GATEWAY CITY

THE REUNITED COMMUNITY OF THEBARTON AND WEST TORRENS

Peter Donovan





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Introduction

The City of West Torrens turned 150 years on 7 July 2003, giving it the distinction of being the second oldest metropolitan council in South Australia. This history has been written to commemorate this milestone.

Significant books have already been written about the city. I wrote about West Torrens in *Between the City and the Sea*, that recounted the history of the district to 1986. Pauline Payne's *Thebarton: Old and New*, was published in 1996 and traced the story of Thebarton to that date. The present book does not seek to duplicate either earlier work, though it draws heavily on both. The book's primary purpose is to outline the chief developments of the city to provide essential background for the more recent story and to enable this history to stand alone.

West Torrens in 2003–04 is a modern metropolitan city of 52,000 citizens. The city currently comprises 36 square kilometres of Adelaide's western metropolitan area between the western parklands and the coast. It is bounded by the Adelaide parklands in the east, the River Torrens in the north, the coast in the west, while the southern boundary follows closely the alignment of Anzac Highway and the Adelaide to Glenelg tramline as far as the City of Holdfast Bay. West Torrens is South Australia's gateway city, featuring Adelaide's international airport and the interstate passenger rail terminal.

West Torrens was among South Australia's first settled regions and reflects most of the significant features of the state's urban history. Scattered communities developed within the area during the mid-nineteenth century and united to form the District Council of West Torrens in 1853. The location contiguous to Adelaide meant that there was more intensive residential and industrial development in the north-east portion of the district. Residents there demanded greater control over their own affairs and succeeded in having the Town of Thebarton recognised as a separate local government area in 1883, leaving the greater portion of West Torrens as a predominantly rural area.

The two local government areas experienced different fortunes during succeeding years. West Torrens' vast area became both increasingly populated and industrialised in the years after World War II. Thebarton, by contrast went into decline in the post-war period as long-established industries languished, the population aged, family sizes declined and as migrants and young couples without children sought to take advantage of the relatively inexpensive housing close to Adelaide.

However, the destinies of the two council areas converged once more during the 1990s. Social distinctions remained, but they became less significant as circumstances created newer demands on local governments that had been traditionally concerned with little more than 'roads, rates and rubbish'. People in the two local government areas discovered that they had a great deal in common and that they would benefit from economies of scale. This realisation, with the insistence of the state government, led to the re-unification of the local governments of Thebarton and West Torrens on 1 March 1997.

The history provides little detail of councils or councillors, it being implicit that they had the general oversight of local developments. The history is essentially concerned with the occupation and use of the district, and the social consequences flowing from this. The story begins by highlighting the Kaurna accommodation with the land and moves on to describe the efforts of white settlers to use it in accordance with experiences gained in an alien region. Finally, later generations see the wisdom of following policies more in harmony with the environment and with enhancing quality of life.

This circular theme also reflects the history of the local government in the city. This began as a single local government authority that divided because of perceived differences, only to re-unite again as these differences were minimised.

Readers should have recourse to the previously published histories of the district to pursue matters prior to 1986 in more detail.

Acknowledgements

Any author owes a debt of gratitude to those who assist in bringing a book to publication. Historians, in particular, depend on a great deal of good will and assistance in their efforts to retrieve information and interpretations about the past. Those who provided particular assistance during the course of this project include Mayor John Trainer, Chief Executive Officer Trevor Starr and senior staff, John Voigt and Andrew Young who provided information about recent

developments within the city. Joe Fayad has had responsibility for the project and has provided advice and information from time to time. Nerrisa Nicholson scanned the illustrations, Eugene Lamnek provided the map of West Torrens, Ray Doody provided access to Council files, while Faye Spence arranged to have old minutes retrieved from storage.

Photographs have been sourced from several places. John Andrewartha provided access to those from the West Torrens Historical Society and provided advice on the history: Kevin Kaeding provided illustrations from the photographic collection held by the Thebarton Historical Society. Other photographs are from collections held within the Council, and some from my collection.

Author's Note

Australia's adoption of metric units, beginning with the currency in 1966 and progressing to lineal measurements in 1974, has created difficulties for historians wishing to portray clearly the early history of land settlement. So many concepts are specific to imperial measurements and lose their symmetry when converted exactly into metric measurements. For example, income to fund the foundation of South Australia was raised by selling orders for land at the initial price of £1 per acre: this appears ridiculous when converted to \$2 per 0.404686 hectares. Moreover, the 1966 currency conversion rate gives an incorrect impression unless the later purchasing power of the currency is also given to provide some indication of the effects of inflation. I have made no attempt to convert Imperial currency to metric values because inflation renders such conversion meaningless. However Imperial lineal measurements that are not subject to inflation have been converted into metric.

The following conversion table may be used:

1 foot = 0.3048 metres

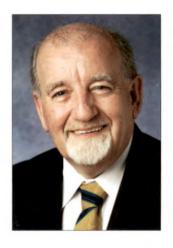
1 mile = 1.6093 kilometres

1 acre = 0.404686 hectares

1 square mile = 2.58999 square kilometres

Peter Donovan

Foreword



Mayor John Trainer.

n Monday 7 July 2003 it was my great pleasure to chair a special council meeting to recognise and celebrate 150 years of community service by the West Torrens Council, since its proclamation in the *Government Gazette* of 7 July 1853.

When the District Council of West Torrens was proclaimed in 1853, Italy and Germany had not yet been created as nations (1870), slavery still existed in the United States, Queen Victoria was still a relatively young monarch, South Australia was still a colony, the unicameral South Australian Parliament was only partially elected, and Western Australia was not yet allowed to have any Parliament at all

During its life, West Torrens can be said to have divorced and re-married. The West Torrens Council of 1853 included the Thebarton district, but as that area became more industrialised and closely settled, the Thebarton Corporation chose to separate from still-rural West Torrens in February 1883 as a separate Council.

In 1997, more than a century later, in a shotgun wedding arranged at the insistence of the State Government, Thebarton Council re-joined the West Torrens Council in an amalgamation by which Thebarton became one ward of what are now the seven wards of West Torrens. In fact the current council includes two former Mayors of Thebarton, Cr Annette O'Rielley and Cr John Lindner.

This book is but one tangible outcome of Council's support for a modest program of 150th celebrations focused on projects that will leave something lasting in connection with our anniversary, such as Jubilee Park in Glandore, several groves of 150 trees in locations across the city and appropriate signs acknowledging the Kaurna peoples close and long-standing association with the land.

The 18 March 2004 opening of the Hamra Centre, a \$6.5million redevelopment of the West Torrens Auditorium and Hilton Library, proved a most interesting counterpoint towards the end of our 150th year. While the building, services and programs are very much designed for our future, naming the facility in honour of long-serving Mayor Steve Hamra and his wife Marie recognises and maintains our strong links with the past.

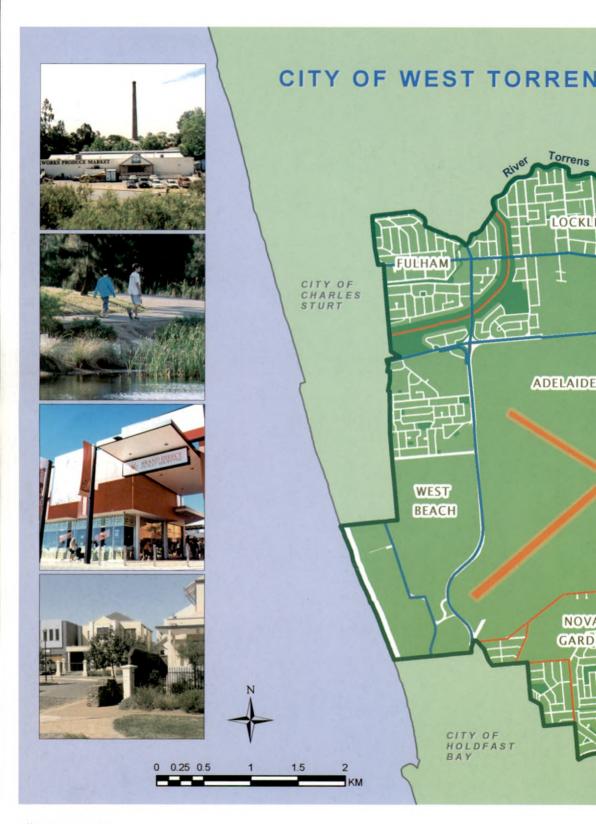
Council trusts that this publication, a combined summary of the 1986 West Torrens and 1996 Thebarton history books, together with highlights of events since our re-amalgamation, will bring the history of our district up to the present time.

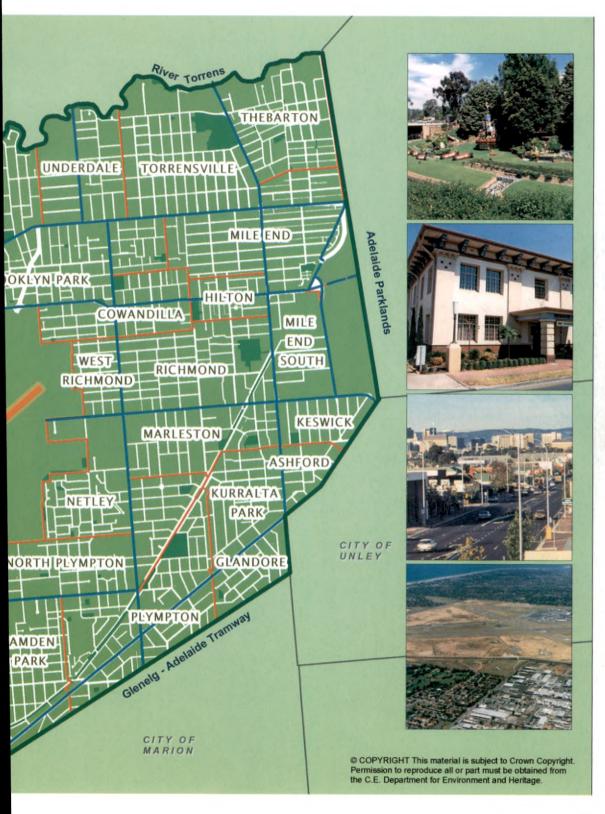
Hon John Trainer, Mayor City of West Torrens 2004

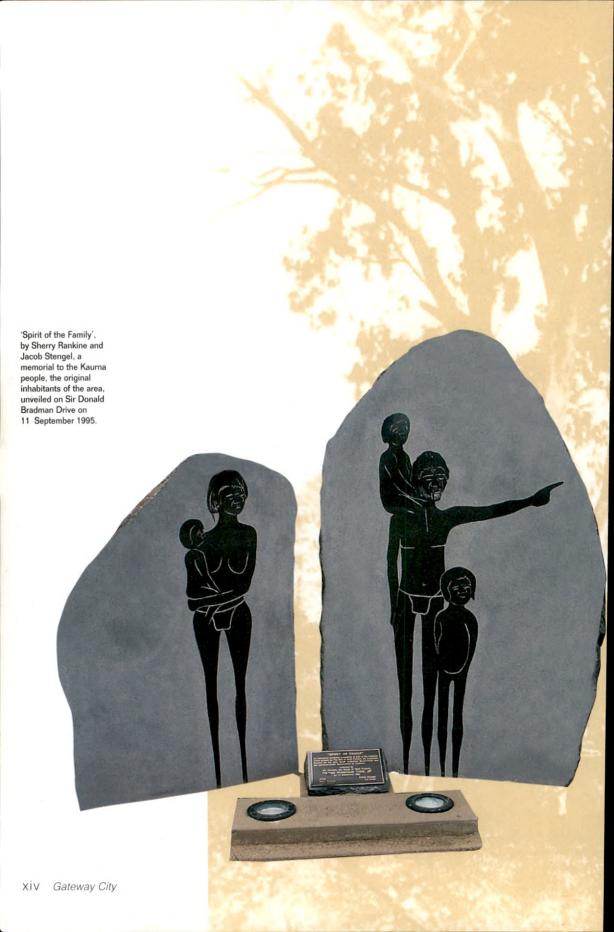












First Settlement

The history of West Torrens reflects many of the features of South Australia's unique history because it has always been close to Adelaide.¹

The First Nation

This region was originally part of the Kaurna territory which stretched from Cape Jervis in the south, to the region about Port Wakefield and Crystal Brook in the north. It stretched along the eastern shore of Gulf St. Vincent and was defined in the east by the Mount Lofty Ranges.² The Kaurna were not a populous tribe: in 1842, their numbers were estimated to be 650.

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 governed by the seasons and the availability of food supplies. Their territory contained several subregions 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. Their wandering lifestyle meant that the Kaurna built no substantial dwellings. Summer shelters might be no more than a few boughs spread in a semi-circle to act as a windbreak. Such shelters were complemented by a dome made from branches and covered by bark or grass to provide more substantial protection in wintertime

The Kaurna possessed simple stone and wooden tools that were sufficient for their needs. Long spears were used for hunting, while flint stones with wooden handles fixed with gum were used as knifes. They wove fibres of various plants to fashion nets for fishing, or with a closer weave made bags for carrying purposes. Clothing was non-existent in the summer months, but was made from animal skins in cooler times.³

The first inhabitants had a complex spiritual life peopled with spirits and ancestors who were responsible for creation of the physical world and its features. Their relationships with the various ancestral beings determined marriage lines and relationships to particular animals and plants. Both men and women were initiated into various stages as they grew to adulthood, each stage being marked by sacred ceremonies.

The area that was to become West Torrens formed only a small part of the Kaurna homeland. However, it possessed valuable resources in the River Torrens and the Patawalonga River. The Kaurna occupation of the region is evident from a burial site at Torrensville and marked trees at Lockleys. There was also evidence of an old campsite at Fulham, while occasional camps were made on the sand dunes along the coast.

The Kaurna lived in harmony with their natural environment, but they were probably responsible for changing aspects of it. They had lived in the region for several thousand years and they and the dogs they introduced must have helped change the early faunal balance. 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 extensive grasslands remarked on by early settlers. The Aborigines' practice of burning the dry summer grasses, in order to expose and trap animals and fowl, awed the first Europeans.

White Settlement

Europeans had taken an interest in the southern coast of the Australian continent early in the nineteenth century. James Grant in the Lady Nelson observed and named landmarks in the South East, including Mount Gambier in 1800. Captain Matthew Flinders in the Investigator followed two years later and charted the southern coast from Nuyts Archipelago to Encounter Bay. Whalers were known to have established camps on Kangaroo Island as early as 1804. However, there was little interest in permanent white settlement in the region until after Captain Charles Sturt reported on his journey down the River Murray to its mouth, which he accomplished on 12 February 1830. The following year Captain Collet Barker was instructed to explore the Adelaide coast but was killed by Aboriginal people near the Murray Mouth.

King William IV assented to the *South Australian Act* on 15 August 1834, prompting the appointment of the South Australian Colonisation Commission and the planning for the first permanent white settlement in the area. The settlement was to be in accordance with the idea of 'Systematic Colonisation' propounded by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in his 'Letter from Sydney' in 1829.

The first of the immigrants bound for South Australia left Britain in February and March 1836 under arrangements made by the South Australian Company. Later, on 4 May 1836, Colonel William Light left London aboard the *Rapid*, 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 settlers arrived.⁴

Light was about 50 years old when he was appointed Surveyor-General of the new colony in 1835. He had been born in Penang in about 1786, the son of Francis Light, the founder and first governor of that colony. William's had been a wandering and adventurous life until his South Australian appointment. He had been sent to England as a six-year-old to be educated, and at 14 years of age had joined the Royal Navy. He purchased a commission in the British Army in 1808 and served as a lieutenant in the Peninsular War in Spain. He resigned his commission in 1821 and married Miss E. Perois that same year. He married again in 1824, this time to Mary Bennet, the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, with whom he spent time touring Europe and North Africa. While in Egypt, 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.

Colonel William Light arrived off Kangaroo Island in August 1836 and soon after began exploring the mainland to determine a site for the capital. Those settlers who had preceded him, and others who arrived later moved to the mainland and made camp at Holdfast Bay where they had to make do with makeshift accommodation for more than three months, before they were able to establish their new homes in the capital.

The immigrants lived in tents for the most part. These lacked many facilities, but generally provided more room than the cramped quarters on board ship, and certainly provided a great deal more privacy. The Everards were among those who built themselves a hut. The framework comprised straight poles let into the ground with smaller ones crossing them horizontally about 300mm apart. Timber flags secured by horizontal rods tightly bound to those on the other side formed the walls. The roof was thatched with reeds. The hut was both wind and weather tight, cool in summer and warm in winter.⁵

The first few months must have been trying for the strangers in a strange land. For instance, on Christmas Day 1836, the colonists' first in the new land, the temperature reached 43.3°C, 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'.6

Selecting Adelaide

On 4 October 1836, Light had examined the area about a little river that was first incongruously called the Thames, before it was named the Patawalonga. He was delighted with what he saw. Then on 23 October, Light directed George Kingston, his second-in-command to examine the country in more detail while he went to Port Lincoln. Kingston had good fortune to discover the site for the new capital during Light's absence. 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.'⁷

Light concurred with his deputy's choice. 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 laborers. 'My first opinions with regard to this place,' he wrote, 'became still re 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.'8

Light left his ship and set up camp by the Torrens on 28 December, the day on which Governor Hindmarsh arrived and read the proclamation, and on the following day he arranged to have Hindmarsh and James 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 often-bitter opposition from Hindmarsh and others who believed that it should have been surveyed at Encounter Bay. History vindicated the perception of Light rather than that of his critics.

Light and his men began the task of surveying the site for the capital on 11 January 1837 and completed it on 10 March. The land-order holders or their agents made their selections in accordance with the order determined by lot seven days later.

The colonists embarked on the arduous task of setting up their new homes in the bush capital once they had selected their town sites. 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 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. Most of them travelled the route that was to become Anzac Highway.

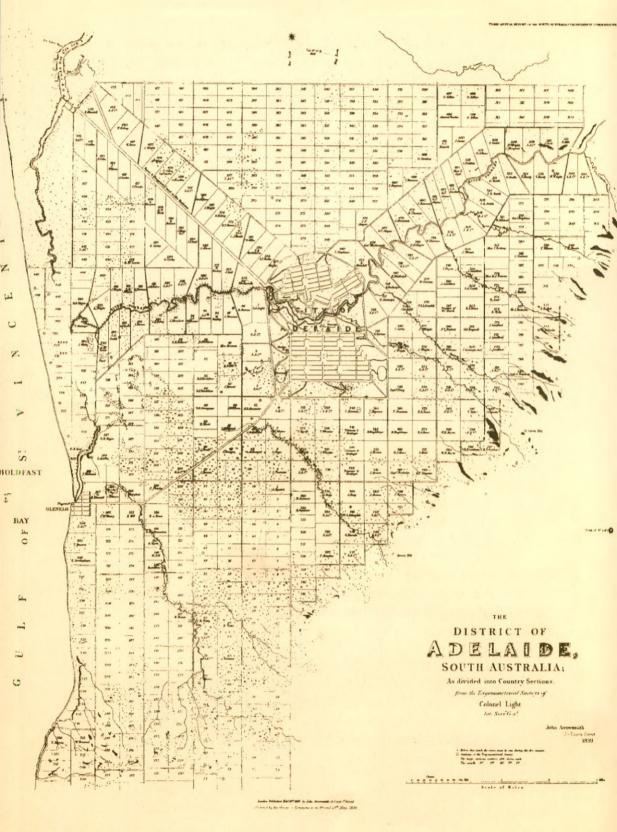
Surveying West Torrens

Light and his staff commenced surveying the country sections once a start was made on settling the capital. In April, Boyle Travers 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, he began at the north-east corner of the district of West Torrens.

In a very real sense, Light and his men were responsible for the pattern of settlement to the west of Adelaide because of the basic grid-iron pattern of 'one chain' roads that they surveyed. Light's broad plan for the area about the capital featured a series of a dozen major roads running north/south a mile apart from one another, with the east/west roads being not quite so regular because of the need to provide access to all the section blocks, many of which were either the standard 80 or 134-acre allotments. 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 connection it formed between the important Port and Bay roads. ¹⁰

The River Torrens upset the regularity of Light's grid-iron plan and highlighted the importance which it assumed in the early development of the colony. Light's primary concern was to permit as many properties as possible to have access to the river, and so his surveyors ensured that a great many section boundaries abutted the river. The river sections were quickly snapped up by the first land-order holders with the Henley Beach Road becoming the chief means of access to these river blocks on the south side. This prominence ensured that the road later became one of the prime commercial roads of the district. Moreover, the early significance of the South Road meant that the area close to the junction with Henley Beach Road became the first heavily populated part of the district.

The first 25,000 hectares of country lands were surveyed by Christmas 1837, but it was 17 May 1838 before these country sections were made available for



selection by ballot. By a fluke of circumstance, Light secured the first of the choices of country lands, after having bought a land order from Finniss, his subordinate and later business partner. Light chose Section 1, which adjoined both the river and west parklands where the country surveys had begun.

Many early colonists evidently agreed with Light's assessment of the area west of the capital and were eager to take up their country sections there, particularly those abutting the river and the main road to Holdfast Bay. John Morphett, the son of a London solicitor, secured sections in both regions, though later erected 'Cummins' — his home — on Section 152, on the Bay Road. James Hurtle Fisher, the Resident Commissioner, and Morphett's father-in-law after the marriage of his eldest daughter Elizabeth on 15 August 1838, took up a section next to Morphett on the banks of the Torrens. David McLaren, the manager of the South Australian Company, also took up a river section. Surgeon Doctor Charles Everard, however, preferred a section on the Bay Road close to the city, where he established a successful farm at Ashford. The sections close to the capital also proved very popular; the South Australian Company acquired Sections 2 to 6 which were contiguous to the parklands. The company's choice effectively prevented normal residential development there and forced any to take place to the west of South Road, even further from the city. This slowed the residential development in this area.

Several 'first fleeters' were among the early settlers west of the capital. Thomas Hudson Beare, who settled for a time at Netley, was the second-officer of the South Australian Company, who arrived 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 became the first of the colonists to set foot on South Australian soil. Charles Simeon Hare, who immigrated as an employee of the South Australian Company, took up land in the district. He later had a colourful political career and became the chief supporter of local government for West Torrens. The inaugural chairman of the West Torrens Council, Abraham Hopkins Davis, was another pioneer and was the founder of 'Moore Farm' at Fulham.

Light resigned as Surveyor-General and made his home on his Section 1 which he called Theberton. Unfortunately he was unable 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. The following Thursday his body was taken from his cottage and, after a service at Holy Trinity Church on North Terrace in the city, was interred in Light Square. 11

Agricultural Settlement

The country sections to the west of Adelaide were taken up primarily for agricultural purposes. By 1840, Charles Everard had enclosed 12 hectares and had six of these under crop, with two dwelling houses, one of pisé, the other of brick, together with a stable, stock-yard and sheep-pens. 12 John White, who left England on 20 July 1836 aboard the *Tam O'Shanter*, established his 'Fulham Farm' on the banks of the Torrens and had already enclosed 134 acres and had 50 acres under cultivation.

There were at least another dozen farms located in the district by this time. These 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.

John White of Fulham. (WTHS)

Urbanisation

Several landholders preferred to speculate on the subdivision of their land into village allotments. So, the region already featured several villages by 1840 — at least on paper. New Richmond on Section 95 was divided by Robert Bradshaw into acre allotments. Already three dwelling-houses had been built there, and three more were in course of erection. Immediately south, on Section 94, Bradshaw had subdivided his land into acre allotments that he called North Richmond, although at this time only one person was dwelling there, in a pisé dwelling-house. Welwyn was the name of the village set out on four 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 licensee. Another village called Plympton had already been established on Section 108. Cowandilla, on part Section 92, was another of the early villages. Hilton, on Section 49, was subdivided in 1849.

Speculative village subdivisions developed slowly because they served only a sparsely populated rural community and they 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 local government area, there were only three dwellings at Welwyn, three at North Richmond, 18 at Plympton, 16 at Hilton and 11 at Cowandilla.

However, in marked contrast to village settlement elsewhere in the district, considerable urban development had taken place on the southern portion of Section 1. Light had subdivided this into 24 one-acre lots as Thebarton in February 1839. Three of these contiguous to the parklands were sold, then Light put the remainder in the hands of his agents Boyle Travers Finniss and Henry Nixon, who subdivided them into 252 allotments, each ½12 of an acre. These narrow blocks were sold at affordable prices between £4 and £10 and were attractive to working people. They became the core of the old village of Thebarton now bounded by Light Terrace, Port Road, Kintore Street and Dew Street. The South Australian Company's ownership of sections 2 to 5 immediately to the south meant that Light's subdivision was the most readily accessible land near the city on its western side.

Thebarton prospered because of the proximity of the village to the city, and the ease of access thereto for the many workers who could not afford 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. By 1840 the village boasted two public houses, Robert Bristow's Great Tom of Lincoln, and the Brickmakers' Arms which was licensed 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 tradesmen and labourers living in their own houses, many with small gardens and a few animals. By 1853 it comprised 153 buildings, 50 more than were in the other 10 villages of West Torrens.

View of William Light's cottage at Thebarton. (THS)

These early villages comprised small primitive dwellings. Thebarton in 1853, comprised 65 cottages of only two rooms, only 38 of the others were of four rooms or more. Forty-eight of them were of pisé, only 12 of them were of stone. Twelve of the 16 dwellings in Hilton 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. Frequently the roofs of these early dwellings were made of reeds from the river and its immediate vicinity. Others were roofed with shingles or palings.

The 40 brick cottages in Thebarton were made from materials that came readily to hand. The colony's first brick-makers 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. There was a two-acre brickfield on Section 1, occupied by John Sarre and 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. Many of the most substantial village and farmhouses 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.

Taylor Brothers' tanning and woolwashing works, Thebarton, c.1875. (THS)

Few services were 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 up-stream.



Modern view of the front elevation of 'Cummins', the home of the Morphett family.

Original Inhabitants

The original inhabitants of the region could do little but observe the appropriation, fencing and cultivation of the land that they had used simply for hunting and gathering. The first encounters between the two cultures were tentative, but amiable enough, and were evidently based on mutual respect. The Governor's proclamation on 28 December 1836 certainly affirmed the government's wish to protect the Aborigines and their interests. However, almost immediately, the colonists at large dismissed the Aborigines as possible partners in this new colonial enterprise.

