W.G. Bourne	A.C. Smith D.E. Wilson
106	1957	R.J. Bartlett	A. Cys J.C. Callaghan	A.L. Geddie J.C. Sexton	W.J. Trevorrow H. Dupre	J.M. Carey W.G. Bourne	A.C. Smith A.C. Smith
107	1958	R.J. Bartlett	J.C. Callaghan A. Cys	A.L. Geddie J.C. Sexton	H. Dupre W.F. Melville	J.M. Carey W.G. Bourne	D.E. Wilson D.E. Wilson
108	1959	R.J. Bartlett	J.C. Callaghan S.F.J. Shipp	H.V. Bertram A.L. Geddie	S.J. Hamra W.F. Melville	M.I. Jones* R.A. Hitchin	F.C. Baron D.J. Wells
109	1960	R.J. Bartlett	S.F.J. Shipp A. Cys	A.L. Geddie R.J. Davies	S.J. Hamra C.G.G. Robertson	J.M. Carey J.M. Carey	M.H. Rowe D.J. Wells

110	1961	Mayor S.J. Hamra	Hilton A. Cys S.F.J. Shipp	Keswick R.J. Davies H.A. Elliott	Hayhurst C.G.G. Robertson D.N. Prescott	Lockleys R.A. Hitchin W.G. Bourne	Morphett D.J. Wells R.J. Bartlett	
111	1962	S.J. Hamra	S.F.J. Shipp F.M. Norton	H.A. Elliott L.J. Williams	D.N. Prescott C.G.G. Robertson	W.G. Bourne R.A. Hitchin	R.J. Bartlett D.J. Wells	
112	1963	Mayor S.J. Hamra	Hilton S.F.J. Shipp F.M. Norton	Keswick H.A. Elliott L.J. Williams	Hayhurst J.J. McKenna C.G.G. Robertson	Lockleys N.J. Cloak R. Merlino	Airport S.D. Gray R.A. Hitchin	Morphett M.H. Rowe D.J. Wells
113	1964	S.J. Hamra	S.F.J. Shipp F.M. Norton	H.A. Elliott L.J. Williams	J.J. McKenna C.G.G. Robertson	N.J. Cloak R. Merlino	S.D. Gray R.A. Hitchin	M.H. Rowe D.J. Wells
114	1965	S.J. Hamra	S.F.J. Shipp F.M. Norton	H.A. Elliott L.J. Williams	J.J. McKenna C.G.G. Robertson	N.J. Cloak R. Merlino	S.D. Gray R.A. Hitchin	M.H. Rowe D.J. Wells
115	1966	S.J. Hamra	S.F.J. Shipp F.M. Norton	H.A. Elliott C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna H.G. Lee	N.J. Cloak E.L. Morris** R. Merlino	S.D. Gray F. Melville	M.H. Rowe D.J. Wells
116	1967	S.J. Hamra	R. Morelli F.M. Norton	G.T. Hodgson C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna H.G. Lee	E.L. Morris R. Merlino	S.D. Gray F. Melville	M.H. Rowe R.C. Wallace** D.J. Wells
117	1968	S.J. Hamra	R. Morelli F.M. Norton	G.T. Hodgson C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna A.H. Sumner	E.L. Morris J.H. Nicholls	S.D. Gray M.J. Innes	R.C. Wallace D.J. Wells
118	1969	S.J. Hamra	R. Morelli F.M. Norton	E.E. Tuckey C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna A.H. Sumner* R.D. Jones	E.L. Morris J.H. Nicholls	S.D. Gray M.J. Innes	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
119	1970	S.J. Hamra	R. Morelli F.M. Norton	E.E. Tuckey C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna R.D. Jones	E.L. Morris J.H. Nicholls	S.D. Gray M.J. Innes	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
120	1971	S.J. Hamra	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna R.D. Jones	R.E. Wait J.H. Nicholls	S.D. Gray M.J. Innes* B.H. MacKenzie	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
121	1972	S.J. Hamra	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	J.J. McKenna R.D. Jones	R.E. Wait J.H. Nicholls	S.D. Gray B.H. MacKenzie	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
122	1973	S.J. Hamra	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	R.I. Jennings R.D. Jones	R.E. Wait J.H. Nicholls	G.R. Palmer B.H. MacKenzie	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
123	1974	S.J. Hamra	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	R.I. Jennings R.D. Jones	R.E. Wait J.H. Nicholls	G.R. Palmer J.H. Powell	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
124	1975	S.J. Hamra	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	R.D. Jones R.I. Jennings	R.E. Wait J.H. Nicholls	G.R. Palmer J.H. Powell	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells

125	1976	R.I. Jennings	B.J. Childs F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	G. Harris E.M. Klaucke	R.E. Wait B.H. Phillips	G.R. Palmer J.H. Powell	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
126	1977	S.J. Hamra	B.C. Morrell F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	G. Harris E.M. Klaucke*	R.E. Wait B.H. Phillips	G.R. Palmer J.H. Powell	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
127	1978	S.J. Hamra	B.C. Morrell F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	R.I. Jennings I.K. Frances	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	H. Shepherd D.J. Wells
128	1979	S.J. Hamra	J.W. Deacon F.M. Norton	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	I.K. Frances R.I. Jennings*	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	C. Saultry D.J. Wells C. Saultry*
129	1980	S.J. Hamra	R.J. Ellis J.W. Deacon	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	I.K. Frances J.J. McKenna	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	G.F. Mander R.P. Pfeiffer
130	1981	S.J. Hamra	R.J. Ellis J.W. Deacon	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	I.K. Frances R.I. Jennings	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	G.F. Mander D.M. Perry
131	1982	S.J. Hamra	R.J. Ellis J.W. Deacon	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	I.K. Frances R.I. Jennings	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	G.F. Mander D.M. Perry
132	1983	S.J. Hamra	R.J. Ellis J.W. Deacon	K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	I.K. Frances R.I. Jennings	R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	G.R. Palmer J.M. Buckingham	G.F. Mander D.M. Perry
133	1985	Mayor S.J. Hamra	Hilton A.M. Antonello F.M. Norton	Keswick K.M. Richards C.G.G. Robertson	Plympton I.K. Frances R.I. Jennings	Lockleys R.E. Wait D.A. Matthews	Airport J.M. Buckingham G.R. Palmer	Morphett G.F. Mander D.M. Perry

(C) denotes Chairman. * denotes creation of an extraordinary vacancy because of death, resignation etc.

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The Arms: Borne on the shield, the oak tree symbolizes wooded areas cleared for progress as well as beautification. The wheat sheaf symbolizes original farming pursuits. The blue wavy line the rivers Torrens and Sturt; the gold wavy line the Anzac Highway, so named as a memorial to men fallen in the 1914-1918 war.

The Crest: The helmet, appropriate to Local Authority, is surrounded by a mural crown, applicable to city rank, and a Boobook owl holding a quill in outstretched claw, representative of management governed by wisdom, and an allusion to the motto.

The Supporters: Purely artistic, the horse is emblematic of the species as a whole which served the district. The lion is symbolic of settlers' British origins. Collars and chains represent control and authority, whilst the mullets (each with six points, one for each city ward) are an allusion to this grant of arms 130 years after being originally proclaimed.