

## Thematic History of the Town of Gawler

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Flightpath Architects Pty Ltd  
**ABN** 16 085 522 014

101 Hindley Street  
Adelaide  
South Australia 5000

**T** +61 882 116 355  
**F** +61 882 116 344

[www.flightpatharchitects.com.au](http://www.flightpatharchitects.com.au)

PO BOX 8198  
Station Arcade  
South Australia 5000



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- Nancy Cromar (Flightpath Architects);
- Deborah Morgan (Flightpath Architects);
- Kate Paterson (Flightpath Architects);
- Douglas Alexander (Flightpath Architects).

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## Contents

Acknowledgments.....	1
Contents.....	1
1.0 Introduction .....	2
1.1 Background .....	2
1.2 Study Area.....	2
2.0 Land and Settlement .....	3
2.1 The First Inhabitants and Contact .....	3
2.2 Migrating.....	3
2.3 Promoting Settlement .....	4
3.0 Developing the Local Economy.....	4
3.1 Surveying the Land .....	4
3.2 Settlement of the Survey and Township .....	5
3.3 Utilising Natural Resources.....	7
3.4 Stone.....	7
3.5 Pastoralism and Primary Production.....	8
3.6 Communications.....	8
3.7 Transport and Transport Infrastructure.....	9
3.8 Developing Local Industries and Commerce.....	11
4.0 Building the Township .....	18
4.1 Planning Urban Settlement .....	18
4.2 Services .....	20
4.3 Making Settlements to Serve Rural Australia.....	23
5.0 Working.....	30
5.1 Organising Workers and Workplaces.....	30
6.0 Educating .....	31
6.1 Associations, Libraries and Institutes for Self-education.....	31
6.2 Schools and Other Educational Institutions.....	32
7.0 Governing.....	33
7.1 Administration .....	33
8.0 Cultural Life.....	35
8.1 Recreation .....	35
8.2 Forming Associations.....	37
8.3 Worshipping .....	37
8.4 Commemorating the Fallen.....	38
8.5 The Arts and Sciences.....	38
9.0 Marking the Phases of Life.....	39
9.1 Dying.....	39
10.0 Chronology (1839 – 1984).....	39
Appendix 1: Selected Bibliography .....	48

## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.1 Background

A detailed thematic history of Gawler was prepared by Hignett & Co Architects and Planners as part of the *Gawler Heritage Study Stage 1* process in 1981. While that history was divided into chronological phases, it was not modelled on the now commonly accepted National Australian Historic Theme Framework. Much of that historical information has been incorporated and is acknowledged in the preparation and drafting of this review.

The Framework was developed in 1998 and provides links between the different regional stories in Australia's history and the heritage places which help to illustrate, or demonstrate, that history. The framework also recognises that State and Local historic themes have also developed in parallel. It deals only with historic values, although it recognises that natural, social, scientific and aesthetic values may also reside in a place. There is a deal of repetition within this document, however this is necessary in order to include relevant information under each of the relevant theme headings, thereby facilitating easier linkage between the various themes and the information pertaining to individual structures in the data sheets.

In summary, the thematic framework:

- provides a vital structured approach to local heritage survey work;
- guides both the survey work itself, as well as informs the assessment of values of individual places as well as groups of places arising from a survey;
- helps with understanding the specific history of places in a wider context, relating the specific history to broader historical themes in the local area, including whether such themes are more or less important, with many or few places related to the theme, and provide clues to the relative importance of specific places; and
- provides a safety net to ensure consideration of important themes which are not always obvious amongst the readily found and most obvious population of heritage places.

This commissioned Thematic History of the Town of Gawler takes the relevant sub-groups of The Framework and explores how they relate to the local historical context and identifies how that has shaped the physical environment which exists today.

The following tasks have been undertaken in order to prepare the Thematic History of the Town of Gawler:

- Review the existing Thematic History as prepared for the *Gawler Heritage Study Stage 1*;
- Source and review other published histories on the development of the Town of Gawler;
- Prepare a revised, brief thematic history of the Town of Gawler with chronology focussed on construction events.

It is important to understand that this *Thematic History* is not a complete chronological history which records the development of Gawler since its establishment. Further, the aboriginal history of the Town of Gawler municipal area does not form part of this brief thematic history.

### 1.2 Study Area

The study area covers the whole of the Town of Gawler municipal area, including the suburbs of Bibaringa (5118) (part; shared with City of Playford); Evanston (5116); Evanston Gardens (5116); Evanston Park (5116) (part; shared with City of Playford); Evanston South (5116) Gawler (5118) Gawler East (5118) Gawler South (5118).

## 2.0 Land and Settlement

### 2.1 The First Inhabitants and Contact

Gawler's rich history begins with the local indigenous population, the Kaurna people, who are recognised as the traditional custodians of Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains, an area which takes in the Gawler township. Amongst many traditional, culturally significant sites in Gawler for the Kaurna people are the three rivers – the North and South Para Rivers and the Gawler River – which provided many resources to the indigenous people. The Parridla Taikondi Park, sited at the junction of the three rivers, was also a traditional meeting place.

The Kaurna language is the original language of Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains however the Kaurna people from the Gawler district spoke a different dialect from those in other districts. The Kaurna language was sophisticated and complex and reflected the extensive knowledge of the environment that the Kaurna people possess. When Gawler was first settled by Europeans in 1839, some early settlers apparently went out of their way to learn the Kaurna language and South Australia's second Governor, George Gawler (after whom the town of Gawler is named), encouraged the colonists to record Aboriginal names so that these might be placed on early settlement maps. The word 'Para' is derived from the Kaurna word 'Pari' meaning a stream of flowing water.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.2 Migrating

Gawler's first white settlers arrived at Glenelg in South Australia from Liverpool on January 15, 1839 onboard the tall ship 'Orleana'. By the end of that month, John Reid, Stephen King and Henry Murray had travelled to Gawler to inspect the land they had acquired through the Special Survey and by February, John Reid had established his residence at 'Clonlea'<sup>2</sup> (see 3.2). Murray was the youngest son of a minor Scottish noble; King was a prosperous farmer from Lincolnshire in England; and Reid was a wealthy merchant from Newry in Northern Ireland. The ownership of the acreages in the survey were divided among nine other British families in addition to Reid, Murray and King: these being Johnston, Porter, Tod Brothers, Patterson, Fotheringham, Stubbs, Sutton and Rev Howard. All of these settlers hailed from various parts of Great Britain.

Following the mapping and initial settlement by the British, the area became the backdrop for migration and through travel by European settlers. Overlanders from New South Wales herded their stock through Light's Pass down the Barossa to the Adelaide plains to feed the rapidly growing population in Adelaide<sup>3</sup>. Pastoralists and miners both moved through and settled. A significant proportion of the European settlers were from German states. In early Colonial times, Germany was not a nation, but rather a collection of small states and principalities<sup>4</sup>. The state religion in northern Germany was Lutheranism. Like Anglicanism it was controlled by the crown, but subject to chronic dissent and breakaway groups. Many non-conformists from both religions emigrated overseas to find religious freedom. In South Australia this migration from various parts of Europe led to the State becoming a 'paradise of dissent' with no official State church<sup>5</sup>. Lutheran immigrants who came to SA were all termed 'Germans' by British colonists, but in reality they were of much more diverse ethnic composition. Indeed, many of the Barossan 'Germans' had more similarity to Slavonic tribes than Teutonic origins. Nonetheless, virtually all the early pioneers were Prussian subjects who saw themselves as suffering religious persecution and who were seeking their 'promised land'. An early pioneer from Germany was Pastor August Kavel who led around 200 followers to set up home in the region near Gawler.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/discover/about-gawler/gawler-heritage>

<sup>2</sup> Whitelock, D., *Gawler: Colonel Light's Country Town*. p. 38

<sup>3</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 21

<sup>4</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 253

<sup>5</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 253

By the mid-1840's, the religious motivation for much German immigration had become less marked. However, considerable migration to the region continued with well-educated groups from Berlin and the hinterland settling in Buchsfelde (near Gawler) including the illustrious Dr Schombergk who was instrumental in the development of the Gawler Institute in the 1860's<sup>6</sup>.

Another significant wave of immigration came after the Second World War. The Department of Immigration settled about 1000 displaced migrants in the Gawler area, mostly from the Baltic states and Poland. The post war immigration program also brought thousands of British people to the new residential areas of Salisbury and Elizabeth where car manufacturing plants were being established. At the same time, settlers from southern Europe were creating market gardening ventures nearby on the flats of the Gawler River<sup>7</sup>.