The government's policy towards the Aborigines was one of protection, but it suffered because of the lack of continuity. Governor Hindmarsh appointed George Stevenson as interim Protector of Aborigines in February 1837, but he resigned soon afterwards. Captain Walter Bromley assumed the position on 5 April 1837 and established an area for a 'mission' at the 'Aborigines' Location' on the banks of the River Torrens in 1837 to facilitate the Aborigines' 'conversion to the Christian Faith'. ¹³ Bromley taught for a time in the 'Native School', but drowned in the Torrens on 7 May 1838. ¹⁴ Dr William Wyatt succeeded Bromley as Protector of Aborigines on 12 August 1837 and helped consolidate the Aborigines' Location but continued as Protector only until mid-1839 when he, too, fell out of favour and returned to his private medical practice. ¹⁵

The Protectors had little influence on early black-white relations, but initial relations between the Aborigines and the colonists were amicable, for the most part. However, a serious conflict occurred in mid-1837 when an Aborigine killed a sailor at Encounter Bay because of the latter's interference with an Aboriginal woman. The Aborigine alleged to have committed the offence was arrested and brought to Adelaide for sentencing, but escaped from custody and avoided being apprehended again.

Two separate incidents in early 1839 marked a severe deterioration in relations when Aborigines killed four shepherds, one on the River Torrens not far from Adelaide and three near the Para River to the north of the capital.¹⁷ The incidents caused great concern among colonists who blamed Protector Wyatt for not controlling the Aborigines and they demanded retribution.¹⁸ Two Aborigines were arrested, convicted, and executed on 31 May 1839.

The rapid succession of the earliest Protectors served to undermine the standing and power of what had been considered an important colonial appointment. This failure highlighted the ineffectiveness of the official policy. Dr Matthew Moorhouse became Protector of Aborigines on 26 June 1839 and held the position until 1856, when the Commissioner of Crown Lands became the Protector of Aborigines. Moorhouse provided a measure of stability and consistency in the articulation of the prevailing policy towards Aborigines, but little else.

Little was done to assist Aborigines except for the periodic distribution of food, blankets and clothing. On 24 May 1839 Governor Gawler marked Queen Victoria's birthday with a distribution of food and blankets to Aborigines. Thereafter the distribution of food and blankets at Queen Victoria's birthday celebration was held annually into the 1860s.

The Kaurna continued to use and visit the district for many decades after European settlement, periodically making camp on the Patawalonga Creek at Glenelg. However, their movements were restricted and their existence became aimless as European settlement intensified, particularly once the government adopted the practice of supplying them with food and clothing. This altered the very basis of their lives which was built on the necessity to find food, and in the eyes of the Europeans forced them virtually to be parasites.

The Kaurna never caused concern in West Torrens, although they struck a certain fear in the hearts of children. On one occasion, a pitched battle at Hilton between two groups became a cause celebre. The fracas occurred between a group of Adelaide Aborigines and another group from Mount Barker.

The Kaurna had never been very numerous and they were soon outnumbered by white settlers who set about appropriating their land and its resources in accordance with experiences derived in a totally different environment. By the mid-nineteenth century the tribe was considered to be extinct. A few people of full descent remained, but most of these along with many descendants had moved to missions such as that at Point Pearce on Yorke Peninsula.19

Local Responsibility

The provision of basic services to facilitate the broad physical development of the district became the responsibility of a local government authority in 1853. However, these responsibilities were minimal at this stage and did not extend far beyond the maintenance of local roads and a pound for stray animals. The direction of development continued to be determined by the decisions of individuals, businessmen and workers.¹

The District Council of West Torrens

An advertisement in the colony's newspaper, *The Register*, on 11 March 1853, informed South Australians at large that certain residents of Plympton, Cowandilla, Hilton, Thebarton, Reedbeds and Hindmarsh intended to hold a public meeting that very night at the Hilton Arms Inn to discuss the formation of a district council.² A succession of public meetings followed at hotels in Hilton and Hindmarsh to clarify matters and to engender support for the idea of local government.

Finally, at a meeting on 25 March, residents requested the Governor to establish the District Council of West Torrens within the area extending westwards from the Parklands to the coast, bounded in the north by the River Torrens and the northern boundary of the Hundred of Adelaide and the Bay Road to the south. The memorial, signed by 115 residents of the area, suggested that the first councillors should be George Dew, George Foreman, Abraham Hopkins Davis, Charles Simeon Hare and John Hector.³ The District Council of West Torrens was duly proclaimed on 7 July 1853 becoming the second metropolitan council to be created in South Australia following proclamation of the *District Councils Act* in December 1852.⁺

The first meeting of Council took place at the city office of John Hector on 19 July 1853.5 Davis, who had had experience as chairman of the local Road Board, was elected to the chair and agreed to act also as the Clerk until a suitable appointment was made.

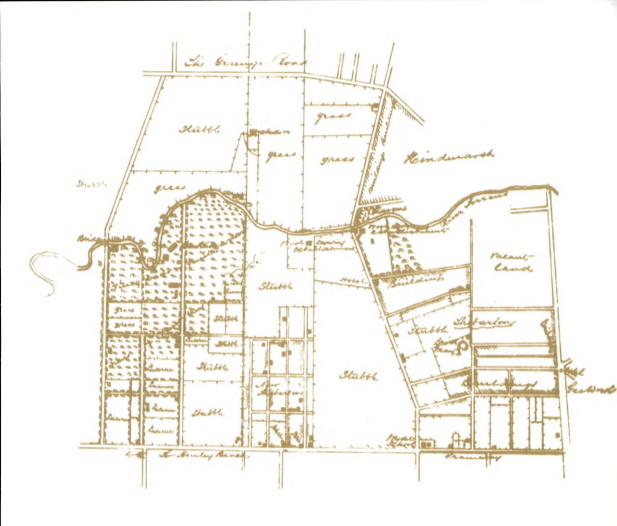
Pioneer colonists of South Australia believed that government should intrude on their activities as little as possible, that its primary role was to provide those facilities like roads, railways and other social services that they could not provide themselves, but which were necessary for the maintenance of society. Consequently, 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, the licensing authority for hotels and abattoirs and the impounder of stray cattle. However, even this minimal role had to be funded. 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 one shilling in the pound was accepted by a meeting of ratepayers in February 1854. 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.6

Urban Consolidation

The physical character of the district that persisted for the best part of a century was consolidated during the first 30 years of local government. The district was essentially 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. However, many homes in urban centres like Thebarton and Plympton had large gardens, even cows.

The development of the district during this period owed a great deal to that of the colony in general and to that of Adelaide its commercial centre. 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 appropriate for a colonial capital.

Most of those living west of the capital shared in this prosperity to a greater or lesser extent. Many, like William Henry Gray, benefited 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. Edward Meade Bagot



was another who had diverse business interests and prospered because of this: he had the distinction of being the successful contractor for the erection of the southern portion of the Overland Telegraph in 1870. The benefits were less tangible to others living in the growing working-class villages, and came in the form of employment in the city or in the industries that grew up locally to provide for the needs of the new colony.

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Sketch of Thebarton, 1881. [State Records]

The village of Thebarton closely reflected the fortunes of the capital, and became one of its first clearly defined suburbs. Whitworth described it in 1866 as 'a postal suburb of the city of Adelaide'. The added, 'The district is an agricultural one, crops of hay being the principal produce', and 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 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.

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 that were at that time located on the west Parklands. The Torrens, in the vicinity of Hindmarsh and Thebarton, later became the source of clay for bricks that underpinned the development of a substantial capital city.

Rural Pursuits

Thebarton was by far the largest and most diverse of the villages in the district at this time. Whitworth described Plympton 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 he said was 'small and scattered'. Already, however, it was considered a desirable place of residence. The successful Adelaide businessman William Parkin had built his home there in 1859

Part of the rural district of West Torrens was the home of South Australia's wine industry. Davis' vineyard was the first of several to be established in the area. Indeed, it was among the first in South Australia. Davis planted his first two hectares of vines in 1839 with cuttings from Sydney and increased the plantings to 10 hectares during the following decade. Davis had success with both his red and white wines and samples of his 1858 vintage were selected by the South Australian Wine Committee for showing at the International Exhibition in London in 1862.

The rich alluvial flats of the Torrens Valley attracted other wine-growers including I.D. Holbrook who established his Wilford Vineyards at Underdale in 1855. Holbrook had emigrated to South Australia five years earlier on the same ship as Thomas Hardy, and later married a sister-in-law of Hardy. He built a substantial cellar on his property in 1865 and by 1873 had nine hectares under vines. His 1876 vintage produced 38,642 litres of wine.

Thomas Hardy established a wine empire that was much more enduring. He also, commenced operations at Underdale. He planted his first vines in 1854 and reaped his first vintage three years later. Hardy's Bankside Winery prospered and, by 1863, had 14 hectares under vines and was making 6820 litres of wine.

Hardy's success was marked by the construction of extensive cellars, and a vintage festival at Bankside inaugurated by Hardy in 1862 became a highlight of May each year.

Jesse Norman purchased three hectares of land at New Thebarton in 1853 and established the original Norman vineyards there. Norman had been a brewer in his native Cambridgeshire, but became a noted winemaker in the new colony. The original winery was only a small cellar with a room above, that was built in 1863, but another cellar was built adjacent to this a few years later and became the centre of local entertainment when it served as a community hall.

Dr Everard at Ashford owned the most notable farm in the south-eastern part of the district. Everard's orchard was one of the earliest in the colony and was notable because of the extensive works undertaken to divert the Brownhill Creek so that he could better irrigate his land. The works involved cutting a channel and constructing a brick culvert of about 30 metres with sluice gates. The productivity of the orchard and the diversity of fruit grown highlighted the success of this system, and exemplified the enthusiasm with which colonists set about experimentation in the new colony in order to have it mirror conditions in the mother country as closely as possible.

The western portion of the district between the Bay Road and the Henley Beach Road was entirely taken up for broad farming purposes. The area extending along that part of the coastal plain from the Port River to the Patawalonga Creek was known as the Reedbeds. In 1868 it was a vast area of flat swampy agricultural land cultivated for crops or used for pasturing cattle.

The district was the early centre of horse racing in the colony and boasted several horse studs. Charles Brown Fisher, the son of John Hurtle Fisher, was one of the colony's early 'sportsmen' who 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. 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, after acquiring the land in 1868. However, perhaps the most long-lived of the several studs was that established at Richmond Park by John Chambers who bought the property in 1857-58. John Chambers was one of South Australia's early notable pastoralists who, with his brother James, was a close friend of surveyor John McDouall Stuart and sponsored the latter's explorations into the centre of Australia. Richmond Park became one of South Australia's premier racing stables under James Henry Aldridge who acquired the property in 1889.



View of Henley Beach Road at Fulham, looking to the west. (WTHS)

Public Transport

The consolidation and development of suburbs close to the city received a fillip from the great public transport boom in metropolitan Adelaide that occurred in the late-1870s. This was a direct product and reflection of the period of sustained prosperity from the mid-1860s. Adelaide's businessmen saw profitable opportunities in providing public transport and speculating in suburban land that the new routes were designed to tap. These private initiatives anticipated and promoted the rapid extension of suburbs in the district west of Adelaide, unlike modern state initiatives, which generally lag behind residential development.

Adelaide's very location — inland from both its port and its major seaside resort and established behind a belt of parklands — virtually demanded a form of public transport. 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. The increased popularity of the Bay prompted calls for more efficient and commodious public transport than

the coach services provided first by Cobb & Co., and later by the local firm of John Hill & Co.

Railways seemed the answer. Consequently, the Adelaide, Glenelg and Suburban Railway Company sought and obtained government approval for its scheme in 1871, with the first sod being turned with fitting ceremony in March 1872 to commence the project. Contractors finished building the line between Adelaide and Glenelg in May 1873, and Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave opened it on 2 August 1873. The railway, on an alignment close to, and immediately south of, the Bay Road proved to be an immediate success. However, the city terminus in Victoria Square proved inconvenient for many, and did not provide ready access to the government-built lines that terminated at North Terrace. Moreover, patrons claimed that the company's virtual monopoly of public transport to the Bay led it to disregard their wishes, particularly in the provision of intermediate stops between Goodwood and Glenelg.

Another group of promoters hastened to take advantage of this dissatisfaction. They formed the Holdfast Bay Railway Company on 20 May 1878, and built a 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. The plan to tap the crowds wishing to patronise the Morphettville race-course, meant that for a third of its length the line ran close 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.

Competition between the two companies was intense but short-lived. It proved so financially disastrous for both, that a meeting of the two companies on 6 January 1881 voted for amalgamation. The only real objections to the amalgamation came from Plympton residents who feared a down-grading of services.

The amalgamation of the companies went ahead and did not prove to be the panacea. Two years later, with the new company yet to pay dividends to its shareholders, the directors petitioned parliament to permit them to cut services on both 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. 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. The government made several proposals during the 1890s, but to no avail. On 15 December 1899, however, the government assumed control of both lines.

The primary means of mass public transport about Adelaide were the many tramways that provided a service that was both more flexible and cheaper to operate than the railways. Extensive networks developed early in and about Adelaide. The Adelaide and Suburban Company built the first of these horse tramways 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 one group floated the Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company on 6 October 1877. The tramway to Henley Beach was opened for traffic in 1880 via Henley Beach Road. It was the only tramway to be built through the West Torrens district during this time.

The new public transport services to the city encouraged the establishment of new townships. New subdivisions in West Torrens were generally in the vicinity of established villages, or along main roads, and the new transport routes primarily consolidated those trends that had already been established. So, there were major subdivisions at Hilton, Richmond and Plympton, and an extensive speculation at Brooklyn Park, where 545 allotments went on sale. Many townships were established at this time, though the names of many of them are now long forgotten after attempts to rationalise place names. Ellenville (part of Richmond) was subdivided in 1879, and Hayhurst, now part of Plympton, was subdivided at various times from 1876 to 1880.

Social Profile

There may have been a widening class distinction in West Torrens during this time, but all shared a common ethnic background. The average resident west of Adelaide in the 1860s was Anglo Saxon: 744 of the total population of 1346 in 1867 were migrants from the United Kingdom, while 584 others had been born in Australia. 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 noted as unskilled workers, while there were only 15 in professional occupations and five who were of 'independent means'. These figures simply showed that West Torrens was essentially an agricultural district, with a significant working class concentration about Thebarton.

Thebarton continued to be the major urban centre of the district. Services were few in the wider district of West Torrens and each household depended on candles or kerosene for lighting at night, on 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. However, most residents of the district were close to Adelaide should they have particular needs and at least the main roads were served by public transport.

The Churches

The Churches remained very influential throughout the district. Protestant Christianity was the prevailing religion, with dissenters forming a large minority. In 1871, when the total population had reached 1472, there were 446 Anglicans and 336 Wesleyans while Roman Catholics numbered only 230. Wesleyans and Baptists comprised a high proportion of the population, particularly within the farming community. 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. So it is not surprising that the Wesleyans should have been the first to build places of worship in the district when they built a small chapel at Plympton in 1847 before ever — though only by a year — they built a chapel at Thebarton. Like many of its secular neighbours, the chapel was a primitive affair, and by 1856 was replaced by a new church 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 in Adelaide.

Children from the Richmond Sunday School en route to a picnic, 1898. (WTHS)



The first Wesleyan services were held at Thebarton at least as early as 1841 when they were conducted in the home of a Mr Weston who lived in Maria Street. Land was bought in Chapel Street in 1847, and the chapel opened for services 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 acquired in George Street.

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 had been laid by White on 3 September 1855, and the building had been 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. White's intention had been to offer the chapel to any denomination that might claim it, so long as they held regular services. The Wesleyans were quick to take advantage of this offer and commenced services there on Wednesday, 30 April 1856.

The Church of England was strongest in the urban areas and was favoured by the more successful in the colony. Anglicans formed a relatively small proportion of the rural areas, and the predominantly working-class areas, so the Church of England was a relatively late starter in the district.

The Anglican community west of Adelaide was centred about St James' Church at Mile End, which had its origin on 3 December 1882 when the Rev. F.R. Coglan of St. Luke's Church in the city commenced a mission in the state school on Henley Beach Road. Soon afterwards, the community bought land at Falcon Avenue in Mile End and built St James' Church: it was dedicated on 3 February 1884.

The first Anglican services at Plympton were held in 1883 in the school. 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 Father Pitcher, until in August 1902, when a hall was built in Long Street to serve several denominations.

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. 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 Baptists built their first church in the district at Hilton in 1872, the foundation stone for another — Southwark Baptist — 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, followed by another at Mile End in 1908.

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. Church activities provided one of the few 'wholesome' range of social activities for their members that included organised social, recreational and educational activities, fairs and fetes, magic lantern shows and musical evenings and concerts. Sunday School for the young was a feature of Protestant endeavour. Many adults — particularly men preferred not to attend weekly worship, but they invariably insisted that their children attend Sunday School.

There would have been few children at this time who were not exposed to Christianity. 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.

Roman Catholics contrasted markedly with 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.

The first Catholic services were held in the homes of prominent adherents. However, efforts were made to establish a more permanent presence at the urging of the Rev. Julian Tenison Woods and, in September 1869, a chapel and school were opened. The congregation grew rapidly and in 1881 it became the responsibility of the dynamic Father John Healy, along with other districts to the west of Adelaide. He was a great builder, like many of his fellow Irish priests, and was responsible for the first Queen of Angels Church in 1883, and a new school and convent that were begun in 1885.

Education

Prior to the establishment of a system of 'free' and secular education in 1875, only those children whose parents could afford to pay were able to receive an education, and many of these attended schools in the city. Those whose parents could afford the fees patronised colleges outside the district from the beginning and had been little concerned with the quality of education that was available locally. Many others, particularly those living in the eastern part of the district, went to school in Adelaide.

The quality of teaching in many of the early local schools left much to be desired. The government established a Central Board of Education in 1851 to subsidise so-called 'vested schools' that belonged to a local body, and to license teachers



Children and teachers at Fulham Primary School. (WTHS)

and to pay them a stipend. However, the Board's power was weak and insufficient to overcome the problems that militated against schools, particularly in rural areas such as West Torrens, where children frequently formed an essential part of the labour-force of many of the early farms. The irregularity of attendance meant that many early schools were short-lived. There were only

four schools in the West Torrens district in 1859: 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 51 boys and 32 girls enrolled, although the average daily attendance was 62. Sarah Rogers in Thebarton had 10 boys and 29 girls. Alexander Holmes' school at the Reedbeds catered for 11 boys and 21 girls, while that of Sarah Johnston on the Bay Road had 15 boys and 15 girls with an average daily attendance of 18.

None of the early schools in the district was a vested school — 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 that 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.⁸

Burnard's school at Thebarton was the only one of the three to continue under the terms of the new *Education Act 1875*. Both 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.⁹ A new model primary school was built at Thebarton in 1878.

The government established schools, and introduced a system of teacher-education and teacher-promotion that ensured the development of the modern system. In the period prior to World War I the schools at Thebarton, Plympton and Richmond all developed in a fashion similar to other schools throughout South Australia. That at Plympton took on its departmental appearance 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.

The first Catholic schools were established and developed into an independent system of education during this period, with West Torrens being closely identified with this and the early history of the Sisters of St Joseph, whose order began in South Australia.

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 those attending decided to establish a Catholic school. A small school opened in Thebarton in the following September where the Sisters of St. Joseph taught 40 Catholic pupils. They continued to teach in this school until 1885 when a new school was built for them near the newlybuilt Queen of Angels Church.

The district was even more closely identified with the Brothers of St John the Baptist whose congregation was founded there at the urging of Father John Healy. Father Healy purchased a house in Formby Street, Hilton, in 1891, and there opened a school for Catholic boys which was conducted by his Brothers. It remained there only until 1895 when Healy bought land 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.

Sports

Sports loomed large in the district from the beginning. Several local men were considered to be prominent in sports, though in the mid-19th century, a sportsman was generally identified with horse sports. So, James Fisher was prominent in the organisation of the early race meetings, along with his son-inlaw, John Morphett. Fisher's second son, Charles Brown, another of the founders of the first South Australian Jockey Club in 1856, with Edward Meade Bagot, was one of four appointed in 1861 to rescue the club from the doldrums. Bagot became secretary to this new South Australian Jockey Club which also included William Blackler of the Reedbeds, Charles Brown Fisher and John Morphett as stewards, and John Chambers appointed as judge. John Morphett became its president when the Jockey Club was re-formed yet again in 1874.10

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 only wager on them.

The South Australian racing industry had been born at Thebarton, with the first meeting organised in South Australia being held there on New Year's Day 1838. It was a gala occasion attended by 800 of the colony's 2000 people. Fisher was one of the organisers, along with Light and Morphett. The Thebarton track remained the premier course in the colony until 1869 and it was here that Falcon won the first Adelaide Cup on 21 April 1864. Here, too, the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon rode Cadger to victory in the Grand Annual Steeplechase on 20 September 1866.11

Program for Thebarton Races.



STEWARDS-Messrs. E. BAGOT, CHAS. JENKINS, W. HARROLD, G. BENNETT, and W. HUGHES.

JUDGE-J. CHAMBERS, Esq.

STARTER-H. FISHER, Esq.

FIRST DAY, THURSDAY, JAN. 6.

MAIDEN PLATE .- For Horses that never won Public Money. A Sweepstakes of Three Guineas each, with 30 soys. added. One mile and a half.

1. Mr R. Cook's br.f. Beeswing 2 yrs., 6 st. 11 lbs., lavender jacket scarlet sleeves, scarlet cap

Mr W. Crane's b.g. Albermarle, 5 yrs., 9 st. 3 lbs., blue and white stripe jacket, black cap
 Mr W. G. Wood's b.c. Franklin, 3 yrs., 8 st. crimson jacket,

- jacket, black cap
- 5. Mr W. G. Coglin's b.m. Inheritress, 5 yrs., 9 st. 3 lbs., tartan jacket, scarlet cap
- 6. Mr G. Bennett's b.f. Rachel, 3 yrs. 7 st. 11 lbs., crimson jacket, black cap
- 7. Mr W. Field's g.m. Polly, aged, 9 st. 11 lbs., blue and white jacket, and black cap
- 8. Mr D. J. Jones's b.h. Sailor Boy, 4 or 5 yrs., 9 st. 6 lbs., blue
- and white jacket, black cap 9. Mr Reedy's dk. b.h. Lucifer, 3 yrs., 8 st., crimson jacket, black cap
- 10. Mr W. Bolt's c.h. Flying Dutchman, 6 yrs., 10 st., green and white stripe jacket, black cap

Several years passed 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 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 ...'13 The Thebarton course became the venue for all early meetings and a grandstand was built there in 1860. However, the course itself was not regularised until 1861, when the South Australian Jockey Club took out a 21-year lease on a 134-acre section owned by Bagot, who became secretary of the re-formed Jockey Club.

The course continued in use until mid-1869 when the Jockey Club became defunct and racing moved to the track in the east parklands. Racing later commenced at a new venue at Morphettville, on land donated for the purpose by businessman Thomas Elder, when the new Jockey Club was formed in 1874. The site of the old Thebarton course became that for Bagot's fellmongery, until it was subdivided for residential and industrial purposes.

Hunting was another pursuit of the colony's sportsmen, though it was considerably more exclusive than that of racing. Regular meetings were being held by 1842, though the early hunt clubs were short-lived affairs. Most participants no doubt lived on the eastern side of Adelaide, but the open spaces to the west of the city provided plenty of opportunity for sport. William Blackler of the Reedbeds was appointed Master of the Club when a new club was formed at the Globe Inn in Rundle Street, Adelaide, in mid-June 1869.

Sports for the working classes of the district were played soon after settlement was established, though it was some time before these became regularised. The local inn provided the normal means of relaxation for the working men of the villages. Indeed, these inns became the first social centres of the district with the publicans the first sporting entrepreneurs. The early sports associated with the inns — pugilism, wrestling, football and much of the single-wicket cricket — were *ad hoc* affairs, which if they were to be longer than a few hours' duration could only be played on a holiday. However, an increasing amount of time was given to these sports during the 19th century as working hours diminished.

Cricket was considered to be a gentlemanly game but commenced as a tavern sport. John Bristow, mine host of the 'Great Tom of Lincoln' in Thebarton, organised the first recorded cricket match in the colony in October 1839. ¹⁴ A

year later Thebarton boasted a cricket club, based at this hostelry, and on 26 September 1840 challenged Gatwood's team from the Woolpack Inn. ¹⁵ This seems typical of the early contests, where 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, though it was 1892 before the Sheffield Shield cricket competition was inaugurated.

The gentry, including Fisher and Morphett, were pleased to identify themselves with this very English and gentlemanly sport, but they were reluctant to identify themselves with football, which became the dominant winter sport. This too, had its colonial origins in Thebarton. The *Southern Australian* of 17 March 1843 made mention of a game 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 12 men of Westmeath to take on any 12 from another Irish county or six each from two counties and this, too, was played at Thebarton. If 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.

The South Australian Football Association was formed in 1877, but the largely rural nature of West Torrens meant that no district teams similar to those from Port Adelaide or Norwood developed there for many years. Local teams such as Hilton United whose home ground was the 'Hilton Hotel paddock' were formed, but two decades passed before a West Torrens — largely Thebarton — team became a regular member of the Association.

Sport was all but revolutionised in the latter decades of the 19th century, following the introduction of the Saturday half-holiday. Workers gained a major concession in 1854 when work places were closed at 3 p.m. on Saturdays, but they had to wait until 1865 before receiving the Saturday half holiday, and until 1873 before the eight-hour day was introduced in certain industries. So, for the working-class at least, there was little opportunity to participate in organised sports until the latter part of the 19th century and, of course, those in the rural industries worked as they had done traditionally — in accordance with the hours of daylight. Still, for many, Saturday became 'sports day', and with the formation of governing bodies, the vigorous team-sports lost much of their tavern associations. Indeed, in the later 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.

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 affected the very structure of the Council and led to the secession of Thebarton and its organisation as an independent local government area.

All of the district had benefited from the buoyant economy, but none more than the Thebarton and Mile End wards. Thebarton had always been more closely settled than other parts of the district and its economy and social stratification differed from the rest of West Torrens. In 1881 when the total population of West Torrens was 2930, more than half lived in Thebarton. Additional residential subdivision had occurred at New Thebarton in 1878 and at Mile End in 1882.

