ABOUT THIS BOOK

This is the story of everyday life in Thebarton from the earliest days prior to white settlement, to European settlement and rapid urbanisation.

The impact of industrialisation and of the depression is described, sometimes through the experiences of contemporary residents. The social life of the community, centered in churches and clubs and pubs, come to life in these pages.

The multicultural character of Thebarton, especially after the Second World War, is portrayed in depth.

Dr Pauline Payne carefully takes the reader through the pageant of the years, from the old to the new, in an account which will bring back memories for some and will hold the attention of all who are interested in the story of this distinctive part of Australia.

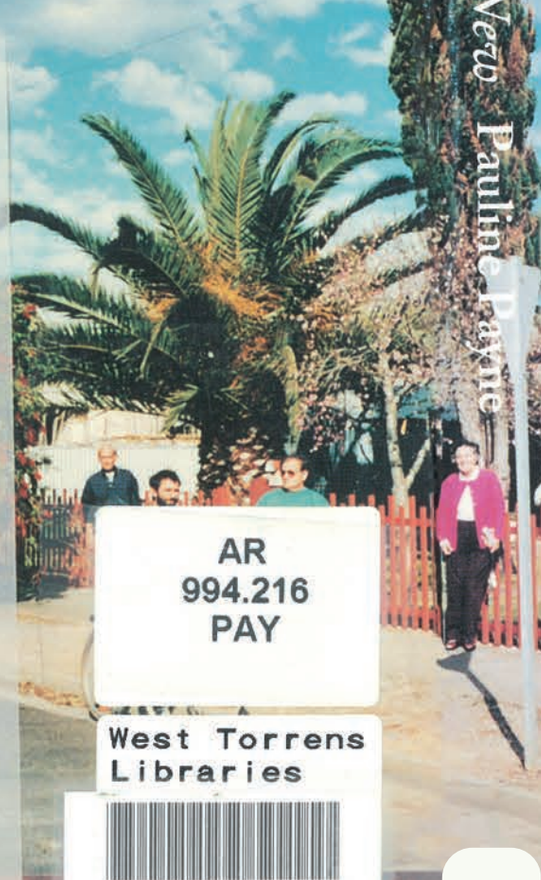
THEBARTON

Old and New

Pauline Payne

THEBARTON

Old and New



Pauline Payne

YATALA
HINDMARSH
TORRENS
PORT ROAD
PARK LANDS
WEST THEBARTON
SOUTHWARK
THEBARTON
HENLEY PARK
HEMMINGTON
MILE END
MILE PART SEC 2 END
TORRENS WARD
MUSGRAVE WARD
LIGHT TERRACE
SMITH STREET
ANDERSON STREET
PHILLIPS STREET
GEORGE STREET
SOUTH TERRACE
KINTORE
ROSE ST
BEACH ROAD
HUGHES ST
GLADSTONE ROAD
CUMING STREET
KING ST
DODDS ROAD
RAILWAY TERRACE
HOLDFAST BAY RAILWAY
Gov! Goodsheds
Hardy's Wine Cellars
Public School
SURVEY YARDS
J. Shaw & Co's GLUE WORKS
West Thebarton Hotel
SEC 2
SEC. 49

Cover photos:

Old photograph – house on the corner of Falcon Avenue and Lurline Street, Mile End, circa 1911.

New photograph – the same house 22 September 1996 with Thebarton residents right to left: Rosy the dog, Meredith Harrison, Peter Maysey, Daniel Friend, Page Friend, Mrs Maria Lucia Carlesso owner of the house (resident since 1956), Kevin Friend, Joanne Carlesso, Dianne Friend granddaughter born in the house, Danilo Carlesso – son born in the house, Gladys Radestock, resident name unknown, Manfred Miedert and Joe Mittiga.

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Preface

It has taken a long time for us to get our history of Thebarton but we think that the wait has been worthwhile. For those of us who live and work in Thebarton (which includes Torrensville and Mile End) it is a special place. The title 'Thebarton: Old and New' reminds us of some striking features of the town. Although it has strong links with the past, it has new important developments such as the Mainstreet programme, new business premises, new housing developments and technical innovations at the Thebarton Precinct of the University of Adelaide.

The population composition of Thebarton also reflects 'the old and the new'. We have elderly residents who remember the hard days of the Depression. We have people who, in the postwar years, have come from Europe, South East Asia and other countries to make their home here. At one time Torrensville Primary School had children from over thirty different countries. Our shops and local businesses reflect this kind of multiculturalism.

We are pleased that it has been possible for the University of Adelaide to be involved in our project. I am told that in days gone by academic historians rather looked down on regional and local history. Today historians such as Dr Pauline Payne see the study of grassroots developments as vital to understanding regional and national developments. They are able to make use of time-consuming work by local and family historians. The very fact that Thebarton Historical Society is one of 300 such groups in the state is some indication of the increasing interest that people have in studying their own locality. Furthermore by having University and community combine in this way we can tell the stories of groups such as Aboriginal people, migrants and women who were overlooked in the traditional histories that focussed on major political events and 'big names' in history.

Dr Payne has used examples of everyday life and work in the town to tell the story of Thebarton from the early days of settlement. There are many people who have helped with the project to whom she extends thanks in her acknowledgments but I would like to extend my thanks to both elected members and council officers who have persisted in their belief that we should have our own published history. In particular we are grateful to Mr Joe Fayad, Director of Community Development and Cultural Affairs, for his oversight of the project and persistence and enthusiasm to have it completed.

As this book goes to press we know that with changes to municipal boundaries Thebarton will be part of a larger local government area in the future. Nevertheless, those who know and care for Thebarton will continue to see it as a special place. We hope that the book will answer some of the questions about Thebarton – old and new.

Annette O'Rielley
Mayor of Thebarton

History Executive Reference Committee Members congratulate Historian Dr Pauline Payne (centre) on the completion of the long awaited history book.

L to R: Cr Holly McNamee, Mr Ben Yengi, Dr Margaret Allen, Dr Ian Forbes, Dr Pauline Payne, Mr Glen Ralph, Dr Roger Knight and Mr Joe Fayad, Director Community Development & Cultural Services/History Project Executive Officer.

The Committee was assisted by Mr Charlie Kambouris and Mrs Leona Michalantos, Research Assistants.

Acknowledgments

In 1994, Thebarton Council approached the University of Adelaide History Department for help in producing a history of Thebarton to be published in 1996. A series of manuscripts had already been produced between 1981 and 1994 but none had satisfied Council's requirements. Working with Council and Historysearch, the professional services wing of the History Department of the University of Adelaide, I have had the privilege and the pleasure of producing a manuscript for publication in 1996 in consultation with the Thebarton History Executive Committee which had broad oversight for the project. Dr Ian Forbes provided editorial advice and many practical suggestions. The committee represented the University of Adelaide (Professor Wilfrid Prest, Dr Ian Forbes, Dr Roger Knight and Mr Ben Yengi [Community Liaison Officer]), Thebarton Council (Councillor Holly McNamee and Mr Joe Fayad [Director Community Development and Cultural Services/History Project Executive Officer]), the Thebarton Historical Society (Mr Glen Ralph) and Thebarton residents (Dr Margaret Allan). A considerable amount of research had already been done by earlier researchers who included Dr Susan Marsden, Ms Ingrid Srubjan, the History Committee of Thebarton Council and Mr Geoffrey Manning, Mr Tom Gara and Mr Lewis O'Brien provided a special chapter on the Kaurna people. The task of producing a manuscript in twelve months would have been impossible without this earlier research.

I have drawn heavily on the work of Ingrid Srubjan whose research included a valuable series of interviews with older residents, recorded in 1981–2 and now part of the Thebarton Council archival collection. I have tried to incorporate as much as possible of her work into the text. It has taken a long time for her research to be made more accessible and for there to be proper acknowledgment of the debt that we owe her.

Geoffrey Manning's manuscript, written in 1994 and lodged with the Thebarton archival collection, provides background information, including extensive referencing to early newspapers. His cooperation with the present project is acknowledged with gratitude.

While there is a formal acknowledgment to this earlier work and acknowledgments in end notes, it is difficult to convey our gratitude to the many people who have made a contribution to our project. It has been a team effort. Some read through the manuscript and made suggestions. I would like to express special thanks to Dr Margaret Allen, Associate Professor Brian Dickey, Mr Joe Fayad, Dr Ian Forbes,

Councillor Holly McNamee, Mr Glen Ralph and Associate Professor A Denholm for their patience and valuable suggestions. Sister Marie Foale, Dr Helen Jones, Mr Nick Ganzis, Mr Kevin Kaeding, Ms Susan Murray, Dr David Hilliard, Dr Jenny Tilby Stock, Mrs Alison Painter, Ms Mary Geyer, Ms Patricia Sumerling and a number of fellow historians from the Association of Professional Historians provided additional help. There are many local residents who were generous with their time and whose contributions are acknowledged in end-notes. Glen Ralph provided material from his extensive collection at the Wilmar Library and acted as honorary research associate for the project. Behind the scenes at Thebarton Council, Mr Charlie Kambouris, Mrs Leona Michalantos, Mrs Rosa Forgione, Mrs Vicki Palmos, Mrs Dianne Butler, Ms Stamatina Simos, Mr Jason Follett, Ms Cali Galouzis, Mr John Radcliffe, Mrs Angela Schibani, Mr Andrew Young, Mr Graham Copley, Ms Jane DeCasto, Mr Barry Liccione and many council officers provided support and advice. My thanks, too, to the elected members who all provided information and valuable comments and who have been so long-suffering about this lengthy project.

Many thousands of people have lived in the district and the historian cannot tell every story. Rather, those of us who helped to produce the book tried to provide a broad outline and give some examples. Many residents and former residents have been generous with photographs, newspaper cuttings and interviews. Some residents and former residents produced wonderful old photographs – we wished we could have included more of these in the book but are very grateful to those who made a special contribution here. People sent letters with reminiscences and spent time talking about their experiences. Others patiently corrected details, showed me significant sites in the town or introduced me to others who had special information. A chance remark might have thrown new light on a particular period of history and this kind of help cannot be properly acknowledged in end-notes – thank you again to those of you who have been so generous and helpful.

Many people would have liked more attention to be paid to particular aspects of Thebarton's history. With the material available we could have produced a book several times as long but it would then have become too expensive and unwieldy. However there will be other opportunities for residents to produce books, pamphlets and audio tapes, not to mention multimedia productions. We hope that some will go on to produce a short history of their own organisation or host a special meeting or walk around the Town. We hope some will write reminiscences and short accounts of their family, their house or their business and lodge them with the local library or Thebarton archival collection. We would encourage people to record reminiscences of elderly family members and friends and to show old photographs and memorabilia to Council staff or Historical Society members rather than throwing them away when spring cleaning. There is so much more to be recorded. We hope, too, that our book will provide a framework for understanding the history and heritage of the area.

Some of you may be encouraged to join the local Historical Society and the South Australian Historical Society and borrow books to which I have referred in the bibliography. Furthermore, you could consider enrolling in classes at the University of Adelaide available to everyone in the local community through the Department of Continuing Education. A number are designed for the keen amateur and do not involve assignments and examinations. So many people who enrol in these classes have said, 'At school, history was all about kings and queens and explorers. But this is really interesting!'

In turn, academic historians are increasingly interested in regional and urban history. Professor Geoffrey Bolton in an address to the State History Conference in September 1994 observed that while we are concerned with our national identity, there has been an upsurge in regional self-consciousness. He noted that to understand our 'sense of place' we need to understand why people are so attached to a particular regional landscape or streetscape. An understanding of local history helps place into perspective the role of groups such as women and migrants whose contribution was often omitted in more general histories written fifty years ago. An understanding of local history also helps put the large scale into perspective. We may read that 60,000 Australians were killed or injured in the First World War. Yet when we know that of 916 who enlisted from the Town of Thebarton, there were 100 fatalities, and that the Anglican Church of St James in Mile End lost 29 members of its congregation as war dead, we begin to understand the impact of these losses. Again we may know that people suffered high rates of unemployment in the 1930s Depression, but when someone recalls schoolmates crowding around to ask for his orange peel or apple core 'because that would be their lunch' the statistics begin to have some meaning. We need the statistics and we need to comprehend broad trends, but we also need to understand what happened at the local level.

Historians are interested in why things happened and how they happened. This project has provided a link between University and community and has helped us to record the life and work of people in Thebarton old and new. We hope it will pose more questions and encourage people to answer them.

Pauline Payne
July 1996

Introduction

Most Australians live in cities. We have been one of the most urban populations in the world for more than a hundred years and Australia has also been characterised by metropolitan dominance, that is the capital cities have been significantly larger than other urban centres. Despite the stereotype of Australians as people living a rural setting, we have increasingly lived in the capital cities, and in a suburban setting. The proportion of Australians living in the six capital cities was one-quarter in 1861, one-third in 1901 and 60 per cent by 1971.[1] Many of us live in a house on a quarter acre block that provides space for both a front garden and a back yard. It is true that some live in blocks of flats but that is not the norm. When European settlers came to South Australia, they quickly established a pattern of suburban development, subdividing larger sections of land.

Bordered on one side by the River Torrens and on another by the belt of Parklands laid out by South Australia's first Surveyor General, Thebarton is one of the oldest of Adelaide's suburbs. Many of those who settled in the district in the first few years of European settlement were working people who were attracted by such factors as the proximity of land to the city centre, the relatively low cost of land and the possibility of finding work nearby. Others established small farms or set up small businesses making bricks, processing wool and animal hides, grinding wheat or selling ale to thirsty workers.

Over the years, the nature of local businesses changed but Thebarton remained primarily a suburb for working people. Nevertheless some who prospered in the new colony were in time able to build themselves solid stone or brick houses and many of the houses built in the villa style have survived until the 1990s. While there are only a few of the very early cottages remaining, there are many villa houses, Federation style dwellings and bungalows from the 1920s and 1930s. There are other reminders of the past: factory buildings, fine old hotels, the tall chimney at the Brickworks market and trees planted a hundred years ago. Along with these are the churches, halls and school buildings of previous eras. Often the wording on their foundation stones are a reminder of the pride felt by residents as months or even years of planning saw a project come to fruition, marking a step forward for the district.

In Thebarton this growth went on side by side with developments in business and industry. Not all suburbs followed this pattern and suburbs such as Walkerville and Prospect became residential areas with very little industrial activity. By contrast Thebarton was to have a wide range of industries from heavy engineering to small workshops. To brickworks, tanneries and fellmongeries were added ice works, a cooperage, a bottle factory, a chemical factory, woollen mill, warehouses

and many other workplaces. Railways and electric trams provided better transport and encouraged further development.

As residents increased in numbers they soon began to work together to provide better services. Halls, churches and sports facilities were established and clubs and societies provided for health, welfare and recreation. In addition, services such as piped water and sewerage, post and telegraph, fire brigade and schools increased the quality of life for local residents. While this was very much a 'walking suburb' railways and trams played a vital role in transport. Then, with postwar migration new services were needed and new ones evolved. So much is taken for granted today but as Thebarton developed, the addition of each new service seemed to be a minor triumph.

The story of *Thebarton: Old and New* is the story of how these changes came about and why they came about. Behind each remaining villa house and each cornershop is the story of Thebarton residents who struggled to make a living and care for their families. Behind each factory and workplace there are tales of set-backs and triumphs. Many of the older residents can remember the hard days of the Depression, how families and friends helped each other, how patched trousers were accepted and how people 'made do' with what they had.

Some who lived here left few physical marks behind. While this is the case with the Aboriginal people who fished in the river and talked around the campfires many years ago, something of their cultural heritage remains. Despite all the changes that have occurred, Thebarton still has its strong sense of community and a sense of place, something lacking in some of the new suburban developments in outer suburbs. Despite the noise of traffic and planes flying overhead, despite the destruction of old buildings and landmarks, there is still a sense of the past.

1 J W McCarty and C B Shedvin (eds.), *Australian capital cities: historical essays,* Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1978, p. 5.

1 – Early days in Thebarton

'We used to go up the street and you'd stop and have a chat, pass the time of day'. 'We'd always go to the football on a Saturday'.

'Things have changed – it's not what it used to be'.

'I like the cultural diversity today'.

'People in the area seem to have a sense of the history of the place'.

'I love Thebarton. I think it's the most beautiful little town. It's been a very poor town but it's starting to look up now'.

'There's still a search for improvement – it's not self-satisfied'.

These are all comments that residents and former residents have made about the Town of Thebarton.

Many people who live Thebarton today have a sense of the history of the area. People frequently comment on the changes they have seen. While some have come in recent years others have lived in the district (which includes Mile End and Torrensville) for sixty years or more. There are now about 7,600 residents in the town, which lies west of the City of Adelaide, bordered in part by the River Torrens on the north and Port

Mandy Roe and barman Gerard Flannagan from the Wheatsheaf Hotel February 1992. From the early days of the colony, hotels have been an important place for people to meet each other. The first Wheat Sheaf tavern was opened in 1844. The present Wheatsheaf Hotel was built alongside the site of the old one in 1919.

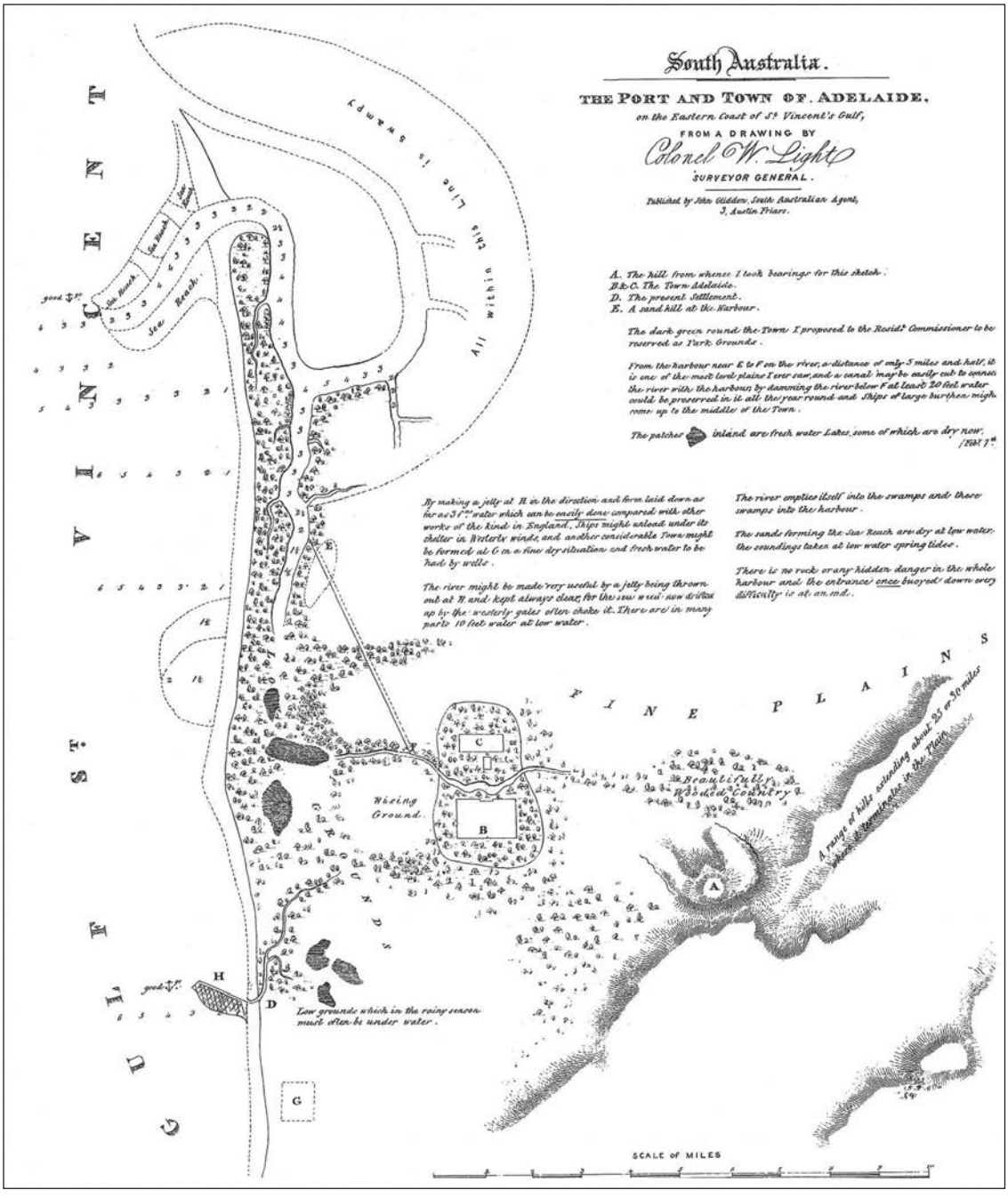
Road and the West Parklands on the east. Two major roads bisect it, South Road running north south, and Henley Beach Road running east-west. As they move around the town, people see the old villas, the bungalows of the 1920s and 1930s, Norfolk Island pines and palms on the skyline, the spires of the Queen of Angels Church or Holder Memorial, the fine brickwork of the old Baptist church in Phillips Street. There are new landmarks, too, such as the two Greek Orthodox Churches, St George's and St Nicholas, and businesses such as Cafe Antico or the Vietnamese Village restaurant that reflect post-war migration. Residents still drink at old hotels such as the Mile End, the Southwark, the Squatters Arms, the Wheatsheaf, the Royal and the West Thebarton. Over a drink they may argue about the merits of the new developments along Henley Beach Road and grumble about traffic on South Road.

In the years before 1836 generations of Aboriginal people had struggled and survived on the Adelaide plains, adapting their lifestyle to climatic conditions and the seasonal availability of food. This book tells the story of European settlement in the Thebarton district in the years since 1836 and of the men and women who struggled to make a home and earn a living. In more recent times there have been waves of emigrants from Europe and Asia, who had their own battles to fight. All these people, Aboriginal, European and Asian, changed the landscape to suit their own needs. It is not possible to do justice to the contribution of every individual and family who played their part in Thebarton's development, but it is possible to chart some of the changes that have occurred and put some of those changes into perspective.

Early European settlement

As one of the earliest European settlements in South Australia outside the central city area, Thebarton has been greatly moulded by its proximity to the River Torrens and its location on the direct route between Port Adelaide and the capital. These were important and practical considerations. The European settlers who came to South Australia in the period 1836–45 were quick to realise the potential of the Thebarton area as a site for housing and workplaces. There was, moreover, a further important fact which affected the district. Thebarton had a direct link with the core group planning the colony because Colonel William Light, the first Surveyor-General, chose a section of land in the district for his own use. He was responsible for the name of Thebarton, and lived there until his death in October 1839.

South Australia was settled with high hopes that good planning would lead to a well-ordered society. Under the regulations drawn up by the Colonization Commission in England, land was to be sold rather than given away as grants and the proceeds from land sales were to constitute a fund to bring out migrants. The founders' plan was that emigrants would include a significant number of able-bodied workers to provide a labour force for those wishing to invest in land. They hoped in this way to avoid the problems of labour shortage that were known to exist in New South Wales. The planners hoped that by encouraging the migration of those who were relatively young and by keeping a balance of the sexes, there



would be incentive for workers to save, to marry and to produce children who would in turn add to the workforce.

The Colonization Commissioners and their colleagues in London planned the settlement of South Australia from a thoroughly nineteenth century western outlook. The land they were to occupy was the home of Aboriginal people who had lived on the Adelaide plains for at least 40,000 years, but this posed no moral dilemma to the planners. Perhaps, they thought, the lifestyle of the 'noble savage' had its values and virtues; but

7 Feb early 1800s – The Port and Town of Adelaide on the Eastern Coast of St Vincent's Gulf from a drawing by Colonel W Light – Surveyor General
Courtesy: Geography Department, University of Adelaide

the British civilisation was superior and the Christian religion the only true faith. In this view the obligation of the white settlers consisted in making arrangements for the welfare and protection of the Aboriginal people, and to this end the first appointments to the colony included a Protector of Aborigines. They believed that, if treated with kindness, Aborigines might in time undergo some rudimentary education and training and accept Christian values and a work ethic. They might be employed, save a little money and acquire property in the way that working people who emigrated to South Australia could do. There was little thought given to the idea that Aboriginal people might prefer their own ways.

Traditional British and Aboriginal ideas about property ownership were so different that they can almost be viewed as irreconcilable. British concepts of property ownership went back centuries and were deeply enshrined in legal and social conventions. A legal document, conferring the title to a strip of land, conferred with it security, power and status. An Englishman who became wealthy from trade or industry might choose to invest in a country property, anticipating that in time people would forget that his money came from 'trade' and would accept him and his family as landed gentlefolk. These views contrasted strongly with Aboriginal values which stressed the importance of the group rather than the individual, of shared possessions rather than sole ownership. Land was not a commodity and Aboriginal people had deep spiritual attachment to the land. Moreover, Aboriginal values had evolved to control the risks associated with living in a continent with unpredictable climatic conditions. A semi-nomadic lifestyle enabled the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains and the Ngarrinjderi people of the lower River Murray area to take advantage of seasonal variations in the availability of foodstuffs with little impact from outside invaders. Living in small bands of 20–30 people they gathered with other groups for ceremonies, for trade, to settle differences and organise marriages. There was little need to organise for warlike purposes.

When the Europeans came to South Australia, the Aboriginal people maintained their distance at first, only gradually making contact. Given the efficiency of the communication system between regional groups, reports almost certainly had been circulating about the passage of Captain Sturt's party along the River Murray and about visits by explorers, whalers and sealers along the southern coast. Aboriginal people may have viewed Europeans as spirits of ancestors. In any case, these previous encounters suggested that Europeans, while a matter of some curiosity, had not provided a serious threat and were in time likely to leave again.

This combination of curiosity and caution meant that the Aborigines posed no serious threat to the first British arrivals as they surveyed the land and made plans for land sales. The South Australian Commissioners had offered 437 land orders at £81, 'each entitling its purchaser to a country section of 80 acres and a town allotment of one acre.'[1] Investors could select both a city section and also a 'country' section outside the central core of town lands and the surrounding parklands. As Surveyor-General, Light had taken responsibility for locating the capital on rising land near the River Torrens. He had started the survey of town acres in January 1837 and was ready to begin surveying the country sections in April.[2] After

legal altercation a ballot was held to determine the order of choice when the holder of land orders or their agent made their selections, and by May 1838 several of the large sections were surveyed along the River Torrens. By extraordinary luck Light, who had so much misfortune with respect to his health and his personal life, drew the right to make the first selection.

Colonel William Light and his choice of land in Thebarton

William Light chose Country Section 1 which was later subdivided as Thebarton village and Southwark. He had purchased for £210 an order for a country section from Boyle Travers Finniss, one of the early surveyors assisting him.[3] Light had first thought to choose land in the Rapid Bay area but it was a considerable distance from Adelaide and his health was no longer good; land near the Torrens in the district that we now know as the Thebarton area provided an attractive alternative.

Light was not a wealthy man. Born on 27 April, 1786, the son of Francis Light, Governor of Penang and his defacto wife, Martinha Rozells,[4] he had been sent to England as a lad of only six in 1792 to be educated in England under the guardianship and care of his father's old friend George Doughty and his wife Anne, of Theberton Hall, east of Ipswich in Suffolk. William was educated and treated as one of the family at Theberton. Anne Doughty, whose own children had reached adulthood when William arrived, continued to take a great interest in him in later years, helping to save his life by sending money for his passage home when he was a wounded prisoner in Spain. William's father had died two years after he sent the boy to England. The estate of the older Light appears to have been mismanaged and was dissipated by his executors – Light maintained to the end of his life that he had suffered greatly from the 'loss of his patrimony'.[5]

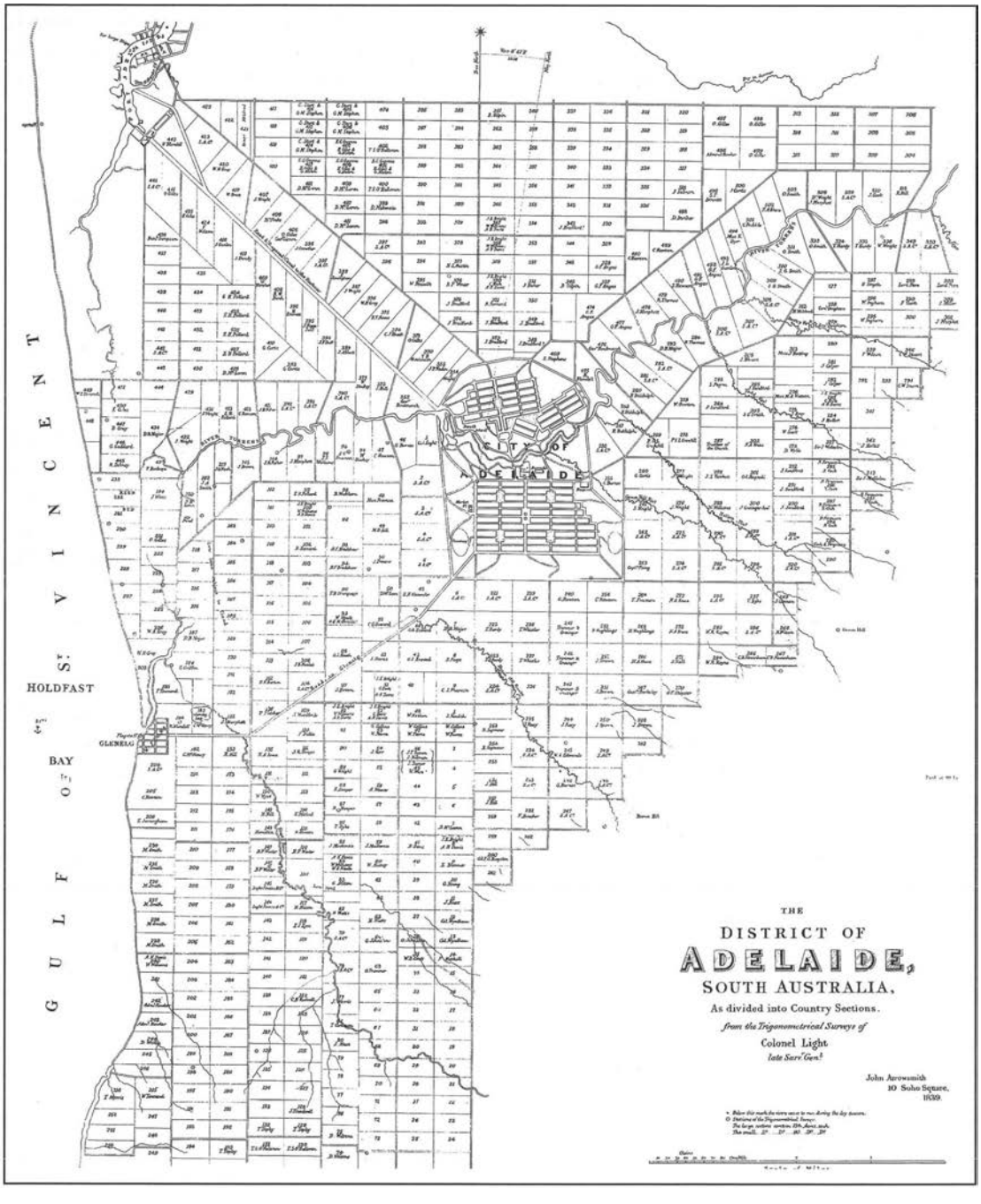
In the days of the Napoleonic Wars, when a young man had reasonable career prospects in the army or navy, the Doughtys arranged that he would join the crew of HM Frigate *Clyde* at the age of 13. He served for three years, probably until 1802. In 1808, as hostilities with Napoleon were increasing, he purchased a commission in a cavalry regiment and later served as an interpreter and intelligence officer in the Peninsular War in Spain. The Napoleonic Wars came to an end in 1815 and Light left the army in 1821. Intelligent and artistic, he had proved capable and resourceful, earning the commendation of his superiors. His married life does not seem to have run as smoothly. His first wife, Miss E Peres of Londonderry, is thought to have

Colonel William Light
Great Britain / Australia
1786–1839
Self portrait oil on canvas, 58.1 x 42.2 cm
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide Gift of G G Mayo 1905

died within several years of their marriage in 1821 although the exact date of her death is not known.[6] His second wife was the nineteen year old Mary Bennet, daughter of Charles, Duke of Richmond by a former actress, Mrs Bennet, who acted as the Duke's hostess after the death of his wife. Nearly twenty years younger than Light, Mary was beautiful, lively and talented and had been left a considerable sum of money by the Duke. The couple travelled extensively and she accompanied her husband to Egypt where Light served the Pasha, Mohammed Ali. Mary was considered by contemporaries to be attractive and independent; recent biographers have described her as 'wild and charming'. She enjoyed the social life of the lively foreign community in Egypt[7] and developed an interest in archaeology. She had no children by Light and was separated from him for long periods when his work took him away. During this Egyptian sojourn she became romantically involved with a Captain Hugh Aldborough Bowen by whom she had a son in February 1833 and another son in May 1834. A third child was born in September 1835. With the breakdown of the marriage Mary took with her not only her own fortune but also, it seems, part of the money Light had earned from Mohammed Ali in Egypt. Light's lawyer friend Richard Napier urged him to fight tenaciously for an annuity or some other favourable financial settlement but it appears that he did not pursue this in the way he was advised.

The proposal of a new settlement in South Australia provided opportunities for Light to make a fresh start. The opportunity for challenging work and the possibility of financial advancement through judicious purchase of property was also attractive to other men who had been active in the armed services during the Napoleonic Wars; South Australia's first Governor, Captain John Hindmarsh, was another of this group of officers. Hindmarsh who, like Light, had served the Pasha in Egypt, left Egypt with a letter of introduction to Colonel Sir Charles Napier, brother of Richard and Henry Napier. Sir Charles had been proposed as governor of the new province of South Australia. When he decided not to accept the position, he wrote to Robert Gouger on 29 May 1835 recommending Light for the appointment. The Napier brothers had known Light since his Peninsular War years and Henry Napier had married Mary's sister Caroline Bennet. The astute Hindmarsh outmanoeuvred Light in negotiations for the position. After seeing Napier on 27 May, he took the night coach to London and a day later had Lord Glenelg's support to be appointed as first governor of South Australia. Napier's letter recommending Light arrived too late. Instead, Light was offered the less attractive and less lucrative position of surveyor-general with a salary of £400 per annum. Nevertheless, a salaried position with the opportunity to invest in land in a new colony must have had its attractions, particularly as he had no children and no real family ties in Britain.

Light's position was an important one. Land buyers and prospective emigrants were anxious to begin their new life in South Australia but no one could take up land until it had been surveyed. Light's position as surveyor-general required him to have intelligence and determination, qualities which he undoubtably had, but he also needed stamina for arduous 'hands on' work that involved exposure to summer sun and winter



rain. He was already fifty in an era when life expectancy for men was less than fifty[8] and it was soon apparent that his health was failing. He had been complaining of poor health as early as the time of his honeymoon in 1825.[9] The demands made on him by the Colonial Commissioners were heavy, requiring superhuman qualities in the surveyor-general. He had 'a pitifully small team of inexperienced surveyors' and inadequate transport,

1839 - The District of Adelaide as divided into Country Sections from the Trigonometrical Surveys of Colonel Light - late Surveyor General. Courtesy: Geography Department, University of Adelaide

and he was undermined by a split in the mechanism of government. The South Australian Act provided for a governor and a resident commissioner to exercise power without either of them being accountable to the other.[10] To add to this there was dissension among the settlers which caused interference and delays to Light's work. Light laid out Adelaide with prodigious speed but the toll on him was considerable.

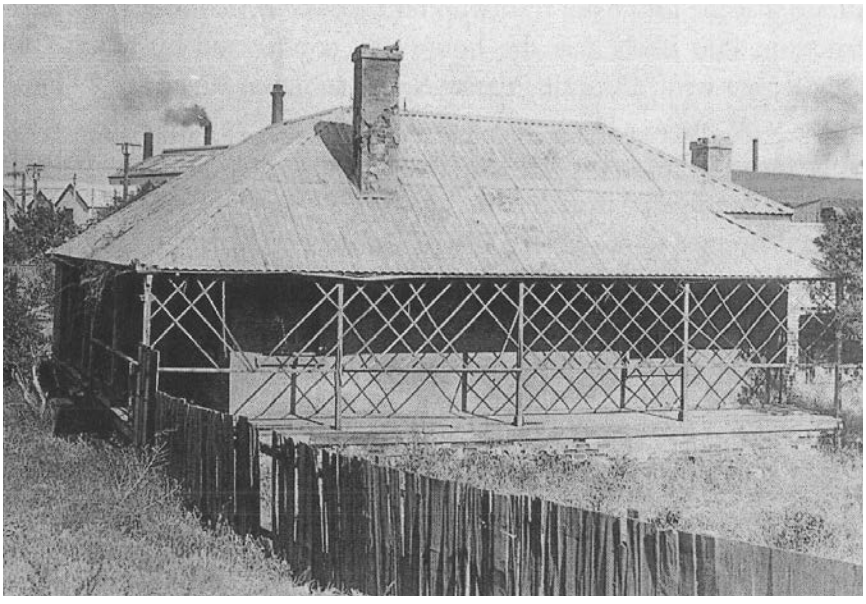
Light had selected his Thebarton land in March 1838. Its financial and practical importance to him became all the greater after his resignation as surveyor-general in June 1838, and the disastrous fire in January 1839 which destroyed his wood and reed house in the parklands on North Terrace. The fire also destroyed his private papers and his portfolio of drawings and paintings from his years in Egypt and the Peninsula.

In selecting his Thebarton land Light knew that its proximity to the River Torrens would be a considerable advantage. The flat land beside the river with its accumulated deposits of alluvial soil was ideal for agriculture and horticulture. Land would prove more saleable if water did not have to be carted too far and was available for stock. There was potential for commercial enterprise in that the nearby Torrens was a valuable source of water not only for farmers but also for manufacturers and townspeople. There were extensive deposits of clay, gravel, limestone and sand for building which would be an important economic activity. In addition the Thebarton section was conveniently situated to benefit from the passage of goods and travellers to and from the City along the Port Road and was only a short distance from what was becoming the busiest part of Adelaide – Hindley Street.[11]

At home at Theberton Cottage

Light's new dwelling, Theberton Cottage, was built on allotments 408 and 409, facing a little south of east, on the corner of what used to be Winwood and Cawthorne Streets. The site has now been absorbed by the Southwark Brewery complex. Various additions were made to the house between 1841 and 1879, but the original cottage appears to have remained virtually unaltered until its demolition. Light shared the house with Maria Gandy, a young woman who came from Twyford, Hampshire. Light knew the family from about 1832 and following the death of Maria's father had arranged that she and her two younger brothers, Edward and William, would accompany him on the *Rapid* on the voyage out from England. Another brother, George, followed later. Light's contemporary Dr Woodforde refers to 'Captain Light and Lady' coming ashore at Rapid Bay.[12] The diaries of William Jacob, one of Light's surveyors, have references to visiting 'the Colonel and Maria' in the way that one would speak of a couple.

In the days when divorce was an expensive and lengthy process, Light was almost certainly not in a position to seek a divorce from his much wealthier wife, Mary, while presumably she had her own reasons for not wanting a divorce. Maria Gandy lived with Light, cared for him when he was terminally ill and received the disapproval of many 'respectable' people in local South Australian society. In his will Light, who referred to her as his 'housekeeper', left her all his real estate in South Australia and



Colonel Light's house. It was described in 1841 as 'a substantial brick built house' with 'four large and lofty rooms'. There was a kitchen at the back and a stable and saddle room at that time. The house was demolished in 1926.

made her his executrix after his death from tuberculosis on 6 October 1839.

In July of that year Light arranged to subdivide twenty one acres at the southern end of his Section into 252 allotments. The allotments on the plan were quite small, allowing room for a small cottage and a garden at the back, and were to sell for between £4 and £10. Light's diary notes indicate that he calculated the likely value of the 21 acre subdivision as £1764. After Light's death Maria subdivided a further seven acres immediately to the north of the existing subdivision into 92 small allotments.

Light's house, one of the first substantial dwellings in the Thebarton district, was described in the *Register,* January 1841:

TO LET

> On the banks of the Torrens, at Thebarton, formerly the residence of the late Colonel Light, a substantial brick built house, containing four large and lofty rooms, one underground and a back kitchen – commands a fine view of the bay – a garden in a high state of cultivation – a stable, with saddle-room – and a well of capital water. Apply to Dr. Mayo, Carrington Street, or to Mr. Gandy, on the premises.[13]

There has been a myth, which has been dispelled in recent times, that Light lived in a small hut. It seems that the idea began circulating in 1916 and arose from the display of a model of the rear rooms of the house showing a kitchen and two rooms possibly used by servants. A photograph taken of the front of the house at the time when Nathaniel Hone lived there is likely to give a better idea of Colonel Light's home, a simple but well proportioned building. A former resident who lived in the house from about 1918–1924 confirmed that the four front rooms and the

'back kitchen' were of solid brick construction. It is likely that the house was constructed by Maria Gandy's brother George who, according to the *South Australian Register* of 29 February 1840, was working as a brick maker and builder at Thebarton. The roof was probably made of wooden shingles which were replaced later, possibly by thatch, then corrugated iron.

Robert Gouger wrote in 1837 that 'Colonel Light is the most successful of our gardeners, by mixing some of the river-mud with our natural soil, he has produced by far better vegetables than any other South Australian.'[14] Light himself refers to having a dairy and to the employment of a 'cowboy'. At Light's funeral 'the servants of the household' walked in the funeral procession and these probably included Light's gardener, William Lawes. With stables and a well cultivated garden, this was a substantial and attractive property and this is also indicated by the fact that after Maria's subsequent marriage to Light's friend Dr George Mayo on 7 July 1840, 'he moved into his wife's house and not vice versa'.[15]

The marriage certainly improved Maria's position in colonial society. George Mayo was the son of the Rev. Jos Mayo of Gloucestershire and the nephew of Sir George Smith Gibbes, MD, late of Bath – respectable enough connections. It is noteworthy that following the pattern established by Mary Light, she had three children in a comparatively short time. At the time of her marriage to George Mayo an elaborate marriage settlement document was drawn up for Maria who appears to have been both independent in spirit and determined in character. There were debts of Maria and Light to be paid off but there were substantial assets: a hundred acres in Country Section 1 and four town acres – which would appreciate in time. Sadly, Maria lived only until 15 December 1847, leaving three young children, Jane, Kate and George Gibbes Mayo. The land remained intact for thirty years and was not sold until the prosperous years of the 1870s. The sale of the property brought the remarkable figure of £23,600, which Tregenza calculated would have been worth about $6,000,000 in 1985 terms – a tidy sum. So rather than dying penniless, Light left Maria and her progeny assets that were worth a small fortune by 1878.[16]

Theberton Hall, Suffolk, England. This was the early home of Colonel William Light. He was sent to England from Penang, at the age of six, to be cared for by his father's friend, George Doughty and his wife, Anne. Theberton was the original spelling ef the name of the suburb.

There is yet another myth to dispel: the idea that the name of Thebarton comes from The Barton. Light called his house Theberton Cottage after his childhood home, Theberton Hall in Sussex. In the Preface of his *Journal,* it is spelled 'Thebarton'. It is generally accepted that the misspelling was the result of a typographical error in the printing of his *Journal.* The name 'Theberton' for the district as a whole occurs in newspaper advertisements in 1839 and 1840 but the spelling Thebarton can also be found even in 1839.[17] Gradually the district came to be known as Thebarton.

Developing Thebarton

The first phase in the subdivision of Light's Country Section 1 began in 1839 but it remained primarily farmland until the end of the 1870s. The South Australian Company which had selected Section 2, (adjacent to the parklands and later to be known as Mile End), established a farm with James Chambers as manager. Of this134 acres, 88 were divided into properties of two to eight acres in 1855 when an expanding population and greater prosperity saw a demand for farmlets, many of which were acquired by local business people.[18]

Not all purchasers of land were men. Section 48 was purchased by a Miss Freeman. This section became known as West Adelaide in the 1880s and for many years afterwards.[19] We know it today as part of Mile End. The area which was later subdivided as Torrenside, West Thebarton, Henley Park, Hemmington and Hemmington West was Section 46 and was originally purchased by George Barnes. The purchaser of Section 47, Christopher Rawson of Halifax, Yorkshire, was one of a number of purchasers who were primarily investors rather than settlers. Rawson retained the land for many years and it was used as farm land until 1908 when the southern part was subdivided as Torrensville Estate.[20]

Light did not live long enough to see the development of the village he helped to subdivide. An undated plan in the State Record Office, signed by Light, Finniss and Company, shows the lower portion of Section 1 divided into 24 one-acre lots, with four unnamed streets at the southern end of the section, and a further eight subdivisions and an unnamed street. The first advertisement for the land appeared in the *South Australian Register,* 23 February 1839:

> To Newly Arrived Capitalists and Emigrants. Acre sections to be let on building leases on No. 1 section, now called Thebarton. For further particulars, write to Light, Finniss and Co. Stephens Place North Terrace.

The prices of the 24 numbered lots ranged from £40 to £90, the most expensive ones being those located close to the Port Road. Two subdivisions adjacent to East Terrace, Thebarton, were sold at £80 and £90 to Thomas Jacques and Robert Bristow. A third, which was to have been purchased by George Gandy, was bought first by Thomas Toole and later by Patrick McCarron.

> The West Torrens Council Assessor wrote in 1853:
>
> The Township of Thebarton was at first laid out in three strips of 210 feet wide each and extending across the section, at the southern end and afterwards a 4th strip was added to the north of the former. These strips are subdivided into allotments of 34 feet by 104 feet: they are therefore 1/12 of an acre each. There are three streets intersecting the Township and one on each side of it, on the North and South, the streets are 30 feet wide each. The whole township stands upon 32 acres.

The three streets intersecting the township were Chapel, George and Maria, the last two possibly named after George and Maria Gandy. The northern boundary of the village became Light Terrace, the eastern boundary East Terrace, the southern boundary South Terrace (now Kintore Street) and the western boundary West Terrace (later Beans Road, now Dew Street). [see map]

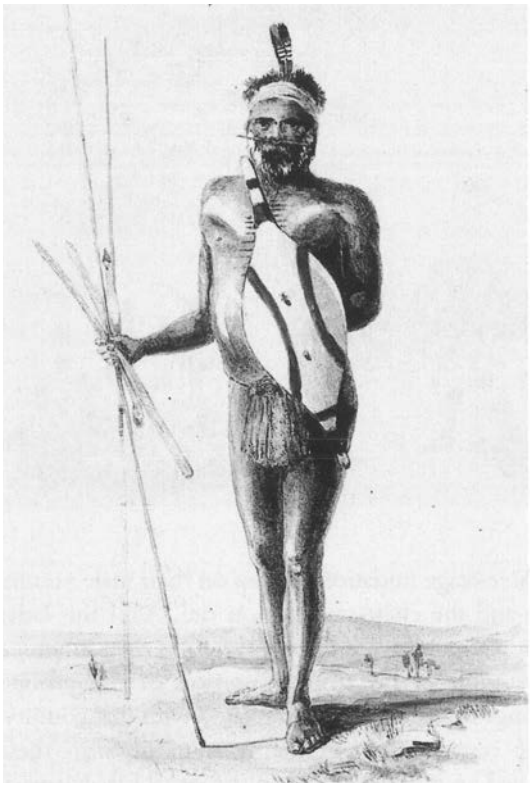
The layout of Thebarton village bears some resemblance to the design of the City in its rectangular shape and in some of the street names. That is where the similarity ends. There were no north-south streets to facilitate traffic flow, and no community reserves. The desire for private property overrode the public good embodied in the city squares. The lack of north south thoroughfares must have caused much inconvenience in the town, but it was to be another 20 years before any were constructed. Nor was there a reserve along the River Torrens although, given the demand for land near the river, Light would have been hard pressed to reserve any for public use. One fortunate aspect of the planning of the village – for the townspeople – was that it was placed well away from the noxious trades set up along the river. It was to be mainly the residents of the farming areas west of Thebarton who would complain in later years of the annoyance caused by these industries.

Development was proceeding apace in the Thebarton district. Meanwhile, what was happening to the Aboriginal people? How did they fare as farms and gardens were established and houses built? To answer these questions we need to consider in a more general way the situation of the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains. The following section is based on the work of Tom Gara, an archaeologist and ethno-historian.[21]

Thebarton's First Occupants – the Kaurna People

The first white settlers on the Adelaide Plains found the country occupied by the Kaurna Aboriginal people, to whom they referred simply as the 'Adelaide tribe'. An 1860 Select Committee estimated that the tribe numbered in the vicinity of 300 people. Each local group consisted of several families and occupied a clearly defined territory. Neighbouring groups were linked by ties of kinship, intermarriage, trade and ceremonial obligations.

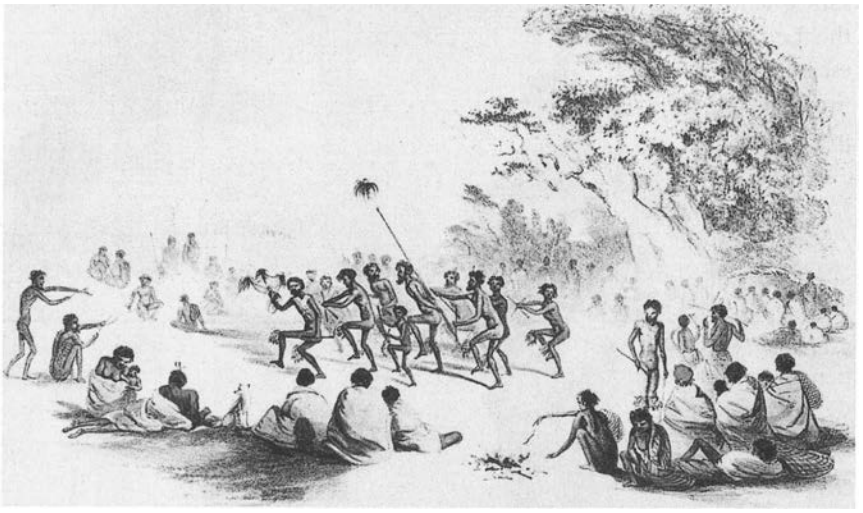
Those ties extended back into a distant past, for Aboriginal people believe they are descended from totemic spirits who travelled across the land during an ancestral period known as the Dreaming. These spirit-beings introduced, for the people to follow, moral and social laws which became enshrined in mythology, rituals and songs, before transforming themselves into natural features or ascending into the sky to become



the stars and planets. However, their spiritual essence was believed to remain at certain sites; and by performing ceremonies and rituals at these sites Aborigines could ensure the continued fertility of the land and the regular cycle of the seasons. The totemic links between the people and the ancestral spirits were the basis of the Aborigines' spiritual relationship with the land.

Only fragments of the rich Aboriginal mythology have survived. For example, it is known that *Tarnda,* the Red Kangaroo being who introduced chest-scarification rites, was associated with the area now occupied by the City of Adelaide. The Mount Lofty Ranges represent the dead body of an ancestral giant, *Ngarna,* who came from the east and was killed in a tribal battle. His arms reach to the sea at Marino, while Mount Lofty and Mount Bonython are his ears. The township of Uraidla derives its name from the Kaurna name for the two peaks, which means 'two ears'. The best known of the Kaurna myths is the story of Tirbruke or Tjilbruke, recorded by Norman Tindale of the South Australian Museum. It tells the adventures of the ancestral hero Tirbruke who travelled along the coast from Kingston Park to Cape Jervis during the Dreaming carrying the body of his nephew who had been treacherously killed by his hunting companions. At the various places where Tirbruke stopped to rest and mourn for his nephew, his tears caused freshwater springs to appear.

Above left:
A Kaurna warrior; painted by G F Angas, c.1844. He wears a headband spun from possum fur and decorated with cockatoo feathers. He also has a waist-belt made of possum fur. His body is painted with red ochre and white pipe-day and on his chest are the distinctive raised scars of the wilyeru *rite. He is armed with spears, woomera and wirries (throwing-clubs) and a bark shield.*
Above right:
A Kaurna woman and child. The woman wears a cloak of possum skins sewn together with kangaroo sinews and she holds a katta, *a heavy wooden digging stick. The child is supported within a skin pouch on the mother's back. Painted by G.F. Angas, c. 1844* Both photos: Courtesy: SA Museum Anthropology Archives



The Kuri *dance, one of the corroborees of the Kaurna people. Angas observed that the* Kuri *dance was 'generally practised on moonlight nights when the gathering together of several tribes, or some other occasion of importance, calls forth a display of these native amusesments'. Painted by G F Angas, c.1844*
Courtesy: SA Museum Anthropology Archives

The Kaurna practised a three-stage initiation process on their male youths, culminating in circumcision and the chest-scarification rite. After this latter rite, at the age of 18, a youth was considered to be a man and then inherited from his father the custodianship of his family's portion of the group's territory together with the songs and ceremonies associated with that country. Although it was largely the responsibility of the men to perform these ceremonies, women also played an important role in the ritual life. Many of the ritual ceremonies, especially those connected with initiation, were of a secret and sacred nature and were kept from the prying eyes of Europeans.

Prior to the arrival of the first European settlers the area now occupied by the City of Adelaide, known as Tandanya or Red Kangaroo Place, was open grassy plains, interspersed with patches of mallee box, sheoaks and acacias and with scattered red and blue gums. The River Torrens was lined with a dense red gum forest and wound its way from the foothills across the plains to feed its waters into the Reedbeds at Fulham. The Kaurna called the river Karra Wirra Parri, meaning 'red gum forest river', and the area which is now Hindmarsh and Thebarton was known as Karraundongga or 'red gum spear place'. It was a favourite locality for obtaining red gum branches used for making heavy fighting spears.

On the grassy plains and open woodlands the Aborigines hunted kangaroos, emus and wallabies; and bandicoots, bilbies, bettongs and other small marsupials were abundant in the forests and scrub. These the Kaurna caught in nets or by spearing them, and frequently used fire to assist their hunting activities.

The South Australian Colonisation Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1834, declared the lands of the new colony to be 'waste and unoccupied'. This denial of the Aborigines' land rights aroused opposition from humanitarians in Great Britain such as Lord Glenelg, Sir George Grey and other influential men in the Colonial Office in London. The Colonial Office subsequently enshrined the principle of Aboriginal land

rights by inserting in the Letters Patent issued early in 1836, the document issued to formally establish the colony of South Australia, a clause which recognised the prior rights of the Aborigines to the land actually occupied or enjoyed by the indigenous people.

After lengthy negotiations with the Colonial Office, the Colonization Commissioners agreed to the appointment of a Protector to safeguard the Aborigines' interests. Among his other duties the Protector was required to ensure that any land opened up for public sale had been voluntarily ceded and fairly purchased from the Aborigines. The Commissioners agreed to set aside 20 per cent of the proceeds from all land sales in the colony to be used for the benefit of the Aborigines, and they also committed the South Australian Company to protecting 'the Natives in the unmolested exercise of their rights of property in Land should such a right be found to exist.' These commitments, however, were soon forgotten or else deliberately ignored and all the lands were declared open for public sale, despite occasional newspaper debate and evidence provided by the Protector and by Lutheran missionaries that the Aborigines did possess territorial rights passed down from fathers to sons. No attempts were ever made to negotiate with the Kaurna for the voluntary transfer of their lands and the scheme to use a proportion of land sale funds for the benefit of the Aborigines was never implemented. The Waste Lands Act of 1842 finally gave the governor the power to reserve land for the use or benefit of the Aborigines. Small blocks were subsequently reserved for the Aborigines throughout the settled districts. By then, however, the Kaurna had already been dispossessed of the lands that they and their ancestors had occupied for perhaps a thousand generations.

The first settlers who arrived at Glenelg in December 1836 described the local Kaurna people as 'friendly', 'harmless' and 'honest to a remarkable degree'. Within a few months the Kaurna were making themselves useful to the new settlers, acting as guides, carrying water and firewood and performing other chores around the settlement, for which they were rewarded with food, tobacco, clothes and other items. Captain Bromley was appointed Protector of Aborigines in May 1837. He set up his tent on the banks of the Torrens in what is now Bonython Park and encouraged the Aborigines to visit him there to receive rations of food and blankets.

Bromley was replaced as Protector after a few months by William Wyatt, who established in 1838 'the Aborigines' Location' on the northern side of the Torrens River, opposite the Adelaide Gaol site of later years. Until the mid-1840s the Location was the focus of attempts by the colonial authorities to 'civilise and Christianise' the Aborigines, to induce them to give up their traditional lifestyle and beliefs and become 'useful' members of European society. Rations and blankets were distributed to the Aborigines, and missionaries continued the task of converting the Aborigines to Christianity, but although the Kaurna treated the Location as a convenient place to camp, most had little time for the teachings of the missionaries. A few took up semi permanent residence at the Location but others moved back and forth between other camps along the River

Torrens and at Port Adelaide and Glenelg, and occasionally returned to the bush to hunt or to perform ceremonies. Thebarton's proximity to the Location meant that Aboriginal people frequently passed through the area. One early historical source indicates that Aborigines sometimes camped on vacant land opposite the *Foresters' Arms* in Thebarton.

In May 1840 the colonial authorities organised a distribution of food and blankets to the Aborigines at an event held at Government House to mark Queen Victoria's birthday. Some 300 Aborigines attended, and until the late 1850s the Queen's Birthday distribution of food and blankets became an annual event. This was at least partly responsible for attracting Aborigines from Moorundie on the River Murray and from elsewhere, causing great resentment among the Kaurna. Friction and occasional minor tribal battles resulted. The Aboriginal people gradually dispersed, and by 1847 it seems that the Kaurna had largely deserted Adelaide, and the special school that had been established for Aboriginal children was closed in 1850.

In the 1940s a few Aboriginal families began moving into houses in Thebarton, Hindmarsh, Torrensville and the other inner western suburbs. Gladys Elphick (a descendant of a Kaurna woman, Kudnarto, who married Tom Adams in 1848 in what was this state's first legal marriage between an Aborigine and a European), lived for many years in the Thebarton district until her death in 1988. She was awarded an MBE in 1971 in recognition of her many years of service to the Aboriginal community. Her son Tim Hughes, also a long-time resident of Thebarton, was awarded an MBE in 1970.

Over recent decades a distinct Kaurna identity has reappeared as the descendants of the 'Adelaide tribe' retraced their connections to their lands and asserted their rights to control their own cultural heritage. There are today more than a thousand Aboriginal people who can trace their descent to Kaurna ancestors. They are keen to share aspects of their culture with non-Aboriginal people and are increasingly becoming involved in site-recording projects, cultural tourism, traditional arts and crafts, dance and other activities. Today there are many Aboriginal families living within the Thebarton area and adjoining suburbs. They come from all around the state, some from the west coast, others from Point Pearce, Point McLeay (now known as Rakkan), Murray Bridge and the south-east. Among them are families of Kaurna descent, still living on the lands once occupied by their ancestors.

References

1 Douglas Pike, *Paradise of dissent, South Australia 1829-1857,* Longmans Green and Co., London, pp. 120-1; J M Main, 'The Foundation of South Australia' in D Jaensch (ed.)The *Flinders history of South Australia: Political history,* Wakefield Press, 1986, pp. 8-11. Pike and Main both provide a detailed explanation of the political machinations behind the plans for settlement of South Australia according to the principles of 'systematic colonization'. The South Australia Act of 1834 is to be found in B Dickey and Peter Howell (eds.), *South Australia's foundation: Select documents,* Wakefield Press, Netley. 1986.

2 *William Light's Brief journal and Australian Diaries, with an introduction and notes by David Elder,* Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1984, pp. 37, 114-115.

3 Geoffrey Dutton and David Elder, *Colonel William Light - founder of a city,* Melbourne University Press, 1991, p. 7.

4 Dutton and Elder, p. 7. Dutton and Elder believe that Martinha was Eurasian, possibly with Portuguese ancestry. Martinha lived with Francis from 1772 and bore him five children. He did not ever marry her. Although she was connected with the court of Kedah it seems most unlikely that she was a 'Malay princess' or that she brought Penang with her to Light as a dowry, as has sometimes been suggested.

5 Dutton and Elder. pp. 19-29.

6 Dutton and Elder, pp. 76-77. Virtually nothing is known of Miss Perois. There is no mention of her in Light's letters or journals.

7 Dutton and Elder, 123. Her friends included Jane, Lady Franklin and Baron Hugel, both of whom were to develop interests in the study of the natural sciences in colonial Australia.

8 Wray Vamplew (ed), *Australian historical statistics,* Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Broadway, NSW, 1987, p. 42.

9 Dutton and Elder, p. 123.

10 Dutton and Elder, p. 189; Pike, pp. 169-170, 174-5.

11 M. Williams, *The making of the South Australian landscape, a study in the historical geography of South* Australia, Academic Press, London, 1974, pp. 401-2 and 413; John Tregenza, 'Colonel Light's "Theberton Cottage" and his legacy to Maria Gandy: a re-consideration of the evidence', in *journal of the Historical Society of South* Australia, no. 17, 1989, p. 7.

12 Dutton and Elder, p. 172. Light's title of Captain came from his command of the *Rapid.* Tregenza also quotes the diaries of William Jacob, one of Light's surveyors.

13 South Australian Register, 2 January 1841.

14 Quoted by Dutton and .Elder, p. 268.

15 Tregenza, p. 9 & 11.

16 Tregenza, pp. 12-13. Tregenza used adult male wages as a yardstick.

17 Examples are an advertisement recording the dissolution of the partnership of Ingham and Bean, tanners, in the *South Australian Register,* 10 August 1839, p. 1 and an advertisement for a public meeting regarding the need for a bridge, the *Southern Australian,* 30 April 1840. However a report of the meeting in the *South Australian* on 12 May 1840 uses the Thebarton spelling.

18 Ingrid Srubjan, History, Town of Thebarton, unpublished manuscript, 1983, p. 4.

19 Geoffrey Manning in *Manning's place names of South Australia,* published by the author, Adelaide, 1990, p. 333, notes that the *Registerofl6* October 1883 advertises 180 allotments with 'glorious views, unequalled soil, macadamised roads, level surface and capital drainage.'

20 Section 47, Hundred of Adelaide was laid out by F Wainhouse, R L Parker and CE, P S and W F Danby, *Manning's place names of South Australia,* p. 132.

21 An essay by Tom Gara is included in Geoffrey Manning, Thebarton History, unpublished manuscript, 1994.

2 *Living and working in Thebarton 1830s–1860s*

In its early stages the village of Thebarton was a reasonably self-contained little community, described in the South Australian Magazine in 1841 as having 100 houses, many of them 'substantial', and 'a good tavern'. Being 'close to the town, many mechanics and labourers patronise its cheap freehold plots'. At the time, when there were about thirty villages around Adelaide, people were paying £14 per acre in Thebarton compared to £20 in Kensington, £30 in Hindmarsh and £35 in Walkerville.[1] In 1843 J F Bennett provided a more detailed description:

> The largest of the suburban villages are Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Bowden, built on three adjoining sections of land close to the Torrens just below Adelaide, and on the border of the park lands. The inhabitants of these villages consist of mechanics, labourers etc., who have houses of their own, cultivate small gardens, rear a few pigs and poultry and find employment among the surrounding farmers. One of the steam flour mills, already mentioned, is in Hindmarsh, and another in Thebarton. The latter place also contains a tannery, numerous brickworks, etc.[2]

Thus Thebarton was already being noticed as a modestly priced location where small scale business provided employment for numbers of people who lived nearby.

As in the cities of pre-industrial Europe, the cheapest and most common means of transport was by foot. As in those 'walking cities' many people conducted a small business from their own property or from somewhere nearby where they lived.[3] Some were partly self-supporting but also did casual work. As the colony grew, there was a demand for workers to process raw materials such as hides and grain, and a demand for building materials such as bricks. As firms were established in Thebarton for such work, houses were built within walking distance for the workers.

Farming and milling

If there was some industrial development in 1843 this was still primarily a rural district with wheat the most important crop. People needed bread and it was relatively easy to grow wheat on the Adelaide plains. Settlers in South Australia did not have the difficulties encountered by the Europeans who first came to Sydney Cove in 1788. There was plenty of fertile land which was not difficult to clear. For centuries Aboriginal people had been clearing the land by periodic controlled burning to make it easier to catch the wildlife which formed an important part of their diet, a technique that is often referred to

today as 'firestick' farming. It is said that the Aborigines, by burning the countryside in this way over thousands of years, promoted the spread of grasslands and the proliferation of eucalypts and other trees. The open grassy plains around Adelaide, which attracted the early European settlers, were the result of this 'firestick farming' by the Kaurna. For settlers with limited capital, grain crops were especially valuable because, unlike orchard trees or vines, they provided a source of income within a year and the South Australian climate was particularly suitable for wheat. The wheat varieties used were mainly those used in England and continental Europe, not ideal for South Australian conditions but still producing satisfactory crops.[4]

To grind the wheat South Australia also followed the lead set by Britain, where stationary steam engines had taken the place of the old water mills which dated back to medieval times. Gardiner and Craigies' Victoria flour mill, opened in May 1842 with the services of 'the most experienced miller in the colony',[5] was a substantial brick building occupying eight allotments between Chapel and George Streets, including the area that later became Albert Street. The brick and stone building was three storeys high and measured 21 feet by 18 feet with an outhouse for the boiler and a 45 foot chimney. It was originally driven by gearing but the cogs were replaced by belts in 1843. The ground floor was taken up by the machinery, the first floor by the grinding stones, and the second floor by two hoppers: one for the meal, the other for the wheat. By 1853 Christopher Whitford had taken over the mill and the value of the property had doubled to £200. He later sold the business to Thomas Waterhouse, after which it steadily declined in value. After 1865 there was no further mention of it in the Assessment Books.[6] By then it was more economical to have milling operations closer to new wheat-growing areas such as in the mid-north of the colony.