### 2.3 Promoting Settlement

Gawler was identified by Colonel William Light, Surveyor General, in his search for extensive sheepwalks as part of a wider remit to explore and survey the fertile parts of South Australia. He recognised the potential of the hill where the North and South Para rivers converged to form the Gawler river, surveyed the area and sketched the plan for Gawler Town, naming after its second Governor George Gawler who steered the town through difficult times as successor to the 'somewhat disastrous' Captain John Hindmarsh<sup>8</sup>.

The foundation of the township of Gawler was characterised by far-sighted planning unique among South Australia's country towns. There was seen to be 'ample scope for natural evolution and development of a harmonious mixed commercial and residential complex'<sup>9</sup>.

The initial phases of settlement of Gawler township in the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be described as pioneering (1839-1848); settlement (1849-1870) and industrial (1871-1900)<sup>10</sup>. Beyond this the phases of development are more complex and rather than by chronology are more usefully delineated by the themes identified by the National Australian Historic Theme Framework highlighted previously. These themes are developed throughout the subsequent sections of this report.

## 3.0 Developing the Local Economy

### 3.1 Surveying the Land

Given the proximity and immediacy to the greater area of Adelaide, the Gawler region was quickly investigated in the search for valuable, tenable land beyond the city which would be suitable for settlement and development to the new Colony of South Australia. The South Australian Colonisation Commissioner had selected Colonel William Light as Surveyor General and he visited the area a number of times in 1837 and reported well<sup>11</sup>.

The government's 'Special Survey' method of land survey and selection was established at the end of 1838, in a move to rescue the Colony's disastrous financial position. Contentious and subject to great scrutiny and criticism for a number of reasons, for the short period in which they were available, the surveys formed the basis upon which many large landholdings were successfully established. As many of the surveys, including that of Gawler proved, they were used to effectively pick the best of the good land, particularly that which was located along South Australia's bountiful rivers. By August 1839, only eight months after the first Special Survey had taken place, thirty-two Surveys, amounting to nearly

<sup>6</sup> Whitelock, D. p.65

<sup>7</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 173

<sup>8</sup> Whitelock, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Hignett & Co. p.2.

<sup>10</sup> Hignett & Co. p.2-3.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/placenames/research-publ/8-18Kadlitiya.pdf>



half a million acres had been sold; thirteen of these were to the north and north-east of Adelaide.

Most of the original owners of the Special Surveys also established private townships in the most suitable location and made huge profits from selling town blocks. As thriving self-sufficient communities, they supported the growth in population and spread of cultivation at the time. Gawler was one of the first country townships to be formed in the British Colony of South Australia; 4,000 acres of land had been selected in 1839 as a speculative venture by Henry Dundas Murray, John Reid and a syndicate of ten other landholders in the 'Gawler Special Survey' beside the North Para River<sup>12</sup>. Murray, King and Reid had arrived in South Australia in January 1839 and the next month they rode out to the 'Para Pass' after Light had recommended the site to them.

The Gawler town site was surveyed and devised by July 1839 by the former Colonial surveyor, Colonel William Light under the auspice of his own firm Light, Finniss and Company.

As Surveyor General, Light was responsible for the site selection and planning of the town of Adelaide. Unlike Adelaide, which was planned on a central grid, Gawler's topography was taken into account to form a triangular town centre. The key features of the Gawler design included Town Acres, wide streets in a grid design and parklands encircling large tracts of common land<sup>13</sup>.

At the core of the original area selected by Light is that now recognised as the Church Hill State Heritage Area. 'In both choice of site and layout Light provided the basis of significance which survives in Gawler today. The series of squares on Church Hill, use of parkland reserves to the river frontage, sympathy to topography to the north-south escarpment provide a strong physical and visual character'<sup>14</sup>. The township was to comprise 240 acres which was to be made up of 100 acres of allotments (as 200 half acre allotments) and 140 acres of streets, parklands, city squares, churches, cemeteries and other public places<sup>15</sup>.

Criticism levelled at the original plan in that while well planned for commercial and residential use, it was not well considered for industry or growth. In that regard, further haphazard subdivisions grew around the township to accommodate growth and industrial activity was fitted into the existing town plan<sup>16</sup>. Despite these criticisms with the benefit of hindsight, the original Gawler Town plan is now "hailed as the jewel in the heritage crown of urban development north of Adelaide"<sup>17</sup>

The importance of Gawler as a "key to the north" was recognised very early and although the volume of anticipated through-traffic by road was much reduced by the subsequent initiation of other means of transportation (by sea, rail and the River Murray) in the 1850s, Gawler had by then already become an established commercial centre with its own local industry and trades, serving both the farming districts and its own growing population.

### 3.2 Settlement of the Survey and Township

Of the twelve founding proprietors of the initial Special Survey, it was John Reid and his family who became the first Europeans to settle Gawler, taking up his 630 acres on the banks of the North Para River in February 1839. Reid named his property 'Clonlea' and on arrival the family lived in tents, then later in a four roomed wattle and daub hut<sup>18</sup>. By 1840 Reid had 24½ acres under crop, however Gawler was described as still 'little more than a survey site with a few pine shacks and a handful of town's people'. It was part sheep walk, part farm, but mainly important as a camping and refreshment stop for travellers'; this was, until the discovery of copper at Kapunda in 1842.

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<sup>12</sup> Taylor Weidenhofer, *Church Hill Management Plan*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> SMEC, p. 31

<sup>14</sup> Hignett & Co., p.4.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor Weidenhofer, *Church Hill Management Plan*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Taylor Weidenhofer, *Church Hill Management Plan*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 188.

<sup>18</sup> SMEC, p. 31

An official statement in 1840 described the settlement thus: 'Gawler Town is situated near the junction of the North and South para rivers with the River Gawler. It contains one very good inn, one public house, police barracks, two smith's shops, six dwelling houses and 34 inhabitants<sup>19</sup>.

Travellers passing through the property increased dramatically in numbers, following the discovery of copper further north, the increased settlement in the Barossa and with the droving of sheep and cattle from New South Wales, which led the Reids to establishing the 'Old Spot Hotel' in Murray Street. Despite the prospects, the Reid's financial issues led them to selling most of the 'Clonlea' property (including the newly laid out town of Willaston), leaving only the homestead (now demolished) and approximately 40 acres of land.

Between 1842 and 1846, the population of Gawler was principally comprised of the early pioneers and those for whom it became an ideal stopping place travelling between Adelaide and the mines further north. The transporters of the ore to Port Adelaide and return trips laden with supplies used Gawler as a rest stop. A bridge had been built over the North Para in 1842, the South Para was still being crossed at the ford at Dead Man's Pass (formerly Para Pass) until 1849 bridge was constructed.

The original township boundaries were extended as demand started to grow in the early 1850s, including Willaston in 1848; Gawler East in 1849; Bertha in 1850; and Evanston in 1853. By 1848, the population had grown to 300 with about 60 buildings located mainly along Murray Street and on Church Hill. By 1851, Gawler had a population of over 1,000, a flour mill and two breweries, and was regarded as the 'key to the north'. Light's original plan of the town was adhered to without control or oversight by any form of government, but that was soon to change<sup>20</sup>.

With the subsequent growth of industrial activity and of the resident population, the township was rapidly extended beyond its original boundaries and permanent residential settlements were formed to the east and south and an industrial/residential district was created to the west, centring around the Gawler railway terminus. In 1850 plans for the new northern townships of Bertha and Willaston were deposited and the following year the subdivision of Gawler East was completed, reflecting anticipated development of settlement along the Main North Road and adjacent to the growing commercial centre of Murray Street. Willaston was brought within the District Council of Mudla Wirra in 1854, but retained its character as a separate township, with its own services and small industries including in 1863 'one blacksmith's shop, one machine maker's workshop, one brickyard, one lime kiln, one saw mill, three general and four wheat stores, a Post Office, Council Chambers and one hotel'. Considerable growth in the mid-1860's saw the establishment of a school, cemetery, Wesleyan Church and Post Office<sup>21</sup>.