As the 1870s had progressed, the distinctions became more evident with the residents of working-class Thebarton and Mile End having little in common with the rural workers of the major part of West Torrens. The Thebarton residents became increasingly eager for greater control over matters affecting them directly. The Council sought to meet these demands in 1881 by creating an additional ward — New Thebarton — thereby giving Thebarton three seats — with Mile End — in the seven-seat council. Thebarton residents remained dissatisfied and, on 28 October 1882, petitioned the Governor that they might have their own local government. A counter-petition from those opposed to the secession lacked force, and carried little weight with the Governor.

The Corporation of Thebarton was proclaimed on 8 February 1883. The new corporation comprised four wards. Benjamin Taylor became the inaugural mayor, with councillors Thomas Pritchard, James Vardon, Edward C. Hemmingway, William C. Pepper, James Broderick, Richard Wilson, Joseph Stevenson and James Manning. Charles Loader, the District Clerk of West Torrens, became the Town Clerk of Thebarton.

The local government histories of the West Torrens and Thebarton councils diverged after the secession. The physical and social history of each council area also differed, though this was more apparent than real. In effect, the developmental history of West Torrens was similar to that of Thebarton, though it occurred over a longer period. Consequently, the differences that seemed apparent in 1883 became increasingly less so.

Struggle Years

The 60 years from the mid-1880s were tumultuous years socially, with West Torrens' residents subjected to successive cycles of depression and war. Economic recession became general throughout South Australia after 1884 and, in each of the years from 1885 to 1890, the colony lost more of its population through emigration than it gained by immigration. The slow recovery during the first years of the 20th century halted abruptly with World War I. A short period of prosperity followed immediately afterwards only to be curtailed by an even deeper depression after 1927, which was followed by another world war. West Torrens and Thebarton both reflected the economic cycles and the concurrent social change that scarred two generations and demonstrated that differences between the local governments were less than the similarities.¹

Depression and Recovery

The decades immediately prior to the Great War were ones of consolidation within the district after the period of hectic — frequently speculative and unsubstantial — development in the early 1880s. Thebarton continued to develop as an urban area, with the new council building a town hall fronting South Road in 1885. The area of the Thebarton Racecourse succumbed to subdivision for housing allotments in October 1882.

Southwark, originally subdivided into 400 allotments in 1879, became an important commercial and industrial area, particularly the strip along the Port Road and the area close to the river. For instance, the Ware brothers established the Torrenside Brewery on the left bank of the Torrens immediately west of the Hindmarsh Bridge in 1886. This industrial expansion into the district

prefigured the tension that was to grow between residential and industrial development and was to characterise the early history of Thebarton.

The urban development of Thebarton was far more marked than that in West Torrens, though Plympton took on the appearance of a superior residential area during the period of post-depression recovery,

The late-19th century depression fostered a significant residential development in Richmond when, in 1895, the government purchased 49 hectares of land from J.H. Aldridge and subdivided this into blocks of approximately one hectare, and offered these for lease to working-class men. The Richmond Blocks, known later as 'Tin Town' because of the numbers of houses built of narrow-fluted corrugated iron, became 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 and local job opportunities in this area in the years immediately prior to the Great War.

Construction of the Adelaide Workmen's Homes in Rose Street, Thebarton, in 1902 under the terms of a bequest by Sir Thomas Elder highlighted the working-class nature of the district. These were substantial cottages designed by architects Edward Davies and Rutt and built by Robert Sellar, and in accordance

Modern view of the Adelaide Workmen's Homes in Rose Street, Thebarton, that were built in 1902 under the terms of a bequest by Sir Thomas Elder.

with the trust deed had to be built within '10 miles' of the Adelaide General Post Office. Another group was built later at Hilton, the first of these cottages being built in 1924.

Residential development in the more far-flung parts of West Torrens remained slow during this period and was characterised by the building of country estates on large parcels of land by successful businessmen. A.E. Tolley built



'Bucklands', in 1882, and later sold it to Captain William Morish, after the latter's retirement as a mine manager at Broken Hill. Morish gave the neighbouring northern property to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage to Arthur Hill, and in 1906 there built 'Kandahar' which was designed by the noteworthy architect Edward Davies, who in 1880 had designed and built for himself the nearby 'Nesfield'.

Significant technological developments underpinned the latest urban development. Thebarton had been lit by gas since 1864, but the mains had never been extended into the less populous West Torrens and it remained a dark place after sundown. Kerosene or acetylene was the only energy source for public lighting purposes and the regulation light outside the few public houses, while kerosene lamps or candles were the only means of illumination in the home. This changed after April 1909 when the South Australian Electric Light and Motive Power Company extended its network into the district.



Laying the foundation stone for the Plympton Institute on 16 August 1902. (WTHS)

The new energy led to the electrification of Adelaide's wide-ranging tram network. The line to Henley Beach was electrified in 1909, with the maiden run of the electric tram along Henley Beach Road being made with great fanfare on 23 December. The Findon line via Hindmarsh was electrified and re-routed in part through Thebarton by means of a track along Parker, Albert and Holland streets to cross the Torrens by means of a reinforced concrete bridge leading to Manton Street, Hindmarsh.

Long-established industries underwent development. In 1910, J. Hallett & Sons Ltd, with brickworks in Brompton and Hindmarsh, acquired the brickyard of the Federal Brick Company located on the southern banks of the Torrens near South Road. The company introduced brickmaking machinery and greatly expanded production.



A military encampment at Lockleys. (WTHS)

The development of industry at Mile End after 1883 blurred the physical distinction between West Torrens and Thebarton. This industrial development received a fillip when the government decided to relocate the railway goods yard from the Adelaide Railway Station that had become inadequate and inefficient. Consequently, the government acquired 73 hectares of land adjoining the West Parklands at Mile End in 1908 and relocated the goods yards there two years later.² The yards straddled the boundary between the two councils.

The new goods yards attracted new industries to Mile End, and the area became one of South Australia's early centres of heavy industry. The machinery manufacturer J.S. Bagshaw and Sons became one of the first new industries attracted to the area. This firm had commenced operations in 1838 when John Stokes Bagshaw set up a small engineering and implement making works at Elizabeth Street in Adelaide. However, there was little room for expansion at the city site by the early years of the 20th century, and the company built a new factory on a five-hectare site at Mile End. Concrete-pipe manufacturer Hume was another of the major industries to move to this area when, in 1912, it purchased six hectares of land extending from Railway Terrace through to South Road. Perry Engineering Co. acquired a five-hectare site at Mile End in 1908 and commenced commercial activities there in 1913. Two years later the firm became the biggest engineering firm in South Australia, when Perry purchased the long-established firm of James Martin and Company of Gawler, and moved these operations to Mile End.

The remainder of West Torrens remained predominantly rural in character, and was characterised by farming, dairies and piggeries. Those vineyards that survived the 1880s, and had been firmly established as family businesses — the Hardys and the Normans — prospered in the years prior to World War I and were characterised by a constant increase in the amount of land being put under vines. On 15 October 1904, however, 50 years after the first plantings, Hardys was checked for a short time by the destruction of the Bankside Cellars by fire and the loss of a great amount of wine. The cellars were never rebuilt, but storage space was provided at the grand cellars Hardys had built at Mile End in 1893.



Piggeries at Netley. (WTHS)

The fire and its consequences highlighted a major deficiency in the district. Neither West Torrens nor Thebarton councils contributed towards the Metropolitan Fire Brigade which was under no legal obligation to attend the fire and risk leaving the city unprotected. Even so, Thebarton did not gain its own brigade until 1917.

The provision of reticulated water and, later, the installation of deep drainage encouraged new development of the urban regions of the district. Adelaide had been served by reticulated water soon after the construction of the Thornden Park Dam in 1860, but by 1876 only a small part of Thebarton had been connected to this system, while the residents of the villages of Hilton and Richmond remained dependent on wells and tanks. The residents of the developing western suburbs had to wait until the completion of the Happy Valley Reservoir in 1897 to obtain fresh water without the fear of its contamination by animals or refuse.

View north along South Road at its intersection with Henley Beach Road, showing the Queen of Angels Church in the distance, c.1916. (THS)



World War I

World War I ushered in a period of trauma for West Torrens' residents, as for all Australians. Many were directly involved in the war, but, whether they went to the front or remained at home, all were caught up in an event that dominated their lives and that of the nation more completely than any which had gone before.



Many local lads were killed — others returned as heroes. However, all who returned were changed men. Some were physically maimed by the war. Many families, too, were broken because of the deaths of former breadwinners, or because they simply preferred not to return home.

Schrader's grocery shop on the corner of Cowandilla Road and Brooker Terrace, c.1939. (WTHS)

The war effort was total in many ways. Patriotic women found an outlet for their energies working for such organisations as the Red Cross or the Cheer-Up Society, and busied themselves with the provision of comforts for the men at the front. Children, too, were caught up in the war effort with boys being expected to join cadet troops and present themselves for drill each week. Scouts helped with the innumerable collections and socials. Girls, like their mothers, were called on to knit balaclava helmets and socks.

Patriotism took many, even racist, forms. For instance, 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



Beresford's corner on the south-western corner of the intersection of Victoria Street and Henley Beach Road at Thebarton. (THS) deal to the State. So, the village of Bismark — now the northern part of West Richmond — became known as Weeroopa.

The memory of the Great War scarred a generation and lingered on with the first steps taken to form sub-branches of the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia. The local sub-branches 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. A Thebarton sub-branch received its charter on 18 July 1929; the Keswick and Richmond sub-branch was formed on 21 January 1930 with 92 members and was followed by sub-branches at Hilton on 17 June 1930 and Lockleys on 2 August 1935.

The returned soldiers formed an effective lobby group and were rewarded when the name of the Bay Road was changed to that of Anzac Highway on 6 November 1924.

Post War

A short period of prosperity followed World War I as business redirected investment from wartime to peacetime pursuits. This was reflected in the district where its proximity to the capital and employment opportunities, encouraged a rapid increase in population. The population increase occurred largely in the working-class areas of the district at Thebarton, Hilton, Richmond

and Mile End, with new subdivisions being located near the old to take advantage of the established employment opportunities and services that were already there. Indeed, Thebarton's population reached its peak of 14,814 in 1926. It celebrated this relative prosperity two years later when Council held its first meetings in the new town hall, theatre and assembly hall complex built near the corner of Henley Beach and South Roads.

New industries moved into the district including South Australian Farmers Union Cooperative and William Charlick and later, Kelvinator Australia. William Charlick Ltd. established its first flour mill at Mile End in 1919 and later began packaging operations there when it established Mile End Bag Co. as a subsidiary. South Australian Farmers Union Cooperative began building a major factory at Mile End in 1921, complete with a railway spur-line into the property to facilitate the distribution of butter, cheese, small-goods and other products. The Adelaide Electric Supply Company acquired land at Mile End to relocate its Mains and Meters Department in 1923. Kelvinator Australia began as Mechanical Products Ltd. in 1932 with operations at the property purchased on Anzac Highway.

Carriage-builders T.J. Richards and Sons continued

Top to Bottom:
William Charlick's
flour mill at Mile End.
(WTHS)
Interior of Charlick's
flour mills at Mile
End. (WTHS)

expansion prompted the company 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. Later, in 1936, the Australian distributors of Chrysler products obtained an interest in the Company and



Henry Sheriff at the controls of the first tram to travel on the Hilton Line, 1921. (WTHS)

contracted with the firm to produce all of the bodies required by Chrysler for its Australian market. The following year, Chrysler purchased a controlling interest in T.J. Richards and in 1938 Chrysler's Australian headquarters were transferred to Adelaide.

Pharmaceutical company F.H. Faulding and Co. opened its Torrenside factory and laboratory in February 1924 after outgrowing its manufacturing premises in Adelaide. It established a distillery there to produce its eucalyptus oil for many of its products, and later undertook experiments to produce penicillin in hundreds of bottles obtained from the brewery.

There were many and varied ramifications of these industrial developments. The consolidation of industry in the district did much to underpin the residential development of the early 1920s, and the provision of the many services deemed to be part of this development. One untoward consequence, however, was the demolition of Colonel Light's cottage at the corner of Cawthorne and Winwood Streets, Thebarton, in December 1926, in the name of progress.

The extension of the tramway network underpinned the residential development of the district. Electric trams began regular services to Hilton in January 1917, branching off Henley Beach Road into South Road. Other services were extended to Keswick only 18 months later, on 17 September 1918. New suburbs proliferated on earlier farmland — particularly in the years immediately after the war — with workers being able to live in new subdivisions, frequently far removed from the factories or offices in which they worked.

There were few areas where residential development was more hectic than in West Torrens, particularly in the five years from 1920 to 1925, and in that part of the district near the Bay Road. The year 1920 marked the return of new home building to its pre-war level in the metropolitan area generally, and in that year more than 10 per cent of new homes being built in the metropolitan area — 245—were built in West Torrens. Most of that region between the Bay Road and

the tramline to the south-east was subdivided for building purposes during this time while new townships proliferated on the northern side of the Bay Road with names such as Grassmere (1919), Marshfield (1923), Grosvenor Park (1923), and Sandringham (1924). Two paddocks of 'Cummins' were sold and subdivided in 1919 to provide housing for returned soldiers.

Galway Garden Suburb at Marleston, which was approved by Council in November 1919, was more significant than many subdivisions made at this time. This had been designed by the visionary Town Planner Charles C. Reade and incorporated many features and ideas for garden cities and suburbs that were being promoted by British town planners at the time. Reade had little lasting effect on subdivisional development in and about Adelaide but left examples of what might have been achieved in the Galway Garden Suburb and the Novar Garden Suburb which Council approved in March 1920.

The increased popularity of the motor car had far reaching effects throughout the district. This became immediately evident in the development of new subdivisions along the major roads such as Henley Beach Road in the north and Anzac Highway in the south. The motor car also affected the appearance of homes, for there was no longer a need to provide stables for horses but rather garages for cars. Neighbourhood garages with kerbside petrol pumps were built to service the new vehicles.

Perhaps more importantly, 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 that 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. The practice of laying wooden blocks was unsuitable in areas of heavy traffic. Experiments were conducted on the Adelaide to Glenelg road with the new bituminous concrete surface in 1918, and the first plant for mixing the new material arrived from the United States on 19 March 1923. Work began on



View to the northeast showing the Bakewell Bridge under construction in 1925. (THS)



Mile End. (WTHS)

reforming the major roads leading to and from Adelaide soon afterwards, and was greatly expedited when a second plant was set up at Keswick so that priority could be given to Anzac Highway.

Roads were also upgraded, with the Bakewell Bridge on Henley Beach Road over the railway lines being opened for traffic in December 1925. Twenty houses on the south side of Henley Beach Road had to be demolished to make way for the

bridge. However, with two tram-tracks, roadways and footpaths either side, it greatly enhanced access to Adelaide from Thebarton and places west.

More intensive residential development to the west led to the secession 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 that had encouraged the independence of Thebarton. The development of public transport, particularly a tramline to Henley Beach in 1881, encouraged more intense residential development there than in the hinterland. This encouraged the development of a separate identity and the wish for separate representation in a local government.

Depression

The immediate post-war optimism, and the hopes and expectations that this raised, were short-lived. A deep depression became general throughout South Australia after 1927. The working-class felt the brunt of the Depression, particularly those who were unskilled, many of whom lived in the district about Thebarton, Hilton, Richmond and Mile End. Those families whose breadwinners were public servants were the lucky ones. 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.

There were 907 breadwinners in West Torrens who were receiving rations in December 1930, 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, Adelaide, in order to

Flooding on Henley Beach Road. (WTHS)

receive relief and many were required to work out the value of their rations in employment about the district at jobs organised by 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.

There remained many farms, market gardens and dairies throughout West Torrens in the interwar period, 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.

Major capital works were undertaken throughout South Australia during the Depression, 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. The implementation of the Metropolitan Floodwaters Scheme, which was designed to lessen the flooding of the Torrens and Sturt Rivers, was such a project having most impact in Thebarton and West Torrens.

Flooding had been a perennial problem in the district particularly about Fulham and Lockleys in the area known as the Reedbeds. The Torrens and Patawalonga Rivers with the associated Brownhill and Keswick Creeks drained most of the water from the eastern suburbs of Adelaide into the region. The run-off increased with metropolitan development east of Adelaide and the consequent flooding in the west caused great inconvenience to those who had taken up land there or who lived further to the west at Henley Beach. A scheme submitted to government in 1916 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.³ A second scheme submitted in July 1917 proposed the cutting of a channel through the sandhills to the beach. This scheme came to nought and a local initiative taken in March 1932 to clear, widen and deepen the Breakout Creek





Flooding at the intersection of Henley Beach and Marion Roads, 1932. (WTHS)

at Fulham to provide gainful employment for the local unemployed, was only a band-aid measure and was eventually effort wasted.⁴

However, the spring of 1933 brought down a particularly serious flood that sparked renewed calls for relief. The West Torrens and Thebarton Councils, whose areas received the bulk of the metropolitan run-off, both favoured remedial work but they were a minority among local government authorities who were expected to contribute to the solution but were reluctant to do so. The government finally broke the impasse by insisting that councils across the metropolitan area should help fund relief measures because, as it insisted, the flooding had been exacerbated by increased residential development to the east of Adelaide. At the same time both the government and opposition saw the scheme as a means of alleviating some of the unemployment.

Work entailed clearing of the Torrens and cutting 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 30 men were engaged on enlarging the Sturt Creek. Work on the southern portion of the scheme finally concluded in December 1937, with the finishing touches being put to the outlet at Henley Beach South in August 1938.

This work arrested the problem — though it did not eradicate it — and in so doing had a tremendous effect on the Fulham and Lockleys regions. The area became prime residential land once no longer subject to regular frequent flooding, though the onset of World War II delayed development there for several years.

Social Life

There were marked technological changes during this period, despite the rigours of the Depression and, as the worst effects of the recession receded, an increasing number of residents were able to take advantage of these with the result that average lifestyles began to change markedly. Some of the major developments occurred inside the home and accompanied the increased popularity of electricity and electrical appliances as aids to more comfortable living.

The introduction of a sewerage system into the district had occurred prior to the war although its effects became most evident afterwards. Thebarton had been connected to deep drainage by 1888, but the area about Glenelg had to wait for the new century for deep drainage following the building of sewage works at Glenelg in 1910. Work had begun in 1909, when the government decided on 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. The main had still to be laid along Henley Beach Road, though the sewer was at that time 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 station at Cowandilla was completed in 1909–10.

Dwellings were connected once the various mains and trunk sewers were completed, but, by 1928, only those areas near South and Henley Beach Roads were sewered. The system was considerably enlarged after December 1932 when new treatment works at Glenelg were commissioned. Plans were announced in 1932 to extend the system to include Brooklyn Park, Lockleys, West Underdale, White Park and Meldreth Park and were welcomed as much for the employment that the works would provide as the other benefits that would follow.⁵

The extension of the electricity network occurred at the same time. Electricity in homes which were near mains supplies was used primarily for lighting prior to the Great War. The first electric iron appeared about 1908, but these and other domestic appliances remained luxuries until after the Depression. 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.

An increasing number of chores were undertaken with new gadgets as electricity and gas were connected to more homes and as domestic appliances became more efficient. Meals were cooked on electric or gas stoves rather than



ranges, 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.

Above: View to the east showing the Bakewell Bridge nearing completion in 1925 (THS)

Below: Attendees at a Church of Christ Tent Mission at Torrensville, c.1928. (WTHS)

Spiritual Life

The spiritual life of West Torrens residents continued in the mould that had been fashioned in the years prior to the war and little happened socially or theologically to challenge 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. For instance, the increased population about Plympton prompted Anglicans there to renew their efforts to build a church. Bishop Nutter Thomas laid the foundation stone for the Church of the Good Shepherd on 25 October 1925: it opened the following year on 9 February.

The 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. Lockleys parishioners dreamt of their own place of worship from the beginning, but all early plans had to be postponed because of the Depression and the ensuing war. Land for a church had been acquired in 1934, but it was 1952 before the completion of the Church hall provided an established venue for worship.

The Sisters of St Joseph flourished during this period. In 1933 they opened a new school at North Richmond named St Aloysius and in May 1934 established their first junior novitiate at Cowandilla, on a property bequeathed to them by John Byrne. This novitiate was adapted for the training of girls from throughout Australia who believed they wanted to join the congregation.

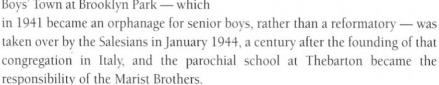
Contemporary Catholics were willing to shoulder heavy financial burdens to ensure the continuation of their faith. A large block of classrooms was opened at George Street, Thebarton, in 1933 and extensions were made to the convent. The building of St Aloysius School cost upwards of £2000, while renovations to the junior novitiate at Cowandilla added an additional £5000 to the parish debt. The responsibility for paying off large building debts was regarded as but one of the responsibilities of being a Catholic at this time though and a concomitant to that of ensuring that offspring received a religious education.

While the Sisters of St Joseph flourished, the Brothers of St John the Baptist languished. The Brothers failed to attract sufficient recruits to enable them to expand beyond the Thebarton parish. At the same time, there were unsettling internal problems because of the ambivalent position of Father Smyth. Though once a Brother, Smyth had been ordained a priest, and was the Brothers' spiritual director, although never their superior. The problems

View to the north-east along Anzac Highway, 1939. (WTHS)

persisted to the extent that Archbishop Beovich ordered an examination of the situation in 1942 and finally recommended that the Institute should be suppressed. The three oldest brothers transferred to the diocesan seminary at Magill: most of the others transferred to other religious orders.

However, the Brothers' work survived. Boys' Town at Brooklyn Park — which





Catholic welfare work in the district increased during this period. In August 1941 yet another welfare institution opened in the district when the Good Shepherd Sisters arrived to take charge of a refuge for girls in the Martin property known as 'The Pines' at Plympton. The Sisters there established 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 50 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.

War Again

West Torrens residents were once again caught up in world conflict just as the worst effects of the Depression began to wane. In this instance, all were involved far more completely than they or their parents had been during the Great War because of the threat of possible invasion after a series of allied disasters which began with the sinking of *HMAS Sydney* with all hands on 19 November 1941. The threat was compounded with the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on 7 December, the capitulation of Singapore to the Japanese on 15 February 1942, followed four days later by two devastating air raids that all but obliterated Darwin. The threat remained acute until the American naval victories in the Coral Sea in May 1942 and, more particularly, that at Midway early in June.

Local support for the war effort was enthusiastic and widespread. Women played a more decisive role on the home front than they had done during the Great War. Many took up their knitting needles again, or volunteered for 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 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 that had been thrashed out during the recent Depression. Many women were later retrenched and their jobs given to returning servicemen, but the bridgehead that they had established in the workforce during the war enabled them to consolidate their position there in the immediate post-war boom.

However, whether or not residents 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 6.00 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.

Air raid precautions were taken very seriously where before they had been treated as something of a joke. Such drills took on a new urgency immediately following the Darwin bombing, and parents hastened to dig trenches for air raid shelters. The movement of troops about the district and the precautions that were taken to forestall invasion heightened the sense of urgency. 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 the advancing enemy.

The west's secondary industries, made lean by the Depression, were admirably placed to take advantage of manufacturing opportunities that came to South Australia during World War II. The war virtually wiped out many traditional markets for manufacturers but provided new ones, many of which had long-term benefits for the companies.

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 wagons. The nearby Perry Engineering Co. 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 provided many new local job opportunities at a time when increasing numbers of men were required in the armed forces. Consequently, many places were taken by women.

Perry Engineering Co. employed 370 men in January 1939: five years later the number had more than doubled to 754 and there were 93 women employed. There was a similar story in other local industries. Kelvinator employed only 260 men in 1939, but 497 men and 107 women in 1944 while at Horwood



The Torrensville Service Station at 172 Henley Beach Road, c.1940. (THS)

Bagshaw there were 562 men and 16 women employed in 1944, when there were 522 men in 1939.6

The war provided tremendous opportunities for these firms. Many firms, including Richards, Kelvinator, Perry Engineering Co. and Wiles Chromium and Manufacturing Co., later acquired munitions factory space at very reasonable rates from the government and acquired new precision tools and the expertise to use them.

There was short-term dislocation as returning soldiers replaced many 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.

Local Government

Local government became increasingly influential during this period as citizens demanded that it assume extra responsibilities in an increasingly complex society.

For example, the unfettered industrial development on the western fringe of Adelaide, once welcomed, became a concern to Thebarton residents. They ultimately persuaded their Council to become the first local government authority to introduce zoning regulations under the terms of the *Building Act* 1923 in order to control the spread of industry and protect the amenity of residential areas.

The community also demanded the councils provide open space for recreation. Consequently, Thebarton Council acquired 5.7 hectares of some of the last remaining open space in May 1919. It developed this as the Thebarton Soldiers

Memorial Oval and Recreation Ground, and opened it in October 1921: the Soldiers Memorial Gate was built in 1922. The West Torrens Football Club, adopted the oval as its home ground, and went on to win the SANFL premiership three years later, though had to wait another nine seasons before doing so again. By this time attendance at sport provided a great escape, particularly for the working-class men. Most major sports had been regularised by this time and sporting heroes had become household names. Football, the great winter sport, had its devotees among the working-class.

Similarly, on 15 April 1920, the West Torrens Council purchased three hectares of land at Plympton for what became the nucleus of the Weigall Oval which was named after the governor of the day. Three years later, Council acquired eight hectares of land from the State Bank for the purpose of establishing the Camden Oval and Recreation Ground.

The local councils assumed additional responsibilities during the period of World War II as they coordinated local civil defence matters. They took an active role in the provision of slit trenches in public areas throughout their respective districts and became the coordinating authorities for the distribution of respirators which in May 1942 were provided for the population. They also became the coordinators of the many war loans and appeals that were called in aid of Australia's war effort.

Few periods in the history of the district have been so traumatic for people of the west as the three decades after 1914. Until that time local people were largely unaffected, if not ignorant, of major developments overseas, even those beyond their area. However, none was immune from the effects of the world wars and depression.

At the same time physical development proceeded apace in both West Torrens and Thebarton that continued to blur physical distinctions between the two districts. Indeed, a steadily increasing population enabled West Torrens to be raised in status to that of a Municipality on 1 January 1944.