Brickmaking

Gardiner and Craigies' flour mill was one of many brick buildings in the colony. By the early 1840s many people wanted bricks or stone to build substantial dwellings. Thebarton had suitable clay deposits, was close to many of the construction sites and could therefore deliver the bricks cheaply. By 1843 there were numerous brickworks, the earliest of which were small and often run by a family group. The first brickmakers started in the Adelaide parklands until they were given notice to quit by the government in May 1838.[7]

The demand for bricks and for other building materials increased as the colony's population grew and some settlers tasted financial success. Maria Gandy's brother George seems to have been the first brickmaker in Thebarton. The Southern Australian of 27 February 1839 advertised the 'delivery of bricks to any part of South Australia, for £3 per thousand, or at the kiln on No. 1 Country Section for £ 2.10s.' Specimens were on show at the office of Light, Finniss & Co. A year later 200,000 of the 'finest bricks' at Gandy's yard at Thebarton were advertised for sale by auction.[8] Other brick makers in the early years were John Sarre, whose two acre brickfield adjoined the River Torrens on Section 1 at the back of Thomas

McKay's tannery. In 1857 he was joined by John Lane but by 1859 the land was vacant.[9]

Along the banks of the Torrens in Thebarton and Torrensville, extending as far south as George Street and North Parade, there were good deposits of alluvial clay which was well suited to the production of bricks by wet plastic methods. Clay was tempered and mixed to a soft puggy consistency. The traditional way of shaping the clay was to mould it by hand on a table. This method was refined when wooden moulds and the wire-cut system were introduced. The bricks were then ready to be dried in the sun or under sheds, in preparation for firing in the kiln. As clay was abundant and the processes of shaping and firing were fairly simple, bricks were quite a cheap building material to manufacture in the early decades of the colony. While manufacturers experimented with machines to shorten the process, hand made bricks continued to compete in the market with machine made bricks until the 1930s. [10]

Tanneries and fellmongeries

Tanneries were also important for the new community. There was livestock to provide the raw material and considerable demand for leather items such as shoes, bags or saddlery. Settlers walked long distances and quickly learnt that locally made boots and shoes, designed to cope with rugged conditions, were a much better investment than those brought out from Britain.[11]

Tanneries and fellmongeries were among the first industries in Thebarton. Supported by raw materials from slaughterhouses in the West Parklands and in Thebarton, the successful factories developed into large concerns by the late 1850s. At the fellmongeries, chemicals were used to remove wool from sheep skins and at the tanneries, hides were processed for use as leather. Because of the methods used in these trades and the need for a plentiful supply of water, some of the factories spanned both sides of the Torrens, leading to some confusion about their exact location.

The first tannery in Thebarton was set up by Robert Laundy Ingham and George Thomas Bean. The partnership was dissolved 'by mutual consent' on 24 July 1839 and, in the advertising style of the times, Bean in the Register of 10 August 1839 announced his intention to carry on the business:

> George Bean, having taken the above business, hopes by his constant exertions and knowledge of the business, to merit that support and encouragement which his predecessor has met with during the time he has been engaged in the business. He likewise wishes to intimate to those persons residing in the bush, that he is at all times open to purchase for cash, hides, calf and kangaroo skins in any number.

He advertised as a 'tanner, currier, leather-cutter and parchment-manufacturer' with a wholesale and retail warehouse in Rundle Street. [12] Other members of the family, William Henry and Arthur, joined the business. The original tannery was adjacent to the Torrens near Dew Street (formerly Beans Road). The Beans also leased 15 acres of land on adjoining section 46, where they kept horses, cattle, sheep and goats;

Wool washing on the River Torrens at the Taylor Brothers' Tannery and Wool Washing Works, mid 1870s. The city and the hills can be seen in the background. According to an 1875 letter to the South Australian Register, 600 men were employed in fellmongeries along this part of the river and as many as 6,000 people were supported as family members or as people in trades supported by the wages paid. At the time people such as Charles White of Reedbeds were campaigning against alleged pollution of the river and health hazards arising from the operations of the fellmongeries. The writer argued that the fellmongeries were such an important part of the South Australian economy they should be allowed to continue.
Courtesy: Mortlock Library

such a diversified business was common at the time. As their business prospered, the Beans transferred the tannery to section 46 in about 1864 and built a large brick and stone house on the northern side of Reid Street, mid-way between Queen and Dew Streets. It has sometimes been said that the house once belonged to Captain John Hindmarsh, but research by local historians does not support this.[13] After the Beans left the house in about 1865 the property was bought by Robert Dalgleish, a local farmer, for £200. In 1871 the land, house and tanyard passed to the Reid family, who maintained the tannery until the early 1900s. The house was demolished sometime between 1915 and 1923 but part of the tannery was incorporated into F H Faulding and Co. Ltd's 'Eucalyptus Oil' store, now part of the University of Adelaide Thebarton campus.

During the 1850s and 1860s the Beans were joined by a number of other tanners and fellmongers. Thomas McKay had a tannery and house on 1½ acres near the Port Road bridge. The business, substantially enlarged by 1858, was sold to S Martin in 1866, after which there was a succession of owners. William Roberts had a brick cottage and tannery on section 46, adjacent to the bridge on South Road, a site later used by Onkaparinga Textiles Ltd. In 1855 Roberts' tannery was taken over by Ephraim and John Taylor, who began washing wool on the three acre property in 1856. Apart from the tannery and wool washing works, they had six acres of cultivated land and four small cottages for their workers. As with the case of the Beans' business the tannery was combined with

a farming enterprise and, like the Beans, by the mid 1860s they were prospering. Their property was extended to 12 acres and the original value doubled to £80.

Colonel Light's old home and part of the land around it were used for many years by tanners and fellmongers until the Reverend Mr McEwin moved into the house in the late 1870s. After George Gandy and the Mayos left in the early 1840s, George's brother Edward leased the house, 25 acres and 4 two-roomed cottages from Maria Mayo's trustees. He also leased the remaining 80 acres of Section 1 north of the Thebarton village until 1855, when Richard Addis took over the lease. Edward Gandy apparently left for the Victorian and Californian goldfields and, on his return to South Australia in the eighteen sixties, went to Stonyfell to manage a Jersey stud and cattle farm. In 1858 David Solomon leased the house and cottages and a few surrounding acres, and in the following year Henry Warren took over the property. In 1863 John Temple Sagar occupied the house, and by 1869 had set up both a fellmongery and tanyard on six acres. In 1870 the business passed to G Catchlove who appears to have enlarged Light's old home: it was described in the assessment book for that year as an eight roomed house. By 1872 John Taylor occupied the property but there was no further mention of a fellmongery or tanyard on the premises.[14]

Nineteenth century newspapers were always keen to inform their readers of the achievements of local manufacturers. On 29 October, 1859 the Adelaide Observer reported on the tanneries and fellmongeries in Hindmarsh and Thebarton, which were judged to be 'as good as any to be found in the Southern Hemisphere.' The description of the industries revealed much about the methods of production and something of the working conditions in these industries. The reporter commented on the importance of tanning and fellmongering in a colony which had millions of sheep and hundreds of thousands of horses and cattle. Leather was also important because there were many thousands of people needing boots. They lived in a society with no cars or bikes and people generally walked from one place to another. Furthermore, local tanneries had the advantage of ready access to wattle bark, an important raw material for processing. The larger firms used steam engines to drive bark mills, which ground the bark into small pieces for immersion in the tanning liquid. The reporter's description of the mill room gives a vivid impression of the nature of work conditions for employees:

> The mill room . . . is a scene of continual racket and perpetual dust, the toxic quality of which is very perceptible to the taste ... indeed the men can only work by keeping their mouths and noses, indeed their whole faces covered up to the eyes ... The hides, when they are brought to the butchers, are first washed, and then placed in vats filled with a solution of lime, increasing in strength from vat to vat. The time occupied in this maceration is about three weeks when they are taken out and placed upon beams, and all the hair remaining upon

> them ... is scraped off They are then taken to the tanpits, and are steeped in an infusion of bark ... of increasing tannic force ... [15]

The hides were then taken out after periods varying from seven weeks for harness leather to five months for sole leather. When dry they were rolled, scoured and placed in tallow and oil, in readiness for the manufacturer. According to the report, the Bean brothers sent off 25 hides a week and Thomas McKay 25 to 30.

The waste liquid was sometimes carted away for use by farmers as manure; more often than not it was pumped into the River Torrens. It was a significant pollutant of the river but a further comment indicates that it also polluted the atmosphere, for the ladies were advised to 'take a hint therefrom as to the care they should bestow on their complexion when questionable breezes (were) abroad.'

Taylor Brothers' fellmongery was described in the Adelaide Observer of 26 November 1859:

> The fellmongeries appeared to demand a special inspection, and we accordingly strolled down to the Torrens, where it is crossed by a fine new iron bridge on the road from the Black Forest to the Port, and entered the establishment situated there belonging to Messrs. Taylor & Co.

The fellmongery covered about three acres, and was 'the most extensive in the colony'. Processing the sheepskins that had been brought in from local butcheries produced very pungent smells and the reporter tells us that

> the perfume emitted from the sweating-houses makes it not at all desirable to remain long in this particular locality. It is evident an immense amount of ammonia is generated, the pungency of which very strongly impinges the olfactories of any person who is not familiarised with the fragrances of a fellmongery.

The reporter noted that, while in England the pelts might be used for parchment or glue, in South Australia they were mostly used for manure or fuel for the wool-scouring boilers.

Wool corning in from the stations was weighed and packed up in large stacks in a shed for sorting. The description of the sorting, scouring, drying and packing of wool shows it was a labour intensive process, providing considerable employment opportunities for local workmen.

> In the shed we entered four men were engaged in this operation. The fleeces were lifted from the floor and placed upon a table about five feet by three, in the centre of which is a wire grating of two feet by 20 inches, or thereabouts, through which falls to the floor the particles of dirt and dust, which appear to be very considerable.

The wool was then sorted into several qualities ready for scouring:

> It is afterwards scoured in large boilers closely adjacent, containing hot water, soap, soda, and other peculiar ingredients, which are

> continually added as the wool is passed through the coppers, great care being required in keeping the liquor up to a certain heat – a matter that depends entirely upon the description and quality of wool under operation. There are three of these coppers upon the premises, containing from 150 to 200 gallons each. Fresh water is being continually pumped into them to compensate for evaporation and for what the wool absorbs as it passes through them.

The wool was then washed in the River Torrens which was dammed nearby to make the process easier.

> Any one who visits the yard, on glancing down from the scouring coppers to the bed of the river, will see the water so dammed up as to bring the stream close to the bank, and will notice seven stages placed across the stream at convenient distances, upon each of which are placed two large tubs to contain the wool, and also two square boxes or washes constructed of perforated zinc imported for the purpose, and so slung as to allow the water to pass through them and so carry with it all the impurities contained in the wool, which is kept continually agitated by men furnished with long sticks, &c., for the purpose.

The wool had to be carried up brick steps in hand barrows before being piled in heaps on lattice-boards to drain. It was then dried on large sheets in the Taylors' drying grounds. Someone had to turn it two or three times a day:

> The drying-ground in Messrs. Taylor & Co's establishment extends over an area of an acre, one-third of which is boarded. This part of the yard is fenced off from the rest by a close fence. The time occupied in drying the wool after it is spread out varies, according to weather, from one to two days. In spreading the wool to dry the various qualities are kept distinct, as they also are when put into the woolshed, bins being formed for the reception of each variety. In one of the woolsheds, which are of ample dimensions, is an excellent screw-press, made by Mr. Wyatt, of Adelaide, from a pattern in the possession of Messrs. Peacock & Son ...
>
> It occupies two men ten hours to pack and finish off eight bales. The press in the busy season of the year is at work day and night; and a watchman is upon the premises from dusk to dawn as a precaution against accident and fire, and to light the fires under the scouring-pans in the morning. There is also a new and commodious shed upon the other side of the yard for classing and repacking washed fleece wools.
>
> The salting of hides for exportation is also carried on upon Messrs. Taylor & Co.'s premises. The hides being brought in fresh from the butcher, are placed in brine, after which they are spread upon a board, and layer of salt of no inconsiderable thickness is placed upon them and rubbed into them. After they have lain there from a week to a fortnight they are rolled up, and afterwards shipped. A stack of 350, cured and ready for shipment, lay in the house at the time we visited it. Gluepieces are also made at this establishment from the feet of bullocks, &c., in a manner not hitherto practised in the colony, although long prevalent in Sydney. Some tons have been

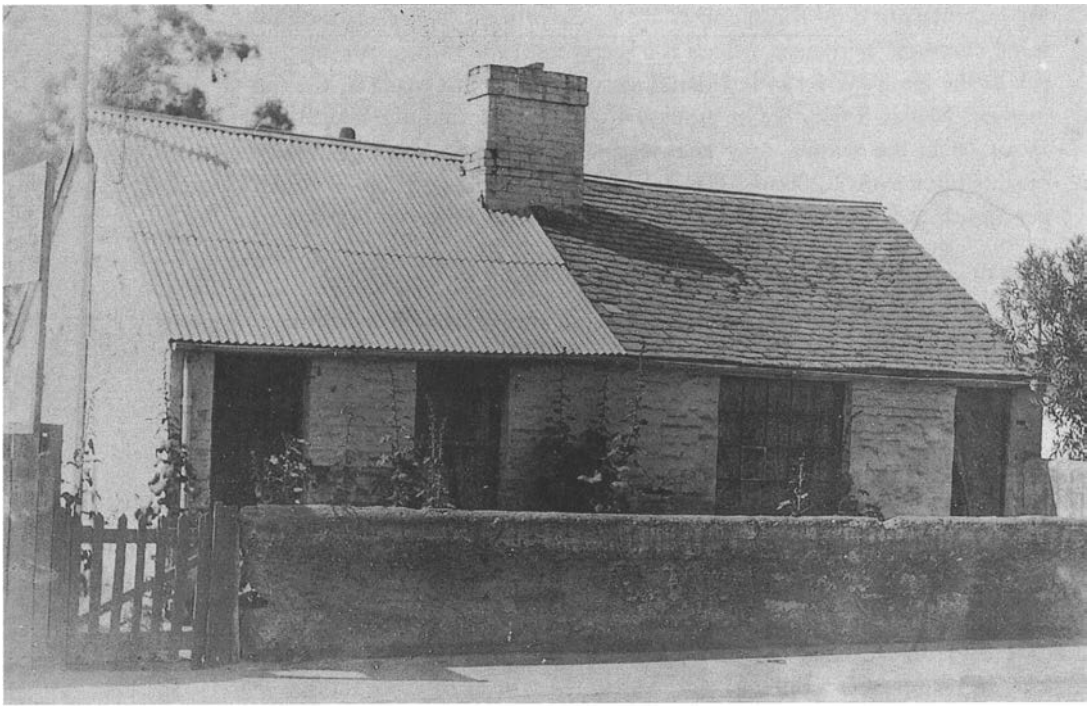
> for the home market during the current year. Neastfoot oil is also manufactured on the premises by a new process. When clarified by some chemical ingredient, which is a secret with the firm, it is clear and pale as the finest sherry, and evidently far superior to that made by the old method. Messrs. Taylor & Co. employ 40 hands in the summer season and 15 or 16 in the winter; they keep eight horses for their business; they operate upon from 1,200 to 1,500 sheepskins per week; they salt 300 hides per month; and they wash, scour, or repack 1,500 bales of wool in the year.

Living in Thebarton and establishing a home

Bennett in 1843 referred to the inhabitants of the villages in Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Bowden as chiefly 'mechanics, labourers etc.' The term 'mechanic' was used for semi-skilled workers in general, who were often better paid than unskilled labourers but most of whom could still only afford simple, inexpensive accommodation. In tum this led to a demand for blocks of land that were not especially large but which would provide for a house, some garden area and perhaps a small workshop enabling a commercial venture. Those with a small farm often supplemented this with other work such as labouring for hire, timber-cutting or carting. Many grew a few vegetables and raised poultry, and an important early task was to put up some fencing so that neighbours' animals, especially goats, pigs and cows, could be kept away from plants. A ditch or close paling fence of stringybark about five feet high was recommended by Col. Light.'[16] A shed for stock or a barn might be added in time and sometimes the first dwelling became the shed as a more substantial building of wood or stone was built. Water could be collected in a barrel or other container or, if funds and energy permitted, a well was dug. Plants such as melons and potatoes were easy to grow and often women and children helped to care for the garden plot and the endless task of carrying buckets of water in summer months. Women and children also assisted with the care of poultry and pigs.[17] Such diversification, especially if there were some fruit-trees, helped a household to survive times of hardship, such as sickness or unemployment. Mary Keane from County Clare in Ireland, who moved to Thebarton in 1840, helped her husband Joseph run a dairy which they purchased from Dalgleish (after whom Dalgleish Street is named). She also grew fruit and vegetables which she sold around the Thebarton-Hindmarsh area.[18]

Early colonial gardens were commonly laid out symmetrically, with a central pathway and vegetables, herbs and a few flowers grown from cuttings. Some householders planted vines. Much experimentation was needed to discover what plants could be grown under local conditions and how they should be tended. Local knowledge handed down from parents or neighbours to new gardeners only gradually evolved.

Home ownership became possible for many people who would never have had such an opportunity in Britain. For one thing, wages were relatively high in South Australia.[19] Some therefore were able to purchase a prefabricated house, while others began by building a very simple dwelling from materials that were locally available. Some were constructed from stone and wood; alternatively wattle and daub was



Old Thebarton house in Chapel Street, thought to datefrom 1850s. Photograph taken possibly in 1915.

used, in which a wooden framework was built and panels were made of mud, straw and possibly manure. Such buildings can still be seen in the Barossa Valley and the Adelaide Hills. Some buildings were made of pisé, that is damp earth rammed into formwork. If well-made this produced a very solid, long-lasting building. Others were made of bricks. Sections of buildings using old bricks are still to be found in the very old parts of Thebarton such as Maria Street.

The typical cottage was symmetrical in design with a central door and a window on either side. The roof covering might initially be just canvas or plant material growing nearby such as reeds gathered along the Torrens. In time this would be replaced by timber shingle, slate or galvanised iron. Window space might be covered with fabric such as calico or hessian at first, with glass added later. Calico or hessian was often used for improvised internal walls and also used for ceilings. While these materials were inexpensive they did pose a fire risk, especially since candles were used for lighting.

As newcomers acquired more money and decided to stay in the district they sometimes effected improvements to their homes, such as extra rooms or a lean-to or verandah. Whether large or small the typical design came to be one where there were rooms opening off a central passageway and a kitchen at the back. A bathroom was a luxury for future decades. Some of the very early dwellings built in the vicinity of Maria and Chapel Streets have survived, but renovations made over the years have obscured the original materials and it is not easy to visualise how they were constructed. There were still houses with earth floors until quite recently.[20]

By 1853, 65 of the 153 buildings recorded in Thebarton were cottages of only two rooms and only 38 of the others were of four rooms or more. Forty were built of bricks, including Light's own cottage. Forty eight were of pise, popular because it was cheap and the raw materials were readily available. There were twelve built of stone but only one built of timber, a reflection of the limited amount of locally grown timber available for building construction - by contrast bricks were being produced locally. Timber was needed for other purposes such as fencing, furniture, carts and containers. However timber was used for the very early dwellings, sometimes still in a green state.

An account written by Henry Shearing of his parents' house in 1839 provides us with a graphic description of what it was like to settle in Thebarton in the very early days. The house was on the north-west corner of the parklands, opposite the site of the Squatters' Arms. The Shearings later moved to Hindmarsh, setting up a family brickyard on the Port Road.[21]

> [It] was built with timber split out of logs 8 feet long ... and having been put there in a green state warped like a piece of new leather in the sun, so that it was not necessary for a glass window, and neither was there any, but a calico about 2 feet wide and two feet long was put in its place ... [there was] natural surface for the floor and no fireplace as there was only one room. The fireplace was made outside with stones laid in mortar and in this way the cooking took place. I have often times wondered what my parents thought of their removal from England from a good home ... to go into a wilderness as it appeared to be at this time ... At this time I am sure there were not more than six houses in all Thebarton.[22]

In the late 1840s when Sarah Hannam's family settled in Thebarton the village was more developed, but conditions were still quite primitive. Her father William Laurence Holmes (1813-1873) was a lace-maker in Nottingham. He had worked in France for a time as one of a group sent there to introduce machine lace-making, but political unrest in France meant that the group had to return to England where industrialisation was destroying Nottingham lace-making. Unable to find suitable employment back in England, and perhaps more inclined to try a new venture, he determined that he would 'go to the colonies, which were then on every-body's lips as another El Dorado.' His

Mrs Sarah Hannam, the daughter of William Holmes and his wife, came to Thebarton in the late 18 40s when her family bought land in Chapel Street, c.1840s. Photograph taken in the 1920s or 1930s.
Courtesy: Miss Hannam of Strathalbyn.

wife and relatives were against the plan but he had his way and the family came to South Australia.

William Holmes bought land (Lot 7) in Chapel Street, so named because there was a small Wesleyan Methodist chapel at the end of the street. Beyond that there was a great belt of gum trees, long since gone. The family lived in tents until he and his two young sons helped to build their home, which consisted of two large rooms divided by hessian into compartments. Mrs Hannam recalled that some of the clothing brought from England, such as the quilted silk bonnet and dress packed for her by a well-meaning aunt, proved to be quite unsuitable.

Many challenges faced the family. Not surprisingly, Holmes could not get work as a lace designer in South Australia where the market for luxury goods was limited. The Holmes family found the summer heat very trying. Drought conditions saw the River Torrens dry up into pools.

> There was a well near their dwelling, but the water was too brackish for drinking purposes; and her two brothers would have to go across the parklands with buckets on poles to get water from the Torrens, and sometimes she would accompany them. People were very thankful when water carts began to trade – charging 1/- cash for it.

Mrs Hannam recalled that the family had their own goat and thus had plenty of milk. However, fruit was expensive in those early days, except for water melons and tomatoes. Water melons, loaded on a bullock wagon, were hawked from door to door. It was some time before locally grown fruit and vegetables were more readily available.[23]

Earning a living

All levels of society experienced much economic uncertainty m the first twenty five years of European settlement and periods of prosperity and recession do much to explain why some businesses prospered and others failed. There were boom years, such as the speculative boom of 1841-2 and the boost that came from mineral discoveries. There were periods of economic downturn. The amount of rainfall in the colony in a particular year affected crops. Patterns of business spending or changes in overseas markets could determine the success or failure of local enterprises. This in turn determined whether people could get work within a reasonable distance of where they lived. In a new colony with a small population there was only a limited demand for some types of work. Whereas Holmes' training in lace design was not at a premium, Shearing's efforts to make bricks were much more likely to bring success. Carpenters and blacksmiths were usually in demand. Where there was a family business, as in the case of the Shearings, there was often more scope to weather a year of economic downturn, especially if the family members worked well together. Furthermore, luck played its part in the economic uncertainties of the time. Illness or accident could disastrously affect people

had little to fall back on in bad times. Although there were health and welfare services, social security provisions as we know them did not exist.

Needless to say, personal qualities were vitally important for success. Those who were enterprising, resourceful, hardworking and practical were more likely to succeed. Settlement society needed people who would tum their hand to a new task, cope with hot weather, and endure the flies, mosquitoes and ants. The survivors were very often those who had both luck and tenacity.

Some of the wealthier people were able to weather economic fluctuations because their business interests were diversified. Nevertheless, in spite of such strategies, the uncertainty of business and the keenness of competition in the 1840s and 1850s was reflected in bankruptcies, frequent changes of ownership and dissolution of partnerships.

For the average workman, while work was not always available, rates of pay were often better than those in Britain. Casual unskilled labourers earned four shillings a day and 'mechanics' or semi-skilled workers earned up to seven shillings a day. Blacksmiths, important tradesmen in a new settlement, might earn eight shillings.

Wilkinson, who wrote a book for prospective emigrants in 1848, set out a table showing the sum required to purchase and cultivate 80 acres of land in South Australia. He provided two columns showing a high and a low price, the latter requiring more economies such as a very simple dwelling that might be really just a hut, simpler provisions and less expensive land.[24]

	High price	Low price
	£ s	£ s
80 acres of good cleared land	100	80
Fencing, employing all labour	40	20* [working himself]
Six bullocks, at 5s each	30	30
One dray, plough and harrow	18	18
Carpenter's and farming tools	10	10
Building a cottage	30	5
Seed wheat at 6s per bushel	36	36
12 months provisions for 2 persons	30	20
Two labourers at £25 each per annum	50	50
Provisions for labourers	20	20
Extra expenses, including reaping	60	20
Four cows for milk	20	10 [2 cows only]
Ploughing the whole by contract	50	10 [employing his own team]
	£ 494	£ 329

Thus, according to Wilkinson's figures, a labourer on a farm would only be paid £25 per year, but this allowed for a further £10 a year to be spent on his 'provisions' and his accommodation was provided. Wilkinson's calculations that it cost £10 to £15 a year for provisions for one person help us to see how far the weekly wage would go for someone living in Thebarton. Given that the average labourer spent little on transport, since

there were no cars or bikes to be paid for, and there was no income tax, if accommodation was relatively cheap he might well be able to save up money to buy some land for a house.

Skilled workers, getting up to seven shillings a day or more, were in a stronger position to buy land. Like unskilled workers they were able to build a simple dwelling, using inexpensive materials. If they lacked the services of electricity, gas, piped water and sewerage, they were also spared the costs of electricians and plumbers. In addition, they were not required to get building permits and so could make the dwelling as simple and functional as they liked. As noted above, nearly 65 of the 153 buildings in the first assessment of the West Torrens Council for the Thebarton area were of two rooms only.

Rates of pay for women are more difficult to assess. Many were employed as domestic servants, earning perhaps £20 per annum. This was likely to include their keep. Some worked on farms, in taverns or shops or other small businesses, often with other family members. Others obtained extra cash from selling dairy products or vegetables or doing some millinery or sewing. Part time work as a midwife provided valuable opportunities for women at a time when home births were the norm and the population was a relatively young one. For the better educated, school teaching was the single most important occupation and it was especially important for widows and single women. The common pattern was for small schools to be run in private homes. In colonial times parents might pay threepence to sixpence a week per child for this service, although some paid more, perhaps a shilling a week.[25]

Women who were involved in small businesses such as school teaching, running a shop or pub, or keeping a dairy or farm might take a great deal of responsibility. Their position in law was relatively weak and they could not vote even if they owned property; nevertheless many women were making important financial and practical decisions. This was especially the case for single women, widows and those whose menfolk were sick, injured or working away from home. In the 1850s many men were away sporadically at the goldfields in Victoria.

Some men who went to the goldfields returned home with a windfall large enough to finance the purchase of a small property. Others suffered misfortune; succumbing to illness or injury or like William Holmes, father of Mrs Hannam, losing what they had found. Her description would apply to many settlers and their relatives:

> Like most of the men, [he] went to the Ballarat diggings, taking his two young sons with him, who, with the optimism of youth, were delighted at the prospect of possible adventure. Thieving was rife and unfortunately [he] and his sons lost the little gold they found.[26]

Some of those who tried an adventurous life on the goldfields were content to settle down after their return to more mundane jobs, such as working in the local tanneries or brickworks. Others were less settled and sought seasonal or casual work in country areas when work was hard to get in the vicinity of Thebarton; and there were other reasons for a spell

away – a debt that was owing, a girl 'in trouble' or a quarrel with a family member or neighbour.

In spite of such vicissitudes, as new families established themselves in Thebarton more and more labourers were available to service new commercial ventures in the district. Brick kilns, flour mills and tanneries have already been mentioned. Other secondary industries were brewing, slaughtering, and wool washing. In the early years many were small-scale, often family operated, but increasingly they provided employment for workers in Thebarton and Hindmarsh. In turn, this provided stimulus for the growth of shops, hotels, trades and transport.

Thebarton village

Thebarton village developed into both a commercial and residential centre with houses, shops, hotels, schools, churches and small work shops together with more substantial businesses such as the flour mill and slaughter houses. A brewery had been established although the business did not survive floods in 1844.[27] By the late 1850s the strip of land along the River Torrens from South Road to the Port Road was dotted with 'noxious trades' (for example the tanneries and fellmongeries) and brickyards. These were interspersed with farmlets. Such industries were the forerunners of some large-scale concerns which developed in the nineteenth century and continued for a hundred years or more. With the exception of the industries along the Torrens and in the village, much of the remainder of Thebarton was pastoral, agricultural or vacant land.

Inevitably there were taverns. Two years after Gardiner and Craigie opened the Victoria Mill, William Gardiner diversified his business interests by opening the Wheat Sheaf Tavern nearby to serve local residents as well as those who visited the mill on business. The opening of the Wheat Sheaf Tavern on allotments 105 and 106, immediately to the east of the present Wheatsheaf Hotel which was built in 1919, was advertised in the Register of 26 October 1844. The account of this event reminds us how much the settlers must have enjoyed occasions when they could get together to celebrate a successful venture, this one occurring less than eight years after the official launching of the new province:

> The pleasant village of Thebarton was on Tuesday last visited by a number of our respectable citizens for the purpose of celebrating the opening of the 'Wheat Sheaf Tavern', recently purchased by our respected fellow colonist Mr. William Gardiner, and opened by him for the purpose of affording accommodation to the numerous country settlers frequenting his mill at Thebarton. On this occasion our worthy host and hostess placed before the guests a sumptuous dinner, comprising all the variety of luxuries in the colony. John Wotherspoon Esq., honoured the company by presiding over them; and on the cloth being removed, the usual loyal toasts were given, and responded to with great enthusiasm, and the company separated in perfect harmony at an advanced hour in the evening, wishing

Squatters Arms Hotel. The first licenced publican was Patrick McClarron, publican 1850-55. The hotel was once known as the Forresters and Squatters Arms Hotel, the name probably came from the farmers and farm workers in the area. The hotel was rebuilt in the 1880s.

Mr. Gardiner every success that his perseverance and industry justly entitle him to.

A succession of publicans ran the hotel from 1846 to 1870, including Thomas Ottaway, Charles Barnett, Alfred and Fanny Swift (who ran the hotel for a relatively long period of six years), William Smythe, William Robertson, and James Logan.

Another early hotel which still exists, the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms, was opened in 1850. There was considerable variation in the name of this hotel, which was built on the corner of George Street and East Terrace and opened in 1850. Patrick McCarron ran it until 1855 when C Olarenshaw took it over. It then passed in turn to R B Morgan, Thomas Jacques, H W Bolt and Charles Hepworth. Jacques was one of the first purchasers of land from Light's Section 1.

The Market Tavern, renamed in 1848 the Butchers' Arms Inn and the forerunner of the present Mile End Hotel, was opened in 1840 with William Wilkins as the first lessee. The hotel was in the vicinity of what is now Junction Lane, opposite the site used later by Hardy's Wine Cellars and next to the Thebarton cattle sale yards. In 1845 the licence was transferred to William Dumbleton who had a butcher shop in the city. There were several publicans after 1847, and in 1870 the hotel was renamed the Mile End Hotel, with Charles Blake in charge.

Other hotels in Thebarton did not have as long a life-span. William Gandy opened the Brickmakers' Arms (otherwise known as the Bricklayers' Arms) in 1840 but in the following year it closed down. The Great Tom of Lincoln, also known as the Great Bell of Lincoln, lasted a little longer. Robert Bristow (like Jacques an early purchaser of land from

Section 1) was the first licensee in 1840; by the end of the decade this too, succumbed to the competition from the other hotels.

The names of the hotels are a reminder of some of the local occupations and trades of the day: wheat growing and milling, brickmaking and bricklaying, timber-cutting, raising sheep and cattle, and slaughtering. With none of today's refrigeration services, local butchers usually had to provide a slaughtering service, and those who required meat and slaughtering services had three places from which to choose: John Cooter's butcher shop at the eastern end of Chapel Street, John Powell's shop and slaughterhouse in George Street, and John Hemmingway's butchery, a little further along the street, near the Port Road. As with all perishable goods, residents would buy meat 'a little often'.

Other shops were gradually established in Thebarton village. There were general stores in George Street: William Gurr's, next to Powell's shop, Robert May's, which stood on the site of the present group of shops on the north-west corner of George and Albert Streets, and, almost opposite May's, Thomas Newman's store. Such shops stocked a wide variety of goods such as food and beverages, patent medicines, candles, utensils, tools and clothing.

As business developed it became increasingly important for business people to have access to an efficient postal service. In addition, residents needed a postal service for personal contacts. In the days before telephone and telegraph settlers depended heavily on the mail, and in King William Street the General Post Office provided a key administrative service for the colony. Locally Ruddock, a storekeeper at Hilton, carried mail to and from Matthew Crosby's Post Office in Chapel street three times a week, free of charge. In a letter to the Post Master General, the West Torrens District Clerk requested a branch Post Office at Hilton.[28]

Matthew Crosby ran a combined Post Office and store on the northern side of Chapel Street, mid-way between Albert and Admella Streets. There were also three bakeries in Thebarton in the 1850s and 1860s: Cornelius Crowder and Samuel Irish each had one in George Street, and George Moody Dew ran a very successful bakery at his home in Chapel Street, almost at the back of the George Street Methodist Church. It is said that Thebarton church-goers put their Sunday roast in the bakery oven before they went to the service, so that it was ready for them upon their return. George Moody Dew's house survived for over a century until it was demolished in the mid 1950s.[29]

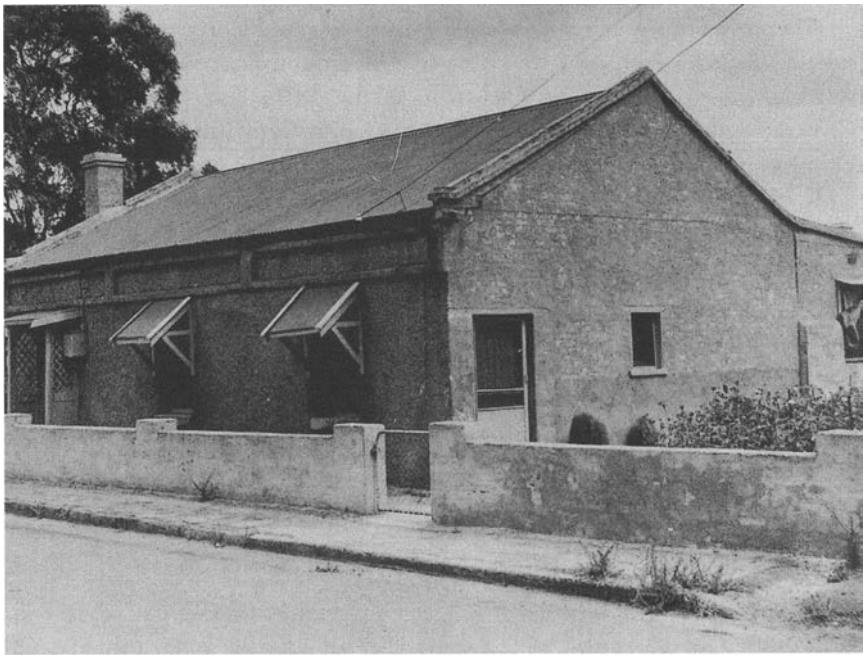
Like many business people, George Moody Dew combined his commercial interests with involvement in civic affairs and community work. One of the best known early residents, he arrived in South Australia in 1840 at the age of 22 with his wife Dinah and one child. They eventually raised eleven children but not all survived to adult life; Elizabeth Ann died at 18 of tuberculosis, or 'rapid consumption' as it was called.[30]

Thomas Hardy of Bankside

Another early resident who became a very successful businessman, albeit with rather different values and with a somewhat grander life-style, was Thomas

Hardy. While Dew produced bread at his Chapel Street bakery and supported the Methodist Church - which traditionally opposed the consumption of alcohol - Hardy established a vineyard and orchard, becoming one of the colony's successful vignerons. His property at Bankside, regarded as a show place for many years, provided employment for many a Thebarton resident.

After coming to South Australia in 1850, Hardy gained experience of local conditions working for John Reynell in the area south of the city that came to be know as Reynella. When gold was discovered in Victoria the enterprising Hardy soon decided that there were more profitable ways to make money than to dig for gold. He and some friends drove bullocks overland from Normanville for butchering and sale to the mining community. He was one of those who profited from the gold discoveries. Like so many he made his money not from the gold itself but from supplying goods to the miners; his success enabled him to buy land in the Thebarton district. He married his cousin Joanna in 1852. Planting on his property began in 1854 and by 1866 he had fifty acres of vines and fruit trees. An avenue of olive trees was planted in 1858. When these were bearing, the olives were crushed at the Adelaide Gaol where an olive grove had also been planted. A reporter from the *Register* newspaper, describing a visit to the property in 1866, gave a graphic account of the rural nature of Thebarton, describing the difficulties of finding Bankside and referring to the need to thread through 'a devious mass of roads, calculated to bewilder even a bushman on horseback', Yet by 1871 the property was sufficiently established to have irrigation from the Torrens aided by steam power and production figures of 27,000 gallons of wine. In addition five tons of raisins were produced by drying grapes.[31]



Part of George Moody Dew's house and bakery, Chapel Street, c. 1850s. Dew was an important man in the district, active in church and civic affairs, a campaigner for improved educational facilities and for law and order. He also campaigned against pollution of the River Torrens.

Thomas Hardy's Bankside home and vineyard at Underdale, photographed in the 1870s. Both house and cellars were destroyed by fire in 1904 and, although the house was re-built, the wine-making was transferred to the cellars on East Terrace at Mile End. Active in civic affairs, Thomas Hardy was for many years chairman ef the Thebarton School Board.
An account ef the property in the SA Register on 19 November 1866 stated that vines included Shiraz, Frontingnac, Roussillon, Mataro and Grenache, as well as muscats for raisins and Zante currants. Orchard plantings included citrons and lemons for candied peel and oranges.
Courtesy: G.C. Bishop

Roads and bridges

The newspaper reporter's dilemma with the devious mass of roads makes it pertinent to comment that the pattern of roads in metropolitan Adelaide owes much to the basic grid pattern of 'one-chain' roads planned by Light and his staff about the capital, a grid pattern that might be crossed by a diagonal road such as Port Road. A dozen north-south roads ran about 1.6 kilometres (1 mile) apart. East-west roads were in a less regular pattern because of the need to provide access to all the section blocks, many of which were either of 80 acres or 134 acres in size.[32]

The improvement of roads and bridges was of great concern to people in the early years, but they were difficult and costly to build and maintain. The earliest roads were primitive tracks, dusty in summer and often a muddy morass in winter. Before the government passed responsibility for the upkeep of district roads and streets to local councils in 1852, people had to provide for themselves - if they were lucky, they were aided by wealthier members of the community.

The Port Road was for many years only a track with deep ruts and gullies in the vicinity of Hindmarsh and Thebarton. People travelling to the City were forced to leave the road where it ended at Hindmarsh and Thebarton and go through the north parklands until they could cross the Torrens at the ford near Morphett Street. Travellers through Thebarton were hampered by the lack of public roads, and often had to cross fenced land or make detours to arrive at their destinations. The most important

thoroughfare, the Reedbeds Road (now Henley Beach Road), was declared a public road in 1841 but it was not properly surfaced until after 1855. Even then, it only extended from what we know as Fulham to Underdale and not directly into the city. Sections 2 and 3 were owned by the South Australia Company forming a large block of land that was impassable to traffic. The problem was relieved in 1855 when Kintore Street was formed and declared a public road. But by the following year it was in need of repair, and according to Council Minutes, 'near impassable'.

The lack of a bridge across the Torrens at the Port Road was of great concern to those travelling between the port and the city. Apparently there was a timber bridge in the late 1830s. Toll gates were erected near the bridge about 1840, and a toll keeper's house was situated midway between the Globe and Commercial Hotels. It is said that road users employed 'every conceivable dodge' to avoid paying the toll; for example, if the river level was low people could ford the river downstream and then get on to the Port Road.[33] *The South Australian* on 30 April 1840 gave notice that a public meeting would be held at the Great Tom of Lincoln Inn, Thebarton, on 4 May, to discuss the need to construct a new bridge over the Torrens between Hindmarsh and Bowden. The meeting, which was attended by 'numerous and respectable' people, resulted in a committee of 13 and the start of subscriptions for the bridge. By 15 May 1840 £200 had been raised, but it seems likely that the scheme went no further, probably because of the current economic depression.[34]

The *South Australian* on 18 October 1844 reported that the first known Port Road bridge, of 'rough logs built in the American fashion' was constructed by William Wilkins, licensee of the Market Hotel, Thebarton. This linked Shierlaw Tee and Port Road. A succession of floods weakened the bridge; despite repairs, it was washed away in 1848. By then the colony had entered more prosperous times and it was replaced almost immediately by a Government-funded bridge costing £1,000.[35]

As with the Port Road bridge, the construction of Taylor's bridge on South Road was accompanied by much argument. After prolonged discussion between Hindmarsh and West Torrens District Councils, various subscribers donated money, foremost among them being John Taylor. Tenders were called for the building of the bridge and that of H Dicken accepted. The bridge, completed in July 1858,[36] was replaced by a new one 45 years later. The *Advertiser* reported the proceedings on 8 December 1903:

> Forty-five years ago great interest was taken in the opening of Taylor's Bridge and the ceremony was carried out in an imposing manner. Taylor's Bridge now a thing of the past . . . the new steel Thebarton Bridge was opened ... and a large concourse witnessed the ceremony. Within a few yards from the scene of gaiety, in the Hindmarsh Cemetery, were the remains of many who were present at the opening of Taylor's Bridge, amongst them John Taylor, one of the chief factors in the erection of the wooden structure named

after him. A few who witnessed the christening of Taylor's Bridge by Emery on July 1, 1858, also saw a similar ceremony performed by Miss Daisy Brooker yesterday ...

The construction of improved roads and bridges that made it easier to travel in and out of the district was symbolic of greater freedom of choice for local residents in other areas. Thebarton had been a self-contained village with about a hundred dwellings in 1841. Many of those who struggled through those difficult early years and survived, adapting to the South Australian climate, establishing their homes and learning how to put their talents to good use in the new colony, could now look forward to somewhat easier times in the next two decades.

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3 – The Thebarton way of life for the first generation

As the colony developed those living in the Thebarton district could look beyond sheer survival and begin to develop civic amenities. Increasingly residents could pay attention to the improvement of local roads and the provision of schools and churches. They also found time for recreation, ranging from organised sports such as racing, cricket and football to homely pursuits such as gardening and embroidery. A visit to the local pub was favoured by many and the local constable's reports suggest that at least one local tavern persons of 'ill fame' provided additional services little favoured by the authorities.

Setting up local government in the district

The Corporation of the City of Adelaide was established as early as 1840, the first municipal institution in Australia. Although it temporarily failed from shortage of funds it was re-established in 1852. Self-government was high on the political agenda of the colonists, not only at municipal level but also for the province. An Act of 1842 provided for a legislative council consisting of the governor and seven nominated members, three of whom were to be government officials and four private citizens. This council was reformed under the terms of the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850. Elections held in 1851 saw a legislative assembly established with twenty-five members, sixteen of whom were elected under a restricted franchise. Finally there was a new constitution under which South Australia's first Parliament was elected in 1857. The lower house, the House of Assembly, was elected by adult males with no property qualification necessary and elections, held every three years, were by secret ballot. For the upper house, the Legislative Council, property qualifications did apply. The South Australian constitution contained democratic rights not granted to the other Australian colonies.[1]

Thebarton entered the hurley-burley of colonial politics as part of the electorate of West Torrens, for which two candidates stood in the elections of 1851. The contest between the two, C S Hare and A H Davis, was described by the *Register* newspaper as a 'tough, neck-and-neck contest' with a very close result. Hare, taken on the shoulders of his supporters to the hustings, claimed victory and although a recount was necessary it indicated that Hare had won by the close margin of only two votes. Hare, the son of a London carpenter, had emigrated to become a clerk with the South Australian Company, working as a carrier and contractor at Port Adelaide before taking up farming. He became an outspoken member of the Assembly and a vocal supporter of a democratic constitution, although

he was later branded a 'rat of compromise' because he came to support a nine year term for members of the upper house.[2]

Hare was an early champion of local government for his region. A District Council's Act of September 1852 provided for the election of a local council and the levying of rates in a district if there was support from ratepayers. On 11 March 1852 an advertisement in the *Register* invited residents of Thebarton, along with residents of Plympton, Cowandilla, Hilton, Reedbeds and Hindmarsh, to a public meeting that evening at the Hilton Arms Hotel to discuss the formation of a district council. Hare chaired the meeting and a committee of twenty seven was established to advance the cause.

Other meetings followed and on 25 March a memorial was drawn up requesting the governor to establish the District Council of West Torrens. It was proposed that the boundaries should be the parklands on the east; the coast on the west; the centre of the River Torrens and the northern boundary of the Hundred of Adelaide on the north; and the centre of the Bay Road (now Anzac Highway) on the south. The district comprised 9,000 acres and included the Reedbeds, a vaguely defined area which stretched from south of Port Adelaide to the present suburbs of Lockleys, Fulham, Grange and Henley Beach. It was suggested that George Moody Dew, John Foreman, Abraham H Davis, CS Hare and John Hector should be the first Councillors.

Although 115 people signed the petition for the formation of the Council, support was not unanimous as almost immediately another 55 people signed a counter-petition, claiming that the population of the area was not sufficient to support a local council, and that the state of the labour market was too unsettled for such a move to be appropriate. Nevertheless the government was eager to have responsibility for local affairs devolve on local people. Furthermore it seemed that some of the opposition was due to suspicion of the way things were being handled, combined with some unwillingness to have to pay the rates. In spite of this opposition the first petition was approved and the District Council of West Torrens was proclaimed in the *Government Gazette* on 7 July 1853.

The first meeting was held in the office of John Hector, an accountant, in Adelaide on 13July 1853. Abraham Davis was appointed chairman, and he agreed to act as temporary clerk until a suitable appointment was made. Subsequently W A Hughes took up the position. A notable absentee from early meetings was Charles Hare, who had been so active in promoting the plan for a district council; he was elected as a founding councillor but was fined for not attending meetings. The 'most pressing need' was to survey and assess the district, which George Francis did for a fee of £80. This was possibly George William Francis who was to become first director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden not long afterwards. To cover this cost and other preliminary expenses the Council borrowed £100 from

the Colonial Treasurer. Five blackboards were obtained to hang up in different parts of the district for West Torrens District Council Notices.

By today's standards elections were quite informal, with candidates often elected by show of hands. A more formal poll was held if the contest was close, as happened in 1859 when five candidates stood for three positions, the successful three gaining 46, 30 and 29 votes respectively while the unsuccessful candidates received 28 and 27 votes. Under the powers conferred by the Act the Council had a host of tasks to carry out but had little experience in how to go about them. It was responsible for maintaining roads and bridges, and in many districts it was concern about these matters that led capable local residents to become involved in local government. Problems with local roads caused inconvenience, delays and expense - a large pot-hole in the road might cause damage to a horse drawn vehicle and injury to the occupants. Moreover the Council was required to regulate hotels, shops and slaughterhouses, stray stock, drainage and sanitation, noxious weeds and police services, among other things. The pioneer colonists were eager for a form of democratic government but were not so eager to have government intrude into their lives.[3] Many were reluctant to pay the necessary rates and when the Council settled on a rate of one shilling in the pound in 1855, objectors proposed that it should be only one farthing!

The major source of funds for the Council was revenue from rates, supplemented by annual fees from the licensing of local public houses and slaughter houses. In addition, the colonial government made specific grants for road building, proportionate to revenue raised by rates, which was passed on by the Central Roads Board. For example, in 1857-58 an additional £486 was made available to supplement the £483 derived from rates, providing a total of £969 for roads and other works.

Some of the functions of local government were performed by local residents. George Rankine who ran the Hilton Hotel on what is now South Road (then East Road) was persuaded to become the local pound keeper and to provide a pound. This was an important service in a district where there was much stock and only limited fencing.

Apart from dealing with day-to-day problems the Council became involved in arguments about ward boundaries. In 1859 the District Council was divided into four wards: the more heavily populated Thebarton with two members, and Reedbeds, Hilton and Plympton each with one. On this occasion there were indications of the 'town versus country' differences that would lead to Thebarton's separation thirty years later. Sixty-eight petitioners from the Reedbeds Ward disputed the need for wards in their area; if there were to be any, they preferred to join Hindmarsh District Council. In the event, the residents of the Reedbeds south of the River Torrens remained with the West Torrens District Council but petitions for and against ward boundaries dogged councillors for many years to come.

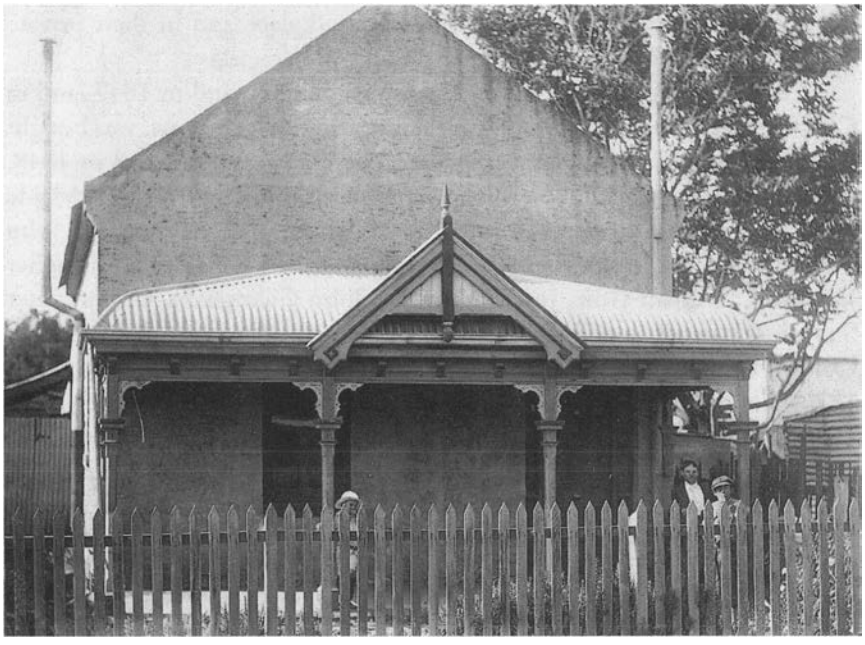
The churches

Organising to take action at a political level saw Thebarton residents working to elect members for parliament and local government. When it came to their church life they were much more divided but they were certainly passionate and determined. The churches played a pivotal role in early colonial society and leading citizens were often active in church affairs. Many of those who came to South Australia had strong religious beliefs, and indeed the religious beliefs of some were an important factor in their decision to emigrate. Groups which were particularly important in this respect included Dissenters, Quakers and Roman Catholics in Britain and the Old Lutherans in Germany.

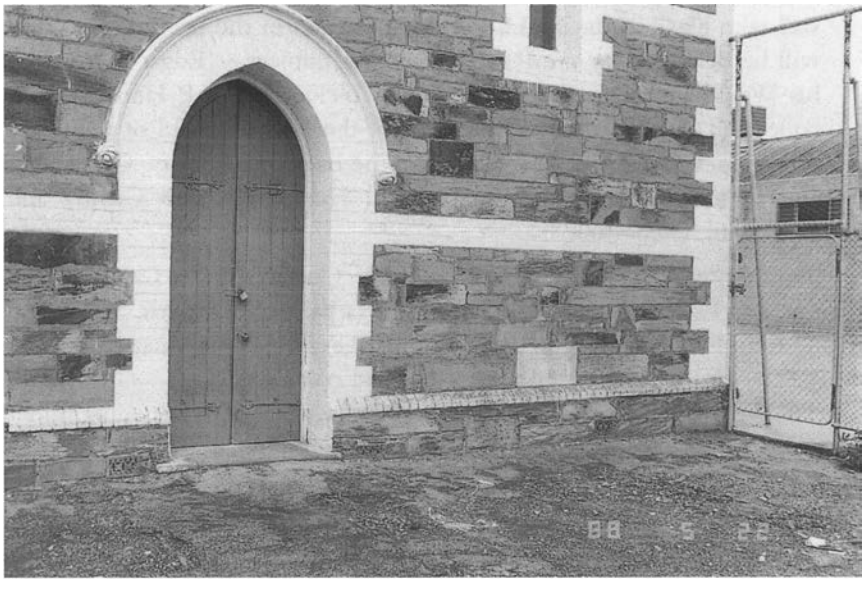
Studying religious life in South Australia, historians David Hilliard and Arnold Hunt observed that the religion of Europeans in South Australia has been dominated by the institutions of Protestant Christianity. 'At each census from the 1860s to the 1970s ... a higher proportion of the state's population identified itself with the Baptist, Churches of Christ, Congregational, Lutheran and Methodist churches than anywhere else in Australia, whereas those churches that were a powerful majority in their United Kingdom homelands the Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland were weaker in South Australia than in any other colony or state.'[4] They surmise that this was partly because of patterns of migration and partly because of the effective response of the evangelical Protestants to the social conditions they encountered.

In England, at the time when the South Australian colony was being planned, there were deep divisions between those who supported the established Church of England and those who 'dissented' from its claim to be the church of the nation. In the mining and manufacturing centres the major Dissenting denominations Baptist, Methodist and Congregational grew rapidly. Although it was true that the British parliament passed legislation in 1828 and 1829 to allow Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics to hold public office other burdens remained for another generation or more. Dissenters were still obliged to be married in Anglican churches, had to be buried in Anglican parish church yards and had to pay local taxes which supported the Anglican Church. Excluded from universities such as Cambridge and Oxford until 1854 and 1856[5] they were effectively limited from entering many public positions.

While the Dissenters who came to South Australia in the 1830s and 1840s were a minority of the colonists they expected to do well in the new colony that had no state-supported church. That they were so successful in establishing churches and attracting supporters is partly because they had a long tradition of 'lay' initiative, that is, initiative in organisational matters by church members who were not trained as ministers. This was not the case with the Church of England or the Presbyterian Church although perforce they too had to learn similar lessons.



Methodist Church 1864. The Wesleyan Methodist congregation opened a chapel as early as 1848. As the congregation grew a larger building was needed and the foundation stone for the George Street church was laid in 1863. The Wesleyan chapel was the first purpose-built church building in Thebarton.



Methodist Church Hall, George Street, Thebarton. Showing position of Hall foundation stone. The stone laid by Mrs John Colton, 19 March 1887.
Courtesy: Claire and Brian Sinclair

The Wesleyan Methodists were the first group known to have held services in Thebarton. In 1841 services were held in Mr Weston's home in Maria Street, under the guidance of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. By 1842 a Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School was established, with 99 children attending and seven teachers.[6] Sunday School activities played an important role in the Methodist churches, and they were all the more important for adults and children alike in an era when there was no state primary or secondary education. Sunday School was thus the place where many learnt their '3 Rs'. Training in the Sunday School system helped

many to have considerable success in the workplace and in their private lives in later years.

The congregation soon outgrew its small building and in 1847 land in Chapel Street, the site of John Dring's operations in later years, was bought by the Reverend Daniel James Draper. The chapel was opened in 1848, making it one of the earliest Wesleyan Church buildings in the Adelaide suburbs. A church trust was formed on 19 January 1853, headed by John Colton and other business people, including Robert Hawkes, Christopher Whitford, William Gurr, Josiah Norr and John Gillingham. Colton, later Sir John, partner and founder of the hardware merchant firm of John Colton, Palmer and Preston, was to become Premier of South Australia in 1876–7 and 1884–5.[7] The church was attached to the vast Pirie Street Circuit, which ranged from Adelaide to Parkside, Plympton, the Reedbeds area and places in between. Although the chapel seated 120, the congregation continued to grow and soon a larger church was needed.[8]

Work began on the present George Street church in 1863. The *Register* of 7 December 1863 announced the plans:

> The foundation stone of the above building will be laid on Wednesday next, December 9, by Mrs. Watsford at 5 o'clock p.m. A tea meeting will take place in the MILL at 6 o'clock; and in the evening a lecture will be delivered by the Rev. J Watsford. Subject 'Edgar A Poe and his Works'. Chair to be taken at 7.30 o'clock by G P Harris Esq. A collection will be made at the close of the lecture in aid of the Trust Fund. Tickets for the Tea. Each may be had from Messrs. G P Harris and Coombs, Hindley Street; Norris, Hindmarsh; and Crosby and Newman, Thebarton.

The trustees of the church were John Colton, W G Coombs, J S Green, J D Hill, E C Corlett, G P Harris (a partner of Harris, Scarfe and Co.), Ellis Norman, Joseph Beasley, the Rev. C T Newman and John May. The church had a capacity of 250 and cost £1030.

The *Register* of 9 March 1864 informed its readers of the opening under the heading, 'Thebarton New Wesleyan Chapel':

> The OPENING SERVICES of the above chapel will take place on Sunday next, 13th inst. when three sermons will be preached: that in the morning at half past 10, by the Rev. J Watsford; that in the afternoon, at half past 2 by the Rev. S L Harris; and that in the evening at 6 o'clock by Rev. John Cope. On Monday 14th a Tea Meeting will be held at the MILL at 6 o'clock; to be followed by a PUBLIC MEETING in the Chapel. Chair to be taken at 7 o'clock. Addresses are expected from Rev's J Watsford, J Cope, W Brown, N Bennet and several other ministers and friends. Omnibuses will leave the Pirie Street Chapel for the Tea Meeting at quarter to 6 o'clock. Tickets for Tea 1/6; for Tea and Conveyance both ways 2/-, may be had at Messrs. G P Harris and Coombs, Hindley Street; Green's and Jas. Scott's Rundle Street and at Newman's and Crosby's, Thebarton.

The New Wesleyan Chapel was the first purpose-built church building in Thebarton. The Anglicans did not begin services in the district until 1880, while the first Baptist building dates to 1883. It is said that Roman Catholic services were celebrated in a private house in George Street at first, and that a school was held in a residence on the corner of Kintore and Dew Streets. In February 1869 Father Julian Tenison Woods launched a building fund for a combination school and chapel, subscriptions were raised and plans made for a foundation stone to be laid in March of that year.[9] However there is no evidence that this actually occurred. Never theless, it seems that under the care of the Sisters of St Joseph a school continued to be run in private premises and that services were held there.[10]

In 1860 there were 143 churches and chapels in Adelaide and the suburban villages, some providing pastoral care for parishioners in neighbouring settlements. Anglicans in Thebarton in the early days were served by Holy Trinity Church in North Terrace. Mrs Sarah Hannam remembered 'walking three miles every Sunday to Holy Trinity Sunday School'.[11] After St Luke's Church in Whitmore Square was established it had oversight of West Adelaide which included Thebarton, though such boundaries never counted for much.

Like the Anglicans, members of some of the other denominations had to wait for some years before a church could be built in the Thebarton district, and meanwhile many walked or went by horse and cart or carriage to services held by the group to which they belonged. Some who had been church-goers in Europe did not continue the practice in South Australia. Nevertheless churches played an important role in the community in the first decades of the colony and one of their most significant activities was in providing educational opportunities for local residents. It is noteworthy that fund-raising for the new Wesleyan Chapel in December 1863 included a lecture by the Rev J Watsford on 'Edgar A Poe and his works', some indication of the popularity of such a genre. As the various denominations established their churches there were opportunities for church members to become involved in Sunday School teaching, lay preaching and pastoral work.

Education

During this time schools were provided by private individuals or church groups. They were generally small, with about 20-40 pupils under the care of a single teacher. Teaching provided an occupation for people with some education and a small amount of capital; it was particularly important as an occupation for women at a time when there were few 'white collar' employment occupations. Such a venture required only minimal equipment: some desks and chairs or perhaps just benches, books, inkwells, slates and a few teaching aids. The schools provided rudimentary education of varying quality. Sometimes these schools lasted for only a few years; the teacher might decide there were better opportunities for work outside the district, or poor economic

Mrs Jones' school in Jervois Street, Torrensville, c.1895. The site was earlier the blacksmith's workshop of Mr Harvey. Elizabeth Jones and her husband Daniel, who had taught music at Norwood, moved to Jervois Street, Torrensville in the early 1880s. Mrs. Jones started the school in Jervois Street about 1882.
Courtesy: Brenda Murrie.

conditions might mean there were not enough pupils to make the school viable, or the circumstances of the teacher might change as when a single woman married. A school could be taken over by another person or one school in a district would close and another would open about the same time.

Glen Ralph's research reveals that C E Evans ran an early school in Thebarton which seems to have closed down by 1851, by which time another school was in existence, that of Henry Watson. It is thought that this is the same Watson whose diary extracts are printed in *An excellent coliney,* a book containing extracts of diaries and letters of very early settlers. His school was on Lots 4, 5 and 6 in Chapel Street in the first township area, where there were shops, blacksmiths and dwellings. Watson conducted his school there until 1863.

The Education Act of 1851 established a Central Board of Education which provided some oversight of schools such as inspection of schools, licensing of teachers and some assistance in teacher training.[12] In 1851 Dr William Wyatt, the Chief Inspector of Schools, visited Watson's school, which at that time had 37 boys and 8 girls in attendance. Wyatt reported quite favourably:

> Although the attendance at Mr Watson's school has been injuriously affected of late, by a decrease of population in Thebarton, his

> unwearied attention and zealous endeavours to supply the pupils entrusted to his charge, with a sound and useful education have ever been most gratifying. The girls are under the able supervision of his wife.[13]

An ex-scholar provided a different perspective in reminiscences of her early life. Mrs Sarah Hannam (nee Holmes), wrote

> [I] only had to go next door to school, which was kept by a very severe young man named Watson, and his sterner elderly wife. In time they worked it into quite a big school, the children sat on backless forms and had to bring their fees regularly every Monday morning.[14]

Payment of fees on a weekly basis was the common practice and was one reason why running a school was very much a hand-to-mouth existence for many teachers in colonial times.

As in other parts of Adelaide the pattern was for a number of small private schools to develop. About the time that Watson appears to have closed his school William McCreeth opened one in George Street, moving a year later to Lot 309, Light Terrace. This school, which was opposite the bottom of what is now James Street, had 66 students in 1864 and 114 in 1872. Pamela McCreeth helped him run the school.[15]

Alfred Bell's school, which was in a house in Chapel Street, opened in 1852 with 26 boys and 15 girls, an enrolment which rose shortly afterwards to 87. In the school's second year the curriculum was expanded to include grammar, geography and history. Bell resigned in 1857. In time a new licence was issued to Mrs Elizabeth Rogers who set up a school in a different part of Chapel Street in 1857 and added singing to the list of subjects. In the following year Miss Sarah Rogers took over the school, adding drawing to the list of available subjects. All her students, mostly girls, took reading and singing but according to Dr Wyatt the quality of the education was 'simple and elementary'.[16] In the mid sixties Miss Rogers moved the school to a brick and concrete house in Maria Street, and after 1867 Mrs Rix carried it on for several years.[17]

Reference has already been made to the school run by the Sisters of St Joseph in Thebarton. Full details are not known but there was a school, probably in rented premises by February 1869, and in December 1870 when examinations were held there were 36 children attending. Prizes were given to L Broderick, Ambrosine Freeman and James McCarron in second class and Marie Broderick, Patrick Allen and John Quilty in third class, suggesting that at the time third class was the most senior level.[18] After Mother Mary McKillop was briefly excommunicated in September 1871 the sisters were unable to run these local schools and it is not known whether lay teachers kept the school going during the rest of the 1870s.[19]

At this time children often attended school irregularly and were fortunate if they received good elementary education. It was common practice for children to be kept home to mind younger brothers or sisters or to help with chores, and parents sometimes sent children on alternate weeks to make money go further.[20] Schooling was not compulsory. While

some parents made a considerable effort to send their youngsters to school to give them opportunities which they themselves had not enjoyed, education beyond the basic level was generally the privilege of the well to-do. Most children left school at the age of 12 and went to work to earn extra income for their families. There were some opportunities for adults to learn on a self-help basis, for example by attending meetings or public lectures held in Adelaide. Long and arduous working hours made this almost impossible for all but the most determined. Nevertheless encouragement might be provided by someone in the local community: a school teacher or church leader, for example. Thebarton had a Debating Society which met in a cottage in George Street, near John Hemingway's butcher shop,[21] and groups run through local churches provided many able people with intellectual stimulation.

Recreation

Most of the settlers worked very long hours. Those who were employed worked six to seven days a week and it was only in the late 1850s that some employers granted a half day off on Saturdays. However, some did not have full time or permanent work and others could take time off because they were self-employed. Wray Vamplew notes that 'Sport came off the boats with the first migrants to South Australia; indeed cricket bats were part of the Buffalo's cargo'.[22] Vamplew observes that within a year or so of the Proclamation of South Australia in December 1836 there were cricket matches, organised horse-racing, rifle-shooting, hunting and a regatta. Sport has remained a major feature of the South Australian way of life.[23]

Cricket

The continual flow of migrants from England saw nineteenth century traditions of British sport transferred to South Australia. Thebarton's proximity to the parklands is probably the main reason why the district can lay claim to one of the first cricket matches recorded in Adelaide. In an advertisement in the *Register* on 19 October 1839 Robert Bristow, proprietor of the Great Tom o' Lincoln Hotel, declared that:

> A GRAND MATCH will be played on Monday, October 28th on the Thebarton Ground between Eleven Gentlemen of the Royal Victoria Independent Club and Eleven Gentlemen of Adelaide for twenty-two guineas a side. Wickets to be pitched at 10 o'clock. Refreshments will be provided and everything done that can add to the pleasure of the public.

Bristow staged a variety of entertainments to amuse spectators: from climbing the greasy pole and juggling to foot racing. A major feature of early South Australian sport was its association with alcohol.[24] Bristow provided for his patrons with a refreshment booth dispensing 'a pleasant tipple for country heat and dust'.[25] Such booths were to become a feature at most public sporting events.