In April 1853 and in February 1858 respectively, sub-division plans of the new townships of Evanston and Gawler South were deposited. In September 1857 blocks in the new town of Gawler West were sold at auction and in March 1858 Bassett Town was surveyed and laid out by George Warren. Evanston appears to have represented speculative development along the southern approach by road to the main township. Gawler West was a direct result of the decision to terminate the railway line from Adelaide (completed in 1857) some distance from the township and the expected establishment of industry and services near the station. Gawler South and Bassett Town were laid out to connect the station with Murray Street by road and in anticipation of settlement along the connecting routes<sup>22</sup>. Although these subdivisions did not attract much settlement in this period (except for Gawler South which began to grow rapidly in the late 1860's) and were not included in the Gawler Corporation boundaries until many years later, they contributed to the north/south extension of settlement, reinforcing the pattern dictated by the physical features of the original Gawler Town site.

<sup>19</sup> SMEC, p. 31

<sup>20</sup> SMEC, p.32.

<sup>21</sup> Loyau, G.E. The Gawler Handbook. p.109

<sup>22</sup> Hignett & Co. p.11

### 3.3 Utilising Natural Resources

During the first decade, most of the buildings erected on Murray Street and Church Hill were makeshift structures, built of cypress pine, mud bricks, stone and locally harvested limestone (calcrete). "The houses...(are) nothing but the ground floor and no cellars...Some (are) posts stuck in the ground and mud plastered between. There are not half dozen houses alike the whole length of the street"<sup>23</sup>. As such many were later improved or demolished to make way for more substantial structures.

During the late 1850's and throughout the 1860's many of Gawler's finest buildings were created using the plentiful building supplies at hand. Lime and brick kilns had been established in Willaston and Gawler with the local limestone being extracted from quarries in Willaston and Bertha. Bluestone was obtained from the hills-face south of Gawler and used for several buildings such as the Institute, the New St George's church and the railway station. Both plain and corrugated iron were supplied by Padman & Co and cedar timber came from a Victorian sawmill.

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, quarrying still formed a large part of local industry. About 800,000 tonnes of sand, clay and gravel are quarried each year providing 7% of the State's annual requirements of these materials in the 1980's<sup>24</sup>.

### 3.4 Stone

The earliest stone buildings in Gawler would have made use of the most readily available material; the calcrete, or paddock limestone, that is widespread as a thin surface deposit in South Australia. Local calcrete deposits were harvested from the Willaston area as well as west of Gawler towards Ward Belt. Used primarily as rubble walling, calcrete was unsuited to dressing due to its rough character however many Gawler buildings, particularly cottages, were built with external walls of calcrete. Many more had internal partition walls of calcrete with external walls in a more "imposing" stone. A good example is a boundary wall opposite the police station and courthouse in Cowan Street. Local calcrete was also burnt in lime kilns in Gawler and Willaston to produce lime for mortar<sup>25</sup>.

Calcrete is prone to salt damp attack and most Gawler examples illustrate the old, unsightly and ineffective cure of cement rendering the lower part of the wall.

'Gawler Bluestone' was a significant, quality stone which was quarried from a handful of small excavations in the hills face, south of the town. Geologically, the local bluestone is slaty and characterised by yellow-brown iron oxide coatings which line regular joint or fracture planes dividing the stone into pieces. The stone was generally laid to expose these coated surfaces as the face. Some Gawler buildings show extensive chiselled dressing of the stone with a coarse, combed effect. Most Gawler bluestone buildings are jointed with mortar that has been mixed with a quantity of cinders (sourced from the railway steam engines) to add a dark tone to the mortar joint.

Some of the more prominent buildings constructed of bluestone also include dressings of high-quality 'Gawler Sandstone' for quoins, banding, plinth and string courses. Used in buildings constructed between 1858-1908, the stone appears very durable, however the source is unknown. A second sandstone to be used in Gawler, 'Smithfield Sandstone' is from further afield and not as commonly in use. There were other sandstone buildings erected in Gawler prior to 1928, however the origin of that stone is unknown. Many other stone types have been used in Gawler buildings, particularly dwellings, after 1928. Given the ease of transport from this time onwards, they are less likely to be local<sup>26</sup>.

Roofing slate was extensively used on early Gawler buildings. A surviving example is St. Georges Church of England, where the nave is roofed in purple imported slate, with some "courses" in light grey slate from Willunga, S.A. The transepts were also re-roofed in imported slate. Slate roofing also

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<sup>23</sup> Whitelock, D., p.189.

<sup>24</sup> Whitelock D., p.206.

<sup>25</sup> Hignett & Co., p.146.

<sup>26</sup> Hignett & Co., p.146.

survives on a number of small stone outbuildings located on Station Lane to the rear of dwellings fronting Twelfth Street, Gawler South.

The McKinlay Memorial (1874-75) is of interest as it consists of four different stone types. The main structure is the high-quality Gawler Sandstone of unknown location, while the carved stonework forming the arches is limestone, imported from Bath, U.K. at a time when readily carved stone suitable for capitals and similar details had not yet been discovered in South Australia. The dark stone carrying the inscription is basalt from Melbourne, Victoria (usually referred to as bluestone in that State).

### 3.5 Pastoralism and Primary Production

In his survey Light provided a prescient forecast of the Gawler area's potential as both a hub for transport to the North and the Murray river from Adelaide but also for settlement for both agricultural and wine growing purposes<sup>27</sup>.

Following relatively slow settlement in the first decade, the 1860's-80's saw Gawler's prosperity rise to a peak and its important position in the economy of the Colony become widely recognised, largely as a result of its response to opportunities from agricultural (and latterly mining) production. This was a time of general prosperity in South Australia. The extension of agriculture to the north (over a half a million acres were occupied between 1869 and 1872) resulted in a great increase in grain production and new impetus for the Gawler mills being built by the entrepreneurs of the time. Of even more significance was the demand from farmers for a wide range of agricultural implements to clear and plough their land and from the newly settled districts for railways to bring supplies and take away their grain.

### 3.6 Communications

In 1843, following several unsuccessful petitions by residents for a regular mail conveyance, Henry Calton established a regular weekly mail service between Gawler and Adelaide and his hotel served as post office until a postmaster was formally appointed in 1849<sup>28</sup>.

Telegraphic communication had been established between Gawler and Adelaide early in 1857 and initially telegraph operations were undertaken from premises on James Martin's workshop property (Lot 14 Murray Street) adjoining the Post Office run from George Gozzard's premises on Lot 15. The new telegraph station was completed in 1860 and in 1863 postal services were transferred to the Telegraph Station until a new Post Office was built next door. In 1866, postal and telegraphic services were formally combined in the new building<sup>29</sup>.

Although a telephone exchange had been established in Gawler since 1889 this means of communication only became widespread in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the number of subscribers increasing from 28 in 1908 to 769 in 1956, with the replacing of the hand-cranked instrument with a battery powered form. By 1968 an automated exchange removed the need for an operator assisted service<sup>30</sup>. In 1973, a new Post Office was also completed.

The year 1857 was an auspicious one for the development of Gawler Town in terms of transportation and communications, being the year that the Adelaide to Gawler telegraph was completed, the year that the northern railway was extended from Adelaide to Gawler, as well as the year the town's first bank and the Gawler Institute opened<sup>31</sup>. In that same year a Scottish printer, William Barnet, arrived in town and opened his business; two years later a group of men formed the 'Gawler Humbug Society' and in 1863 Dr George Nott and Barnet published a newsletter named the 'Bunyip'. Several prominent South Australian journalists contributed including E Lindley Grundy, George Isaacs, Ephraim Coombe

<sup>27</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Coombe, E.H., *History of Gawler 1873 to 1908* (p. 14).

<sup>29</sup> Loyau, G.E. *The Gawler Handbook*, p. 109.

<sup>30</sup> 'Bunyip' 8 Jan 1969 p. 8

<sup>31</sup> SA Memory, 'Bunyip', <http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=2596>

and George Loyau<sup>32</sup>. The Bunyip evolved from monthly newsletter to country South Australia's first newspaper in 1885. Passing from generation to generation of the Barnet family until it was sold in 2003, the newspaper continues to be published to this day.

### 3.7 Transport and Transport Infrastructure

Its location, established approximately forty kilometres from Adelaide on Main North Road on the main historic route northwards to the Mid North region of South Australia, meant that Gawler prospered early in its history. The discovery of copper nearby at Kapunda and Burra shortly after settlement resulted in Gawler becoming an important stopping point between Adelaide and the mines.

Throughout the 1840's, transport was primarily by horse, bullock dray and on foot. The weekly public mail conveyance between Gawler and Adelaide was also used for transportation and in July 1841 this became a bi-weekly service. By September 1846 a daily service had been instituted<sup>33</sup>. In the early 1850s the railway from Adelaide was completed to Gawler with the line officially opened in October 1857.