These same developments also led the respective local governments to take an increased leadership role in their areas in order to coordinate responses to both international and local issues. This intervention continued to grow and became even more widespread in accordance with physical and social changes that flowed from these major events.

Urban Consolidation

The years after World War II completed the physical transformation of the western suburbs from a rural district to a suburban city. Few single indicators reflect the changes throughout the district more clearly than those of simple population figures. There were 22,570 residents in what was then the Municipal Corporation of West Torrens at the census of 1947, up from 16,053 in 1933, enabling it to be raised to the status of a city on 1 July 1950. In 1981 the population had risen to 45,099. The number of dwellings more than trebled from 5320 in 1947 to 17,477 in 1981.

Strangely, the population of Thebarton decreased steadily from its peak of 14,814 in 1926. The population stood at 12,884 in 1961, 11,831 in 1971, and 9300 in 1981. As many as 1000 single detached dwellings were lost during the five years from 1971 to 1976, to be replaced by 800 flats and units. The different fortunes in Thebarton were the product of the same economic and social forces at work throughout metropolitan Adelaide. The different effect in Thebarton reflected its earlier urban development and significant demographic changes during the period.

The last available open spaces in the west were subdivided soon after World War II for residential, recreational and industrial purposes. The exception was a large tract of land — as much as 20 per cent of the West Torrens area — that the commonwealth government resumed for the development of a new Adelaide Airport. Even established residential areas were redeveloped as the century progressed.

The increased population put new demands on local government authorities even to provide traditional services. However, they gradually took on new responsibilities and a new sophistication with the assistance of direct grants from other tiers of government.

Greater Urbanisation

Physical change was less evident in Thebarton than West Torrens. It was already a mature urban centre. Indeed, the impression there was primarily one of stagnation and decay as the average age of the population increased, the size of families declined, and as new residents and migrants sought the relatively cheap housing. The situation was similar in the eastern parts of West Torrens close to Thebarton. However, there was a measure of change where many older subdivisions underwent re-subdivision. For instance, several houses on Henley Beach Road were demolished in 1976 for the development of a regional shopping centre later known as Torrensville Plaza.

Matters were very different in the western part of West Torrens where several of the one-time important estates were finally subdivided during the early postwar 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 original extent of the property. The White estate was subdivided for residential purposes in the late-1950s, though 'Weetunga' itself remained with the White family. The nearby 'Oaks', at one time the property of Charles White, was redeveloped as the Arlington Estate retirement village in 1984.

Opening of the War Memorial Gardens at Hilton on 15 April 1951. (WTHS)





View to the south-east along Port Road c.1960 showing the gas-holder. (THS)

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. It was appropriately named Golflands

The more intensive development of building sites, as well as the subdivision

of the remaining broad tracts of land characterised post-war residential development of the district. Multi-storey development took place along the major district roads, most notably Anzac Highway.

Not all large estates were dismembered for housing, however. In mid-1952 seven hectares of Fulham Park were acquired from W.S.P. Kidman for recreation purposes and the establishment of the Lockleys Oval. 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 Housing Trust had earlier acquired 180 hectares of land to the west of Tapleys Hill Road. However, the establishment of an airport nearby rendered the land unsuitable for housing purposes, and in 1954 the Trust transferred about 140 hectares of this land to the West Beach Trust for the development of a recreational area. In mid-1957 six hectares of this were set aside for a caravan park and 18 hectares for playing fields. The project received a fillip when A.J. Boss leased a site on which to build the aquarium Marineland which opened in mid-March 1969.

Adelaide Airport

The reservation of a large tract of land at West Beach for a new Adelaide airport was one of the more significant developments in the district in the immediate post-war period. This was to have a lasting impact on the city's physical development and, being a commonwealth government asset, the airport was outside the planning controls of the local government authority.

The first parcel of land for the new airport was compulsorily acquired by the commonwealth government on 5 December 1946. The original area acquired involved about 95 landholders, but only nine land parcels that included homes, none of which was considered of a high standard. Most of the area was given

over to grazing, with much of the area to the west being swamp land and subject to regular flooding. The area to the east was the most intensely cultivated, with the area close to Marion Road featuring a great number of glass houses. There was a trotting track near the junction of West Beach and Morphett Roads.

Construction of the new airport commenced in September 1947 and



continued steadily, permitting the first plane to touch down on 16 December 1954. Commercial operations began on 16 February 1955 from a makeshift terminal in one of the hangars and continued from there until the terminal building was opened on 30 August 1957.

The airport was a major fillip for Adelaide, but became something of a mixed blessing for western residents. Continued expansion and development of new facilities provided a major source of employment in the region and attracted new residential development there. However, the location of the airport disrupted the original grid pattern of roads by truncating major transport corridors such as Morphett and West Beach Roads. Indeed, to compensate for

Above: The site being prepared for the Adelaide Airport. Below: View of Adelaide Airport after the opening of the passenger terminal, c.1957.



the closing of West Beach and Morphett Roads, the commonwealth agreed to provide for the construction of Burbridge Road from Morphett Road through to Tapleys Hill Road and to provide additional land along the northern boundary of the airport to provide for the eventual construction of a dual carriageway between Marion Road and Tapleys Hill Road.

Industry

The residential development of West Torrens was a major feature of the postwar period. However, there were also significant changes in the long-established industries. The district's heavy industries continued to prosper, though their very prosperity persuaded many to relocate headquarters nearer the financial centre of Australia. So, the Hume Pipe and Steel companies merged to form Humes Ltd in 1952, with a capital of £5m and its central office in Melbourne. Perry's had upwards of 800 employees working at the Mile End site by 1953. The company's prosperity and the need for more ready access to markets prompted the merger of Perry Engineering with Johns and Waygood Holdings, a Melbourne-based company, in 1966. The long-established implement maker Horwood Bagshaw re-organised 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. It acquired the Victorian implement maker Mitchell & Co. in 1958, and the general engineering business of J. Todd & Son the following year.

The sustained post-war prosperity attracted new industries to the district that offered large areas of undeveloped land close to the capital and the heart of the state's transport network. Lightburn and Co., which in 1946 purchased 40 hectares of land at Camden for white goods manufacture, was one of the most notable of these new industries. The Australian subsidiary of the giant beverage firm Coca Cola moved to its Port Road location in 1952.

Much of this industrial expansion was the product of firms outgrowing earlier locations in Adelaide. So it was that W. Menz & Co., the biscuit and confectionery manufacturer, purchased land at Marleston in 1940, and in 1952 began operations there.

Some firms like Chrysler Australia, W.H. Wylie and Horwood Bagshaw moved to new areas that permitted greater expansion, but others acquired their plant, and new industries moved into the area. The Advertiser Newspaper Ltd purchased five hectares of land at Netley in 1962 so that the several functions of the successful Griffin Press might be consolidated in one locality. 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 the new \$5.5m. Government Printing Department transferred to large purpose-built premises near those of the Griffin Press at Netley in early 1974. The smaller Mitchell Press was located on West Beach Road at Richmond not far removed from either of these giants, and vet another, the Colour Printing House, on South Road at Kurralta Park.

The physical changes to Thebarton were minimal in the years immediately after World War II, but those in neighbouring West Torrens were perhaps greater than those at any time in its history other than the years of first white settlement. Forces outside the district largely drove this transformation and to a great extent it reflected the post-war development of South Australia and Australia generally, which was characterised by increased urbanisation and a greater emphasis on industrial and tertiary industries. Much of this was made possible by the influx of great numbers of migrants.

Social Mix

One of the most significant and long-term quantifiable social changes in the district became evident in the altered ethnic composition. 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: by 1981 the number had risen to 7058, representing 15.65 per cent. The change was even more marked in Thebarton, where non-British migrants comprised 33.7 per cent of the population in 1966, with those of Greek origin forming 13.4 per cent of the population. Other significant groups included Italians (8.1 per cent) and Yugoslavs (2.0 per cent).

commonwealth government's large-scale immigration program underpinned the industrial and urban development of the district after World War II. The United Kingdom/Australia Assisted Passage Agreement was concluded in 1947. The government signed similar agreements with other European countries, notably the Netherlands and Italy in 1951 to ensure a steady flow of migrants for employment in Australia's burgeoning industries. This migration became 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. The western suburbs became the most ethnically diverse of all.

Post-World War II British migrants generally settled in the outer northern and southern suburbs of Adelaide — largely in Housing Trust homes. However, the many non-English speaking migrants preferred to live in the inner-suburbs, or in the case of many Italians, in market garden areas. Thebarton, 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 that attracted Italian migrants.

The increased numbers of Italians and Greeks, and more recently Vietnamese, in the district brought about a rapid increase in the proportion of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians in what had traditionally been a Protestant region. Catholics represented only 12.54 per cent of the total South Australian population in 1947; 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 changed composition of the population was most evident in the older, traditionally working-class areas of the district that continued to provide the cheapest accommodation and therefore proved attractive to new migrants. It is highlighted, too, in the schools of these areas where the greater percentage of students were children of post-war migrants. Students of Greek origin comprised 60 per cent of Thebarton's school population in 1976. The concentration of Greeks in the area, prompted the use of the Richmond School after hours by the Greek Orthodox Church for Greek classes until a special Greek school opened nearby in Thebarton. Archbishop Sergios laid the foundation stone for the distinctive St Nicholas' Greek Orthodox Church in George Street in December 1959. The St George's Greek Community was formed in 1960 to facilitate expatriate Greeks settling in the district. The members built St George's Church in Rose Street in 1965. St George's College, also in Rose Street, Mile End, was established in 1983 and welcomed its first classes in February 1984.

Education

Several new schools were built during the post-war period to serve the rapid population growth in the area. There were already primary schools at Thebarton, Torrensville, Plympton, Richmond, Lockleys, Camden and Cowandilla in 1946, but new schools were built at Netley, Lockleys North, Fulham, Fulham Gardens and Fulham North, most of them in the period after 1960. Richmond School, one of the oldest in the district, was all but totally rebuilt in 1980 and became one of the most modern in the area.

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 several Church schools also been built at this time. Issues in the state educational system resulting from the population boom were

magnified in the Catholic system, where schools were put under great pressure by the rapid European — largely Catholic — immigration. In March 1980, when a new multi-purpose room was officially blessed and opened at St. Joseph's School at Richmond there were 15 different nationalities represented within the school with migrant children comprising 80 per cent of the school population. Several new parochial schools were built within the district at this time at Brooklyn Park, Kurralta Park and Plympton in order to help to ease the problem.

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 post-war trends. In 1980, 36 per cent of the students at Plympton High School were born overseas or had one or more parents who were. Both high schools were characterised by an almost constant building program to cope with student numbers. In this area, too, problems faced by the government authorities were ameliorated by the efforts of several Churches. The Lutheran Church opened Immanuel College in March 1957 at Novar Gardens on 18 hectares, carved from the original 'Cummins' property. The school 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 west of Adelaide. 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. 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 1300, transferred there 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 with the completion of major alterations in 1982, it also took on a brand new appearance.

The chief themes of post-war tertiary education are also evident in the history of the Underdale Campus of the South Australian College of Advanced Education. Its predecessor, the Western Teachers College, had been established to help meet the great need for teachers immediately after the war. The inconvenient division of its facilities between timber-framed classrooms once part of the high school on South Road at Thebarton and the old Currie Street School persisted until 1976 when the new Torrens College of Advanced Education was built at Underdale, later to become a campus of the University of South Australia.

Social Change

The pace of social change increased rapidly during the post-war period. The motor car gave people freedom to move, and no longer were their social contacts restrained by public transport or the distances they could travel by bicycle. The car's popularity led to a decline in public transport patronage and the end of Adelaide's electric tramway system, except for the service between Adelaide and Glenelg along a dedicated corridor. The Findon line closed in 1953: the Henley Beach and Richmond services ended in 1957.



Equestrian competition at the Lockleys Show, November 1948. (WTHS) People no longer had to patronise local stores or have home deliveries by butchers and greengrocers. Instead, weekly purchases could be made at large shopping centres surrounded by expansive carparks. The Coles' supermarket that opened at Plympton on 30 November 1966 was the second largest in South Australia at the time, and set the pattern for similar, if smaller, developments elsewhere in the district. One of the largest of the new supermarkets was the K-Mart that opened on Anzac Highway in 1970.

The car, together with increased affluence, permitted people to participate in a far greater diversity of leisure activities than had been the case in earlier generations. This is demonstrated by the number and diversity of sporting

grounds found within the district. The decline in attendance at major football and cricket fixtures owes a great deal to people seeking diversion in a wide variety of activities which were not available in the period prior to the war.

Entertainment, too, was 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 interwar period, came with the advent of the drive-in cinema with the first of these built in South Australia being the Blueline Theatre which opened on West Beach Road in December 1954.

Social changes encouraged a second league football club to make its home in the west. The West Adelaide Club is one of the oldest 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 with portions being taken over for commercial and industrial purposes, and much of the population moving to the suburbs. At one time, the club 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. The club entered into an agreement with West Torrens Council in 1952 so that it might train on the Richmond Oval, which had been carved out of the earlier Richmond Blocks. Three years later the South Australian National Football League began discussions with Council with a view to upgrading the oval to League standards so that it might become West's home ground.

The new oval became the second largest League football ground in South Australia, and the first to be built for League football since the Thebarton Oval had been opened in 1922. The first League match 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.

Traditional games like football, cricket, golf and tennis continued to flourish, and a fair number of champions have been associated with the district. However, there are now many other sports such as soccer, hockey, lacrosse and baseball that are played at the highest level in the state and which attracted their own devotees. 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. After its completion in 1970, the Apollo Stadium became the venue for much world-class entertainment and a capacity crowd of 4000 packed the Stadium in April 1970 to see Peter, Paul and Mary in concert.



Apollo Stadium at Richmond was opened in August 1969. (WTHS)

Post-war society encouraged the fragmentation of the traditional Australian families, with younger members frequently moving out of the district in pursuit of jobs and desirable housing. This frequently left older folk to live alone and fend for themselves. However, this trend prompted the development of organisations such as the 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 indicated that a sense of community was still evident although the concept of the community might have changed. People in the western area were initially served from kitchens in Hindmarsh, Henley Beach and Edwardstown and by November 1963, 55 people were receiving the service. On 15 July 1967, however, the West Torrens kitchen was opened at Brooklyn Park. The service continued to grow, and in 1985 served 103 people.

The Royal District Nursing Society also developed in the district to meet a growing need for domiciliary nursing services. The West Torrens branch, formed in 1950, was the 22nd 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 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 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.

The Churches were active in community service and were 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 Southern Cross Homes. The building of 52 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 79 units followed on 11 December, 1977, and on 29 October, 1978, the third and final stage, the 142-bed nursing home was completed.

A little to the north, the Flora MacDonald Nursing Home on Burbridge Road at Cowandilla, which for many years had been the junior novitiate of the Sisters of St Joseph, 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 the first stage of the Fulham retirement village was opened in 1984. This was built about the White home, 'The Oaks' at Fulham. The Fulham Primary School closed in November 1988 with the land being subdivided for residential development with the St Hilarion village on part of the land.

Flora McDonald Lodge on Burbridge Road, Cowandilla, 1979. (WTHS)



The MATS Disaster

The motor car continued to bring many benefits to western residents, but for a time it also threatened to destroy much of Thebarton and cut a swathe through West Torrens.

In the 1960s, planners with grandiose views believed that drastic measures were required for Adelaide to develop its true potential as a modern city comparable to many overseas, especially those in the United States. The Metropolitan Development Plan was produced for the government in 1962 with the aim of realising this vision. The transport recommendations of the 1962 plan followed a two-year study of Adelaide's projected transport needs and were greatly influenced by overseas urban design trends and Australian developments including Sydney's Cahill Expressway. These recommendations led to the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS) that was released for public comment on 12 August 1968. MATS recommended \$436.5 million be spent on freeways, expressways, arterial roads, road-widening and other related matters with \$107.5 million being spent to integrate Adelaide's buses and trains. A key recommendation advocated a north-south transportation corridor to stretch from the northern town of Gawler through western Adelaide suburbs and the council areas of Thebarton and West Torrens, and on to the Yankalilla Road in the south. The plan generated a storm of criticism during six months of public review, despite government assurances that Adelaide's commuters would benefit from cost and time savings and improved safety. Architects, town planners, social commentators and community groups objected to the study's proposals to purchase, demolish and build a layered tangle of freeways on the sites of numerous inner metropolitan suburbs, including those in Thebarton and West Torrens. Development abruptly ceased along the route of the proposed freeway as property values plummeted.

Cabinet gave only partial approval to MATS in 1969 as a result of the bitter public protest, but the uncertainty remained and buildings along the proposed route continued to deteriorate from lack of maintenance and land values declined further. In October 1970 the Dunstan Labor government, which had been returned to power in June, decided to suspend for at least 10 years the amended MATS. However, the threat of the north-south corridor remained and continued to haunt residents of Thebarton and West Torrens until 20 June 1983, when the Labor government announced the abandonment of the contentious north-south transportation corridor. Thereafter, the Bannon Labor government transferred properties purchased for the transportation corridors to the Housing Trust and the Department of Lands as part of its plan to reinvigorate the inner western suburbs. The availability of land close to



transport and the city prompted the proprietors of the *Advertiser* to relocate their printing operations from the city to a new site on Railway Terrace at Keswick in 1989.

Christmas decorations on the banks of the River Torrens at Southwark.

The increased certainty encouraged Thebarton Council to set about reinvigorating the town and countering the effects of 20 years' stagnation and a declining population. The eastern portion of the area had become increasingly identified with run-down industrial sites and dwellings in need of repair. It now became attractive to commerce. Thebarton sought to guide this redevelopment by means of the Thebarton Development Committee which was a subcommittee of the South Australian Planning Commission, with access to commonwealth funding for local capital works projects. The committee became responsible for an urban design study for the eastern end of Henley Beach Road and the industrial area about Holland Street, which served to guide new work in these areas.

Redevelopment and renewal gathered pace throughout the west once the government removed the MATS threat. The prominent gas-holder on East Terrance became redundant once natural gas was delivered to Adelaide, and it was demolished in 1975. A modern ice-skating rink was built on the site and opened in August 1981.

Adelaide Airport became an increasingly significant employer within the district, providing work for as many as 1300 people by the 1980s. Development continued intermittently with the improvement of runways, taxiways, the



Above: One-time entry to the Adelaide Airport emphasising the City's gateway status. Below: The Australian National railway passenger terminal opened at Keswick in early 1984. (WTHS)

terminal building and navigation equipment with one of the most significant new developments being the construction of an international terminal.

Successive premiers had pleaded for years with commonwealth transport ministers for international flights to be directed through Adelaide, particularly after Perth and Brisbane, cities of comparable size, had already gained this distinction. Premier David Tonkin finally

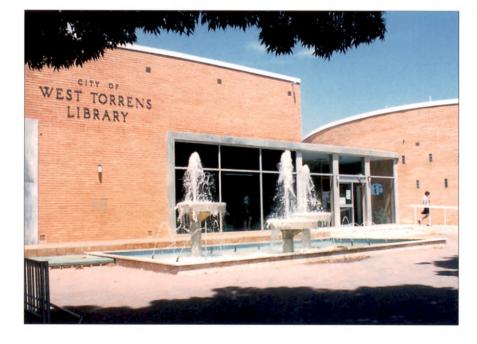
prevailed upon Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in 1981, when the economy was in decline and with a state election pending. Work began on construction of a utilitarian building in June 1981 and proceeded at a hectic pace. The first international commercial flight — Qantas flight QF18 flown by the Boeing 747B 'City of Adelaide' *en route* to Melbourne from London via Singapore — landed at the new terminal on Tuesday morning, 2 November 1982, four days before the South Australian election — which the Tonkin Liberal government lost.

The continued development of the airport meant that the district became the virtual gateway to South Australia for royalty, celebrities, migrants and visitors. This idea was reinforced in early 1984 when Australian National opened a new interstate passenger rail terminal at Keswick. This development followed the agreement between the state and commonwealth Labor governments in 1975 under which the commonwealth acquired South Australia's country and interstate rail services on 1 March 1978.



Community Expectations

The immense physical and social changes within the district increased the demands on the local government authorities. Neither council could avoid the consequences of changes they oversaw, even though they remained conservative and concerned to maintain low rates. They were virtually forced to take greater interest in community issues and the provision of services to the diverse groups within their districts. West Torrens Council built a modern library close to the council chambers in 1964: Thebarton Council established a public library in November 1980 after the amalgamation of the Thebarton Institute library and mobile library.



City of West Torrens Library opened in 1964.

Fortunately, councils were assisted in their capacity to provide an ever-broader range of community services with the help of subsidies from state and commonwealth governments. Direct commonwealth grants to local governments facilitated this. For the first time, the *Grants Commission Act* 1972 enabled local government authorities to apply directly to the commonwealth government for funding. This access to funds accelerated change within local government. The Commonwealth Grants Commission ceased making direct contributions to local government in 1976 but the arrangement was superseded by direct grants to local governments through the commonwealth *Local Government (Personal Income Tax Sharing) Act* 1976. Twenty years later, in 1995 West Torrens continued to receive the bulk of its funding from rates (66 per

cent), and charges (13 per cent). However, grants from state and commonwealth governments made up 21 per cent of revenue.

This assistance from other levels of government was vital because even core responsibilities had become more complex. The notion of 'rubbish collection' had been broadened to become 'recycling' or 'waste management', with councils being expected to collect recyclable rubbish separately, and also make provision for hard rubbish collection. The introduction of compactor trucks, then 'wheelie bins' and trucks able to empty them mechanically, enabled councils to do away with 'garbos'.

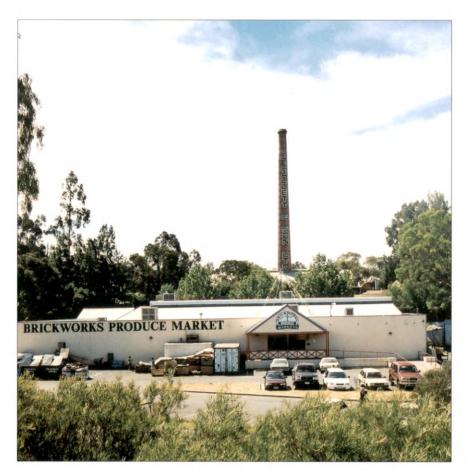
Rubbish disposal in West Torrens had long been a simple exercise, with Council staff collecting rubbish regularly and dumping it at a tip at West Beach, virtually in the heart of the city. The only recyclables were the bottles that the garbos collected in bags hung on the sides of their trucks, and which they sold to marine merchants, thereby gaining an unofficial cash bonus. Costs of collection and disposal were minimal.

However, the disposal of garbage became increasingly more difficult and expensive as landfills within the district were no longer appropriate because of increased residential development, the bird nuisance caused to the airport, the growing environmental consciousness and an Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) monitoring activities. The local tip had to be closed and the garbage transported far from the district. So the councils became partners with those of Port Adelaide and Enfield, Charles Sturt and Holdfast Bay in the Western Region Waste Management Authority, in which West Torrens ultimately held a 27 per cent share. The Authority disposed of solid waste into landfill at a 54 hectare site on the southwestern corner of Garden Island in the Port River estuary. The Port Adelaide Council had established the site in the mid-1960s. The WRWMA took over operation of the landfill from the Port Adelaide Council in 1982. It operated under a licence granted by the EPA and received up to 150,000 tonnes of waste per year.

The councils had been hardpressed to keep pace with the provision of essential services as the last of the open spaces had been resumed for urban development. They now faced the challenge of satisfying the demands of residents for the social and community services long enjoyed by those in some other councils.

Thebarton Initiatives

Thebarton Council, in particular, became increasingly concerned with community and quality of life issues, including the preservation of open space. Consequently, Council acquired the last — and largest — of four parcels of land



View of the Brickworks Market which was developed during the 1980s

adjacent to the River Torrens from J. Hallett and Sons Ltd on 7 June 1979 to preserve it for recreational purposes: Halletts had made a gift of portion of their land to Council in September 1947. By 1981 Council had acquired the whole of the brickworks site that extended over 6.6 hectares. In 1982 Council leased the site to Rule Industries Pty Ltd for development of the Brickworks Markets, a retail, market and recreational oriented complex. The century-old kiln and chimney remained the centrepiece of the development. This site was complemented and enhanced by the development of the River Torrens Linear Park during the 1980s.

The multicultural nature of Thebarton meant that Council became one of the first to employ Greek and Italian-speaking staff and to ensure that community notices were translated into these languages. Council celebrated this multicultural character and became an active supporter of the Glendi Festival, a weekend celebration of Greek culture that was first held in 1978 on the Thebarton Oval. It continued there until 1991 when its success prompted promoters to seek a larger venue.



The Thebarton Council responded early to the needs of its older and less financially secure residents and inaugurated a community service in 1983 to assist people and groups without ready access to transport. The bus provided outings for housebound people and gave them access to shops and community services. Council acquired a second 'Jubilee' community bus in 1986, after successful fundraising and sponsorship from local businesses. Volunteers were trained to operate the bus which travelled more than 17,000 km in the year to June 1988.

Council also established a home assistance scheme to provide residents on benefits of any kind with assistance in such issues as minor home repairs, painting and rubbish removal.

The same concern for community issues prompted the Thebarton Council to acquire the former manse of the St James' Anglican Church and convert it for use as a Neighbourhood House in 1992 to be used by various community groups with regular bookings. This initiative was partly sponsored by the South Australian Department of Human Services and the Department of Education Employment and Training. The centre provides adult literacy classes, English as a second language and Greek language classes, among other services such as Child and Youth Health Services, and free legal advice.

Above: A West Torrens' employee providing assistance under the Council's Home Assistance program. Below: Council library in the former Thebarton Council Offices at Thebarton.



There were some developments that struck at the community identity of Thebarton. The West Torrens Football Club played its last home game on the Thebarton Oval in 1989 before merging with the Woodville club and playing home games at the Woodville Oval. This had additional repercussions for the Thebarton Council and raised concerns about the future of the Thebarton Oval and Kings Park. For a time Council considered the option to develop

Kings Park Reserve and turn the Thebarton Oval into a 'village green' similar to Unley Oval. However, local people objected so strongly that Council was persuaded to maintain the areas virtually as they were. At the time, the oval was being leased by rugby, gridiron and cricket clubs, but it remained underused. It was later leased by the South Australian Baseball Association.