By the early 1840s the residents of Thebarton were sufficiently enthusiastic about the game to have formed the Thebarton Cricket Club, their main rivals being the Walkerville team. The Thebarton Racecourse was used for cricket matches, as in April 1862 when the third 'grand annual match' between teams of 'British and colonial descent' was played on a level piece of ground opposite the grandstand. The next evening it was announced that an application would be made to the Corporation of Adelaide for a grant of sixteen acres of land near Montefiore Hill as a permanent ground.[26]

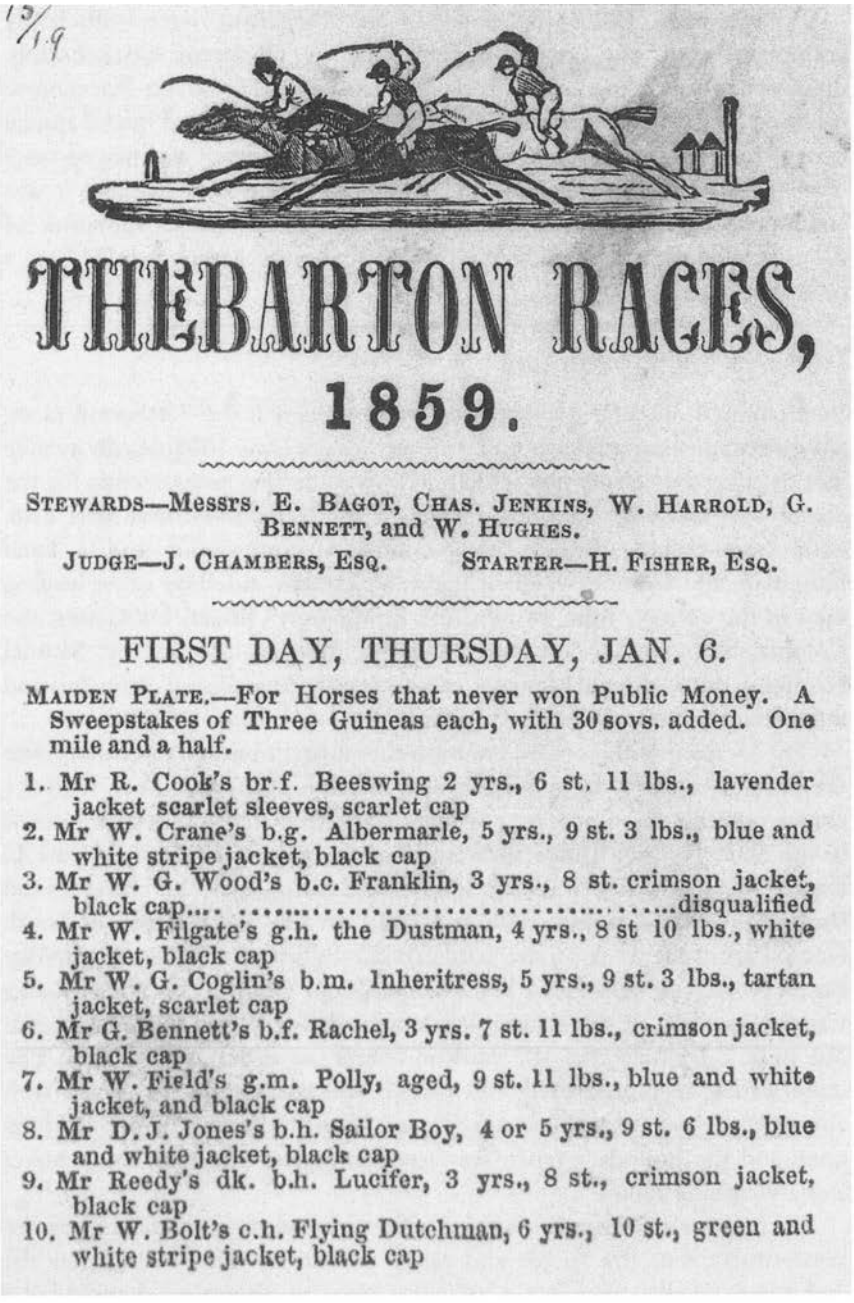
Horse-racing and hunting

Entertainment on a far grander scale was provided at the Thebarton races, a two-day meeting which began on New Year's Day, 1838, hardly twelve months after the colony was settled. This was the first race meeting for the colony and was held on a dusty paddock on Section 48, now Mile End, with James Hurtle Fisher the Resident Commissioner and a keen horseman, and Colonel William Light as stewards, aided by other leading men in the colony: John Brown, the Emigration Officer, Dr Cotter, the Colonial Surgeon, Dr Wright, Medical Officer to the Survey, Samuel Stephens, the Colonial Manager of the South Australian Company, and influential businessman John Morphett.

The location of the course has been the subject of much discussion over the years. There may have been some confusion of the race track with the course used for steeple-racing. Srubjan notes that a sketch map deposited in the State Record Office indicates that the race track occupied the U formed by Henley Beach Road, South Road (formerly Fisher Terrace) and Burbridge Road (formerly Hilton Road), on the western side of South Road. Part of the track on the northern side followed what is now Henley Beach Road.[27] According to *The Victorian Ruff's Guide, or the Pocket Racing Companion* of 1863, the course was left-handed and oval in shape. It was one mile, 3 furlongs and 187 yards in length, or about 2380 metres. The stand which accommodated 400 people was situated in the south-west corner of the section and had refreshment rooms underneath. Between the stand and the boundary fence was a saddling paddock, with loose boxes and a weighing house.[28]

Racing at that time was a far cry from the sophisticated industry we know today, but the rough and ready conditions did not dampen the enthusiasm of the spectators. One contemporary observer has provided a colourful account of that race-meeting describing how, on 1 January 1838, Adelaide residents left their 'speculative orgy in town acres' and made their way to a 'gum studded plain ... down near the river':

> Thither went about 800 of the colony's 2,000 people. Thither, too, were hidden matted-coated 'nags' from small farms and out stations as far afield as the Para, island horses shipped at pain and risk from Van Diemen's Land, and sturdy-muscled hacks which had come



13/19

THEBARTON RACES,

1859.

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 sovs. 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
2. Mr W. Crane's b.g. Albermarle, 5 yrs., 9 st. 3 lbs., blue and white stripe jacket, black cap
3. Mr W. G. Wood's b.c. Franklin, 3 yrs., 8 st. crimson jacket, black cap..... .....disqualified
4. Mr W. Filgate's g.h. the Dustman, 4 yrs., 8 st 10 lbs., white 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

Thebarton Races form 1859. Some of the streets in Mile End have been given the names of horses which were in races held at the Thebarton racecourse.

down from the overland route with Hawdon, Bonney, Sturt or, Eyre. There were no aristocracy of blood or looks. They were innocent of pedigree, and some were as many cornered as a wagonette.

The paddock at Thebarton was far removed from the animation and excitement of Epsom Downs, but these colonial sportsmen did their best. There was a canvas booth where William Chittleborough, or his fellow publicans, dispensed pleasant tipple from Wright's brewery,

> another where there was dancing to the violin, and in short, every attention was paid to render the affair worthy of support.[29]

Among the riders was James Hurtle Fisher's son, Charles Brown Fisher; he and his brother James later became the owners of Section 48. Charles, James, and their brother Hurtle went on to breed some of the finest race horses in South Australia at their Lockleys Stud.

Geoffrey Manning observes that initially a lack of horses created difficulties for the sponsors but eventually ten horses were nominated to compete in the four events which comprised the first day's racing. There were three two-horse events for a purse of ten and twenty guineas respectively and for the third event there was a ten pound prize. The other race attracted six runners with each owner contributing five pounds to which the sponsors added ten pounds.[30]

That 'about 800' attended is remarkable figure given that the total population of Adelaide was only 2,500.Certainly an excellent clientele was provided for the booth-holders and itinerant hawkers at the meeting and the success of the meeting must have been a source of great satisfaction to people like James Hurtle Fisher and his friends.[31]

In August 1838 the Turf Club of South Australia was formed. The club sponsored two annual meetings, and when the course was not used for 'official' races it was used by stock drovers or other horse owners for scratch races. The race meeting was extended to three days in 1839 but the club itself had difficulty surviving the economic downturn of the early 1840s.

In January 1856 the first South Australian Jockey Club was formed, with James Hurtle Fisher as chairman. This was probably the successor to the old Turf Club. The SA Jockey Club was reformed in 1861, with a management committee of Edward Meade Bagot as secretary and treasurer, P B Coglin, W K Sims, G Bennett and W Blackler. This club ran the first Adelaide Cup on the Thebarton course, in April 1864, valued at 500 sovereigns, with sweepstakes of 50 sovereigns. The race was run over two miles and was won by *Falcon,* with *Roebuck* coming second. In 1865 the cup was won by J C James' *Ebor* (Robe spelt backwards). E M Bagot's *Cowra* won the cup in 1866 and 1867. The names are commemorated in Mile End street names.

Later in life C B Fisher was to have some misgivings about the development of racing over the years:

> We used to have good racing then, and the horses had better stamina ...We never thought of stall-feeding in those days, but there were a lot of native grasses that had more substance in them than present-day feed has. Of course our racehorses were stabled.
>
> They did not get up the speed they do now, but the stamina was there. There is too much short-distance racing nowadays. In the old times, the town plates were always run in heats of two miles. The intention of racing was to improve the breed of horses.[32]

Annual steeple races were held from 1847:

> the course wound through modern-day Mile End and skirted the rising ground of West Terrace . . . starting from the section joining Mr Goode's house, running towards the Reedbeds, round by Mr Chambers, and then to the winning post situated in the Park Lands, in the immediate vicinity of Mr McCarron's house, the Foresters and Squatter's Arms where the generous landlord had two fat bullocks roasting whole, amidst the joyful acclamations of the cooks and their assistants ...[33]

In March 1853 Patrick McCarron of the Squatters' Arms advertised in the *Register* that the South Australian Jockey Club would be running St Patrick's Day races at Thebarton and that again bullocks would be roasted 'one in memory of Saint Patrick, the first who introduced Christianity into the now existing British Dominions; the other in honour of Prince Patrick, youngest son of Queen Victoria.'

In September 1866 a Grand Annual Steeplechase was held on the course. The horses had to run over four miles, across a number of low fences and a wall with a wide ditch on either side. The winner, *Cadger,* was described in *The Victorian Ruff's Guide, or Pocket Racing Companion,* 'a neat little animal, but not up to weight'.[34] Little *Cadger* made history in another way, for in that race he was ridden by well-known Australian poet and rider, Adam Lindsay Gordon.

The steeplechase must have been an exciting and somewhatdangerous experience. Mark Russell Gawen recounted his memories of the course in the 1860s:

> Scenes and features of the old Thebarton racecourse are some of my earliest memories. There was far more revelry at a race meeting in those dim days than there is now.
>
> Immediately adjoining the stand was a long stretch of ground, which served as the very centre of the 'side business' of the meeting. Big canvas marquees formed the public drinking bars and luncheon places; merry-go-rounds creaked and swayed under their loads of juvenile patrons; 'cock-shys' and 'Aunt Sally's' abounded; circus tumblers in spangled trunks and skin-tight cotton garments threw their somersaults, hand springs and catherine wheels on strips of coir matting ...and the ubiquitous hot saveloy man cried his slogan, 'All 'Ot! All 'ot!' with proud acclaim and raucous voice.
>
> How I remember the well with an iron pump far over in the north eastern corner of the ... grounds, a good way from the stand. On a hot day, between the races, a long line of thirsty souls would stream back and forth from the well.
>
> As a general rule the horses were despatched from ... a post-and-rail fence running though the centre of a prickly hedge ... not far from the grandstand. On occasion there would be a wild stampede of spectators near the jump as some baulking and unruly horse refused

and, whipping round, caused dire confusion and occasional hurt among the venturesome enthusiasts.

When horses cleared this fence they disappeared from view behind the high hedge, and, galloping across a paddock towards the Hilton Hotel, during which they had to clear another fence or two, reappeared on the course at the lower corner near an unmade road. To reach the legitimate confines of the course, the field had to jump a formidable fence with a broad artificially made ditch on the landing side, which often proved disastrous for the competitors.[35]

Onlookers gathered near the water obstacle, and years later racing enthusiasts would tell about when a particularly difficult jump, nicknamed 'Bagot's Ditch', was devised - a sodded wall with a stretch of water back and front. The field charged, pulled up suddenly, and riders were deposited in the ditch. The formidable nature of the ditch seemed to fit the personality of the man who designed it. E M Bagot, pioneer pastoralist, sportsman and a founder of the stock and station agents Bagot, Shakes and Lewis Ltd, was described by Mark Gawen as:

An engine-like personality in the affairs of the sport, a dominating presence who, adopting emblematic garb of the typical John Bull, wore for all the years I can remember, and longer. His tremendously solid figure, with its leonine head, clothed in top-boots and Bedford cord breeches, single-button Bliss tweed coat and broad, flat-rimmed 'topper' made a unique and imposing impression ... and his deep, rolling voice commanded immediate attention.[36]

Mr EM Bagot, pioneer pastoralist, sportsman and founder of a firm of stock and station agents. He was described as 'an engine-like personality in the affairs of sport'. 'His tremendously solid figure, with its leonine head, clothed in top-boots and Bedford cord breeches, single button Bliss tweed coat and broad, flat rimmed topper, made a unique and imposing impression … and his deep rolling voice commanded immediate attention.'
Courtesy: Mortlock Library

Even Bagot's influence however, could not prevent the SA Jockey Club from closing down. By 1869 it had liabilities of £802 and only £15 cash in hand. Bagot resigned as secretary, and the lease on the Thebarton course was terminated. Racing continued in the East Parklands until the SAJC was re-formed in 1874 and races were started at Morphettville in 1875.

The races probably did not stop too soon for the West Torrens District Council. By the late 1850s the glamour and prestige associated with the course had begun to wear a little thin, for the local residents more than any others. Illicit gambling was a problem, and at first the Council took it upon itself to deal with the offenders. In February 1858 the District Clerk reported that he and the Superintendent of Police, as well as the local constables, had made efforts to prevent gambling. Clearly they felt it was not a matter for local government, for the Council resolved to 'write to the Commissioner of Police as to the powers of the police to put down gambling in public'.[37]

The deterioration of roads near the racecourse was a more serious problem, given the cost and effort involved in maintaining them. In August 1862 moves had been made to metal Henley Beach Road, on the northern boundary of the racecourse, but from South Road to East Terrace it was still an unmade track. E M Bagot wrote a letter of complaint about it in 1863, hoping that it would be put in repair 'for the forthcoming steeplechase'. The District Clerk replied in no uncertain terms :

> The Council receives no benefit whatever from the races being held in the District which very much destroy the roads, trusting that in future the Jockey Club will contribute something to the repair of the road. Steps will be taken in the present instant to remedy the evil complained of. [38]

After this there were various exchanges between Bagot and the Council, relating to £50 Bagot had promised to contribute toward costs of road repairs. This was followed by further altercations when Bagot established his Boiling Down works on land that had been used for the race course. Bagot, who lived until 1886, a successful businessman and pastoralist, could no doubt have paid the amount in dispute with little difficulty had he chosen to do so.

Amongst Bagot's many interests was hunting - a sport for the well-to do. The Adelaide Hunt Club was formed as early as 1842. One popular route that developed was from Elder Smith's farm (land that is now part of the railway yards at Mile End) around the parklands to the new Victoria Park racecourse. By the 1860s the Hunt Club had purchased at Thebarton land which was used for stables and kennels.[39]

Football

Football in Thebarton has been recorded as early as St Patrick's Day 1843, when a game that seems to be a variant of Gaelic football was played. According to an item in the *Southern Australian,* participants and supporters

planned to gather afterwards 'to regale themselves with a portion of an ox to be roasted whole opposite the Market House, Thebarton' at 2 pm.[40]

Ten years later Patrick McCarron, proprietor of the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms Hotel, placed an advertisement in the *Register* recording a challenge from twelve men of Westmeath offering to play twelve men from the counties of Ireland. Again this game appears to have been 'Caid', a variant of Gaelic football. McCarron's publicity appears also to have aimed at attracting those attending the St Patrick Day races run by the South Australian Jockey Club; publicans often tried to associate their hotel with a sporting activity.[41]

In 1860 John Acraman, a successful businessman and a cricketer of note, convened a meeting in Adelaide at the Globe Inn which led to the formation of the Adelaide Football Club. The first competitive match was a contest between members from the north side of the River Torrens, wearing blue caps, and members from the south side, who wore pink caps.[42] Some 200 spectators watched teams that were as large as 30 members each. To score goals under the original rules was not easy, as it required a player to kick the ball between two horizontal posts and under a nine foot [2.45 m] horizontal bar. At a meeting in April 1869 the club decided that 'in future the ball [shall] be kicked over instead of under the crossbar of the goal.' Some months later it was decided that the teams should consist of 12 members; later this was increased to 16.[43] Under the Adelaide Club, and subsequently the South Australian Football Association (established in 1877), the rules were gradually refined, aided by consultation with the leading Victorian clubs. The cross bar and the top rope were dispensed with; instead there were just upright goal posts of unlimited height. Furthermore the round football field was replaced by an oval one.[44] The infant Australian Rules Football was developing – and thriving.

Sporting ventures supported by publicans

Accounts of the history of racing and football make it clear that local publicans were much involved in the support of sporting ventures in early colonial times. Many were sports which did not require much capital outlay and were popular with working men. Pigeon shooting was often associated with local taverns, as were skittles and quoits which attracted gambling and contributed to profitable liquor sales for the licencees. Boxing and wrestling bouts were also popular and generally encouraged by local publicans. Prize-fighting was sometimes reported in the newspapers and thus we know that in December 1845 a Thebarton chair-maker, Charley Barnett, fought Johnny White 'at the back of Hindmarsh' the stakes being twenty pounds a side.45 Taverns were used as an informal meeting place but might also be used in a more formal way by local groups, as occurred with early union activity. Geoffrey Manning's research shows that Thebarton racecourse was the venue in January 1848

for the first wrestling match recorded in the colony, a journalist of the day recording that

> We could not ...but admire the pluck of Marrs, an old veteran at the same game in England and the founder of this imitation of English customs in South Australia ...There was no 'lanky-kicking' or ill-usage throughout, and considering this a first essay, it came off very well.[46]

Recreational pursuits considered to be suitable for women

Women's recreational activities are poorly recorded compared with those of men. Although some women worked in domestic service and some were employed in small businesses, most women in the 1850s and 1860s were living in a family group at home. The balance of the sexes in South Australia was more even than in the other colonies. Writers such as Carol Bacchi have commented that there was a pattern of almost universal marriage for women, who married at a younger age than their contemporaries in the rest of Australia or in Great Britain. In Australia generally, families were large until the 1880s and the average woman spent most of her life living with her immediate family.[47] Such a lifestyle greatly affected women's recreation, for much of the time they were responsible for the care of children, either their younger siblings or their own children.

Although some women frequented taverns, the public house was generally the domain of men. Women were likely to spend their free time at home or nearby. They might be glad just to rest or chat with family members or neighbours. Some tended the garden or did sewing or knitting. Often clothing and household bedding was made at home. On a Sunday afternoon, women might call to see friends or relatives in the locality or go for a walk with their children. Most people went about on foot, hence few travelled very far. Nevertheless there were events that brought much public interest: the first trains leaving Adelaide, sporting events such as the cricket, races or hunts, or the arrival of important visitors. One such visitor was Prince Alfred in 1867. A large crowd was present when the Prince laid the foundation stone for the General Post Office. Opening ceremonies for new public buildings such as the Town Hall or the Post Office were events that seemed to many to mark a change from a fledgling colony to a provincial city of some importance. Some could travel to Port Adelaide by the new train service although this was not a cheap outing and required a sense of adventure and a willingness to get soot in the eyes or on clothing. Then there were public hangings at the gaol, events which attracted a large number of spectators. Mrs Hannam remembered

> ...racing off with her brothers to see the last public hanging in the Adelaide Gaol, clambering up on the gate with them to get a view. Crowds, she said, were present and such an event was looked upon almost as an outing. However, after that time those in power decided such exhibitions should be stopped.[48]

As the city centre developed its shops, buildings and public parks, and as roads improved, a walk to the city became more pleasurable. Later, 'window-shopping' would allow a glimpse of the latest fashions. Some with nimble fingers and a little spare cash might be able to fashion themselves a new bonnet or dress, perhaps to be worn to church on Sundays or used for a special occasion. Purchases made from a store or itinerant hawker provided a break from domestic routine. Those who were tied to home with small children or sick relatives often looked forward to the visit of the hawker with his haberdashery, clothing and trinkets.

Before the advent of free' primary education, many could not read and write. For those who could, however, sending and receiving letters from relatives and friends was an important activity in colonial times, and keeping diaries was a popular pastime. Those who could not read or write well might enlist the help of more literate neighbours and friends when a letter arrived. The arrival of a mail ship at the port was an event of local importance. Those who could afford it often had a special vantage point built in their homes. For example, Colonel William Light had high windows let into the walls of his house to enable him to see, with the aid of a telescope, the masts of ships in Holdfast Bay.[49]

Reading was a pastime for literate women and men. Daily and weekly papers were accessible and popular. South Australia was remarkable for the fact that a Stanhope printing-press came with the first settlers on the *Buffalo.* The *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* South Australia's immensely influential first newspaper, was first published on 18 June 1836, that is before the *Buffalo* sailed. At sixpence for most issues it was beyond the reach of ordinary men and women, literate or not. However, it was published on sturdy rag paper which would withstand multiple handlings in public houses and many a Thebarton resident would have relayed information to friends or relatives. While it is true that the content of newspapers was important in business and commerce their recreational value was also significant. These early newspapers lacked modern day banner headlines and photographs, but they were enlivened by stories and poems and 'drolleries'. Moreover, the laws of libel were much looser than those of today and were interpreted quite tolerantly. The result was that colourful and even vituperative comments and reports were written about Adelaide identities. Books and journals were available from Adelaide bookshops and were sent by relatives and friends overseas. By 1855 there was the Institute Building on the corner of Kintore Avenue which soon had a library to which people could subscribe.

Music was a recreational activity for old and young and rich and poor. Some could afford pianos but the majority managed with simpler instruments such as tin whistles, piano accordions, fiddles and their own voices. Bristow, the publican of the Old Tom at Lincoln, was said to play a set of handbells 'quite cleverly'.[50] The early churches often provided a focus for musical activities through choral work and teaching of the organ, harmonium or piano.

Gardening was a past-time for both men and women. Both utilitarian and decorative plants were collected by purchase, exchange or even a little pilfering. Neighbours and friends exchanged seeds and cuttings together with advice based on local experience. Those who were used to the mild summers and more frequent rainfall of the British Isles had to develop new knowledge and skills to cope with South Australia's hot, dry summers and cold wet winters. Clearing of the land left little shelter for new plants. It took time before fences or hedges were established and before newly planted shrubs and trees provided shade and protection from wind.

By 1857 Thebarton residents could visit the new Botanic Garden, established in 1855. By the end of the 1860s the Botanic Gardens recorded about 260,000 visitors a year – a remarkable figure given that the population of the whole colony was about 165,000. Visiting the Botanic Gardens was a popular outing as a family treat and for young couples who were courting. There were animals and birds in cages, museum exhibits, the rosary and the popular glasshouse exhibits of ferns and orchids. Many visitors came away from the Gardens with new ideas about plants that could be grown in their own domestic gardens: palms, oleander and new hardy species of lawn grass such as couch and buffalo grass.[51]

Along with home gardening went the care of domestic animals and pets, an activity that was frequently the province of women and children. There was not much in the way of organised entertainment for children in the early days. Few children of poorer families had toys or books, but as they have always done, boys and girls invented their own games: cat's cradle, skipping games, hide and seek, and simply constructed dolls and catapults. For the boys in Thebarton, who had much greater freedom than girls, there were some favourite spots in which to play, particularly the River Torrens for fishing and swimming, and there were paddocks, vacant blocks and pugholes to play in and explore, with or without parental permission.

Pleasures were simple. Some fortunate children went into Adelaide on special outings with their parents. In her 1930s reminiscences Sarah Hannam recalled that 'it was quite an event to go to the lolly shop, where bull's eyes, sticks and other home made sweets were conjured from brown sugar'. Occasionally she might be taken to a play, such as 'The Willow Plate' in the theatre in Gilles Arcade. She remembered being taken, one very hot February day, to the Agricultural and Horticultural Show on Frome Road, recalling how much clothing girls and young women were expected to wear. Under two starched and belaced petticoats she wore a flannel one which, to add to its cumbersomeness, was tucked. Knickers reached to the ankles, and even children had their crinolines. Later, the jaunting cars appeared (a horse drawn trap with two seats placed back to back), and were, given the voluminous skirts, most comfortable to ride in, but 'one had to be extremely careful to manipulate one's steels'. She remembered, too, the excitement of the first train to Port Adelaide. Prior to that a spring dray, drawn by two horses in tandem, would pass the

top of Chapel Street morning and evening. This, unless people owned conveyances, was the only mode of transit.[52]

Children, like adults, benefited from the proximity of the parklands, the special sports events in the district and the chance to go Adelaide for special events. And like adults they walked to visit friends and enjoyed the hospitality of neighbours and relatives. Working hours might be long but Thebarton residents could enjoy holidays and special occasions like weddings, family celebrations and more informal gatherings, when pies and cakes, 'aerated waters' and perhaps some 'colonial wine' or local beer would be enjoyed and gossip exchanged. Many would still have been interested in news of 'Home', that is, news from the British Isles. However, by the 1860s there was a new generation that was born in South Australia and for whom Thebarton was home.

Street Life

A lifestyle of a different sort took place in the back streets and around the hotels in Thebarton. As much as local residents wanted to see their community as respectable, there were plenty of unruly characters to tarnish its image. In the 1850s and 1860s there were frequent complaints about prostitution, 'profane language', 'disorderly conduct' and 'abandoned characters', mostly associated with the Wheatsheaf Inn and the Squatters Arms Hotel, which seem to have been the 'red light' areas of Thebarton.[53]

Such behaviour was seen as a vexing moral problem, not easily solved by the usual methods of maintaining law and order. Under the terms of the Metropolitan Police Act, prostitutes could only be prosecuted if their behaviour was felt to be a public nuisance, and then it was difficult to prove that a brothel or 'house of ill fame' actually existed. In the suburbs it was usually left to local constables to keep watch on them, a job some of them did not relish. One of the earliest complaints came from Constable Taylor, who reported to the Council in 1862 that Mrs Fanny Swift, the proprietor of the Wheatsheaf Inn, had 'persons of ill fame' living in one of her cottages adjoining the Inn. The District Clerk warned her that unless the nuisance was removed at once the matter would be reported to the Bench of Magistrates.

In December 1864 there were reports that 'the most abandoned characters' were inhabiting Mr Ottaway's cottages in Light Terrace, and that the Wheatsheaf lnn was still being conducted improperly. By this time William Smythe had taken over the Inn, and the Council threatened to take steps to remove the offending characters.

The frequency of such complaints must have alarmed Charles Hepworth, the proprietor of the Squatters' Arms from 1863 to 1871; in 1865 he attended a Council meeting to ask if there had been any mention of his hotel as a disorderly house. The Councillors informed him that there had been none, but in the following year he, too, fell foul of Constable Taylor. Taylor complained to the Council in April 1866 of the 'disgraceful

conduct of the landlord of the Squatters' Arms on a Sunday night, when he was called out of his bed to interfere with persons who had been fighting in his house'.

According to Taylor 'the language of Hepworth towards him was very bad indeed, there were women and children present who heard the foul language'. Taylor was anxious to know whether lie had acted properly in going, and 'wishes to be protected by the Council in future, by doing his duty'. Poor Constable Taylor — only a few months later he was called upon by Hepworth to deal with young men who were using disgusting language near the Squatters' Arms! As recorded in Gilbert and Sullivan, 'a policeman's lot is not a happy one'.

References

1 For a brief account of these events see R M Gibbs, *A history of South Australia*, pp. 115-116; for a more detailed account see D Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, chapter XIX.
2 Peter Donovan, *Between the city and the sea*, pp. 25-6. This section is based on his account of the development of local government in the area.
3 Donovan, p. 30.
4 David Hilliard and Arnold D Hunt, 'Religion' in the E Richards (ed.), *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, p. 194. This section draws heavily on their work.
5 Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Part II, Adam & Charles Black, London, 1970, p. 439.
6 Pamphlet, 1979, produced on occasion of last service held at the George Street church.
7 Coxon, Playford and Reid, *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament*, pp. 44-5.
8 This section is based on the History, Town of Thebarton manuscript and research of Ingrid Srubjan, pp. 2-4.
9 *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, 20 February, 1869, p. 273.
10 In the *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, 20 June, 1869, p. 338, a reference to the school indicated that it was held in rented premises. Subsequent issues of that newspaper to January 1870 do not record a foundation stone being laid. In the *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, 25 September, 1869, p. 383 there is a reference to a service being held in the schoolroom at Thebarton and the use of 'a temporary altar' and the comment that 'considering the small means at the disposal of the Sisters, the arrangements were 'as perfect as could be made'. The research of Sister Mary Foale of the Catholic Church Archives provides no evidence of a building being owned before 1883 (personal communication, 13 June, 1995).
11 Undated newspaper cutting, probably from 1938, held by Miss Hannam, Strathalbyn.
12 Colin Thiele, *Grains of mustard seed*, Education Dept, South Australia, 1975, p. 1; Ian Davey, Growing up in South Australia' in Eric Richards, *The .Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, p. 389.
13 South Australian Government Gazette, 26 April, 1860, p. 263, quoted in Glen Ralph, *Thebarton Primary School*, 1879-1979 — *a history*, 1979, p. 5.
14 *The Express and Journal* 27 May 1933. Although Watson appears to have closed the school in 1863, he lived at the premises until 1876, when Mr Haddrick became the owner.
15 Ralph, *Thebarton Primary School*, p. 6.
16 The school was on Lots 32, 33, 34 and 35. Ralph, p. 6.
17 There is also a mention of a 'school-house' owned by Homes at Lot 29 Chapel St, south side in 1858 but this school is not mentioned in the Central Board of Education records, see Ralph, p. 6.
18 *The Chaplet*, 31 December, 1870, p. 139. It is thought that the Broderick children were from the family of James Broderick, a storekeeper and blacksmith who had a shop and stone house along Henley Beach Road at Mile End.
19 Sister Marie Foale, Catholic Archives, personal communication, 13 June, 1996.
20 Ian Davey, p. 378.
21 Srubjan, History, Town of Thebarton, ch 3, p. 7.
22 Wray Vamplew. 'Sport: more than fun and games' in E. Richards (ed.), *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, p. 433.
23 Vamplew, p. 433.
24 Vamplew, p. 437.
25 *Register*, 19 October 1839, quoted in Geoffre, Manning, Thebarton History, unpublished manuscript, p. 123. The author wishes to acknowledge the work of Geoffrey Manning whose research on Thebarton is used extensively in this section of the chapter. Manning notes that a 'single wicket' match was advertised in the *Australian*, 24 November, 1838.
26 Geoffrey Manning's manuscript provides a series of references to newspaper accounts of early cricket matches and the names of players.
27 State Record Office, Research Note 62.

28 Quoted in the *History of the SA Jockey Club,* South Australian Jockey Club, Adelaide, 1955, p. 16.
29 Quoted in the *History of the SA Jockey Club,* p. 3.
30 *Register,* 20 January, 1838 cited by Manning, Thebarton History, p. 131. Information on early racing is to be found in John Daly, *Elysian fields, sport, class and community in colonial South Australia,* the author, Adelaide, 1982, pp. 29-31 and Murray Thompson, Development of the South Australian Racing Industry, B.A. Honours thesis, University of Adelaide, 1969.
31 Manning, p.131.
32 Quoted in the *History of the South Australian Jockey Club,* p. 3.
33 Cited in Peter Donovan, *Between the city and the sea,* p. 99.
34 Quoted in the *History of the South Australian Jockey Club,* p. 13.
35 *The Adelaide Chronicle,* 21 December, 1933.
36 *The Adelaide Chronicle,* 21 December, 1933.
37 West Torrens District Council Minutes, 2 February, 1858.
38 West Torrens District Council Minutes, 25 August, 1863.
39 Manning, p.140.
40 *Southern Australian,* 17 March, 1843, p. 2, quoted in Manning, Thebarton History, p. 125.
41 *Register,* 28 March 1853, p. le, quoted by Manning, p. 125.
42 The teams were the forerunners of North Adelaide and South Adelaide respectively. John Daly, *Elysian fields,* p.60.
43 *Register,* 17 September, 1860 p. 3e, *Elysian fields,* p. 58, *Advertiser,* 1 September 1936 (special edition) quoted by G Manning, p.126.
44 *Observer,* 10 April 1869, p. 5e and 10, and 17 July, 1869, pp. 17f and 5c, quoted by Manning, p. 127.
45 Manning, p.138.
46 *Register,* 8 January 1848, *South Australian,* 18 January 1848, cited by Manning, p. 139.
47 Carol Bacchi, 'The woman question in South Australia' in *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History* pp. 405-6 and 417.
48 *The Express and Journal* 27 May 1933.
49 John Tregenza, 'Colonel Light's "Theberton Cottage" and his legacy to Maria Gandy: a reconsideration of the evidence', in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia,* no. 12, 1989, p. 11.
50 State Records Newspaper Cuttings, vol. 1, p. 158, 27 December 1886.
51 Pauline Payne, 'Picturesque scientific gardening: Developing Adelaide Botanic Garden', in B Dickey (ed.), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide 1860-1930,* Association of Professional Historians, Adelaide, 1992, p. 129.
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53 This section is based on that of Srubjan, chapter 3, pp. 20-22.

4 – A changing community 1870-1900

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the face of Thebarton altered markedly in a period of dramatic change. Thebarton was being transformed from a rural area to a place where there were schools and horse trams, a district where new subdivisions and businesses were developing, despite the cycles of 'boom and bust'. Roads were being paved, and the old pisé houses replaced by solidly built villas and later by houses in a design that we know as Federation. The increasingly residential character of the area was marked by the building of churches for the major denominations, substantial structures that showed the commitment of parishioners. Communications were improving with an efficient postal service and the linking of South Australia with other Australian colonies and overseas places, first by telegraph and then by telephone. On the local level there were bicycles and horse-drawn trams. The period 1870-1900 saw the development of new ways of handling matters of safety and security with the establishment of a local police station. Water was laid on and deep drainage was available; these were important developments for public health. Increasingly, public health and safety regulations could be enforced by officials. Trade unions were still in their infancy but increasingly confident and well-organised.

Culturally there were developments in both formal and informal education, the latter evidenced by the provision of library services, the growth of choirs and bands and the development of literary and debating societies. During this period Thebarton women won the right to vote. They had the right to attend the University of Adelaide, established in 1874, at a time when such rights were unknown in Oxford or Cambridge. However, it seems that few girls from Thebarton did attend the university. Nor did many attend the Advanced School for Girls, established in 1879. Nevertheless, girls would in the long term benefit from demographic changes such as the trend for smaller families, legal changes, such as the Married Women's Property Act (1883) and the Guardianship of Infants Act (1887), not to mention practical developments such as the provision of piped water after 1874.

Thebarton's development during this period mirrored developments in the colony as a whole. The population of South Australia reached 250,000 in 1879. A rural boom in the 1870s increased the demand for goods and services in the city. The enlarged city-based industries, such as manufacturing, transport and service industries, used large amounts of labour and these people needed housing. A further factor was that the immigration wave of the 1850s generated a cohort of population that

was entering the 20-34 house-buying age group in the second half of the 1870s. In 1876 residential housing in Adelaide doubled compared with the previous year and it has been estimated that housebuilding as a percentage of gross domestic product doubled in the second half of the 1870s compared with the first half, a very significant development. In addition, between 1876 and the opening years of the 1880s a large part of the central business district of Adelaide was essentially rebuilt.[1]

For the established settlements around Adelaide, such as Thebarton, it was a time of consolidation and growth, reflected in a subdivision boom, in population growth, the expansion of manufacturing and commerce, and improvements in transport and public services. The period was also marked by greater government involvement in public works, especially in the field of education, communications and transport. At the height of the boom a number of Thebarton residents successfully petitioned for separationfrom the District Council of West Torrens, and the Corporation of Thebarton was formed.

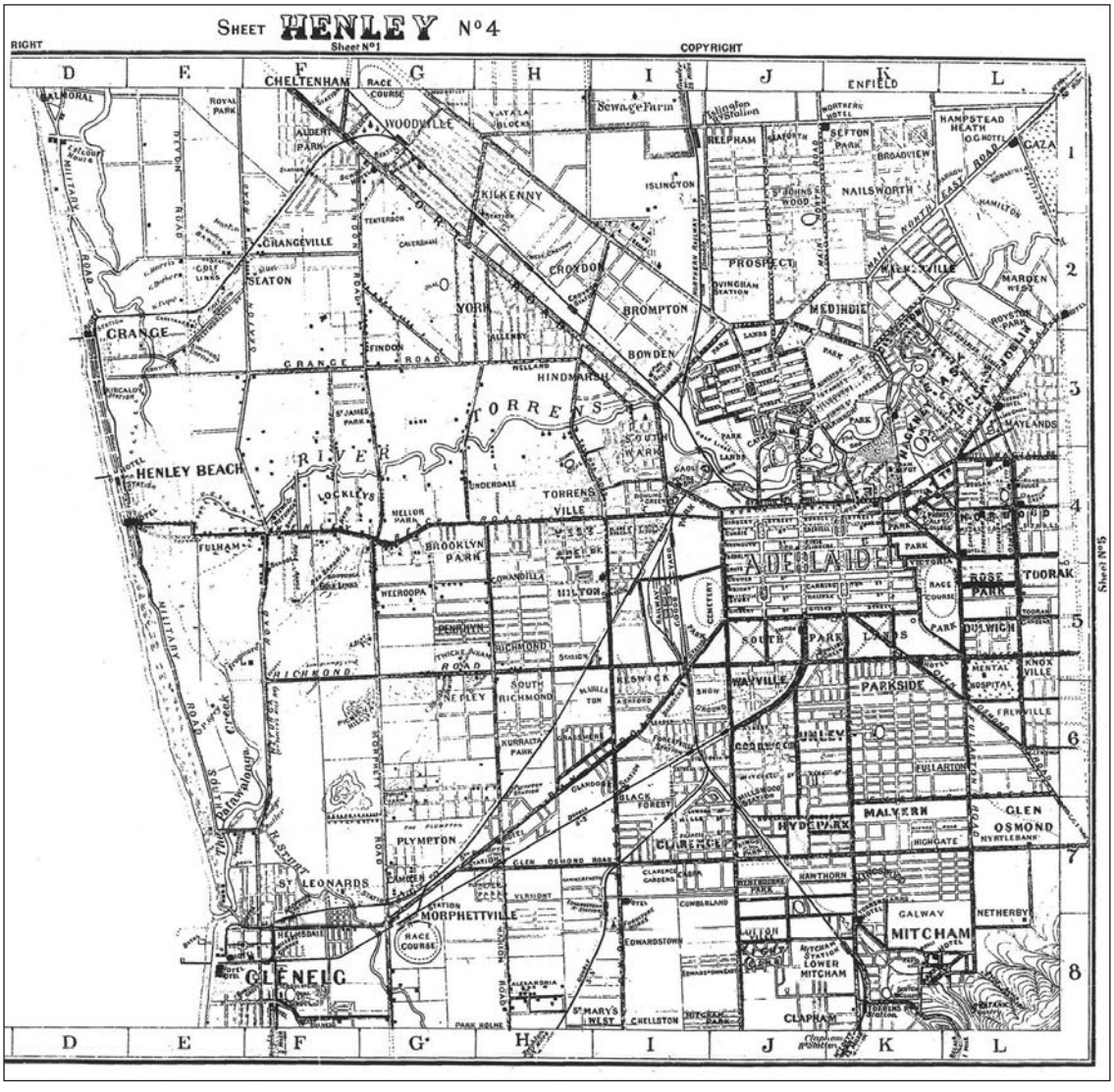
The good years were not to last. There was a succession of droughts in the north in the early 1880s, followed by general depression after 1884. After the speculative bubble burst, housing and commercial construction ceased to be attractive investments.[2] Nevertheless new opportunities came and many businesses in the Thebarton district continued to prosper in the 1890s.

Growing urbanisation and the new sub-divisions

During the boom years of the 1870s demand for land for more houses and businesses saw closer settlement of the villages and townships of the West Torrens district and there were many new subdivisions. Thebarton was at the forefront of this development. The population of the original Thebarton township, which included the first cottages in Section 1, did not rise dramatically, going from 736 in 1871 to 771 in 1881, by which time there were 171 houses in the town. However by 1881 the overall population of the Thebarton area (Thebarton, Southwark, Hemmington, West Thebarton, New Thebarton, Old Mile End, Mile End and New Mile End) had risen to about 1,700.[3]

The building boom in Thebarton began in the early 1870s and continued for about a decade with few controls on allotment size, buildings or the shape and pace of development. J J Pascoe, editor of the *History of Adelaide and Vicinity,* wrote in 1901 of the rapid increase in population and trade in South Australia, and the rise in the value of property in and around Adelaide in these years:

> of course, there was a land boom, during which building operations in Adelaide were conducted in a manner suggestive of 1840. The population jumped from 237,090 in 1876, to about 300,000 in 1882; the area under cultivation from 1,514,916 acres to 2,623,195 acres in 1882; and the revenue from £1,331,925 (1876-7) to £2,242,085 (1881-2).In Adelaide, business sites rose 120 per cent in value, and



Henley Sheet No. 4 – Compiled from Reconnaissance Surveys by WH. Edmunds. Courtesy: Geography Department, University of Adelaide.

> good residence sites 100 per cent. New townships were laid out on the Adelaide Plains and on the seaboard, and syndicates purchased land here and there, with the idea of cutting it up into residence lots . . .By 1882-3 had come the reaction and the vain regrets.[4]

These developments impacted on the town of Thebarton. As land prices rose in the city, people were encouraged to move to the inner suburbs. Building did not start immediately on many of the new subdivisions in Thebarton, although some of those on the northern end of Taylor's Road, near the Torrens, developed quite rapidly because of the existing and anticipated industry in the area. It is no coincidence then that the first major subdivision outside the old Thebarton township (sometimes called Thebarton village) was the working class suburb of West Thebarton, which was surveyed in November 1871.It was divided into allotments ranging in size from a quarter acre to l¾ acres, the larger

Thebarton Post and Telegram Office (Taylors Road – now South Road). Taylor's Road was also the location for the Police Station and Town Hall, making it something of an administrative centre.

blocks were probably intended for industrial use. Later, an odd little strip was added to the original subdivision and, rather confusingly, was named Thebarton West. It ran north-south and took up Murray and Dalgleish Streets.[5]

Census figures show that by 1881 West Thebarton had 86 houses and a population of 428. By 1884 most of the local men were listed as labourers, carters, tanners and fellmongers. West Thebarton was a little township of its own in the early 1880s.[6] There was the West Thebarton Hotel on Taylor's (now South) Road, which was run by Robert Hyman. Next door was a blacksmith, and in Ballantyne Street there was David Kay's bakery and Robert Child's shop and Post Office. For those who required dressmaking services there was Jane Munroe's shop in Murray Street. Meat supplies were provided by the Warren family's butcher shop on Taylor's Road, two blocks down from Bennett Street.

Hemmington and Hemmington West, also part of Section 46, were subdivided in the early 1870s. The area was bounded by George Street, Taylor's Road and Dew Street. They first appear in the West Torrens assessment book for 1872-73 although they were not officially named until 1875. Hemmington, which ran between Pearson and Dew Streets, was named after local butcher, John Hemmingway or Hemingway (both spellings were used), who had been elected to the West Torrens Council in 1858 and became the member for Mile End Ward in March 1861. He was a Captain in the first South Australian Cavalry, secretary of the Court Foresters IOF and prominent in the National Temperance League.[7] The suburb (which was sometimes spelt Hemington)[8] began in a small way, with John Hemingway subdividing six acres of land into substantial

blocks. Edwin Conliffe Hemingway (1842-1917) bought half an acre and built a concrete house on it, while John kept 3½ acres as pasture land. Richard Crafter and Robert Stokes each bought an acre. George Street West, as it was called, had been formed as early as 1855 and was now given its official title.

The original blocks were cut into residential allotments in the following year and Richard Crafter built a wooden shop and then a house on his quarter acre block. Several others soon began building homes, including local engineer William H Richardson and Robert Stokes. A G Lea, variously described as a storekeeper and clerk, built a 7 roomed house (termed a 'mansion' in the assessment book for 1880) on the northern side of Kintore Street, formerly called Lea's Road.[9] An important development for the district was the establishment of a Police Station in Kintore Street, near Lea's home, first run by Constable Hjalmar Filip Segerlind (1855-1925) in 1882.[10] The Station was later transferred to the corner of George Street and Taylor's Road. Swedish-born Constable Segerlind represents a significant group of nineteenth century settlers who came from northern Europe, the majority from Germany but some like Segerlind from the Scandinavian countries.

Hemmington West grew more slowly and in a different way. Unlike Hemmington, which was mainly a middle-class residential area, the western extension was ideally located on Taylor's Road and developed as a busy administrative and service centre. In time it gained a post office, the first substantial Catholic Church in the district, the new police station, and, on the northern corner of George Street and Taylor's Road, the Thebarton Corporation Town Hall. By 1881 Hemmington and its western extension numbered 107 persons and had 24 houses - a considerable number of people given its relatively small area.

The suburb of New Thebarton, part of Section 94, was divided into urban allotments in 1878. By the following year there were 131 owner occupiers of the lots, although only 51 had buildings. An additional piece of land running from Ashley Street to the River Torrens was subdivided and named New Thebarton Extension. In 1881 there were 89 houses and a population of 296. At this stage local residents felt that their interests would be better served if a New Thebarton Ward was created in addition to the existing six wards in the West Torrens district.[11] In May 1881 a large number of rate-payers presented a petition to the Governor, Sir William F D Jervois, whose government agreed to the request in August that year.

Thomas Hardy was elected the first Councillor but his position was declared invalid and Joseph Stevenson was elected in his place. Stevenson, who had substantial business interests in the area, seems to have been a prime mover in its development. In 1879 he built a large house, engine shed and outbuildings valued at £100 on the corner of East and Ashley Streets. He also owned various properties and helped to construct a number of buildings in the new township. A correspondent for the *Register* in

1879 provided us with this description, written in the journalistic style of the day:

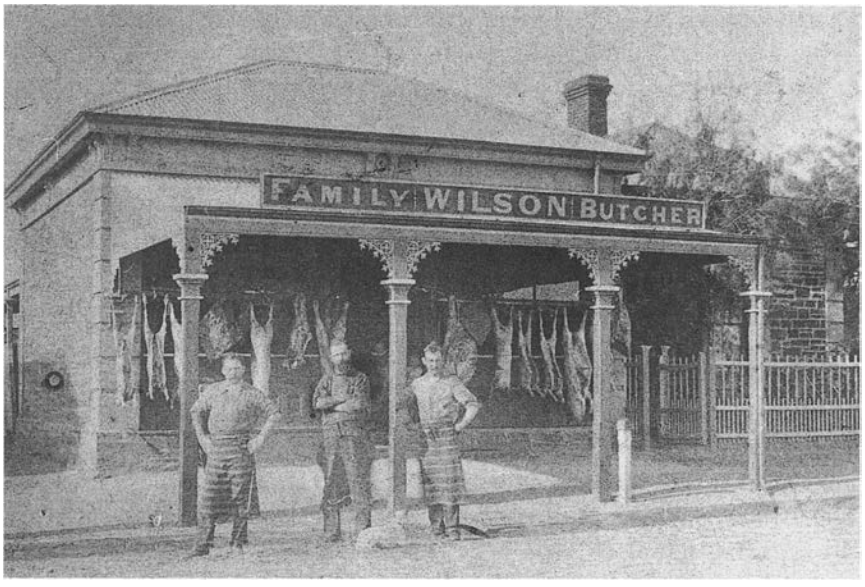
> Mr Stevenson, a builder whose yard is conspicuous, has turned his business abilities to good practical account by the erection of a commodious and attractive villa residence for himself, and several other cottages of superior style are in progress. Fastidious persons might object to the site of this new settlement as being somewhat devoid of natural aesthetic attractions, and liable to undue interruptions of the neighbouring soil in a pulverised state. Its proximity to the city, to which there is frequent conveyance by omnibus, will nevertheless doubtless attract some to whom such a consideration is of paramount importance.

On 10 January 1880 the *Observer* commented on the growth that was taking place:

> At Thebarton, many new buildings have gone up, including a new public hall which was erected by Mr Stevenson at a cost of £800. A Bible Christian Church is in course of erection. At New Thebarton the Royal hotel has been put up according to the design of Mr Cumming for £1,800, Mr Stevenson being the builder. The house has fourteen apartments. In most of the other western suburbs, a lot of cottages have been erected, the tide of prosperity evidently having set in that direction.

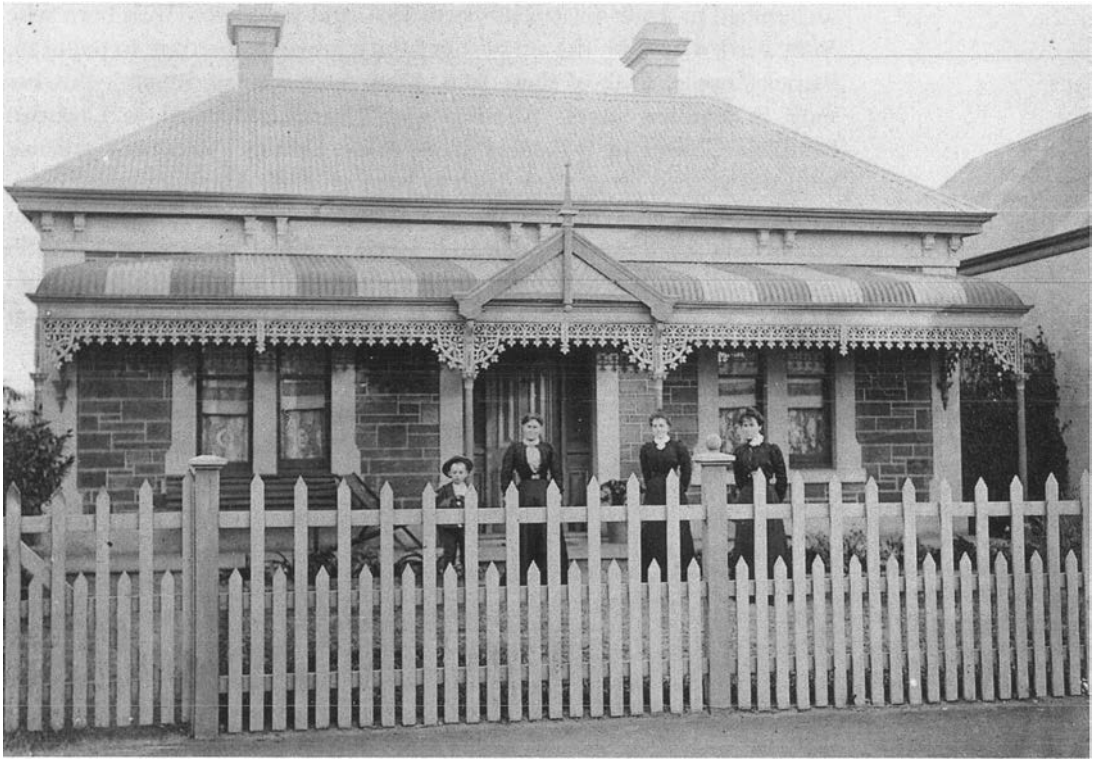
Certainly in the late 1870s and early 1880s shops and other buildings were springing up along Henley Beach Road. It would gradually become the business centre for the district. Next to the Royal Hotel there was a shop and a blacksmith business run by George Smith. The allotments on the other side of the Hotel, between Jervois and East Streets, formed a little commercial centre. In 1879 Richard Wilson built a house and butcher shop, with stables at the rear for his horses and carts. The shop later became Rodney's Meat Store. Around the corner, in Jervois Street, was a house and blacksmith business on two allotments in the name of S Harvey. Part of it was later occupied by Mrs Jones' private school. Just along from Wilson's shop was the house and bakery of R G Russell, and on the corner of Jervois Street and Henley Beach Road, James B Broderick, a store keeper and blacksmith, ran a shop which was leased from Stevenson's Estate. In 1882 the shop was taken over by William Cope and Broderick moved to the southern side of Henley Beach Road at Mile End (opposite the site of a later Commonwealth Employment Service building), where he built a seven roomed stone house and a store.[12]

Southwark was developed by James Phillips, a doctor, and George Crooks Shierlaw, a draper, on Section 1, Light's original section. Named after the industrial suburb of London on the southern bank of the River Thames, it was being laid out in 1879 – the *Register* correspondent referred to it as 'Mushroom Town'.[13] The *Observer* reported on its early progress on 10 January 1880:



Wilson's Butcher shop, corner Jervois St & Henley Beach Rd, c.1880. Previously 'Rodney's Meats'. Now the premises of Monsoons Hair Stylist. Courtesy: Nan Wait (nee Poole)

Below:
House in Hughes St, Mile End. Circa 1880s. From Left to Right - Francis Smith, Elizabeth Bosworth, Elizabeth Smith, Anne Smith. This cottage with its symmetrical design is typical of many four room dwellings built in the 1880s and 1890s. Courtesy: Mrs Giddings



A new township, Southwark, has sprung up during the year at the call of the National Building Society. It is situated between Thebarton and Hindmarsh and is on the block of land known as Colonel Light's Section (No. 1). It consists of about 100 acres, which the National Building Society has cut up into 400 allotments, each 50 feet by 150,

> and with streets 50 by 60 feet wide, and a large reserve in the centre for future public buildings. Sixteen houses are finished, six are in progress, and ten are contracted to be built. The township was only laid out nine months ago. It fronts the West Parklands.[14]

However, despite good intentions the reserve for public buildings was not put aside. Some observers from other districts were enthusiastic about industrial development being located in Southwark rather than in the city area, the *Register* correspondent writing: 'May Southwark flourish! ...and may she concentrate within her borders as many as possible of the noxious but necessary avocations which now find unsuitable resting places in the metropolis'.

By the 1880s and 1890s Southwark was quite a bustling area with its numerous stores, workshops and factories. In the mid-1880s the commercial focus had developed along the Port Road, from Phillips Street to Light Terrace. Weary travellers could stop off at the Southwark Hotel on the Port Road, built in 1885-6 by Haussen and Co, with Richard Davey as the first publican succeeded by Daniel and Mary Coveney.[15] Coveney succumbed to drink-related illness in 1890 and his capable Irish born wife Mary carried on with the aid of sons from a previous marriage to publican, Patrick Supple. One of these sons, John, later opened Supple's Butcher shop in Phillips Street. Another son, Charles, educated at Christian Brothers' College in Wakefield St, Adelaide, became a successful solicitor who was also active in West Torrens Football Club administration.[16]

Local businesses needed horses for deliveries, and chaff stores and blacksmiths were much in demand. Stock feed was available at Edward's chaff mill on the corner of Smith Street and Port Road and horses could be shod at William Sincock's smithy, which was situated a little farther south

Supple's Butcher Shop. The young woman acting as nursemaid appears to be of Aboriginal back ground. Aboriginal people played an important role in the workforce in colonial society, especially in rural Australia. Courtesy: Peter Moore

on Port Road. For general provisions, there was Joel Lyons' store near the southern corner of Port Road and Smith Street.[17]

The establishments on the Port Road would have catered as much for passers-by as local residents. People within the township were well served with shops and services. Frederick Slade and his wife ran a boot-making shop on the northern side of Light Terrace. Henry W Chamberlain had a store on the corner of Holland Street and Light Terrace and Frederick Barnden ran a butcher shop on the southern side of Smith Street.

Southwark, like many of the other suburbs laid out at the time, did not develop as rapidly as its developer anticipated. There was certainly a sound basis for growth, given the industries in the area and it closeness to the Port Road and the City. Manufacturing, however, was still small-scale and concentrated mainly along the Torrens, and the demand for houses was not great; by the late 1880s there were still many vacant blocks in the area, mainly in Phillips and Anderson Streets. In the meantime, people were able to keep a variety of animals for commercial and private use. Dairying was a valuable part of the local economy. In the early 1880s William Brindle ran a large dairy on three allotments fronting the River Torrens, now the site of the Southwark Brewery complex, and sold milk to nearby residents and people in the City. The Keane family dairy continued to prosper. Dairy woman Mrs John Leonard kept cows on her property in Smith Street and put them out to pasture in the West Parklands – a practice that was common until the mid-twentieth century. Some kept just one or two cows for domestic use. Inevitably, there were complaints about straying stock of all kinds, sheep, cattle, dogs and goats. The last named were apparently helping themselves to the flourishing garden that surrounded Colonel Light's old home; the occupier at the time, NJ Hone, wrote to the West Torrens Council in 1882 to complain of the nuisance they were causing in the area.

Section 48 was divided into 557 building lots, mostly 60 x 150 feet, and was sold at public auction on 7 October 1882. It was bounded by Henley Beach Road, South Road (known then as Fisher Terrace), Darebin Street and Bagot Avenue (then Bagot Street). The auctioneers, Henning, Bruce and Aldridge, described the new suburb of West Adelaide in glowing terms:

> The most magnificent section of land close to the city which has ever been submitted ... to the Adelaide public. Within ten minutes of the business thorough-fares and an easy distance to the sea. Glorious views, unequalled soil, macadamised roads. Level surface, capital drainage, water is laid on.
>
> This really grand block of land will be remembered by our colonists of a few years' standing as the old Thebarton Racecourse, the scene of many a stirring incident on the flat and over, the big jumps. The proprietors have arranged with the Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company to convey intending purchasers to the spot by tram. A large marquee will be erected on the ground, and luncheon, with every other convenience, provided.

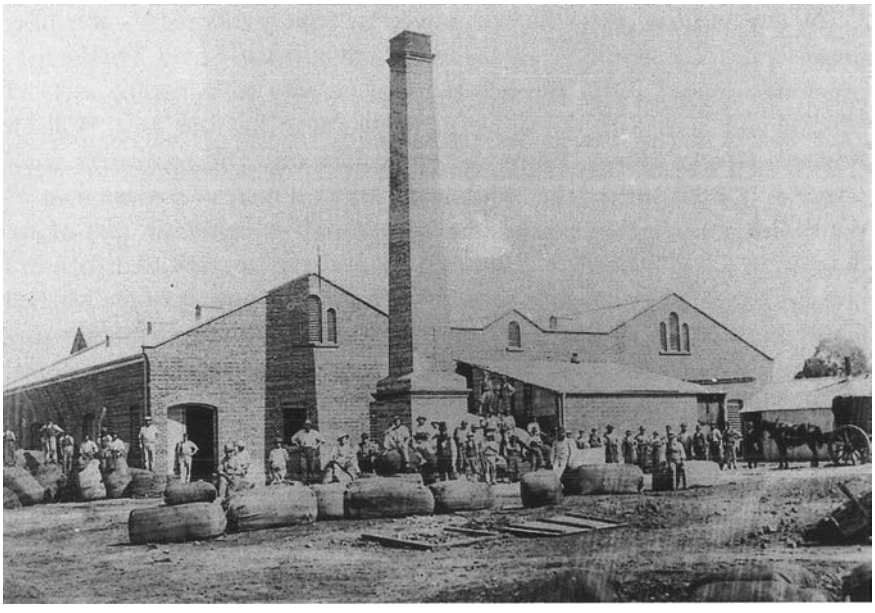
So this was the fate of the old Thebarton Racecourse – a far cry from the galloping hoofs and racing colours of the early events. Nevertheless, while subdivision might have occurred, it took time for the area to develop. In 1884 there were less than 40 buildings in the area (although it could boast two churches), and even in the early 1900s there were still many vacant lots.

Work opportunities in the district

Development of housing would follow the development of business, so it is worth considering how industry and commerce fared in the years between 1870 and 1900. We have already seen that a number of small commercial areas had developed: in particular along Taylor's Road at West Thebarton and along Henley Beach Road as well as in George Street. Here were located the hotels, general stores, blacksmiths, butchers, bakers and bootmakers, providing the basic services that local people needed. Blacksmiths were especially important in colonial townships because in addition to shoeing horses they made tools and implements and often repaired horse drawn vehicles. Many elderly people remember how fascinating it was, when they were children, to watch the smithy at work; they recall the noise, the special smells and the heat of the fire. There were other businesses that are found in modern day shopping centres which were not found in colonial times or at least not as we know them: greengrocers, newsagents, pharmacies, drycleaners and fast food outlets. Many people grew their own fruit and vegetables and swapped surplus products with neighbours, but in addition there were goods sold by hawkers on a door-to-door basis or in general stores. There was a Chinese market garden of note in the district near the river.[18] Residents might go to an apothecary in Adelaide or buy patent medicines from hawkers or general stores. They also concocted their own remedies according to family tradition and local lore. Cleaning of clothes was typically done at the individual resident's own home. Some could afford to employ a woman to help with washing; arduous work done by hand, perhaps aided by a wash board.

The tanneries and fellmongeries, situated along the banks of the Torrens, continued to be important places of employment for Thebarton residents. Ingham and Bean's tannery, which had come under the control of the Reid family in 1871, continued its operations in this period. In 1876 the death of John Taylor saw his tannery pass to his son Benjamin. Born in 1844 or 1845, Benjamin came to Australia in 1854 and was educated at St Peter's College. Beside his business interests a career in public life saw him serve as MHA for West Torrens from February 1875 until September 1876. He was the first Mayor of Hindmarsh (October 1874 to September 1876) and the first Mayor of Thebarton (1883).[19]

As we saw, Edward Meade Bagot's Boiling Down Works was established on an acre of land that had been used for the old race course. In January 1870, at a dinner for his employees at the Squatters' Arms, he

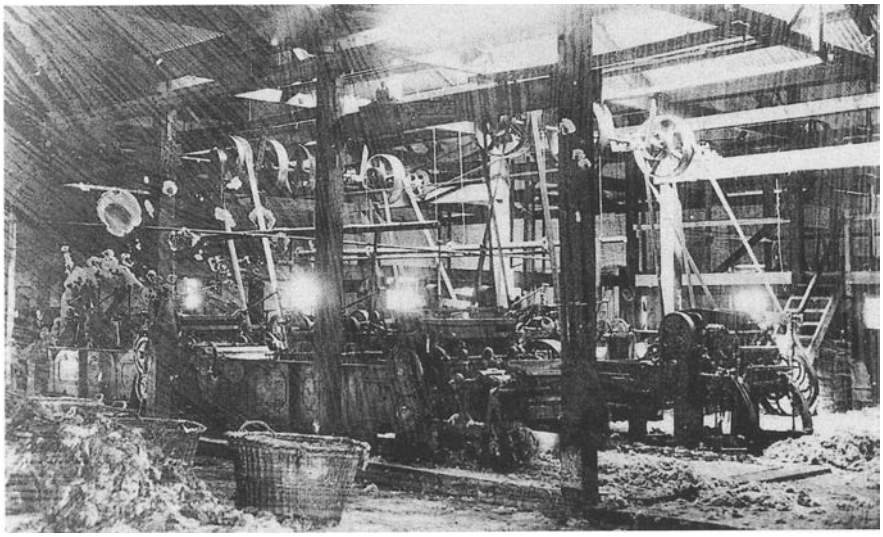


Taylor Brothers' Tannery & Woolwashing Works, taken in the mid 1870s. This was later the site of Onkaparinga Woollen Mills, South Road.

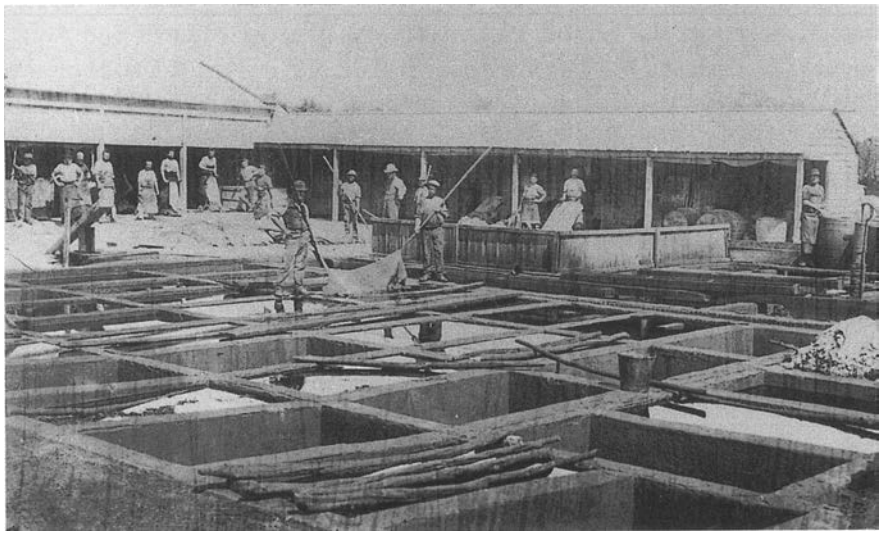
described the success of their operations: the firm had slaughtered 85,000 sheep and produced 520 tons of tallow for export in the first five months of operation. However, there were complaints about the 'intolerable stench' caused by the works. The issue was covered by By-Law No. 1, which ruled that any person boiling down, crushing or burning meat bones and offal, 'so as to cause an offensive smell, and be a nuisance to the owners or occupiers of the adjoining premises, or to the neighbourhood' would after three days notice be fined no less than 10 shillings or more than £10. Whether or not it was the by-law that made Bagot take action, in 1876 he informed the authorities that he had stopped slaughtering cattle at his works. The land, part of Mile End, was subdivided in 1914,[20] a subdivision marking a shift from workplace setting to dormitory suburb.