The contribution of the railway to the development of local industry and commerce was quickly realised and thus the location of the station a mile distant from the Town Centre (for engineering reasons) necessitated the provision of a bus service. The railway line also replaced the mail cart and, together with the bus, operated between Gawler and the station for the delivery of the mail from January 1864, ensuring a more rapid and reliable mail delivery service to and from Gawler<sup>34</sup>. By 1876, community pressure had required the bus to be replaced with a tramline which opened the same year (1879) as a newly rebuilt railway station. Operating for both goods and passengers from the railway station along what is now named Nineteenth Street and Murray Street to a terminus near where the Gawler Central Station is now located. As it passed the James Martin & Co engineering works and had sidings at May Brothers Roedigers and Dowson's Mill, it provided a convenient way to transport heavy equipment and materials through town. The engine shed built in 1869, the train shed built by James Martin in 1870 and the goods shed built by Jones & Mattinson in 1877-78 were retained.

Gawler Railway Station was the terminus of the main northern railway from Adelaide from 1857, although it was quickly extended to Kapunda in 1860. In May 1911 the long-awaited extension of the railway to Angaston was opened to traffic with the North Gawler railway station, the first new station on the line, being completed at the same time. The new railway did not, however, make the Murray Street tramway and its terminus on the market allotment redundant. It was still the service preferred by most passengers and was not closed until 1931, when it was replaced by a bus service for passengers; as a result, the tracks were lifted soon thereafter.

The great volume of railway traffic (goods) despatched from Gawler from the mid-1890's was sustained until 1928 in spite of the loss of Gawler's role as railhead for Barossa Valley goods and merchandise with the opening of the Angaston railway. In addition, Gawler North rapidly developed a heavy forwarding tonnage, largely because of the traffic in sand<sup>35</sup>. Between 1928 and 1929, however, the tonnage despatched from both North Gawler and Gawler stations fell dramatically to one third of that of the previous year. Gawler station was particularly affected by the local industrial closures, while in the case of North Gawler the onset of depression hit the building industry particularly hard and with the recession in building the orders for building sand dropped rapidly.

Significantly, there was an increase in railway and road passenger traffic. In November 1913 a 6.00 a.m. train for the convenience of those working in Adelaide was initiated and in 1925 a passenger road bus service with Adelaide was begun by the Railways Commissioner's Department. This proved so popular, carrying 66,113 passengers in the year 1927-28, that the service was increased to twice daily later in

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<sup>32</sup> SA Memory, 'Bunyip'.

<sup>33</sup> Hignett & Co., p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> Loyau, p.18-19.

<sup>35</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 205

1928<sup>36</sup>. Today, largely due to the significant commuter base to and from Salisbury, Elizabeth and Smithfield, in addition to the continued urban sprawl around the north of the city, the line to Gawler remains popular with commuter traffic.

Initially after settlement, the only means of crossing the Para rivers was by fords and during floods by ferryboat. A bridge was built by the Government over the North Para river in 1842, in recognition of the traffic to and from the north to the Kapunda mine. This bridge was built of wood with sandstone abutments and spanned the river almost in line with the north end of Murray Street. This first bridge was swept away by floods in 1847, and immediately afterwards a bridge connecting Gawler and Willaston was completed in 1848. The first bridge was not opened over the South Para until 1849, in spite of the dangerous nature of the existing pass (a ford) and the extensive use made of it by travellers and stock<sup>37</sup>.

Over the next decades, a large number of improvements were made to local transport communications, particularly notable were the re-building of the South Para bridge (1869-70), the construction of a new Willaston Bridge (1869) upstream of the original bridge and the establishment of various foot bridges over the two rivers.

In 1864 access created between Murray Street and High Street enabled the Council to provide a more convenient access to the growing eastern portion of the township<sup>38</sup>. In April 1889 severe floods destroyed the footbridges at the north end of Murray Street, Gawler Park, Goose Island and Gawler West and washed away the Willaston road bridge. The four foot bridges and a new ford and approaches were constructed near the site of the Willaston Bridge (1889-90) and in September 1890 the new Willaston bridge was opened by the member for Barossa Sir John Downer<sup>39</sup>.

In 1907 plans were adopted for the construction of a new bridge over the South Para, replacing the second bridge on the site completed in 1870. The bridge was opened by the then Governor, Sir George Le Hunte and Mrs. E.H. Coombe in January 1908<sup>40</sup>.

The most significant development in the field of transport during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the increased use of the private motor car. By 1928, sales and service outlets had been set up in Gawler itself and thus Gawler residents were increasingly able to commute for work as well as shopping and leisure activities. By the mid-1950's it was estimated that there was a daily traffic through Gawler of more than 5000 vehicles. Improved road systems followed the development of motor transportation and the Main North Road was progressively upgraded in response to both increases in through traffic and increased residential settlement with Housing Trust development of Salisbury and the subsequent creation of the City of Elizabeth and further development of suburbs north and south of it.

The Gawler bypass and highway development were planned as early as 1950 although not complete until 1963. Traffic congestion in Murray Street, particularly the Calton Road 'bottleneck', continued to be problematic throughout the 1970's and an eastern by-pass was frequently proposed. In March 1968 licences were issued to two companies to operate bus services within the township, but both services ceased operation in September 1970. Up to the 1970's use of rail transport had also increased markedly with the growing commuting population, greater prosperity and the improved services in response to increased demand from development spread to the north of Salisbury and Elizabeth.

Goods traffic, however, continued to decline and the spur lines to Perry Engineering Works, May Bros. and the Albion Mill were all taken up between 1930 and 1933. In 1977 proposals for widening Reid Street by 2.5 metres were approved by Council<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Whitelock, D. p.228

<sup>37</sup> Coombe, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> Coombe, p.377.

<sup>39</sup> Coombe, p. 163; p. 404-406.

<sup>40</sup> Coombe, p. 426.

<sup>41</sup> Hignett & Co., p. 29.

### 3.8 Developing Local Industries and Commerce

In its first decade of settlement, commerce in Gawler took the form of modest businesses servicing specific local needs. By the end of the first year, Gawler boasted "one very good inn, one public house, police barracks, two smiths' shops, six dwelling houses and 34 inhabitants." Over the next five years a number of small general stores and blacksmiths shops and a butcher were established, and various tradesmen had set up within the township<sup>42</sup>.

By the mid-1840's, industries began to develop in response to needs of local pastoralists and farmers. In 1845, pioneer Stephen King built a steam-powered flour mill (Victoria Mill) to handle the demand for grinding cereals grown locally. In 1847, its ownership moved to Mr W Duffield who extended the premises in 1848 and again in 1853. Its increased capacity at this time enabled the grinding of 25 tons of flour a day and the storage of 10,000 bushels of wheat. and the mill occupied nearly the whole block bounded by Jacob, Cameron, Tod and Dundas Streets. In 1847 another pioneer, John Reid, established with Patrick Devlin a boiling-down works in response to a dramatic fall in the market price for stock. In December 1847 the town was also recorded as possessing two breweries<sup>43</sup>.

In 1848 James Martin opened a workshop to manufacture bullock drays and agricultural implements, establishing the basis of what was to become Gawler's largest industry and the prototype of industrial activity in the township for the subsequent half century. With Thomas Loutit, he built the Phoenix Foundry on Murray Street and they subsequently expanded into heavy industrial machinery manufacture; mining and ore-processing machinery steam locomotives and rolling stock and smelters for the mines of Broken Hill and the Western Australian goldfields<sup>44</sup>.

Other ventures in direct response to colonial development in agriculture and mining included the establishment of the Victoria Mill at Gawler West (Eighteenth Street) by King in 1845 and following its accidental destruction by fire in 1867, it was quickly rebuilt in 1868. Another mill (Union Mill) was built at the southern end of Murray Street by Harrison Bros. in 1853 and expanded by Walter Duffield in 1863 following transfer of ownership. By the 1870's, these operations were the largest employers of labour in the town and had contributed largely to its growing reputation<sup>45</sup>. However, attempts to operate a tannery in 1853 and a tweed factory late in 1863 were unsuccessful and William Square's soap factory, established in the mid-1850's and apparently operated from the rear of the Globe Hotel (of which Square was the licensee 1853-58) ceased operations in 1864. Fotheringham's brewery (established in Julian Terrace in 1854) and a timber yard and saw mill established by Pearce, Wincey & Co. in 1864 to service local demand were active, as were the (coachbuilding) workshop and paint shop of Swann and Ivett in Tod Street; the saw mills and timber yards and blacksmith's shop of Duffield & Co. in Jacob Street; the brick kilns of Busbridge and Bright in Wright Street (established 1857), of Bright and Weaver in Paxton Street (1866) and of Samuel Snell in Howard Street; and the lime kilns of James Davies in Bertha. No less than seven wheat stores, one in King Street, one on Lyndoch Road and the remainder along Murray Street, flourished throughout the 1860's as a result of the growing northern agricultural activity<sup>46</sup>.