West Torrens' Initiatives

The West Torrens response to demographic change was more measured and slow to appreciate the new demands being made on local government authorities: it acquired its first community bus in 1990. West Torrens had long had a reputation for conservative management and the lowest rates in metropolitan Adelaide. It provided the traditional services of local government very well and was widely known for the excellence of its engineering department. Yet the West Torrens Council's preferred policy remained one of pursuing small government. Its members long contended that many services for migrants, unemployed and other disadvantaged groups, or for the arts, were already provided by state and commonwealth government agencies. Council preferred to direct its energies towards capital enterprises





that provided tangible benefits to residents rather than largely service enterprises. Moreover, the disparate nature of the area, exacerbated by the location of the airport meant that it comprised a collection of several communities rather than one cohesive group such as Thebarton. In addition, it lacked a discernible civic focus unlike many small councils, or even a large one such as Port Adelaide.

Above: Council's Neighbourhood House at Thebarton. Below: A first-aid class at the Thebarton Neighbourhood House.

Still, solid achievements were made without a great deal of fanfare. West Torrens Council was quick to recognise the rapidly increasing proportion of aged folk in the population and to act accordingly. Urban Adelaide's population in 1981

comprised 11.1 per cent of people aged 65 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, in recognition of these, Council supported the establishment of senior citizen clubs throughout the city.

The Cowandilla Club 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 club rooms in the Memorial Gardens. They were opened by Mayor Bartlett on 15 April 1961 and clubs were progressively established in each ward with the active support and encouragement of Council.

Concern for the care and accommodation of elderly citizens prompted the West Torrens Council to enter into a pioneering joint venture with the Housing Trust for the establishment of a retirement village in association with the historic home 'Kandahar' on Marion Road. Council purchased the property in June 1979, though it was not until 27 July 1982 after many frustrations that it finally signed an agreement 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, though Council remained responsible for the ongoing administration of the village. The success of this initiative prompted similar joint ventures between Council and the Housing Trust to develop several other villages, namely, the Lockleys Retirement Village, the George Robertson Retirement Village at Marleston and the Ken Richards Retirement Village at Glandore. The Thebarton Council embarked upon a similar joint-venture with the South Australian Housing Trust which saw the completion of the Thebarton Centenary Village in 1983 that provided 15 cottages for elderly people.

This same concern for the elderly persuaded the West Torrens Council to purchase St. Martin's Private Hospital on 1 December 1982 for almost \$0.25m. 'Cudmore House', the one-time home of James 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 commonwealth Department of Social Security under its Aged Persons Welfare Program, and it remained responsible for the management of the hospital.

West Torrens Council established its Home and Community Care Program in the late 1980s to provide a range of home support services to frail, aged and disabled residents. This was a joint commonwealth/state and Council initiative. Council also supported self-help groups such as those at the Western Youth



Centre and the Reedbeds Community Centre, also four kindergartens at Lockleys, Kurralta Park, Netley and Glandore. Considerable resources were invested in recreational and sporting facilities.

Above: Sandy Benci assisting residents from the West Torrens' Community Bus. Below: Front elevation of St Martin's Aged Care Facility, Marleston.

West Torrens was characterised by its concern for the aged, but it also sought to support the young, with Council establishing a scholarship program in 1992 to assist tertiary students from the city. The first scholarships were offered in 1993, each to the order of \$2000 and available to an undergraduate. Names of applicants were forwarded to the respective universities and assessed on academic merit, or entrance scores. The first recipients who each received

\$2000 were Joan Ericson of Torrensville (UniSA), and Richard De Marchi of Brooklyn Park who was enrolled at Adelaide University. The Flinders University suggested there be two students each to receive \$1000, a first year student and a continuing student; the inaugural recipients were Anthony Maresca of Brooklyn Park and Bruce Grey of Mile End.

The scholarship scheme received a fillip in 1994 when Max and Bette Mendelson approached Councillor Reece Jennings —



who was also their doctor — to discuss the disposition of their estate. The Mendelsons had no children and were eager to have their estate used to enhance Council's scholarship scheme. Max Mendelson died on 22 September 1994 with his wife Bette dying soon afterwards, on 8 January 1995, leaving their

estate valued in excess of \$700,000 to form the City of West Torrens Max and Bette Mendelson Foundation: Reece Jennings, was named both an executor, and 'chairman for life' of any committee established to administer the trust fund.² The Foundation enabled additional tertiary scholarships to be awarded with the Council scheme being subsumed into that of the Foundation. Twelve students received scholarships in 1996.

2001 Mendelson Award winners who were presented with certificates by guest of honour, Mal Hyde, Commissioner of Police.

The Foundation also supported initiatives to promote academic and community debate. The distinguished scholar Dr Dale Spender, became first Senior Mendelson Fellow when she delivered an address to the University of Adelaide Senate in 1996.



Originally awarded on the basis of a student's order of merit supplied by each university, the management committee sometimes varied the selection criteria and took into account other information such as a perceived 'demonstrated financial need'. Unfortunately, this and the awarding of successive scholarships to some recipients sometimes embroiled Council in local

controversy when it should have brought Council positive publicity. Still, this soon became history.

The years leading to the end of the twentieth century brought tremendous physical and social changes to the western suburbs. At the same time, the political, economic and social forces at work during the years since World War II resulted in major changes within local government and its relations with other tiers of government. Local governments were now called upon to provide a broad range of community services in addition to the traditional services already provided. Moreover, local governments were required to ensure that community and capital assets were maintained, even enhanced, in accordance with modern expectations. Larger councils like West Torrens were better placed than smaller councils like Thebarton to meet community expectations. All councils had greater access to grants and funds from other tiers of government, but rate revenue continued to provide the bulk of councils' revenue. The situation made the rationalisation of councils almost inevitable.

Renewal and Reunification

Physical and social developments within the western metropolitan region of Adelaide continued to minimise any remaining distinctions between Thebarton and West Torrens. At the same time residents, of both councils continued to demand ever-expanded and improved services, with commonwealth and state governments — which traditionally provided a range of services — seeking to transfer their responsibilities to local governments. These factors promoted the realisation that both councils could benefit from greater efficiencies in the management of services. This became a particular concern for Thebarton Council which was then the fourth smallest metropolitan council in terms of area, with a correspondingly small population and rate base. This was ultimately reflected in moves to re-unify the two local government authorities.

Urban Renewal

Thebarton, in particular, continued to undergo significant demographic and social change. This was no more evident than in the rationalisation of educational facilities for children that reflected the increasing age of the population, the declining size of families, and the growing numbers of young couples with no children moving into the area. Thebarton Primary School, which in 1921 had the third largest attendance of any school in South Australia, closed at the end of 1992 when enrolments had dwindled to 67: former student and Adelaide Lord Mayor, Steve Condous, unveiled a plaque to mark the passing. Kilmara College in Kintore Street, the result of a merger between St Joseph's Girls' School and the Marist Brothers' school in 1975, closed its secondary school in 1991, and merged the junior school with St Joseph's at Richmond in 1997. The Catholic Church retained the site, but converted it for

use as the Catholic Education Centre for the management of Catholic schools throughout the Archdiocese. The Thebarton Girls' and Boys' Technical High Schools were replaced by the Thebarton High School in 1976 and Thebarton Senior College in 1990.¹



Above: Work continues on the beautification of Henley Beach Road in 1988 as part of the Main Street Program. Below: View of West Torrens from the Telstra Building in Weymouth Street, Adelaide. Urban renewal in Thebarton continued along Henley Beach Road and at Mile End. Council persuaded the Department of Transport to advance work on widening Henley Beach Road with the promise of assistance from Council with funds from the commonwealth government for local capital works. Associated works included the undergrounding of services and power lines, new and more attractive footpaths and pergolas, trellises and street

furniture. The first major redevelopment on Thebarton's main east—west road occurred with the opening of the Telecom Business Services building on 16 November 1989. In early 1993, Thebarton Council used funds for local capital works to finance the appointment of Martin Harrington as coordinator to promote its 'Main Street Program' to encourage new business to relocate to the area and established businesses to upgrade their premises. The program ran for several years and succeeded in lowering tenancy vacancies that were as high as 30 per cent to a rate of about 5 per cent, with an associated reduction in the turnover rate.



Many long-established industries moved from the district to be replaced by more desirable development. For instance, the pharmaceutical manufacturer, Faulding, moved its facility from Thebarton to Salisbury. The University of Adelaide took over the 3.3 hectare riverbank site in 1992 for the development of a Commerce and Research Precinct.

The site of agricultural manufacturer Horwood Bagshaw on the corner of Burbridge Road and Railway Terrace was remediated and redeveloped for residential housing. The site had been acquired by the state government to be used for urban consolidation. Plans were drawn up by a working party including state government representatives and others from the councils of Thebarton and West Torrens. The site had been used for a time to store equipment of the Australian Formula One Grand Prix until all leases on the property expired at the end of March 1992. The site was then sold to a developer, Kinsman, that ultimately provided 88 new dwellings and a 1.1 hectare reserve. Housing Minister John Oswald opened the Mile End Renaissance Project in mid-1994. Later the same year the Thebarton Council approved the first of 60 two-storey dwellings at the eastern end of Henley Beach Road at Mile End on land previously held by the state government for implementation of the MATS plan.

At much the same time the Electricity Trust of South Australia (ETSA) stores immediately to the west were given new life as the retail centre known as Hilton

View of the new housing estate on the former Horwood Bagshaw site at Mile End.



Central. The ETSA land was subdivided in 1994 and sold as warehouse and commercial businesses. The first conversions were undertaken the following year.

The RAA established its new service centre on the Corner of South Road and Richmond Road in 1996.

Towards Reunification

The physical and social changes taking place within the district made the local government divisions increasingly inappropriate. This prompted calls for local government rationalisation.

State governments in pursuit of greater efficiencies had attempted on several occasions during the 20th century to reduce the number of local government authorities. The 1930 Local Government Commission succeeded in reducing the number from nearly 200 to 142. Forty years later, a 1973 Royal Commission recommended that the number of local governments, then 137, should be reduced to 72. However this reduction was considered too bold, and the eventual reduction, under an Advisory Commission which encouraged voluntary amalgamations, left 124 independent councils by 1984.

The western councils sometimes acted in concert with others, but they were always concerned to maintain their separate identities. In 1974, for instance, the commonwealth government attempted to encourage the amalgamation of small local government bodies so that they might attract funds under the *Grants Commission Act* 1972. This prompted the establishment of the Western Metropolitan Regional Organisation in July 1974 in accordance with the requirements of this Act. The group comprised West Torrens, Glenelg, Henley and Grange, Woodville, Port Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Thebarton. This was not a happy arrangement and it lost its reason for existence in 1976 when the commonwealth *Local Government (Personal Income Tax Sharing) Act* provided for direct grants to local governments. West Torrens took steps to leave the organisation in 1977 when the government grant to help in the administration of the region was withdrawn, and the Council faced a doubling of its annual contribution of \$4793. However, after much persuasion it reluctantly agreed to remain in the organisation.

Just as the commonwealth 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 another Royal Commission to examine current local government areas. It ultimately recommended that Thebarton and that part of West Beach south of Henley Beach Road should be added to West

Torrens. West Torrens looked positively on the idea. However, this recommendation, along with most of the others, foundered because of the unwillingness of so many smaller councils to lose their separate identity by merging with neighbouring larger councils, even though they lacked adequate rate revenue.

This Royal Commission was only one of several initiatives by Labor state governments to 'democratise' local government. On 21 April 1977, for instance, the local government franchise was extended to all persons on the House of Assembly roll where previously it had been restricted solely to ratepayers. This was a direct result of the commonwealth funding of local government and the interest which this had aroused in the lowest tier of government, There were many opinions for and against the extended franchise. However, with voting remaining voluntary the amendment failed to produce the radical changes which many critics had feared.

Successive state governments favoured the rationalisation of local governments, but remained reluctant to force the issue. For example, in 1984 state parliament passed the Local Government (Amendment) Act 1984 which made it possible for a local government authority to submit a proposal to the Minister for Local Government for territory held by another council. The Henley and Grange Corporation raised the amalgamation issue in 1987 when, in accordance with this legislation, it sought ministerial approval to annex parts of south-west Woodville and north-west West Torrens. The Henley and Grange proposal sought to extend that city's boundaries 'eastwards to Tapleys Hill Road, to include parts of the suburbs of Seaton, Fulham Gardens, Fulham and West Beach and with minor adjustments north to Trimmer Parade, to the southern tip of the Lake at West Lakes including the Royal Adelaide Golf Course and south to include the West Beach Recreation Reserve.' Henley and Grange claimed this proposal had arisen from 'a difficulty in realigning ward boundaries during periodical review, conducted under Section 28 of the Local Government Act' and was pursued on the grounds that 'the current boundaries with Woodville and West Torrens councils are not delineated clearly by any natural, cultural or landuse features."

The Corporation of the City of Henley and Grange argued that considerable economic benefits would result from an increase in that council's size. Under this proposal the population of that city would have increased in size from 15,000 to 25,000 residents, gaining an additional 6000 from Woodville and 4000 from West Torrens. The proposal aimed to bring the council into the range of 25,000 to 50,000 residents, which it considered 'the appropriate size for a Council in the Adelaide metropolitan area,' because it believed that economies of scale were most advantageous within this range. In its submission to the





Minister, the Henley and Grange Council recognised that its proposal might have some detrimental effect on the West Torrens Council, and gratuitously suggested that 'this might be overcome by an amalgamation of the Thebarton Council with West Torrens.'

Woodville Council stoutly opposed the proposal and criticised it as 'a short-term solution to Henley and Grange Council's desire to become a stronger economic unit.' It argued that such an arrangement would not reduce the number of local government bodies and that perhaps a more sensible proposal was for Woodville to annex all of the land in Henley and Grange north of Henley Beach Road, leaving West Torrens to annex the remainder.

The Henley and Grange Council predictably opposed the proposals by Woodville and West Torrens. However, the matter dragged on. Finally, on 3 July 1989, nearly two years after the saga began in October 1987, the Local Government Advisory Commission recommended that the Henley and Grange proposal not be carried into effect, but instead that the Woodville proposal to annex northern Henley and Grange — and the West Torrens proposal to annex the remainder — should be carried into effect on 1 July 1990, with the Corporation of Henley and Grange being abolished and its assets and liabilities distributed between Woodville and West Torrens. The matter was particularly sensitive with the fate of the government finely balanced in the House of Assembly, and the Labor Member for Henley Beach in ill-health. The government was loath to antagonise local people and nothing eventuated immediately

Still, the matter remained an issue, with West Torrens receptive to the idea. Indeed, West Torrens and Thebarton Councils had broached the matter in 1992, but failed to come to an agreement. Thebarton councillors, in particular, feared a West Torrens take-over, rather than a merger, with little local representation in the proposed entity.

West Torrens kept the idea of amalgamations alive in March 1994 by floating the idea of a 'City of Greater West Adelaide' to include some or all of the councils of West Torrens, Henley and Grange, Thebarton, Glenelg and Brighton. In the first instance, the idea was simply to share resources with the possibility of eventual amalgamation. Henley and Grange summarily rejected the idea, so too, did the Glenelg and Brighton Councils. Thebarton also rejected the idea, though Mayor Annette O'Rielley retained some attachment to the notion. She was only too aware that a recent consultant's report had suggested that Thebarton's future financial situation appeared dire.² The situation was similar in Henley and Grange.

Top Left: Elevation of additions to the West Torrens' Council offices opened in February 1993. Bottom Left: Interior of the new West Torrens' Council offices opened in February 1993.

Reality Bites

Meanwhile, local government reform remained on the political agenda in South Australia, as well as elsewhere in Australia. In the five years after 1993 the Kennett government in Victoria had succeeded in reducing local government areas from 210 to 78, with major savings claimed. In 1994 the South Australian government sought to do likewise and established a 'Structural Reform Task Force' to advise on structural reform in local government.

On 2 August 1994, the West Torrens Council carried the motion to advise the Minister for Local Government that the Council 'is interested in commencing discussions with adjoining Councils with the view of amalgamation and that the Town of Thebarton and City of Henley and Grange be advised accordingly.'

Soon afterwards, the Liberal state government promoted the most extensive round of amalgamations in South Australia's history. Its vehicle was the *Local Government (Boundary Reform) Amendment Act 1995* that received the Governor's assent on 21 December 1995 and came into operation 10 days later. The 'objects of local government' as enumerated in the Act, encapsulated the current demands on local governments. Roads, rates and rubbish were now a tiny part of local government responsibilities. The Act listed the objects of local government:

- (a) to provide a representative, informed and responsible decision-maker in the interests of developing the community and its resources in a socially just and environmentally sustainable manner; and
- (b) to ensure a responsive and effective provider and co-ordinator of public services and facilities at the local level; and
- (c) to provide an initiator and promoter of effort within a local community; and
- (d) to represent the interests of a local community to the wider community.

The Act established an eight-member Local Government Boundary Reform Board with a sunset clause of 30 September 1998, and the task to assist councils working towards amalgamation or rationalisation. It was specifically charged with seeking 'a significant reduction in the number of councils in the State' and 'a significant reduction in the total costs of providing the services of local government authorities.' The Board had the power to initiate amalgamations rather than simply encouraging local government rationalisation. It also had the power to make grants to councils to make the process more palatable. These grants could be used to fund voluntary separation packages and to assist with reforms. Moreover, 'reformed councils' were to receive greater financial assistance that those that remained unreformed.

The fear of Board intervention drove some councils to consider rationalisation, though all amalgamations that followed were voluntary. In the event, the Board oversaw 34 amalgamations which reduced the total number of local government authorities in South Australia from 118 to 69. One of these amalgamations included that of the Town of Thebarton and the City of West Torrens.3 Henley and Grange entertained early discussions with West Torrens and Thebarton, but ultimately joined with the City of Woodville and Hindmarsh to form the new City of Charles Sturt in early 1997.

The ever-increasing demands being made on local governments had ensured that the issue of council amalgamation had remained on the agendas of both Thebarton and West Torrens Councils.

Unfortunately, the new community demands fell particularly heavily on small councils such as Thebarton which remained with a small population base. Thebarton residents generally earned below the average income levels for the state. Census figures of 1996 indicated that Thebarton had a population of 7530 with a median personal weekly income of \$226, where the state's median weekly income was \$267: West Torrens had 42.155 residents with a median income of \$260. A Weekly Times reader from Torrensville who opposed amalgamation provided an interesting commentary:

> The two areas are totally different in character. Thebarton is a poorer area. Many young people have bought the older houses, trying to make a go of it on low wages by renovating the houses and bringing up a young family.

This is to be encouraged with the council rates being kept low.

Also there are many pensioners who for one reason or another have troubles in their lives, needing to live in a low-cost area. The Thebarton Council realises this and has many services to help them.

West Torrens is a more prosperous district, ... The council seems to be more profligate, spending more money on buildings, trips by councillors, they have a lavish library etc., with more staff.4

Circumstances ensured that Thebarton could not retain the level of funding for necessary capital works and other services, no matter how earnestly councillors wished to maintain their separate identity.

The Structural Reform Task Force raised the question of amalgamation with the City of West Torrens in mid-1994. The West Torrens Council on 11 July considered the process and timing to be inappropriate. Nevertheless, negotiations were renewed and, with the assistance of the Task Force, ultimately reached an amicable conclusion. The main concern of both parties was to ensure that the 're-unification' was not considered to be a take-over. Thebarton Mayor Annette O'Rielley and West Torrens Mayor George Robertson signed the Memorandum of Understanding concerning the reunification on 3 June 1996.

Public meetings were held throughout both areas to allay any suspicion held by residents. It was indicative of the multicultural feature of the district that the proceedings of a public meeting held on 26 August 1996 to discuss the reunification issue, were conducted in English, Greek and Italian. The overwhelming majority of those interested enough to attend the meeting voted for the amalgamation. The councils of Thebarton and West Torrens resolved to amalgamate their councils on 17 December 1996 and 2 January 1997, respectively.



Prime Minister John Howard addressing guests on his visit to the city on 16 July

Reunification

Finally, the Governor, Sir Eric Neale, proclaimed the establishment of the City of West Torrens Thebarton on 13 February 1997. The new city that came into existence on 1 March 1997 extended over 36.5 square kilometres and was home to 51,559 people: it comprised seven wards, one of them being the former Town of Thebarton. The new council, comprising 20 members, met for the first time on 4 March. George Robertson became Mayor of the unified council with Annette O'Rielley as his deputy. Trevor Starr, Chief Executive Officer of West Torrens since 1994, and formerly Chief Executive Officer of Henley and Grange and a Director of the City of Woodville, became the Chief Executive Officer.

The administration was consolidated in the Civic Centre at Hilton which had been greatly extended and modernised in 1993: the former chambers of the Thebarton Council were converted for use as a library and opened on 29 May 1999. The new structure of the corporation was negotiated in accordance with an agreement made between the new council and the Australian Services Union and the Australian Workers Union, one of the chief conditions being that no employee would be forcibly retrenched.

Hindsight suggests that the amalgamation was the most that could be achieved, rather than the best that should have been achieved if negotiations had extended more broadly. There remained some anomalies in the council boundaries that did not reflect the focus and interests of local communities.

The ramifications of the reunification took some time to flow through the new organisation. The first council meeting included all members of the uniting councils. The number was to



be reduced to 15, in accordance with reunification arrangements, but not until the ensuing elections on 3 May 1997. Even then, Thebarton Ward was to retain three councillors for the ensuing term, after which the number would be reduced by one. A major complication was the merger of two different rating systems, causing an escalation of rate charges in the 'old' West Torrens now that rates were to be based on the improved land values system used in the former Thebarton Council. This change was phased in over three years to soften the blow of the higher rates now imposed on suburbs in West Torrens such as Novar Gardens and Lockleys.

The amalgamation of staff took longer to settle, with 11 managers initially reporting to the City Manager immediately after the amalgamation: four of these went elsewhere during the first year. Staff became involved in a corporate and strategic planning exercise in mid-1998 in an endeavour to have them become involved in planning the future. For all that, there were four significant restructures of the staff organisation over succeeding years until a measure of

Above: Front page of the Thebarton Times announcing the amalgamation of the West Torrens and Thebarton Councils and featuring members of both Councils. Below: Citizenship ceremony in the Civic Centre, May 2002.



stability was attained. Time was also required to have staff and councillors from each corporation working together comfortably.

The name of the new council had been a major discussion point during reunification negotiations and continued to be an issue afterwards. Neither council was prepared to surrender its name, even when alternatives were suggested, such as a traditional Aboriginal name, 'Kari', meaning 'the plain of the emus'. Consequently, the city was initially known as West Torrens Thebarton. However, the name continued to appear cumbersome and unimaginative to many and encouraged some to seek a change. The matter dragged on for several months, with Council on 3 June 1997 resolving to have staff determine the wishes of residents. There followed a six-week consultation phase during July and August 1997, with a poll of 780 randomly selected residents — though with most from the former West Torrens Council area being asked to decide between the names West Torrens and Thebarton. Three hundred and seventy-nine responded to the survey: 132 preferred the name 'West Torrens', while 81 plumped for 'Thebarton'.⁵

On 19 August, Council proposed renaming the city 'West Torrens'. This ushered in another period of seven weeks for residents to make submissions on the matter: 28 elected to do so. Proposals to drop 'Thebarton' from the name roused ire among those from Thebarton who considered this a denial of their identity and an abrogation of one of the major features of the amalgamation agreement. Others suggested that an entirely new name would be most appropriate, even one recognising Kaurna connection to the land.

Any protests were in vain. On 4 November 1997, Council resolved to amend the name of the city to that of West Torrens. The new name came into effect on 17 November 1997. There was some consolation for the Thebarton push that the name was retained for the ward.

Both the history and aspirations of the reunified Council were reflected in the new city logo that was adopted in June 1998. The logo was designed by students of the University of South Australia to reflect the essence of the city and the partnership of the two councils. West Torrens' location was symbolised by the blue wavy line representing the River Torrens and the green representing the parklands and the linear park. The yellow wavy line depicted the coast in the west, which was also denoted by the setting sun. The sun had been the centrepiece of the former Thebarton crest and, with the white wavy line uniting features of the logo, reflected the reunification of the councils. The white dots harked back to the past and the early Aboriginal occupation of the area. The blue dots beyond the hard right-hand edge of the logo represented Council's confident journey into the future.

CHAPTER 6

A New Beginning

ew of the 52,000 residents of the new city noticed any difference under the new regime. Former West Torrens residents were oblivious to the change except for the publicity generated to mollify those opposed to the reunification. Former Thebarton residents now had to travel to the Civic Centre at Hilton for face-to-face meetings with Council staff, but in this they were less disadvantaged than those living in the western regions of the city. Even then they continued to receive their traditional services, with Council concerned to minimise any hint of disruption. Services were maintained but Council still succeeded in making savings of \$1.2 million in the first year of amalgamation. The savings resulted from a decrease in the staff complement, including two executive positions, and the cancellation of duplicate services. Additional savings were anticipated with the sale of surplus assets such as the former Thebarton depot and old library.

Physical Change

Industry continued to give way to commerce in accordance with the business climate and the redevelopment opportunities available within the city. A prime example involved the former John Martins' warehouse at Lockleys that had been used for the storage of Christmas pageant floats. This was acquired by Westpac and converted to a telephone call-centre. It now provided jobs for as many as 200 call-centre staff where it may have offered employment for a few storemen earlier.

There has been continued improvement of degraded industrial areas as more stringent environmental controls force noxious industries to relocate or change their practices. The major component exporter Castalloy Manufacturing, sought to expand its foundry in Mooringe Avenue at North Plympton in 2001,



View of the police station that opened on Marion Road at Netley in 2001. (M. Marles)

only to attract considerable local opposition because of the level of emissions from the plant. The development proposal was considered a major project by the government which took responsibility for its assessment, but the environmental issue drew the attention of the Environmental Protection Agency to the operation of the plant and resulted in an order to reduce noxious emissions. Ultimately, the cost of complying with the environmental order could not be justified and the company agreed to split its operations and move some outside the city.

Older areas continued to undergo transformation, with the fate of schools continuing to be a measure of changed demographic circumstances. For example, the Netley Primary School on Watson Avenue closed at the end of the 1997 school-year. This provided the opportunity for Southern Cross Homes to develop a new retirement village providing 62 dwellings and a community centre. Camden Primary School closed the same year, with Council acquiring the open space in April 2000. The site of the former Salesian College on Burbridge Road became yet another new housing estate, with the Adelaide College of Divinity taking over the former school buildings.