Another important business for the Hindmarsh-Thebarton district which began in the period 1870-1900 was that of Michell and Sons. George Michell and his wife Catherine had arrived in Port Adelaide on the *Trevelyan* from Cornwall as a young married couple in March 1866, part of the important group of Cornish emigrants who contributed so much to mining, farming and related industries in South Australia. Many people struggled and survived in the new colony - the Michells struggled and prospered. Trained to handle leather in his trade as a bootmaker, George worked for a year as a bootmaker in Rundle Street, then began farming at Cudlee Creek. He also acquired skills in scouring wool and tanning. That he trundled a wheelbarrow load of wool all the way from Cudlee Creek to Port Adelaide to sell to a ship's captain says much about his determination but it also reminds us that colonists needed good leather for their boots in those times. Michell moved his family to Undalya, about sixty miles from Adelaide, and in addition to his own mixed farming he conducted a wool scouring business using skins purchased from local farmers.

As the business grew Michell moved in 1896 to Adelaide, obtaining premises near the cemetery on the south side of Adam Street, Hindmarsh, previously owned by G Burnell and Co. He was soon trading as G H Michell and Sons with the active participation of his four sons, William Edward, George Henry, Edgar and James Edward. The company's wool activities centred around the Hindmarsh–Thebarton area for more than 75 years with considerable expansion taking place.[21] A significant part of the business is now located at Salisbury, in response to twentieth century pressure for factories to move to outer suburbs. The success of the Michell family business exemplifies not only the potential value of fellmongering but also the potential strength of a family as an economic unit in colonial times. The family has become one of the wealthiest in South Australia.



Woolwashing machinery, Taylor Bros, c.1875. A series of photographs of Taylor Bros were taken by H Davis for the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876. Courtesy: Mortlock Library



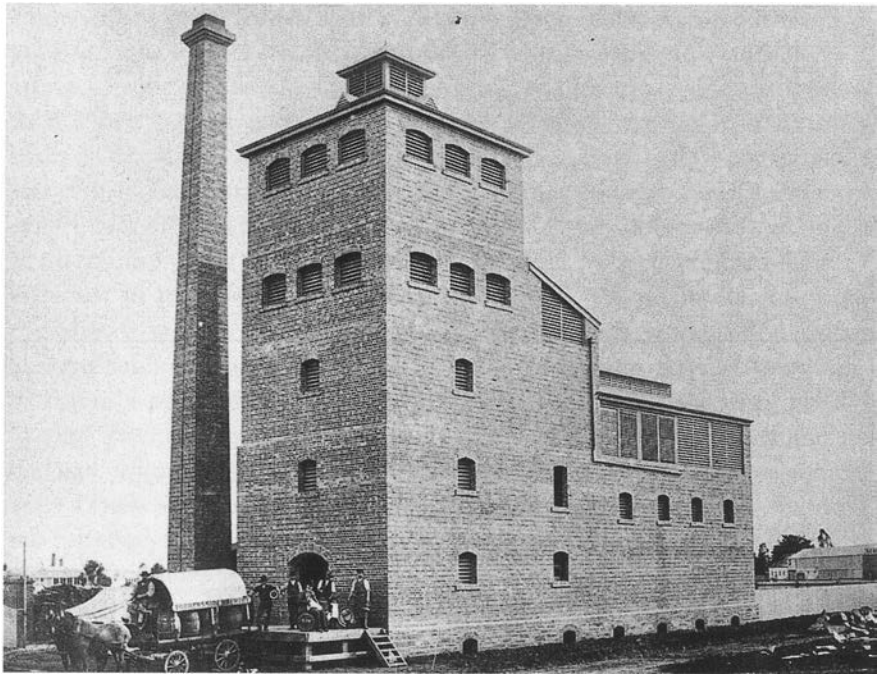
Taylor Bros. Fellmongery and Woolwashing Works, c.1875. At this time wool exports from the fellmongeries along the River Torrens were valued at £300,000 *while leather and other goods sold in South Australia were worth* £150,000. Courtesy: Mortlock Library

Some businesses while not technically within the local government area of Thebarton were important to Thebarton residents. One of these was the Victoria Tannery, opened by John Reid in 1873, in premises on the northern and southern sides of Manton Street. The factory had a bark grinding plant that produced tanning materials from a variety of plant products. One of the most important of these was wattle bark which was still being collected in the Adelaide Hills right up to the 1930s and 1940s.

While fellmongeries and tanneries provided vital employment opportunities for residents they were also significant sources of environmental pollution in the area. So, too, were factories such as the Apollo candle and soap factory on the banks of the River Torrens, which opened in 1882 in Adam Street, Hindmarsh. It was across the river in Hindmarsh but pollution of the river and atmosphere affected people on both sides of the river. Although Apollo's Secretary, Mofflin, said proudly that no offensive smells would emanate from the factory because the works were to be connected to the new metropolitan deep drainage system, the Hindmarsh Board of Health had to deal with a complaint about the 'pungency' of the smells later in 1888.[22]

Smells and local industry went together in the Hindmarsh-Thebarton district and one distinctive smell came from local breweries. It was a smell little appreciated by those Methodists, Baptists and Roman Catholics who had 'signed the pledge' of total abstinence and abhorred the 'demon drink'. However there were plenty who did enjoy their ale and to provide for them there were breweries such as Crawford's in what is now Orsmond Street, Hindmarsh, and that of Haussen and Catchlove who took over some of Crawford's property when he had financial difficulties. A feature of the development of the business was intermarriage between the families. After Henry Haussen's death in 1870 his widow Rosa Haussen (nee Catchlove) carried on the partnership until 1874. The business was known as Haussen and Co. In 1874 the firm was taken over by F S Botting and F E Bucknall although they retained the name of Haussen in marketing their product.[23]

The Torrenside Brewery, which stood on land now occupied by the SA Brewing Company, was a brick structure opened by W and T L Ware in 1886, 150 yards to the west of the Hindmarsh Bridge. It amalgamated with Messrs E Clark and Co, the proprietors of the East Adelaide Brewery in 1898, then later that year became part of the Walkerville Cooperative Brewery (which was in turn to become part of the South Australian Brewing Company in 1938). Additional buildings constructed at Southwark and opened in 1899 produced cellars described as 'the finest in the colony'. Opening the new buildings, the colourful parliamentarian Ebenezer Ward referred to the importance of the brewing industry, not only for 'the pleasant quenching of their thirsts, but in the liberal employment of labour [and] in the beneficial circulation of cash '24 While ardent temperance worker Father Healy of the local Queen of Angels parish would have disapproved heartily of the occasion, the



Torrenside Brewery in 1890. Note the horse drawn dray. The business was later known as the Walkerville Brewery and in 1939 as the Nathan Brewery before becoming Southwark Brewery in 1949.

brewery was one of many firms in the district to anticipate prosperous times ahead as South Australia moved towards the twentieth century.

New factories and new houses meant that bricks were needed. The period 1870 to 1900 saw an important new brickworks being established in the Thebarton district - that of Job Hallett (1855-1940). It is now the site of the Brickworks Markets, and the tall chimney of the Hoffman kiln is today a local landmark. Somerset-born Job Hallett arrived in South Australia in 1879-1880. He tried working in the country but came back to Adelaide and returned to his old trade of brickmaking. A timely legacy of £500, a large sum of money in those days, enabled him to establish a brickyard of his own in Brampton. Claypits near the River Torrens had been used since the early days of the colony and by purchasing a house on the corner of Chief and Hawker Streets, Hallett could live close to his pits. An oft quoted remark about the industry is that 'brickworks were no place for weaklings' and Hallett worked long and hard, gaining his first big contract about the time his eldest son Thomas joined him in the business. This contract was to provide the bricks for the new School of Mines on the corner of North Terrace and Frome Road (now the University of South Australia), and so it was that just as the chimney stack provide a landmark in Thebarton, Hallett's bricks helped to provide one of the landmarks of North Terrace.[25]

There were nine substantial brickworks along the riverside plains of the River Torrens by 1881 and several smaller ones 'as the community burrowed like moles for limestone and that lucrative, free, indispensable Adelaide red clay'.[26] One of these brickyards was owned by Daniel Brice who with his son developed a brickyard, house and stables on 12 acres,

part of it leased from William Shearing.[27] In the days when many children did not attend school regularly, it was common for the firms to employ local lads who earned a few shillings for carrying clay from the pughole up to the hand moulders. They took the clay in lumps sufficient for about a dozen bricks, balancing it in boxes on their heads.[28]

Another local industry on the Hindmarsh side of the river, a much smaller one than the brickworks, was rope-making. In the early 1870s two rope factories were established, probably the first ones in South Australia which provided a valuable, locally made product as an alternative to that made in Victoria or Great Britain. The first business was that of Cornish man William Henry Tamlin (later in partnership with James Combe), which became the Adelaide Rope Factory. The second was the Hindmarsh Rope Factory in which at various times G P Bailey and Nicholas Renseigh had an interest. In later years Tamlin described how he first set up his work on the banks of the Torrens with the assistance of a boy to turn the wheel of his plant while his wife, with her baby alongside on a heap of flax, hackled the raw materials for the rope.[29]

Within the local government boundaries of Thebarton was another factory which thrived in the latter years of the nineteenth century. This was the Woollen Mills that opened at New Thebarton. Its managing proprietor was James Wigham McGregor (1861–1925), a former manager of the Lobethal Tweed Factory. The factory, later called the Torrenside Woollen Mills, and afterwards Onkaparinga Textiles Ltd, was on the eastern side of Taylor's Road, near the Torrens. By 1891 McGregor had a contract to produce 300 yards of carriage cloth for the railways.[30] The capable McGregor, who came from the important woollen manufacturing town of Hawick in Scotland, became President of the South Australian Chamber of Manufacturers in later years and was also a founder of Scotch College, Mitcham.[31]

The name Cuming Street in Mile End is associated with R Burns Cuming, resident partner and manager of a chemical works established in 1881 that became known as Adelaide Chemical Works Company in 1882. Cuming became Mayor of Thebarton from 1901 to 1903.The firm began in conjunction with C Campbell of Melbourne in 1881 on six acres of land close to Hardy's Bankside vineyard and opposite West's fellmongery. There was a brick cottage for Cuming and boiler furnaces and chimney stack for the chemical works which manufactured sulphuric acid and other chemicals. The firm supplied chemicals which were vital for a number of South Australian industries. In later years it could claim that it was the pioneer of the superphosphate industry which transformed agricultural production in South Australia.[32]

Another firm in the district involved in the provision of fertilisers was the Torrenside Manure Works conducted by J B Ford. It was yet another firm reported to produce 'foul odours', as evidenced by complaints recorded in the newspapers of the day.[33] The Thebarton Distillery, managed by Max Birnbaum, would not have helped this problem either.

It was established in 1882 to produce rectified spirits for blending purposes from grain.[34]

All these firms gave a considerable variety of employment opportunities to local residents, a greater range than was available locally to residents of some of the other inner city suburbs such as Prospect, Rose Park or Unley. There was still much open space so that people continued to follow farming and dairying pursuits. However, by the end of the century Thebarton was established as a district that had a significant industrial and manufacturing element, a suburb where working people lived and where the price of land was not excessively high. Adelaide's suburbs were becoming differentiated and there were places such as Walkerville where there was little industry and much higher land prices. Thebarton might be a suburb for working people but its residents were determined to make life as convenient for themselves as possible with better services for transport, drainage, education and religious observance.

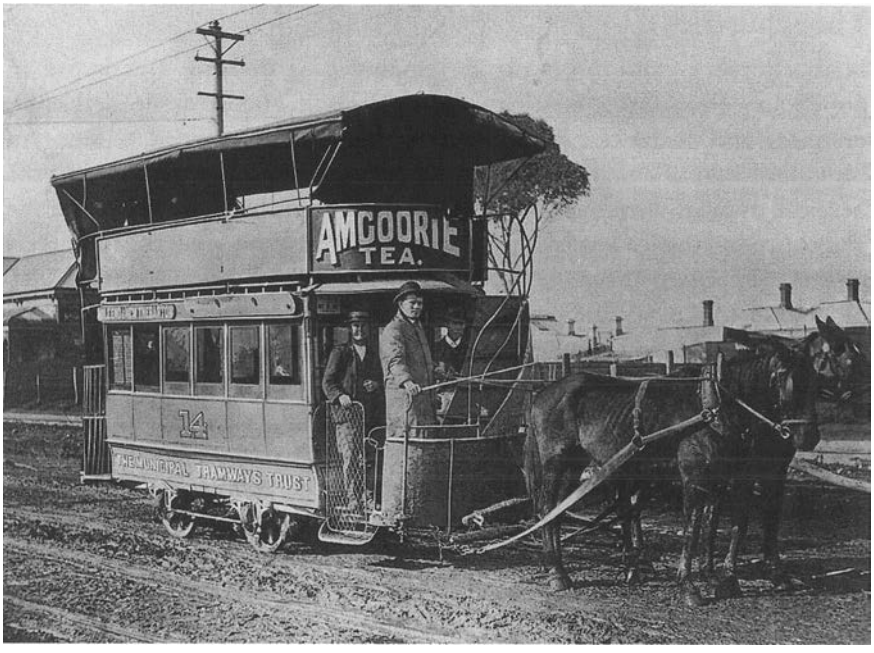
Water and Drainage

With the completion of Hope Valley Reservoir in 1872, piped water could be supplied to suburban Adelaide. Although there were complaints in 1874 about damage to Thebarton's streets from pipe-laying, the provision of piped water was soon seen as a cause for civic pride. At the same time there was widespread concern in the metropolitan area about the need for deep drainage. Exemplified in evidence to the 1876 Sanitation Commission and in contemporary newspaper coverage, it led to acceptance that government intervention was necessary to solve the colony's sanitation problems. Hindmarsh and Thebarton were both serviced with deep drainage and piped water by 1888. Typhoid fever was largely eliminated. Adelaide's mortality rate dropped from 23.4 per 1000 to 14.3 per 1000 after only five years of sewerage - remarkable figures which mark a significant improvement in urban life for Thebarton's residents. It can be argued that the arrival of piped water and sewerage was the single greatest improvement to lifestyle in nineteenth century Australia.[35]

Transport

Adelaide railways were not really designed to serve commuters - with the exception of the Glenelg line - but horse tramways admirably made up the gap in the suburban transport network. They were inexpensive to run, fares were cheap, and they were easy to build on flat land.[36] The first horse trams to the Thebarton district in the 1880s, making travel both faster and more convenient, encouraged the development of the area.

Trams promoted the growth of new residential suburbs, by enabling people to live further away from their place of work. Just as the earlier settlements grew along major roads, new suburbs of the boom years were close to Henley Beach Road and the Port Road. In later years, when tram services were extended along South Road, the suburbs along the route began to grow more rapidly.



The Municipal Tramways Trust Tram 14. The MTT was incorporated in 1907. A horse tram service to Thebarton began in 1882 and to Henley Beach in 1883. An experimental Julien Battery car was trialed on the Henley Beach tramway in 1899, the first electric tram to be used in South Australia.

The first horse tramway to the Thebarton district was constructed by Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company in 1880. It ran from Hindley Street, directly across the parklands along Mile End Road (later replaced by Glover Avenue) to East Terrace and its continuation, the Port Road. The line was of limited benefit to Thebarton but in 1882 the company laid a tramway along Henley Beach Road, which proved a great convenience to Thebarton residents although there were complaints in the *Register* about tram boys being cheeky and the trams themselves being uncomfortable and not running according to schedule. Not long afterwards the company established a horse tram depot on Henley Beach Road, extending into Henley Street. Shops now occupy the main road frontage and Lawlor Chemical Industries Pty Ltd use part of the old sheds.

Mrs Dulcie Watts recalled in 1972 her memories of the tram:

> I was born at Thebarton in 1892, and have seen great changes. Our only transport to the city was by horse trams that came from Henley Beach and Hindmarsh. At Henley Beach Road the trams had to cross the railway lines. Now in those days all the railway shunting was done at Henley Beach Road so often there would be a half hour to wait for the tram. More often than not we walked to the city. Having crossed the railway lines, the tram would cross the parklands direct to Hindley Street. First, a halt was made at a shed in the middle of the parklands. Here a man waited with an extra horse which harnessed to the tram to help pull [it] up the long rise to the terminus, the corner of Hindley and King William Streets.[37]

The Churches

New churches came with the development of housing and a rise in population. In addition, existing congregations in Thebarton needed larger premises and better facilities. Such development provided a focus of activities for local congregations. Natural leaders in each group rose to the occasion as plans were made and stalwart supporters helped to carry out the plans. Among the leaders were many who had established successful careers in the colony while, for the supporters, church activities provided a way of getting to know each other and to put down roots in the district. Church attendance in South Australia during this period was high and while there are no official statistics it is thought that on any given Sunday about 40 per cent of the total population attended church at least once.[38]

A group might meet in a private house first or in a more populous centre before deciding to form a more formal congregation. In 1879 the Methodists in New Thebarton (now part of Torrensville) decided that a preaching place should be established in that area and to this end a meeting was held in the Pirie Street Church. The *Wesleyan Journal* of 12 September 1879 reported on the meeting:

> Two buses, besides private conveyances, brought friends from the city, Thebarton and adjacent places. The meeting was ably presided over by Mr A A Scott, and addresses delivered by Revs. T Lloyd and S Moncrieff, Messrs. P Harwood, Loudy, Collyer, Prettijohn, Stephenson, Rowell and Hemmingway . . . The attention of the Church is being directed to the increasing population at New Thebarton and neighbourhood . . . as our preachers have been travelling over the ground for about 30 years.

Services began irregularly in 1880 in the hall built by Joseph Stevenson on Henley Beach Road. A church was formed and the hall was bought from Mr A Everidge by a group of trustees in September 1880. The trustees of the New Thebarton Wesleyan Methodist Church were Henry T Burgess, Thomas Lloyd, the Hon. John Colton, John Hill, Matthew H Madge, Simon Harvey, William Paddock, John Illman, William Nias Perriam, Richard Thomas Burnard, George Gifford Norman, John P Evans and John Harris.

In the 1880s, when better facilities were needed for work with children and youth, the congregation purchased land next to the church from Mrs Putland and in 1883 a hall was built and fitted with classrooms.[39] Among those who worked for the church in the early days were John Ottaway, (a local preacher), Robert Stokes sen., Walter Hemmingway, J Filsell, John Illman, Edward Rowell, George Norman, William Perriam, RT Burnard and AG Lea. As in other districts of South Australia there was significant support from tradesmen and small farmers, for example, John Illman was a blacksmith, George Newman a farmer and William Perriam a carpenter. A G Lea was described at different times as storekeeper, clerk and agent. The Filsell family gave strong support to church music. In the early years C J Filsell led the

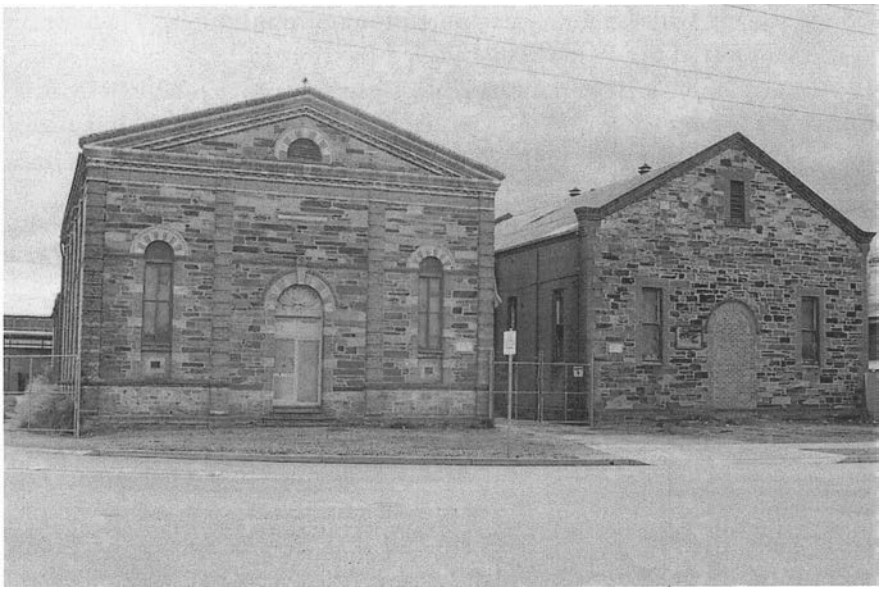
singing with his flute, until a harmonium was bought. Then for 33 years members of the Filsell family played the organ.

An early landmark, the old church in Chapel Street, was bought by R T Burnard, a local teacher, and used as a day school for some time. In January 1878 it was sold to the Rev. Burnet Patch Mudge and became one of only three churches ever owned by the United Free Methodist Church in South Australia. However it was closed in 1895, five years before the union of the Methodist branches (Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian) and the inclusion of Thebarton in the Adelaide Western Suburban Circuit. The old chapel in Chapel Street was sold and used as a dwelling until its demolition in 1961.

The Bible Christians, whose founder was William O'Brien, a Wesleyan preacher in Cornwall, had their chapel on the south-west corner of the intersection of Jervois Street and Ashley Street in New Thebarton. The foundation stone was laid by the Mayor of Hindmarsh, Mr Josiah Mitton, on 6 September 1879.[40] In 1883 another church was opened on Fisher Terrace (now South Road) which became known as the West Adelaide Bible Christian Church and later as the Mile End Methodist Church.[41]

The Baptist Church in Thebarton had humbler beginnings than most. The first services were held in Edwards' chaff mill on the corner of Port Road and Smith Street. Then, in September 1883, Charles Wilcox laid the foundation stone for the fine church building in Phillips Street. The Church was opened in the following year with Rev. J B Sneyd as first pastor.[42] Staunch support was provided to the church by N J Hone (1845-1909), who for many years lived with his family in Colonel Light's old home. Formerly a Baptist minister, Hone remained a prominent member of the church. His wife, Emily, was active in religious and philanthropic work, especially in relation to women and children. She was Vice-President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organisation that played a pivotal role in the women's suffrage movement in the 1880s and 1890s.[43]

The early work of the Roman Catholic Church in Thebarton is associated with a small school established in what was probably rented premises. As has been noted, although a building fund was established in February 1869 and money raised, the teaching activities of the Sisters of St Joseph were disrupted by the temporary excommunication of Mother Mary McKillop. In 1881 Father John Healy took over the care of the Thebarton district, as well as Glenelg, Marion and Blackwood - a large distance to cover. It is said that he walked such a regular beat from West Terrace in the City to Thebarton that a track through the parklands became known as 'Father Healy's path'. It was also said of him that he was so opposed to gambling that when travelling on horseback or in a buggy, he might stop to break up a two-up game with his horsewhip. Prominent in the temperance movement, he encouraged young people to 'sign the pledge' for total abstinence. He was also active in the child welfare field, setting up services for destitute and neglected boys.



Southwark Baptist Church (on left) and church hall, Phillip Street, Southwark. Notice the masonary work.

The long-planned school chapel was finally opened in 1883. This was the first Queen of Angels Church, a small stone building with a porch and tiny bell tower; it still stands on South Road and is used as a parish hall. The Sisters of St Joseph came from the city on a daily basis to teach. In 1885 a St Joseph convent was opened at the rear of the church. From 1891 Father Healy used a cottage in Formby Street as a school chapel. A galvanised iron building was constructed in George Street in 1895, and the St John the Baptist brothers and pupils moved there. By 1900 eighty three boys were enrolled in the St John the Baptist Boys School. The building was later replaced by the Kilmara Secondary School library and classroom block. [44]

Church of England parish workers from St Luke's, Adelaide, carried out pastoral work in Mile End in the 187s and the foundation stone for St James' Church in Falcon Avenue was laid in 1883. The Rev. J G Pitcher, who had a distinguished academic record at St Peter's Collegiate School, established a Day School for the Parish in 1894, using the New Thebarton Methodist Hall on Henley Beach Road. Said to have been keen to introduce an 'enlightened' approach to education, avoiding overstrict discipline and crowded classrooms, he made plans to erect a suitable building for the school on church property.[45]

Throughout the Thebarton district the well-attended Sunday Schools provided education for the younger members of the congregation, while fellowships and youth groups provided social activities. Many young people met their future partners through the church. Those who were able but lacked opportunities for formal education might gain extra training and experience through church activities as Sunday School assistants or teachers, as group leaders or as lay preachers. This was especially the case in the nonconformist churches. The Queen of Angels Literary Society for Young Men provides another example of opportunities for self-education available through a church group.

For many people annual events in the church calendar such as Sunday School anniversaries or church picnics were of special importance. An outing such as the Sunday School picnic might be the only outing of this kind for young people all year. The picnic could provide a trip by steam train to the Adelaide Hills or one of the suburban beaches.

Education

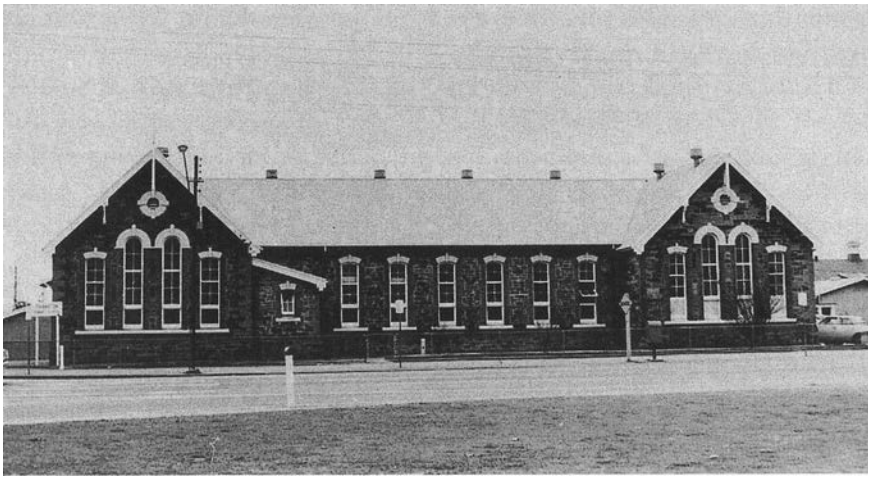
A significant development in the provision of education in South Australia came with the passing of the Education Act of 1875.This provided for a Council of Education to supervise the building of public schools, appoint teachers and determine courses. School was made compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and thirteen, although it was not free. In 1878 a Department of Education was established under a responsible minister.[46]

In Thebarton the population had grown so much that there was an urgent need for a new school with room for at least 400. In 1876 a deputation of George Dew, Robert Strutton, Thomas Newman and W H Crosby requested the Council of Education to provide a school, but they had to wait two years for a definite answer.

Eventually land on the north-east corner of Taylor's (South) Road and Henley Beach Road was bought from the South Australian Company, and work began in 1878.The school and head master's residence were opened in April 1879 by R T Burnard. There were 250 students at the time. Richard Burnard, who had a school in Chapel Street from 1874-7, aided by his sister Emily and Alice Hardy Hanton (whom Richard later married), did not stay long at Thebarton School. He lived for a while in the cottage (now part of St George's College) and left in 1881 for the Unley Public School, although he remained active in his local Methodist church at New Thebarton. He was replaced by Charles Webb, who remained Master for ten years.[47]

In the school's Jubilee Book, published in 1929, one old scholar recalled the early days at the school when there were still paddocks with wheat and hay west of Taylor's Road:

> There were two ponds or dams near the school, one where the Institute now stands, and one across the Beach Road ... which were a source of interest to the boys, but an annoyance to the teachers, we had great frog hunts, and the quarry was brought in and liberated in the class rooms. We frequently essayed to cross the ponds on rails purloined from nearby fences, often with disastrous results to our clothes, and were not only punished in school, but on arrival at home. The land on the west side of Taylor's Road was then an open paddock leased by a Mr Linn, who grew hay and wheat crops thereon. There were regular tracks through, but at the time of seeding Mr Linn was in the habit of mounting guard with a whip. Later on, when the crop was nearly ready for mowing, it was his custom to stop anyone going through and turning them back, but we smaller boys often saw him



The barton first Public School – opened in 1879, demolished 1973.

first and turned in our tracks, making sure that he would see and chase us, and turn our faces in the way we desired to go. When the hay was in stooks we had great mouse and lizard hunts, and many of these were taken into school. I remember a live lizard and a nest of young mice being found in a teacher's desk, and as no one knew who did it all boys in the class were kept in.

Not long after the opening of the school a fight between the Thebarton and Hilton lads (between whom there was always a difference) was staged, and we were all invited to participate. It started off with the bigger boys using fists but soon developed into a stone throwing battle, and we smaller boys quickly got away.

I remember the late Mr Thos. Hardy, who was always keen on tree planting, setting out the Moreton Bay fig trees in the schoolyard. He gave a speech, which I am afraid was not listened to very carefully, and made us promise to see that they were watered during the dry weather.[48]

The children paid fees of fourpence (for those under seven) to sixpence a week, unless it could be proved they were unable to pay. Attendance fluctuated, depending on whether they had to go to work to earn extra income for their families. During the depression years attendance dropped from a daily average of 308 in the last quarter of 1884 to 243.4 in 1888. It picked up, however, when free education was introduced in the early 1890s.

Some of the small private schools were able to withstand the depression of the late nineteenth century. One such school was started by Elizabeth Jones in about 1882 after she and her husband Daniel moved to Jervois Street, Torrensville in the early 1880s.[49] As previously mentioned there were also church day schools run by the Church of England and Roman Catholic Churches.

While many children attended irregularly in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the expectation was being established that they would receive an elementary education. In Thebarton, increasingly urban rather

than rural, being able to read and write would become more and more important as the twentieth century approached.

Thebarton's own council

The district of Thebarton was still part of West Torrens District Council. By 1878 it was thought that a suitable District Hall and Council Chamber should be built and consequently a special meeting was held at the Hilton Hotel. Interestingly enough, one suggestion (made by Thomas Hardy) was that it should be built on the site of the present Thebarton Municipal Offices. Another site under consideration was a piece of land on South Road, on Section 49, suggested by John Marles Jnr. In July 1879 Joseph Stevenson attended a Council meeting and offered to build a District Hall, Council Chamber and an office for the Clerk, with the idea that the hall could be used by the public, free of cost. The annual rent would be £15, and the Council could use a room in the Royal Hotel free of charge until the chamber was finished.[so]

The Council accepted Stevenson's offer in December 1879 and came to an agreement for the occupation of the hall. The office and hall were built on the northern side of Henley Beach Road, between West and Clifford Streets. (The Methodist Church later made use of this hall, and in 1917 the Masonic Hall was built on the site.)

In 1880 R T Burnard wrote to say that a trust had been formed and had bought the hall from the assignees of Stevenson's Estate; it would allow the Council to use the office and hall for £20 a year, with an extra charge of 5/- for each meeting in the hall. Ironically, when the Thebarton Corporation was formed it took the hall, and the West Torrens District Council was left to find alternative accommodation.

With all the developments taking place in Thebarton in the 1870s and early 1880s, it is not surprising that many local ratepayers felt it in their interest to separate from the District Council of West Torrens. A number of ratepayers petitioned for separation on 28 October 1882; this was followed by a counter-petition on 16 November of that year. After considering the case the government of the day decided in favour of the original petitioners, and on 8 February 1883 Thebarton was proclaimed a Corporation in the *Government Gazette.*

The area was divided into four wards; Strangways, Musgrave, Torrens and Jervois. The first Mayor was Benjamin Taylor and the Councillors were Thomas Pritchard, James Vardon, Edward C Hemmingway, William C Pepper, James Broderick, Richard Wilson, Joseph Stevenson and James Manning. Vinrace Lawrence and Edward Lobe were appointed auditors.

The first meeting was held on 2 February 1883 in 'Harvey's Room' at which it was decided that Charles Loader, the Clerk of West Torrens District Council, should act as temporary Inspector and Secretary of the Local Board of Health and take on the usual duties as Clerk, Surveyor, Assessor and Collector. Loader's position was later made permanent. At the same meeting it was decided that the Council would meet at the

Original Thebarton Town Hall c.1890. The photograph shows telegraph poles but no electricity supply at this time. Messrs J King & Son, carpenters, were the contractors, Mr WH Medwell did the masonry work and Messrs Withall and Wells were the architects. Underneath there was a temporary council chamber, 40 feet long, 12 feet wide and 9feet high. There were complaints that the council chamber was so small that it was inadequate for receiving deputations of any large number of people. This basement served the purpose of council chamber and also filled multiple purposes of corporation office, dressing room for both the stage and the hall, Mayor's parlour and supper room. Now Thebarton Community Hall.

Squatters' Arms each alternate Monday at 7.30 pm until a more central meeting place could be found. At the next meeting the Council adopted the emblem of the 'Rising Sun' as its seal and resolved to write to the Destitute Board for a 'medical man' for the destitute poor in the area. Dr Henry was later appointed.

In March the Council found temporary accommodation in the hall at New Thebarton until such time as more suitable offices could be built. The next few meetings were spent dealing with matters such as acquiring furniture, preparing an assessment of the properties in the area and a map of the town, and dealing with the usual duties of road making, impounding stray stock, issuing licences, etc.

In the meantime hidden tension began to surface: Charles Loader presented a letter 'calling attention to the conduct of Cr. Stevenson', who had 'come into the office and challenged him to come outside and fight, threatened him with a sound thrashing and stated that he would soon have him out of his office etc.' Loader did in fact resign and Abel William Parker was appointed Clerk in June 1884.

Taylor did not remain Mayor for long; he resigned on 25 September 1883 and was replaced E J Ronald. The Corporation soon became occupied with other concerns. In September 1884 the Councillors decided to buy the site at the corner of Taylor's (South) Road and George Street for £600 so they could build a Town Hall. In January 1885 the Corporation borrowed £1,700 for the land and Town Hall. Messrs James King and Son successfully tendered £1130 for the work and the building was opened in October 1885.

Caring for the sick and destitute

The poor and the destitute sick in the Thebarton district presented a serious problem for both colonial government and district councils. Few doubted that poverty existed, but many viewed 'pauperism' as a moral failing, caused by idleness and lack of self-reliance. In the early years it was usually left to families, church groups and philanthropists to provide for the poor although governments gradually began to assume more responsibility for social welfare.

The South Australian Destitute Board was formed in 1849 to take applications for relief, and in 1853 work was begun on the Adelaide Destitute Asylum where accommodation could be provided for the destitute and disabled. The Board could recommend applicants to the Colonial Hospital and rations could be granted to the needy.[51] Generally it was left to local residents to nominate people in need of relief The system improved a little after 1860, when Dr Lane from Hindmarsh was appointed the first Medical Officer for the destitute poor in the West Torrens area. He was replaced by Dr Foster in 1868, succeeded in 1872 by Dr Glendinning. These were limited services but it did mean that there was a focus for the expression of concern about public health and welfare issues.

Social action

Newspapers of the day show that in the last two decades of the nineteenth century people were coming together to discuss a wide range of social and political issues and possibilities of bringing about reform. In the period 1890-94 newspapers such as the Voice and Pioneer reported on meetings where such varied topics as women's suffrage, factory legislation, electoral reform, taxation reform and 'new unionism' had been discussed. There were organisations such as the Norwood Sociological Society, the Society for the study of Christian Sociology and, in Hindmarsh, the Hindmarsh Democratic Association. Rev. J Medway Day and other clergymen spoke on social reform issues. It is hard to tell how many Thebarton residents were involved with these activities but in later years Thebarton was seen as 'a strong Labor area'.[52] Those who supported radical reforms were well placed to get to meetings but there would also have been opportunities to talk to others of a like mind at the workplace, church or local pub. There were local women who were very much involved in social action, one of note being Emily Hone, whose senior role in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has already been mentioned and whose sister, Ellen, was married to Medway Day.

There were others who took direct action. In 1893, fifty boys employed by Thomas Hardy and Sons at the Bankside Vineyards went on strike when they were offered a maximum of six shillings a week for the 1893 grape-picking season. The previous year they had received six shillings to nine shillings. After some days thirty-eight of them returned to work but the others continued the strike, and when police were called in

they paraded the streets of Thebarton with kerosene tins aid a placard 'We Are On Strike'.[53] Relatively little information is available about the development of the labour movement as it affected people in Thebarton. Nevertheless such actions by young and relatively unskilled workers were indicative of changes that led to more concerted action in the twentieth century, action that would see improved working conditions and an increase in real wages.

Recreation

Successful campaigns for a shorter working week saw more leisure time for working people with Saturday developing as a 'sports day'. Many South Australian community leaders supported the provision of 'rational amusement', which included popular sport, as a means of 'promoting good public spirit . . . and an aid in the formation of character'.[54] The two most popular sports were cricket and football but cycling was increasingly popular and a West Torrens Cycling Club was active in this period.[55] In 1877 the South Australian Football. Association was formed and in 1879 the first inter-colonial game was played in Melbourne. In 1877 a West Adelaide team, formed from players in the western part of the city, played in Association games. Then, in 1897, a West Torrens team became a regular member of the Association, with many of its members coming from Thebarton.[56]

The South Australian Cricket Association was formed in 1871, and club cricket was conducted between 1873 and 1897. A Thebarton club is recorded as having played nine games in that period. West Torrens District Cricket Club was formed in 1897, when the South Australian Cricket Association decided to change the competition it organised from club to Electorate cricket. The boundaries for the clubs were to be based on electoral boundaries. So Thebarton went into the twentieth century with trams, newly built churches, a police station, deep drainage, mains water —and district cricket and football teams. As many would see it, civilisation had indeed come to the wilderness.[57]

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2 Sinclair, p. 11.
3 These statistics are considered to be approximate only as there is small boundary discrepancy. Old Mile End, Mile End and New Mile End together were described in the 1881 Census as having populations of less than 50'.
4 J Pascoe, (ed.) *History of Adelaide and vicinity with a general sketch of South Australia and biographies of representative men*, Hussey and Gillingham, Adelaide, 1901, p. 178.
5 This section on subdivision and subsequent development is based on Srubjan, chapter 4, pp. 3-5.
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7 E Loyau, *Representative men of South Australia*, George Howell, Adelaide, 1882, p. 134.
8 A plan showing land seceded to West "Torrens in 1915 is drawn on Robert Frearson's map which gives different spelling in two different places.
9 Srubjan, chapter 4, p. 4.
10 Constable Segerlind served also at Semaphore and lived for a time at Moonta.
11 New Thebarton Ward was bounded by the River Torrens, Taylor's (South) Road, Henley Beach Road and Holbrooks Road.
12 Srubjan, ch. 4, p. 7.
13 Cited by Peter Donovan in *Between the city and the sea*, p. 59.
14 The *Register* correspondent noted that the National Building Society had previously had a successful development of this kind at Goodwood.
15 Thebarton Rate Assessment Books; Sands and MacDougall directories; Thebarton Council Historic Walk notes, 1996.
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17 Srubjan, chapter 4. p. 8. The following section is also based on her work.
18 *Register*, 16 August 1884, p. 6c, *Observer*, 27 September 1884, 41e.
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22 From booklet entitled 'Six Generations of Michell', a biographical sketch of George Henry Michell and a history of his Eamily in South Australia from 1866 to 1988, unpublished manuscript, 1988.
22 *Register*, 9 May, 1882, *Advertiser*, 21 April, 1888, quoted in Manning, pp. 77-8.
23 Rosa had married F E Bucknall who retired in 1881. F J lotting, father of F S Boning, joined the partnership which still traded as Haussen and Co. F J Botting, who had come out to South Australia on the *Buckinghamshire* in 1839 aged about twenty, carried on until his death in 1906 at the age of 87.
24 *Register*, 9 April 1898, 12 May 1898 and 25 November 1899, quoted in Manning, p. 84.
25 Srubjan, chapter 5, p. 23.
26 Glen Ralph, `Thebarton Historic Walk Notes', unpublished manuscript, p. 15.
27 Information from Rodney Balfort and Balfort Cunily records and West Torrens Assessment Book for 1873.
28 *Register*, 8 November 1879, quoted in Manning, p. 73.
29 Ronald Parsons, *Hindmarsh Town*, p. 115, Manning, p. 80.
30 Register, 13 February 1888, p. 7d, 23 October 1891, p. 5a, quoted in Manning, p. 88.
31 Ken Preiss, *Torrens Park Estate: a social and architectural history*, Ken Preiss & P Oborn, Adelaide, 1991, p. 324.
32 The architect was E Poulton and the contractors, Messrs Claussen and Co. The boiler and furnaces were made in Adelaide at Hooker's foundry. *Advertiser*, 1 April, 1981, p. 6 quoted by Manning, p. 87; Typescript information in Thebarton archives.
33 *Register*, 16 February, 1892, p. 7c and 14 March, 1892, p. 5a, quoted in Manning, p. 88.
34 *Advertiser*, 20 August, 1882, quoted in Manning, p. 88. The builders were James King and Sons and W Wallace erected the still.

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36 Michael Williams, *The Making* of *the South Australian landscape: a study in the historical geography of Australia,* Academic Press, London, 1974, p. 438.
37 Dulcie Watts quoted in Srubjan, ch. 4, p. 12.
38 David Hilliard, 'Religion', in *Flinders History of South Australia: Social history,* p. 218.
39 In about 1914 a kindergarten was added at the rear of the building with the aid of Fred Crafter and other volunteers.
40 The builder was E Gould and the architect, J Blackmore. Manning, p. 211.
41 Glen Ralph's notes based on Manning, p. 211.
42 Rev. Sneyd served from 1884-9. Other early pastors were Rev. J Murray 1891-97 and Rev. R Taylor 1897-1907. Mrs Hone was appointed Honorary Pastor from 1904-6. She was active in supporting Baptist work in other districts; see H Estcourt Hughes, *Our first hundred years: the Baptist Church of South Australia,* Baptist Union, Adelaide, 1937, pp. 183, 283 & 324.
43 *Adelaide Observer,* 31 July, 1909 and *Adelaide Observer,* 31 October, 1914. Emily Hone died, aged 70, in 1914.
44 Manning, p. 183.
45 John Haynes, *A history of St James Anglican Church, Mile End,* published by the author, Thebarton,1987, pp. 9-12 & 43.
46 Ian Davey, 'Growing up in South Australia', in E Richards (ed.) *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* pp. 389-391.
47 This section on Thebarton Primary School is based on the research of Glen Ralph, *Thebarton Primary School 1879-1979: a History,* pp. 9 & 16.
48 Ralph, *Thebarton Primary School,* p. 12.
49 Notes by Brenda Murrie in Thebarton Archival collection.
50 This section is based on the research of Srubjan, chapter 4.
51 See Brian Dickey, *Rations, Residences, Resources: a History* of *Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836,* Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986, pp. 17-34.
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54 John Daly in *Elysian Fields,* p. 71.
55 Daly, *Elysian Fields,* p. 106.
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5 - *Into the twentieth century*

1901-1920

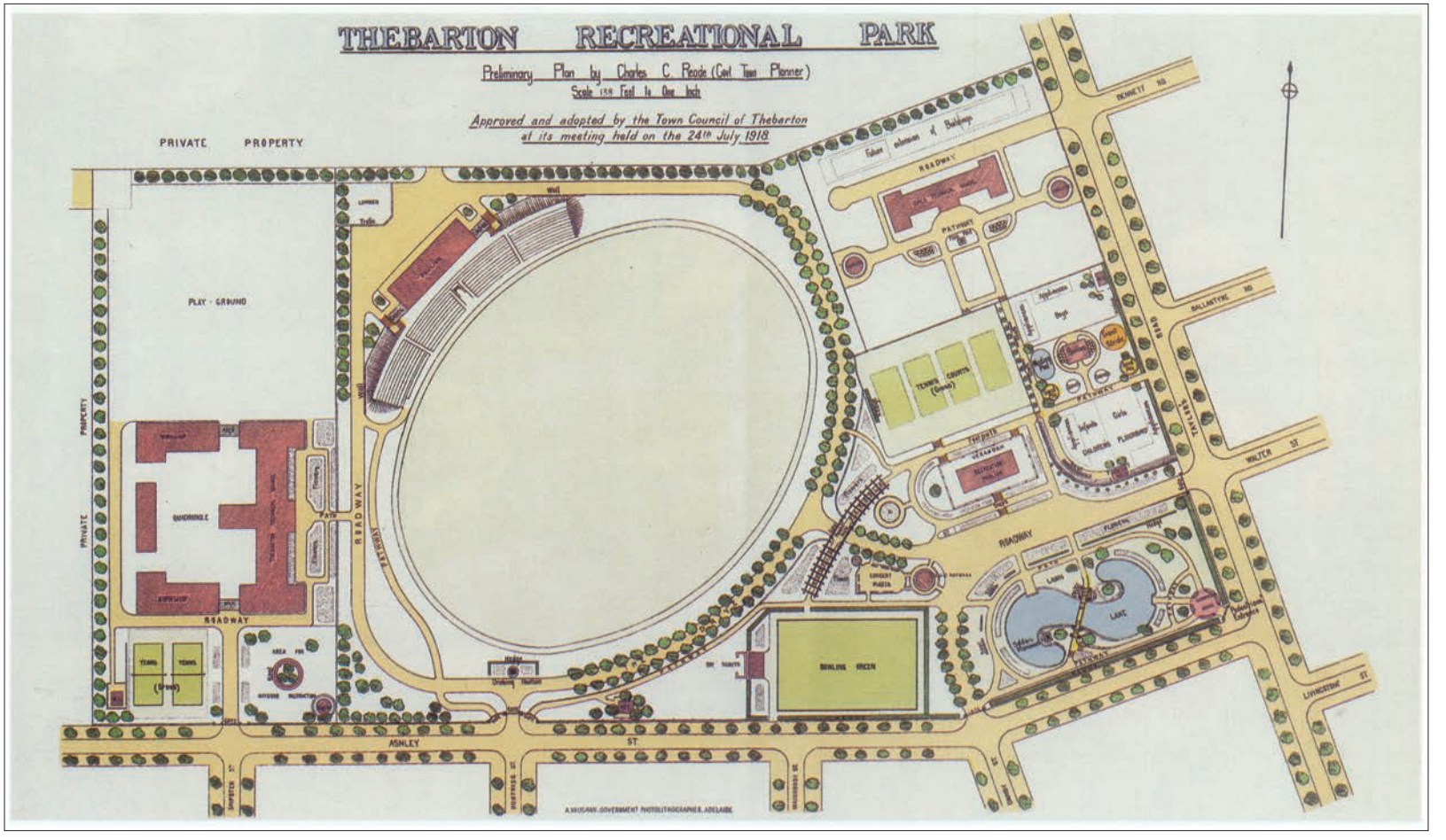
Introduction

Federation came in 1901. While many had hopes that greater prosperity would come with the creation of a larger market for manufactured goods, the first decade of the twentieth century also saw important changes that made urban life more comfortable and convenient. There were technological changes such as the first cars, electric trans, telephone and the introduction of electricity, and there were improvements in roads, pavements and lighting.' There was already piped water, deep drainage and some street-lighting. The district's shops offered a great variety of goods, there were schools providing basic elementary education and there were well-supported churches. Solidly built villa houses were replacing the older pisé dwellings and gardens were planted with hardy plants suited to the long dry summers - roses, plumbago, canna lilies, agapanthus and oleander, with lawns of buffalo and couch grass. All these things made daily life very different from the era of dirt tracks and pisé buildings of fifty years earlier.

The most dramatic change in Thebarton in the years 1901-1920 was the increase in population. Thebarton's population increased from 5,304 in 1901 to 8,720 in 1911. By 1921, there were 14,037 people and 3,293 houses in the area. The two-year period 1911-1912 saw 590 new houses built. An important reason for this was the electrification of trams, which provided safe and convenient transport for people travelling to and from work in other areas. The increase in new houses from 1918–1920 (when State Bank loans were made available to ex-servicemen and ex servicemen's widows) was also significant, producing a total of 265 for the three years. In all, there was a remarkable increase of 1259 dwellings in the period 1911-1920. Extra people, especially young families, meant demands for extra school facilities and better roads. Extra people also provided custom for local businesses such as shops. Not only would there be a demand for services but there would be people willing to work together to provide services. Thus, churches, clubs and lodges blossomed in Thebarton during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, before we look at these changes, let us take a glance at Thebarton as it was seen by a writer in 1907. What was it like?

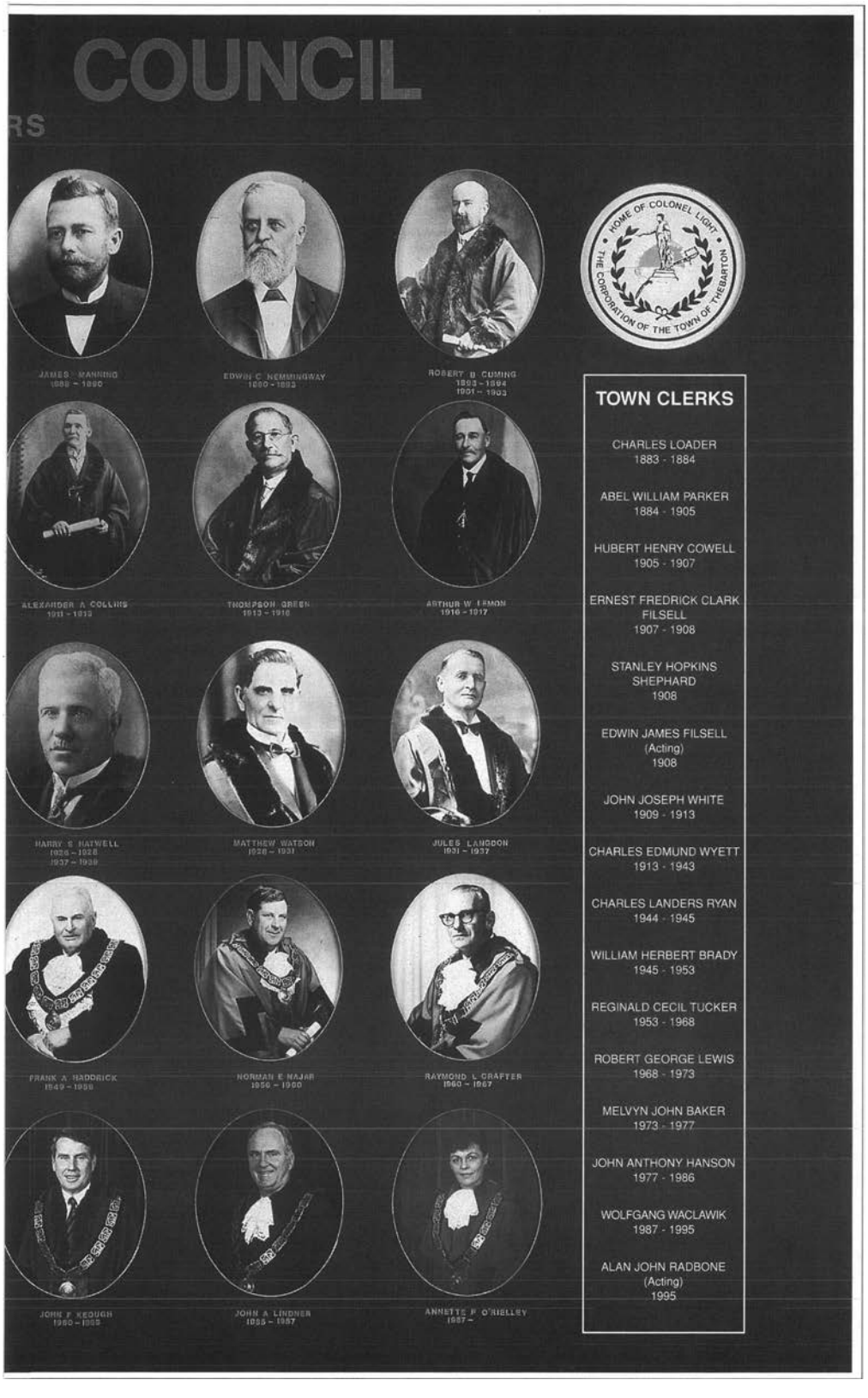
Current Council Elected members - 1995-1997
Front L to R: Alderman Andrea Dantalis, Mayor Annette O'Rielley, Alderman Theo Vlassis.
Back L to R: Councillor Domenico Mittiga (Torrens Ward), Councillor Peter Anastassiadis (Jervois Ward), Councillor Dermot Holden (Torrens Ward), Councillor Holly McNamee (Light Ward), Councillor Antonio Santamaria (Jervois Ward), Councillor Emmanuel Mangefakis (Light Ward).

Cawthorne Street Mural 1993 official opening — incorporating Aboriginal dancers Jumbuck Mob'.

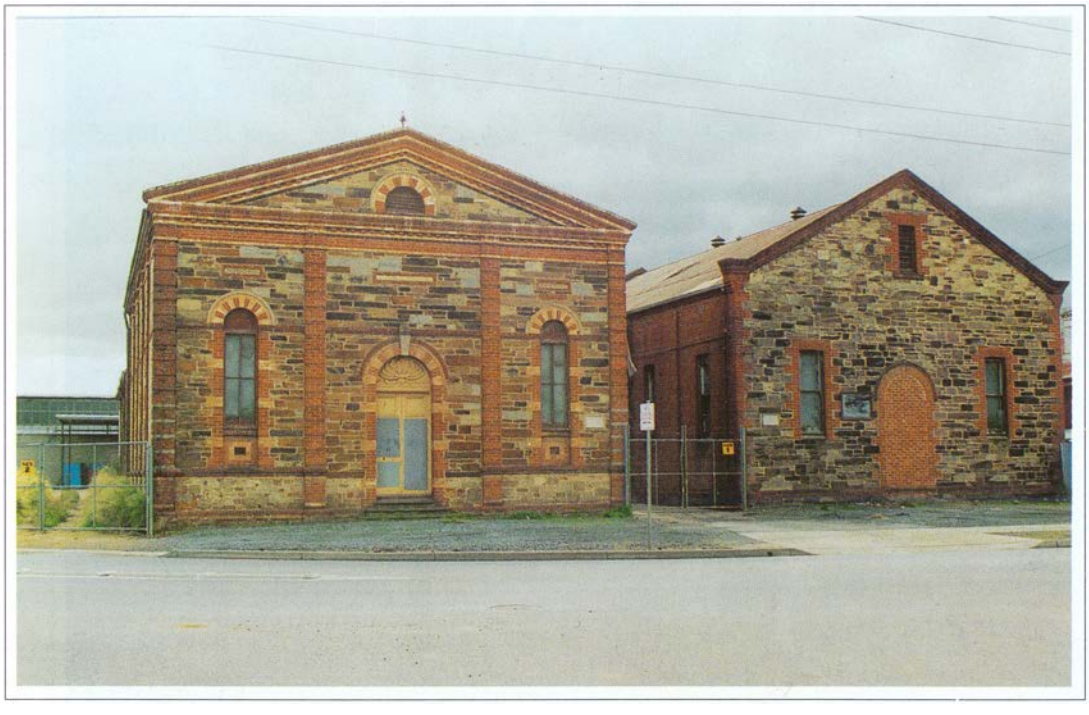


Thebarton Oval was planned by a famous and dedicated planner named Charles C Reade. He was a proponent of the theory, in vogue in the early 1900s, that peoples' lives could be improved by providing them with pleasant surroundings and well planned streets, homes and community facilities. Reade's views were well accepted by the Labor government of 1915-17, which appointed him S.A.'s and Australia's first Town Planner. Around this time he made a plan for the oval which was never fully implemented. Conservative forces defeated Reade's ambitions and he left S.A. in disgust, but the Planning Act of 1920 and Building Act of 1923 were the beginings of the modern town planning movement.


THE CORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF THEBARTON
BENJAMIN TAYLOR
1883
EDWARD J RONALD
1883 – 1887
BARTHOLOMEW J McCARTHY
1887 – 1888
WILLIAM WEBER
1894 – 1897
CHARLES B WARE
1897 – 1901
1903 – 1904
WILLIAM H GOODENOUGH
1904 – 1906
ALFRED W STYLES
1906 – 1911
ALFRED J BLACKWELL
1917 – 1919
JAMES L LEAL
1919 – 1922
ALFRED R PRETTY
1922 – 1924
EDWIN T ISLEY
1924 – 1926
ALBERT G INKLEY
1939 – 1942
OLIVER R TURNER
1942 – 1944
ARTHUR A HOUSE
1944 – 1946
JOHN WITTY
1946 – 1949
RAY E BRERETON
1967 – 1968
COLIN G T SHEARING
1968 – 1971
HENLEY R HEDDLE
1971 – 1974
JAMES A FLAHERTY
1974 – 1980


COUNCIL
RS
JAMES MANNING
1880 – 1880
EDWIN C HEMMINGWAY
1880 – 1883
ROBERT B CUMING
1883 – 1884
1901 – 1903
HOME OF COLONEL LIGHT
THE CORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF THEBARTON
ALEXANDER A COLLINS
1911 – 1913
THOMPSON GREEN
1913 – 1916
ARTHUR W LEMON
1916 – 1917
HARRY S HATWELL
1926 – 1928
1937 – 1939
MATTHEW WATSON
1928 – 1931
JULES LANGDON
1931 – 1937
FRANK A HADDRICK
1949 – 1956
NORMAN E NAJAR
1956 – 1960
RAYMOND L CRAFTER
1960 – 1967
JOHN F KEOUGH
1960 – 1965
JOHN A LINDNER
1965 – 1967
ANNETTE P O'REILLEY
1987 –
TOWN CLERKS
CHARLES LOADER
1883 - 1884
ABEL WILLIAM PARKER
1884 - 1905
HUBERT HENRY COWELL
1905 - 1907
ERNEST FREDRICK CLARK FILSELL
1907 - 1908
STANLEY HOPKINS SHEPHARD
1908
EDWIN JAMES FILSELL
(Acting)
1908
JOHN JOSEPH WHITE
1909 - 1913
CHARLES EDMUND WYETT
1913 - 1943
CHARLES LANDERS RYAN
1944 - 1945
WILLIAM HERBERT BRADY
1945 - 1953
REGINALD CECIL TUCKER
1953 - 1968
ROBERT GEORGE LEWIS
1968 - 1973
MELVYN JOHN BAKER
1973 - 1977
JOHN ANTHONY HANSON
1977 - 1986
WOLFGANG WACLAWIK
1987 - 1995
ALAN JOHN RADBONE
(Acting)
1995

A local landmark, the royal Hotel, framed against a brilliant evening sky.
Courtesy: Bruce Bubner



Southwark Baptist Church (on left) and church hall, Phillip Street, Southwark. Notice the masonary work.

James SHAW
Australia 1815-1881
The Tannery
oil on canvas, 33.0 x 43.9cm
Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide

Buildings were situated on Section 46 near the intersection Reid Street and Dew Street (formerly Beans Road) on allotments 18 and 19.

A Riley family visit to Morialta 1912–15. This was the family of Fred Riley who served as an elected member of Thebarton Council from 1902–1922.
Caption reads 'First Trap – Mother, Father & Ada Riley. Second Trap – Auntie Nellie & Ivy Peterson. First Bike – Jim Denholm & Stella Riley. Second Bike – Cleve Peterson & Cyril Pepper. Third Bike – George Riley. Third Trap – Arthur Watts, Dulcie Riley. Dog: Dibby'.

Members of the Hone family outside Colonel Light's Cottage, 1903. The family was prominent in civic and church life. Mrs Hone was active in the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement. The young women with their bicycles are a reminder that this sport had gradually developed as an outlet for the 'new women' of the day. The first South Australian 'velocipedes' date back to the 1860s.
Courtesy: Mortlock Library.

Thebarton in 1907

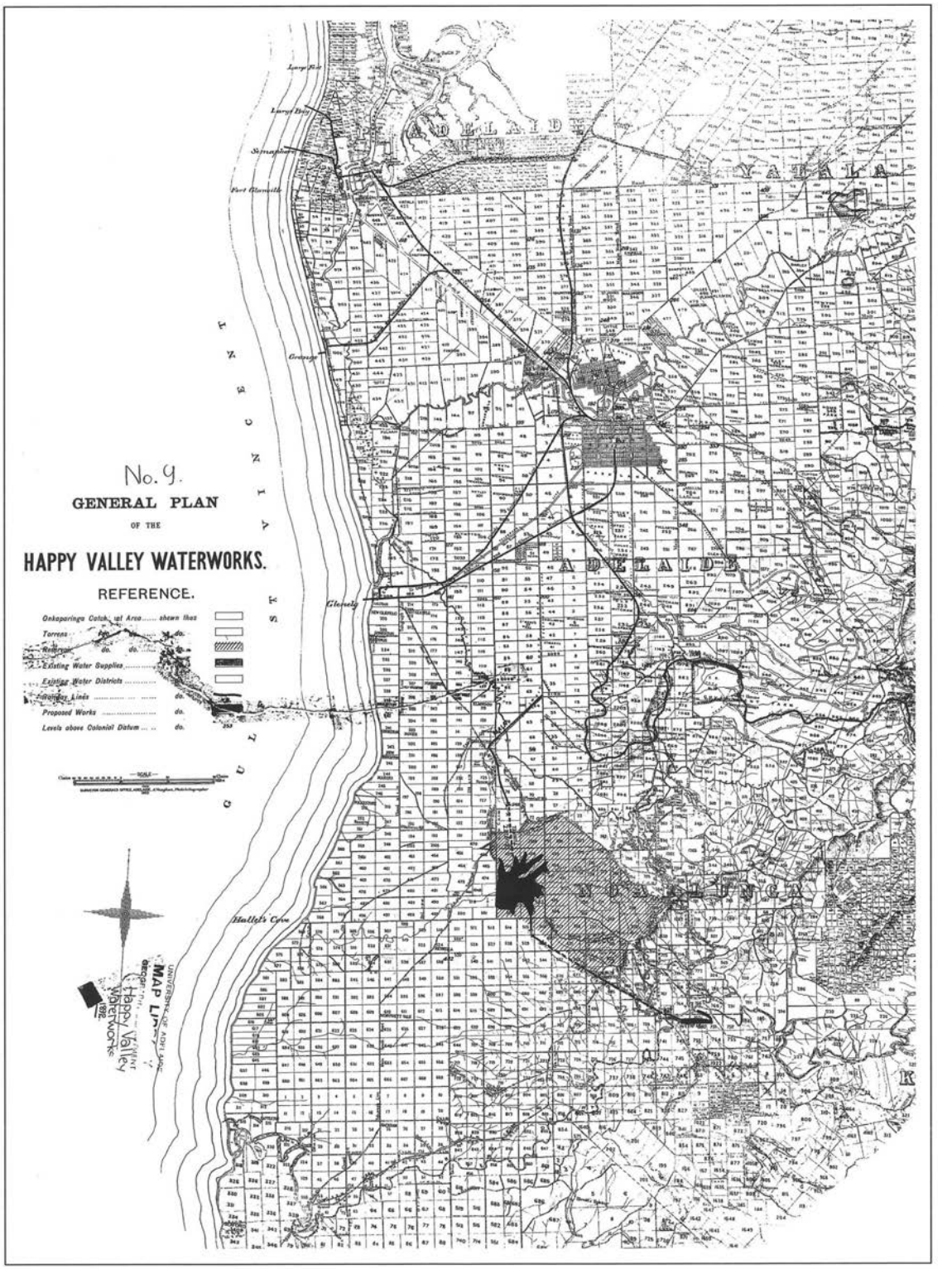
The two volume *Cyclopedia* of *South Australia,* reviewing the progress of South Australia and South Australians, has this to say of Thebarton:

> The Town of Thebarton corresponds in several important respects with that of Hindmarsh, from which it is divided along its northern boundary by the River Torrens. The older town has always had the advantage of being on the direct lines of communication between the metropolis and the Port, which has secured for it a larger population, but both of them occupy portions of the fertile plain that extends nearly to the sea.
>
> ... The area of the Corporation is a little over 1,004 acres ... The fine Town Hall is one of the largest in the suburbs, but provision was not made ... for Corporation offices.
>
> There are about 25 miles of streets, and the whole of the town is lighted, either with gas 'Best' lamps, or acetyline [sic] gas-lamps. The population is estimated to be between six and seven thousand, and there are 1,428 houses and 2,058 ratepayers.
>
> ...New buildings are being erected with considerable rapidity, and the healthy condition of trade is seen in the erection of new factories or the extension of those previously existing.
>
> The water-supply of the town throughout its entire extent is obtained from the Happy Valley Reservoir, a part of the area is connected with the sewerage system and several plans have been proposed for dealing with the remainder ...as this would enhance the cost, and require a higher rate, the question still awaits solution.

The writer goes on to describe the dairy industry and open spaces in the district:

> Much of the milk supply of the City is obtained from the western suburbs and dairying may be regarded as one of the leading industries of Thebarton. There are 54 registered dairies, and to ensure the certainty of the product being satisfactory they are frequently and rigorously inspected.
>
> As in the case of other suburban municipalities Thebarton people find that the City Park-lands serve them well for recreation grounds; and there are other open spaces. The number of these, however, is diminishing, and one of the best blocks of land for the purpose ...Section 47, at present used as a training course. The Corporation is endeavouring to obtain a portion of this ...for a recreation ground, and should the effort be successful, it is hoped that an oval will be formed that will meet all possible requirements, and be a credit to the town.[2]

So this was Thebarton in the first decade of the twentieth century. It still had a rural aspect - people had dairies and grew lucerne - but increasingly the amount of open space was decreasing and residents were



1892 – General plan of the Happy Valley Waterworks showing Thebarton in relation to the rest of the metropolitan region.
Courtesy: Geography Department, University of Adelaide

Taylor's Road, (now South Road) looking north. North Parade on left, August street on right. Houses have fences and there are footpaths but the road surface is rough. Note one of the many local shops on the right hand side.
Photograph taken around 1915.

realising that there was a need for recreation grounds and tree-planting projects. It was a district that was becoming increasingly urban, while still rural in parts. The growing number of industries, shops, people and houses meant that new community services and amenities were needed, but ratepayers were often reluctant to pay the rates needed for improvements. It took fourteen years before the long-hoped-for oval was opened, and an even longer period of twenty years before the present Town Hall and Council Offices were built.