Other machinery businesses were expanded, notably those of John Jones, wheelwright and blacksmith in Murray Street, established in the 1850's, and John Allen, a blacksmith established in 1852 also in Murray Street. A third mill, the Albion Mill, was established by James Dawson in Cowan Street in 1868 and a second foundry, the Eagle Foundry on King Street by David Thomson in 1870, specialised in the manufacture of ploughshares and of castings for agricultural implement makers and employing some 20 men by 1880.

The flour mills experienced a boom in activity in the 1870's. Duffield's new Victoria Mill had in 1880 a

<sup>42</sup> Loyau G.E. p. 35-41

<sup>43</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 19

<sup>44</sup> Whitelock, D. p.130

<sup>45</sup> Hignett & Co. p.19

<sup>46</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 19-20

weekly grinding capacity of 11,000 bushels and the Union a grinding capacity equivalent to 1,000 bags of flour. James Dawson's Albion Mill, though employing less men than Duffield's operations had a similar grinding capacity to the Victoria and enormous storage capacities. In 1878 Dawson won the Gold Medal for flour at the Paris International Exhibition.

Chaff cutting enterprises, established in the 1860s by Edward Clement in Tod Street and C.G. Roediger in Murray Street, flourished in the 1870s. New businesses were established by Messrs. Sale and Eastwood in King Street in 1878 (rapidly creating a large export market via Port Adelaide), by James McDonald in 1879, and by W. Gilbert & Co. in the early 1880's. These firms benefitted from the extensive hay growing in the districts around Gawler and more than one firm combined extensive farming interests on the Gawler river with their chaff cutting businesses. As with the smaller machinist firms, however, the premises established, although often substantial at the time, did not survive the period of their practical use<sup>47</sup>.

A variety of other new manufactories were begun in the 1870's, however although some were temporarily successful, few survived until the end of the century. In 1873 a flax mill was established by Charles Gustav Roediger on Goose Island (off Water Street), Gawler South, in conjunction with his farming and wheat buying interests, but in 1874 this was burnt down and not rebuilt. In 1879 the Gawler and Willaston Lime and Brick Company was established as a limited company, with the aim of making lime and bricks to supply Adelaide and local needs and also of manufacturing flax and olive oil and operating a steam chaff cutting machine. In anticipation of a large Adelaide trade, the company made an agreement with the government for construction of a siding from the northern railway line to the company's premises at Willaston. In its first few years of operation with three lime kilns, the company appeared successful, but it ceased production in 1884 and the line was taken up. A number of similar enterprises succeeded it, suggesting that the Company's closure was due to internal problems rather than lack of demand for lime for building purposes.

A new coachbuilding firm was established by Hill and Sparshott in 1874 and the extensive establishment of James Woods at Willaston, specialising in shafts and plough shares, was taken over by P.B. Woods and James Holt (formerly employed by Martin & Co.) in 1880 and continued to operate into the 1890's<sup>48</sup>.

A fourth foundry, the Britannia Foundry, established by James Robinson (a foreman with Martin & Co.) in 1885 at Gawler West, specialised in plough and cultivator shares. Both the Eagle Foundry and the Britannia remained small businesses but gained a steady custom and between them employed some 30 to 40 hands over the next two decades<sup>49</sup>.

Also significant to the district was the foundation of Roseworthy College (opened February 1885) and the establishment of a winery there in 1896. The establishment of the College was itself a result of the failures of wheat harvests and evidence of the exhaustion of the land in the early 1880s. The success of the experimental work carried out by Roseworthy and the subsequent improved yields of colonial crops was to benefit Gawler as well as the state generally<sup>50</sup>.

The most significant new venture of the 1890s was that of the export of limestone flux from Williamstown to the Port Adelaide Smelting Works. More than 500 tons per week were being carted from Willaston to the Gawler railway station in 1897<sup>51</sup>.

With the expansion of industrial businesses and the increase in population of Gawler and its suburban townships, building flourished and throughout the thirty years from 1871-1900 Gawler supported a large number of builders and tradesmen as well as timber merchants, brick makers and lime burners and general merchants. In 1871, 32 "builders, carpenters, timber merchants, sawyers, etc." were

<sup>47</sup> Coombe, G.E. p.94-101

<sup>48</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 20

<sup>49</sup> Hignett & Co. p.21

<sup>50</sup> Coombe, E.H. p. 157-159

<sup>51</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 20



recorded in Gawler, while in 1881 there were more than 55 such merchants and tradesmen.

John James Peek, who had established himself as a mason in Gawler South in 1860, won the contracts for the Town Hall in 1878 and the Court House in 1881 and for the masonry and plastering of the Old Spot additions in 1880. The building and carpentry business founded by W.S. Taylor in Tod Street in 1855 (joined by Alexander Forgie, a former employee in 1865, and subsequently operated as Taylor & Forgie) was particularly active (including contracts for the Old Spot and Police Station additions in 1880) and also expanded into undertaking towards the end of this period<sup>52</sup>.

The firm of Deland & Tardif (founded in 1855 by B.E. Deland, builder and architect, and operated from Cowan Street) was active until Deland's departure from Gawler in 1884 when Thomas White, a former employee, succeeded to their business. Deland & Tardif were the builders of the Gawler Institute in 1870, Deland supervised the building of the Town Hall by the contractor J.J. Peek in 1878 and William Tardif won the contract for the Gawler Public School in December 1876, for which tenders were also submitted by Taylor & Forgie and James Peek.

Commerce and trade generally flourished as a reflection of the success of industrial production and Murray Street continued to be the favourite venue. The 1860 "General and Commercial Directory for Gawler and Surrounding Districts" recorded 15 carpenters, 12 shoemakers, 9 blacksmiths and a tinsmith, 10 millers (including the three Harrison brothers), 8 butchers, 5 tailors, 8 engineers, 7 storekeepers, 4 saddlers, 4 drapers, 4 cabinet makers, 4 bakers and a wide variety of other tradesmen, as well as 5 hotel keepers, 4 schoolteachers, 4 surgeons, 2 chemists and 2 solicitors<sup>53</sup>. In 1871 Gawler supported more than 70 commercial ventures, including butchers, grocers, bakers, and other shop keepers, and five professional men. In 1880 there were some 100 such enterprises and by 1900 the number was still just over 100, the only significant change being an increase in the number of blacksmiths. The industrial changes of these thirty years were also reflected in the large number of persons designated as fitters, moulders, engineers, etc. by 1900.

Numerous hotels catered to the needs of Gawler residents and through traffic, eight more having been established in this period (the Exchange, Globe, Prince Albert and Commercial in Murray Street, the Mill Inn on the Adelaide Road just south of the South Para river bridge, the Criterion and Railway near the railway station at Gawler West and the Victoria at Willaston) and the township also supported 15 teachers, 5 professional men and 11 owners and drivers of cabs<sup>54</sup>.

The expansion of agriculture within South Australia in the 1870's and the subsequent growth of railways promoted the most vigorous period of industry in Gawler. The manufacturing firms of James Martin and the milling companies were the initial beneficiaries of these developments and with their prosperity, commerce and other manufacturing ventures were fostered. In 1874 James Martin took into partnership Fred May and J.F. Martin and the company, now known as James Martin & Co., was subsequently expanded in its operations, winning its first tender for the supply of railway wagons to the government in September 1881. By this time the number of hands (95 when the partnership was formed) had increased to more than 350 and the foundry had moved to new premises in High Street, leaving the agricultural implement manufactory on the Murray Street premises. Further large government contracts were won by the company in the 1880's, including the contract for 47 locomotive engines in May 1888, and there were extensive alterations and improvements to the plant and premises in the early 1890's.