Other sites within the city were redeveloped for housing. For instance, the site of the former Apollo Stadium at Richmond, once Adelaide's major indoor entertainment venue, provided 49 residential allotments after Council approved the subdivision of the 3-hectare site in February 2002.

Older dwellings gave way to commercial development in other areas. This was the case opposite the council chambers on Burbridge Road. The West Torrens Council had acquired the site over a period of years with the idea of providing a shopping centre to complement the Civic Centre and provide a focus for residents. However, long delays followed as Council sought development approval, until construction finally began in mid-1997. Hilton Plaza eventually opened on 22 June 1998. The new shopping centre, with the Civic Centre, and new professional offices built immediately to the east, provided something of a business and commercial hub that the city had lacked since its inception.

One of the more significant redevelopment projects involved the one-time railway goods yards extending over 15 hectares at Mile End. These had become derelict after Australian National had established new railway facilities at Dry Creek to Adelaide's north. The state government assumed ownership of the railyards in 1995 and charged its Urban Projects Authority with remediating the site and planning an appropriate redevelopment. First of all there was a need to decontaminate and remediate the site in accordance with a program approved by the Environmental Protection Agency. This work began in mid-June 1996 and involved the removal of the top layer of soil to a depth of between 1.0 and 1.5 metres and depositing this on parts of the site. Rehabilitation was facilitated by a \$4 million grant from the commonwealth government under its 'Better Cities program'.

Ultimately the redevelopment provided new international-standard sporting facilities for the state's athletics and netball associations. The first competition in the netball stadium — later named ETSA Park — took place in November 1997. ETSA Park included an indoor stadium capable of seating 3000, together with 26 outdoor courts, and superseded the South Australian Netball

Santos Stadium at Mile End.



Association facilities at Edwards Park in the Parklands. The athletics' venue — Santos Stadium — officially opened on 26 January 1998, with athletics transferring there from the rather tired-looking Olympic Sports Field at Kensington.

The sporting complex was complemented by medium-density residential development on 3 hectares of the remediated railway land bounded by Railway Terrace and James Congdon Drive. The proposal provided up to 70 new dwellings.

Adelaide Airport continues to be a mixed blessing for Council and its residents. Continued development on what was commonwealth land provided increased employment for local people. The airport had grown to support a complex network of businesses associated with the airlines that included caterers, security personnel, hire car companies and freight forwarders. The location of a business park — Export Park — on 7.5 hectares in the north-western corner of the airport site close to the international terminal, proved a success and



Export Park on Adelaide Airport land.

generated additional employment. This encouraged the building of a \$3.35 million distribution warehouse and office complex for Target in 1997.

Nevertheless, local residents continued to resent the noise of aircraft and any extension to the airport and its operations that threatened to increase this nuisance. However, protests proved ineffectual and major new development occurred with a 572-metre extension of the main

runway. The short length of the main runway to this time had prevented large fully-laden aircraft from using the airport, thereby forcing many exporters to send their products through airports interstate and effectively preventing them from taking maximum advantage of markets in Asia and elsewhere. The commonwealth government finally agreed to extend the runway.

The new works had a major impact on the local area, beginning with the acquisition of an additional 23 hectares west of Tapleys Hill Road on the alignment of the main runway. There followed the realignment of Tapleys Hill Road, modifications to the Patawalonga South Golf Course and the virtual filling-in of the Patawalonga Creek. The road deviation proved to be half the cost of the alternative of a tunnel beneath the runway. Prime Minister John Howard opened the runway extension on 16 July 1998 and effectively silenced continuing calls for an alternative site for Adelaide's airport.

By this time the airport was under new management. Three months earlier, in May 1998, the commonwealth had granted the operating lease to the company Adelaide Airport Limited (AAL), in accordance with its privatisation policy. This was a precursor to even more extensive and radical development of the airport land. The new lessee was free of the planning and development controls in force elsewhere in the city and took a much more aggressive attitude than its predecessor, the Federal Airports Corporation, towards maximising the business and commercial potential of the airport land. One of the first expressions of this was the construction of the \$9 million HarbourTown Brand Direct shopping complex on the eastern side of Tapleys Hill Road that opened late in 2003.

The noise associated with the airport became less of an issue after the commonwealth government announced its Airport Noise Levy Insulation

HarbourTown on Tapleys Hill Road.



Program in the May 2000 budget. This replicated the Sydney program where the government agreed to the noise-insulation of homes seriously affected by airport operations. Funding was to be raised by levying all passengers on jet aircraft under provisions of the *Aircraft Noise Levy Act 1995*. Provision was made for \$50m to be raised by means of the levy. The proposal was not greeted as warmly as the government would have wished. Neither AAL nor local residents had been consulted nor given prior information about the initiative. This caused considerable angst among those residents who did not qualify for the scheme but believed they should have done so. They had no recourse for consideration.

A census indicated that 660 homes qualified for the program: 365 homes had been insulated by the end of 2002.

Council Leadership

The elected council itself came under new leadership following elections in May 2000, when the former Speaker in the House of Assembly, John Trainer, replaced Dr Reece Jennings as Mayor. These were the first elections held under terms of the new *Local Government Act 1999*, that came into operation on 1 January 2000. One of the main objects of the new Act was to make local government more responsive to community needs and to this end all elections were to be conducted by postal voting in order to encourage greater participation which now exceeded 40 per cent of those eligible. Another amendment abolished the requirement for a mayoral candidate to have served as a councillor for 12 months. This permitted John Trainer to nominate for the position.

The new Act demanded that councils engage in greater consultation with residents. This in turn gave Council a more strategic focus, with greater emphasis on city-wide issues rather than those peculiar to particular wards.

Council had already anticipated the move towards more open government by developing its own site on the World Wide Web. Development work began in September 1998, and the site was posted in early February 1999. The site provided for the weekly updating of current affairs and events and ready access to information about Council and its services.

Issues

Despite the changes, the new council had to contend with many perennial issues, particularly those concerning stormwater management. Increased development within the larger metropolitan area, West Torrens itself, and the

airport, meant that the city became ever more susceptible to a major flooding event. The extension of the main runway at the Adelaide Airport and the realignment of Tapleys Hill Road and diversion Patawalonga Creek had the effect of reducing the capacity of the stormwater system of the area. Council was particularly concerned about this and funded a study aimed at assessing proposals to retrieve waste water from the Glenelg Waste Water Treatment Plant, and direct it. with stormwater, into aquifers and back towards Adelaide, along the alignment of the early railway, where it might be used for industry and irrigation purposes. The proposals received enthusiastic support from technocrats in the government, but failed to win support from SA Water because it threatened that agency's established cost structure.

Meanwhile the government pressed ahead with the 'Patawalonga Seawater Circulation and Stormwater Outlet' at Barcoo Road as a key part of efforts to

clean the Patawalonga Basin in association with major residential development on the Glenelg foreshore. The plan proposed a 1.5km pipe to take stormwater from the Patawalonga as far as 300m offshore. It was facilitated by 'Better Cities' funding from the commonwealth government.

Council members remained somewhat bemused by the initiative, claiming that it was only a band-aid measure because the pipeline's capacity meant that it could handle only 50 per cent of a 1-in-5-year rainfall event. Nevertheless, the government strongly supported the upgrading of the Patawalonga Basin and was unwilling to adopt the more holistic view to flood management proposed by Council. The latter's stance was vindicated somewhat with the flooding of North Glenelg on 26 June 2003, when the barrage gates failed to open to release stormwater in the basin, but it took no satisfaction from this. The



Anglican Archbishop Dr Ian George inspecting the Council's waste station, 18 November 1998.

Patawalonga work had little bearing on Council's concern to counter the extreme flood event that is expected to cause damage throughout the lower areas of the city.

So-called 'waste water', was not Council's only waste issue. The management of household and some industrial waste generated within the city had become increasingly complex and expensive. West Torrens had long operated a Waste



A new garbage truck.

Transfer Station on a 7.5-hectare site on Morphett Road, adjacent to the Adelaide Airport, and had dumped its waste at Garden Island near Port Adelaide, at a fee of \$11.50 per tonne. Council's solution was to outsource the management of the service, with Solo Waste winning the contract to operate the Waste Transfer Station. The contractor sought to do even more, and proposed to Council that it be allowed to develop the site to permit the sorting, processing and treatment

of waste to recycle as much as possible and reduce the amount going to landfill. The new Integrated Resource Recovery Centre opened on 21 November 1997. Council's service to residents improved in October 1998 with the distribution of split rubbish bins to separate household garbage and recyclables: green waste was to be collected fortnightly, with hard garbage being collected on request.

Initiatives

Meanwhile, Council continued with programs to enhance the amenity of the city. The increased significance of the airport prompted Council to upgrade Burbridge Road, the main entry to Adelaide in accordance with a project named 'Adelaide Arrive'. New work included the establishment of the Boulevard of Honour between Airport Road and South Road to commemorate those from the district who had served in World War II. Mayor George Robertson fostered the idea with support from the city's RSL groups. Memorial trees and plaques were dedicated outside the Adelaide Airport on 12 June 1995. Soon afterwards, the idea was broadened to include memorial plaques to commemorate individuals who had served. The new initiative was assisted by a grant from the commonwealth government under its 'Australia Remembers' program, with the first plaques being installed in early 1997. The program featured as many as 500 granite memorial plaques from Airport Road to South Road.



Top to Bottom: Plaque marking the beginning of the Boulevard of Honour, 1995. Views along Sir Donald Bradman Drive towards the city.



The redevelopment of Burbridge Road itself was assisted by the commonwealth government's 'Better Cities' program. This included road-widening, the undergrounding of services, the installation of median strips and general beautification. That portion from West Terrace to Tapleys Hill Road was renamed Sir Donald Bradman Drive from 1 January 2001 after Sir Donald had agreed to the change.

The latest initiative was not the success the proponents envisaged. Businesses located on the road welcomed the marketing opportunity of incorporating Bradman's name in that of their business: a sex shop planned to rename itself 'Erotica on Bradman'. The issue gained world-wide attention, with the Bradman family becoming appalled at the prospect of the commercialisation of the family name. Family members petitioned Council to reverse the name change, but



Australia Day celebrations, 1999.

without success. By this time the name had been gazetted after a lengthy process. Moreover, businesses had already incurred expenses in altering signs and stationery and were reluctant to incur additional expense. Ultimately the furore dissipated.

Council also initiated extensive treeplanting programs to upgrade roads, parks and reserves throughout the city. Mayor Reece Jennings opened the wetlands adjacent to the Torrens and known as Apex Park on 16 February 2000.

Council sought to engage with its residents. For a time it became renowned for the Australia Day festivals held annually in the City of West Torrens Memorial Gardens. These began with a citizenship ceremony and the presentation of citizen awards, and were followed by a program of international music, dance and entertainment.

The Council's millenium time-capsule project engendered city-wide support. Schools and community groups throughout the city were asked to contribute items to be placed within the capsule to be buried in the City of West Torrens



Memorial Gardens on 9 May 2000. The capsule was made of thick polyethylene, was one metre long and 750mm in diameter and buried 700mm below the surface in a location near the north-western corner of the gardens marked by the three flagpoles. The capsule included 200 items provided by a wide variety of organisations and groups in the council area, with many small items such as business cards being added at the last moment by many of the 500 people present for the occasion. The intent is to have the capsule opened on 7 July 2053, the bicentenary of local government in the area.

Council made a particular endeavour to strengthen business within the city by encouraging networking and providing access to business information and training. One initiative involved the organisation of regular business luncheons addressed by noteworthy guest speakers: another was the distribution of a citywide business and community phone book. Yet another involved support for the relocation of the Inner West Business Enterprise Centre to premises in 79–81 Sir Donald Bradman Drive on 10 October 2002.

West Torrens became a conduit for closer business relations with China during the later 1990s. This initiative followed a visit to China by Trevor Starr as part of a delegation of chief executives in 1995. There followed several return visits by Chinese delegations visiting Australia in succeeding years to build on the contacts made and develop trade. Council facilitated these visits by sponsoring visas for delegates and introducing them to various businesses and agencies when they visited South Australia, depending upon the purpose of the visit. The Council entertained the delegates while in Adelaide. There were few direct benefits to West Torrens but, in October 1997, Mayor George Robertson signed a trade and cultural exchange treaty with the delegation from the Chinese city of Laiwu in the Shandong Province. Similar endeavours were made to forge a sister-city relationship with Kalamata in Greece.



The occasion of the signing of a trade and cultural exchange treaty with representatives of the Chinese city of Laiwu in the Shandong Province in October, 1997.

Another program promoted by the Council was the 'Building Relationships through Networking Strategy'. This initiative commenced in early 2003 with the aim of having the many community groups within the city interacting with one another to advance the city's social life. This ensured there was a common sense of purpose across the city within similar groups such as the RSL clubs, the senior citizen clubs, the schools, with networking between one group and another.

Celebrating 150 years

West Torrens Council in 2003 was vastly different to the local government authority initiated 150 years earlier. It was a large business in its own right with 257 staff — 158 full-time, 68 part-time and 31 casual — with responsibility for managing revenues of more than \$30 million.



Hon Rory McEwen
Minister for Agriculture,
Food and Fisheries
Minister for State/Local
Government Relations
Minister for Forests
re-enacting the
proclamation of the
District Council of
West Torrens.

Council operations had become complex, with the assumption of many responsibilities previously the preserve of the state government and others demanded by ever-more literate and socially-aware residents. These included education, training, health, aged care, environmental care and libraries, as well as the essential ongoing tasks of planning and basic service provision.

Council's budget had increased astronomically, though rates and charges still provided the bulk of the revenue: \$24.4 million in 2002–2003. Nevertheless, Council could not have provided the wide range of services if it did not continue to receive funding from the commonwealth government by means of grants made on the recommendation of the South Australian Grants Commission and paid under the *Local Government* (Financial Assistance) Act 1995. South Australian councils received \$90.01 million in

1999–2000, with West Torrens attracting \$1.372 million, with \$336,952 being earmarked for road projects. The allocation in financial year 2001–2002 amounted to \$1219 million, with \$368,884 being allocated for roadworks. Total grants and subsidies in 2002-2003 amounted to nearly \$5.5 million.

While focused on the future, Council took the opportunity to mark its 150th anniversary with a special meeting on 7 July 2003, the anniversary of the proclamation of the West Torrens District Council.

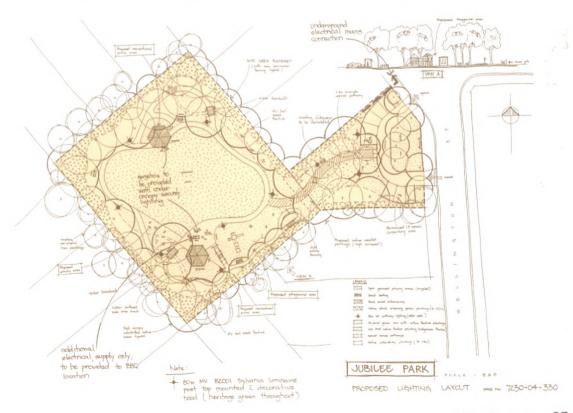
Council also organised a range of other activities and events to mark the achievement. The 'West Torrens Anniversary Race' was held at Morphettville on 25 October 2003, with sponsorship from local businesses. The Australia Day Celebrations on 26 January 2004 were given a special commemorative aspect. As usual, the efforts of many of those who helped build the local community were recognised. These included Citizen of the Year, Thelma



Above: Volunteer training day, 3 November 2001. Below: A Plan of Jubilee Park, Glandore.

Sandercock, and Young Citizen of the Year, Nell Szyndler, with Councillor Trevor Owen receiving the Civic Award. The award for the Community Event of the Year went to the Youth Advisory Council for its Party in the Park, while the Lions Club of Richmond won the Group Effort Award. Kym Carr of Woolworths at Hilton Plaza and Dean Rossiter of Rossi Boots won the Business Awards, with several citizens winning Community Service Awards, namely, Sister Mary McNamara, Con Miniskas, Robert Wohlenberg, Una Potter, Bob Watts and Gaynor Way.

On 1 February 2004, Council sponsored the 25th Camden Classic, the professional running race held annually on the Camden Oval. The occasion proved a great success leading Council to agree to make this an annual sponsorship.



There were also initiatives of a more permanent nature. These included the establishment of Jubilee Park in Glandore, on the former site of the Glandore Bowling Club. The park provided an open space for activities, trees and gazebos for shelter along with picnic areas equipped with electric barbeques. The park was opened on 31 July 2004.

Council took care to ensure that all wards shared in the celebrations. Consequently, it organised the planting of groves of 150 indigenous trees in each ward, with the respective councillors being assisted in the task by schoolchildren from the particular wards. There were commemorative signs erected within each grove of trees to acknowledge the prior occupation of the land by the Kaurna people.

The Kaurna people were also recognised by a sculpture on the linear park between Winwood and Stirling Streets at Thebarton. The stone sculpture represents the original flora and fauna that once characterised the area.

Hamra Centre Library.



Perhaps one of the most significant events was the opening of the Hamra Centre — the redeveloped library and auditorium complex at Hilton. The new facility represented a \$7 million investment in the cultural life of the community. It was named to honour the memory of West Torrens' longest-serving mayor and mayoress. Steve Hamra, served Council from 1954 to 1989, which included 27 years as mayor: he was mayor when the original Hilton Library had been opened in 1964. The redeveloped library and auditorium re-opened for business on 23 February 2004 and the Hamra Centre officially opened on 18 March. The West Torrens auditorium became the venue for a historical exhibition recording the city's 150 year history that opened on 21 March.

The development of a unity pathway, within the West Torrens Memorial Gardens, is planned to recognise the people from many nations who have helped establish the West Torrens community. The idea is to have five paths, representing the five continents, converging on the Cross of Sacrifice.

Into the Future

A study of the past might give a hint of immediate trends in the future but provides little indication about what might happen in the medium and long term. Few could have foreseen the implications of technological change within the past decade, particularly that within the field of information technology. The many social and technological changes, the promotion of economic rationalism and the need for greater administrative efficiencies promoted economies of scale that prompted the amalgamation of local government areas in the past. These same developments might well lead to West Torrens being subsumed in a greater local government area sometime in the future.

However, all indications are that Council will certainly have to contend with an increased population because of continuing pressure for the medium and high density redevelopment of inner-suburban residential areas.

The city's population will undoubtedly be boosted by the residential redevelopment of the Underdale Campus of the University of South Australia. This represents the largest potential redevelopment site existing within the city — apart from the airport land. The University flagged the closure of the campus in June 2000 and proceeded to seek tenders from developers to acquire the land. The University announced Urban Pacific and Medallion Homes as the successful tenderer in February 2004. The residential subdivision of the 19-hectare site — 13 hectares south of the Torrens and 6 hectares to the north,



Apex Park, one of the stretches of the River Torrens rehabilitated by Council and community efforts.

in the City of Charles Sturt — is anticipated following settlement of the sale in March 2005. The cities of West Torrens and Charles Sturt appreciated the strategic importance of the land and commissioned a master plan to advise on options that would achieve excellence in the design of the new development that would stand as a model for infill-development elsewhere.

Greater emphasis on environmental issues will continue to force noxious industries from the city. For instance, an Environmental Protection Agency order to curb excessive emissions and noise prompted the closure of the Hensley Industries foundry in Heywood Avenue at Torrensville in March 2004. The cost of complying with the order could not be justified economically and Hensley Industries chose to close its operations. Griffin Press, on Marion Road at Netley, was another once-welcomed operation persuaded to relocate its business because of the cost of complying with an Environmental Protection Agency order to abate the noise levels of old presses.

At the same time the industrial zones within the city make it attractive to 'clean' industries such as those to have located to the north-eastern fringe. The rejuvenation of Mile End and the proliferation of bulky goods businesses there



Aerial view of Adelaide Airport.

will continue to enhance the amenity of that area, facilitated by the completion of the City West Connector. Council has anticipated the rejuvenation by initiating a major study into development proposals for the area served by Railway Terrace and rezoning it in October 2003. Already there are plans for an extensive office park near the southern end of this precinct on Richmond Road.

Adelaide Airport will continue to be an irritant for Council and local residents, but it will also confer many benefits on them. The completion of a new passenger terminal will certainly increase business activity on the site and further forestall consideration of an alternative site for Adelaide Airport. The provision of a new passenger terminal at the airport had been a priority for the new lessee from the beginning. The expected major tenants, Qantas and Ansett, had signed a Memorandum of Understanding in August 2001 to enable construction of the facilities. Suddenly the plans were thrown into disarray following the cessation of Ansett services less than a month later, on 14 September 2001. Matters remained confused until the collapse of efforts to sell Ansett assets in February 2002. Negotiations for the new terminal began again, though this time with Qantas and Virgin Blue. Construction finally commenced in November 2003, with an anticipated date of opening

in October 2005, coinciding with the half century of airport operations at West Beach.

The lessees of the airport are also concerned to pursue diverse business opportunities such as the development of a business park near the intersection of Tapleys Hill Road and Sir Donald Bradman Drive that will impact on the district, possibly competing with established businesses, but certainly attracting more visitors to the city.

However, airport developments remain a mixed blessing. Increased commercial development on airport land will exacerbate traffic management issues within the city. The location of the airport means that much of the north-south and east-west city traffic must flow around the airport. The critical nature of the road network became evident when a peak-hour motor accident in 2003 on Tapleys Hill Road disrupted traffic on all major roads in the vicinity and provided an insight into the likely impact of a proposed business park on city traffic flows.

The airport also impacts on Council's endeavours to flood-proof the city and ensures that stormwater management will remain a major challenge. The council area remains effectively the collection point for much of the run-off from the eastern metropolitan area, with the airport land serving as a *de-facto* ponding basin. However, new developments there, built above anticipated flood levels, force stormwaters into surrounding areas and into drains that have not been engineered to accept major flood events.

Community expectations will continue to make demands on Council, if the past is any guide. Demographic and technological changes give only a hint of what these might be in the future. However, it is certain that the requirements of an ageing population will continue to loom large. In late 2003, the Southern Cross Homes commenced construction of new facilities on the former Quarry Industries site on the eastern side of Marion Road. In 2004 Council approved extensions to its St Martin's Aged Care Facility to increase the number of care beds from 71 to 115 at an anticipated cost of \$10 million.

Similarly, the enhancement of the environment will continue to be a high priority. Council's 2004 Greening Program aimed to plant 2200 trees during the year in the city's streets and reserves.

History suggests that all change has deep roots in the past. So the future physical and social changes within West Torrens will be evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, with Council and its administration being well placed to meet the inherent challenges.



West Torrens Council in the anniversary year 2003-2004.

Standing, left to right: Councillors Kym McKay, Rosalie Haese, George Vlahos, John Lindner, Trevor Owen, Arthur Mangos, Emilio Costanzo, George Demetriou. Sitting, left to right: Annette O'Rielley, Adriana Christopoulos, John Pilkington, Mayor John Trainer, Councillors Garth Palmer, Tony Polito, Barry Blackwell.



2020 Vision

Chief Executive Officer, Trevor Starr.

West Torrens' Chief Executive Officer, Trevor Starr, encapsulated his vision for the immediate future of the City in a discussion paper written in early 2004. The paper outlining strategic directions for the City is reproduced in summary below.

Population approaching 70,000

While the cultural background of the City will remain diverse, there is an expectation that the trend will be away from a population not born in Australia; however the area will still likely be used for the short-term accommodation of migrants to South Australia.

Migration in and out of the area is expected to surpass its present high levels for the next decade and beyond and the median age of the population can be expected to reverse, with younger family units moving into the area.

The emerging needs of the population and demand for public recreation and other community facilities suggests that urban design principles will be towards efficient, compact dwellings, in close proximity to employment, recreational and social facilities. Continued sub-division of older, industrial allotments and larger holdings will assist that growth.

Given the above, it is expected that the City could comfortably accommodate an increase in population from the current 52,000 to approximately 70,000.

Particular attention to State policies for the provision of adequate services for transportation, education and training to meet the needs of population growth and shorter term residents (e.g. students) will be necessary.

An opportunity exists for partnering with other levels of government and/or service providers to ensure single stop servicing for residents, visitors, and those who work within the City.

Decentralization of business operations and the increasing capacity to work from home are expected to have significant impacts on work patterns, particularly within the service and information based industries.

The 'attractiveness' of the western suburbs as a consequence of affordability, convenience in accessing centres of employment and recreation is expected to attract younger professional couples with significant levels of disposable income and a propensity to require significant amounts of service.

As a unit, the Council should remain sustainable at these population levels; however regional co-operation between Councils and various State agencies will be essential to ensure that a range of affordable services is maintained.

Community

The ageing population and a reversal of dependency on government funded pensions will result in the age of the workforce increasing during the period. A tendency for people to peak in their respective careers at a relatively early age and then taper off in later years can also be expected.

Adherence to traditional working hours will become less common as industry and commerce globalise. There is expected to be a critical shortage of professional and skilled workers during the period, which will necessitate migration from interstate and overseas.

The social structure of the workforce, with a greater number of parents or individuals with children seeking full participation in paid employment, will result in increased demands for a variety of services to facilitate their entry into, and longevity within, the workforce.

Demand for community facilities will require capacity building of groups and Council is ideally placed to facilitate the realisation of such community aspirations.

Diversity of activities for both younger and older residents within a single locality is desirable, in place of the fast diminishing importance of extended family groups. Consistent with these demands, redundant single use facilities will need to give way to multi-user or model facilities.

Council therefore expects that there will be a consolidation of community facilities in a manner that provides greater opportunities for 'family' participation in strategic locations throughout the city.

The cost of providing these facilities and services will require increased use of 'fee for service' or alternative revenues, as it is unlikely that additional financial support will be available from other levels of government.

Life long learning, enabling residents to change life styles and vocations according to their own preferences and market demands, will be a feature of the workforce, together with increased levels of on-site training, culminating in the awarding of formal qualifications outside formal educational bodies.

There is an expectation that demand for public access to the natural features of the area will increase as the stock of housing experiences a diminished open/common space component, heralding greater importance of the waterways, beaches, ovals, recreational areas and other open spaces, like the Airport.