The *Cyclopedia* of *South Australia* refers to twenty five miles of streets and horse-trams providing transport to the city. At the time of Federation the motor car was still a novelty to the Australian public. Carl Benz had built his petrol-driven car in Germany in 1885 and the first car seen in Australia was imported in 1897, twelve years later. This was still the era of the horse - the horse population of Australia reached its peak as late as 1918.[3] In 1901 there were 1,662,000 horses recorded in Australia - about one horse for every two inhabitants - pulling omnibuses, horse-trams, lorries, ploughs, hansom cabs, and a variety of private vehicles: buggies, sulkies, dog-carts, landaus, broughams and wagonettes. The sounds of the clip-clop of horse shoes on the roads, the jingle of harnesses and the grinding of brakes were familiar sounds to Thebarton residents, as was the all-pervading smell of horse manure on the streets and gutters, attracting swarms of flies and also attracting local residents who gathered manure to fertilise their gardens.

Dairies and open paddocks

By the early 1900s most primary production in Thebarton was restricted to Torrensville and Underdale, although people still kept livestock in the built-up areas of the town. There were still market gardens and dairies in the district and paddocks where lucerne was produced. Accounts given in the 1980s by elderly Thebarton residents and their relatives bring this rural history to

life. Grace Kathleen Ferguson (nee Morris), born in 1909, was one such informant. Her family had one of the best-known dairies in Torrensville.[4] Like many other dairy farmers, they worked long hours and all members of the family helped in the day-to-day running of the cowherd and the household. Mrs Ferguson remembered the early days of life on the farm:

> Father started school at Hindmarsh, until the Thebarton Model School was built, where he was one of the first pupils. By the time he was eleven or twelve years old ... he left school to start work. His brother Charlie, who was by that time earning fairly good money, offered to pay [for] father to go to Prince Alfred College, but he declined after being a man of the world earning his own living.
>
> He earned some of his first money by pruning the vines at Hardy's. He then built up a dairy one by one until he had quite a round. They used to have a round that went as far as the city because they served the Fire Brigade. As the round increased ... they got down to Mile End. I can remember after school seeing father finishing the round in this beautiful milk cart with 'Crown Dairy' printed on the side.
>
> The original dairy was built at the back of 'Albert Villa' at 86 Ashley Street (corner of West Street), where I was born. My father's younger brother Percy later worked with him. His eldest brother, Charles Richard, had bought into the business of Robin and Hack, at Port Adelaide with a Mr Walter. This was in the depression of the 1890s. Later it became the flourishing business of Walter and Morris, Timber Merchants. After Uncle Percy's death in 1907, Uncle Edwin worked with my father on the dairy.[5]'

Eventually William Morris had about forty Friesian and Jersey cows. Mrs Ferguson remembered the first experiments with machinery:

> They milked by hand until after the First World War, when we had bought AW Doddy's house on 28 Hayward Avenue, and fondly known as '28' by all of us. Mr Doddy tried to persuade father to buy this milking machine ... and they thought it would make it much simpler. So they did up the dairy which was across the road then from Grandpa's place in Ashley Street. They equipped it out with the Ridd Milking Machine and the washing troughs and heaters.
>
> The cows didn't like it, they went right off. So they got rid of the milking machine and went back to hand milking. They had one man helping them, and he used to get up with them at about 3.30 am, and start milking, and by 6 am they'd have enough milk to start the round. They kept the milk cool with wet bags over the big urns. They had troughs there for washing and a chip water-heater for washing and cleaning the buckets.
>
> There were no packets and bottles then, they had big churns that used to fit on the back of the carts with a tap on them and measuring cans to serve individual customers. There was no refrigeration then, and not much cool storage, and you had to be very careful storing it.

Although this particular family experienced difficulties with the new milking machine, the trend was for dairies to become more mechanised. In the early days of settlement dairies supplied a limited, local market. Increasingly, however, South Australian dairies were taking advantage of better transport and storage facilities and a profitable export trade in butter was developing. For the present time, land values were such that it was still economical to have a dairy in the Thebarton district and small family dairies persisted. When William Morris retired he kept two cows for the family's use, quite a common practice in those days. In later years, part of the Morris property was subdivided and bought by the Education Department for the Torrensville Primary School in Hayward Avenue. The Crown Dairy property is regarded as being of local heritage importance.

In the 1880s William Hill had established a dairy that became well known in the district; it covered a large area on the corner of East Terrace and Goodenough Street. Dairying was an occupation that might be carried out by women, and by the early 1900s Hill's dairy was run by Mrs Dinah Hill, who maintained 4 acres of land for the cows and a horse. Not far from Mrs Hill's dairy was a larger one covering nine acres on the corner of Dew and Kintore Street run by Mrs C Williamson. Dairyman C H Kearse leased Section 47 and grew crops on the property.[6] In the early 1900s part of Section 95, north of Ashley Street, was still used for agriculture and horticulture. For example, Ellis Norman's property had a house and nineteen acres used for grapes and fruit trees. Thomas Hardy and Sons leased over 80 acres, most of which was used for growing grapes.

Along the southern side of Henley Beach Road, Mile End, there were few houses and plenty of cows. Alfred Coles, born in 1896, came with his family in 1901 to live in Gladstone Road. His father, one of many local residents who worked for the railways, was transferred to Islington where he stayed for two or three years. It was then that he began to look for a more suitable place in the Adelaide suburbs.

> Chaps he knew were looking at Mile End and reckoned it was a darned good place to live. It was a safe place ... you wouldn't get flooded out. The old people, that's one thing they used to look for, see whether you were lucky or got flooded out, or what it would be like. The house has been built up on fairly high foundations, not extra high, but you wouldn't get flooded out here. In 1900, they used to build houses on big bluestone slabs ... from Tapley's Hill quarries. The block, like many around here, is large, 60 feet by 82 feet.
>
> £660 was the contract price to build it. Just the bare house you know, no frills or furnishings about it. No wood stove. Gas didn't come down for a fair while after 1901.No electric light, they were all kerosene lights, old Bismarck lamps. Still, just about everybody was in the same boat. Over the years, we made improvements.[7]

Alfred Coles' comments indicate that flooding was a significant problem in Thebarton as in a number of other suburbs at this time. He had vivid memories of how the area looked when he was young:

Children playing in Gladstone Rd, Mile End, c.1903-1904. The children are Alf Coles (white cap), Alf Bartlett, Charlie Henderson (darker cap), George Oliver, Ethel Oliver, Beryl Oliver. Alfred Coles, born in 1896, came to Gladstone Road when his parents moved there in 1901. As an adult Alfred Coles was to work for the local firm of Horwood Bagshaw for 50 years.

> Now there were as many paddocks as houses at first. From this house here, 38 Gladstone Road, Mile End, to the top of the street was all occupied and my word, the houses went up one after another, and it wasn't long after that King Street was built up. Railway Terrace only used to come to Gladstone Road. When Bagshaws came down here they had to take the road down to the Hilton Road, as we used to call it then. There was a lot of paddocks round the district altogether ... Nobody used to cultivate them. If people had individual [cows] here and there, 'cause people had a lot of cows for family use, they would keep them in vacant paddocks. And then of course as the houses were built they all had to take them up - to the West Parklands.

Mile End began to grow rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1909 land was offered for sale by H Jackson in the new sub-division of Fremanton, part of section 95, now part of Torrensville. Torrensville was originally laid out in 1908 on section 47.[8] In Adelaide, as a whole, the population was increasing, the boom periods for housing construction being from about 1910 to 1914 and from 1921 to 1930. Large firms moved out of the city into Thebarton, in search of cheaper land and a readily available labour force. There was also the important influence of the transport system, which was greatly improved in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[9]

Improvement in public transport services for Thebarton

By the early 1900s many people were dissatisfied with the old horse tram system. Plans for electrification of the trams had failed between 1899 and 1901 and the public pressured the government to put the transport system under public control. As early as 1903 the mayor reported his attendance at a

meeting to form a Tramway League, 'the object of which was to further the electrification of the tramways.' In 1906 the companies were bought out and the Municipal Tramways Trust was established.[10]

The Torrensville to Henley Beach route was electrified on 23 December 1909. The section from Torrensville to Adelaide was not electrified until several months later – in the meantime horse trams continued to carry passengers along that part of the route.

On 9 March 1910 the line from the city to Hindmarsh was opened. To give passengers better access to the electric cars the old horse tram route was altered and a new track was built along Parker, Albert and Holland Streets. A reinforced concrete bridge was built across the Torrens at Holland Street to take passengers into Hindmarsh via Manton Street.[11] At the opening ceremony the Mayoress, Mrs A W Styles, drove the first electric car. Members of the Council were taken for a ride in the last horse-drawn tram and were then driven in the electric tram to Henley Beach where they were entertained at the Henley Beach kiosk.

For local residents the electric trams were a great improvement on the old horse cars. Alfred Coles remembered what an advance the new system seemed to be:

> The poor old horse cars ... the drivers weren't cruel or anything like that, only they were double-deckers, they would ride on the top you see. And the tracks weren't like they are now, little grooved tracks they were, and if a stone happened to get in the groove it might put the tram off the line. If the driver was careful, he'd get them back on

Opening of Electric Tramway Service between Adelaide, Hindmarsh, Thebarton and Henley Beach. First car at Thebarton driven by the Mayoress, Mrs A W Styles, 9th March, 1910. The tram service encouraged people to move to Thebarton; there was a rapid increase in the number of dwellings in the town in the following decade. A feature of the clothing worn by the group shown in the photograph is the prevalence of hats; those for women and girls show the wide brims and wide crowns in fashion at the time, the trend being especially notable on the little girls.

> the lines again, but oh dear, it seems a bit crude. But still, we didn't know anything else.

As for the electric trams:

> Oh yes, it was wonderful. We thought the Americans had nothing on us. That's the way we felt. I can remember the tram running from the city to Torrensville ... but there was no transport to Hilton at all. You had to walk there. I suppose it was years afterwards they built the tramline to Hilton around Ackland's Corner, where the big chaff store was.[12]

Improvements in the public transport system provided by the new tramways were matched by significant developments along the railway line. As the goods yards on North Terrace became increasingly congested, the government looked for an alternative site. In 1908 the government purchased parts of sections 2, 3 and 5 from the South Australian Company. After expensive legal action it acquired further properties to make way for what was to become the Mile End Goods Yards. Part of their acquisition was a section of a two chain road or terrace around the parklands which Light had laid out, known as Park Terrace or Dodds Road. The South Australian Company made further land available to form Railway Terrace. The goods yards encouraged the development of businesses wanting access to transport facilities and provided employment for Thebarton residents. Sixty-six local people were employed in the locomotive running shed. For this reason Thebarton Council objected when the railways later proposed to move the sheds to Islington.[13] On the other hand many local people saw the goods yards as unattractive and associated with undesirable smoke and noise. Council, already involved in a tree-planting project, encouraged the Railway Commissioner to re-plant the land abutting Railway Terrace. However, the trees would take a long time to grow and there was a limit to what even an extensive tree planting project could achieve - the railway yard development would leave a lasting mark on the district.

If some people were unhappy about the Mile End development and some saw it as a sign of progress, there was no doubt that changes to the transport system were precursors of further changes. The new trams and the construction of the Mile End goods yards encouraged new subdivisions and the building of houses, shops, and factories in Thebarton; especially in Torrensville and Mile End. There was much commercial development along Henley Beach Road at this time, particularly from South Road to Parker Street. Such developments, which are linked to the dramatic population rise during this period, provided stimulus for other businesses in Thebarton and surrounding districts: timber yards, brickyards, painters and decorators and plumbers. It also led to dissatisfaction with traffic congestion at Mile End Railway crossing and the lack of a bridge over the railways tracks.

The extent of the traffic problems led to a meeting between the Thebarton and Hindmarsh Councils in September 1907.Their first proposal was that the Municipal Tramways Trust should build an overway

John William Blowes, a resident of Mile End, at work for the railways at the Thebarton Ticket Office, c.1929. The Bay Railway line was closed on 15 December 1929.

bridge at the Mile End Railway crossing. Unsuccessful with this, by May 1909 they were meeting with Woodville Council to discuss the matter further. Clearly it was not only those in the council areas of Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Woodville who needed good access to the City, but people in the western suburbs in general. What is more, the problem would worsen with time. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1920s that decisive action was taken.

Development of local businesses

Traffic problems were not a serious impediment to the development of local commerce and industry. Many of those who favoured Federation had hoped that the potential of a larger market would be a stimulus to business. The early years of the twentieth century saw fairly steady progress in business and industry in 'Thebarton, aided by technical innovation, improved markets and a ready supply of labour – a labour force that was now showing the influence of over thirty years of compulsory elementary education.

Many of the old businesses were expanding and new businesses were developing, including a significant group of engineering firms. Samuel Perry, founder of the Perry Engineering Co., began building a factory in an open paddock in Mile End in 1912. The resourceful Perry, who had trained at the famous Colebrookdale factory in Shropshire, England, secured a contract to produce locomotives for the South Australian government and by 1923 was employing 500 men at his two factories in Gawler and Mile End.[14] Another heavy engineering enterprise, Union Engineering Co ., which was established in the City of Adelaide in 1885, relocated in the first decade of the twentieth century to a large property bounded by Cawthorne, Winwood and Holland Streets. Over the years it was to manufacture bitumen distributing plants, hydraulic presses for motor body builders, cranes, rollers and other machinery for road building.[15] Perry Engineering Co. and Union Engineering Co. are good examples of the trend for firms which had previously operated in

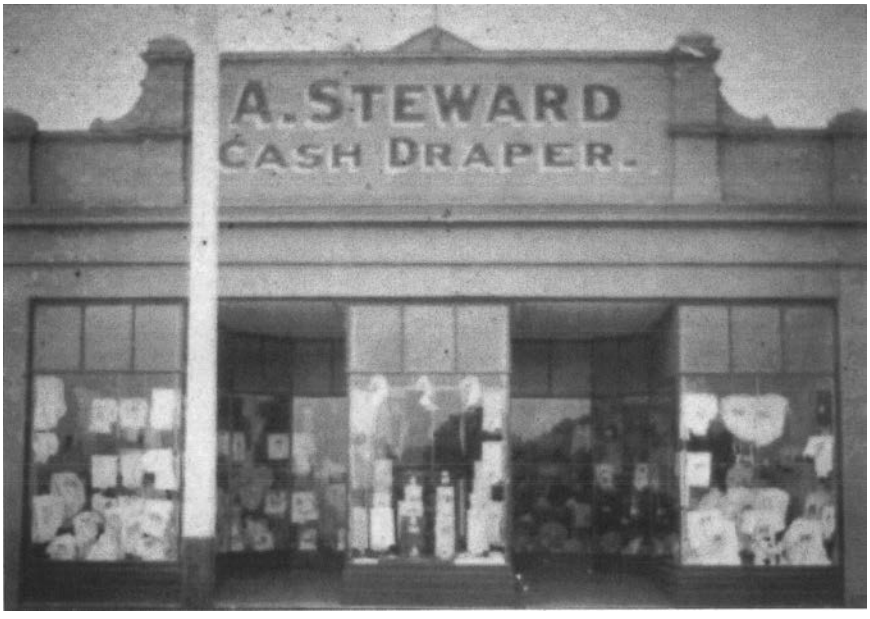
the central business district to move in the first decade of the twentieth century to an inner city suburb. Here land was cheaper and labour readily available. Moreover they would be close to rail transport, a factor of considerable importance to engineering firms and a reason why they would choose Thebarton rather than Prospect or Norwood. They were to stay for nearly half a century. Austral Sheet Metal works was another firm that moved from the city. Founded at Angas Street in 1906, it moved to land between Maria and George Streets, where by 1920 it was producing a variety of goods, including sinks and drainers and good quality aluminium saucepans. Mason and Cox, another engineering firm established during this period, was founded in 1917 by Robert Mason at 44 Holland Street, in partnership with Reginald L Cox and later Dudley L Cox as the third partner.[16] The foundry was to produce the first steel castings in Australia in 1930.

Brickmaking flourished. One of the largest industries was J Hallett and Sons' brickyards on South Road at Torrensville. By 1910 the Hallett family, which already owned seven brickyards in Brompton and Hindmarsh, combined with Metropolitan Bricks to form a new company, J Hallett and Son Ltd, to acquire the Federal Brick Company's yard on South Road. They installed new machinery enabling a vastly greater output than was possible with the old process of making bricks by hand. Raw material was readily available from the two clay pits of the old Federal yard, one close to the Torrens and one further south. They produced bricks by the wet-plastic wire cut method, fired in a 20 compartment Hoffman kiln that could take 300,000 bricks and had a weekly output of 180,000.

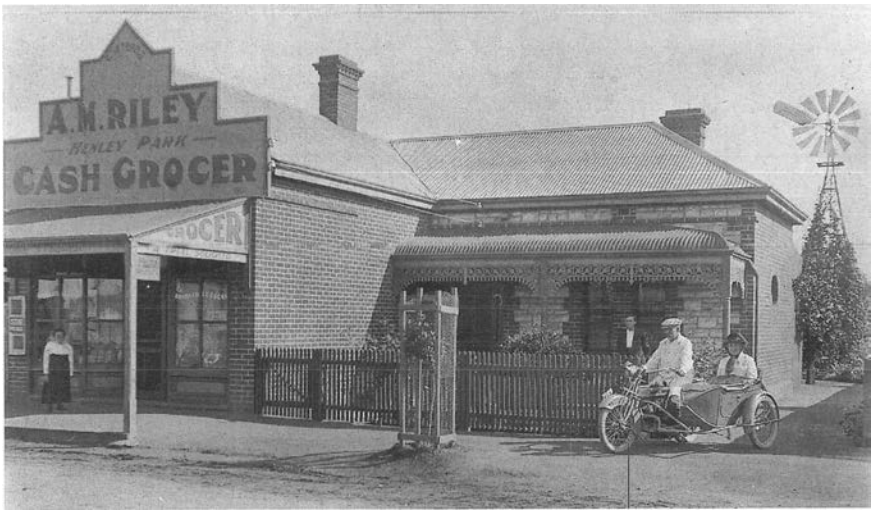
While Halletts produced bricks for houses, businesses and public institutions, two other firms were producing goods to help quench the thirst of South Australians: these were Babidge's Cooperage and the Adelaide Bottle Company.

The founder of Babidge's was Richard Babidge, born in 1842 in Bristol, England. A carpenter by trade, he entered into a partnership with Johann Heinrich Neuenkirchen, a cooper from Nuriootpa. The two had a business at Bloor Court, off Currie St, Adelaide, from 1891 to 1897. After the partnership was dissolved Richard and his son, John, moved the business to Hindley Street and in 1914 moved to Railway Terrace, Mile End. Like the Union Engineering Company they were part of a trend for manufacturing businesses to move from the central business area to relatively cheaper land in the Thebarton district that was close to major transport routes.

The Adelaide Bottle Company Pty Ltd, of Pickaxe bottle fame, had begun its operations in 1897 with the formation of the Adelaide Bottle Cooperative Society. In earlier years bottlers of wines, beers, spirits and aerated water competed with each other for second hand bottles. The Society was formed after a number of manufacturers decided to combine so that they had a single buyer to make purchases from bottle dealers. In 1907 the Society decided to have its own branded bottles and the pickaxe trademark was registered. In 1911 the group paid £687 for eleven blocks of land in Cawthorne Street and by 1915 had another five blocks between Holland and Cawthorne Streets.



Mr A Steward purchased the property in 1911 and developed it into a draper's store. Alice Morcombe (nee Steward) ran the store after 1927. The site was developed as the Web Building. Local residents tended to do nearly all their shopping close to home and sewing requisites sold at Steward's store were much in demand. Courtesy: Bev. Bills

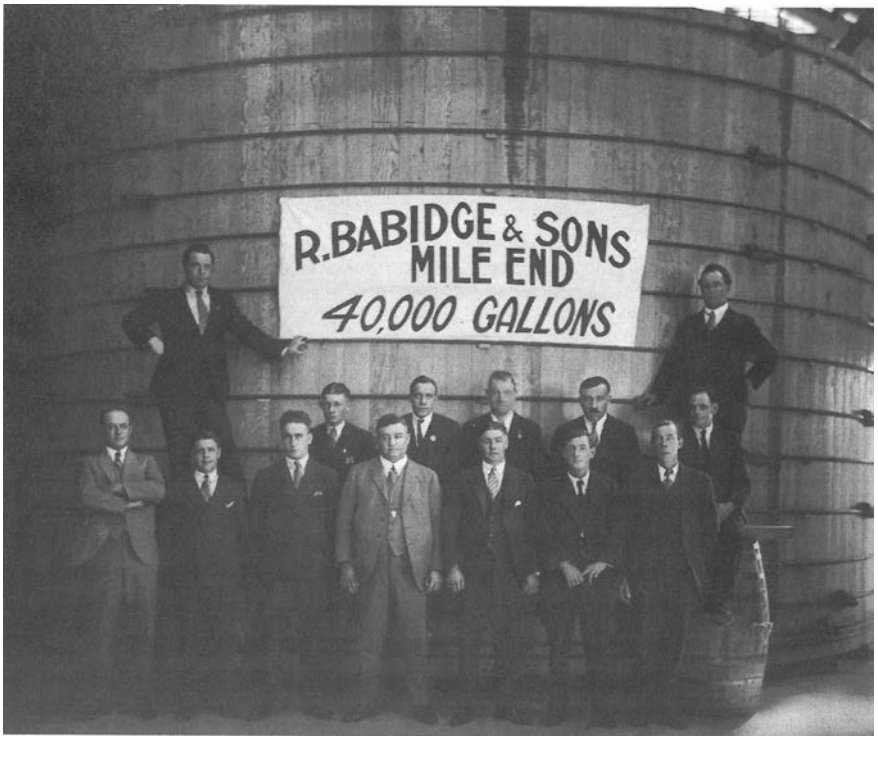


Residence of Alderman Riley, 10 Ross Street, Thebarton. It is believed that the windmill at the back of the house was built during a period drought just before the First World War.

Since they refilled the 'pickaxe' bottles with beverages there were special problems when people had put substances such as kerosene in them. Employees had to 'sniff them out:

> All bottles were sniffed at the mouths . . . to cull out the kerosene or 'oilies' as they were called. Employees were prohibited from smoking during working hours as they could otherwise fail to detect the 'oilies'. When many years later, triangular shaped bottles were made compulsory for these liquids, it became unnecessary to sniff the bottles and . . . employees were permitted to smoke if they wished.[17]

Peter & Annie Moran's family. The bodices or blouses worn by the young women are in the lacy high necked style of the day, a crucifix on a chain was worn as decoration.. Their hair is in the new style, worn with a central part and hair puffed out on the side. Annie Moran's dress appears to have the leg-of-mutton. sleeve popular in the 1890s. Mr Moran's beard and moustache are in a style made popular by King George V; the three piece suit with its matching waistcoat is very much in the style of the day. Courtesy: Misses Moran



R. Babidge & Sons, Mile End. The cooperage firm was located on Railway Terrace from 1914. The site was later developed by the South Australian. Housing Trust.

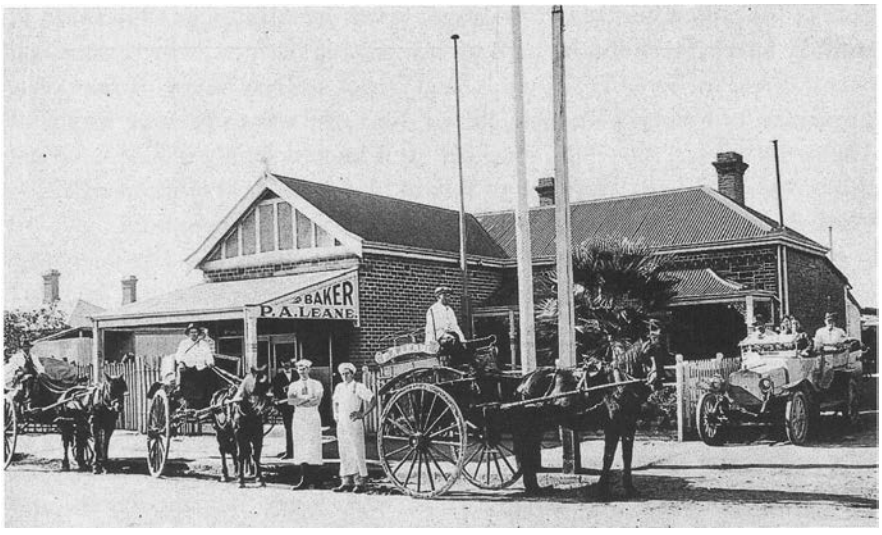
Pickles and cordials were produced at the Imperial Manufacturing Company factory on the corner of Winwood and Dew Streets. Printers and stationers E S Wigg and Son established a warehouse and factory on the Port Road in 1903 where stationery could be manufactured.[18] There were many smaller, family-run businesses in Thebarton, some of which have continued to operate throughout the twentieth century. John

Leonard set up a tannery in Dove Street in 1897 after working at a bark mill between Echunga and Meadows. He started the business with Francis Joseph Keough whose wife, Bridget, was a close friend of Leonard's wife. In about 1909 Francis Keough left the tannery, bought a horse and tip-dray and began a carrying business. One of his earliest contracts was carting bricks from Eldridge's brickyard in Holland Street. From this he built up his carrying business, which expanded over the years to become Keough's Sand Depot in Dew Street. In later years a grandson of Francis J Keough, John F Keough, was to become mayor of Thebarton from 1980-1985. Another well-known family business, which also produced a mayor, was that of Edwin Isley, who held office from 1924- 1926. Builder and contractor Isley had his yard next to the school.

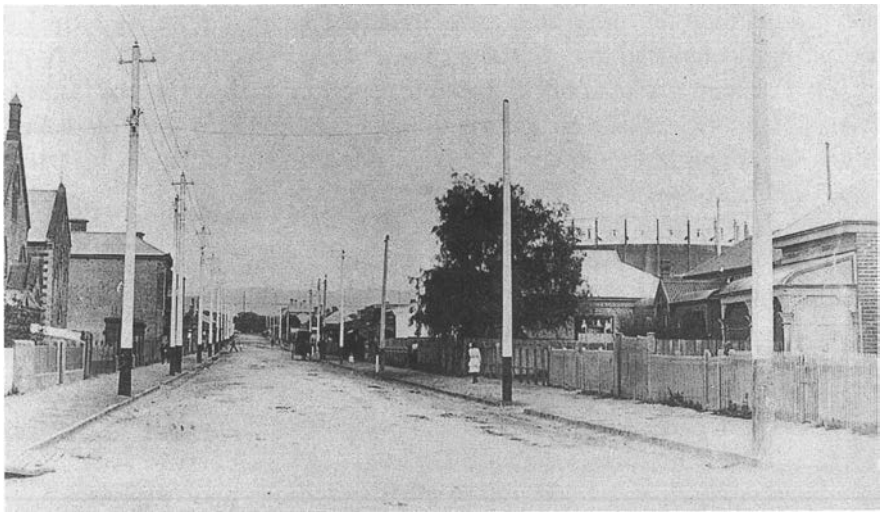
Like Francis Keough, the Flint family of Thebarton had a business that involved carrying. Originally horse breakers, they prospered and by 1907 were building two houses, a warehouse and stables in Kintore Street, Mile End. Sixteen horses were used to cart goods from Port Adelaide to the Kintore Street warehouse. The horses were rested there and the goods were then transported to the Flints' hardware store in the city, under the name of W J Flint and Sons, on the corner of Leigh and Bank Streets. The carrying part of the business was motorised in later years, but the stables and galvanised iron loft can still be seen at the property on the corner of Kintore Street.[19] Whether to convert from horse-drawn transport to automobiles was a vexed question for many businesses. Some people were reluctant to make the change, convinced that motorised transport was a passing fad.

One business that used horse-drawn transport for many years was Leane's bakery. The original bakery was set up in George Moody Dew's old bake house in Chapel Street in about 1911. Frank Leane, a carpenter, built the shop in Walsh Street in 1916 and Percival Arthur Leane took over the bakery at the back of the shop.

John Leonard andfamily. Left to Right - May, Clarence ('Bert'), Ronald, John Leonard Holding Jean, Ellen, Frank Laurie ('Digger') held by Alice Leonard, Lillie, Dorothy, Annie. Photograph: Frank McNeill, Gawler Place, Adelaide, c 1922. Courtesy: Paul C White
Dress styles show a dramatic change from those shown in the photograph of Florence Poole on p.118 or those worn at the opening of the electric tram line in 1910. Dresses were more loosely fitting and comfortable and contrast with the ruffles and complicated tucking of the period ten or twenty years before. Ellen's dress displays the popular style of wearing a belt higher than the natural waistline. Skirts were shorter. The fashion was now to have hair drawn back in a simple chignon, often covering the ears.



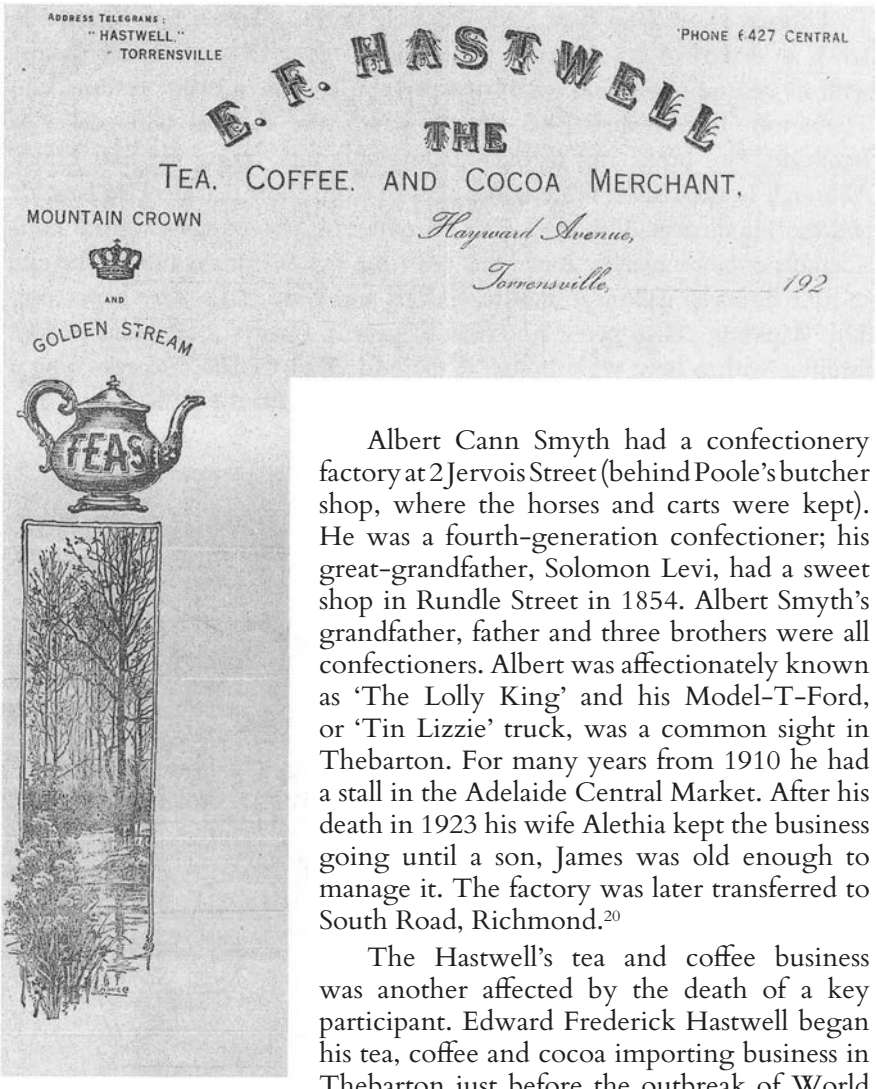
The Leane Family's Bakery in Walsh Street, Southwark now Thebarton (Frank Leane built the shop in 1916). Horses were still being used for deliveries at this time. Horses used by bakers and milkmen knew the route for deliveries; often they had learnt to move on to the next house while deliveries were being made. Local chaff stores provided chaff to be used by the many horses in the Thebarton district. The motor vehicle on the right had the open top typical of early vehicles of this period.
Courtesy: Leane family



George Street looking east from the Dew Street intersection. First house on the right hand side was owned by the Keough family. On the left hand side is the Methodist church and hall. Photograph taken just prior to 1915.

Smyth Family. The family had a confectionery business. Thebarton 1917.
Courtesy: Mrs Mavis Hurn (nee Smyth)

Model-T Ford, or 'Tin Lizzie' used in the confectionery business.
Courtesy: Mrs Mavis Hurn (nee Smyth).



Mr E F Hastwell's letterhead, for his tea, coffee and cocoa importing business at Hayward Ave., Torrensville. Courtesy: Miss Holly Hastwell, Torrensville

Albert Cann Smyth had a confectionery factory at 2 Jervois Street (behind Poole's butcher shop, where the horses and carts were kept). He was a fourth-generation confectioner; his great-grandfather, Solomon Levi, had a sweet shop in Rundle Street in 1854. Albert Smyth's grandfather, father and three brothers were all confectioners. Albert was affectionately known as 'The Lolly King' and his Model-T-Ford, or 'Tin Lizzie' truck, was a common sight in Thebarton. For many years from 1910 he had a stall in the Adelaide Central Market. After his death in 1923 his wife Alethia kept the business going until a son, James was old enough to manage it. The factory was later transferred to South Road, Richmond.[20]

The Hastwell's tea and coffee business was another affected by the death of a key participant. Edward Frederick Hastwell began his tea, coffee and cocoa importing business in Thebarton just before the outbreak of World War I. As the business improved the family moved to a house at 20 Hayward Avenue, a fine old house which is still extant. Blending and packing was done in a storeroom in the house next door. After Hastwell died in 1921 at the age of 36, leaving his wife and four young daughters, an attempt was made to carry on the business, but it closed within a couple of years. The family had a long association with Holy Trinity Church, the Misses Hastwell teaching at the Holy Trinity Sunday School until the 1940s.[21]

One business that met with better fortune in these years was the Way family's scrap-yard in George Street. Born in 1908, Allan Way came to Thebarton with his family when he was three. His father, Charles, sold his cattle station at Oodnadatta and moved to Adelaide when drought struck in 1905. Allan's grandfather, Frank Samuel Way, had already established the scrap-yard in George Street and Charles Way began working there in 1911–12. At the age of 16 Allan took over the yard, and worked there

before and after school, in company with his brothers Jess and Frank. At one time he had some serious misgivings about his future. He decided to borrow a horse and dray and run away, but he was persuaded by friends to stay – a fortunate turn of events for the business became very successful.[22]

Thomas Hardy and Sons built the Mile End Cellars on East Terrace in 1893, an extensive development that came to cover 1¾ acres. The building, with its central tower and castellated parapet, became a major landmark in Thebarton. In October 1905 disaster struck the original wine cellar at Bankside. Fire broke out in the building at 1 pm, raging for four hours. Although horse -drawn fire engines arrived from the Adelaide Fire Brigade and the Hindmarsh Volunteer Fire Brigade, the water mains were a considerable distance away; it is said that red wine was eventually used at the rate of four hundred gallons a minute. Cellars and wine casks were burnt out. The Bankside cellars were not rebuilt; instead Hardys established storage facilities with a new wine house at the Mile End Cellars, incorporating a modern laboratory, a manager's cottage and stables for the horse teams.[23]

Thomas Hardy's Wine Cellars, Mile End 1909 taken from across the railway crossing. Courtesy: Mortlock Library

New houses

Thebarton still has many houses that date back to the first two decades of the twentieth century. Walter Were, who had the Busy Bee Joinery on the corner of Danby and Northcote Streets, built over 90 houses in the Thebarton district between 1912 and 1921. His son, Walter Cornelius Were, joined the Busy Bee team, which did its own glazing and wooden cupboards. In keeping with the popular Federation influence, decorative woodwork, often with a key-hole design, replaced the cast-iron lace-work popular in the 1880s. Bricks came from the local brickworks and freestone, popular for the front walls of houses, was brought from the Adelaide Hills and cut on the site. Roofs were often of corrugated iron but some were of terracotta tiles. Roof lines changed with the introduction of a hipped roof with a small half gable, and decorative chimney pots began to replace tall rectangular brick chimneys. Return verandahs were popular. Decorative features popular at the time for interior

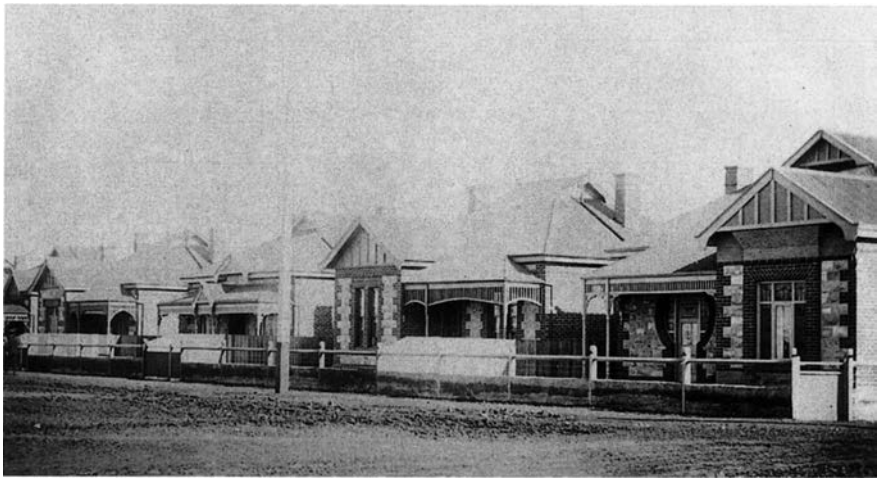
Busy Bee Team, c.1913. L-R Harry Easter, Remnant, Young, Day Gillen, Tom Brown, Schultz, Fred Carter.
At a time when many people wanted to move to the Thebarton district, the Busy Bee firm built a number of houses on a speculative basis.
Courtesy: Eric Were

Walter Were's 'Busy Bee' Joinery Works operated about 1909-1918 and was located in the apex of Danby & Northcote Streets, facing North Parade (Torrensville). The site is now occupied by the Senior Centre. Photograph taken around 1914.
Courtesy: Eric Were

use were wooden arches in hallways and plaster work forming central ceiling flowers. Walter Were's uncle, Thomas Ingham, made the first filigree ceiling flowers in Adelaide which doubled as a feature for light fittings. Ingham's plaster works has survived to the 1990s with old patterns being revived as people restore houses built in the early years of the twentieth century.

Walter C Were recalled that houses were sold to 'working people' for between £575 and £625. This figure of approximately £600 for a house is comparable with the figure given by Alfred Coles for the cost of a house in the first decade of the twentieth century. Walter C Were said that the carpenters, stone-cutters and bricklayers working for his father were paid about 12/- a day and worked a 48 hour week.[24]

These houses, a number of which survive in the Danby Street – Northcote Street precinct, were mostly built on a speculative basis. Some other dwellings were built in the early years of the twentieth century for



Northcote Street. House on extreme right is No. 35. 1910-1915, probably 1912. Built by Weres' 'Busy Bee' Joinery team. Houses still standing in 1990s.

people who were not in a financial position to afford £600. A particularly interesting group is the Rose Street cottages, pairs of random coursed stone cottages with brick quoins and castellated parapets to the entrance porches. The first set of sixteen cottages was built in 1902 in Rose Street, between Dew and Parker Streets. The cottages feature on the State Heritage list. They were financed through a £25,000 bequest left by businessman and pastoralist, Sir Thomas Elder, on his death in 1897. The bequest funded an institution called the Adelaide Workmen's Homes, which was to buy land and build homes 'not further in a straight line from the GPO at Adelaide than ten miles'.[25] Other bequests and gifts by Elder included a substantial sum given to the University of Adelaide .

Community services

The bequest from Sir Thomas Elder exemplifies philanthropy from a wealthy 'outsider'. However there was also a great deal of self-help on the part of local residents. Apart from activity that centred around local churches and lodges, two services of note for the wider community were established in the early years of the twentieth century, a district nursing service and a fire station. The first of these was the District Trained Nursing Service , established in 1902 very early in the development of this service in Adelaide and the forerunner of today's Royal District Nursing Service.[26] It was particularly important at a time when many people could not afford to visit a doctor and nursing care was very often provided at home.[27] The second service, the provision of a local fire station, was established in 1916. Until that time Thebarton district was served by its own volunteer service for fire fighting and, if necessary, residents could call on services in Adelaide and Hindmarsh. In January 1916 a fire station was opened in Carlton Parade; then the most substantial fire

station in the Adelaide suburbs other than the one at Port Adelaide. It was designed as a motor reel station; horse-drawn appliances were not used.[28] The volunteer service disbanded after the station opened.

Schools

The expansion of housing saw young families establishing themselves in the district and in time requiring school places. By 1903 pupil demand led to a shelter shed at the Thebarton School being converted into a temporary classroom. Extra land was purchased and three new brick rooms were built in 1904. These were used by senior boys.

The school was fortunate to have a very capable headmaster, William Bennett, in the early years of the twentieth century. His Chief Assistant was Maurice Schmitz, a one-armed man who used a hook instead of the missing hand. In those days of horse-drawn transport Schmitz drove a horse and trap to school – students considered it a treat to be allowed to take the horse to the blacksmith opposite Hotel when it needed shoeing. Staff members included Elizabeth and Mary Fleming, nicknamed Hijinks and Lowjinks because one was tall and one was short.

The School Inspector's report for 1911 reveals that 1016 children were enrolled at the school. The subjects taught were Reading, Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar and Composition, Geography, History, Needlework, Nature Study, Poetry and Singing. There were other subjects recorded such as Object Lessons, Physical Education, Drill and organised games. There was no library for the school at the time, although there was a set of encyclopedias and some books for the junior and first grade children. The inspector described the noise of electric trams stopping and starting outside the school as 'most distracting', adding that 'the noise must be very trying and injurious to the teachers in the front rooms'.[29]

As student numbers increased more rooms were needed. A timber and asbestos block known as 'the Barn' was constructed as a temporary unit in 1912 but was still in use fifty years later. In 1915 Parliament was told that there were over 1300 children attending a school built to accommodate about one thousand children.[30] A public lane ran between two sections of the school, muddy in winter and dusty in summer and a source of danger because of the traffic using it. Crowded classrooms increased the risk of infectious diseases such as chicken pox, diphtheria and scarlet fever. During epidemics health officials visited to examine children who might have been developing these diseases, and efforts were made to disinfect desks and floor surfaces.

Only a small proportion of children moved on to secondary education. However there were moves during this period to establish a technical school. A government report on higher education had been followed by a new Education Act, passed in 1915. School was now compulsory for five days a week and the leaving age was raised from thirteen to fourteen. At a time when industry and commerce in the state were expanding, those

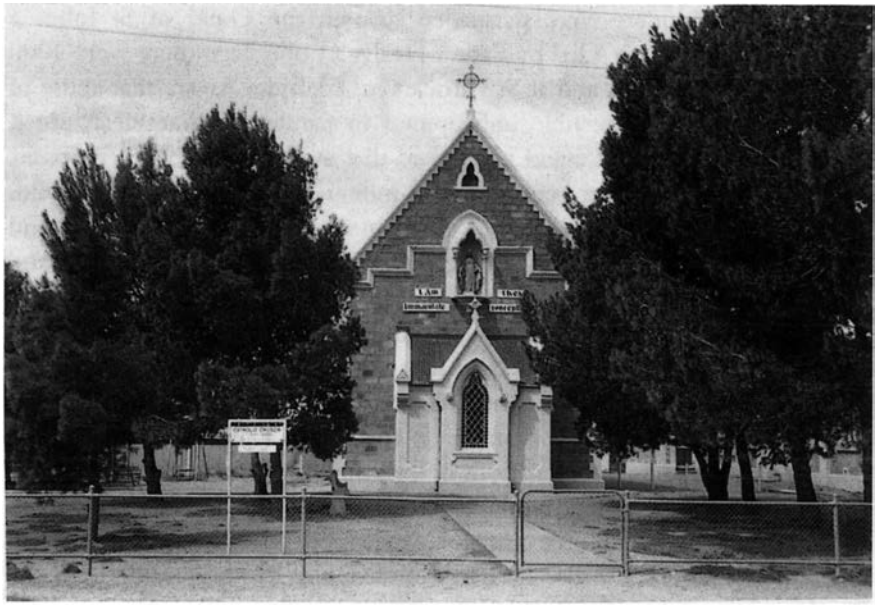
who planned the Act were much concerned with the need to provide technical and manual training for young people. This concern led to the establishment of the Thebarton Technical School on a 22-acre site known as the Danby Estate on Ashley Street. A dedication ceremony was held during the war years in May 1917 but the school was not opened until 1919. Even then it took only a few students in the early years and was primarily used as a trade school for apprentices. 'Thebbie Tech' as it was often called became an important part of local life for many years. There were some plans to open a high school on the corner of Ashley Street and South Road, together with a children's park, but these plans did not come to fruition. The site was in later years used by the Bowling Club.

St James' Church of England was one of a number of suburban parishes to have its own school in this early part of the twentieth century. The school, established in 1894, had to be closed in 1899, but was re-established in 1908. St James' Day School, located in Falcon Avenue, had 66 children by June 1910.[31] There was also the Roman Catholic school run by the Sisters of St Joseph, who continued to provide education and pastoral care for local children, and the St John the Baptist School for boys. Both of these grew steadily. Whereas there were 85 children at St Joseph's in 1905 and 81 at St John the Baptist School, by 1915 this had grown to 153 at St Joseph's and 126 at St John the Baptist.[32]

Churches

Thebarton's rapidly expanding population gave significant support to its churches. Congregations flourished; foundation stones were laid; Sundays saw girls and boys in their 'Sunday best' clutching coins for the collection, sitting alongside mothers wearing the fashionable hats of the day and fathers in dark suits and stiff collars. They endured lengthy sermons, heard lectures on missionary activities in faraway countries and were likely to return home to the traditional Sunday roast dinner. Many would return to church for another service in the afternoon or evening. Census figures show that in their support for the major denominations, Thebarton's residents reflected the population of South Australia as a whole. Anglicans comprised 29.8% of Thebarton's population in 1891 and 34.7 in 1921 (compared with 27.9% and 33.52% for the State), Roman Catholics were

Florence Poole (nee Wilson) taken c.1902. Florence Poole's dress shows the fashion features of the period. Her skirt is gored and fairly narrow. The close-fitting sleeves are decorated with tucks. The bodice is heavily decorated with lacy flounces extending right across the shoulder, with matching decoration hanging from the bottom of the elbow length sleeves. The profusion of jewellery which includes a long necklace, pearl necklet and a gold bracelet, is typical of the period. Courtesy: Nan Wait



Old Roman Catholic chapel at rear of Kilmara Primary School, Kintore Street, Thebarton. Photograph taken 1980.

15.7% in 1891 and 14% in 1921 (compared with 14. 7% and 13.5%), and Methodists were 25.5% and 25.6% of Thebarton's population (compared with 23.9% in 1891 and 24.8% in 1921.)

The Roman Catholic Queen of Angels Church, a landmark in the district, dates from this period. It stands on the corner of Kintore Street and South Road, alongside the old school chapel, and its Gothic spire can be seen for miles around.[33] The foundation stone was laid in July 1915 by Archbishop Spence. When the church was opened two months later 800 people crowded in and parishioners gave £1,500 toward the total cost of £3,520. The total debt was soon paid off, a remarkable achievement.[34] It seems that parishioners were expected to make weekly donations. Former residents recall with amusement neighbours rushing around to get small change before the nuns arrived so they could avoid having to hand over a larger amount.[35] Nevertheless success in clearing the debts was clear indication of real growth and prosperity in the district, for there was now a significant number of residents who were in regular employment in skilled and semi-skilled positions.

The long-serving parish priest, Father John Healy (1852-1921), who came from County Tipperary, Ireland, was a great advocate of temperance. Brother John Moylan of Christian Brothers' College tells the story of his father, Jim Moylan, immigrating to South Australia from Liverpool in 1914, the year before the new church was opened. He had promised his mother he would make himself known to his local priest as soon as he arrived. True to his word he visited the presbytery and was offered a cup of tea. 'Jim, we'll have to find you a job' said Father Healy. Mr Moylan explained that his brother had already found him work in a local brewery. 'Glory to God,' said the good priest, 'we'll have to change that!' But Jim Moylan was not to be persuaded - he worked in the liquor trade until his retirement decades later.

Many parishioners were persuaded to join the Guild of St John, a temperance organisation led by Father Healy. At one stage there were 1000 members at Thebarton and at St Patrick's in Adelaide. Aware that abuse of alcohol could caused terrible unhappiness in families, Father Healy stuck doggedly to his principles and it was said that a number of his parishioners owned their own homes because of his influence. Members of the Guild, who made a pledge to abstain from intoxicating liquor, would attend monthly confession and mass as a group. There were special medals and ribbons for members. Some may well have joined, started drinking again and joined again. Father Healy became a legend in his own lifetime and stories of his somewhat idiosyncratic expectations of parishioners are told by many an elderly Thebarton resident. He followed the custom of seating men on one side of the church and women on the other, a practice that was also common in Lutheran congregations in the country districts. The church was a centre for social welfare work. Sewing groups made clothes for lads in Father Healy's Boys' Home and for discharged prisoners in his Garfield Shelter. The teaching order he had founded, the Brothers of St John the Baptist, grew fruit and vegetables and kept poultry at Brooklyn Park to provide food for the boys' home, the shelter and for needy people of all creeds. Firewood, funeral costs, groceries and other assistance were provided unobtrusively through trusted parish workers with money collected from generous parishioners 'who did not ask who the money was for'. One parishioner said 'only the poor people know how much good was done'.

Cultural matters were not neglected; a Literary Society for Young Men was established in 1894 in Thebarton, probably an off-shoot of that formed at St Patrick's Church in Adelaide that dated back to 1879. Sadly, it seems that a Literary Society for young women was not established. However, there were fetes, picnics and euchre evenings where parishioners could mix. Father Healy is said to have presided enthusiastically over concert evenings, nominating members of the audience for songs and recitations – often despite their protestations and almost total lack of talent. After a meeting finished unexpectedly early one night, the men asked if they could have a dance to finish the evening. Father Healy agreed to this and made an announcement that the women could go home now as the men wanted to have a dance.[36]

Although there were doctrinal differences between the Catholics and the Methodists, the two groups had in common a need to provide adequate buildings for a growing flock. In 1899 the South Australian conferences of the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians resolved to unite into a single Methodist Church.[37] Following union in 1901 the Bible Christian Church, built in 1879 on the corner of Ashley and Jervois Streets, merged with the Torrensville Church. The two groups held services in the building on Henley Beach Road but soon outgrew the premises. A new church was built in 1911 in Hayward Avenue, on land once farmed by Alfred Chapman. The old property was sold to the Torrensville Lodge of Freemasons in February 1912.[38]

The foundation stone of a Mile End landmark, Holder Memorial Church, was laid on 25 July 1915. The name honours prominent Methodist churchman and politician, Sir Frederick Holder (1850-1909). Holder Memorial opened in January 1916.[39] With comparable energy the congregation of the Baptist Church in Thebarton had added a church hall to their church by 1913. The new building was a sturdy brick structure with the front section constructed of stone.

Prior to this the Church of England (Anglican) congregation, under the leadership of the Rev. P Wise, set about enlarging St James'Church. A generous gift of £600 from Alfred Simms enabled the enlarged building to be opened free of debt on 2 January 1902. Congregation numbers increased as new houses were built in the district. Communicant members numbered 160 in 1906. Numbers rose to 400 under the energetic leadership of the Rev. Walter Franz Wehrstedt, who served from 1910 to 1920. It was an awkward name to have in the war years, when anti-German feeling ran high, but Wehrstedt's incumbency saw steady progress: in 1913 the Holy Cross Mission was instituted and services were held in a corrugated iron mission chapel in Chapel Street, a mission chapel was dedicated in Howard Street, Underdale, and a spacious rectory was built in Falcon Avenue. To serve the demands of the growing day school and Sunday School the parish hall in Falcon Avenue was enlarged with two extra classrooms on the ground floor and a large room on the upper floor. The foundation stone for these substantial additions was laid on 4 July 1914.[40]

All in all, this was a period of expansion for the churches in the Thebarton district. There were new buildings, services expanded and new groups formed. The Baptists, Methodists, Roman Catholics and Anglicans were well-established, as was the Salvation Army, which met in Chapel Street. In time the Congregationalists moved to consolidate their activities in the district. Their first service was held in the Thebarton Institute on 10 October 1909, and on 31 October a Sunday School was founded under George Wilks. A Fellowship was formed on 24 July 1910.[41] The work came under the supervision of the Rev. W Perry Jones who, with the assistance of the Lay Preachers' Association, conducted the services in 1911, followed by Mr J Dunstan (a student at Parkin College) as pastor in charge until 1912.[42] A block of land was purchased in Huntriss Street, Torrensville, for a building which opened for worship in February 1913. The Rev. John Casley became pastor in April 1914. In the following year a kindergarten room was erected under his leadership by volunteers meeting each Saturday afternoon.

In August 1913 a small group of Presbyterians followed the example of the Congregationalists in beginning services in the district. Led by the Rev. JC McLeehey, they met in the Thebarton Institute. It was decided to move a building previously used as a mission hall in Port Adelaide to a new site in Wainhouse Street, Torrensville, in 1917. Services were conducted there by home mission students until early 1924. At this time the congregation had dwindled, but a number of Presbyterians were living in the new suburb of Cowandilla. It was decided to shift the building

once again, this time to Goldfinch Avenue, Cowandilla. The Presbyterian congregation, which had begun in Thebarton, continued in Cowandilla until 1970, when the Adelaide West United Parish was formed with six other congregations in the Adelaide western district.[43]

Lodges and friendly societies

Torrensville Lodge No. 58 dates back to 1910. The first meeting to discuss formation of a Lodge in the district was held at the home of the then Mayor of Thebarton, AW Styles, on 27 November 1909.The Lodge first occupied the former District Hall, which was built by Joseph Stevenson in 1878 and then used as an office for the Town Clerk until 1884. The foundation stone for a new building was laid on 22 September 1922. As Freemasonry in the district prospered, daughter lodges Henley No. 79, Torrensville Lewis No. 104 and Thebarton Lodge No. 143 were established.[44]

Friendly societies had developed for the mutual self-help of small tradesmen, artisans and workers. They enabled their members to insure against sickness, unemployment and funeral expenses, and they also provided a sense of community and opportunities for self-education. The Rechabites were connected with the temperance movement and the Oddfellows had connections with the labour movement.[45] As early as 1874 the combined membership of Oddfellows, Foresters and Druids in South Australia was as high as 15,000. In Thebarton, the Pride of the Forest (Foresters) met weekly at the Royal Hotel, the New Thebarton Druids met at Wallman's Assembly Rooms in West Adelaide (with F J Norman of Underdale Vineyard as secretary), West Torrens Oddfellows and No. 8 Western Star Juvenile Lodge at the Oddfellows Hall, West Thebarton and the Rechabites at the Methodist Church, Torrensville.

The First World War 1914-1918

When Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914, Australia was quick to come to the support of 'the Mother Country'. Feelings of patriotism ran high and it was commonly believed that the war would be over quickly. As a result many young men were anxious to enlist before the fighting was over so they would not miss out on 'an adventure of a lifetime'. Thebarton Council passed a motion expressing its loyalty to the British Crown and supporting the war effort.

Before long, letters and word of mouth accounts revealed the terrible losses occurring on the battle fields. By late 1915 Prime Minister W M (Billy) Hughes believed that it was necessary to introduce conscription in order to support the Australian troops and help bring the war to an end. The opposing argument was that the war was so terrible that no one should be forced to enlist. A referendum was held in 1916. There were bitter divisions in the Australian community on the issue, with emotive propaganda. The referendum was lost as was another referendum held in 1917. South Australians voted solidly against compulsory military service

on both occasions. Thebarton's federal member of parliament, Labor's W O Archibald, followed the pro-conscription line of Prime Minister Hughes, leaving the National Party and standing as a Labor Nationalist for the seat of Hindmarsh in the 'Win the War' election of 1917. Although he retained Hindmarsh with a reduced majority (55% compared to 74.5% in 1914), he narrowly lost the seat in 1919 to Labor's Norman Makin, a young and prominent anti-conscriptionist. Thebarton, the sixth most Labor of the 15 metropolitan sub-divisions, recorded the fifth highest 'No' vote in both referenda: 60.5% and 60.1%.[46]

The war brought many hardships: by 1916 prices had risen twenty per cent and real wages had dropped ten per cent. The increasing war debt saw income tax being introduced for the first time.[47] At least 60,000 Australians perished in the war. St James', Mile End, recorded twenty-nine Anglicans as war fatalities, the Queen of Angels Church recorded seven killed in action out of fifty-three who enlisted and other community groups would have had comparable losses. Many of those who returned had sustained permanent physical injury and many others suffered from psychological disturbances that today we might call 'post-traumatic stress disorder' but which was then known as 'shell shock'.

During the war years Thebarton residents were active in supporting fundraising for the troops. It has been said that more socks were knitted than could possibly be used by the soldiers, but knitting was valued as something people home in Australia could do at a time when most people had a relative or neighbour serving overseas. Thebarton Primary School records show that large amounts were raised for the Children's Patriotic Fund, a fund that supported the Red Cross, Keswick Hospital, the Belgian Relief Fund, Wounded Soldiers and Wattle League Sewing Circle. Thebarton School was always at the top of the list of fund-raisers. A school report written in 1918 showed that the school had raised £535 for the Patriotic Funds. The report was written by Maurice Locksley who had changed his name from Schmitz in view of the hostility towards German names and German products during the war years.[48]

Toward the end of the war one of the teachers, Eric Lapidge, returned from war service to 'light duties' at the school after being badly wounded. Of those who served in the theatre of war zones, 68.5% of Australians were killed or wounded, a casualty rate that was the highest of the Allied forces: Eric Lapidge was one of twenty nine thousand South Australians who paid a heavy price for their participation in the war. The Honour Rolls for the Town of Thebarton show that 916 enlisted and there were 100 fatalities.

There was a further tragedy after the First World War - an epidemic of influenza in 1919. Some families were particularly hard hit. The Balfort family history reveals that Louissa Balfort of Filsell Street, Thebarton, took on the care of her two orphaned grandchildren after both her daughter and son-in-law, young parents in their twenties, died in the epidemic.[49]

If the war brought tragedy, it also brought benefits to the local community. For a time there were extra employment opportunities for residents. Then with the war finally at an end, a huge operation was mounted to bring the servicemen home. Some had never travelled beyond their own town or city before they enlisted. Many had been wounded and seen friends killed. They returned with new ways of looking at things and a hope that prosperity and good times would return.

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6 - Good times – hard times: Thebarton between the wars

The twenty year period between the two world wars, from 1919 to 1939, is one still within the memory of the elderly, yet it is so unlike present times. This period included the years of the Great Depression, a time when at least thirty per cent of adult men were out of work, when the meagre social welfare services of the day were stretched to the limit and found wanting. It was a time of great hardship for many and an era of great uncertainty. Nevertheless, there were businesses that continued to prosper in Thebarton, while for some people daily life went on much as before.

It was also a time of social change for women, a time of falling birth rates and smaller families; and it presented newly-developing opportunities for young women to have further education and more varied career opportunities. Clothing for women was less restrictive as skirts were shortened and foundation garments lost their whalebone. It was an era when the motor car, the 'talkies' and the radio made for major changes in recreational pursuits for men and women alike.

In Thebarton horse driven carts were still delivering ice, milk, bread, fruit and vegetables and other foodstuffs. Some recall Chinese hawkers selling vegetables. Rabbits could be bought from people like Mr Parr, who came around with horse and cart calling 'Rabbi-oh' or 'wild rab-bi'; the housewife went out with her plate and the rabbit was skinned while she waited. People gathered to chat along Henley Beach Road while shopping on Friday nights. Corner shops were much patronised. Since people tended to shop 'for a little often' and goods had to be weighed out, there was time to chat while the goods were wrapped in brown paper. Many people kept their perishable goods fresh with the aid of a Coolgardie safe or similar device, cooled by water evaporating from hessian. Older residents speak of their pride in acquiring an ice chest, a cabinet cooled by a large block of ice and a great improvement on the Coolgardie safe.[1]

Transport and civic improvements

While there were cars and lorries on the roads, most families did not have a car. Nor did the average family have a telephone. For many families there were only limited opportunities for outings and holidays. Partly because of this, Sunday School anniversaries and picnics were usually seen as important events, attracting very large numbers of children and parents. Shopping patterns were still a far cry from those of modern times. In the days before the supermarkets that came after World War II, corner shops played an important

Believed to be taken at the Bumell's home opposite the old Southwark Baptist Church and Hall in Phillips Street, Southwark. Possibly a Baptist Ladies group. The fashions are those of the turn of the century. Skirts are still long, blouses with high lacy necks are worn, sometimes under a dress or as a jabot. Decoration of dresses is confined to the bodices; skirts are plain and quite narrow. The verandah of the stone house has iron lace work popular in the 1880s and 1890s. Sitting 2nd from left – Mrs Battersby, Mrs Turner, Mrs Silver, 7th Mrs Shawyer Back row –Mrs Stroud, 3rd Mrs Julge, 6th Mrs Anderson.

role in the local community. Examples of these buildings can still be seen in the 1990s on the corner of Victoria Street and Gladstone Road, Mile End, Ashley and Jervois Streets, Huntriss Street and North Parade and Light Terrace and Holland Streets. Shopkeepers delivered goods and one used to empty the fruit and vegetables from his car on Friday nights and give people a lift to 'town' for threepence.[2] Ice-creams sold by Mr Twist were popular with the children as a Sunday treat. Hotels were still important, but a state referendum in 1915 had led to the closing of hotels at 6 pm. This began the era of the 'six o'clock swill' when men lined up their schooners of beer at the bar for a quick drink before the pubs closed.

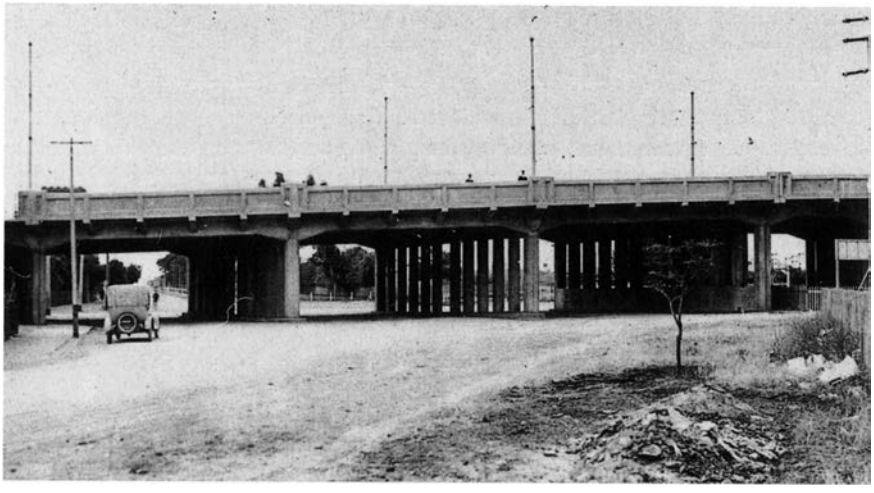
As people tried to put the horrors of war behind them, there came a search for 'good times'. The nineteen twenties was the period of the 'flapper', a chance to put aside some of the restrictions of old customs and fashions. There ·were opportunities to celebrate. There were public events of note such as the visit of the Prince of Wales; a visit greeted with tremendous public enthusiasm. Support for Britain and the Royal Family was great and the schoolchildren who saluted the Union Jack at school and promised to honour 'King and Country' had the opportunity to see a member of the Royal Family for themselves.[3] Thebarton Council holds a handwritten letter to local children from the Prince in which he thanked them for their welcome and encouraged their support for the British Empire.

If the distance between Great Britain and Australia was great, and seen largely in terms of the long sea voyage 'home', these were seas dominated by the British Navy. Loyalty to 'King and Country', expressed in the morning ceremonies at Thebarton Primary School, was combined with the belief that it was Great Britain that would protect Australia in time of need. Nevertheless, the aeroplane was beginning to change concepts of distance. The arrival of Ross and Keith Smith in their Vickers Vimy after their epic flight from England in 1919 caused immense interest in South Australia. People would recall the event years later. Former Torrensville resident Claude Balfort described how, as a nine year old boy, he was taken by horse and wagon across Northfield's paddocks of wheat and other crops to see the plane.[4] Such flights were the forerunners of regular air journeys and airmail services between Britain and Australia. The 1921 Census showed that 14,037 persons were recorded for Thebarton; of these 1,672 were born in the British Isles and many of these would have had close relatives in Britain with whom they corresponded. At this time there were few who were born in non-British places - only 99 were recorded. Of these most were from northern Europe, in particular from the Scandinavian countries (23) and Germany (49), but there were also some Italian families including the Schirripas and the Mittigas.[5]

At the local level, the main source of transport for many people was a pushbike or the MTT trams. Residents in the north west parts of the town were poorly served by the trams and in January 1921 Thebarton Council resolved that its delegates should combine with delegates from Hindmarsh, Woodville, West Torrens and Henley Beach Councils to approach the MTT. They were concerned that the MTT planned to duplicate the route to Hindmarsh and considered that it would be better to establish a new route to serve Welland and Torrensville.

However the MTT had already placed a contract for a reinforced concrete bridge over the River Torrens at Cawthorne Street and plans for the duplication of the Hindmarsh route were well under way. The new tram route was opened in January 1923. The track went from the city along the southern side of Port Road, then along George Street where it connected with the old line at Albert Street. The former route along Henley Beach Road and Parker Street was abandoned. The return track went over the new bridge at Cawthorne Street, along Light Terrace, East Terrace and Port Road. While the duplicate line was an improvement on the old route there were now very small clearances in the narrow streets of Southwark.[6]

The long-awaited Bakewell Bridge was opened on 18 December 1925 by the Premier, John Gunn, and named after the Chairman of the MTT. The concrete structure had a length of 1,194 feet, a width of 60 feet and a clearance of 16 feet from the rails to the bridge girders. There were originally two sets of tram tracks, a macadamised roadway on each side, a footpath on the south side and stairways down to the bottom level.[7] Twenty houses on the southern side of Henley Beach Road had to be demolished for the project. Nevertheless, there were many advantages: traffic from the western suburbs no longer had to use the Mile



Bakewell Bridge, Mile End, Thebarton. The opening of this bridge in December 1925 was an important development for transport flow from the western suburbs to the city. Late 1920s.