In 1885 Frederick May retired from partnership in James Martin & Co. and established his own firm with his brother Alfred in Gawler West (Bassett Town), east of the railway station. With the experience of the May brothers in general and especially mining machinery, the new firm was in the right position to benefit from the demand created with the opening of the Broken Hill Lead and Silver Mines. May Bros. won their first order from the mines in 1887 and had work almost continuously supporting mining until

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<sup>52</sup> Hignett & Co. p.21

<sup>53</sup> Coombe, E.H. p. 94-101

<sup>54</sup> Hignett & Co. p.21

the end of the century. in addition to the manufacture of agricultural machinery and mining and general machinery for other customers. From their beginnings with five men in October 1885, the firm employed by the end of the 1890's more than 200 hands and expanded the premises substantially in 1897<sup>55</sup>.

Ultimately, however, after several decades, the very significant growth and rate of expanding settlement began to decline and by the 1880's it had affected the mills with a decline in the flour trade. The Victoria was idle from the early 1880's and the Albion ceased operations in 1893 when James Hilfers & Co. went into liquidation. The Union continued to operate, but at a much-reduced level after Duffield's death, under the management of the Adelaide Milling Co<sup>56</sup>.

Many new industrial ventures in this period were unsuccessful. A flax mill on Goose Island (Roediger's) which burned down in 1874 was not re-built. Efforts to establish a large area manufacturing district adjacent to Gawler (north of the North Para) in 1879 were unsuccessful, and the flax, soap and bone-crushing works which had recently been closed by the Board of Health were not re-established. A glucose and starch manufacturer established at the Victoria Flour Mill in October 1881 was short lived, as were cement works begun at Gawler South in 1882<sup>57</sup>.

The impact of the agricultural decline did not impact the local machinery manufacturers as quickly as might have been anticipated. They were able to service for many more years the continuing demand for railway plant and improved agricultural machinery and a new demand for mining machinery created with the opening of the massive B.H.P. lead and silver mines in 1885 and the subsequent opening of the Port Pirie smelters.

Commerce was also not impacted significantly except briefly during the general depression. More than 100 shops, stores and workshops including two sawmills, two brick yards, chaff stores, a number of bakeries and smithies, many drapers, boot-shops and grocers, were operating in Gawler in 1900, heavily concentrated along Murray Street. The businesses were operated most commonly from rented premises and were largely small employers of labour (3-8 persons) but the number of such businesses meant that commerce provided a large source of local employment.

Although there was a considerable change in ownership of stores and businesses throughout this 30-year period, the number and type remained remarkably consistent, as did their concentration on or adjacent to Murray Street. The principal change evident between 1871 and 1900 was an increase in the number of shops and stores in the north ward, taking up previously unused land at the northern end (west side) of Murray Street and along Cowan Street.

The 1901 census indicated that there was still the heavy concentration of employment in local commerce and industry and a large number of self-employed storekeepers, smiths, carpenters, merchants and specialised tradesmen. The population was almost half comprised of persons under 21 and, with the failure of local industry and commerce to expand, this was to have a significant impact on the deployment of the labour force in the next century<sup>58</sup>.

Following James Martin's death in 1899, his company was carried on by his nephew John Felix Martin, but with the decline in demand for mining machinery and railway rolling stock in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the company went into liquidation in 1907. After the purchase of the company, including plant and premises, by Henry Dutton in 1908 (still trading as James Martin & Company) there was a renewed period of activity (1909 - 1915) coinciding with the issue of contracts by the State Government for railway rolling stock. This short boom did not, however, last. Subsequently the operations of the company (renamed the Perry Engineering Company following the purchase by Samuel Perry in 1915) were hampered by inadequate orders and intermittent strikes and, in spite of a brief revival in the mid 20s, the company was finally closed in July 1928. Many of the employees were

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<sup>55</sup> Whitelock, D. p130-132

<sup>56</sup> Hignett & Co. p.21-22

<sup>57</sup> Hignett & Co, p. 25

<sup>58</sup> Hignett & Co. p.22-23

absorbed into the company's Mile End works and although this was preferable to unemployment, it furthered the erosion of Gawler's economic autonomy and independence. Even the smaller foundries, the Britannia and the Eagle, substantially reduced their operations and the number of hands employed after 1928 and the local population of moulders, fitters, etc., were often unable to find work in their own trade until the end of the depression in the mid 1930's<sup>59</sup>.

May Bros. did not suffer a comparable decline in demand in the first decades of the twentieth century, but both it and the Gawler Implement Company experienced a similar period of disturbance and of labour unrest after 1910 and were caused particular confusion by the fluctuating number of orders influenced by seasonal demands. The Implement Company closed in 1921, turning out its 50 to 60 workers, and May Bros., in spite of reorganisation and a new management in 1925 and considerable orders in 1926, was also closed down in 1927. Its employees had been much reduced from the 300 or more working at the peak of its activity from the 1890's to 1910, but the remaining 50 to 60 workers were to re-enter the labour force at the worst possible time, for the whole of the State was entering into a period of general depression.

The most significant single new venture of this period was into sand mining from the North Para<sup>60</sup>. Initially this was conducted in a small way by a number of carters, three of whom were local masons and all of whom had long-standing businesses in Gawler, employing manual labour and horses<sup>61</sup>. In 1910 the newly formed Gawler Sand Company began lifting sand with the use of machinery, and soon had extensive leases and a large trade with Adelaide, but this declined a few years later. In 1918 the Gawler Corporation became particularly interested in the potential of the sand mining industry in the face of the decline of other industry in Gawler.

Local building was particularly active for the decade between 1909 and 1918. A new industry, Taylor Bros. butter factory, was established at the former cordial factory of D. & R.J. Fotheringham in Water (Eighth) Street and new lime burning operations were begun near Willaston by the Federal Lime Company. The Union Mill was rebuilt by the Adelaide Milling Company in 1915 and continued in operation. The sand carting businesses established soon after the turn of the century expanded operations and brought new business to the railways and to carters and new income to the Corporation (in the form of licence fees and later royalties) as well as to lessees and employees<sup>62</sup>.

A number of new industries were begun early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, notably that of fodder compression by John Darling & Son, commenced at the Victoria Flour Mill premises in 1901; new chaff cutting businesses established in 1900 and 1901 respectively by T.A. Waters in Murray Street and George Eime in Lyndoch Road, however the fodder industry provided only an irregular demand for labour because of the fluctuating demands of its largely export market and closed down in 1924<sup>63</sup>.

A cordial manufactory was established by W.L. Haydon & Co. in 1905 on the premises of D. & R.J. Fotheringham's earlier cordial factory in Water Street. Also established at this time were a number of wood merchants and cycle makers and repairers and a clothing factory in Union Street in 1914. With the exception of the clothing factory and the fodder compression business of Darling & Son, however, none of these businesses regularly employed more than eight staff.

Soon after 1920 this temporary boom came to an end. The colonial and inter-colonial demand for machinery of all types fell off, men had returned from the war of 1914-1918 and were unable to find employment, wages were reduced, and strikes were common in the large engineering works. Some local building continued, principally by the churches, but efforts to attract new industry were unsuccessful and between 1915 and 1928, no new industry was attracted to Gawler at all, thus the township was thus all the worse hit by the closures of the three large machinery manufactories in the

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<sup>59</sup> Hignett & Co. p.24

<sup>60</sup> Hignett & Co. p.26

<sup>61</sup> Whitelock, D. p.142-143

<sup>62</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 205

<sup>63</sup> Hignett & Co. p.25-26

1920's<sup>64</sup>.

By 1929 unemployment was rising with numbers of people receiving relief and rations from government or private charities<sup>65</sup>. During the 1930's, Gawler, like the rest of the country, entered a period of unemployment and industrial recession. Local commerce was affected when one of the oldest industries, Fotheringham's Brewery was taken over by the Adelaide based S.A. Brewing Co. early in 1932, ending nearly a century of association of the Fotheringham family with Gawler. The Willaston general store of E. Coombe & Son, a family business for sixty years, was sold in 1935 and in 1939 the Albion Mill, used since 1904 as a chaff store by Howell & Knox and later by Theodore Ey, was demolished. In the place of industrial activity were piece-meal public works for the unemployed initiated in the early 1930's by the Gawler Corporation and the Gawler South District Council<sup>66</sup>.

Efforts by local businesses and residents to revive the agricultural machinery industry led to the formation of the Perry/May Harvesting Co. in 1933, but this attempt to recapture past success failed and was taken over by a large consortium in 1937. A local syndicate formed in 1930, to take over the egg packing and distribution business of W.M. Brown (founded 1902) was more successful and the company continued to operate, as H.T. Brown Ltd., into the 1970's.