Current long-term budgetary estimates should recognize these resourcing requirements.

The built form of the City in 2020

Land use within the western area of Adelaide will continue to change towards highest and best use, which is expected to result in:

- Higher density use of industrial/commercial land.
- Movement towards residential use of uncontaminated commercial sites.
- Continued increased density and the emergence of demand for residential development to 5 levels in zones of the City, close to the CBD.
- Additional demand for pre and post retirement residential properties.

Non-residential uses are expected to trend towards 'clean' industry and commerce, with strong demand for value added processes, biotech, technology, information based services, distribution and logistics.

Clustering of business within more concentrated zones is likely, as business takes advantage of local trading opportunities afforded by internet based information products/services and globalisation of market places.

Sustainable population levels for the Council, given increased demands for service and location, are expected to be in the region of 70,000, a significant increase from present levels.

Similarly, there are expected to be additional day visitations to the City as a consequence of commercialisation of the Airport and more intensive use of business sites.

Residential demand can be expected to result in increasing density of use and, as the supply of single level accommodation declines, greater demand for residential development up to 5 levels in targeted parts of the City.

An increased concentration of population, particularly associated with employment opportunities, will necessitate a greater range and consolidated facilities for:

- Recreational activities.
- Life long learning.
- Social interaction.
- Family services.

Strip development along arterial roads, which has resulted in the poor distribution and servicing of commercial activities, will give way to centres comprising a range of activities, such as retail, office, lifestyle, personal services, together with off street parking, which provide greater convenience for customers and employees alike.

The emergence of mega centres and the tendency for the co-location of like retailers/service providers will necessitate further macro planning to accommodate these trends within an established built form and infrastructure.

Amenity and greening

Continued greening of the City needs to take account of community trends in terms of private open space, and to take advantage of the natural corridors through the area to enable flora and fauna to have connections to their habitat which lessen the risk of damage.

Much of western Adelaide's waterways have been subject to varying degrees of misuse (in terms of access and use by adjacent landowners) or by unlawful/harmful water discharge from both residential and commercial properties.

Wherever possible, the discharge of water from both residential and commercial properties should be controlled, such that only peak flows in periods of high inundation are conveyed to the kerb or gutter and into the stormwater system.

Flora and fauna replacement programs will reflect the significant change from average block sizes of 700–800 square metres down to 300–400 square metres, much of which is a hard or covered surface.

Retrofitting of roof run off and stormwater capture/storage devices, for non-potable uses, will be paramount in conserving and enhancing the amenity of the area.

Stormwater discharged from commercial sites should pass through gross pollutant traps for the removal of rubbish and undissolved impurities from the water prior to its discharge.

Design of reserves to re-use stormwater and to make full use of dry land foliage will be important in terms of environmentally sustainable practices in public areas.

Reduction of road and path widths in areas where low traffic flows are the norm, will assist in re-vegetation of the area.

The reintroduction of swalles (broad, shallow channels containing local vegetation) in reserves to take water from the road or stormwater system will further assist in maintaining local vegetation and reducing discharge to Gulf St Vincent.

Adelaide Airport

The Airport, which is a vibrant part of South Australia for business and visitation, is both the City's greatest asset and its greatest liability.

Eighteen million visits are made to the Airport annually, the bulk of these using the arterials of Sir Donald Bradman Drive and Henley Beach Road, with 4.4 million passengers passing through the actual terminals.

This is expected to grow by 50 per cent during the period, and the relationship between the Airport operator, AAL, and the Council, will need attention to ensure that this rapid expansion is not at the direct expense of local residents and business.

The Master Plans of the Airport and the 'light handed' approach of the Commonwealth Government in allowing *ad hoc* development will need to be counter-balanced by the inclusion of greater specificity in the Council's response to the Master Plan and individual AAL development proposals.

A firm commitment to a Memorandum of Understanding between the parties, which ensures that the Airport is neither advantaged nor disadvantaged relative to other residents, businesses and developers, is essential for community benefit and understanding.

Transportation

Many of the major transport systems for metropolitan Adelaide are located in, or pass through the City.

In addition to the passenger and visitor traffic to Adelaide Airport, some 4000 staff are presently employed by Airport facilities, and this is expected to grow rapidly during the next decade.

Many Airport clients will create transport movements that will further place pressure on the road network in and around the Airport.

The interstate rail system, currently located at Keswick, and the bus depot in Adelaide's Franklin Street, places the three most popular passenger services within a 2.5 kilometre radius of the Civic Centre.

Integration of the movements generated by these facilities requires coordination and rationalisation to maximize the benefits of this traffic to the State and our City.

The need for a transport network (and systems) that facilitates changes in land use and addresses community expectations is of paramount importance for Council, metropolitan Adelaide and the State.

The Transport Master Plan will need to mirror the built form of the City to enable the safe and efficient movement of people and goods.

Attention to public transport connectors in establishing a blueprint for development of the City is essential to promote and develop a sound system of arterial and connector roads, which do not destroy the amenity of the City.

The collection of vehicle/passenger departure and destination data will be critical in addressing these issues for all modes of transport, including pedestrian.

The hierarchy of roads, paths and bikeways needs to be established in a manner that is cognisant of the Adelaide Transport Master Plan, but not intrusive on the daily lives of the residential community.

Council may need to 'prod' other levels of government to ensure that they properly address the aspirations of local residents, and the amenity of the area, when they are pursuing higher order strategies such as the movement of interstate and overseas passengers by rail, road and air.

A Summary View of the History of West Torrens



1802

Captain Matthew Flinders in the *Investigator* charted the coast of South Australia from Nuyts Archipelago to Encounter Bay. Flinders and Captain Nicholas Baudin met at Encounter Bay.

1833

South Australian Association formed in England to promote the establishment of a colony using Edward Gibbon Wakefield's principles.

1834

South Australian Act assented to on 15 August. South Australian Colonisation Commission appointed in August.

1835

South Australian Association reformed as the South Australian Land and Colonisation Company. Osmond Gilles appointed Treasurer in May.

1836

Letters Patent of 19 February gave effect to the *South Australia Act* 1834. An administrative Order in Council of 23 February authorised the Governor of South Australia to make laws for the new colony. Proclamation of the province on 28 December. Captain John Hindmarsh became Governor. James Hurtle Fisher appointed first Resident Commissioner and Robert Gouger appointed Colonial Secretary. Colonel William Light arrived in August on the brig *Rapid* and commenced exploring to determine a site for the capital. G.S. Kingston discovered the site which Light chose for Adelaide. First settlers arrived at Kingscote on Kangaroo Island on 20 July.

Light began the survey of the city on 11 January; it was completed on 10 March. On 17 March there was the determination of the choice of lots. The surveying of District B commenced by B.T. Finniss in April.



1838

Light resigned as Surveyor-General and was succeeded by Kingston. The selection of country sections made on 17 May. Light selected Section 1 at Thebarton.

1839

William Light died at his cottage at Thebarton on 6 October.

1840

Thebarton Cricket Club formed and a game of cricket was organised at Thebarton

1849

First subdivision of Hilton.

1851

Discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales.

1853

West Torrens proclaimed a District Council on 7 July. Thomas Hardy purchased his Bankside property. Game of Gaelic football played at Thebarton.

1855

Portion of West Torrens severed to form part of Corporation of Glenelg.

1856

Opening of the province's first steam railway between Adelaide and the Port on 21 April. This was Australia's first government-owned steam railway. Railway opened to Salisbury on 29 December. Opening of the telegraph line between Adelaide and the Port. South Australian Jockey Club established on 24 January.



1857

The Province granted self-government, and the first totally elected parliament met for the first time. On 4 June, Torrens introduced his measure concerning land conveyancing.

Establishment of the Reedbeds Cavalry in February.

1861

The South Australian Gas Company incorporated by an act of parliament, with Henry Ayers as the first chairman of the board. First meeting of shareholders held on 8 July. The Deed of Settlement approved on 12 August. West Torrens divided into five wards. Bridge over River Torrens at 'Moore Farm' opened by Hon John Morphett.

1862

West Torrens divided into six wards.

1864

Gas supplied to parts of North Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Thebarton. First Adelaide Cup ran at Thebarton racecourse.

1868

Provincial Gas Company of South Australia formed.

1871

Gas works begun at Thebarton by the Provincial Gas Company. South Australian Gas Company entered five year contract to light the streets of Adelaide, while gas supplies were extended to Thebarton, Hindmarsh, and Bowden. Races held at Reedbeds. Festival at 'Bankside' to celebrate the vintage.

1872

Provincial Gas Company works at Thebarton completed. Timber weir across the Torrens destroyed by floods.

1873

Victoria Square to Glenelg railway opened on 2 August.

1874

Health Act applied in West Torrens.

1877

Provincial Gas Company purchased by South Australian Gas Company.





Horse drawn trams introduced to Adelaide.

1879

Thebarton Primary School opened with 250 scholars and Richard Burnard as headmaster.

1880

The first train ran from North Terrace to Glenelg on 24 May.

1881

The two railways to Glenelg amalgamated in November. Torrens Weir completed and the Torrens Lake opened on 21 July. West Torrens divided into seven wards.

1883

Adelaide Chemical Works built a plant at Torrensville. Thebarton ward of the West Torrens District Council became an autonomous corporation.

1886

Torrenside Brewery opened.

1888

Foundation stone laid for West Torrens District Council offices on Marion Road.

1889

Gas manufacture discontinued at Thebarton.

1892

Education made free and compulsory.

1893

The Woodville to Grange line was acquired by SAR on 1 January. The Roman Catholic order of the Brothers of Saint John the Baptist founded by Fr Healy in Brooklyn Park to look after delinquent boys.

1894

The railway line opened between Grange and Henley Beach on 1 February.



The South Australian Electric Light and Motive Power Co. formed.



1896

Women voted for the first time in a general election. State purchased 50 hectares from J.H. Aldridge for Workingmen's Blocks at Richmond.

1898

South Australia amended standard time provisions.

1899

South Australians voted heavily in favour of federation in second federal referendum. Government assumed control of the two railways to Glenelg in December.

1900

Reedbeds Rifle Club formed.

1902

Railway line duplicated between Goodwood Road and Black Forest by 1 May.

1903

Portion of the District Council of Marion between the Bay Road and trainline annexed by West Torrens. Gas lighting contracts arranged with councils of Hindmarsh and Thebarton.



1905

Provisions of the Building Act applied in West Torrens.

1906

The military cadet system inaugurated. The Municipal Tramways Trust established. First licence to drive a motor vehicle issued. Line from Black Forest to Morphettville was duplicated by 12 November.

1907

Motorists required by law to hold a licence from 21 December.

The Federal Government introduced the payment of old age pensions. The Metropolitan County Board established from 1 June. Vernon Shephard appointed junior clerk at West Torrens. MTT began electric tram services on 9 March. First electric tram to Henley Beach. The Mile End Goods Yard opened on 8 March. The line from Morphettville to Miller's Corner was duplicated on 11 December.

1912

Maternity allowance introduced. Commonwealth Bank established. The Industrial Court established. The Mile End Locomotive Depot opened on 1 November. Hume Ltd establish their pipe-making plant at Mile End in March.

1913

Adelaide Goods Yard closed and transferred to Mile End on 22 January. Perry Engineering works established at Mile End. Lockleys Bowling Club formed.

1914

Assassination of Arch-Duke Ferdinand on 28 June. Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August. The effects of a severe drought become apparent throughout the State. The feature film *The Woman Suffers* shot at Richmond Park and Morphettville.

1915

The prices of commodities fixed by a commission. The 6 p.m. closing of hotels carried at the referendum of 27 March. New Education Act introduced the Qualifying Certificate. Vernon Shephard became district clerk of West Torrens. Part of West Beach annexed by new Corporation of Henley and Grange. Opening of the Queen of Angels Church in Thebarton.

1916

Fire at Hilton destroyed two houses and a shop. Formation of West Torrens Repatriation Fund.

1917

Serious flooding of River Torrens. Mounted police moved from the barracks on North Terrace to new barracks at Thebarton.

1918

Armistice Day, 11 November. Extension of Keswick tramway opened to Keswick Barracks. Typhoid at premises at Keswick.



William Charlick Ltd began milling at Mile End.

1921

Death of Fr Healy of Boys' Town. Opening of Thebarton Oval.



1923

The Kooyonga Golf Club founded.

1924

Faulding's Torrenside factory and laboratory opened in February. Fatal railway accident at Richmond. Train control introduced between Adelaide and Murray Bridge on 6 October. Adelaide's first radio stations began broadcasting. Adelaide Workmen's Homes built at Richmond.

1925

MTT commenced motor bus operations on 25 March. Opening of the Bakewell Bridge over the main south railway.



1926

The State Bank opened for general business. First West Torrens Council staff picnic.

1928

District Councils Act provided for the appointment of qualified auditors. Supply of gas extended to Henley and Grange.

1929

North Terrace to Glenelg trainline closed on 14 December, but replaced by electric tram.

1930

T.J. Richards purchased property at Mile End. All South Australian public servants over the age of 65 years compulsorily retired. The South Australian basic wage reduced by 1s 6d per day to £1 2s 6d. State government rate subsidy reduced. The Unemployed Relief Council established. Keswick and Richmond, and Hilton RSL sub-branches formed.

1932

Glenelg Sewage Works commissioned.

Kelvinators commenced operations at Keswick. Flooding at Torrensville, Underdale and Lockleys. St Aloysius Catholic School opened at North Richmond.



1934

Underdale Bowling Club formed. Junior Novitiate for the Sisters of St Joseph opened at Cowandilla.

1935

Auditor-General Wainright brought down his report urging the government to encourage secondary industry in the State. The government lowered company tax to encourage secondary industry. Metropolitan Floodwaters Scheme implemented. Lockleys RSL sub-branch formed. Foundation stone laid for new West Torrens Council Chambers. Weekly Catholic Mass celebrated at Keswick. Ashford Private Hospital opened.



1936

New West Torrens Council Chambers opened. James Byrne left house on Burbridge Road to Sisters of St Joseph for use as a novitiate.

1937

South Australian Housing Trust appointed. The River Torrens Floodwater Scheme completed with the construction of the outlet at Henley Beach.

1938

The first Housing Trust dwellings completed at Rosewater and Croydon Park North, and at West Richmond. Bay Road renamed as Anzac Highway. Catholic parish of Keswick made independent of Goodwood; foundation stone for St Joseph's church laid on 4 December.

1939

Start of World War II on 4 August. Record poll at West Torrens saw the defeat of Chairman A. Burt. Auditor-General ordered an enquiry into accounting methods used by Shephard. Housing Trust homes built at Brooklyn Park. Lockleys Ladies Bowling Club formed. Catholic Mass celebrated in Lockleys Memorial Hall. The Hilton tramline extended to Richmond on 29 June.

1940

Menz purchased 4-hectare property at Marleston.



Child endowment payments commenced. N.M. Fricker began investigations for a new Adelaide Airport. Highways Department transferred from the Thebarton Depot to the Keswick Depot. Good Shepherd Sisters take control of the "Pines" for use as a girls' reformatory.

1942

Brothers of St John the Baptist suppressed.

1944

Lt-Gen. Sir C.W.M. Norrie appointed Governor on 19 December. The first State election with compulsory voting held. Consultant recommends West Beach site for second Adelaide airport. West Torrens created a municipality on 1 January. Formation of Glandore Bowling Club. Salesian Fathers take control of Boy's Town at Brooklyn Park.

1945

End of World War II.

1946



Electricity Trust of South Australia (ETSA) assumed control of the Adelaide Electric Supply Company. Restrictions on use of gas and electricity imposed. Federal cabinet approved plans for the new Adelaide Airport at West Beach: land for the purpose was compulsorily acquired on 5 December. Tom Stott, the independent member for the State parliamentary seat of Ridley, elected to represent Hayhurst Ward. Lightburn and Co. purchased 40-hectare estate at Camden.

1947

Construction work began on new Adelaide Airport in September. Royal Commission appointed on 27 February to report on problems of transport services in the State.



1948

Forty hour working week introduced by Arbitration Court award. Original Thebarton Town Hall burnt.

1949

Christmas carols organised at the Lockleys Recreation Reserve. A migrant hostel was built on 25-acres of airport land in the south-west.

Rationing of petrol, tea and butter discontinued. West Torrens was created a City on 1 July. Ashford Community Hospital opened on 4 November. West Torrens branch of the Royal District Nursing Society formed. Migrant hostel completed at Glenelg North. Adelaide Hunt Club kennels removed from Plympton. Thebarton Men's Bowling Club established.

1951

Distribution of free milk to school children introduced in August. Governor dedicated the Soldiers' Memorial Gardens at Hilton. Ambulance service established in West Torrens. Emergency dwellings built by Housing Trust at Camden Park. St Joseph's Providence opened on 17 June.

1952

Coca Cola established its premises on the Port Road at Thebarton.

1953

Last wartime controls on building removed.

1954

Horwood Bagshaw opened new plant at Mile End. Blueline Drive-In cinema opened at West Beach. West Beach Recreation Reserve Trust established. Thebarton Women's Bowling Club established. The first aircraft to touch down on the new Adelaide Airport on 16 December was the DC3, VH-CAO, belonging to the Department of Civil Aviation.

1955

Control of the airport was officially transferred from the Department of Works and Housing to that of Civil Aviation on 16 February; commercial operations began that day when a DC4 operated by ANA landed on a flight from Perth to Melbourne.

1956

Western Youth Centre founded

1957

The terminal building at Adelaide Airport was opened on 30 August. The last trams travelled on the Henley Beach and Richmond routes on 2 February.





Last run by a street tram in Adelaide except on line to Glenelg. Vernon Shephard retired as Town Clerk of West Torrens to be succeeded by Malvern Stott. First League football game played on Richmond Oval on 26 April. First woman councillor elected to West Torrens Council, but declared invalid. So-called "Industrialists" seek to take control of the Council. Horwood Bagshaw acquired the Victorian implement maker, Mitchell and Co. Floodgates were built at the mouth of the Patawalonga River. Air Marshall Sir Keith Smith unveiled the memorial to Sir Ross and Sir Keith Smith at the Adelaide Airport on 27 April.

1959

The South Western Suburbs Drainage Scheme was commenced. "Industrial Group" secured supporters on West Torrens Council. Formation of Cowandilla Senior Citizens Club on 10 September.

1960

Plympton High School opened. St George's Greek Orthodox Church established.

1961

Cowandilla Senior Citizens Club opened on 15 April. Steve Hamra elected Mayor of West Torrens.

1963

Local Government Department separated from Highways Department. School leaving age increased to fifteen years in April.

1964

Griffin Press began operations at Netley. West Torrens City Library opened.



1966

Perry Engineering merged with Melbourne-based Johns Waygood. Underdale High School opened. Coles New World Supermarket opened at Plympton, the second biggest in South Australia.

1967

Meals on Wheels kitchen established at Brooklyn Park on 15 July.

1968

Publication of the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS).

Marineland opened at West Beach. Approval given for building of K-Mart on Anzac Highway. Extensions to the Adelaide Airport terminal costing \$1 million were opened on Monday 15, December, along with a plaque acknowledging the services of Sir Richard Williams to aviation.

1970

Apollo Stadium built at Richmond. West Torrens adopted proposed new Planning and Zoning Regulations. Members of Greek Orthodox Church acquired the site in George Street.

1971

Minimum voting age for electors in South Australia reduced to eighteen years. Fluoridation of Adelaide's water commenced. Conversion to natural gas completed.

1972

Horwood Bagshaw plant at Mile End purchased by Highways Department for freeway development. Faulding consolidated its operations at Thebarton.

1973

West Beach Recreation Reserve Trust reformed as West Beach Trust with the government in effective control. Royal Commission appointed to enquire into Local Government Boundaries. Free milk scheme for school children discontinued. Original buildings of Thebarton Primary School demolished. First planning officer appointed to West Torrens Corporation staff. Reece Jennings returned to Council after a supplementary election caused by his resignation over the issue of a median strip in Marion Road. First stage of the Southern Cross complex opened in February.

1974

Cabinet established the Committee for Uniform Regional Boundaries (CURB) on 27 May. Government Printing Department relocated to Netley. West Beach Trust assumed control of Marineland. Western Metropolitan Regional Organisation formed. Municipal Tramways Trust assumed control of private metropolitan bus services on 24 February.

1975

Colour television introduced in March. New Thebarton Primary School opened by Minister of Education Hugh Hudson on 15 March. Retirement of Malvern Stott as West Torrens Town Clerk to be succeeded by Harry Boyce.



The South Western Suburbs Drainage Scheme was completed. Underdale campus of the South Australian College of Advanced Education opened by Sir John Kerr. Reece Jennings elected Mayor of West Torrens. Second woman, Elaine Klaucke, elected to the Council.

1977



Late night shopping introduced into South Australia. Local Government franchise extended to all on the House of Assembly roll on 21 April. Steve Hamra returned as Mayor of West Torrens. West Torrens contemplated seceding from the Western Metropolitan Regional Organisation. Richmond Primary School included in the Ten Schools Project.

1978

Saratoga Drive closed. Stage three of the Southern Cross complex opened on 29 October. First Glendi Festival held at Thebarton.

1979

West Torrens Council purchased 'Kandahar' in June. Thebarton Council acquired the site of the former Hallett Brickworks.

1982

New Planning Act proclaimed. International terminal opened at Adelaide Airport on 2 November. West Torrens Council purchased St Martins Nursing Home on 1 December. Council signed agreement in July with the Housing Trust for the construction of a retirement village at Plympton. Glynnis Nunn awarded West Torrens' Young Citizen award for her gold medal achievement at the Brisbane Commonwealth Games.

1983

Construction begun on new interstate and country rail terminal at Keswick in May. MATS Plan officially abandoned by the government on 20 June. Steve Hamra Retirement Village at Plympton opened on 20 March. In July Council entered upon another joint venture with the Housing Trust for the establishment of another retirement village at Fulham. West Torrens Council endorsed the idea of a Signal and Telegraph Museum as a sesquicentenary project.

1984

Grant of Coat of Arms to West Torrens Council. Opening of a retirement village at Fulham on 24 June. St George College established at Thebarton and the Temple Christian School opened.

The Federal Airports Corporation came into existence in accordance with the Federal Airports Corporation Act 1986: it came into being formally on 13 June 1986, though did not begin trading until 1 January 1988. Wolfgang Waclawik succeeded John Hanson as Town Clerk of Thebarton.

1987

Annette O'Rielley became the first — and only — female mayor of Thebarton.



1988

The Fulham Primary School closed in 1988.

1989

Steve Hamra retired as mayor of West Torrens and was succeeded by George Robertson.

1991

West Torrens Football Club merged with Woodville and used Woodville Oval for training and matches. Mulgunya Hostel opened in Thebarton. Kilmara College closed its secondary school at the end of the year.

1992

Thebarton Primary School closed at the end of the year. West Torrens Council established a scholarship scheme to assist tertiary students who were local residents. The University of Adelaide acquired the former Faulding factory site at Thebarton.

1993

The new West Torrens Civic Centre opened on 7 February. Thebarton Main Street Association formed.

1994

Housing Minister John Olsen opened the Mile End Renaissance Project in mid-year. Mendelson Foundation established to provide scholarships to tertiary students. Mayor George Robertson opened the West Torrens Railway Signal and Telegraph and Aviation Museum on 5 November. Trevor Starr succeeded Harry Boyce as City Manager.



Passage of the Local Government (Boundary Reform) Amendment Act 1995. State government assumed ownership of the railway yards at Mile End. Wolfgang Waclawik ceased to be Town Clerk of Thebarton.



1996

Thebarton Mayor Annette O'Rielley and West Torrens Mayor George Robertson signed the Memorandum of Understanding concerning the reunification of the councils on 3 June. The RAA established its centre at the corner of Richmond and South Roads.

1997

The Governor Sir Eric Neale proclaimed the establishment of the City of West Torrens Thebarton on 13 February. The new city came into existence on 1 March, with the first meeting of the new Council taking place three days later on 4 March. On 4 November, the Council resolved to amend the name of the City to that of West Torrens. The new name came into effect on 17 November. The new Integrated Resource Recovery Centre opened on 21 November 1997. Netley and Camden Primary Schools closed at the end of the school year.



1998

Santos Stadium opened on 26 January. Adelaide Airport Limited acquired the operating lease for the airport in May. Hilton Plaza opened on 22 June. Prime Minister John Howard opened the Adelaide Airport runway extension on 16 July. Construction commenced on the Barcoo Outlet in September.



1999

South Australian Astronaut Dr Andrew Thomas after received the Council's Civic Award from Mayor Reece Jennings on 20 January 1999. The Council's website began operation in February. Former City Manager Harry Boyce was elected to represent Morphett Ward. Mayor George Robertson died in office in April and was succeeded by Dr Reece Jennings. Council adopted the first formal Corporate Plan for the City of West Torrens on 20 July. Major extensions opened to West Adelaide Football Club on 5 September. The new *Local Government Act 1999* provided for postal ballots and three year terms. Ashford Community Hospital merged with the Western Community Hospital on 14 November to form the Adelaide Community Healthcare Alliance.

Mayor Reece Jennings opened Apex Park on 16 February. The Millenium Time Capsule buried in the City of West Torrens Memorial Gardens on 9 May. John Trainer, former Speaker of the House of Assembly, was elected mayor at the May elections.

2001

Burbridge Road renamed Sir Donald Bradman Drive from 1 January. The Garden Island landfill closed in February.



2003

Council celebrated its 150th anniversary during the year with a special meeting on 7 July. HarbourTown Brand-Direct Shopping Complex opened in November. Work commenced on the construction of the new passenger terminal at Adelaide Airport in November.

2004

Opening of the Hamra Centre on 18 March. Academic programs ceased at the Underdale Campus of the University of South Australia at the end of the academic year.