End railway crossing, trams could go straight down Currie Street to join up with Henley Beach Road and there was no need for trams to turn from Grenfell Street into King William Street. A new road (Glover Avenue) was built from Mile End to Currie Street. With the closure of the old level crossing, the old road from Mile End to Hindley Street was no longer needed and reverted to parkland.

With the increase in traffic and building in the early 1920s Council decided to control development in the town more effectively. Thebarton became the first local government body in South Australia to introduce zoning regulations under the 1923 Building Act; regulations with which people are very familiar today but which were a new concept in the 1920s. A by-law passed in 1924 restricted the building of new shops to Henley Beach Road. Factories were to be restricted to the area north of Ashwin Parade, Anderson Street and Ballantyne Street.[8] Houses which were built mainly of wood, iron, metal or sheet asbestos were to be confined to the industrial area. Anyone who wanted to build outside the appropriate zone had first to gain the consent of Council or face a fine of up to £15; a modest penalty while the basic principles of town planning were being established. Implicit in these was the concept that there were to be residential areas where 'respectable' people had 'proper' houses. The freedom appropriate for early settlers in Thebarton to build a two room dwelling with a roof made of reeds and windows of calico was not thought to be a freedom appropriate for the middle years of the twentieth century.

Moreover, with its increasing responsibilities, Council no longer wished to put up with what had become cramped conditions at the old Town Hall. Civic pride demanded something better. The site chosen for a new Town Hall was adjacent to the Thebarton Institute, a central position on the north west corner of Henley Beach and Taylor's (South) Roads. There was still some vacant land there, used by visiting circus troupes for their tents.[9] By 1923 the Council had bought the Institute and adjoining land for £1,940. With rate-payers' approval Council borrowed £30,000

Top Photo: Theberton Hall, Theberton, Suffolk, UK. Boyhood Home of Colonel William Light. Bottom Photo: Thebarton Municipal Offices, occupied 1928. (Note resemblance to Theberton Hall in UK.)

for the building of a civic centre complex to consist of a Town Hall, an Assembly Hall, and an administration building facing South Road.

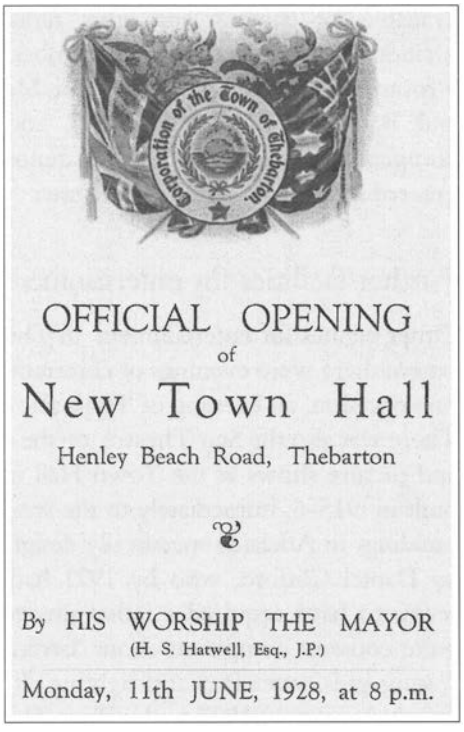
The new Town Hall was built by E Colegate for the sum of £23,000. Under a leasing arrangement D Clifford Theatres could use the building for twenty five years for cinema. The opening ceremony on 11 June 1928 was a grand occasion for local residents who could flatter themselves that this was a truly modern building with modern conveniences. A souvenir pamphlet described the lounge area as featuring 'an elaborate fibrous ceiling with indirect lighting, and Candle brackets adorning the walls'. The Town Hall proper had seating for 2,000 people, a spacious stage and 'an elaborate proscenium arch'. The design was to combine 'luxury' with comfort. The theatre boasted a set of 'tumbling lights' in the ceiling:

> A new innovation as regards theatrical lighting in Australia ...all colours of the rainbow are thrown forth through the protruding

> cone and rosette ceiling. The whole of the coloured lighting system is operated by an automatic dimmer apparatus . . . A full Orchestra of talented and brilliant musicians has been engaged to supply the essential musical support.[10]

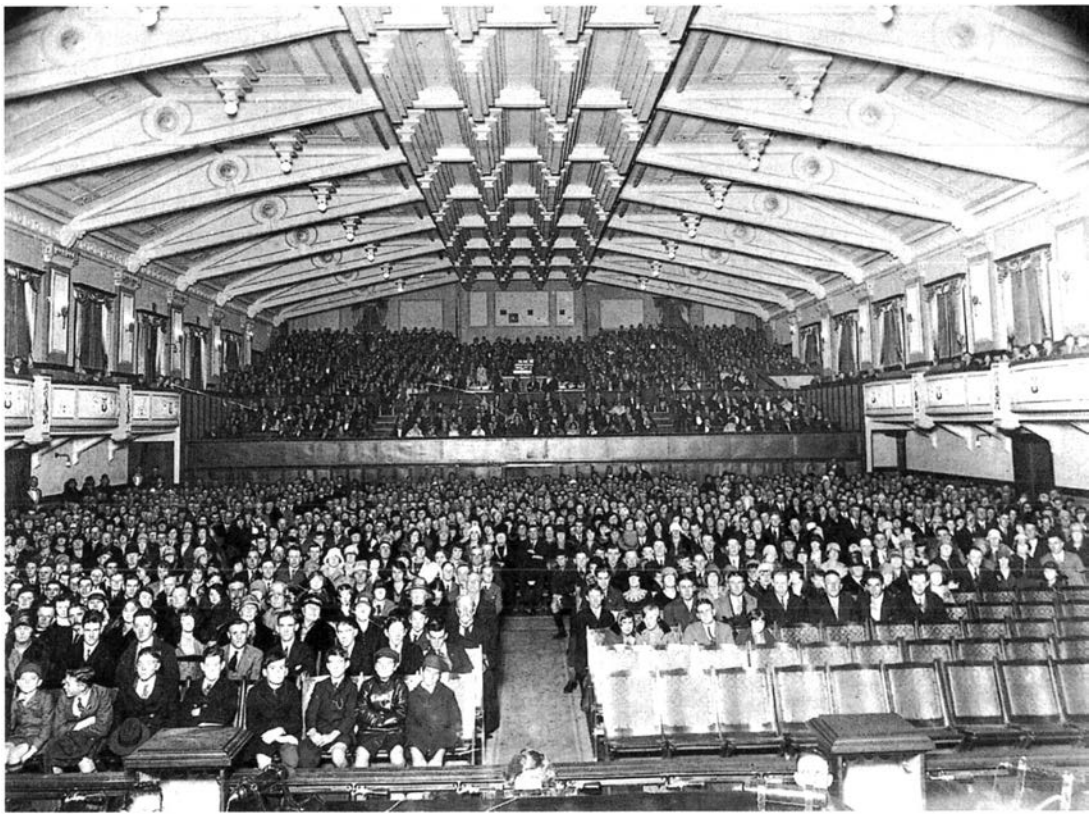
It was a place where one could see 'Dramatic Performances or legitimate stage presentations' – and from 1930 onwards, 'talkie-pictures'. There were four shops at the front of the Town Hall. One of them, C A Collins' confectionery shop, served as the Day Booking Office.

A large Assembly Room, adjoining the Town Hall, was



Invitation Card for the Official Opening of New Town Hall on 11 June 1928.

Interior New Town Hall.
Taken on the occasion of the official opening 11 June 1928. The photo graph appears to have been taken before the arrival of the official party whose seats would be on the right hand side of the photograph.



available for dancing and other functions. The Administrative Building included offices, the Council Chamber, Mayor's Parlour, Mayoress' Room, a room set aside for the School for Mothers (a forerunner of the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association), and Committee Rooms. The whole complex, including the recently renovated Thebarton Theatre, has been entered in the State Heritage Register .

Further facilities for entertainment

Other venues for entertainment in Thebarton included the old Town Hall, where there were evenings of community singing, dancing, pictures and, on one occasion, an evening of 'Hypnotic Entertainment' given by J W Norris. There was also the Star Theatre on the southern side of Henley Beach Road, and picture shows at the Town Hall in Hindmarsh. The Star Theatre was built in 1915-6, immediately to the west of Metters' factory. One of the first buildings in Adelaide specifically designed as a cinema theatre, it was leased by Daniel Clifford, who by 1921 had a chain of eight picture houses. It seems to have acquired a rather unsavoury reputation by the 1920s; there were constant complaints about 'larrikins' congregating outside the theatre, teasing girls, swearing, and fighting. It closed in 1929 but reopened, after refurbishment, in 1937 as the Plaza Theatre.[11] (The building is now used by Mile End Office Furniture.) Saturday afternoons 'at the pictures' became a regular outing for many children; a ticket could be bought for sixpence, and some older residents remember buying a penny ticket for sweets. Saturday nights were so popular with adults that many people had regular bookings for seats so they could avoid the long queues.

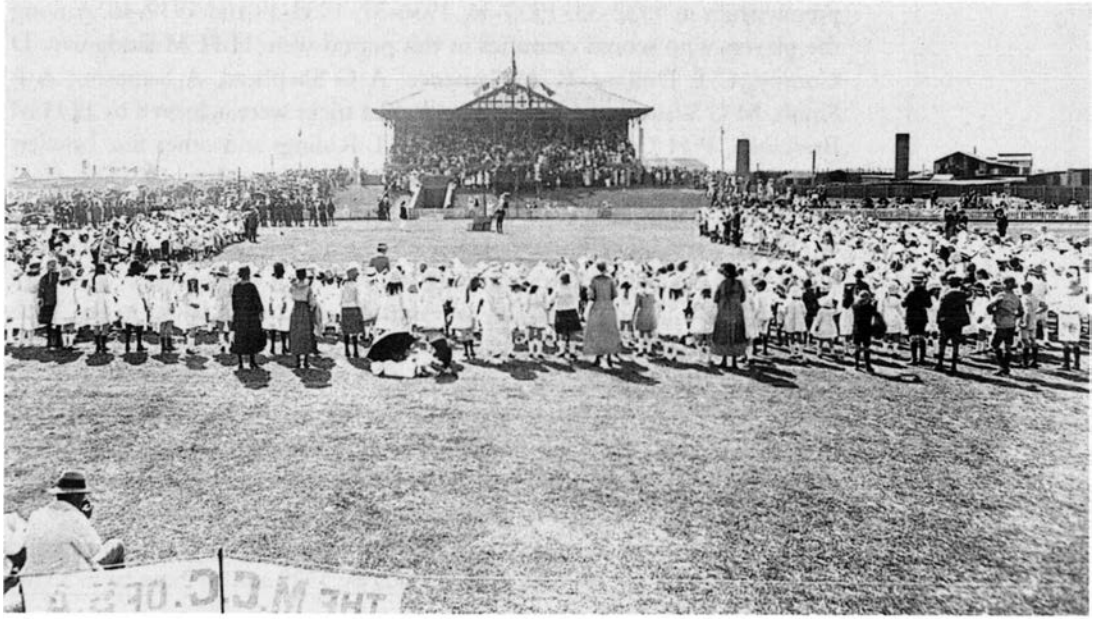
Local pubs still played an important part in the daily life of Thebarton, despite the limitations provided by 6 o'clock closing. In 1922 the old Wheatsheaf Hotel, the scene of many a fight in the past, was replaced by a new building. The new two storey Wheatsheaf on the corner of George and Albert Streets was a larger, more imposing building. In the 1990s it is still in operation, while the site formerly occupied by the old Wheatsheaf is now a car park.

What of sport in these years? Saturday afternoon was the big time slot and spectator sport provided a way for people from all sections of the community to get together. Support for local sporting activities grew with the steady increase in Thebarton's population from the turn of the century. Whether it was church-based teams or district teams, there was a need for playing space and change facilities. The 1920s saw significant improvement in the facilities available to both players and spectators. Council had long been concerned with the need for better recreation facilities; the problem was how to raise the funds for such projects. A public meeting held in 1910 had considered whether Council could levy a special rate to help pay the interest on a loan for municipal improvements.[12] Members of the Thebarton Council attended a Town Planning conference held in Adelaide in October 1917, the first Australia-wide town planning conference ever held. Following this conference Council

wrote to the Minister of Education with the request that the government pay half the cost of a recreation ground. Council representatives met with the new government Town Planner Charles Reade to consider plans.[13] On 28 May 1919 Council approved the sum of£2,240 being borrowed on the security of the general rates to purchase 14 acres of land, one of the last sizeable areas of vacant space in Thebarton.

It was fortunate that Council could take advantage of a Commonwealth scheme to provide funds to employ ex-servicemen, securing £10,000 to be repaid over thirty years. The funds were used for kerbing of streets and also for drainage and improvements to fencing and playing areas of the oval. Council aimed to put money aside for further improvements to the oval such as the pavilion, training rooms and other accommodation. By 1921 Mayor James Leal reported that 'two of the most important undertakings in the history of the town are now accomplished facts': one was the underground drainage scheme, completed in 1919-20, the other was the oval, which Council named the Thebarton Soldiers Memorial Oval and Recreation Ground.

The oval quickly became associated with local cricket and football. By 1921 the West Torrens A grade cricket club had begun matches on the oval and the Football League took a five year lease for its games. Moreover, the West Torrens Football Club decided to make the oval its home ground. In February 1921, when the Mayor and Corporation made a special inspection of local facilities and improvements and the Mayor laid the foundation stone of the new oval pavilion, he and his colleagues spoke of the pride they felt in 'the many good works accomplished'. While there was still much to be done in improving school accommodation for the district, they were proud of the metalled



Opening o Thebarton Oval, 1921. The original grandstand can be seen in the photograph. This was supplemented by a second grandstand and press box, opened in May 1957 in readiness for that year's football season.

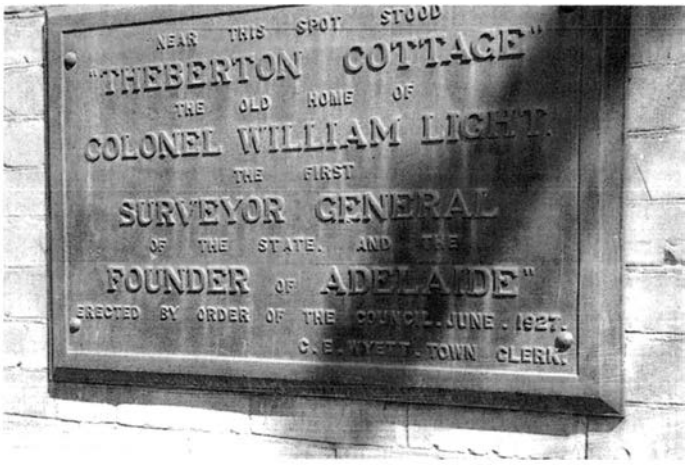
roads, the fine residences and the 'general appearance of order and comfort everywhere'. Alderman Riley spoke of their fine shops and well-maintained roads, of the railway yards that compared well with those elsewhere in Australia. He also noted that the town had grown from a place of open paddocks and bare patches to 'one of the best and most busy in the state'.[14] He was expressing pride in what had become a suburb for working people. Council members visited firms such the Bunyip Soap Factory and Kitchen's Soap Works, the Union Engineering Works, the Walkerville Brewing Company and the Ice Works, firms that supplied local employment and whose prosperity seemed to bode well for the future.

In October 1921 the oval and grounds were officially opened by the governor. Older residents still remember the festivities. The Citizens' Recreation Ground Committee had planned a carnival that went from mid October to late November. There was a display by children of maypole and folk dances, physical drill, and gymnasium competitions. There was an open air picture show, fancy dress competition, and sporting events such as whippet racing, cask rolling, and motor and bicycle racing. The main feature was the spectacular 'steeplechasing Overland motor car'.[15] During the carnival, the town was given a 75 mm field gun, a reminder of the hard times experienced in World War I. It bore the inscription: 'Presented to Town of Thebarton by the Commonwealth Government, April 1921. No. 548, 75 mm. field gun, captured by the Australian Light Horse during operation in Palestine campaign, 1917-1918.'

Most of the proceeds from the carnival were spent on improvements to the oval, such as the entrance pavilion at the end of Huntriss Street. The pavilion and a score board were built in 1922.[16] The interwar years were good ones for the West Torrens District Cricket Club, which won premierships in 1932-33, 1935-36, 1936-37, 1938-39 and 1939-40. Among the players who scored centuries in this period were H H M Bridgman, D Conroy, C E Dolling, R A Hamence, A G Shepherd, A Sampson, A E Smith, M G Waite and AN Woolcock. Hat tricks were achieved by H H M Bridgman, P H Coombe, J Scott and P L Ridings and other fine bowlers were R Backman, J Barrratt, C Bernaldo, E J Carragher, W Fails, C G Habich, L C Holton, N R King, A Shepherd, H K Sincock and M G Waite.[17]

There were other improvements in recreational facilities. Croquet. and bowls were attracting interest amongst some of the local residents. West Park Croquet Club, formed in 1920, was initially able to use lawns in the West Parklands fronting the Port Road. When the lawns were taken over by the Thebarton Ladies' Bowling Club, the Croquet Club used a private lawn owned by Mrs 'M E (Elsie) Hatwell adjoining her home in Henley Beach Road, Mile End. The club flourished as new members joined, including a group from the Holder Memorial Methodist Church Club. In 1926 the Club approached Thebarton Council with a request for *two* lawns on the local oval and Council agreed to put down one full-sized lawn and to build a small Club House. The lawns were ready by 1929 and an extra lawn added several years later.[18]

Torrensville Methodist Croquet Club (taken about 1928)
Back Row: Dorcas Whiting, Mrs Fischer, Mrs Burnard (wife of Dr Burnard), Mrs Reimann, Mrs Les Norman, Mrs Hownslow, unknown.
Front Row: Mrs Tiller (wife of Rev John Tiller), Mary Grace Morris, Mrs Rawling, Mrs Jennings, Mrs Bert Penhall, Mrs Proctor.
Dorcas Whiting was the aunt of Harry Allen, referred to in the text in p. 136.
Courtesy: G K Ferguson.



Plaque reads:
Near this spot stood "Theberton Cottage" The old home of Colonel Williarn Light. The first Surveyor General of the State and the Founder of Adelaide. Erected by order of the Council June 1927. C.E. Wyett Town Clerk.

Churches and Social Life

The churches played a strong and active role in Thebarton in the interwar years. Some attended three services or meetings on Sundays and there are people who report attending four. For some denominations good attendances and active participation meant that extra facilities were needed. The Mile End Church of Christ was one such group. The 1921 Census showed 338 women and 272 men of that denomination for the town of Thebarton alone. In August 1925 the second Mile End Church of Christ was opened after 12 years of planning and fund-raising. The chapel was built in Danby Street behind the old one on Henley Beach Road, the latter becoming the venue for the senior department of the Bible School. The new brick chapel is a substantial structure with two front entrances and a large leadlight Gothic

window facing Danby Street. With seating and other items the total cost was £3,800, a considerable outlay for the congregation. The new building provided two choir vestries and seating for 500 people. A manse was built adjoining the church. Occupied in 1980-81 by the staff of the Thebarton Council Community Development Office, this has since been demolished. The first pastor was W B Manning and one of the original executive officers was C E Wyett, the long-serving Thebarton Town Clerk. This was another example of the tradition of strong links between community groups and the Council. [19]

Churches continued to play a significant part in the social lives of many residents in the 1920s and 1930s. As Kathleen Ferguson commented: 'Church was pretty much our life. When I was a kid I went to the pictures at times but most of our entertainment was centred around the church'.[20] Most churches had sporting groups and clubs and there were annual picnics and other outings for children and adults to enjoy. The Torrensville Methodist Boys' Club ran regular camps. Harry Allen, who went on to win a Carnegie Scholarship in later years, recalled the fun they had:

> For six years running, from 1918, we camped at Seacliff. The road runs down from the Seacliff station to the beach, and on the right hand corner of the loose sand and box thorns, we pitched two tents. Each year, the news of our exploits attracted new boys, until we had to hire a marquee to replace one of the small tents.[21]

Many who belonged to local congregations in the interwar years remember the special occasions such as Sunday School anniversaries, which extended over two weekends. At Holder Memorial and Torrensville Methodist Church there would be hundreds of children on the stage, girls in white dresses and boys in white shirts; events which were carefully planned by their teachers and parents, many of whom had been up very early in the morning to organise seating on a special stage and refreshments. Some people would come back from other suburbs for the occasion, having lunch with friends and staying on for the evening service. In the interwar years the Holder Memorial Methodist Church congregation vied with Prospect North Methodist Church for the largest Sunday School enrolment in South Australia. Torrensville Methodist Church - with nearly 400 children enrolled - was another with large numbers for anniversary celebrations. Participants recall that occasions such as the annual picnics were big events in the year, and there is no doubt that they contributed to a feeling of esprit de corps. Others recall visits by special preachers, such as Norman Makin, a lay preacher and parliamentarian who also served in local government.[22]

In the interwar years St James' Church of England experienced the stabilising influence of a lengthy incumbency, for the Rev. C J Whitfield served as rector from 1921 to 1957 - some 36 years. He was a leading figure in the Anglo-Catholic or 'high' Church movement and a man whose theological reputation spread interstate. Since St James' followed the Anglo Catholic tradition in ritual and ceremony, some Anglicans

went to Holy Trinity, an evangelical church in the city, even if this meant walking up the hill to North Terrace three times on Sundays. However there was sufficient local support to enable St James' Day School to survive the difficulties of the interwar years. Numbers were not high – 120 scholars in 1934 – but good results were obtained in the Qualifying Certificate Examination.[23]

By January 1935 the Congregational Church had a building fund committee to work for a new church building. Activities such as concerts and an 'Ugly Man' competition were used to raise funds. The new Romanesque style building facing Carlton Parade provided seating for 250 persons. It was opened on 23 November 1935 by the Rev. Perry Jones who had the oversight of the congregation in its early days.[24]

The Queen of Angels church continued to provide a focus for activities for Roman Catholics in the district under the care of Father Smyth, who served as parish priest from 1921 until 1955, a lengthy period that mirrored that of Father Whitfield at St James'. The school prospered and the church had a wide range of sporting and social groups associated with it and also sponsored a range of welfare activities. Needy families in the parish were helped and there continued to be an outreach service to prison offenders and youngsters in institutional care.

For many residents local church activities took up virtually all of Sunday. Former church members recalled 'Christian Endeavour at 10, a service at 11, Sunday School at 2.30 and an evening service at 7 pm.' In some households not only was washing or ironing forbidden on Sundays, but even knitting and sewing.25 A number of the churches had activities almost every night of the week. There were choir practices, men's groups, women's groups, youth groups, bible study and literary groups, not to mention sports practices for basketball, gym or football and church-based Girl Guides, while the Salvation Army citadel had a band with about 45 members. Some groups had a degree of formality which, while accepted in the 1930s, would be quite alien to their 1990s equivalent. This is epitomised both in Holder Memorial's 'Court of Sir Frederick', a court of the Methodist Order of Knights, and in the formality and discipline associated with the Sunday School anniversaries.

Business and industry in Thebarton in the 1920s and 1930s

The interwar period saw some well-known firms establish and consolidate their enterprises. Two of note are Fauldings and Horwood Bagshaw.

In 1923 Fauldings established their laboratory and manufacturing plant at Southwark. New buildings were erected and several old ones taken over, the factory covering about four acres. When the Mayor of Thebarton, Mr A H Pretty, opened the staff kiosk in 1924 the complex included a pill and tablet department, a perfume distillery, a plant for making Epsom Salts, a printing department and storeroom. The sons of Luther Scammell, who established the enterprise, had taken over the family business – these were William and Luther Robert Scammell.[26]

FH. Faulding & Company building, corner of Winwood and Holland Streets. 1980.

The engineering firm of J H Horwood and Co. Ltd took over J S Bagshaw and Son at Victoria Street, Mile End, in 1924. At the time the Horwood Bagshaw site was surrounded by grazing paddocks for cows and horses, used not only commercially but for family use in the days when many people had their own cows.[27]

Four years earlier, in 1920, the company had bought the agricultural and machinery business of Illman and Sons at Balaklava. Most of the staff of the three factories were retained and the production of agricultural machinery continued to be an important part of the total output. Some staff members were with the firm all their working life. Alfred Coles was one employee who worked for fifty years as a fireman on the boilers.

Other firms that were established in Thebarton during the interwar years included J L Campbell and Co. This firm had manufactured agricultural and other machinery at a Currie Street, Adelaide, site but adapted to rural depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s by moving to Mile End and changing to repair work and welding. The family lived at 3 Roebuck Street, Mile End.[28]

Retailing continued to be an important part of the world of small business in the interwar years. Older residents remember Bailey's Newsagency, Jack Wood's butcher shop, the Daisy Dell, Oldfield's hardware store, Moore's pharmacy and the CPS grocery shop. Former residents from George Street said that a family could do nearly all the shopping nearby their home.[29] With Henley Beach Road now an important centre for retailing the Savings Bank of South Australia opened its Mile End branch in 1924.

The Walter Burley Griffin Incinerator

Like all councils, Thebarton Council had to devise plans for the destruction of an ever-increasing amount of refuse. In the past refuse had been placed in old pug holes but this led to problems of fire and vermin, not to mention complaints from residents about safety issues. Council's solution to the problem produced a remarkable architectural legacy of the 1930s, the Reverberatory Incinerator designed by the American-born architect, Walter Burley Griffin.

Newly constructed Walter Burley Griffin Incinerator, West Thebarton Road.
Courtesy: The News

Griffin came to Australia in 1913 after winning a competition for the design of the national capital, Canberra. He remained in Australia for twenty-one years, contributing to many domestic and commercial ventures. One of these was the auditorium of Melbourne's Capital Theatre; the 'Tumbling Lights' of the Thebarton Theatre were based on Griffin's design for the lights of the Capital Theatre. A feature of Griffin's work was his attention to ornamental detail. In 1929 Griffin became associated with the Reverberatory Incinerator and Engineering Company. Of twelve incinerators designed by Griffin and built in Australia, two were in South Australia: one in Thebarton and one in Hindmarsh. Thought to be the only two constructions that he designed in South Australia, they show how style can be imparted to what might otherwise be a quite mundane construction.

Photo taken from the top of Thomas Hardy and Sons Ltd Tintara Wineries building. c.1909.

Design of the Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Glebe (NSW) buildings all incorporate stepping and interlocking of cubes down an embankment face. Griffin's belief that the initial cost of good quality design was economically tenable in any overall architectural or planning scheme, is expressed frequently in his speeches and essays.

The red brick rubbish destructor was built on the edge of a disused clay pit previously owned by J Hallett and Son on West Thebarton Road. The design enabled garbage to be tipped into a large hopper at street level, to be fed into a furnace on a level further down. Ash could then be discharged into the old quarry and used as land fill. It was a practical solution to the problem of rubbish disposal. The incinerator was closed in 1964 and, after some modifications, was made available to the Wireless Institute of SA, remaining as a monument to an outstanding architect and a far-sighted council.[30]

Housing in Thebarton in the interwar years

A significant development in the field of housing in the interwar years was the provision of special arrangements to help ex-servicemen acquire their own homes. These might not be homes that would win architectural awards, but they were functional and inexpensive. In South Australia the State Bank was authorised through the War Service Homes Commission to provide funds for housing on liberal terms; servicemen were to pay four and a half per cent interest on their homes, and were granted a maximum repayment time of 50 years. In addition they were exempted from rates and taxes for the first five years. There was also provision for the purchase of houses to provide rental housing for the dependents of deceased ex-servicemen, with a maximum rental of 6/- a week provided the dependents earned no more than £300 a

year. Provision was made for state governments to pay rates on behalf of the ex-service house owner, enabling the house owner to vote in local elections.

There were also loans available to civilian purchasers through the State Bank. These provided for interest of five per cent rather than the four and a half per cent for ex-servicemen, and the repayment period was set at a maximum of 42 years rather than 50. Thebarton Council Assessment books show that between 1923 and 1925 more than 280 homes were financed by the State Bank. The highest concentrations were in Torrensville, Mile End and the old sub-division ofHenley Park (which included Walter, Livingston, Ross and August Streets).

Some of the families who came to the Thebarton district at this time were country people moving to the metropolitan area in search of work. This group included people of Cornish origin from Wallaroo and Moonta who came when the copper mines were closed. Older residents in places such as Torrensville have recalled how the newcomers brought traditional hymn singing prowess with them to the local church congregations.[31]

Education in the interwar years

Young families in the district provided steady enrolment for local schools. The 1920s began well for Thebarton Primary School. In 1920 the road that divided the school, and the subject of so many letters and reports, was finally closed to traffic and a lane, known as School Lane, was made on the eastern boundary. The caretaker's cottage on Henley Beach Road was made into two classrooms. At a public meeting of parents and rate-payers in September 1921 it was noted that Thebarton had the third largest school in the State, with a total roll of 1,635 children. Crowding was such that in one room there were 90 children in a room with seating accommodation for 46. Seats with no backs were being used and children were taught in sheds.[32] Brenda Murrie,

Thebarton Public School, Rose Street. 1922. Grade II class. There were 69 pupils present for the photograph. Thebarton had the third largest school in the State by 1921 with a total roll-call of 1635 children. Overcrowding was such that one room had 90 children although there were seats for only 46. Finally a new infant school was built and was completed by 1924.

born 1917 and a grand-daughter of Elizabeth Jones, who had the private school off Henley Beach Road in the 1890s, recalled that when she began school she was in a class of 84.[33] These large classes were one reason for the support given to the three church schools in the district.

Plans were finally drawn up for a new infant school. Locating the new building on the Rose Street side of the school meant that students and staff would be much less affected by the noise of Isley's sawmill and the noise of traffic, especially of passing trams. Local MP, Mr Blackwell, supported the cause of the school in Parliament and by 1924 the building was completed. It had two wings, each with three classrooms, an assembly hall, staff room and office for the Head Mistress. Each classroom had 30 desks. Given that the plans were described as providing for 'one of the most attractive up to date buildings in the state',[34] it seems remarkable today that the planners did not make provision for electric light in the rooms. However, the Mothers' Club came to the rescue and provided funds for the installation of electric lighting in the building.

Thebarton Infant School Mothers' Club was formed in 1923 with the aim of providing a link between mothers and teachers, though the mothers also had a programme to distribute food, clothing and money to needy families. By 1928 average attendance at meetings was as high as 100, indicating considerable support. Resource material provided by the mothers for the school included Montessori material, books, a gramophone and records and craft material.[35] That the Montessori approach was used and that there was such support for the club is an indication of a forward-thinking approach in the infant school.

By 1925 the building that had been the caretaker's cottage was converted to a domestic arts centre for older girls. Fittings for the centre reflect the standards of the day. The kitchen had two wood stoves in addition to a gas stove in the kitchen. The laundry was equipped with a copper in which clothes were washed, two wash troughs (to provide for rinse and blue), and a large heater that could heat twenty-four flat irons at one time. By 1933 the ironing stove was not needed because two electric irons had been provided and flat irons could be heated in the kitchen. However, not content with such progress the Head Mistress, Miss L G Nation, requested yet another improvement: electric light to enable the girls to make notes on their lessons on cloudy days. A frugal Dr Charles Fenner, Superintendent of Technical Education, reacted to this request with caution – he recommended that the possibility of improving the window lighting be investigated first.

While it is not recorded when the girls finally were provided with this 'mod con' we do know that by 1926 a foundation stone was laid for a two storey building that was to become the girls' school. One of the reasons for extra accommodation was a growing recognition of the need to provide for an extra two years of schooling for those who did not go on to High School. The plan was to provide post-primary vocational training in technical, commercial or domestic arts subjects.[36] This concern expressed itself in the creation of nine Central Schools in 1925: at

Thebarton Technical School - late 1920s - early 1930s. Sir Eric Neal, who became South. Australia's Governor in 1996, attended the school from 1937 to 1940. The school was designed to provide a technical education from which boys could proceed to an apprenticeship or technical college course. Sir Eric went on to do a course at the School of Mines.
Courtesy: Glen Ralph

Croydon, Goodwood, Hindmarsh, Le Fevre, Nailsworth, Norwood, Port Adelaide, Unley - and at Thebarton. Thebarton already had a technical school building but its resources were still mainly used for Trade School apprentices and it did not cease accepting apprentices until 1927. Delays in using the new building led journalists in the *Mail* to refer to 'costly neglect at Thebarton', 'shocking indifference' and 'hard cash decaying'.[37]

When the Thebarton Central School was opened using church hall premises and whatever other accommodation could be used, thirteen girls hoped to take part in the commercial classes where subjects such as shorthand, typing and book-keeping were offered. Instead, the inspector advised them to join the Home Making classes. While six girls took his advice, seven of them decided instead to attend either the Adelaide High School or the School of Mines.

While commercial classes continued at Thebarton for a time, enrolments gradually declined. As the services of the Thebarton Technical High School expanded, most of the boys chose to go there or to Adelaide High School after completing their Qualifying Certificate. Post-primary classes for girls continued in the two-storey building that continued to be called the Thebarton Central School for some years and was then renamed Thebarton Girls' Technical School.[38] Although opportunities for secondary and tertiary education were increasing, many talented girls were persuaded by family members to choose commercial or domestic arts classes. The expectation was that they would be in the work force for only a limited time before marriage. Those that studied dressmaking

sometimes kept up this work on a part-time basis after marriage. For some, a commercial class might provide the training for a position as a private secretary with a relatively good wage and some status attached. It seems that those in the super-primary classes did form some sort of elite group with its own picnic and special outings.

A number of Thebarton residents speak highly of the education they received at the local school, often adding that they had not wanted to leave school. Many enjoyed the practical classes provided through the technical education approach, and in their working life they made use of the subjects they had studied such as book keeping, sewing and metal work.

The school had solid support from an active School Committee and Mothers' Club. The very existence of the higher classes gave the school some prestige, and the range of buildings for different age groups on the one site provided a central community site. When Thebarton Central School, as it had become, celebrated its Jubilee in 1929, the occasion demanded a procession, led by the Thebarton Municipal Band to the Thebarton Oval, where a grand Demonstration and Sports Day was held. Many local residents spent all their school years at the school, saluting the flag in the mornings, enduring the lessons, waiting for the recess or lunch bell to ring, sitting on the benches under the shady Moreton Bay Fig trees and buying something to eat (when they had some spare pennies) from the hand cart sent by the local shops. Apart from the Moreton Bay Fig trees, a peppercorn tree in the girls' playground and the trees by 'the Barn', there seems to have been only a rockery in front of the Infant School and a small patch of lawn in front of the old building to relieve the large stretches of asphalt or gravel. There was no playground equipment such as swings or slippery dips of the kind to be found on school playgrounds today. Children made their own fun playing marbles, knucklebones, tops, skippy and chasey. Fights after school were held in the Danby Street land or the land behind Rose Street, with combatants followed by an eager band of supporters and spectators. Old timers recall 'slinging cheek at the Catholic kids from St Joseph's, who could be distinguished by their school caps', singing 'Catholic dogs, jump like frogs, in and out of water logs'. One of the replies that could be chanted was 'Catholics, Catholics, ring the bell, while the Protties go to hell'.[39]

In the schoolrooms children sat two-by-two in bench desks that had ink wells and a ledge underneath for books. A former student of the 1930s, Will Davidson, recalled the copybook work done in copperplate script and the little blue spelling book from which twenty words were to be learnt by the Grade 6 and Grade 7 children before their Friday morning test. The test included a piece of dictation from the Reading Book and six sums. Mr Davidson also remembered woodwork lessons for boys held at Cowandilla until the woodwork centre was built at Thebarton. Boys and girls were segregated into separate classes after Grade 3; the girls' lessons held in the new two storey building and the boys in the old school building and the Rose Street building.

Singing lessons conducted in the 1930s saw each class produce special items for the annual Frolic held in the New Town Hall, the occasion

providing some fundraising opportunities for the school as did fundraising cinema shows held at the Town Hall. Mr Davidson recalled that a teacher operated the projector and children were charged three pence for admission. It is some indication of the strictness of school discipline in those days that children were not allowed to laugh out loud even if the film was a funny one – a prohibition that was even stricter when films were shown in the school's cinema room close to the Headmaster's office.

Tommy Hunter, a railway employee, came to the school regularly during the 1930s to give soccer coaching on a voluntary basis. Cricket and football were played on Fridays and school teams played against Cowandilla, Henley Beach, Lockleys and Underdale; the school 'was well up in sports in those days.'[40] Swimming lessons were given at the City Baths, a building since demolished to help make way for the Festival Theatre complex. For the more musically inclined there was a school band with drums and fifes.

The school year included some formal occasions when lessons were suspended, such as Empire Day when the school community gathered in the yard for speeches, the children saluting the Union Jack and singing Carl Linger's *Song* of *Australia, Rule Britannia* and *God Save the King.* The School Journal describes Empire Day in 1923, when classrooms were 'beautifully decorated' and The headmaster 'gave a simple but telling address on the Brotherhood of Empire'.[41] For this was a Thebarton with only a handful of residents of non-British origin, when maps in the school atlas showed a world dominated by British Empire countries, coloured in pink or red, and when Australians felt safe in the knowledge that they were protected by the British Navy.

The Depression

If Australia could be protected for another decade at least by the British Navy, it could not be protected from world events that contributed to the Great Depression. South Australia was essentially a primary producing state in the 1920s and 1930s. World prices for rural produce and for minerals dropped markedly and production of minerals had decreased. South Australia's manufacturing industries, which had been progressing well in the early 1900s, were slipping behind by 1927, facing heavier competition from the neighbouring states and hampered by their distance from potential markets. The full impact of this was felt in 1929 when the Depression hit. Goods were hard to sell and production slowed. As men and women were put out of work or had their hours reduced, their capacity to buy goods or pay for services was reduced in turn.

South Australia already had the highest rate of unemployment in Australia, and this continued throughout the Depression. With the collapse of the world economy, unemployment increased. By 1930 about 30% of the workforce were unemployed or on 'short hours'. In addition, in 1931 the Arbitration Court imposed a 20% cut in wages. Unions could do little for their members. Unemployment in South Australia reached its peak in 1932 when it is thought that 35.4% of trade unionists were out

of work. It is likely that unemployment was at least as high and possibly greater among those who were not union members.[42] Many who were self-employed or in managerial positions were badly affected but tried to disguise their situation to keep up appearances.

Census figures for 1933 show that 6,354 were recorded as workers and of these some 27% were unemployed, 1,723 men and women. This does not reveal the true level of unemployment in Thebarton. The figures for women are not clear because many who might have gained employment, had it been available, were not recorded, as in the case of young women living at home with their parents. Young people who had left school were not recorded unless they had already been in employment and many could not find work. The 1933 Census reveals that 3,695 males in Thebarton earned less than £155 in the previous twelve months against the basic South Australian wage of £163 16s 0d in 1932-1933.[43] Census figures for 1933 list an income category for 7,041 males in Thebarton. If we exclude a group of 1691 who are listed as 'dependents with no income' (a category that covers children), we are left with the remarkable figure of 3695 males, that is 69%, earning less than £155 out of a total of 5,350. Of these 867 (16%) were listed as breadwinners with no income.[44]

One of the ways that people coped with unemployment and a very limited income was to desert homes on which they had mortgage or rental payments. This in turn affected those who normally received rent as part of their income. People went to live with relatives or, in the case of men, to live in humpies such as those along the River Torrens or set out for the country as itinerants. There was no system of unemployment benefits as we know them. The state government issued ration tickets with food coupons to those who could prove they were out of work. Food coupons allowed an applicant to get four 21b loaves of bread [1.8 kg], 3 1/2 lb [about 2 kg] beef or mutton, sugar, jam or honey, oatmeal, rice or sago, tea, raisins and soap. The applicants had first to show that they had nothing other than basic furniture at home; merely items such as bed, table and chairs. They were expected to sell any luxuries such as a piano. The police visited homes to check applicants' circumstances; many people found this a humiliating experience. People generally could not receive benefits, known as 'the dole' if another member of the family was employed, although those interviewed indicated they might receive a limited amount after a long period of waiting.

Applicants had to queue up at Kintore Avenue each week in order to receive their food coupons. This might involve standing in the rain or the hot summer sun for hours on end. They were questioned closely about anything they might have earned for casual work during the week before. The clerks handling applications were under pressure themselves from their superiors. Whatever the reason for their behaviour, many of the officials were perceived by the applicants to be arrogant and rude. Some people found the whole procedure so humiliating that they avoided applying for the dole if they possibly could.

Large numbers of people were on short hours producing perhaps half their normal wage. Many survived by supplementing their income or coupons with home produce, growing fruit and vegetables, nuts and eggs, and swapping produce with neighbours and friends. There was also the possibility of scrounging items that could be used for fuel or other purposes – timber from deserted houses, pickets from fences, coal from the railway lines, discarded kerosene tins. The 'Parklands Raiders' milked cows that were grazing in the parklands. Clothing was handed from family to family or from one family member to another, with much ingenuity used as worn items were cut down to make smaller ones, or sugar bags turned into singlets. One older resident recalled girls' knickers made from mattress ticking. While Thebarton's spacious backyards provided much to supplement the diet, and fuel could often be scrounged, there were some items that were a perennial problem. Many could not afford to provide shoes, an expensive item, for their children's growing feet and the expense of shoes was a problem for adults as well.

For many residents, not being able to afford medical care caused much pain and suffering both in the short and long terms. Yet there was camaraderie, too. To live in a district like Thebarton meant that there were neighbours and friends in a similar position. People who struggled to make ends meet valued those who did not have pretensions, who kept to themselves but would help out when help was needed. They took pride in paying off debts. Mrs Thelma Sayer recalled that her father had chosen to establish his bakery and general store in the Thebarton district because 'working class people pay their debts'. In the Depression years many people survived by buying groceries on credit from their local store, but paid off the debt in time and then started the cycle again.[45]

Apart from state government help with rations, and aid from family, neighbours and friends, the unemployed and their families had some other sources of assistance. Valuable assistance was given by local churches and lodges. Organisations like the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) did what they could for their members. Thebarton Women's Service Association, established in 1921 by a group of women led by Margaret Charlotte Leal when she was Mayoress, tapped the skills and energies of a number of capable and caring women in the community. They provided material aid such as food and clothing; extras that could make a great difference to people who had very little. In addition they contributed to organisations that helped women and children: hospitals, institutions, the District Nurse and the School for Mothers (later the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association). The aim of the organisation was to 'develop and assist the philanthropic, social, educational and general activities of the town.' Thebarton Women's Service Association is all the more notable because it became the model for other women's service associations in the metropolitan area.

Council and local firms were besieged by people looking for work, but generally the best they could do was offer part-time work at low

rates of pay. A feature of the times was the sight of lengthy queues of people waiting for any work that became available. In December 1931 the Mayor of Thebarton, Mr Jules Langdon, reported that the Town Clerk had started to enrol applicants for work. 'They are being put on in batches of 50 each day, and paid off the following day. 250 men [have] registered, and they are still coming in a steady stream.' From March 1931 the men were employed in such tasks as breaking stones, putting in kerbing, making roads and, in one instance, putting in the lawn for the West Park Croquet Club. They were paid 14 shillings and 9 pence per day. There was also an arrangement that people could register for Christmas Cheer rations at the rate of ten shillings for the head of the family, five shillings for a single man and an extra two and six for children between the ages of one and four. They were expected to work at the basic rate in order to receive this money but if work was not available it seems that the payment was still made. However by the next year Council informed the Unemployment Relief Council that there were over 500 ratepayers in the district who were unable to pay their rates. Most would have been out of work but there were also others who had rental property that could not be let. Many had offered to work out their rates but the Council was so short of funds it was unable to buy the necessary materials. Council was prepared to assist ratepayers by reducing their rates, knowing full well that little or no new construction work would be possible during the next year. As time went on Thebarton Council appears to have developed a more determined plan to make people work for help received, for example when boots were given to children.[46]

Some workers became more militant during the Depression, much to the alarm of those in government, who were especially worried about communist involvement. In March 1931 the Town Clerk Mr Wyett was told that 'a well-known communist' named Cullen had attended the last meeting of the Unemployed Committee in the Old Town Hall and that Communists were present in the hall.[47] Council quickly resolved that the Unemployed Committee would not be given permission to hold meetings 'in the Hall, Oval or Streets of the Town' unless they could give written assurances that communists would not be allowed to address meetings. There was remarkably little civil unrest given that such a large percentage of the population was out of work or on short hours. Nevertheless, it is significant that there were people in the Thebarton district who took action and spoke out on behalf of the unemployed. There were many districts in South Australia where there was no focus for such activities and it was not an easy task to get people who were demoralised, and lacked money for food, shoe repairs and tram-fares, to get together for group activities.

In July 1931 Thebarton Council took the constructive step of supporting a Young People's Unemployment Scheme for growing vegetables on vacant blocks in Thebarton. On a regional level Council became involved in the Torrens Floodwaters Relief Scheme, part of the Metropolitan Drainage Scheme and one of the largest work schemes for the unemployed during the Depression. There had been long-standing

problems from the flooding of the River Torrens and the resulting damage to roads and property. Clearing of vegetation in the Adelaide Hills and drainage from the eastern metropolitan areas had added to the amount of water flowing down the Torrens. Parts of Thebarton, West Torrens, Hindmarsh and Woodville were badly affected. A serious problem, it could not be tackled by one council alone. After years of consultation, dating back to as early as 1916, the State Parliament approved the Torrens Floodwaters Relief Scheme. A Commonwealth grant for unemployment relief in South Australia provided half of the cost of the scheme (approximately £70,000). The state government paid the rest and a third of the interest. The relevant councils paid maintenance costs and the remaining interest over 58 years. The project was completed in 1937, having provided valuable employment opportunities and a contribution to environmental management along the river.

Experiencing the Depression

Thebarton residents who can recall the years of the Depression tell stories of mixed fortunes. Many, while acknowledging the hardships of those years, make light of their personal and financial difficulties in those days; others weathered the storm quite well, helped by falling costs; and many maintained their jobs and their businesses and lived reasonably comfortably in the nineteen thirties.

The less fortunate emphasise the community spirit and help from family and friends which sustained them. Older residents, describing their experiences during the Depression, often make light of the difficulties they had. 'Well, we got through you know: . . . we always had a crust to sustain us'.[48] Many recall how family members or friends would provide practical assistance with regard to finding work or saving money. Some describe having a sister or brother's family to stay for months or even years.

Cliff Masters remembers that there was no money to use the gas stove in his family's home, and that they had to do the cooking on the wood stove. But they ate well:

> We always lived well ... you could buy a leg of lamb or hogget in those days for 2/6 ... and you would get a whole week's meat for £1. We grew all our own vegetables. Everything my father grew he brought into the house. No flowers, just vegetable. We were always working people, we kept our heads above water and paid our way. I was the lucky one, because I was single. I was out of work for four years during the Depression, but I had a home. One of my sisters [was] out of work ... and couldn't pay rent, but they received the rations. If they had no rent to pay, they were fortunate.

Cliff Masters felt he was lucky enough to be able to go into town occasionally to the pictures. 'I had good parents, I always had a couple of bob to get out, and I was always well dressed'.[49]

Dorothy Downs married in 1930, and her husband had a succession of jobs during the Depression. Her stories illustrate the problem of 'short hours':

> He was a butcher when I first knew him. For a year he worked for Ziesings on the Beach Road, opposite Thebarton School. Then he left ... and worked in a butcher shop in town and got put off Then he went to T J Richards, the motor people. He did spraying and all that. It was terrible. The men used to be put off ... they'd go there first thing in the morning, they might be there right up to dinnertime, then they'd pick two or three men to go and do a few hours of work. We didn't go on the rations as they call that. In those days they wouldn't give you any assistance if any member of the family worked ...

Vegetables and fruit together with eggs from the fowl yard sustained many a family. Children could earn money from selling bottles and some of the 'Pickaxe' bottles were used for jam after a heated wire ring was applied around the neck to enable the top part to be removed. Jam or dripping on bread provided children with school lunches. One resident described how a child could buy a buttered crust in Henley Beach Road as a treat. Another recalled children going to school with just the uppers of shoes that had no soles and how, 'if you had an apple or an orange children would ask you to give them the core or the skin – that would be their lunch'.[50] In this situation small acts of kindness or a little good fortune became very important.

Selling goods door-to-door was one way that a small amount of money could be earned. People sold small items they had made such as wooden clothes pegs, clothes line props and biscuits. Allan Roney described how he would ride his bike into the city to buy oranges and sell them in the Thebarton district. In time his brother helped him to acquire a little metal side car for his bike. He could carry two boxes of oranges. Later he had work at Holdens but it was irregular so he might have work for some months and then be laid off.[51]

Many left to try to get work in the country and others moved interstate. Rodney Balfort's grandfather put his Studebaker hire cars up on blocks and went across to the Wiluna goldfields in Western Australia to get work, soon joined by his son. Rodney's grandmother was left to bring up a school age son on her own but the payments received from the West enabled the family home to be saved.[52]

Some people managed to start up a small business, despite the difficult times, and gain some independence for themselves. Len Roberts was ill during the Depression, and was out of work for four or five years. However, eventually he began a business that became in time a local landmark along the Henley Beach Road :

> I started up my own business then; I'd always had a liking for stationery ... I thought I'd start a stationery shop .A bloke with a bit of fruit and veg [used to have it].He wasn't there very long. It was changing hands all the time in those days, in the early thirties. Things got pretty tough ... I rented it [for 10/- a week] until I got on my feet. I never bought it; the five shops there (on the Henley Beach Road) belonged to the one owner.[53]

Some residents did what they could to help those in need in a personal way. For example, Mrs Cashmore in Falcon Avenue, a stalwart supporter of the Mile End Baptist Church and a deaconess there, regularly provided lunches for men who came to the door: it would be a substantial platter with bread and butter, meat and salad.[54] She would get her children to deliver a hot meal to people who were frail or ill. Miss Moran described how her father regularly provided vegetables and eggs to people living near them. Mr Cashmore and Mr Leane are both known to have supplied bread from their bakeries to people who could not afford to pay. One butcher regularly provided lamb instead of mutton to people who were on rations. Mr Ackland, a local grain merchant, would send children across to the Acme Shoe Store to be fitted with shoes or provide Christmas poultry for a family and then arrange to pay the account himself; his family was not aware of the extent of this philanthropy until after his death.

Council Minute Books record the distribution of material, clothing, boots and shoes for women and children, much of it organised through the Women's Service Association. Behind the records are countless stories of people battling to survive, coping with the frustration of being unable to buy even the bare necessities of life, the humiliation of having to ask for help from strangers and the necessity of going without medical and pharmaceutical services that would have made their lives safer and more comfortable.

Despite all the hardships Thebarton's residents did find time for relaxation. Cricket and football were well patronised, young men played

Thebarton Municipal Band Winners D *Grade Test Selections. Tanunda Contest, 1928.*

billiards, people went into the market on Friday nights, stopped to chat while window shopping along Henley Beach Road and some popped into the SP betting shop 'to buy some cigarettes'. The local pubs were still supported and there was trotting and even the occasional emu race.55 People belonged to clubs and groups such as lodges, RSSILA or school mothers' clubs that provided camaraderie. In this 'walking suburb' there were friends and relatives within walking distance. Some managed even better. Alan Roney 's mother, who had a corner shop, had her own car which she used to drive to Oakbank each Easter. Usually it was a great event but there was one year when the car was found to give little protection from pouring rain – the smart new artificial silk dress shrank to an alarming degree.[56]

Another successful businesswoman was Alice Morcombe (nee Steward) who ran Steward's Stores at 170 Henley Beach Road, Torrensville. She purchased the store from her father Alfred Steward in 1927.Alice ran the business with the aid of her five children and with help from employees. In 1935 she purchased the house at 170 Henley Beach Road, which was then demolished to expand the existing shop and provide extra retail space. The Webb Building, as it was known, accommodated a delicatessen, well known locally for its milkshakes.[57]

By the late 1930s work was becoming more plentiful and business confidence was rising. Fear of unemployment was being replaced by other concerns as rumours of war began to circulate. The last entry in Council Minutes of November 1938 provided an ominous note:

> Councillor Phelps moved, and Councillor Lloyd seconded 'that this Council deplores the cruel prosecution of the Jews in Germany'...

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24 The architect was H Cowell and the builder, E Isley.
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27 This is recalled by former Horwood Bagshaw employee, Alfred Coles. Len Roberts who used to live in Gladstone Road recalled going with a friend from Cuming Street, Mile End to take the family cow up to the parklands each morning and bring it home at night for milking. Interview with Len Roberts by Ingrid Srubjan, August 1982, Thebarton Archival collection.
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7 - War and its aftermath 1939-1949

On 3 September 1939 Prime Minister Menzies informed the population that it was 'his melancholy duty' to inform Australians that war had been declared. The Mayor of Thebarton, Mr A G Inkley, spoke for many when he said:

> Tragic as the fact remains ... the British Commonwealth of Nations, still strongly united, is again in the throes of war. Thebarton's contribution to the last war in men and materials was one of which the Townspeople can be justly proud, and I have no doubt the present call to the younger generation will be met in the same loyal spirit. Other strong neutral nations ... are taking appropriate measures to resist aggression.[1]

At first people were inclined to view the war as a European affair, involving little direct danger to Australian citizens. Enlistments built up relatively slowly. Everyday life changed little for many people at first; others were quickly involved as family members enlisted in the armed services. Some special functions marked the departure of troops; at a farewell gathering for servicemen held in October 1940 each man was presented with a wallet inscribed 'with best wishes from the citizens of Thebarton'. This group was part of 396,661 Australians who served outside Australia; nearly one million wore uniform.[2] Soon ordinary people in the street were affected as wartime regulations came into force.

The impact of the war years

Most residents had a family member or close friend who was on active service and some people had more than one of their children in the armed services. Totty Balfort of Wainhouse Street had one son, Claude, in the 2/28 Battalion, while her youngest lad, Colin, had joined the RAAF at nineteen and become a navigator for bombing crews. The two brothers had a chance meeting near Alexandria when both were serving in the Middle East. Like many others they were transferred back to the Pacific region as the Japanese threat to Australia intensified.[3]

Technological advances in the years since the First World War made for more sophisticated weapons and a different use of resources. As Britain became more isolated and shipping became more dangerous Australia was forced to rely on its own productive capacities more than ever before. Industry both in Thebarton and in the broader community was affected by these changes. The National Security Act gave the Commonwealth government wide powers to control labour, materials and money.

Torrensville lad, Colin Balfort (right hand side), then a twenty year old navigator with a Wellington bomber crew, photographed at Mildenhall in the north of England.
Courtesy: Rodney Balfort

Factories changed from peace-time production to the manufacture of munitions and equipment for troops together with other goods necessary for the war effort; work that ranged from the manufacture of armaments, machine tools, clothing and blankets to the production of chemicals and drugs. Manufacturing industries that had survived the Depression were now in a good position to meet the demands. Staff could be attracted by good wages and the possibility of extra wages from shift-work, but under war-time regulations they could also be directed to work in areas deemed essential for war-time production such as munitions. For many local residents work in munitions gave job security that was unknown in the Depression era. This was so for Allan Roney, who cycled to work at the Islington Workshops to work 12-hour shifts producing dies used in the production of bullets for .303 rifles. His neighbour Len Swift worked on small arms manufacture.[4] Maurice Ralph, who worked at Islington producing 18 pound shells, recalled that women were working seven days a week on the lathes. Some local women helped the war effort through office work, for example Audrey Bates worked in the Ministry of Munitions producing blue-prints.[5]

Horwood Bagshaw at Mile End devoted almost all its production to the war effort. Expansion stopped in the agricultural implement field, such as the manufacture of combines and ploughs. Instead production turned to engines, aircraft parts, parts for anti-tanks guns, naval practice shot, fuel, bilge pumps and field cookers. The company sank more than 40 bores in central and northern Australia for the Department of Defence; this played an important role in the building and maintenance of the Stuart Highway link to Darwin. Horwood Bagshaw also provided boring and pumping equipment for the army to use in the Middle East. At the peak of production Horwood Bagshaw was employing up to 800 men who worked in shifts around the clock. Alfred Coles recalled that fitters and boilermakers were sent to Outer Harbour to repair damaged ships. For

those who had to do extra work on Saturdays and Sundays the overtime could be worth as much as the rest of the week's wages. Wages rose from about seven pounds a week to thirteen pounds a week and some, like Mr Coles, might earn as much as sixteen pounds a week.[6]

F W Hercus Pty Ltd in Anderson Street produced machine tools during the war: lathes, drilling and hacksaw machines and grinding machines that were used in munitions plants, technical training schools, ships, dockyards and mobile field workshops. By 1947 the firm employed more than 100 people.[7]

The war years were also important for F H Faulding and Co. While these were not significant years for economic expansion, the foundation was laid for new directions in the pharmaceutical field. Faulding purchased the old Kitchen and Co. buildings in Winwood Street to enable expansion of production. The company produced a range of magnesium carbonate products used in the manufacture of rubber, paint and leather, together with Barrier cream used to prevent industrial dermatitis. After the First World War the company had begun experiments in the production of vitamins. In early 1939, anticipating shortages of supplies, they looked for new sources of raw materials. Staff began a search for an Australian fish that could provide oil rich in Vitamin A to use as an alternative to cod liver oil, and found that the white Schnapper sharks or School sharks provided a rich source. Oil with a high concentration of Vitamin A was supplied by the company to fortify chocolate, margarine and other foods needed by the fighting forces overseas. In cooperation with university research workers the company also began producing sulpha drugs, used to fight infective illness, the first sulphanilamide made in Australia.

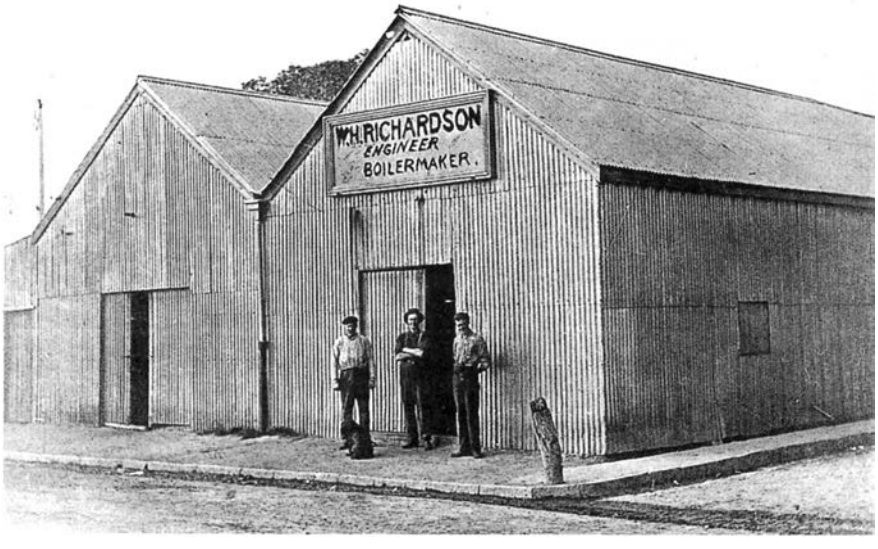
Although they stopped production in 1940 because they were not able to compete with cheaper North American manufacturers, Fauldings were to go on to produce penicillin. The laboratory team followed the lateral thinking techniques used by South Australian-born penicillin researcher Howard Florey and acquired hundreds of quart bottles from a local brewery to use in the new Torrenside bacteriological laboratory where they grew the penicillin mould in bottles placed in simple wooden racks. The project was all the more remarkable because penicillin production was in its infancy and the youthful laboratory team was denied access to the latest developments in penicillin production overseas. While they were able to make use of research done by Nancy Atkinson at the Institute of Medical and Veterinary Science (IMVS) in Adelaide, their methods did not imitate large scale production in America. Nevertheless, investment in a bacteriological laboratory and the recruitment of research-oriented personnel put the company in an excellent position in later years to take advantage of the development of other drugs.[8]

Several other businesses in Thebarton manufactured goods used in the war effort. In 1943 C Richardson and Sons was given permission to build a factory devoted entirely to munition production on land in Holland Street, opposite Scott Bonnar Ltd and adjoining the Imperial

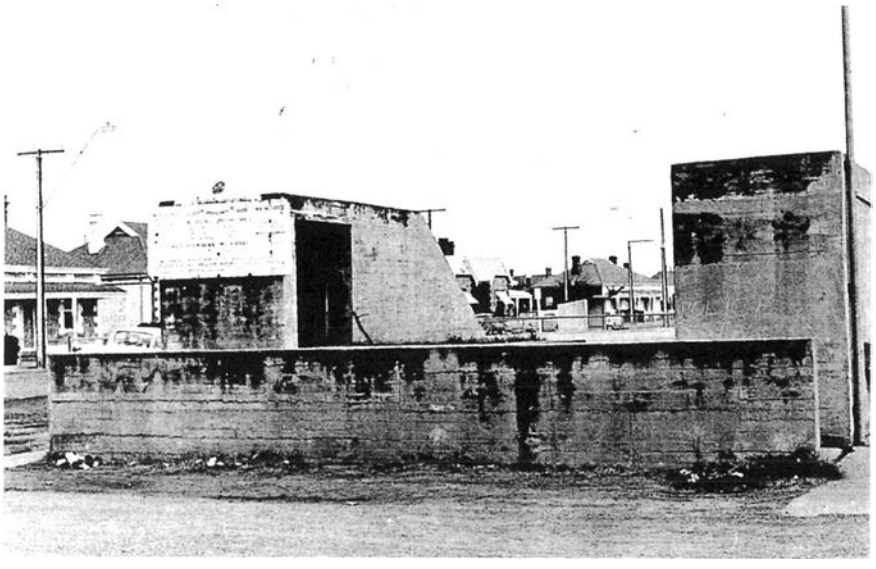
Preserving Co. Wholesale and retail hardware merchants Colton Palmer and Preston Ltd in Winwood Street (which occupied the land on which Colonel Light's home once stood), supplied shovels, lanterns, vehicles and other equipment to the Army during the war years. Along Port Road on the site of F James' Jam Factory (now used by National Paper Vuepak Pty Ltd), National Rabbits Ltd produced canned rabbit during the war. The Sno-Whyte Bagwash Company converted the structure formerly used by the building and contracting firm of E T Isley, near Thebarton Primary School, to a laundry which washed items such as blankets for the army.[9]

While men and women served in the armed forces and worked to produce food and munitions for the war effort, there was also work to be done on the homefront. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 was followed by the fall of Singapore and, on 19 February 1942, the first of sixty-four bombing raids on Darwin. Seventeen vessels were sunk off the eastern coast of Australia 1942-43. Japanese submarines attacked shipping in Sydney Harbour and shelled Sydney and Newcastle. While the public were not told about the extent of these attacks or the extent of the losses in Darwin, the attacks had enormous impact. The authorities initiated urgent plans for civil defence for the southern cities. Local defence precautions began in the second year of the war. In October 1940 practice 'black-outs' started in Thebarton with Mayor Inkley as Chief Air Raid Warden. Householders had to put black curtain or blinds on their windows, a procedure which ARP personnel checked. Street lighting was kept to a minimum and car headlights were painted over.

In January 1942, the Department of Civil Defence ordered the construction of a Sub-Control Station on the corner of South Road and Ashley Street. The station, constructed of reinforced concrete and built mainly below ground level, was completed by April 1942 and staffed by officers of the Department of Civil Defence. Sixteen telephone operators



The building is now the site of A & D Mercury Pty Ltd, cnr, Chapel Street & Light Terrace bought from Richardson's in 1946. Left C J Richardson (1864-1953), Centre: F. W Richardson (1876-1953). Like many of the local engineering firms Richardson's concentrated on munitions production during the war years



The former Sub-Control Station on the corner of Ashley Street and South Road, Thebarton. It was built during the Second World War for staff who co-ordinated Air Raid Precautions (ARP) work in Thebarton and adjacent areas. After the war the building was used by the nursing division of the St John Ambulance Brigade. It is now used by the International Society of Magicians and the Australian Society if Magicians. The design if the houses seen in the background is typical of many in this part of the town. Photograph taken c.1965.

were employed. In the event of an air-raid they were to be the hub of Air Raid Precautions (ARP) work, receiving messages from Wardens' posts, reporting damage done to people and property in Thebarton and adjoining areas and maintaining contact with the Fire Brigade, the Water and Sewers Department, the Gas and Electricity Supply Companies and the Council office.

The old Town Hall was taken over by the Department of Civil Defence that same year to be used as a casualty clearing station. The oval and its buildings were also taken over for defence purposes and a search light unit was set up in the grounds. A Roof Spotter's Shelter was built on top of the Town Hall building on Henley Beach Road and another at Austral Sheet Metal Works. Air raid shelters in the form of concrete pipes protected by bags of sand were built throughout the town. Residents could collect sand from local depots to build their own shelters. Some dug trenches in their backyards. Dorothy Downs recalled her son and his friends enthusiastically digging a trench in the back yard of their home in Rose Street. She did not mind too much until the boys put half an old iron tank on top. She quickly decided that the boys faced more danger from the shelter than they did from the possibility of an air raid:

> I nearly died; I thought to myself they'll get on top of it and slide through and they'll cut one of their legs off [10]

Mr Hook, a local surgical bootmaker and neighbour, helped Mrs Downs drag the iron away. Later the boys were persuaded to fill in the trench much to Mrs Downs' relief Another Thebarton resident recalled air raid practice during his childhood; he was taught that in the event of an air-raid he should get under a dining room table that had been covered with a mattress.[11]

As fear of a possible Japanese invasion grew, the Commonwealth government assumed greater powers. Petrol rationing, introduced in

1940, was more strictly enforced. Private motorists were allowed very little petrol – two gallons (about 9 litres) a month, which might give 50 miles (80 km). Len Roberts, who had a newsagency in Henley Beach Road, brought newspapers back from the city on his bicycle. Some people used gas producers on their cars and trucks, devices that produced gas from burning charcoal but which were considered awkward to use. Many people gave up using their cars altogether.