The Kapunda firm of Jeffs Bros. commenced milling operations in Gawler in 1933, establishing themselves in a portion of the former May Bros. engineering works between Blanche and Murray (Eighteenth and Nineteenth) Streets. Initially Jeffs Bros did not provide much local employment, many of the workers having been transferred from the firm's Kapunda works, but gradually its activities expanded, and more locals were employed. The egg factory of H.T. Brown Ltd. augmented the industrial employment opportunities for women, previously provided only by the Union Street clothing factory, and employed up to 60 women at the peak of activity, although in the 1950's egg packing machinery was introduced, undermining the manual labour requirements<sup>67</sup>.

After the depression, a number of new industries were attracted to Gawler, and although these were mainly small enterprises and also frequently originated outside Gawler or quickly passed out of local hands to larger consortiums, they provided some alternative to dependence on the metropolitan area for employment. With this industrial revival and the increased new population from the late 1940's, the local building trades and suppliers also received new impetus, although here too there were significant changes, with the South Australian Housing Trust and later, large building firms, undertaking multiple housing development in designated areas instead of the traditional individual contract on a particular site.

Some further new industry was attracted in the 1940's, including a pressed metal factory in 1940 (initially Hulland's Precision Pressed Metal Co., taken over J.R. Holden of Adelaide in 1945); a wooden box factory (Maygers, established 1946); a new clothing factory (Timer's, on Murray Street at the Bridge Street corner, established 1947; a tile manufactory established at Willaston (Gawler Tiles Ltd.) in 1949; a water pipe-lining firm, Cement Linings Ltd., begun at Willaston in 1950 and transferred to Bella Street the following year; Henderson's Federal Spring Works (opened in Calton Road in 1955); and a concrete masonry factory opened by Jayworth Besser in 1961. In 1941 J. Hallet & Son of Adelaide took over the Paxton Street brickworks formerly operated by A.E. Todd, and the Willaston lime kilns of W. & E. Turner were rebuilt in 1953 and continued to operate until the 1970's<sup>68</sup>.

Much new building was begun in the late 1940's, prompted by the housing shortage brought about as a result of new population (including returned soldiers and European migrants) and the stagnation of building activity in the 1920's and 1930's. Initially housing construction was undertaken by the South Australian Housing Trust but a local contractor, C.A.T. Duldig, was used and local tradesmen

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<sup>64</sup> Hignett & Co. p.23-24

<sup>65</sup> Hignett & Co. p.24-25

<sup>66</sup> Hignett & Co. p.25-26

<sup>67</sup> Hignett & Co. p.25-26

<sup>68</sup> Hignett & Co. p.25-26

employed. The new demand for houses prompted, in addition to the new branch brick works of J. Hallet & Son, a tile manufactory, a fibrous plaster works and a concrete masonry factory, established variously in Gawler and Willaston in the 1940's and 1950's. The number of building contractors also increased rapidly with the housing demand, five being locally registered in 1960 compared with one in 1940<sup>69</sup>.

Commercial activity was, however, maintained by its own impetus and by the growing local population and thus hardly faltered during this period, except for an inevitable decline in trading in the worst depression years of 1929 to 1934 and during the war years as a result of government-imposed restrictions and rationing.

After the war extensive residential development in areas near and immediately adjacent to Gawler promoted new commercial activity, while the increasing use of private motor transport opened new opportunities for employment outside Gawler for local residents. Many of the commercial and retailing establishments became branches or agencies of large businesses established in Adelaide or other country centres, rather than the traditional small local firms. The autonomy of Gawler was inevitably eroded, and its original face changed by the establishment of new services for an increasing residential population, but the impact of historical development on the character and physical heritage of the present Corporation is still evident.

The opening in 1947 of a new large store by G.J. Coles heralded a significant change in the nature of commercial activity. Shops were demolished to make way for this "supermarket" and although this type of retailing introduced a new range of goods and potential for real competition with the metropolitan commercial centres, much of the social and community spirit of commerce was eroded. More large stores followed and locally owned businesses have been progressively absorbed as branches or agencies of large retail chains<sup>70</sup>.

The opening of extensive new shopping facilities in the City of Elizabeth from 1964 provided Murray Street traders with their biggest challenge in this period, particularly as Elizabeth did not come under the provisions of the Early Closing Act of 1914, but the challenge was met by concerted action among the traders and in 1967 Friday night shopping was introduced.

From the late 1960's, Gawler saw a resurgence of commercial activity and renewed local optimism, prompted partly by a general State economic revival and partly by the attraction of new population to surrounding areas, and reinforced by the extensive sewage and drainage improvements undertaken by Council from 1969. The commercial interests, represented by the Gawler Chamber of Commerce and assisted by the activities of the Council, saw the potential for again making Gawler an important regional commercial centre. In 1969 Eudunda Farmers, Derek Sutch and Duncan & Feist, Chemists, extended their premises and Humphry's was modernised. In 1968 the long-established undertaking firm of Taylor & Forgie opened a new chapel in Cowan Street and the Sound and Music Centre was opened in Murray Street.

Many other retail developments followed and the rate of commercial expansion in the early 1970's was such that the traditional Murray Street commercial centre was unable to accommodate demand, particularly the related demand for carparking and new retail commercial activities were forced to expand west of Murray Street, following the redevelopment of that area already begun by the Adult Education Centre buildings from 1967.

In industry, there was in the 1970's some further loss of long-established businesses when Jeffs Brothers Ltd. flour mill finally closed down in March 1970 and the Timer clothing factory in Julian Terrace ceased operations in 1976. The mill was, however, converted subsequently into a restaurant and a number of other industries were extended, notably the egg packing and grading operations of H.T. Brown Ltd. (combined with Southern Farmers Co-op and R.J. Finlayson Pty. Ltd. to form Farmer Brown Egg Pty. Ltd. in 1968) and the Wintulich smallgoods factory in Gawler South, extensively

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<sup>69</sup> Hignett & Co. p25

<sup>70</sup> Hignett & Co. p25

expanded from late 1974, employing over 20 people and serving an overseas market<sup>71</sup>.

Other industrial and commercial undertakings during this period include construction of five new shops in Walker Place in 1969, the Murray Street Foodland Supermarket in 1973, Tod Street 'Tom The Cheap' supermarket and an auto-electrical and motor rewinding industry in Adelaide Road owned by Mr. Tuckfield, were both established in 1974, Assenders Bakery was opened on Adelaide Road in 1975, the Bank of New South Wales transferred from the western side of Murray Street to new premises on the north-east corner at the intersection of Murray Street and Alton Road replacing a number of old galvanised iron and stone buildings. In 1979 a large supermarket constructed of ashlar pattern blockwork, red brick quoins and bullnose verandahs was approved by Council for construction on the northwest corner of Cowan Street and Murray Street.

The last hundred years have seen a continuing transformation of Gawler from an economically independent and autonomous township with its own industry and services and a locally employed workforce to a largely dormitory suburb in which more than half of the workforce are employed outside the Corporation boundaries. Communications with Adelaide were facilitated by increased road and rail services for passengers and goods and the Gawler population increasingly look to the City for employment, social activity and merchandise. At the same time metropolitan home purchasers and expanding industrial development encroached on the cheaper flat land south of Gawler from the late 1940's and provided new population and impetus for the Gawler commercial centre. The ownership of many businesses nevertheless passed out of the hands of Gawler residents and became branches or agencies of larger outside firms and chain stores and supermarkets continue to increasingly undermine the traditional small shops and services<sup>72</sup>.

From the late 1960's a number of important new undertakings were initiated by State and Local Government, including the implementation of a major sewerage programme and various drainage and parkland improvements by Council, the completion of a major new education facility and the opening of an automatic telephone exchange. In spite of local drought conditions, the future of Gawler (seen as bleak in the mid-1960's) began to improve. In the 1970's Gawler saw a general commercial resurgence and, with increases in population within surrounding areas, moved towards re-establishing itself as a major regional centre. The rapid development of the commercial sector and the changes caused by an influx of new residents inevitably provoked both new demands and some conflicts within the community<sup>73</sup>. From the 1970's to the present day there has been increasing recognition of the need for long-term planning and controls in order to balance the often-contrary claims of conservation and development.