West Torrens Representatives 1853 – 2003

Chairmen and Mayors*

1853 - 1859	Abraham Hopkins Davis,	1926 – 1927	Colin Campbell Leitch,
1860 - 1862	George Dew,	1928 - 1930	Augustus John Lewis Wilson,
1863 - 1865	C.M. Pearson,	1931 – 1932	Tertius Alexander Powell,
1866 – 1869	William Henry Gray,	1933 - 1934	Egbert Lawrence Osborn,
1870	John Edward Rowell,	1935 – 1936	Alexander Ferris Scott,
1871 – 1878	William Henry Gray,	1937 – 1938	Alfred Burt,
1879	William Charlesworth,	1939	Arthur McLean,
1880	John Marles,	1940	Hurtle Henry Norman,
1881	John Gillard Prettejohn,	1941 – 1945	Howard Edward Comley,
1882	Thomas Pritchard,	1946 – 1953	Charles Richard John Veale,
1883 - 1884	Edward Lipsett,	1954 – 1960	Robert James Bartlett,
1885 - 1888	Sydney Tolley,	1961 – 1975	Stephen John Hamra,
1889	William Bagshaw,	1976	Dr Reece Ian Jennings,
1890 – 1899	James Rowell,	1977 – 1989	Stephen John Hamra,
1900	Alfred Peter Cook,	1989 – 1998	George Robertson,
1901 – 1905	Richard Streeter,	1999 – 2000	Dr Reece Ian Jennings,
1906 – 1910	John Edward Rowell,	2000 –	Hon. John Patrick Trainer.
1911 – 1917	Henry Sherriff,		
1918	Henry Watson,		
1919	Frederick William Ingerson,		
1920	Henry Sherriff,		
1922 – 1923	Albert Spencer,		
1924 – 1925	Gordon James Rowell,		

^{*} The title changed from Chairman to Mayor in 1944.

Councillors

Adcock, T., 1880-1882,

Allen, J.H., 1932-1934,

Anastassiadis,* P., 1997.

Antonello, A.M., 1985-1989,

Ayliffe, W., 1873-1874,

Babidge, R.L., 1944, 1946-1949,

Bagshaw, W.E., 1885-1889.

Baker, W., 1875-1876,

Baron, F.C., 1958-1859,

Bartlett, R.J., 1947-1963,

Beare, T.H., 1854-1856,

Beerworth, F.H., 1944-1947.

Bertram, H.V., 1958-1960,

Blackwell, B.L., 2000-,

Boase, J., 1870-1874,

Bourne, W.G., 1956-1959,

Bower, H., 1918-1924,

Boyce, H., 1999-2003,

Buckingham, J.M., 1978-1989,

Burt, A., 1933-1939,

Caldicott, R.S., 1911-1916.

Callaghan, J.J., 1952-1960,

Carey, J.M., 1956-1957, 1959-1961.

Cassidy, T.J., 2000-2003,

Chambers, A., 1935–1941,

Chambers, A.F., 1940-1941.

Charlesworth, W., 1876-1880,

Childs, B.J., 1971-1977,

Christopoulos, A., 2003-.

Cloak, N.J., 1963-1967,

Cole, R.E. (nee Haese), 1989-.

Colley, R.B., 1855-1856,

Comley, H.E., 1940-1946,

Cook, A.P., 1881-1883, 1889-1892,

1899-1910.

Coombe, A.N., 1953-1956,

Costanzo, E., 2003-,

Couper, H.J., 1989-1993,

Cromer, W., 1941-1946,

Crossing, 1999-2000,

Cys, A., 1954-1959, 1960-1962,

Dantalis,* N., 1997, 2000-2003.

Davies, R.J., 1960-1962.

Davis, A.H., 1853-1859.

Davis, F.C., 1877-1879,

Day, T., 1877-1879,

Deacon, J.W., 1979-1985,

Demetriou, G., 1989-1995, 1997-,

Demetriou, P., 1988-2000,

Dew, G., 1853-1859, 1860-1870,

1872-1876.

Douglas, S., 1949-1952.

Douglas, W., 1866-1870,

Dowding, G.J.T., 1926-1931,

Dunning, A.J., 1947-1954.

Dupre, H., 1957-1959,

Elliott, H.A., 1961-1967,

Ellis, R.J., 1980-1985.

Errington, G., 1889-1891, 1910-1914,

Errington, T., 1876-1877, 1879-1881,

1884-1885.

Evans, J., 1880,

Everard, C.J., 1861-1869.

Fewings, J., 1912-1927,

Fisher, G., 1870-1872,

Foreman, G., 1878-1880,

Foreman, J., 1853-1856,

Forwood, C.P., 1916-1918,

Frances, I.K., 1978-1989,

Frances, M.K.K. 1993-1995,

Geddie, A.L., 1954-1958, 1959-1961,

Gibbs, M.J., 1994-2000,

Giles, J.H., 1947-1956,

Graetz, D.A., 1948-1950.

Gray, F.J., 1891-1899,

Gray, S.D., 1963-1973,

Gray, W.H., 1856-1858, 1859-1861.

1862-1879, 1886-1890,

Grosvenor, W.E., 1923-1929, MacKenzie, B.H., 1972-1974, Mander, G.F., 1980-1988. Haines, I., 1860-1861, Halliday, A.H., 1944-1948, Mangafakis,* E., 1997, Hamra, S.J., 1954-1958, 1959-1976, Mangos, A.C., 1989-1993, 1995-, 1977-1989. Marjoram, R., 1862-1869, Hardy, J.A., 1907-1909, Marles, J., 1878-1882, Hardy, T., 1881, Martin, P.A., 1989-1993, Hare, C.S., 1853-1854, Martin, V.J., 1950-1954, Matthews, D.A., 1978-2003, Harris, F.A., 1924-1926, Harris, G., 1976-1978, McKay, K.J., 2003-, Harrold, W., 1858-1860, McKay, T.J., 1945-1947, McKenna, J.J., 1963-1973, 1979-1981, Harvey, W.J., 1914-1918, McLean, A., 1934-1940, Heairfield, W.G., 1952-1956, Hector, J., 1853-1854, McNamee,* H., 1997, Hemmingway, E.C., 1881-1883, Melville, F., 1966-1968, Melville, W.F., 1958-1960, Hemmingway, J., 1858–1860, 1861–1870, 1872-1874, Menkins, F.H., 1914-1916, Hitchin, R.A., 1958-1966, Merchant, K., 1861-1862, Merlino, R., 1963-1968, Hodgson, G.T., 1967-1969, Holden,* D., 1997-2000, Middleton, E., 1876-1878, Mittiga,* D., 1997, Holt, G.H., 1898-1900, 1909-1911, Mock, W., 1874-1875, Hunt, J., 1854-1855, Hyde, A.W., 1950-1954, Morelli, R., 1967-1971, Morrell, B.C., 1977-1979, Ingerson, F.W., 1915–1920, 1942–1944, Morris, E.L., 1966-1971, Ingerson, W.A., 1938-1941, Innes, M.J., 1968-1971, Morris, J., 1856-1858, Moss, E., 1911-1915, Jenkins, C., 1858–1861, Newman, T., 1870-1872, Jennings, R.I., 1973–1977, 1977–1979, 1981-2000. Nicholls, J.H., 1968-1976, Jones, M.I., 1958, Norman, H.H., 1935-1943, Jones, R.D., 1970-1976, Norton, F.M., 1962-1980, 1985-1994, O'Rielley,* A., 1997, 2000-, Klauke, E.M., 1976–1977, Knight, G.S., 1874-1878, Osborn, E.L., 1928-1940, Owen, T.N. 1993-, Lee, H.G., 1966-1968, Leitch, C.C., 1924-1931, Palmer, G.R., 1973-, Lindner, J.A., 1997-2000, 2003-, Patten, J., 1909–1910, Lipsett, E., 1883-1887, Pearson, C.M., 1858, 1860–1866, Lloyd, C.W., 1934-1938, Penney, J.K., 1879-1881, 1883-1885, Perry, D.M., 1981-1993, MacDonald, H.D., 1920-1924, Mack, H.R., 1941-1946, Pfeiffer, R.P., 1980–1981,

Poole, C.I., 1941-1945. Potter, D.R., 1931-1935, Powell, J.H., 1974-1978. Powell, T.A., 1927-1935. Prescott, D.N., 1961-1963. Preston, I.R., 1993-1997, Prettejohn, J.G., 1879-1883, Prettyjohn, W.C., 1890-1898. Pritchard, T., 1880-1883, Rankine, A., 1883-1884. Richards, K.M., 1971-1999. Robertson, C.G.G., 1960-1998, Rogers, C.C.L., 1932-1934, Rogers, J.G., 1944-1947. Rowe, M.H., 1950-1954, 1959-1961, 1963-1967, Rowell, G.J., 1922-1927. Rowell, Jas, 1884-1886, 1887-1900, Rowell, Jn., 1869–1873, Rowell, J.E., 1900-1914. Ruddoch, J.M., 1882-1883, 1884-1888, 1893-1895. Sandison, C.D., 1930-1932, Santamaria,* A., 1997, Saultry, C., 1979-1980. Schmidt, F.G., 1930-1931, Scott, A.F., 1933-1937. Sexton, J.C., 1949-1959, Shephardson, R., 1869-1873, Shepherd, H., 1969-1979, Sherriff, H., 1900–1922, Shipp, S.F.J., 1959-1967, Smith, A.C., 1954–1958, Souter, E.J.N., 1944-1950, Spencer, A., 1919-1925. Stanford, C., 1927-1933, Starling, W.A., 1918-1924,

Phillips, B.H., 1976-1978,

Pilkington, J.H., 1995-,

Polito, T., 1997-,

Stevenson, J., 1881-1883. Stott, T.C., 1946-1950. Streeter, R., 1892-1909. Strutton, R., 1874-1876, Sumner, A.H., 1958-1969, Suter, H.A., 1924-1928. Sutherland, J. McL., 1916-1919. Taylor, C.L., 1881–1884, Tolley, S.C. 1885-1889, Toohey, J.P., 1947-1949, Trevorrow, W.J., 1956-1957, Tuckey, E.E., 1969-1971, Turner, J.F., 1888-1893, 1900-1907. Veale, C.R.J., 1939-1954. Vlahos, G., 2000-. Vlassis, * T., 1997, Wait, R.E., 1971-1989, Wall, R., 1946-1952. Wallace, R.C., 1967-1969, Warhurst, A., 1949-1953, Watson, A.I., 1918, Watson, H., 1912-1923, Weathers, J.J.A., 1930-1932, Wells, D.J., 1959-1980, Weston, F.E., 1941-1942, 1944-1947. Wharton, F.H., 1937–1941. White, C., 1873-1877, White, R.C., 1993-2000. Williams, L.J., 1962-1966, Wilkes, M., 1895-1900, Wilson, A.J.L., 1925-1933. Wilson, D.E. 1954-1959. Wood, C.E., 1943-1949, Woodhead, J., 1856-1858, 1883-1884.

^{*} Denotes councillors from the Thebarton Council at the time of the reunification.

Thebarton Representatives 1883 – 1996

Mayors

1883	Benjamin Taylor,	1944 - 1946	Arthur House,
1883 - 1887	Edward Ronald,	1946 - 1949	John Witty,
1887 – 1888	Bartholomew McCarthy,	1949 - 1956	Frank Haddrick,
1888 - 1890	James Manning,	1956 - 1960	Norman Najar,
1890 - 1893	Edwin Hemmingway,	1960 - 1967	Raymond Crafter
1893 - 1894	Robert Cuming,	1967 - 1968	Ray Brereton,
1894 – 1897	William Weber,	1968 - 1971	Colin Shearing,
1897 - 1901	Charles Ware,	1971 - 1974	Henry Heddle,
1901 - 1903	Robert Cuming,	1974 - 1980	James Flaherty,
1903 - 1904	Charles Ware,	1980 - 1985	John Keough,
1904 - 1908	William Goodenough,	1985 - 1987	John Lindner,
1908 – 1911	Alfred Styles,	1987 - 1997	Annette O'Rielley
1911 – 1913	Alexander Collins,		í
1913 - 1916	Thompson Green,		
1916 – 1917	Arthur Lemon,		
1917 – 1919	Alfred Blackwell,		
1919 – 1922	James Leal,		
1922 - 1924	Alfred Pretty,		
1924 - 1926	Edwin Isley,		
1926 - 1928	Harry Hatwell,		
1928 - 1931	Matthew Watson,		
1931 - 1937	Jules Langdon,		
1937 - 1939	Harry Hatwell,		
1939 - 1942	Albert Inkley,		
1942 - 1944	Oliver Turner,		

Councillors

Abbott, W., 1901-1909,

Adams, G.A., 1953-1957,

Alexander, D., 1985-1987,

Allen, A.H., 1962-1972.

Allen, W., 1916-1918.

Anastassiadis, P., 1995-1997.

Anderson, F.A., 1922-1923.

Anderson, J., 1938-1940,

Avery, J., 1894-1896,

Baker, J.A., 1975-1979,

Ballard, R., 1914-1918.

Bartlett, A.J., 1887-1891.

Beale, G., 1886-1888, 1889-1891,

Benjamin, H., 1919-1921.

Blackwell, A., 1912-1915, 1917-1919,

Boland, J.E., 1881-1895,

Boland, J.H., 1897-1901.

Boyce, E.A.M., 1895-1899.

Branstrom, J.G., 1904-1910,

Brazel, D.F., 1900–1905, 1906–1907, 1908–1912,

Brereton, R.L., 1960-1968.

Broadfoot, W., 1908-1914,

Broderick, J.B., 1883-1887, 1897-1900,

Broderick, M.J., 1894-1900.

Bruce, P., 1889-1890.

Bruce, A, 1884-1886,

Byrt, J., 1972-1975.

Campbell, D.D., 1918-1920,

Carstensen, N., 1989-1991,

Carter, H.C., 1973-1987.

Chennell, N.K., 1958-1969,

Christophers, H.J., 1916-1918, 1919-1921,

Clee, J.M., 1948-1956,

Clough, K., 1987-1989,

Collins, A.A., 1895-1897, 1911-1913.

Condon, J., 1892-1893.

Cook, A.C., 1939-1943,

Cooper, J.F., 1920-1922, 1923-1931,

Cope, W., 1891-1895, 1896-1904,

Crafter, R.L., 1957-1978,

Crossing, D.J., 1985-1987.

Cuming, R.B., 1884-1887, 1890-1894,

1899-1903, 1940-1942,

Dalby, R., 1981-1983.

Dantalis, A., 1993-1997,

Dawe, H.R., 1964-1974, 1976-1978,

Dew, G.M., 1883-1884, 1887-1888,

Dillon, W.J., 1904-1907,

Down, R., 1889—1895,

Drake, R., 1980-1985,

Edmonds, 1942-1946,

Edmonds, W.E., 1931-1938.

Edwards, S.E., 1906-1907,

Egan, C.J., 1911-1912,

Elberg, P.J., 1975–1977,

Eyan, E.H., 1938-1940.

Fenton, L.E., 1918-1920,

Filsell, E.J., 1891-1907,

Filsell, F., 1896–1900.

Flaherty, J.A., 1965-1989.

Foley, T.F., 1956-1960,

Foley, T.H., 1963-1982,

Forward, W.W., 1887-1889,

Frost, A., 1910-1913, 1913-1914,

Galantomos, F., 1989-1991,

George, W.J., 1915-1916,

Gibbins, C.V., 1939-1941, 1943-1945,

Goldfinch, C., 1886,

Goodenough, W.H., 1893-1894.

1896-1898, 1904-1910,

Graves, H., 1900-1904.

Green, T., 1910-1911, 1912-1916,

1917-1919, 1929-1938.

Haddrick, F.A., 1937-1939, 1942-1959,

Hancock, D., 1982-1985, 1987-1991,

Hartley, H.H., 1945-1960,

Hatwell, H.S., 1915-1917, 1918,

1920-1946.

Heddle, H.R., 1961-1976, Lilith, J., 1989-1993. Hemingway, E., 1883-1887, Lindner, J.A., 1979-1987, 1989-1995, Hemingway, Edwin, 1888-1893, Linn, M., 1985-1991, 1910-1914. Lloyd, C.W., 1925-1929, Hender, L.H., 1948-1958, Lloyd, J.V., 1938-1940, Hill, H. 1913-1919. Loader, C., 1884-1886, Hinder, A., 1913-1915, Loader, J.B., 1968-1977, 1978-1982, Holden, D., 1995-1997, Makin, N., 1917-1924, Holdsworth, J.W., 1904-1906, Mangafakis, E, 1995–1997, House, A.A., 1923-1936, 1937-1946, Maniskas, C, 1976-1980, 1983-1985, Hownslow, W.R., 1911-1913, Manning, J., 1883-1884, 1886-1890, Hunter, W.R., 1952-1962, 1911-1913, Hyman, R., 1885-1886, Martin, R., 1909-1916, Inkley, A.G., 1937-1942, Martindale, J., 1892–1896, 1898–1900, Isley, E.T., 1917-1923, 1924-1937, Mason, J., 1922-1937, Iverson, A., 1914-1916, McCarthy, B.J., 1887-1888, James, W.H.D., 1921–1923, 1923–1925, McFarling, G., 1916-1918, 1926-1938, McHugh, C.S., 1913-1917, 1918-1920, Johnstone, E., 1907-1908, McKellar, D., 1987-1989, 1991-1993, Jones, D., 1888-1890, McLaughlin, P., 1941-1945, Jones, S.D., 1946-1948, McNamee, H., 1991-1997, Jones, T., 1907-1909, Menhennett, R., 1907-1911, 1913-1918, Jory, W., 1900-1901, Miller, A.P., 1924-1926, Kean, T, 1918-1920, Mittiga, D., 1995–1997, Keane, E.T., 1918–1919, Moore, A.R., 1962-1968, Keough, E.P., 1993-1995, Moore, A.W., 1895-1896, Keough, J.F., 1977-1987, Morris, W.A., 1909-1911, Kildael, A., 1912-1913, Mousley, W.A., 1937-1939, King, C.G., 1941-1943, Murphy, J.F., 1910-1912, Kingston, R., 1985-1989, Myers, H,N., 1929–1931, Klauer, E.L., 1905-1911, 1914-1915, Najar, N.E., 1951-1960, Koch, C.T.H., 1947-1967, Nicholls, A.H, 1894-1896, 1920-1922, Laidlaw, T., 1987-1989, Nicolacopoulos, G, 1972-1976, Langdon, A.L., 1942-1954, O'Rielley, A., 1981-1997, Langdon, J., 1926-1939, Odgers, W.J., 1940–1942, 1957–1961, Leal, J.L., 1917–1937, 1938–1947, Opit, L., 1938-1939, Lean, A., 1893-1894, Oswald, K.G., 1943-1950, Leaves, E., 1908–1909, 1910–1912, Papaioannou, H., 1978-1985, Lemon, A.W., 1909–1911, 1916–1917, Papps, S.M., 1991–1993, Lewkowicz, G.S., 1983–1991, 1993–1995, Patsalos, P.L., 1970-1980,

Peacock, C.R., 1951–1957,
Pearce, W., 1890–1892,
Pepper, W., 1883–1888,
Phelps, E.G., 1931–1940,
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Roberts, A., 1915–1917, 1919–1920, Robinson, S.E., 1920–1924, Ronald, E.J., 1883–1887, Ross, D.J., 1976–1985, Rowe, J.T., 1904–1905, Ryan, E.H., 1923–1928, 1946–1962, Ryan, J., 1908–1910,

Sandow, J., 1916–1938, Santamaria, A., 1995–1997, Sard, G.J., 1960–1971, Sawers, D.K., 1977–1984, Schahinger, C.A.L., 1945–1951, Schrader, A.F., 1901–1905.

Segredos, I., 1980–1991, Shackell, A., 1912–1914, Shearing, C., 1989–1991,

Shearing, C.G.T., 1939–1951, 1957–1981, Sherman, T., 1890–1892,

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Standish, W.R., 1960-1968,

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Watson, M., 1921-1946,

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1959–1961,

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Whiting, G.E., 1905–1906,

Wilson, R., 1883-1884,

Winterbottom, E., 1914-1916,

Witty, J., 1941–1951,

Wood, R.J., 1991-1993,

Worrell, F., 1920-1937.

Mayor and Council in the Jubilee Year, 2003–2004

Mayor

Hon. John Trainer

AIRPORT WARD

Garth Palmer Rosalie Haese

HILTON WARD

George Vlahos Adrianna Christopoulos

KESWICK WARD

Barry Blackwell John Pilkington

LOCKLEYS WARD

Kym McKay Annette O'Rielley

MORPHETT WARD

George Demetriou Emilio Costanzo

PLYMPTON WARD

Arthur Mangos Trevor Owen

THEBARTON WARD

John Lindner Tony Polito

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Trevor Starr

Endnotes

Chapter 1: First Settlement

- The information in this chapter is drawn largely from Peter Donovan, Between the City and the Sea, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986.
- 2. Steve Hemming, 'Kaurna Identity: A Brief History', in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, vol. 28, nos 1 & 2, December 1990, pp. 126–142.
- Robert Foster, 'Two Early Reports on the Aborigines of South Australia', in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*., vol. 28, nos 1 & 2, December 1990, pp. 38–63.
- For a biography of Light see 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, also A. Grenfell Price, Founders and Pioneers of South Australia, Mary Martin Books, Adelaide, 1978, pp. 114-39.
- Quoted in Penelope Hope, The Voyage of the Africaine: a collection of journals, letters and extracts from contemporary publications, Heinemann Educational, Australia, Melbourne, 1968, p. 138.
- 6. From the diary of Mrs Thomas, quoted in Hope, p. 119.
- See 'A Brief Journal of the Proceedings of William Light...' in Proceedings, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia: South Australia Branch, vol XI, 1910, p. 27.
- 8. See Light's Journal, p. 38.
- 9. See Light's Journal, p. 71.
- Andris Zeieman, 'Road Planning and Development in Metropolitan Adelaide, 1836-1978',
 M.U.R.P. Thesis, University of Adelaide. See also Michael Williams, The Making of the South Australian Landscape: a study in the historical geography of Australia, Academic Press, London, 1974.
- 11. Register, 12 October 1839, p. 4c-d.
- 12. 'Papers Relative to South Australia', in State Records.
- 13. Wyatt to Fisher, 29 January 1838, State Records, GRG 35/211/1, p. 39.
- 14. Wyatt to Colonial Secretary, 1 July 1838, State Records, GRG 24/1 142/1838.
- Robert Foster, 'The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's first 'Mission' to the Aborigines', in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1990, pp. 11–37.

- See John Summers, 'Colonial race relations' in Eric Richards (ed.), The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986.
- Resolution of a special meeting of the Bush Club, 9 May 1839, State Records, GRG 24/90/381.
- 18. South Australian Government Gazette (SAGG), 11 May 1839.
- 19. Hemmings, p. 132.

Chapter 2: Local Responsibility

- The information in this chapter is drawn largely from Peter Donovan, Between the City and the Sea, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986.
- 2. Register, 11 March, 1853, p. 2b.
- 3. SAGG, 9 June, 1853, p. 377.
- 4. SAGG, 7 July, 1853, p. 443.
- This corrects an error in Between the City and the Sea, published in 1986, which gave the date of the first meeting as 13 July.
- 6. West Torrens Council Minutes, 2 March, 1854.
- 7. Robert P. Whitworth (ed.), Bailliere's South Australian Gazeteer, Adelaide 1866, p.249.
- 8. South Australian Parliamentary Papers, (SAPP) 26-1875.
- 9. SAPP, 161-1876.
- South Australian Jockey Club, History and growth of the South Australian Jockey Club, Adelaide, 1954.
- 11. History of the South Australian Jockey Club.
- 12. Register, 16 March 1853.
- 13. Register, 19 March 1853.
- 14. Register, 19 October 1839.
- 15. Register, 26 September 1840.
- 16. Register, 28 March 1853.

Chapter 3: Struggle years

- The information in this chapter is drawn largely from Peter Donovan, Between the City and the Sea, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, and Pauline Payne, Thebarton: Old and New, Corporation of the Town of Thebarton, Thebarton, 1996.
- 2. SAPP, 64-1917, p. v.

- 3. Elizabeth McLaren, 'Draining the Adelaide Reedbeds', unpublished typescript, no date.
- 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, pp. 194-98.
- SAPP, 36-1934.
- R.R. Hirst, 'Aspects of the Development of Secondary Industry in South Australia in Recent Years', M.Ec., Adelaide, 1948, Appendix 1, table 5.

Chapter 4: Urban Consolidation

- The information in this chapter is drawn largely from Peter Donovan, Between the City and the Sea, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, and Pauline Payne, Thebarton: Old and New, Corporation of the Town of Thebarton, Thebarton, 1996.
- 2. Messenger, 29 September 1999.

Chapter 5: Renewal and Reunification

- 1. The information in this chapter is derived largely from *Thebarton Times*, *Talking Points* and the many records of the Council.
- 2. The Weekly Times, 6 April 1994.
- Proceedings of the Inaugural National Local Government Structural Reform Workshop, Adelaide, 7 April 1998.
- 4. The Weekly Times, 3 August 1994.
- 5. File Naming of Council, AU1/8, see also The Weekly Times, 1 October 1997.

Chapter 6: Into the Future

 The information for this chapter is derived almost exclusively from *Talking Points*, the records of the Council, and conversations with Council officers.

Sources

This is a select bibliography. The book is based largely on Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea*, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, and Pauline Payne, *Thebarton: Old and New*, Corporation of the Town of Thebarton, Thebarton, 1996. More complete references to sources will be found in these publications. Records and sources of particular value for this publication are listed below.

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West Torrens' Council Files.

Council publications: Thebarton Times, Talking Points.

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Proceedings of the Inaugural National Local Government Structural Reform Workshop, Adelaide, 7 April 1998.

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Resolution of a special meeting of the Bush Club, 9 May 1839, State Records, GRG 24/90/381.

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Hope, Penelope, *The Voyage of the Africaine: a collection of journals, letters and extracts from contemporary publications*, Heinemann Educational, Australia, Melbourne, 1968.

Price, A. Grenfell, Founders and Pioneers of South Australia, Mary Martin Books, Adelaide, 1978.

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Whitworth, Robert P. (ed.), Bailliere's South Australian Gazeteer, Adelaide 1866. Williams, Michael.

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Hirst, R.R., 'Aspects of the Development of Secondary Industry in South Australia in Recent Years', M.Ec., Adelaide, 1948.

Light, William, 'A Brief Journal of the Proceedings of William Light ...' in *Proceedings*, The Royal Geographical Society of Australasia: South Australia Branch, vol. xi, 1910.

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Zeieman, Andris, 'Road Planning and Development in Metropolitan Adelaide, 1836-1978', M.U.R.P. Thesis, University of Adelaide. Williams, Michael, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: a study in the historical geography of Australia*, Academic Press, London, 1974.

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