The need to divert resources to the armed forces led to stricter rationing of household items after mid-1942. Clothing, tea and sugar were rationed from that year, butter from 1943 and meat from January 1944. By 1943 ration books were supplied to householders. There were rations for each adult and reduced amounts for children. Rationing was to continue for some years; tea and butter rationing did not cease until 1950. Cigarettes and tobacco were available in only limited amounts. Other goods such as rice, canned fish and liquor became scarce. To obtain a small amount of whisky was a triumph. Each person was allowed about *2¼* lb (1 kg) of meat, 6 oz (170 g) of butter, 116 (450 g) of sugar and 2 oz (about 60 g) of tea each week. Coupons were needed for these goods and to buy clothing: thirteen for a dress, twelve for a shirt, six for a hat, and so on. An overcoat might take a year's coupons.[12] People handed clothing on to each other, especially children's clothes. Similarly children's toys were handed on by relatives and friends. When they could not get dressmaking fabrics girls were very resourceful in making up clothing from goods that were available, such as mosquito netting or material intended for tablecloths or tea towels. Clothes were turned inside out and remade, children's singlets made from worn adults' singlets and shirt collars turned. Jewellery was sometimes made from bread, shaped, dried and painted. Some items such as stockings were hard to find so that women went without, even in winter. Stockings had seams down the back in those days so some painted a line down the back of their legs to make it appear that they were wearing stockings. Silk and nylon stockings, occasionally available from some of the 120,000 American servicemen who were based in Australia, were highly prized. In the words of Barbara Hanrahan's character, Annie Magdalene, 'if you had a pair of nylon stockings you'd been out with a Yank or you'd done something you shouldn't have to get them'.[13]

While many men and women in Thebarton joined the armed services or worked in war-related manufacturing and service occupations such as the munitions work and the Australian Women's Land Army, others took on positions in shops, offices and schools that now had to be filled. In their spare time many put time and energy into voluntary war relief work organised by such groups as Red Cross, the Fighting Forces Comforts Fund and the Soldiers' Comfort Guild, which could make good use of the energies of men, women and children alike. By contrast, some social groups and sports teams were suspended during the war years and district cricket matches ceased.

In 1942 the local Red Cross Committee set up three civilian relief depots for temporary accommodation and food supplies in the event of bomb attacks. Members raised funds from bridge competitions,

Fire Brigade, 1924. The services of the Fire Station (opened in 1917) and Fire Brigade provided an important element of civil defence in the war years.

Frank Hoskin's petrol station, South Road. The photograph is thought to have been taken about the time of the Second World War.

collecting-tins and other fundraising activities. Goods made by members of the Assembly Unit and their helpers included socks, pullovers, mufflers, balaclava helmets, gloves and embarkation bags. Those working for the Comforts Fund were also busy knitting for the members of the armed forces. [14] Members of the Thebarton Red Cross Circle had a shop on Henley Beach Road, from which clothes (made from discarded material), cakes, toys and other items were sold. Many with friends and relatives serving in the armed forces or living in beleaguered Great Britain busied themselves writing letters and sending food parcels as part of the war effort. In addition some people belonged to church or service groups that had programmes for writing letters or knitting socks and other items for service people.

The Thebarton Municipal Orchestra, the Women's Service Association, the local Girl Guides Association, church groups, and Thebarton Primary School students were among the many groups and organisations raising money for the war effort. In 1940 the Schools Patriotic Fund was formed. School children energetically collected anything that could be recycled such as scrap metal, bottles, waste paper, old tyres, batteries and rags. Sports days were held to raise funds. The Schools Patriotic Fund Hostel was opened in 1941, and in the following year £500 was given to the Red Cross. The school band played an important part in general activities and fund-raising during the war. Under the enthusiastic leadership of Head Master Bertram Hand and teacher Laurie Arthur, sixty boys in two groups played flutes, piccolos and fifes and were given red, gold and black uniforms. The School Choir, which included girls and well as boys, was also active in the war years. [15]

Development of community services during the war years

Despite the disruption caused by wartime restrictions there were attempts to improve community services for local residents. One area of concern was pre-school care. A major highlight of the early 1940s was the opening of Lady Gowrie Child Care Centre in Dew Street. The Commonwealth Government had agreed to establish a pre-school demonstration centre in each state capital. Named after Lady Gowrie, the wife of the Governor General of the time, the six centres were designed to encourage research and development into all aspects of the care of young children, and to encourage the best possible practice. The centres were initially staffed with pre-school teachers, a part time doctor, a full-time nursing sister and a social worker. Planning for the Dew Street Centre involved both Council and the Committee of the Kindergarten Union. While the Commonwealth Government grant of £6000 covered most of the capital costs for the building and Council helped with paths, roadways and tree-planting, the Kindergarten Union was responsible for the teachers' salaries - a task that involved a large amount of fundraising. After 1942 the Commonwealth government had total responsibility for the collection of income tax and began taking more responsibility for education and other services that had previously been provided by the states. While the Lady Gowrie Centres can be seen as an early Commonwealth initiative in pre-school care clearly there was a substantial contribution by senior health, welfare and educational personnel from South Australia. Local families benefited greatly from the location of the centre in Dew Street, especially since pre-school services of any kind were few and far between in those days, even in the metropolitan area, and the medical and dental services at Lady Gowrie were excellent. Mothers of children attending the centre were rostered to help and many recall with appreciation their contact with the staff and the help they received. The first director was the very able Miss Kathleen Mellor.

Lady Gowrie staff helped to guide a group setting up a Play Centre in Goldfinch Avenue at the site of the Presbyterian Church. Jean Major recalled that one reason for establishing the new centre was that many young mothers were struggling with the problems of raising several small children while their husbands were away on war service and some had additional problems of poor accommodation.[16]

Preventative medical services through the Council itself became very important in the 1940s, when serious outbreaks of diphtheria occurred. Council's Local Board of Health organised mass immunisation programmes, immunising as many as 811 children in one week in 1941. It became possible to immunise children against whooping cough as well, a disease which, like diphtheria, had taken the lives of so many children in the early days of Thebarton. Records on the headstones in the Hindmarsh cemetery on South Road are a reminder today of that terrible toll.

Those planning services in Thebarton during the war years knew that many schemes for improvements in local amenities had to be left in the development stage. However there were some projects that could be implemented and it is significant that work was done to provide better playgrounds and youth services. In the dark days of the 1940s people could only hope that the war would finally end, that their relatives and friends would return safely and that a new generation would grow up to help rebuild Australia in the post-war years. Council decided that despite shortages of materials and funds they would try to establish a playground in each of Thebarton's four wards. Local residents helped with equipment and offers of assistance. Two playgrounds were named in honour of men who had served Thebarton in a civic capacity: a playground in Clifford Street, Torrensville, named after R Burns Cuming, Mayor of Thebarton from 1901 to 1903, and the C E Wyett Children's Playground in Dove Street, named in honour of the Town Clerk. This latter is now part of the Colonel William Light Reserve.

A Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Hall had been opened in September 1939, very soon after the outbreak of the war. During the next few years enthusiasm developed for the idea of having a Youth Centre, an idea backed by the National Fitness Council. A Youth Centre was officially opened in July 1944 with both boys 'and girls' clubs catering for different age groups. A variety of venues was used over the years and the range of activities included sports, games, films, music and dance, as well as occasional camps. Youth Clubs often have a better chance of survival if there is support from existing community groups and the Youth Centre was fortunate to have the leadership of a capable President, Ken Leal, in its early days as well as support from church groups and the Women's Service Association.

While the activities of church youth groups were curtailed during the war years the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in a major development in its school facilities. On 20 July 1941 Archbishop Beovich opened a Diocesan Technical School in Thebarton, an occasion when the value of technical education was upheld. It was also a proud moment for Father

Presentation of Baseball Cup to Thebarton Technical School Team – 1940. F S Mann, President of Baseball League, presenting it to Gordon Harrison (Captain). M Dowdy (Coach) and HA Cant (Headmaster) are also in photo.

Smyth, who succeeded Monsignor Healy after his death in 1921 and remained parish priest until 1955, a thirty four year period of service. There was a change in teaching personnel: the St john the Baptist brothers who had taught at the boys' school left Thebarton and the Marist brothers came to teach at the Technical School.

The end of the war

By May 1945 Berlin had fallen and the Germans were defeated. Thebarton residents joined in the celebrations for what was known as V E Day, Victory in Europe. There were thanksgiving services in local churches and people sang and danced in the city streets. The Japanese continued to fight on in the Pacific until August 1945. On 15 August Prime Minister Chifley announced the cessation of hostilities. Again there were celebrations both locally and in the city. For many the thanksgiving was tinged with sadness: of the 678 men and women from Thebarton who had served overseas 28 had died and many others suffered from wounds and disease. Australia had 33,826 deaths in the armed forces with a further 180,864 wounded, and 23,059 had been prisoners of war.[17] Nevertheless, these losses from death and injury were about half of those in 1914-1918, to a large extent due to better evacuation facilities and more effective treatment of wounds, as well as changes in the conduct of battle.

The war had brought far-reaching changes. The Australian people were united as never before after living through six years of austerity and sacrifices. They had fought with determination and grim resolution.[18] The demands of the war-time economy had seen forty per cent of the national income spent on the war effort. The federal government continued to

Thebarton Corporation Picnic, circa 1938-39. Many people looked forward to events like these in the days when few had their own cars.

collect all personal income tax, using the pay-as-you-earn (PAYE) system after the war. Taxes on company profits, pay-roll tax and entertainment tax also remained in place. A National Welfare Fund was established and child endowment and a widow's pension were introduced, developments that provided greater financial security for women.

Thebarton women were among those who had played an important part in the remarkable development of manufacturing industry during the war. An extra 200,000 Australian women entered the workforce in addition to the 52,000 women who joined the services. They produced chemicals, munitions, tools and engines, worked in offices, cared for the sick and helped to produce and process foodstuffs.

Despite the increase in productive capacity in the war years, using the existing population as effectively as possible, Australians were beginning to realise their vulnerability as a nation of only eight million people. Before the end of the Pacific war Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell proposed a large-scale scheme of assisted migration. The plan, accepted well by community groups, including the trade union movement, was to bring in some 70,000 immigrants annually. The success of the scheme was astonishing. While the need to increase Australia's population was accepted, few could have foreseen the effect immigration would have on Australia. Thebarton would attract large numbers of newcomers - people with culturally diverse experiences and expectations of life - and the effect

on commerce, industry, housing, retailing, schools and churches would be dramatic. The war years were a watershed. The old Thebarton with its corner shops, its horse drawn milk floats, its Sunday School anniversaries and occasional cowshed was changing. In its place would come a new Thebarton with FJ Holdens, supermarkets, vinyl chairs, baklava, souvlaki, cappuccino coffee and Italian Masses at the Queen of Angels Church.

Thebarton Institute 1970s. Corner of Henley Beach Road and South Road, 1980s.

A postwar wedding, 18 May 1946. The wedding was held at Queen of Angels Roman Catholic Church. L to R: Clem Freeman, Harold Minear, Tom Minear, Frank Edge, Joan Edge (nee Murphy), Noreen Murphy, Esme Edge, Kath Lyons. The bride and groom met at a street party held on VP Day to celebrate the end of the Pacific war – Frank Edge was on leave from his army posting at the time. Clothes rationing was still in force at the time of the wedding so the bride's dress was 'something borrowed'.
Courtesy: Mrs Joan Edge

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8 From the fifties to the nineties a new multicultural Thebarton

Introduction

In the fifty year period since the end of the Second World War new people and new businesses have come to Thebarton, yet much remains from the old days. For many people the fascination of the town comes from the variety and contrast of old and new. There are old hotels and factories, solid villas and bungalows, Norfolk Island pines and fine old Lorraine Lee roses planted many years ago. However, local businesses also include names that are part of the late twentieth century world – Coca-Cola Amatil, Fuji Xerox, Pizza Haven and Nike. From other traditions we have the Asian Grocery, Cafe Yasou, Colossus, Kosmos, Napoli Pizza, Ricca Coffee and Pasta Fresca.

There have been significant physical developments – changes in housing, transport, factories and businesses, and also significant economic, social and demographic changes in the last fifty years. In this chapter we will look first at changes in housing, transport, business activity and the demographic changes. In the last chapter we will consider the response of local people to changes in daily life.

Houses and gardens in the postwar years

In Thebarton, as in other parts of the metropolitan area, demand for housing was strong in the immediate postwar years. Many who had been affected by the disruption of the war years wanted to marry and settle down and there were many migrants seeking low cost accommodation. Yet there had been little building activity during the Depression or the war years and the government did not lift wartime restrictions on building materials until 1953. All over the metropolitan area young couples experienced makeshift arrangements for accommodation: sharing with parents or other family members, living in glassed-in sleep-outs, living in caravans or building a garage or a few rooms of a new house as materials became available. People with children found it particularly hard to obtain rental accommodation. It was common for two families to share a house and many who migrated to Australia in the 1950s tell stories of whole families living in a single room and taking it in turns to use the kitchen and other facilities.[1] Some of Thebarton's housing stock, regarded as 'old and dilapidated', was purchased by firms seeking accessible, low cost land for commercial and industrial development. It was thus lost to the domestic housing market; a pattern which was common

in other innercity suburbs around Australia. Unable to find suitable housing, many young people who had grown up in the town moved to new suburban developments further away from the city: to places such as Lockleys, Flinders Park and Brooklyn Park or even to the new satellite city of Elizabeth. There was a dramatic drop in Thebarton's population, from 14,608 in 1947 down to 12,884 in 1961, as younger people moved away and older people died or moved into institutional care.

However some of the potential loss was offset because migrants were attracted to Thebarton. Those without a car could walk to work, shops and city; shops were established by compatriots; others of the same nationality were nearby. A recurring theme is that they could walk to places that were important to them. Many renovated old houses in the area. Some of the renovation involved modernisation of bathrooms and kitchens, rewiring and repairs to make houses more convenient and comfortable. Other changes were more a matter of taste: aluminium windows replacing old sash windows, contemporary wrought iron replacing 1880s style iron lace, old tiles on verandahs beings replaced with cement or terrazzo. Outside, new residents planted vegetables such as capsicum and zucchini. Tomatoes, once confined to the back yard, made their appearance in front gardens and might be used for home made tomato paste. Citrus or stone fruit and vines were also grown in front gardens by migrant families. Many made their own wine and until recently could get their barrels repaired locally at Babidge's. Some had a bread oven in the back yard so they could make their own bread.

Some new houses were built in Thebarton during the immediate postwar years. There are some good examples of what is known as the postwar austerity style: houses built when materials were scarce and there was little choice available. Often these were simple buildings using concrete brick or red brick, with a porch rather than the old-style verandah. Concrete paths and a Hills Hoist were added later on.

There was a considerable loss of heritage items, particularly as houses were demolished to make way for industrial and commercial development. In some cases a pocket of houses totally disappeared. In the period 1971–1976 the number of dwellings fell from 3637 to 3441. In the same period the average number of persons per occupied dwelling fell to 3.02 compared with the metropolitan average of 3.19, figures which reflected the high proportion of elderly people in the town and a high and growing proportion of people in the 15–29 age bracket. The 1976 Census figures showed a significant decrease in the population of Thebarton, which at 10,315 had fallen by 12.8% from the 1971 figure of 11,831.[2]

Whilst many houses have disappeared from Thebarton many old buildings remain, so that the area retains something of the character of an old suburb. In some cases owners have altered the front of their house in keeping with fashionable styles in the 1960s or 1970s, so there may be arches or other decoration. It was similar to the way that bungalow style facades were added to old villa houses in the 1920s and 1930s as

happened to Barbara Hanrahan's childhood house in Rose Street. Garages and carports were added as families acquired cars. A shed for poultry still remained in many back yards, as did fruit trees and vines, although these were often replaced in time with other species.

Migrants and Thebarton

Some of the most significant social changes to occur in Thebarton in the years following World War II relate to the change in ethnic composition of the population. By 1966, 33.7% of the town's residents were people born in countries other than Britain and Australia and in 1976 this had become 34.1%, still a third of the population. The three major groups of overseas born were from Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia. There was a sizeable group of Greek origin: 1,366 people or 13.4% of the population. There were 986 Italian-born (8.1%), and 227 Yugoslavian-born (2%) people. Those from Britain made up 4.2%. Thebarton at that time had the highest percentage of non-Australian-born residents in the Western Metropolitan Region. To this group was added the first generation of Australian-born children.

The demographic changes of the forty year period 1955-1995 have produced a multi-cultural Thebarton with changes apparent in school life, shops, businesses, churches and clubs, in library books, garden design and home decoration. Schools had to cope with massive cultural shifts. New shops were established to cater for the needs of migrants who moved into the district.3 Shops provided goods migrants wanted and shops also provided work for new residents. Small businesses provided opportunities for a number of family members to work together in delicatessens, fish and chips shops, repair shops, gift shops and many others. Having the help of family members could make a venture viable in a way not possible if the owners were dependent on outside help. Yet many worked long hours and did not have the help of family members. Niki Auvegerinou described working from 6.45 am to 8.30 pm, six days a week and until 6 pm on Sundays. She still found time to help customers who had only limited written English skills to understand accounts or official letters they had received.[4]

A recurring theme when migrants were interviewed was the long hours that newcomers worked in order to get themselves established, pay debts and bring out other family members. Many held two jobs: 'I was sending money back home so one job was not enough', one man explained.[5] Such a regime brought its toll on health, but it enabled migrants to purchase a house and bring relatives out to Australia. For women there were the problems associated with bringing up small children without the traditional support groups of the home country. Having only a limited grasp of the English language made for difficulties in talking to schoolteachers, health workers, supervisors or shopkeepers. 'Supermarkets made shopping much easier' commented Vasiliki Papanicolas. For both

men and women poor English often led to verbal abuse in the workplace and anxiety that a job might be lost.[6]

In the schools, teachers of Anglo-Australian background had to learn to write and pronounce new names and acquire new skills for teaching children who had limited knowledge of English. Eventually they learned to allow for different attitudes towards teachers and towards the education process, but learning these things took time. Keith Bull, appointed as Principal of Thebarton Primary School in 1976, recalled that when he was appointed, 60% of the students were of Greek origin and 80% of these students did not speak English. Some teachers would find such a situation daunting yet Keith Bull saw it as a challenge; 'it was a tremendous opportunity and it was very rewarding'.[7] The 'first wave' migrants included a sizeable group from central and eastern Europe: Germany, Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine. However, southern Europeans from Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia soon comprised the largest number of migrants who took up residence in the Thebarton district. Migrants from Lebanon and then Vietnam and Cambodia were to follow later.

The Vietnamese and Cambodian migrants formed a significant group for a period, in particular during the years 1985-86, but it was for a relatively short time. Many moved directly into Thebarton from the Pennington Hostel and then, as they established themselves, moved to other districts. As a group they had special problems, especially as mainstream Australians were quite unfamiliar with their language and many migrants had traumatic wartime and refugee experiences. Some suffered significant health problems and emotional disturbance in

Australia Day 1984. Two migrants receive their citizenship certificates from Mayor John Keough.

addition to educational problems. Gradually services developed for them. Thebarton Council appointed two staff members specifically to help with Vietnamese and Cambodian people in the district, the library built up a special collection for this migrant group, and an Asian grocery store was privately established. Some from South East Asia still live in the district and others who have moved to other suburbs still come to the library.

In the immediate postwar years there were few services geared to new migrant groups. Thus migrants could not easily find a doctor, dentist or accountant who spoke their own language. The qualifications of those who had been trained in Europe were not readily recognised in Australia and it was not easy for people to embark on the necessary re-training process. There were people of non-British background who had migrated to Australia before World War II, but it took many years before a significant group of children of migrant families had obtained professional qualifications. Meanwhile parents were often dependent on children for translation. In places such as hospitals it was common for domestic staff to be used as informal interpreters although they had no training for the task. Difficulties with language exacerbated health problems for migrants, making it hard for them to get proper advice and treatment. Long hours of work, especially among those holding two or even three jobs, contributed to health problems. Many were working in unskilled positions where poor safety practices made them particularly vulnerable to accidents. One woman described how her husband, injured at work by a forklift, was brought home by his boss and left outside. His injury eventually led to his

Queen Elizabeth II & Sir Baden Pattinson, Minister of Education, at Thebarton Primary School. 1954. Courtesy: Mrs E G Arthur, Plympton Park and Mr G Ralph

dismissal.[8] As in the early days of the colony, a migrant family was hard hit by the illness or death of the main breadwinner.

In time children of migrant families attended university and obtained professional qualifications and for many postwar migrants this has been a source of great pride touched with occasional exasperation. As young people went to secondary school and obtained post-secondary training they often questioned the customs and values espoused by their parents. One source of friction was the freedom enjoyed by most Australian-born teenagers to go out with young people of the opposite sex without chaperone arrangements. Another was the freedom to choose their partner without firm family direction; a change all the more remarkable because a significant number of migrants had experienced arranged or partly arranged marriages themselves where relatives or friends found a suitable person for a young person to meet.[9] Interviews with migrants reveal that restrictions on social life applied to the adults themselves; for example, a woman widowed in her twenties described how outings had to be limited if one was not to be seen to be 'loose-living' and how 'tongues would wag'.[10]

There were changes amongst the Australian-born in the extent to which young people followed family traditions in choice of career, lifestyle and family life. One instance of this was that the traditions of marrying within the Roman Catholic or Protestant community, once fairly strictly observed, were becoming less rigid; whereas in the 1940s and 1950s it was not uncommon for there to be parental threats that any young person who married into a family from the 'wrong' group was not to 'darken the family door' again.

Few people in their twenties in the last decade of the twentieth century could imagine the strictness of the rules observed in the 1950s, for example that most Roman Catholic priests would not tolerate their parishioners attending a Protestant church for a 'mixed marriage'. Divisions between Protestants and Catholics in the district had also seen families supporting certain shops on the basis of the religious adherence of the shopkeeper.[11] While divisions certainly remain in the 1990s, local residents report both greater tolerance of other peoples' beliefs and a reduction in formal adherence to religious doctrines amongst neighbours and friends.

Most of the older Thebarton residents who grew up in pre-war Australia have come to terms with neighbours who come from backgrounds different to their own. Moreover they now share similar challenges. Examples include living in a house that is too large but which is full of memories; having fears about security in a district that has a relatively high rate of household break-ins; and the problems of living with disabilities such as arthritis which affect mobility. While it is true that many elderly migrants have the advantages of strong extended family links, there are many women who are isolated due to their limited English language skills. Yet there are some compensations, such as the creature comforts that have come with greater material prosperity, especially as they look back on the hardships they experienced in the 1930s and 1940s.[12]

Older residents, both migrants and Australian-born, frequently express a feeling of pride in having weathered the difficulties that were encountered over the years. Many refer to the struggle to survive in years gone by. Some comment that many young people have a comparatively easy life. Older residents will recount how far they used to walk as children. They remember the chores to be done before and after school, such as taking cows to and from the parklands, how they were expected to amuse themselves rather than have entertainment made for them. But those who grew up in the district also remember the safety of the Thebarton of a past era. It was safe for children to walk unescorted, houses were not locked and people would sleep on their front lawn on hot nights. One writer described the Thebarton of author and artist Barbara Hanrahan's as a 'lower middle class place in a city of marked social stratification, a place of shop girls, clerks, factory workers, tradesmen and the genteel poor ... where workers rode bicycles to their factories, ware houses and shops ...'[13] Barbara Hanrahan immortalised the Thebarton of her childhood in the 1940s and 1950s in books such as *Scent* of *Eucalyptus* (1973) and *Annie Magdalene* (1985), a childhood described by one reviewer as 'redolent of furniture polish, cakes baking, starched cotton, floral cloths set for afternoon tea'.[14] Yet it was also a childhood where things outside the home were important: Saturday afternoons at the pictures, Sunday School picnics and the Institute Library.

Changes to houses and gardens in the 1980s and 1990s

In the immediate postwar years many residents wanted to modernise old houses by changing windows, verandahs and other features. By contrast, in recent years there has been a trend for new purchasers to try to restore old houses in Thebarton. The 'modern' wrought iron on verandahs may be removed and reproduction iron lace work installed, aluminium window frames replaced by timber frames and plasterwork in the 1880s style used for ceilings.

There have been changes in garden styles in the forty five year period 1950–1995. There was considerable enthusiasm for the use of native species in the 1960s and 1970s. Enthusiastic about the concept of low maintenance gardens some Thebarton residents removed lawns and flower beds, replacing them with indigenous plants. Sometimes the results disappointed the owners, as tiny plants purchased from the nursery grew into large, ungainly looking specimens that might have looked more appropriate in large scale plantings in public parks. Just as the early settlers learned by trial and error what species would grow on the Adelaide plains, domestic gardeners gradually learnt to make better use of indigenous Australian species. There has been renewed interest in plants from places such as South Africa and the Mediterranean countries that have a long, dry summer. In the 1980s and 1990s interest in cottage garden styles has seen plantings of hardy perennials and other species that are well suited to

small gardens, plants such as lavender, violets, valerian, daisies, nasturtium, pelargonium and hollyhock. Residents have planted a wide range of roses in recent years including new dwarf and prostrate varieties. Thebarton gardens today illustrate a cosmopolitan flora using species from many continents. There are still some fine Norfolk Island pines and palm trees in the district. Planted many years ago they make a distinctive mark on the skyline. There are also some fine examples of old backyard plantings, with vines on trellis, fig, loquat, quince, peach, and apricot together with citrus and almond trees. Council has retained some links with the past by allowing residents to keep poultry in their backyards. Council itself has been active in street tree planting in recent years, culling trees that had not grown well and planting more appropriate species. Jacaranda, white cedar, plane and certain eucalyptus species proved popular. By 1995 there were records of plantings and plans for all streets in the town; a project with major benefits when the trees reach maturity.

Transport and transport routes – a challenge for Thebarton

In the postwar years Thebarton was greatly affected by developments in transport and industry in metropolitan Adelaide. As in other Australian cities there was a rapid increase in car ownership. Increased road traffic volume and the development of Adelaide Airport brought extra noise from traffic and aircraft. There was traffic congestion, especially where through traffic met with local traffic. After a decision was made to replace tram services (except on the Glenelg line) in the Adelaide metropolitan area with motor bus services, the MTT began removing the tram tracks along Light Terrace in 1954. In 1959 the line along Henley Beach Road was closed.[15]

The end of an era: last trams to run on Henley Beach and Richmond Routes – 2 February, 1957.

Pulling up the tram tracks, Henley Beach Road, July 1958.

Stan Bird and Chris (Chandi) Chapman, Thebarton Corporation employees. The 'Street Sweeping Gang' was still using horse power. Courtesy: Gwen Bird

A much more dramatic change to transport in the western suburbs was contemplated in the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (the MATS plan), completed by the Steele Hall Liberal government in 1968. The plan was for an expressway with eight to ten lanes of traffic to provide a north-south transport corridor. One possible route would have had the expressway following the route of the one-time North Terrace to Glenelg railway, to a point midway between South Road and Marion Road, where it was to swing south. Opposition to the plan was vociferous. The impact on Thebarton itself would have been massive, with a third

of the town destroyed by the proposed developments.[16] In the end the electors did not return the Liberal government to power in 1970 and the scheme did not go ahead.

There were mixed effects as an aftermath of the MATS plan. On the positive side many people who cared about Thebarton realised that they must take active steps to promote its future. Coming together and working to oppose the plan, they forged new friendships and working relationships. A Thebarton Residents Association was formed. Residents began to think of ways of improving the suburb as well as protecting it.

However there were deleterious effects. The Highways Department acquired about 600 properties to further the scheme and several industries were persuaded to move from the area so that land could be resumed; these included Horwood Bagshaw and Commercial Motor Vehicles, both long established in Mile End.17 Houses that had been purchased by the Highways Department in anticipation of the MATS plan were let out and many became run down. Uncertainty about future plans reduced interest in residential, commercial and industrial development in the area of the proposed transport corridor. Some firms were given permission to establish businesses on a short term basis using building plans that might not have been accepted if there had been long term planning.

Car ownership and its effect on shopping and recreation

The desire for a new transport corridor arose as car ownership became possible for more and more families; a development associated with greater economic prosperity in the period 1955–1965. Australia's first mass produced car, the Holden, was released in 1949. Petrol rationing ended in 1950; in 1953 the one hundred thousandth Holden rolled off the production line; by 1955

Thebarton Methodist (Uniting) Church, George Street, Thebarton (now demolished). Photograph shows area between church and hall. (After September 1979 the church buildings were used by the Aboriginal Lutheran Fellowship.) Courtesy: Claire and Brian Sinclair

Australia's population had reached nine million and there were two million car registrations in Australia.[18]

Car ownership changed shopping patterns. Large supermarket complexes developed in metropolitan Adelaide, bringing the death knell to many corner shops. People shopped less often for larger amounts of goods and were prepared to travel further in search of bargains and greater variety. Weekend trips to beaches and sporting events or social visits to friends and relatives were possible in a way that was not practical when people depended on public transport and bicycles. Young people were less dependent on local events such as church or club socials or local sports events. Grown up children could move to another district in search of affordable housing and still stay in regular contact with their family. Drive in theatres developed – the first to be built in South Australia, the Blueline Theatre in West Beach Road, was within easy reach of the Thebarton district. As in most other suburbs, it was difficult for the local cinema to compete, even more so when local television stations NWS9 and ADS7 began transmission in 1959. More recently video cassette recorders have further changed home entertainment.

After over fifty years of six o'clock closing in hotels, ten o'clock closing was introduced in 1967. This was followed by other changes that liberalised the liquor laws and eventually Sunday trading was allowed. Laws relating to raffles and lotteries were also liberalised. With further changes to laws relating to gaming, Thebarton officially acquired its first poker machines in 1994. By 1996 four of the town's hotels had poker machines: the Southwark, the Mile End, Hotel Royal and the West Thebarton Hotel.

Business and industry

In the 1950s and 1960s the state seemed to be at the forefront of progress and businessmen were optimistic about the future. Thebarton itself had experienced significant developments to industry during the war years. Thebarton continued to be chosen as a site for industry because of its proximity to the city and major transport routes. There was easy access to the city, the airport, the railways and Port Adelaide and in addition land costs were not excessive. A few firms had access to a spur line from the railways. Some firms were happy to develop sites already in use for commercial and industrial purposes. Others wanted to acquire property still used for residential purposes. Developers might argue that old; buildings were run down and dilapidated. However many of those who owned adjacent dwellings were concerned that non-residential development would affect the quality of life in their neighbourhood. They feared increase in noise levels, increased traffic, parking problems and the destruction of trees, bushes and walls that had made for an attractive streetscape in days gone by. In some streets residents had mixed views. Some hoped that their properties would increase in value if development proceeded while others feared a reduction in property values would accompany the changes that came with redevelopment.

Oldfield & Ames Ltd in the 1950s.

There was substantial pressure on Council to alter existing zoning regulations. In 1952 Council succumbed to this pressure and moved to change its zoning regulations to expand the town's industrial sector. It was now to include all the land north of Ashwin Parade; the northern part of Section 47, from Ashwin Parade to South Road; both sides of West Thebarton Road, from South Road to Dew Street; all land north of Phillips Street to Walsh Street; both sides of Walsh Street to Light Terrace; the south side of Light Terrace between Walsh Street and Albert Street, and the east side of Albert Street from Light Terrace to George Street.[19]

Some of the firms wishing to move into areas outside the industrial zone were given permission to do so after lengthy deliberation in Council. The tobacco wholesaling firm of W D & H O Wills (Aust.) Ltd took many months to gain planning approval to build a warehouse and sales office on the corner of East Terrace and Goodenough Street. Their new premises were opened in July 1956. Coca-Cola Bottlers Ltd (known as Coca-Cola Amatil since 1994) moved to the firm's present location at 39 Port Road in 1952. Since then the Port Road property has been extensively developed. It has led to further loss of residential property in the neighbourhood, one of the oldest parts of Thebarton.[20] Commonwealth Industrial Gases (SA) Pty Ltd (previously Western Oxygen and now known as BOC Gases) was another company that came to Thebarton in the early 1950s. The firm gradually expanded, purchasing a large site owned by the Adelaide Chemical and Fertilizer Company, abutting Jervois Street and Ashwin Parade in what was formerly 'New Thebarton Extension' and is now Torrensville. One of the most striking new build ings in the district in the 1950s was the new showroom of International Harvester Ltd, which provided an example of early postwar international style commercial buildings.[21] Existing firms in the area expanded in these years, by building additional factory space, storerooms and offices. Fauldings was one of

these, expanding their operations in 1952 and adding a new Research Laboratory on the corner of Dew and Winwood Streets in 1958 (now part of the Thebarton campus of the University of Adelaide).

In recent times it has proved possible to link industrial expansion with civic improvements. An example of this is the development of gardens along the bank of the River Torrens by the South Australian Brewing Company. Once an eyesore, the site became a matter of pride for both the

Southwark Brewery, preparation of landscaping, 1958.

Southwark Brewery: Further landscaping development

Cawthorne Street Mural 1993 – part of mural.

firm and local residents. The brewery provides special seasonal decorations for Christmas and Easter together with special lighting and it has become very popular with young families. In December the display brings queues of cars, with parents pleased to have an inexpensive outing and the ice cream vendors doing a roaring trade. The Cawthorne Street Mural, at the back of Coca-Cola Amatil's property, has become a symbol of improved relations between business management and community after a period of considerable friction. Developed as a joint project of Thebarton Council and Thebarton Community Arts Network and part-funded by Coca-Cola Amatil, it depicts in turn Aboriginal settlement, white settlement and today's multicultural Thebarton.

Small businesses have made a special contribution to community life and some proprietors have received official recognition for their efforts, as when Darryl Brown of the Wheatsheaf Hotel received a 1992 award for 'the most community minded business' in the town. Local hotels provide one of the distinctive features of Thebarton. The Wheatsheaf Hotel, the Southwark Hotel, Mile End Hotel, the Hotel Royal, the West Thebarton and the Squatters Arms are landmarks which despite rebuilding or changes of name have strong links with daily life in nineteenth century Thebarton.

New industries and businesses have come to Thebarton in response to changing economic and social conditions. An old brickworks site has become the thriving Brickworks Market and Leisure complex with a variety of stalls that cater for weekend visitors: stalls for fruit and vegetables, craft, jewellery and clothing together with entertainment such as rides for children. Henley Beach Road at Mile End demonstrates the juxtaposition of old and new that is such a feature of present day Thebarton. Shop fronts with designs going back to the 1930s are located near businesses such as Pizza Haven, Nike and Fuji

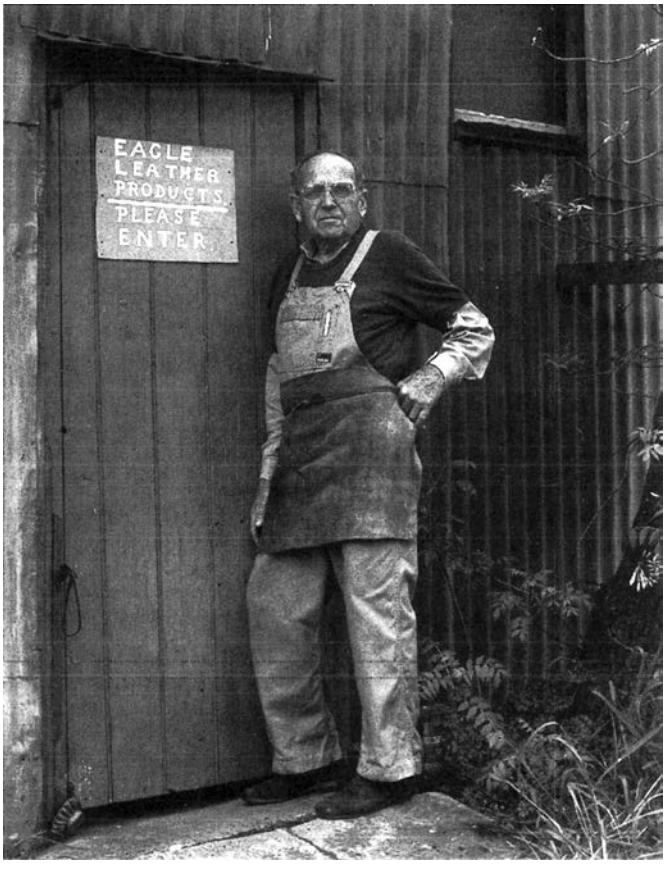
Xerox that reflect the needs of the late twentieth century. Further to the north, the old Wheatsheaf Hotel had as a near neighbour in 1995 a firm specialising in laser technology. Some firms such as Flightpath Architects have made use of attractive old villa houses for their office accommodation and Flightpath is all the more remarkable in providing space for an art gallery, the Fig Gallery.

Juxtaposition of old and new is seen in the old Star (Plaza) Theatre at 107 Henley Beach Road. The building which in its old role allowed people to escape from reality has in recent years been used by Mile End Office Furniture to enable customers to handle the realities of office life. The building possesses heritage importance because it is the earliest purpose-built cinema still standing in Adelaide. It is one of the last remaining examples of the first period of cinema design (1910–1929). The facade of the building has been at risk in recent times and as this history was written it was not clear how the matter would be resolved.[22]

The range of businesses in Thebarton by the 1990s is remarkably wide. There are firms providing for the needs of the housing and construction industry: tiles, furniture, floor coverings, plaster mouldings, fibre glass, awnings, electrical fittings, air-conditioning, together with engineering expertise. Some local firms specialise in the production of chemicals. The transport industry is well represented, as it has been from the earliest days of European settlement, with courier services, transport consultants and furniture removalists. A number of firms specialise in crash repair work, spare parts and retail automobile sales. Professional firms provide consultancy services in engineering, accountancy, computer technology and architecture.

Businesses of a similar kind cluster together. Thus in West Thebarton Road and Holland, Phillips and Stirling Streets there is a set of small firms concerned with the provision of food and beverages. Part of the attraction of the Thebarton district as a site for small business is that property values are very reasonable compared to those in many other inner city areas, there are relatively few parking problems and access to the city by car takes about seven minutes.

Wheatsheaf Hotel Social Club 1949. Courtesy: Wheatsheaf Hotel



Bert Leonard of the Eagle Leather Tannery, by his office door. Note: Pulley, Cord and weight (old gear) which act as automatic door closing mechanism. Bert and his brother, Digger Leonard, had carried on the firm in Dove Street once owned by John Leonard. Photographer: Paul C. White.

There has been a trend for heavy industry to move away from the area and to be replaced by light industry. F W Hercus was part of this trend; it moved to Regency Park in 1994. The firms that now use the space that became available with the departure of Hercus include a furniture company, a firm restoring prestige cars such as Rolls Royce, and a group of modern day blacksmiths who make wrought iron gates. Near them is Stone Bros Electro which provides services to the printed circuit industry. Stone Bros provides an example of how a local firm can prosper by being innovative and by meeting contemporary needs. Printed circuit boards are a far cry from the early industries of Thebarton such as tanneries and fellmongeries, but are as important to contemporary society as those early firms were in colonial times. By contrast, Bob Stone's neighbour, Stephen Inverarity, helps recycle the old into the new. J Inverarity Pty Ltd recycles old fabrics into flock and other products. For their business they have also recycled the old Baptist Church and Hall in Phillips Street for use as warehousing.[23]

Nearby the University of Adelaide opened its Thebarton Commerce and Research Precinct in June 1992. It is a dedicated research and development park created to provide a footing for a diverse range of industrial and commercial projects and is the home of the University's

Office of Industry Liaison. The University has established a number of its own research activities on the precinct in areas of mechanical engineering, telecommunications, botany, labour studies, electronic engineering, chemical engineering and petroleum geology and geophysics. Buildings are let to commercial enterprises involved in materials engineering, biotechnology, industrial design, laser/optics technology, engineering services, radar systems, telecommunications, petroleum chemistry and environmental services. Commercial and industrial tenants are encouraged to participate with the University in cooperative education and postgraduate student programs. They are also encouraged to become involved with joint research activities with members of the University staff and provide work experience for students. In turn, tenants can have access to University facilities and expertise.

Some firms that were familiar sights to 1930s residents still remain – for example, E S Wigg and Sons and Keough's Sand Depot – while others such as Babidge's cooperage, Horwood Bagshaw, Metters and the Eagle tannery have closed or moved to other districts. Babidge's, one of the most important cooperages in South Australia, moved to McLaren Vale and the site was developed into a residential area by the Housing Trust. The Horwood Bagshaw site has also been redeveloped, giving extra housing and much needed open space.

A dramatic change in retailing patterns has led Thebarton's corner shops to decline to a mere shadow of their former selves. Often the buildings themselves have survived; Thebarton has a remarkable number of corner shop buildings for a suburb of its size. In the years before World War II many residents did most of their shopping in stores close to where they lived and knew the staff well. Checkout operators at the local supermarkets today know only a limited number of their customers and have little time to chat. Older residents have commented that it is a far cry from the days when the grocer's assistant, stationed behind the counter, measured and packed sugar and flour for customers and the delivery boy could return later in the day with an item that had been forgotten. Others remember the special smells associated with local shops: of bran and pollard sold alongside groceries and vegetables, and the special 'antiseptic' smells in chemist shops like Moore's in Henley Beach Road.

On the other hand customers of Theo Vlassis at Foodland in George Street can buy a range of foodstuffs little dreamt of in the 1930s, not to mention Greek and Italian newspapers. Furthermore, local residents have access to firms with staff who can send a fax to someone in England, lend them the latest film on video or photocopy an important document. It is symbolic of the changes of the last fifty years that in the 1990s the intersection of Henley Beach Road and South Road boasts a service station with food and beverages available 24 hours a day and that this building is opposite Ackland's corner, where a chaff and grain store once supplied fodder for horses.

'Things have changed'

Thebarton has seen significant changes in this fifty year period. In Chapter 5 we saw that in the first twenty years of the twentieth century the population had risen dramatically as hundreds of new houses were built. Some of that increase was associated with the introduction of electric trams. Yet while public transport was valuable, many people still walked to work, to their local shops, to church and to see friends and relatives. It was very much a walking suburb and a quiet suburb. The postwar years have seen massive increases in air and road traffic, producing noise and pollution. Thebarton has been described as 'having been squashed into four islands, bisected by major arterial roads' (Henley Beach Road and South Road). Shopping patterns have changed. While cars have enabled the young and able-bodied to move more freely, the old and the very young have often been disadvantaged.

Developments in the business world in the postwar years have seen heavy industry moving out of the town and other commercial enterprises moving in. The other two major changes relate to population. The population of the town has fallen in these years as dramatically as it rose in the first twenty years of the century. Moreover the population has changed for the most striking transformation has been the development of a multicultural Thebarton.

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9 - Challenge and change

The changes in business, transport, housing and population in Thebarton during the postwar years brought dramatic changes in lifestyle. In turn there were new social problems and new expectations. In earlier chapters we saw that residents were active in a wide variety of self-help activities over the years: setting up churches and clubs, providing sports facilities, caring for the aged and the very young, sponsoring school bands and raising funds for a variety of good causes. In this last chapter we will examine the way Thebarton residents, local business and government instrumentalities have met the challenges of the postwar years.

Community services from the 1950s to the 1990s

Thebarton had a strong tradition of support for health and welfare services and recreational facilities which continued during the 1950s and 1960s. Throughout the town there were working bees and fundraising efforts to support such varied causes as hospital and ambulance services, the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association, the Royal District Nursing Service, kindergarten and school facilities, youth groups and sports amenities. There was also support for new services for the aged such as Senior Citizens' facilities and Meals on Wheels. Churches and sports clubs were part of the drive to improve services. There were trading tables, 'Queen competitions', door-to door collections and fetes. Local businesses such as shops and hotels were generous in their support. In the schools, parents and friends provided amenities that are regarded today as essentials rather than luxuries.

In the 1990s Thebarton residents continue to support their community through community service groups such as Rotary, Thebarton/Hindmarsh Inner Wheel Club Inc and Thebarton Women's Service Group. Rotary included among its many activities the support of international student exchange, improvements to the Thebarton Community Hall (the old Town Hall), the development of aged care facilities and help with Meals on Wheels rosters, the last mentioned of special value as many of the original volunteers are themselves becoming more frail. Hindmarsh Meals on Wheels, which serves the Thebarton district, delivered its 850,000th meal to Thebarton residents in May 1994, some indication of the importance of this service.

The Thebarton Women's Service Association has survived into the 1990s under the leadership of Cordelia Allen, Mary Richards and other stalwart workers. Over the years since its inception in 1921 the group has raised many thousands of dollars for both local and state-wide community service activities. With young women remaining in the workforce

or returning to it after their children go to school, it has been difficult for organisations such as the Women's Service Association to attract new members from the younger age group. However it is timely to recognise the contribution made by such volunteer organisations as Women's' Service Association, the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association, the Royal District Nursing Service together with auxiliaries for local kindergartens and schools. Many services that are well established and taken for granted today were established as a result of volunteer activity in the past and were often regarded as quite innovative when they were established, for example domiciliary nursing, aged care accommodation, CAFHS (Child and Family Health Service), library services, community bus and migrant support services. Local residents have been honoured with the Citizen of the Year and Young Citizen of the Year awards, which enable public acknowledgement of the role that an individual can play in developing local services and providing support for fellow residents. Amongst those who have been honoured are Cordelia Allen, Sister Constance, Barry Liccione, Mary Richards, Jay Elmslie, Reginald Langley and Darren Lee, Milton Lethbridge, Ryall Richards and Paul Pivatto, Alexander (Jock) Smith Walker, Joan Trembath, Allan Roney, Sidney Graham and Vi Gummow. Group of the Year awards have been made to the Friends of the Thebarton Library, Thebarton Community Arts Network, the volunteers of La Mensa and those of the Greek Pensioners Group. Most of them would say that they are only one of many who support their group, but together they have made significant contributions to the Women's Service Group, Red Cross, Thebarton Senior Citizens Club, Walkers Court (Elderly Citizens Homes), the aged and disabled, Aboriginal people and to Council itself.

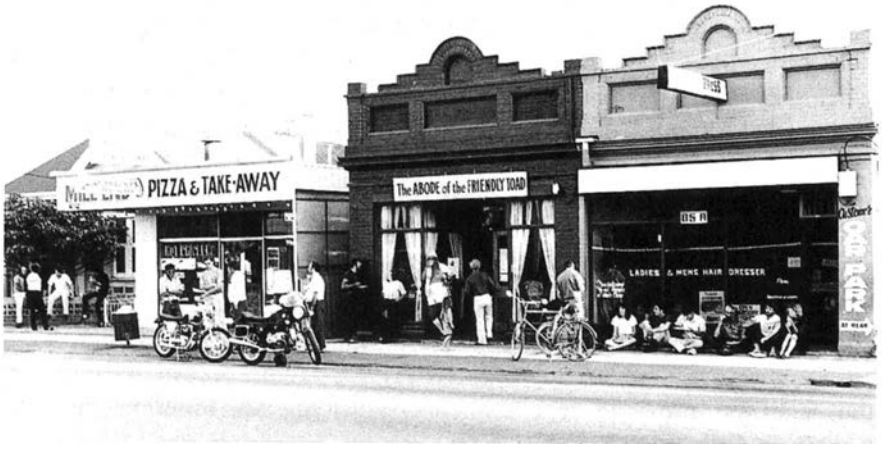
Sister Constance accepting her Australia Day Citizen of the Year Award 1984. These awards acknowledge contributions made in the field of voluntary work and community work in Thebarton

Thebarton Council has taken a leadership role in community services. It is a far cry from the old stereotype of local government being concerned only with 'roads, rates and rubbish,' and a remarkable contrast to the days when there were two people in the Council office. In 1979 the changing role of local government was reflected in the development of a newsletter to provide information about Council services and activities and to promote and coordinate community involvement in Thebarton life. This was followed by the establishment of the *Thebarton Times* local newspaper. By 1980 a multilingual staff could provide community development support. Other developments include the Thebarton Community Bus Service, which commenced operations in 1983, aided by generous donations from local service groups and a team of volunteer drivers. Rental accommodation for the aged was provided in conjunction with the SA Housing Trust at Centenary Village, Ballantyne Street (opened September 1983), and strata title units were opened at Kintore Street Village by 1984-5.

Council has operated an Information Centre since July 1980.1 The staff provide counselling, information and advice to individuals and groups on a wide range of matters, including Social Security benefits, taxation and resources available to the community. There has been support for recreational and social activities with imaginative use of local halls and the community bus together with support for special events. Disabled and aged people are helped with house cleaning and repairs. Community groups are assisted with development grants. As in the past, Council continues to provide health services such as immunisation. Thebarton Council, with expenditure per capita on community arts and culture well above the state average, has become one of the state's leading supporters of local cultural activities.[2]

Thebarton's churches continue to provide services on an informal basis, such as help for people who are frail or convalescent after illness. There are some social welfare organisations that are located in the Thebarton district, so that although they cater for clientele corning from a wide area they are particularly convenient for local residents. Examples of these are Toe H Australia SA Inc in Light Terrace and Churches of Christ of SA Community Care Services. Some groups such as The Abode of the Friendly Toad, Service to Youth-West Side Job Club, Stop '3', Options West and the Community Cafe in Torrensville, have provided services geared to youth and the unemployed.

Council's staff cooperate with state government services such as those provided by Western Domiciliary Care and Rehabilitation Service for residents who are frail or suffering from illness or injury. Health services include the town's hospital in Lurline Street which became known as the South West Annexe of the Ashford Community Hospital. Established in 1924 in a private house, the hospital became the Mile End Emergency Maternity Hospital in 1947 under Matron Paterson. A former nursing sister recalls how in those 'baby boom' years an iron shed was used as laundry, a sleep-out was used as nursery and new mothers had beds in



Diners at 'The Abode of the Friendly Toad' on Henley Beach Road. (Christmas, 1982) 'The old' and 'the new' in Thebarton is seen in the roof line of the shops (a reminder of 'old' Thebarton before the Second World War) and the Pizza shop, part of the postwar heritage. Courtesy: Marvin Sievers

an enclosed verandah.[3] The hospital was in danger of being closed in 1954 and again in 1957. Concerned professionals and residents took action, forming a management committee with representation from local government, service groups and medical practitioners, including former Mayor, Dr Jim Flaherty. New amenities were added in 1987, but the cost of running the thirty bed surgical and general hospital taxed the resources of the administration to the limit. The hospital survived through the 1991 sale and lease-back of its allocated hospital beds to the expanding Ashford Community Hospital, which in 1996 arranged to purchase the hospital outright.[4]

Thebarton has one little-known but valuable health service, Mulgunya Hostel, which provides accommodation for Aboriginal people receiving medical treatment in the Adelaide metropolitan area. Opened in 1991, it can accommodate ten people in addition to staff and has clientele from as far away as Darwin.[5]

Within the district there are special groups that reflect the large number of local people of European origin. Organisations that have meetings in Thebarton include the Greek Union of Aged Pensioners of Thebarton and suburbs (the Greek Pensioners' Group), La Mensa (the Italian Pensioners' Group), the Castellorizian Family Centre in Danby Street, the Messinian Association of SA, the Elian Society, Olympic Flame, the Pan Hellenic Dancing Group, the Pan Macedonian Association of SA, the Pylion Society of SA and the Slovak Society of SA. An example of a flourishing group catering for the ethnic community is the Greek Pensioners' Group, which is part of the Federation of Hellenic Associations for Pensioners and Aged (SA) Inc. Meetings are held on Fridays and attract as many as 200 people. The group provides the aged, frail aged and disabled people with the opportunity to socialise, enjoy a traditional meal, participate in activities and benefit from the general support of interaction with other people who share their cultural background. The group also addresses social isolation and loneliness, so that the elderly can continue to remain healthy and active and play an important part in society. This also applies to La Mensa, which has weekly gatherings for 60-90 people at which a

La Mensa Group Australia Day Award 1992. La Mensa, an Italian Pensioners Group has weekly meetings at Thebarton Senior Centre.

three course meal is served. Activities include day trips, guest speakers, cards and bingo. Separate groups meet for bocce and a gentle exercise class.[6]

Changes in community recreational facilities

As new people moved into the district and the age structure of the population changed there were new demands for recreational facilities. Publicity in the popular press for the activities of 'bodgies and widgies' in the 1950s gave some impetus to those who were attempting to provide mainstream recreational activities such as youth clubs, church sponsored groups and sports teams. The youth centre that was based at the RSL Hall and then at the Thebarton Community Centre in South Road was a good example of this kind of response. The immediate postwar years saw a number of sporting teams centred around local churches: basketball (later netball) teams, tennis and cricket clubs. Tennis clubs are said to have produced many a romance among participants. Holder Memorial once fielded four tennis teams and six basketball teams in addition to gymnastic and table tennis teams. The other churches such as Queen of Angels, St James' and the Churches of Christ were also active in this way. Church halls have been valuable as a venue for a wide range of activities: keep fit classes, dances, self-defence classes and youth projects such as the YWCA Drop-in project at the Methodist (later Uniting Church) Hall in Hayward Avenue, Torrensville.

Over the years residents worked hard to improve recreational facilities in the district but new facilities have also been developed by commercial enterprise. Football continued to be a passion for many people in Thebarton. Council began to implement some long term improvements on the local oval. It was decided that training of trotting horses would not continue but that facilities for people attending football matches should be improved. A new grandstand seating 1000 people was built at a cost of

£27,853, protecting football enthusiasts from the rain if not from the cold, and this opened in time for the 1957 season. By 1960 flood lights were added to enable night sports.

In the 1970s West Torrens Football Club was affected by the changes that saw the game, once an amateur sport, becoming more professional. League games came to be played at Football Park – the end of an era for local people who had gone to Thebarton Oval for so many years, meeting friends, supporting their team and barracking for sporting heroes such as Lindsay Head and the Hank brothers. Local resident Cyril Putland described going to the football 'each Saturday, rain or shine'; he and his wife would ride their bikes to matches as far afield as Elizabeth.[7] Author Barbara Hanrahan recalled the excitement of getting autographs:

> ... I ran across in my blue and gold stocking-cap (I had a rosette too) and got Charlie Pyatt and John Willis and John Mehaffey in biro in my book.[8]

Thebarton Oval remained for a time the venue for training and junior games. In 1991 financial and other pressures led West Torrens Football Club to merge with Woodville and the decision was made to transfer training for the newly-created Eagles to the Woodville Oval.[9] The change also meant that interested groups could express their ideas about the future of the Oval and Kings Park complex. The SA Rugby League Association, the SA Gridiron Association and the Adelaide City Soccer Club have been able to make use of the facilities.

West Torrens District Cricket Club, which uses the Kings Reserve, celebrated its centenary season in 1996-7. By the end of the 1994-5 season the club could boast that over the years it had had 58 members who represented South Australia while playing for the club. In addition, ten

Thebarton Asteras Soccer Club Inc. The increased popularity of soccer as a recreational activity was one of many changes that came with postwar migration.

men (IM Chappell, WM Darling, B Dooland, RA Hamence, GB Hole, D W Hookes, R McKirdy, P L Ridings, JA O'Connor and C W Walker) played for Australia in Test cricket and 'limited over' cricket, or were members of an Australian touring side while playing for the club.

Other clubs to operate in the town in recent years have been the Asteras Soccer Club and West Torrens Table Tennis Club. Asteras Soccer Club, established in 1978, became Thebarton Olympic in 1988. Interest in soccer was much influenced by postwar migration from Europe. Joe Fayad, who was then employed by Council as a recreation officer, was working with young people who tended to 'hang around' at a local reserve. Aware that the lads' interest in soccer could be channelled in a constructive way, he and Council were instrumental in persuading the Asteras Club to move to Thebarton. The town was able to provide good facilities for the club and the boys could get involved in it. It was a classic 'win/win' situation.[10]

A very different clientele supported two clubs established in the 1950s. Thebarton Bowling Club was established in 1950 on the corner of South Road and Ashley Street, followed by the foundation of Thebarton Women's Bowling Club four years later. Both attracting a loyal membership. Local women already had a croquet club that dated back to the 1920s; men were admitted to membership from 1954.[11]

Some developments were sponsored by commercial enterprises. In August 1981 the Ice Arena was opened on East Terrace on the site formerly used for the gasometer. The gasometer, erected in the 1870s, had been a local landmark until its demolition in 1975. The new building provided skating rinks for both conventional skating and ice hockey, restaurant facilities, a discotheque and later a snow ski slope.[12] Similarly a squash centre was developed as a commercial enterprise along Henley Beach Road.

The changes that saw the gasometer site become an Ice Arena were mirrored by the changes that saw another industrial site, that of Hallett's brickworks, become a commercial and recreational area. In June 1979, Council bought Hallett's brickyard for open space recreation. Since then the site has been redeveloped with extensive landscaping. Plans were made for an adventure playground, picnic areas, restaurant facilities, provision for a wide variety of stalls and displays to feature the industrial heritage.

Thebarton Aquatic Centre was developed with funds allocated to Henley and Grange Swimming Club by the federal government, with the aim of assisting in the development of community facilities. The grant enabled an existing pool in the grounds of the Senior College to be enclosed for all weather swimming.[13] (The funds were part of the famous 'whiteboard' allocations that led to the resignation of the federal minister, Ros Kelly.) Thebarton Council contributed both in cash and kind to the overall development towards the establishment of the toddlers pool, and signed an agreement with the minister which ensured public access. Thebarton Council has also cooperated with Hindmarsh and other 'riparian' councils to improve recreational facilities along the River Torrens. When European settlers first came to South Australia Aboriginal

people could fish in the Torrens and elderly residents talk of swimming and catching yabbies in the 1930s. Pollution in later years led to calls for public action and newspaper headlines such as 'Our River of Filth'.[14] While much still remains to be done, the development of the River Torrens Linear Park has provided new opportunities for walking, cycling and a wide variety of recreational activities.

Two large projects in the Mile End area have provided potential for extra recreation space in addition to new dwellings: the development of the Horwood Bagshaw site and the Mile End Railyards Redevelopment Project. These are significant developments for Thebarton which have involved cooperation between Council, state and federal government as well as the business sector. They have also stimulated residents to think about the kind of developments they would like to see in the future. Some thought that Thebarton had been for too long regarded as part of an industrial commercial area where residents should not expect the amenities found in the eastern suburbs.

Redevelopment of industrial sites for residential and recreational use can produce special management problems. For example, development of the Horwood Bagshaw site had to take into account pollution problems from its former use as a heavy industry site. Similarly, significant pollution of the soil restricts immediate use of the Mile End Railyards. However, with the development of new technology for treatment, including innovative bio remediation measures, planners are hopeful that the Thebarton district will acquire much-needed recreation space as well as further residential development. In January 1996 plans for a new, all weather netball stadium for the southern side of Hilton Bridge were being developed. A plan for a linear trail for walking and cycling, linking the Horwood Bagshaw site, Mile End site and parklands, has been explored.[15]

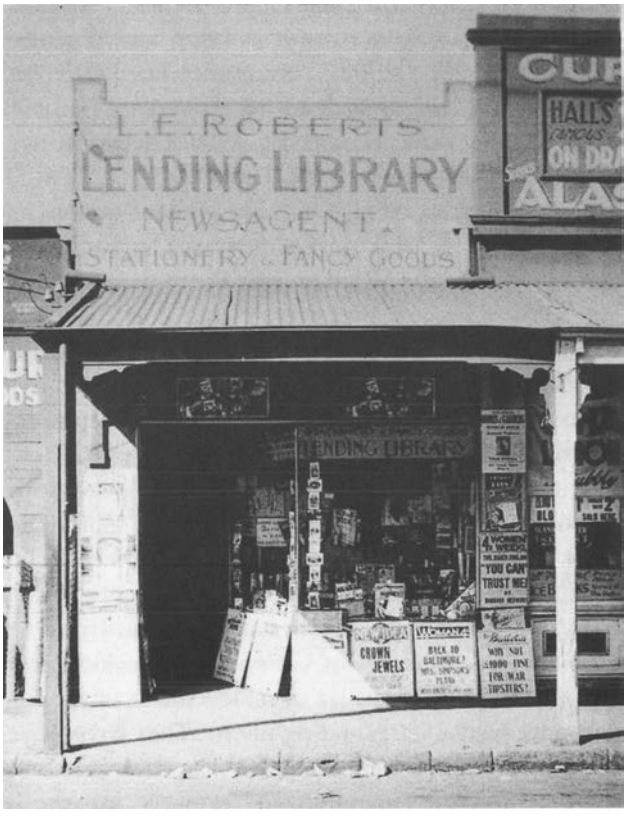
Recreation is sometimes associated with particular places, such as ovals and reserves, and particular teams, such as a cricket or football team. However special events are also important and one of note has been the Glendi Festival. The first Glendi Festival in 1978 was launched by the Lions Club of Adelaide Hellenic in association with the West Torrens Football Club. By 1979 the festival attracted 50,000 people and became established as one of Australia's biggest celebrations of cultural tradition. The dancing, singing and feasting is a community celebration of the Greek way of life with a strong emphasis on family entertainment. The festival, held for many years in Thebarton, moved in 1992, first to Wayville and then to Ellis Park near Adelaide High School.[16] Other festivals and fairs in the district have included street fairs and the 1993 Yassou Paniyiri Greek Festival. The Rhythms of Life Festival in 1993 brought together jazz and folk music, arts and crafts, children's activities and food and wine. Enthusiastically supported, such festivals pave the way for others.

The Mainstreet programme, which aims for economic revitalisation of Henley Beach Road and promotion of the town centre, was initiated by Council after an urban planning study. It has stimulated cooperation

between local business people and is one of the South Australian success stories among such projects. Those planning improvements to street scaping, such as tree-planting, and amenities along Henley Beach Road, hope that coffee shops and al fresco dining will provide an extra dimension to living in Thebarton. The town's younger residents eat out more than their grandparents and there is a growing demand for places where people can sit and chat; part of a growing cafe society that is seen in Norwood, Unley and North Adelaide.

Library services

There has been a quiet revolution in the provision of library services in the postwar years. Thebarton Public Library at 160 South Road is located in a fine old house, purchased from the Bridgman family. Built in the second decade of the century, the house has features typical of Federation influence.[17] Library services had depended in the early years of the century on private subscriptions and voluntary contributions, both in labour and kind. Barbara Hanrahan recalled receiving a prize of a year's free membership 'to the library by the Daisy Dell';[18] this was the Institute Library established in 1899. Many older residents remember using a small lending library run by Len Roberts at his newsagency and bookshop on Henley Beach Road. There were real limitations in the services provided for residents of the western suburbs and



Len Roberts' first lending library and newsagency on the southern side of Henley Beach Road, 1936-37. Later, he moved to a larger shop on the corner of Henley Beach and South Roads (where the BP Petrol Station is now situated.)
Courtesy: Len Roberts

in the 1960s and 1970s pressure mounted for state government funding to help improve local services. In 1972 the old Institute building was demolished and the library moved to 160 South Road. A Mobile Library was launched in October 1978. The new public library opened in 1980 and both the Institute Library and Mobile Library services were discontinued. Thebarton Public Library provides a free service to borrowers together with other facilities, such as interlibrary loans and computer access, not possible in the old days of the Institute library. Books, magazines and audio tapes are delivered to the home-bound, there are books in Italian, Greek and Vietnamese and an adult literacy programme. Computers available to the public are much used and increasingly information services will be available from the electronic network. The use of a building that was once a private dwelling gives the library a special, perhaps homey, atmosphere: success which is all the more remarkable given the location of the library on the busy South Road. Cups of coffee are provided by the Friends of Thebarton Library - a far cry from the days of the libraries of yesteryear when beverages were definitely out of order. By 1995 'coffee and the internet' was becoming a possibility for library users.

Community development: 'We want to work together to make Thebarton a better place to live in, work and visit'

A hundred years earlier, self-help activities in Thebarton had seen churches established, local government develop and organised sport grow. In the 1970s and 1980s the local community faced different challenges. Although it has always had its well-to-do residents, 'Thebbie' was still primarily a suburb for working people. By 1980 Thebarton not only had the highest density of migrants of any local government area in South Australia but also had a higher than average number of older persons and invalid pensioners.[19] A supportive federal government made available extra funds for local communities in the Whitlam era. There were special grants for local schools like Kilmara because they were classified as 'disadvantaged'. A proposal was developed in 1973 to establish a community centre on the site of the Thebarton Boys' Technical High School. It was to cost $3.5 million.[20] In October 1977 a small scale community centre opened using cottages purchased by the Education Department. By 1979 a wide range of recreation activities was being sponsored, including recreation camps, street festivals school holiday programmes and an annual Christmas Festival at Thebarton Oval. Plans for the community centre at the Technical High School site were eventually abandoned due to government and policy changes and in May 1980 community centre staff were transferred to Thebarton Council.[21]

Joe Fayad, Director of Community Development and Cultural Affairs, speaks with pride of the list of achievements of the community development staff since May 1980 - and rightly so. They have played a part in developing arts programmes, multicultural festivals, the community bus project, training schemes for the unemployed, projects for the aged,

school holiday programmes, community housing projects, tree-planting, park development, folk music events - the list seems endless. Community development helps residents to take action to improve Thebarton as a place in which to live, work and visit. Such an approach is geared less to doing things for people than working with them so they can help themselves. Community workers might help a migrant group set up a club for the elderly, then when it is functioning well, their role is to step back and leave the group to run independently. Such a successful evolution occurred in 1995 when La Mensa, the Italian Pensioners' Group, came to be run by its own management committee. All the work is valuable, but it is not always colourful or spectacular, as when the community development staff participate in a planning committee or advisory group. An example was the arrangements that went into organising for a group of refugees to be housed in Thebarton during 1995-6.

From 1982 Council joined with the Commonwealth Government in establishing a Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS). The CYSS programme, now independent, has provided services for young unemployed people. Over the years Council has been able to provide training opportunities for a large number of people through a variety of programmes for the long-term unemployed. Council has also been in a position to make a contribution to community activities through its management of halls and meeting places for groups. The old Town Hall, built in 1885, was gutted by fire in July 1948, but the main walls were left standing and it was rebuilt and named the Thebarton Community Hall. Thebarton Rotary Club began a project to provide modern amenities at the hall, with assistance from Council. In 1990 Council acquired a property at 10 Falcon Avenue, Mile End, from St James' Anglican Church in order to establish a Community Neighbourhood Centre which was officially opened in June 1992.[22] The Community House (also known as the Neighbourhood House) has provided an excellent venue for a wide range of community groups: the Thebarton Historical Society, support groups for unemployed people, young mothers and a CAFHS Child Health Clinic. Activities vary according to demand but have included sewing, painting, legal aid, health education and cooking classes. Sometimes people need to be taught skills that most gained at home in the 1930s. Clinic sisters tell stories of young women who are disadvantaged because they have not learnt basic cooking skills. An era of fast food has meant that some young mothers have not ever needed to learn how to peel a potato so that when it is suggested that baby be given some mashed potato they may think in terms of mashing potato chips. Whatever the activity, it is often the companionship and social contact that are most appreciated by participants.

Sometimes the community itself produces a group. The first Thebarton Residents' Association Oater renamed the Thebarton Community Association) was established in 1974 in response to concerns about the way old houses were being destroyed as industry expanded. The group also addressed issues such as noise from aircraft, traffic patterns and

the need for parks. Some of the members became concerned about the operations of the Australian Mineral Development (AMDEL) laboratories in Thebarton, particularly with regard to pollution issues, the handling of uranium and risks to children who gained access to the plant in evenings and weekends. Such issues were also of concern to Council and state government representatives. Members of the resident action group took an interest in a wide variety of local issues and some found themselves becoming involved in broader community development and planning issues including recreation and community arts. Some people were concerned that migrant residents were not being properly catered for, and felt that if migrants were to participate effectively in local affairs, special efforts had to be made to help them. In 1976 the Residents' Association set up an information service that catered specifically for the migrant population and a Greek information officer was employed for in May 1976.

One resident, Irene Melnik, who became heavily involved in community activities during the 1970s, has talked of her experiences. She was President of the Thebarton Aged and Invalid Pensioners Association and served on the Community Development Advisory Board, various committees of the Board and Thebarton Community Arts Network. Referring to her community participation, she said 'life in Thebarton has taught me a lot ... it broadened my outlook. Through being involved I learned things I never learned at school'.[23] As many as 200 people were active in such committees through the Community Development Board, bringing with them a wide range of skills and interests. In August 1980 the following committees were established: Recreation, Environment, Art, Aged, Education; Youth, Library, Multiculturalism, Information, Voluntary Agencies and early Childhood Services. In subsequent years there have been committees for women's affairs, the community bus and history. Irene Melnik represents a large group of residents who found that their participation in local affairs brought a real sense of achievement.

The Residents' Association itself waxed and waned over the years and changed its structure and name. In 1989 renewed concern was expressed over the encroachment of industry into residential areas. Issues of concern at that time included noise, traffic problems, pollution and handling of waste. The area particularly affected was bounded by Port Road, the River Torrens, Dew and Kintore Streets. In proposals for a Supplementary Development Plan (SDP), Council sought to redraw boundaries established in the 1960s and 1970s. Residents saw their lifestyle threatened whereas businesses such as Coca-Cola Amatil, Southwark Brewery, Keough's, A&D Mercury Pty Ltd and MHB Music feared that their expansion plans were at risk. Following a public meeting in February 1989, the occasion of public hearing of submissions in the exhibition stage of the SDP, some residents from George and Holland Streets initiated a further meeting at Dove Street Park at which a reconstituted Thebarton Residents' Association was formed. Both sides lobbied at the state level, each side gaining some concessions, with the Residents' Association able to obtain a hold order on development. The Residents' Association has also been active over the Horwood Bagshaw site and the development

George Grigoriadis with hottle washing machinery at Coca-Cola Amatil. Photographer: Ned Hobby

of park facilities there. They have pursued issues relating to the Mile End Railyards redevelopment and the location of adjacent roadways. Residents' Association candidates have been elected to Council and in time have become involved in the wide range of matters that today's elected members have to tackle. Printed Council proceedings are now voluminous, representing complex issues and consequent reports and position papers.

More demands are placed on both elected members and Council staff than earlier this century, and in turn they possess more varied skills and knowledge: professional training as well as business experience and cultural diversity. In recent years women as well as men have served as elected members and for a time actually formed a majority of members. Mayor Annette O'Reilley created local history when she became Thebarton's first woman mayor in May 1987 and she went on to become Thebarton's longest serving mayor.[24] Council staff have taken on wider responsibilities. They have been dealing with more complex planning issues and more expensive equipment, both inside and outside the Council offices, and they have been dealing with social problems in a way unheard of in the nineteenth century.

Supporting the arts

Visitors to Thebarton's Section #1 exhibition for the 1996 Festival Fringe commented on the healthy state of the arts in the locality and the fact that there were three different galleries close enough to each other to display works in the exhibition. The success of community art in Thebarton in the 1990s owes much to the enthusiasm of a group of local residents who have stimulated

the interest of local business and residents alike. Thebarton Community Development Board, established by Council in 1980, had an Arts Committee as one of its fourteen subcommittees and groups. A Community Arts Officer was employed from 1978 to 1980 and between 1980 and 1982, first by the Thebarton Community Centre and then by Council. Community activities that developed included a mural on the Ashley Street bomb shelter, film evenings, recreation and arts camps and holiday programmes for children.[25] Poetry readings, craft, music and drama activities were supported. In time Thebarton Community Arts Network (TCAN) developed, becoming an independent body in 1990.[26]

Council and large enterprises such as Coca-Cola Amatil and Southwark Brewery have been particularly supportive of local initiatives in the arts. The fine mural in Cawthorne Street adjoining the Coca-Cola site exemplifies what can be achieved when business and resident groups cooperate. Coca Cola Amatil helped provide funding for the mural. Other community arts projects have included a photography exhibition, street and park Arts Festivals and the production of posters on community issues. The Barbara Hanrahan studio, established in Maria Street by Thebarton Community Arts Network (TCAN), has sponsored workshops in lino printing and pottery. It also provided the base for the Postcards from Home Community Project which involved local women who have migrated to Thebarton. Across in Mile End, the Handspinners and Weavers Guild of SA Inc. has bought the hall previously owned by Holder Memorial Church on South Road, thus bringing a well-respected craft group to the town.

Junction Theatre Company, established in 1984 and based at the Old Town Hall, South Road, Thebarton, performs in such varied sites as workplaces, schools, prisons and community centres. It is a professional theatre company with a commitment to reach outside of the traditional theatre market, in the group's own words 'to bring high quality theatre to people who rarely benefit from the good things that theatre can offer.'[27] Meanwhile Thebarton Theatre provides a venue for popular music concerts. Since the building was opened in 1927 it has catered for a wide variety of activities: cinema, school concerts, ballroom dancing, graduation ceremonies and Sunday School anniversaries, in the 1960s Greek film nights and wrestling and in 1986 the National Table Tennis Championships and an Ecumenical Church Service. Behind the scenes sophisticated sound equipment may be found not far from the old varnished memorial boards listing Thebarton residents who served in the World Wars. The old style Town Hall reverberating to the sounds of today's popular music exemplifies Thebarton's blend of the old and the new.

History and heritage

Many people in Thebarton are very conscious of the town's long history as a residential area. In recent years several events have focused attention on Thebarton's history. There was a re-enactment of the first Council meeting

on 12 February 1883 at the Squatters' Arms Hotel on the centenary of the occasion, followed by a memorable Garden Party with many participants wearing period costumes. The celebrations also included a centenary cup soccer match, a ceremony at Mile End Railway Station, a children's procession along Henley Beach Road involving 700 children and the opening of the Centenary Village aged care complex. Three years later South Australia's 1986 sesquicentenary celebrated 150 years of European settlement and provided further opportunities for special events that included a photographic exhibition, table tennis and figure skating championships, a schools concert, a National Pipe Band championship and the Mayor's Jubilee Fete. A successful fundraising appeal saw the purchase of a Jubilee Community Bus in 1986. In one imaginative project two community workers employed by Council designed and developed a maze on the site of the Jubilee Peace Park in Gladstone Road, Mile End. Children from all the schools in the town participated by painting designs on planks that were assembled as panels for the maze. A community garden was established on land adjacent to Bakewell Bridge by local residents, environmentalists and students of Temple College under the guidance of Bob Emes. There were also plans to re-create Colonel Light's cottage but the scheme did not eventuate. Nevertheless, the Council centenary, the Jubilee 150 celebrations and later the bicentenary celebrations were occasions to celebrate, to reflect on past achievements, and

As part of the celebrations in 1983 to mark the centenary of Thebarton as a local government area, a historical re-enactment of the first Council meeting on 12 February 1883 was held at the Squatters' Arms Hotel.

to contemplate changes in community life. 'Back to Thebarton' events were popular and evidence of the strong community feeling that has existed in the town. In 1994 the life and work of Barbara Hanrahan was celebrated with 'Scent of Eucalyptus Walks' around the streets of Thebarton and Mile End. Well supported, these walks attracted many former residents and were the forerunner of other heritage walks planned for 1996.

When Thebarton's history is discussed, many a resident mentions mementoes, special pieces of furniture and memorabilia tucked away in cupboards: photographs of school and church groups, war medals, old letters and invitations, a piece of china, a sports trophy or old clock. Many are interested in the history of their own house or street. There are migrants who have mementoes of their homeland and Aboriginal residents who have special stories of their people. Thebarton Historical Society, a small but active group that meets in the Community House in Falcon Avenue, will try to record some of the stories and reminiscences of residents and collect mementoes into a resource collection for public use and enjoyment.

Children's services

Given the demographic changes in the district it is not surprising that there have been significant and dramatic changes in education and early childhood services. At one end of the age spectrum pre-school playgroups have been established and kindergartens now offer a wider range of services. However small enrolments at Thebarton Primary School led to its closure in December 1992, 113 years after its first morning assembly.[28] Children already enrolled there transferred to Torrensville Primary School. It may have been an 'economically rational' decision, but it was one that saddened many residents. St George College, a school established by the Greek Orthodox Community in 1984, now uses part of the Primary School site in addition to its Rose Street property. By early 1996 the college had an enrolment of 244. It is planned that a secondary section will commence in 1997, beginning with a year 8 class.

Torrensville Primary School, which began as the infant school section of Thebarton Primary School, is flourishing. Over the years it has had to cater for pupils from a wide range of overseas countries; former principal Dennis Southern recalled that with children from 36 diverse cultures it was an exciting place in which to work. They came from countries ranging from Czechoslovakia, Poland, the former Yugoslavia, Chile, Portugal, Spain, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Tonga and the Cook Islands. In some cases the children's parents were enrolled at the University of South Australia campus at Underdale. The school suffered damage when it was targeted by groups opposed to further immigration but this has been an intermittent rather than a continual problem.

Kilmara School, Kintore Avenue. The building was formerly used by the St John the Baptist Technical School.

Torrensville Primary School is one of a small number of schools with programmes for gifted children, the SHIP programme (for Students with High Intellectual Potential), so the school has a group of gifted children attending from outside the district.

Of the other schools in the district it seems that, like Thebarton Primary School, Kilmara School will also close. Kilmara Co-educational School was formed when St Joseph's Girls' School merged with the Marist Brothers Boys' School in 1975. The name Kilmara was chosen to honour the contribution to education of Mother Mary McKillop and the Marist Brothers. The Kintore Street Campus was used for Years 1-7 and the George Street Campus for Years 8-11. A large enrolment of children from Italian families in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in bilingual infant classes while Italian studies were fostered in upper primary and lower secondary classes.[29] With falling enrolments, the secondary part of the school closed in 1991 and the building is now used by the Catholic Education Department for staff training and development. At the time of preparation of this book it had been decided that Kilmara Junior School will merge with St Joseph's School at Richmond in 1997. There will be a combined school board and a free bus service to transport Thebarton children to Richmond. As with the closure of the Thebarton Primary School, the change is due to falling enrolments and the need to rationalise resources, but many people, especially old scholars and parents of old scholars, will be sad to see the end of an era.

School restructuring has also seen the demise of Thebarton Boys' Technical High School and Thebarton Girls' Technical High School. They have been replaced by Thebarton Senior College, a secondary re-entry college for Year 11 and 12 which caters for adults re-entering the school system and which also provides an intensive English language courses for migrants. Many regretted the loss of 'Thebbie Tech' and the special provisions it had made for young people who wanted to gain

practical skills. Author Barbara Hanrahan expressed a more negative view, regretting that local schools did not encourage a broader perspective and wider horizons for its students.

> I stayed at the Technical School.
> (And even as the litmus paper in the science lesson soaks up the acid and is transformed, so we soak up obediently the veiled lessons to our status, with which we are fed daily ...)
> I was part of a school that was a factory, pumping forth each year, from the swollen Commercial class, the girls who would go to work as typists and clerks. At eighteen they would be engaged, at twenty – married, at thirty – old.[30]

As part of the gains and losses in the secondary sphere a new co educational private school with an evangelical Christian emphasis has been established at 6–8 and 11 Henley Beach Road, Mile End. Temple Christian College was officially opened by the Mayor of Thebarton on 18 August 1984.[31] Facilities comprised Hardy's former two storey office building facing Henley Beach Road (converted to classrooms and a laboratory), and behind that the company's wine storage warehouse (converted to a general purpose activity hall), together with smaller buildings. The school has been able to use the nearby parklands for sporting activities. By the 1990s enrolments were approximately 300, with classes covering years 8–12.

For a younger age group there are pre-school playgroups and kindergartens and from 1985 a Parent-Child Centre. Lady Gowrie Child Centre continues to play an important role in the community. Kindergym, first established at the Community Hall in 1987, has enthusiastic supporters. Torrensville Preschool Centre (previously the Hatwell Memorial Kindergarten) in Ashley Street, Torrensville, is located on a site purchased for the Kindergarten Union by Thebarton Council in 1947.A committee led by Mrs M E Hatwell had opened a kindergarten in 1946 in the Methodist Church Hall in Hayward Avenue. A new building was opened in Ashley Street in 1956 and facilities have been upgraded over the years.[32]

Fire Station, Carlton Parade, Torrensville, opened in 1917, the first to be erected under the Fire Brigades Act of 1914. It is no longer in use. Photograph taken in 1980.

The churches and a changing community

Demographic changes and varied lifestyles have been reflected in changes in Thebarton's churches. An influx of people of Italian and Greek origin in the district brought about a significant increase in the numbers of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians in a district that had been predominantly Protestant. The Uniting Church, formed when the Methodist Church, the Congregational Church and most of the Presbyterians joined in June 1977, has restructured its activities as congregations have aged and declined in numbers. Some congregations combined, as was the case when the congregation of the old Methodist church in George Street transferred in 1979 to the Holder Memorial Church on South Road, now known as the Holder Memorial Uniting Church. The George Street building was then used by the Aboriginal Lutheran Fellowship of Greater Adelaide. Youth groups and the Women's Guild also shared the premises. Sadly, the fine old church buildings in George Street were demolished in the 1980s.

In the interwar years these churches had a strong commitment to Sunday School activities and in turn Sunday Schools had provided adult church members. Declining Sunday School numbers have been associated with declining church membership. In l 911 as many as 97 per cent of non-Roman Catholic children were enrolled in Sunday Schools, whereas this percentage declined to 75 per cent in 1933, 56 per cent in 1954 and less than 10 per cent in the 1980s. As recruitment from Sunday School and youth groups dropped, the average age of congregations rose. Increasingly congregations were over fifty with a predominance of women.[33]

In their heyday the Holder Memorial Sunday School Anniversaries were remarkable occasions. In the 1950s the Thebarton Town Hall was still being used for these events, volunteers removing the seats after the Saturday night picture show, platforms being erected and floral arrangements put in place, usually by 3 am. From 1942 an orchestra of about eighteen players led over two hundred children for the Anniversary singing, girls in white frocks and boys in dark suits, all wearing a red rose for the occasion and marching in and out with precision. The Sunday School was not quite as large as in the 1930s but was still a substantial one. The Rev. David Purling, later chaplain at Westminster School recalled 'As children we were nervous and excited by it all, it was huge! ... it was a social occasion that brought together relatives and friends and we had special lunches and teas with grandmas and aunts and uncles. They were indeed "big days" in our lives.'[34]

Often socials for young people were held on Friday or Saturday nights and sing-songs in private homes were popular after Sunday evening services. In the 1940s and 1950s the Methodist Church opposed dances but folk dances were considered acceptable. David Purling remembered the importance of the Sunday School picnic at Belair: 'people were not all that wealthy and "treats" such as buns, raspberry cordial and apples ... were welcomed as that "something extra" that was part and parcel of being at the Sunday School picnic.'[35]

In the 1990s the congregation of Holder Memorial Church struggles on valiantly. The original hall is now used by the Spinners and Weavers Guild and the church congregation has been reduced to a small group of about 20 people, mostly over 80 years old. The existence of a pre-school playgroup in the new church hall, erected behind the church, shows that there are young children in the district, but there is no longer a Sunday School for them to attend even if their parents were to encourage this. Torrensville Uniting Church has a much reduced congregation, mostly over 65. Holder Memorial has a well-run Thursday night outreach programme providing dinner and activities for people who are socially isolated, but the programme does not involve the regular congregation.

The Salvation Army has a Thrift Shop on Henley Beach Road but no longer has regular meetings in the district. The Salvation Army building on the corner of Light Terrace and Dew Streets was burnt down in the 1990s. At the time of the fire, the pressed metal structure, once located in Chapel Street, was not used for worship but as a store for second hand goods. The Baptist Church in Southwark suffered from a dwindling congregation in the post-war years and eventually the church was forced to close; the last service was held in 1969. The property was sold to J Inverarity Pty Ltd for storage use. Three stained glass memorial windows, installed in memory of Mr and Mrs N J Hone and family, Mr Arthur Burnell, and the Rev. S Bowering were transferred to the SA Baptist Union. The Arthur Burnell memorial window has been moved to the Seacombe Gardens Baptist Church. By contrast, the Mile End Church of Christ, one of the landmarks on Henley Beach Road, has survived into the 1990s with regular services and a flourishing Community Care Service. Services have attracted some of the former members of the Baptist Church. The Torrensville Church of Christ in Clifford Street is still used for worship and has recently added a new manse to the property.[36]

In common with a number of inner urban Anglican churches, St James' Church has seen a reduction in the number of parishioners and an ageing of its congregation in recent years. When Father Whitfield retired in August 1957 the building used for a chapel for the Holy Cross Mission in Chapel St had already been sold - it was demolished in 1961. Father L E W Renfrey (later Dean of Adelaide and Assistant Bishop), who succeeded Father Whitfield, maintained the Anglo-Catholic traditions of the parish. A keen cricketer, he supported the formation of a parish Cricket Club. A girls' basketball team competed in the United Church Association, a boys' club and a girls' club were formed, and also a Young People's Guild. Bishop Renfrey, who used to ride his bicycle to visit parishioners, remembers the excited 'crocodile' of Sunday School children going to the Mile End railway station to catch the train for the annual picnic and recalls how important the church was as a centre for social activities for young people.[37]

By 1966 numbers had fallen, finances declined and the church and rectory were in a state of disrepair. Jam tins were placed in the rectory hall to catch drips from the leaking roof No money had been spent on the school

building for many years and although there were still 60 children on the roll, the school, no longer financially viable, had to be closed in December 1968. The energetic new priest-in-charge, the Rev. P C Hunter, appointed in 1972, tackled parish financial problems in a novel way by obtaining a second-hand dealer's licence and opening an opportunity shop, 'Ye Olde Shoppe', in Henley Beach Road and then another shop in Nailsworth. In the years 1985-1995 there was some restructuring and reorganisation of resources. St Alban's Church in Richmond closed and the congregation amalgamated with that of St James'. By 1995 St James' had entered a more multicultural phase with some younger families joining the parish.

Queen of Angels Catholic Church continues to be a landmark on busy South Road. Barbara Hanrahan said of it, 'if you live in Thebarton you see the Queen of Angels spire poking up, even from the football grounds'.[38] What of the fortunes of the Queen of Angels congregation in the postwar years? As with other local churches, the future looked rosy in the 1950s. Youth work flourished in the early postwar years. A Young Christian Workers' Group (YCW) was formed and the group organised social activities rather similar to those that had been provided by the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS). Ultimately it replaced CYMS, which ceased playing football in 1964 and cricket in 1969. However Y CW itself ceased to function in Thebarton in about 1970. Attempts to start youth groups since the 1970s did not produce encouraging results. Difficulties in maintaining youth group activities were similar to the problems being encountered in other churches in the district. There had been active groups for young women which began in 1938 as the Junior Catholic Women's League OCWL), becoming part of the National Catholic Girls' Movement in the 1950s. They organised religious study groups, basketball teams, dress parades and debates with CYMS (which, an older parishioner recorded, they usually won). Young people started a Tennis Club late in 1956. The club played in the South Australian Catholic Lawn Tennis Association competitions until 1972, by which time most of the players had married and moved out of the district, a fate that met a number of other Thebarton church sporting teams at the time.

In the 1950s and 1960s church members, both old and young, supported a wide range of social activities, including parish balls, picnics, talent quests and games nights which raised funds for church and school. Then in the 1970s the impact of television had a dramatic effect on participation. The Catholic Women's League still has regular functions, the Festa Committee and the Rosario Vivente (Living Rosary) group have annual functions, and the Italian Senior Ladies have weekly card games. The popular Sunday Mass in Italian is a reminder of the impact of post war migration. However the parish has been hard hit by demographic changes in the district and many Catholics do not attend church. Parish council figures show that in 1975 there were an estimated 6000 Roman Catholics in the parish, with 456 young people in the parish schools and 1200 attending Mass over the weekend. By contrast, in 1995 there were only 56 children attending Kilmara Primary School and a little over 300

attending Mass over the weekends. While many metropolitan clergymen would consider attendances of 300 a triumph, for the Queen of Angels parish council the figures are a cause for concern.

The old established churches face the daunting fact that an ageing group of parishioners is burdened with the substantial costs of maintenance of buildings together with other costs. Yet loyal members of these 'older' churches soldier on in the 1990s. At times there are pleasant surprises, such as the community support which emerged for the fundraising for the overhaul and installation of the Queen of Angels War Memorial Angelus bell. The bell, a memorial to those who died and served for peace in the world, was rung every day for nearly 60 years. Lowered to the ground in 1981 when its platform became unsafe, it was silent for nearly ten years. Moving the bell to its new position in the church tower was no mean task, given that the Dublin-cast bell weighed well over a tonne. However the task was achieved by August 1991 and the Angelus is heard daily at midday and 6 pm. In days gone by priests, nuns, parishioners and school children rang the bell by heaving on its long chain to set it swinging - the lighter ones sometimes becoming airborne in the process - but the bell now has electrical swinging and striking mechanisms.[39]

Problems of declining attendance and a reduction in the range of activities, common themes with the older churches in the district, have meant that the wide range of social and practical help they were able to give to fellow citizens in days gone by has been greatly reduced. On the positive side there is better cooperation between the churches as old antagonisms have lessened. Meanwhile new places of worship have been established in the town. While Italians could attend the Queen of Angels church in the 1950s, Greek residents had to go to the city for worship and community activities. Today there are two Greek Orthodox churches in Thebarton, St George's Church in Rose Street and St Nicholas' Church in George Street. The two churches represent different views on ecclesiastical issues.[40]

The church of St George was established in January 1960 within the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. Approximately 350 attend services on a Sunday with up to 1000 on a special feast day. Some come to special events such as the Good Friday procession. There is a weekly youth group meeting, a Sunday School and a Saturday Greek School. Now that St George College is established, the demand for Sunday School and Saturday School is diminishing because religious instruction and the teaching of the Greek language are part of school life.

Members of the Greek Orthodox Church of St Nicholas acquired the site for their church in George Street in 1970. The solid building with its two towers replaced a temporary building where services were held for members of the Greek community from 1959. As at the church of St George there is a Philophtohos or women's society, which raises funds for people in need, and time is devoted to hospital visiting and other pastoral care. The church community of St Nicholas comes under the auspices of the Greek Community of South Australia.

Members of the Greek community are justifiably proud of the success of their community in Australia. For whichever church they support, they know that the buildings represent generous support from parishioners who have struggled to make their way in a new country. Today the solid church structures provide new landmarks in Thebarton and a link with traditions of worship that go back through the centuries.

The Thai Buddhist Temple in Smith Street is another symbol of multicultural Thebarton. One of the women who belongs to the Thai community explained how important it was to her to be able to go to the temple to pray and meditate, to observe the traditional festivals, and to talk to other Thai people. From the outside the building looks like a private house but inside 'the decorations look like Thailand'.[41] Her comments reflect a common theme in accounts that migrants give: the need to talk to other people who come from a similar background and who have similar values. Similar motives lie behind the sacrifices that people made not only in the postwar years but in earlier times as they established their places of worship, their clubrooms and their lodges.

Thebarton and the future

What of the future? Information provided by Thebarton Council projects that during the next fifteen years the proportion of overseas-born residents will remain high, perhaps 33% of the population, but that the proportion of Southern European-born community members will decline by almost half It is predicted that the South East Asian-born will fall to virtually zero. Thebarton is expected to remain an culturally diverse town. Furthermore the projections indicate that it will be a area of increasing prosperity, with a higher proportion earning incomes above the average full-time annual wage of approximately $25,000 and fewer, on the whole, earning under this figure. The exception is thought to be in the $0-$3000 bracket, which would include part-time workers such as students and women with dependent children.

Thebarton's average number of persons per occupied dwelling fell from 2.98 in 1976 to 2.37 in 1991. Such a trend is likely to continue. We can expect that there will be a continued trend towards a fall in population in relation to the number of dwellings. Examples of this would include a trend for more elderly people living on their own and relatively young couples with two incomes and no children. However car ownership will rise, it is thought that by 2001 most adults would have a car. As in Prospect and Unley, this pattern can be seen as a trend to 'gentrification'. There will still be many people who do not fit this pattern, such as people with three school-age children; but the general trend is clear. We can expect more cars and more restoration of old houses. Street tree planting undertaken in the 1990s should see some fine specimens gracing the streets of Thebarton in the first decade of the twenty first century.

In the field of business and industry we can expect heavy industry to continue to move away from the inner city and for its place to be taken by

commercial use, light industry or perhaps residential areas. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of these different uses – commercial, industrial and residential – will also continue to be a feature of the town.

The trend for restoration of old houses should ensure that Thebarton's residents will continue to enjoy the solid brick villas and bungalows built by former residents. Along with these there will be more compact dwellings built to accommodate those who do not want the traditional back yard and front garden. Many new residents will be happy to have a few pot plants in a courtyard garden rather than to spend Saturday morning mowing the lawns or tending tomatoes. Land that was once used to grow backyard fruit and vegetables will be used for an entire dwelling or as space to park two cars. So while in the early days of Thebarton those who prospered were anxious to get a sizeable piece of land, people who are quite prosperous today by those early standards often choose a relatively small block, perhaps the size of a workman's house in the early developments in Maria Street. A special project at the eastern end of Henley Beach Road, the Sir Thomas Elder Mews, has been designed to demonstrate affordable medium-density housing with an emphasis on noise attenuation. Such features as acoustic seals and double glazing are designed to reduce the impact of traffic noise on an arterial road.42 In terms of comfort, today's dwellings provide a remarkable contrast to the early days. The toilet is inside connected to a deep drainage system and the building may have ducted air-conditioning and will certainly have electricity. While in the interwar years people 'thought it was Christmas to get an ice-chest to replace the old Coolgardie safe', it would be rare for a house in Thebarton not to have some freezer space today.

Women have been entering the workforce to an increasing degree in Thebarton as elsewhere in the metropolitan area and social researchers tell us that despite the help that is provided by modern conveniences in the kitchen, women are still bearing a substantial burden in terms of the work at home. The more prosperous residents in nineteenth century Thebarton had a maid's room so there was another pair of hands to put away the shopping, bring in the washing or set the table. Yet if many women today bear the double burden of work both outside and inside the home, there a very few who would today have the heavy physical work involved in washing clothes with a scrubbing board or carrying buckets of water. Men, like women, are living longer than their colonial forbears. Tuberculosis, the illness that claimed the life of Colonel William Light, is rarely of concern; rather Thebarton's residents are concerned with the diseases of modern lifestyle associated with smoking, obesity and lack of exercise.

This book is dedicated to those who struggled to survive in Thebarton in days gone by. The early residents made a home in a new country in colonial days, carrying water to tend their gardens in the long, hot summers, struggling to grow crops under unfamiliar conditions, caring for small children when there was no running water, collecting materials to build their first two room dwelling. People struggled to establish businesses despite the boom and bust of the economy. Some had sons

and husbands who did not return from the fighting overseas, or who came home permanently scarred. Many struggled and survived during the hard years of the Depression and many helped their neighbours and friends to survive. For many the struggle is more recent: the migrants who left behind friends and family to come to Australia in the postwar years, who tried to cope with a new language, who waited for letters from 'home', watching children and grandchildren grow up with new customs and expectations. There have been many residents in Thebarton who have lived comfortably, even prosperously. But the town that is so often described is one where working people have battled to exist, struggling to pay their bills, making real sacrifices to support their local church or club. They went to the football when they could, listened to their favourite sport on the radio or television, planted their vegetables and pruned the roses, chatting to neighbours across the fence or outside the shops along Henley Beach Road. Sometimes they remind each other about days gone by: school days at Thebarton Primary or Kilmara or somewhere far away; queuing for the pictures at the Star Theatre; watching their heroes at the local oval or helping a friend to fix a car.

The planners talk of urban renewal and infill. There is new housing along the eastern end of Henley Beach Road and a project to develop the old Mile End Railyards, there are community arts projects and multicultural festivals. There are also changes of a more disturbing nature, such as an increasing number of break and enter crimes, heavy traffic along South Road and Henley Beach Road, and the possibility of changes in the airport curfew times. Despite all the changes, many residents say that Thebarton seems 'much the same' - and they would not want to live anywhere else. The sense of community is still very strong and even if changes in local government boundaries see Thebarton as part of a new and larger municipality, that strong sense of community will survive. Multicultural Thebarton with a great heritage of housing built between 1880 and 1930, thriving business and industry, a university precinct and a third of its population born overseas epitomises a society that has successfully blended old and new.[43]

References

1 Vicki Palmos was the Greek-speaking Information Officer and Rosalba Perri the Italian speaking Information Officer.
2 News Release, Australia Council, October 1991 in Council Minutes October 1991; Australia Council of the Arts, *Local government cultural funding,* prepared for the Australia Council by John Cameron, Redfern, March 1991, p. 51. The report rated Thebarton's expenditure on culture second in the metropolitan area after the City of Adelaide, and tenth in the state.
3 Information from Beryl Kelly of Torrensville, August 1995.
4 Information from Dr J Flaherty, February 1996.
5 Information from Onzlo Phillips, August 1996.
6 Bocce is a game of bowls played with steel balls, similar to the French game of petanque.
7 Interview with Cyril Putland, January 1996.
8 Barbara Hanrahan, *The Scent of Eucalyptus,* University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, QLD, 1993, p. 92.

9 See Minutes for Special Strategy, Resources and Policy Committee of Thebarton Council, 6 November 1990.
10 Manning, Thebarton History manuscript, p. 128; interview with Nick Flabouris, February 1996.
11 Information was supplied by members of the West Park Croquet Club to Ingrid Srubjan.
12 Manning, p. 112; *Town of Thebarton Newsletter,* Issue 4, June 1980; Issue 8, August 1981.
13 Information from Peter Bain, January 1996.
14 *Sunday Mail,* 27 June 1993 quoted in Manning, Thebarton History, p. 63.
15 *Mile End railyards redevelopment project newsletter,* no. 4, January 1996, p. 1 and *Thebarton Times,* February 1993, p. 6. Further information from Andrew Young and Councillors Peter Anastassiadis and Dermot Holden.
16 Information from the Glendi Festival Office, February 1996.
17 Eirene Bridgman said her father Hugh Bridgman purchased the house in 1917; it was probably built in 1910–12. Interview October 1995. The library, open to users on 14 October 1980, was officially opened by the Mayor of Thebarton on 30 November 1980.
18 Hanrahan, *Scent of Eucalyptus,* p. 154.
19 Thebarton Community Centre Review of Operations 1977–1980, 21 April 1980, in Thebarton archives.
20 Education Department of SA, Community Centres Project: Angle Park, Thebarton, Bulletin no. 1, December 1973; *Thebarton-Mile End-Torrensville Community Newsletter,* vol 1, no. 2, September 1975. Another community centre was planned for the site of the Angle Park Boys' and Girls' Technical High Schools; this became the Parks Community Centre.
21 *Thebarton Newsletter,* Issue no. 4, June 1980.
22 Minutes of Strategy, Resources and Policy Committee Meeting held 27 February 1990 and *Thebarton Times,* June 1992. There had been an earlier Community House at 48 South Road, Torrensville.
23 Information from Irene Melnik and Bob Kingston, January and February 1996.
24 In a further 'touch of history' Annette O'Reilley is the daughter of S J Hamra, former mayor of West Torrens.
25 Council Minutes, October 1991.
26 *Thebarton Times,* Issue 18, July 1990.
27 Information from Junction Theatre, January 1996.
28 *Advertiser,* 19 December 1992, p. 17.
29 Manning, p. 184.
30 Barbara Hanrahan, *The Scent of Eucalyptus,* p. 179.
31 The school was first located in temporary premises in Unley Park, commencing in February 1983.
32 Information from Emmy Kiriakou, September 1996.
33 Donovan, *Between the city and the sea,* p. 245.
34 Hunt (ed.), *'Much to be proud* of,' Holder Memorial Uniting Church, Mile End, 1983, pp. 42, 50.
35 Hunt (ed.), *'Much to be proud of',* p. 49.
36 Information from Frank Rogers, Church of Christ treasurer, April 1996 and Gwen Wright September 1996.
37 Information from the Right Rev L E W Renfrey, March 1996.
38 *Weekend Australian,* January 7–8, 1984.
39 Information on the history of the church provided from the Queen of Angels Church archival collection and *Southern Cross,* 10 January 1975.
40 M P Tsounis, *The story of a community: a short pictorial history of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia,* undated, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, Adelaide, [c1990], pp. 55, 57, 71, 73; additional information from Nick Ganzis, March 1996 and the Very Rev. Diogenis Patsouris, February 1996. Also see C Price (ed.), *Greeks in Australia,* ANU, Canberra, 1975.
41 Timmi Campbell in *Postcards from home,* p. 10.
42 Information from Secretariat, Green Street Better Housing Choices, GPO Box 9848, Canberra, ACT.
43 On 3 June 1996 Thebarton and West Torrens Councils signed a Memorandum of Understanding to amalgamate. If amalgamation is successful, the new council will be proclaimed early in 1997.

Appendices

Conversion to metric measurements and currency

Conversion of measurements

1 inch	25.4 mm
1 foot	30.5 cm
1 yard	0.914 m
1 mile	1.61 km
1 acre	0.405 ha
1 ounce (oz)	28.3 g
1 pound (lb)	454 g
1 pint	568 ml
1 gallon	4.55 litres

Conversion of prices

The following table was prepared by Richard FitzHerbert in 1988, and published in Tim Hewart, the *Elders Explosion: One hundred and fifty years of progress from Elder to Elliott* (1988).

FitzHerbert used data published in the 1977 *Transactions of the Institute of Actuaries in Australia.* The basis of conversion is a price index. His table enables a rough approximation of current day values. Below are some extracts from the table.

Example: £15 0 0 in 1900. Multiply by 2 to convert to decimal currency = $30. Multiply by 38 (the factor in the table to cover inflation to bring to 1988 prices) = $1140 Thus £15 0 0 in 1900 equates in round figures to $1140 in 1988.

1860/1	28
1880/1	34
1900/1	36
1920/1	19
1940/1	18
1960/1	6.4
1980/1	1.6

Some useful dates

1786	Colonel William Light born in Penang.
1837	Col Light started the survey of town acres.
1838	Col Light selected Section 1 in what is now known as Thebarton. First race meeting for the colony held at Thebarton Racecourse on New Years Day.
1839	Death of Col Light. The site of his house, known as Theberton Cottage, was later absorbed by the Faulding company. Spelling of Theberton used 1839-40. First sub-division of Section 1 began in 1839
1840	Market Tavern opened. (1848 renamed Butchers Arms Inn. 1870 renamed Mile End Hotel.) Brickmakers' Arms (otherwise known as Bricklayers' Arms) opened. Great Tom of Lincoln (also known as Great Bell of Lincoln) opened. Thebarton Cricket Club formed.
1842	Adelaide Hunt Club formed.
1843	Football (variant of Gaelic football) held in Thebarton.
1844	River Torrens floods wiped out some hotels. Wheat Sheaf Tavern opened.

1847	Wesleyan Church built in Chapel Street.
1848	Kudnarto, Kaurna woman married European man, Tom Adams. State's first legal marriage between an Aborigine and European. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel opened. First wrestling match in colony recorded, held at Thebarton Racecourse.
1850	Foresters' and Squatters' Arms Hotel opened (now Squatters Arms Hotel).
1852	District Councils Act provided for election of a local council and the levying of rates if supported by ratepayers. Government passed responsibility of upkeep of district roads and streets to local councils.
1853	District Council of West Torrens proclaimed. 153 buildings recorded in Thebarton.
1854	Thomas Hardy began planting vineyard.
1856	First South Australian Jockey Club formed.
1858	First Taylor's Bridge built.
1860	Select Committee estimated that the Kaurna tribe numbered 300 people. 143 churches and chapels in Adelaide and the suburban villages. Adelaide Football Club formed.
1861	West Torrens divided into 5 wards: Reedbeds, Plympton, Hilton, Thebarton and Mile End.
1863	Work began on a new Thebarton Wesleyan (Methodist) Chapel, George St.
1864	Thebarton Methodist Church in George Street opened. First Adelaide Cup (horse-racing) held.
1870	Gas works (gasometer) built in Thebarton by Provincial Gas Company.
1872	Piped water supplied to suburban Adelaide through Hope Valley Reservoir.
1874	University of Adelaide established.
1878	United Free Methodist Church purchased vacant church in Chapel Street.
1879	Thebarton Primary School and headmaster's residence opened. Work began on first section of deep drainage and sewerage scheme which was to extend to Thebarton. Advanced School for Girls established. Population of South Australia reached 250,000.
1880	First horse tramway to Thebarton district. Arrangements made for West Torrens District Council to use a hall built by Joseph Stevenson on Henley Beach Road.
1881	Chemical Works established (later known as Adelaide Chemical Works Company).
1882	First police station in Kintore St. Apollo Candle and Soap factory opened.
1883	First meeting of Thebarton Corporation. Foundation stone laid for Baptist Church in Phillips St. First building of Queen of Angels church opened. Foundation stone laid for St James Church of England. Church built on Fisher Terrace (now South Road) as West Adelaide Bible Uniting Church (later Mile End Methodist Church).
1884	Plans for township of Mile End submitted by South Australian Company.
1885	Opening of the original Town Hall. St Joseph Convent opened.
1886	Opening of Torrenside Brewery (later Southwark Brewery). Southwark Hotel built.
1888	Hindmarsh and Thebarton both serviced with deep drainage (sewerage) and piped water.
1893	Hardy's cellars, laboratory and a cottage built at Mile End.
1894	St James' Church of England Day School established.
1895	St John the Baptist School opened in George St (boys previously taught in Formby St from 1891)
1896	G H Michell & Sons began in Hindmarsh/Thebarton.
1897	West Torrens District Cricket Club formed. The West Torrens Football Club joined the S.A. Football Association. Adelaide Bottle Company Pty. Ltd. (pickaxe bottles) began its operation.
1899	Thebarton Institute Library established.
1900s	Union Engineering Company and Austral Sheet Metal Works relocated from the City of Adelaide.
1901	1,662,000 horses in Australia - about 1 horse for every 2 inhabitants.
1902	District Trained Nursing Service established (now known as Royal District Nursing Society - RDNS).
1909-10	Subdivision in what is now known as Torrensville.
1910	Opening of Electric Tramway service between Adelaide and Henley Beach. Star (Plaza) Theatre opened.

1911 United Methodist Church built on Hayward Avenue, Torrensville.
1912 Building of Perry Engineering Company factory began.
1913 Torrensville Congregational Church opened.
1914 First World War begins.
Severe drought in state.
Thebarton Methodist Church kindergarten erected.
Foundation stone laid for Holder Memorial Church, Mile End.
Babidge's moved to Mile End.
1915 Queen of Angels Church opened.
State referendum led to closing of hotels at 6 pm.
1916 Second building of Queen of Angels Church opened.
Fire Station in Carlton Parade established.
Opening of Holder Memorial Church.
1917 Masonic Hall built.
Mason and Cox (engineering firm) established in Holland Street.
Presbyterian Church opened.
1919 Construction of Wheatsheaf Hotel commenced.
Thebarton Technical School opened.
1920 West Park Croquet Club formed.
1921 State population reached 500,000.
Opening of Thebarton Oval.
Thebarton Women's Service Association formed.
1922 New 2-storey Wheatsheaf Hotel opened.
1923 F H Fauldings opened plant at Thebarton.
New tram route opened.
1924 Thebarton Council first in state to introduce zoning regulations under the 1923 Building Act.
First radio stations started broadcasting in South Australia.
Horwood Bagshaw (engineering firm) developed at Mile End.
Savings Bank of South Australia opened at Mile End.
West Torens Football Club won premiership.
A hospital began in a private house in Lurline Street, now Ashford Community Hospital Outreach.
1925 Mile End Church of Christ opened in Danby Street.
Bakewell Bridge opened.
1926 New Central School building opened at Thebarton Primary School.
1928 Official opening of Thebarton Girls' Technical High School.
Thebarton Town Hall offices completed. New Town Hall opened.
1930 'Talkie pictures' shown in Thebarton.
New northern tram tracks opened Henley Beach Road.
1933 Jubilee of Corporation of Thebarton.
St John the Baptist Memorial School opened.
West Torrens Football Club won premiership.
1934 Spate of new buildings along Henley Beach Road, especially at Torrensville.
1935 Torrensville Congregational Church opened.
1937 Official opening of Walter Burley Griffin Incinerator. Weekly collection of refuse begins.
1939 Start of Second World War.
Boy Scout and Girl Guides Hall opened adjacent to original Town Hall.
River Road became a public road.
1940 Lady Gowrie Child Care Centre opened.
Petrol rationing introduced.
1941 Roman Catholic Technical School opened in George St.
1942 Sub-Control Station completed.
Stricter rationing of household items began.
1943 C E Wyatt resigned after 30 years as Town Clerk.
Marist Brothers began teaching at the Brothers of St John the Baptist.
1944 Thebarton Youth Centre opened.
1945 End of Second World War. Unemployment and Sickness Benefits introduced.
1946 West Torrens Football Club Ccaptain, Bob Hank, won Magarey Medal.
1947 First traffic lights outside City of Adelaide are switched on intersection of Fisher Terrace and Taylor's Road (now South Road) and Henley Beach Road.
Mile End Emergency Hospital opened
West Torrens Football Club Ccaptain, Bob Hank, won Magarey Medal.

1948 Original Town Hall burnt.
1949 First mass-produced car, the Holden, was released.
1950 Petrol rationing ended. Thebarton Men's Bowling Club established.
1952 Coca-Cola Bottlers moved to Thebarton.
1953 The one hundred thousandth Holden rolled off the production line.
1954 Metropolitan Tramways Trust (MTT) began removing tram tracks along Henley Beach Road. Royal Visit. Thebarton Women's Bowling Club established. Men admitted membership to West Park Croquet Club.
1956 W.D. & H.O. Wills (Aust.) Ltd. (tobacco wholesalers) opened new premises in Thebarton.
1957 Mile End Hospital became a Community Hospital. Last trams along Henley Beach Road.
1958 New Infant School on corner of North Parade and Hayward Ave, Torrensville in use.
1959 Television stations NWS9 and ADS7 began transmission. Temporary building for Greek Community church services built.
1960 Greek Orthodox Church of St George established.
1961 Old Methodist Chapel in Chapel Street demolished.
1964 Southwark Baptist Church sold.
1967 Ten o'clock closing in hotels introduced.
1968 Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS) plan (north-south corridor) completed by Liberal Government.
1970 Members of Greek Orthodox Church of St Nicholas acquired site in George Street. Gladys Elphick, descendant of Kudnarto, awarded MBE for service to the Aboriginal community. Adelaide West United Parish formed.
1972 Council bought Bridgman house at 160 South Road to be site for library. Institute Library moved.
1973 Minister of Education for SA submitted a proposal for the establishment of community centres on the site of the Thebarton Boys' Technical High School and Angle Park Boys' and Girls' Technical High Schools. A joint planning committee was formed to look at establishing the proposed community centres. Barbara Hanrahan's *Scent of Eucalyptus* published.
1974 Building of Senior Citizens Centre. First Thebarton Residents Association established, later renamed Thebarton Community Association.
1975 Gasometer demolished. Kilmara School opened.
1976 Information Service specifically for migrants set up by Thebarton Residents Association.
1977 Methodist Congregational and most Presbyterian churches joined to form Uniting Church Manager and staff for Thebarton Community Centre proposal appointed.
1978 Design report for Thebarton Community Centre submitted to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works. First Glendi Festival. Asteras Soccer Club established, later became Thebarton Olympic. Mobile Library launched.
1979 Council published first community newsletter. Steering Committee for the preparation of the history set up by Council. Community Development Minister, the Hon. J Bannon (Labor Government) stated that $4.5m would be allocated to commence construction of the Thebarton Community Centre. Allocation of funds for the Thebarton Community Centre proposal was not made by the new Liberal Government. Council purchased the Hallett Brickworks site. Aboriginal Lutheran Fellowship of Greater Adelaide Inc. used the vacant Methodist Church in George Street.
1980 Thebarton Council expands its services with a Community Services Department with staff transferred from the abandoned Thebarton Community Centre Council's Information Centre opened. Thebarton Public Library opened. Institute and Mobile Libraries discontinued.
1981 Thebarton Ice Arena opened, now known as Mount Thebarton.
1982 State government decision to widen South Road and not to proceed with MATS plan, north-south corridor.
1983 Thebarton Council celebrated centenary with numerous events through the year. Centenary Village in Ballantyne Street opened and Centenary Community Bus service began.
1984 Temple Christian College officially opened.
St George College established.
1984-5 Kintore Street Village units opened.

1986	Thebarton joins in state's sesqui centenary celebrations (150 years of European settlement),
1987	Mayor Annette O'Rielley became Thebarton's first woman mayor. Kindergym program established in Thebarton.
1988	Thebarton Council held functions to celebrate Australia's Bicentennial year.
1990	Thebarton Community Arts Network (TCAN) became an independent body.
1991	Opening of Mulgunya Hostel. West Torrens Football Club merged with Woodville Football Club to become the Eagles. Closure of Thebarton Primary School and Kilmara Senior School. MATS plan abolished.
1992	Opening of Community Neighbourhood House in Falcon Avenue. Thebarton Primary School closed. University of Adelaide opened its Commerce and Research Precinct and Office of Industry Liaison in Thebarton.
1994	Thebarton officially acquired its first poker machines.
1995	Plan for tree planting in all streets in Thebarton over the next 5 years.
1996	Amalgamation negotiations began between Thebarton and West Torrens Councils. Kilmara Junior School prepares to close.

Mayors

1883	Benjamin Taylor	1926-1928	Harry Sumner Hatwell
1883-1887	Edward James Ronald	1928-1931	Matthew Watson
1887-1888	Bartholomew J McCarthy	1931-1937	Jules Langdon
1888-1890	James Manning	1937-1939	Harry Sunmer Hatwell
1890-1893	Edwin C Hemmingway	1939-1942	Albert George Inkley
1893-1894	Robert Burns Cuming	1942 - 1944	Oliver R Turner
1894-1897	William Weber	1944-1946	Arthur Avalon House
1897-1901	Charles Boxer Ware	1946-1949	John Witty
1901-1903	Robert Burns Cuming	1949-1956	Frank Alan Haddrick
1903-1904	Charles Boxer Ware	1956-1960	Norman Edwin Najar
1904-1908	William H Good Enough	1960 - 1967	Raymond Leslie Crafter
1908-1911	Alfred Williams Styles	1967-1968	Ray Ernest Brereton
1911-1913	Alexander A Collins	1968-1971	Colin George T Shearing
1913-1916	Thompson Green	1971-1974	Henley Ross Heddle
1916-1917	Arthur William Lemon	1974 - 1980	Dr James A Flaherty
1917-1919	Alfred J Blackwell	1980-1985	John Francis Keough
1919-1922	James Leonard Leal	1985-1987	John Alan Lindner
1922-1924	Alfred Henry Pretty	1987-	Annette P O'Rielley
1924 - 1926	Edwin Thomas Isley		

Town Clerks

1883-1884	Charles Loader
1884-1905	Abel William Parker
1905-1907	Hubert Henry Cowell
1907-1908	Ernest Fredrick Clark Filsell
1908	Stanley Hopkins Shephard
1908	Edwin James Filsell (Acting)
1909-1913	John Joseph White
1913-1943	Charles Edmund Wyett Q.P.)
1944-1945	Charles Landers Ryan Q.P. A.F.I.A.)
1945-1953	William Herbert Brady Q.P.)
1953-1968	Reginald Cecil Tucker Q.P. F.A.S.A. A.C.I.S. A.I.M.A.)
1968-1973	Robert George Lewis Q.P. A.A.S.A. A.I.M.A.)
1973-1977	Melvyn John Baker Q.P. A.A.S.A. A.I.M.A.)
1977 - 1986	John Anthony Hanson Q.P. Dip. L.G. A.I.M.A. A.A.I.M.)
1987-1995	Wolfgang Waclawik (A.A.S.A. C.P.A. A.I.M.M. A.A.I.M. A.I.M. Dip. L.G.)
1995	Alan John Radbone (Acting) (B.Ec. A.S.A. A.I.M.M. Dip. L.G.)

The Corporation of the Town of Thebarton

Staff as at 15 September 1996

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER *(Acting)*

Alan Radbone

CORPORATE SERVICES

Alan	Radbone	*Director Corporate Services*
Sharon	Carver	*Accountant*
Joanne	Clements	*Receptionist/Cashier*
Jane	De Casto	*Administrative Officer*
Linda	Fenton	*Assessment Officer*
Damir	Kopasic	*Records /Administration*
Christine	Kuys	*Receptionist/Cashier/Parking*
Barry	Liccione	*Administrative Officer*
Eleanor	Maitland	*Finance Officer*

ENGINEER ING & TRAFFIC SERVICES

Graham	Copley	*Director Engineering & Traffic Services*
Trevor	Bennetts	*Driver/Gardener*
Timothy	Bracken	*Acting Ganger*
Barry	Dyer	*Technical Officer*
Bruce	Fell	*Head Gardener Foreman*
Robert	Heffernan	*Construction & Maintenance*
Joe	Ielasi	*Technical Officer*
Lisa	Kirwan	*Gardener*
Trevor	Maggs	*Depot Clerk*
Kim	O'Riley	*Gardener*
Leigh	Pedder	*Construtction/Maintenance Worker*
Peter	Richardson	*Works Foreman*
Frederick	Tessari	*Concrete Finisher*
Neville	Tricker	*Concrete Finisher*
David	Tuffin	*Construction/Maintenance Worker*
David	Ward	*Horticultural Groundsman*
Gregory	Weidner	*Carpenter/Bitumen Worker*
Ross	Williams	*Works Supervisor*

ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES

Andrew	Young	*Director Environmental Services*
Mark	Allen	*Building Inspector*
Andrew	Gourlay	*Dog Control/General Inspector*
Steven	Kubasiewica	*Planning Officer*
Colin	Simpson	*Environmental Health Officer*

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Joseph	Fayad	*Director Community Development & Cultural Services*
Francis	Buring-Pichlar	*Kindergym Leader*
Kristina	Barnett	*Neighbourhood House Program Coordinator*
Jason	Follett	*Receptionist/Clerical*
Susan	Farbridge	*Library Assistant*
Rosa	Forgione	*Community Bus & Community Support Services*
Cali	Galouzis	*Children & Youth Services Coordinator*
Millie	Gentilcore	*Exercise Group Leader*
Abdi	Girre	*River Torrens West Researcher*
Hannah	Jazinski	*Library Assistant*
Davorka	Krecinic	*Community Development Worker*
Ales	Krecinic	*Community Development Worker*
Anita	Kumar	*Adult Literacy Coordinator*
Milton	Lethbridge	*Halls Caretaker*
Leona	Michalantos	*History & Information Officer*
Jennifer	Morphett	*Library Assistant*
Shipya	Murati	*Neighbourhood House Receptionist/Clerical*
Vicki	Palmos	*Community Support Services Coordinator*
John	Radcliffe	*Chief Librarian*
Angela	Schibani	*Library Assistant*
Katerina	Siahamis	*Library Assistant*
Robert	Tenikoff	*Bus Driver/Clerical*
Christopher	Winzar	*Support Cook*

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News
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Register
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Southern Australian
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Weekend Australian

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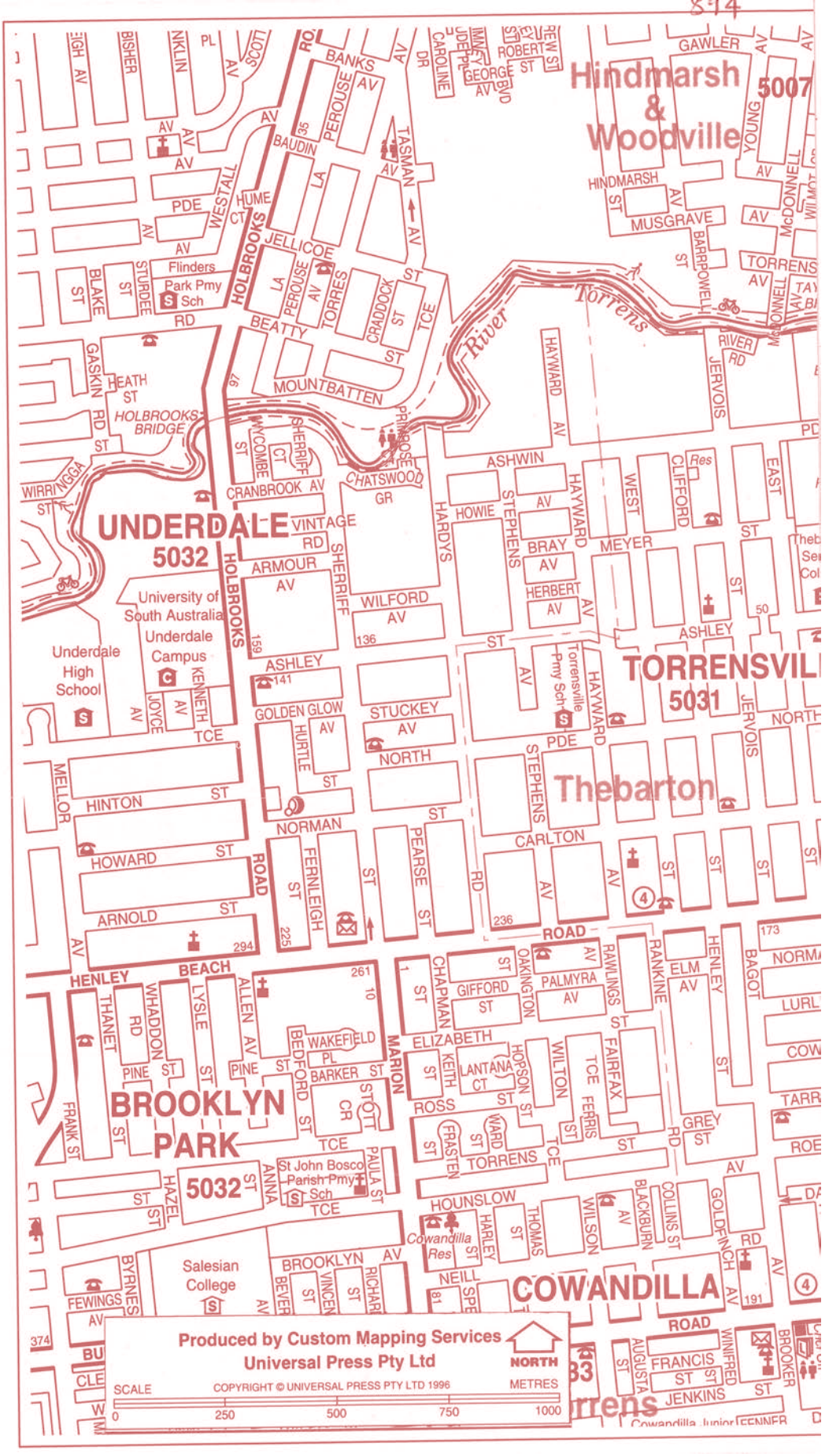

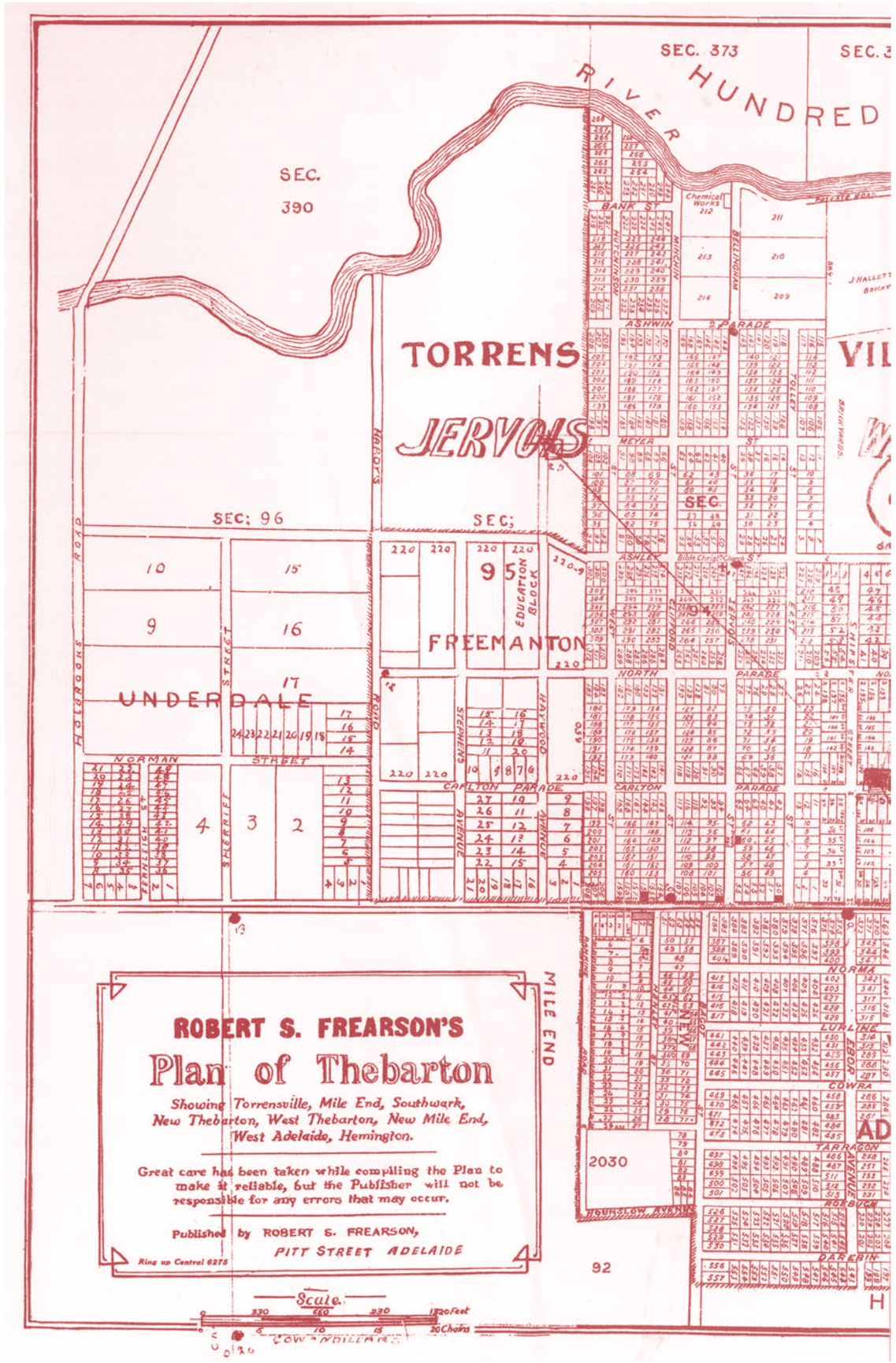
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RIVER
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390
TORRENS
JERVOIS
SEC; 96
SEC;
FREEMANTON
UNDERDALE
ROBERT S. FREARSON'S
Plan of Thebarton
Showing Torrensville, Mile End, Southwark,
New Thebarton, West Thebarton, New Mile End,
West Adelaide, Hemington.
Great care has been taken while compiling the Plan to make it reliable, but the Publisher will not be responsible for any errors that may occur.
Published by ROBERT S. FREARSON,
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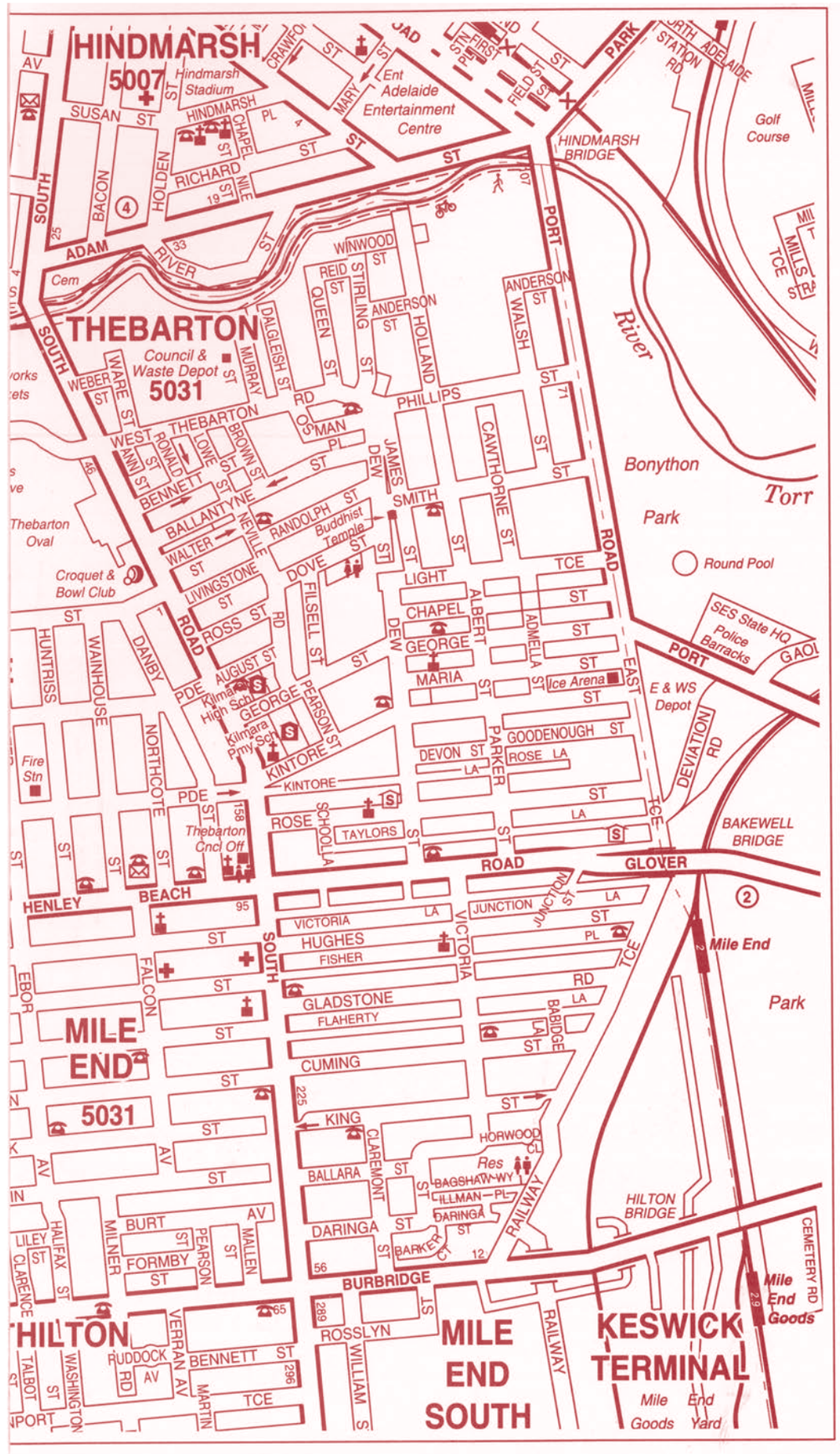
Ring up Central 6275
Scale.
MILE END ROAD
2030
92


HINDMARSH
5007
Hindmarsh Stadium
Adelaide Entertainment Centre
HINDMARSH BRIDGE
Golf Course
THEBARTON
Council & Waste Depot
5031
Bonython Park
Torr
River
Thebarton Oval
Croquet & Bowl Club
Buddhist Temple
Round Pool
SES State HQ
Police Barracks
Ice Arena
E & WS Depot
Fire Stn
Thebarton Cncl Off
BAKEWELL BRIDGE
Mile End
Park
MILE END
5031
HILTON
MILE END SOUTH
KESWICK TERMINAL
Mile End Goods Yard
HILTON BRIDGE
CEMETERY RD
Mile End Goods
RAILWAY