## 4.0 Building the Township

### 4.1 Planning Urban Settlement

The development of Gawler in the 19<sup>th</sup> century could be described in several distinct phases which have previously been conveniently labelled by others as 'Pioneering' (1839-1848); 'Settlement' (1849-1870) and 'Industrial' (1871-1900)<sup>74</sup>.

In summary the Pioneering, or Foundation, phase was marked by settlement of the Gawler Special Survey by its purchasers and the beginnings of commercial ventures and services catering largely to northern traffic and farmers in the district. At this stage, no permanent settlement pattern was fixed. The first decade (1839-1848) saw the settlement of the district comprising the Special Survey and the development of the township created by the Special Survey's owners. The township was given real

<sup>71</sup> Hignett & Co. p24-25

<sup>72</sup> Hignett & Co. p.26

<sup>73</sup> Hignett & Co. p.26

<sup>74</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 185.

impetus during this period by the discovery of copper at Kapunda and the Burra. These discoveries, along with increased agricultural settlement of the mid north resulted in rapid growth of services and facilities and the establishment of a permanent community in Gawler town rather than as a brief resting place on the northern route. Facilities established included hotels, blacksmiths, general stores and police barracks. The provision of a bridge over the North Para River was government recognition of the importance of the traffic route through Gawler.

The Settlement, or Consolidation, Phase was characterised by the establishment of a distinct township community with its own identity and of commercial activity to service the local community as well as the larger district. Social, cultural, religious and educational services were developed for a stable population. Residential and commercial settlement occurred along the pattern devised in the original township plan. Over the next two decades (1850's and 60's), the growth of the township was substantial. The return of men from the Victorian Gold Rush throughout 1852 and the increasing settlement of the adjacent west and south-west agricultural areas led to the growth of local manufacturing. This, along with increasing traffic to the Murray, led to Gawler becoming a vital part of the Colony's commercial, industrial and agricultural activities and an integral part of its communication network.

New suburban townships were surveyed, and allotments sold, expanding the original settlement. In 1854 the District Councils of Mudla Wirra, Barossa West, Munno Para East, and Munno Para West were created under the District Councils Act of 1852. This established Gawler as a part of the large Barossa West district and divided Gawler South between the District Councils of Munno Para East and Munno Para West. Evidence of a sense of community and autonomy in Gawler was apparent in the agitation by residents for a single local government administration of Gawler, resulting in proclamation of the Corporation of Gawler in 1857, formally establishing an identity to the district contained within its boundaries.

In the same year the Adelaide to Gawler railway was completed, telegraphic communication between Gawler and Adelaide was installed, the Bunyip printing office opened, and the Gawler Institute was formally established.

In the next ten years more industries were opened, and existing industries expanded, particularly those supplying agricultural machinery. In 1863 new hundreds to the north were declared open for agriculture and in 1865 gold was discovered at the Barossa, increasing the potential of Gawler for service to the northern districts and for participation in the increasing traffic and communications to and from Adelaide and Port Adelaide<sup>75</sup>.

Passage of the Strangways Land Act in 1869, allowing selection of agricultural land on credit and in small blocks, had a significant impact on the economy and distribution and deployment of population of the whole Colony. Its impact on Gawler, a township already geared to servicing an agricultural population, increased growth and prosperity and established Gawler's position as a major commercial and industrial centre by 1870.

The Industrial Phase of the last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the growth of local industry catering to colonial and often inter-colonial demands as well as to local needs in addition to increased commercial activity and social consolidation. This phase was also known by many as "The Colonial Athens" phase<sup>76</sup> when residential settlement spread east, south and west and isolated industrial enterprises intruded into residential districts and west to the railway station as the original commercial area of Murray Street was saturated.

At this time, almost all of the streets, terraces and squares bore the names of first residents, including: Murray, Todd, Jacob, Cowan, Dundas, Finniss, Duffield, Reid, Ayers, Rudall, Gozzard, Ford, Stubbs, Schriebner, Whitlaw, Paterson and Calton.

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<sup>75</sup> Hignett & Co., p.27-29

<sup>76</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 186

The first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 'the Uncertainty and Change' Phase were a period of unpredictability with declining traditional local industries and labour unrest but the commencement of food production industries, lime burning operations and an extensive sand carting business was partly responsible for a healthy commerce sector. As a result, there was a significant period of new building activity initiated by government, churches and individuals. There was little change in the pattern of settlement, however, as the new building was largely upon vacant lots between existing buildings or as extensions.

The following 50 years saw a period of stagnation followed by renewed growth with new population and the resulting building and commercial revitalisation. There was little industrial activity and local autonomy was increasingly replaced by dependence upon Adelaide and metropolitan based firms for employment, goods and services. Extensive new development of residential settlement to the south and radical modification of the existing commercial accommodation along and adjoining Murray Street occurred.

The newly developed Gawler Development Plan of 2019<sup>77</sup> provides the following advice for development:

The character of the heart of the township revolves around the Gawler town centre and adjoining Church Hill, which is of particular significance. That character is largely derived from its setting and topography, framed by the North Para River and South Para River and flanked to the east by the elevated ridge running parallel with the main street, Murray Street. Generous parkland spaces, flanked by wide terraces, encompass the river valleys. The dominating traditional grid road pattern is realigned in response to topographic conditions to create significant entrance points and important vistas. Several landmarks, including the Church Hill town squares are created as significant focal points. Native riverine eucalypts on the North Para River and South Para River parklands are complemented within the town centre area by Moreton Bay Fig trees, Pinus species, palms and exotic European trees.

Buildings of historic interest, although containing a diversity of architectural styles from modest, simple colonial cottages to grand villas, and elaborate residences, display a rare cohesiveness, with few disparate new structures. The building form generally consists of:

- (a) shape - orthogonal load-bearing building forms with hip, gable and hip-gable combination roofs. Verandahs are commonly found;
- (b) scale - generally single-storey, with a second storey occurring on the low side of sloping ground, lofty, high-pitched roofs;
- (c) materials - local building stone (bluestone, limestone) and sandstone, or decorative red brick walls with corrugated iron roofs;
- (d) advertising or advertising displays - integrated with the building's architecture so that details which provide interest (such as arches, columns, decorative panels and lacework) are not obscured or disturbed.

#### 4.2 Services

For the first fifteen years of settlement, Gawler residents relied very largely on community or individual action to provide essential services for the population at large. The establishment in 1848 of a schoolhouse, in which both teaching and religious services were conducted, was the first effort at the creation of a public resource, most other community action being directed towards the improvement of transport and communications with Adelaide <sup>78</sup>.

Within 20 years of settlement, the business of Gawler had extended sufficiently to require the SA Banking Company to open a branch office in town. The building, in the Italian style with a large portico,

<sup>77</sup> City of Gawler Development Plan, DPTI, p. 25

<sup>78</sup> Hignett & Co., p.31



was opened in April 1857 at the Southern end of Murray Street<sup>79</sup>.

In 1866, a branch of the Bank of Adelaide (now the ANZ) opened in Gawler. In April 1892, the Bank of SA was taken over by the Union Bank of Australia and the existing bank began to trade under its new name. The National Bank of Australasia also opened a branch in a shop in 1859 until 1881 when its premises opposite the Town Hall was built<sup>80</sup>. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were five banks in the town: Bank of Adelaide; Commercial; National; Bank of South Australia and Savings Bank.

The creation of the Municipality of Gawler in 1857 signalled significant opportunity to create new public services. One of the first undertakings of the new Corporation was to petition the government in September 1858 for a grant of 1,000 pounds to repair Murray Street, on the basis that it was "the only highway for the produce of the mines, and the extensive agricultural country north and east of Gawler, in its transit to the capital has a greater extent of traffic over it than any other road in the Colony"<sup>81</sup>.

During the first fifteen years of the Corporation's existence it was largely concerned with drainage, the maintenance and upgrading of Murray Street and the undertaking of works to render the gradients more manageable. Slate-flagging foot paths were laid along Murray Street and a weekly scavenger's cart was instituted to remove refuse from business places and residences<sup>82</sup>.

Early in 1868 there was held a public meeting to consider the formation of a gas company in Gawler. A prospectus for the Provincial Gas Co., to establish gas works in Gawler, Kapunda and Strathalbyn, was issued at the end of May and in July the Provincial Gas Co. gave notice of its intention to petition Parliament for a Bill to incorporate the company. This was assented to by Parliament on 30th January 1869. The Company set up offices initially in the Town Hall and its works were established in Seventh Street, Gawler South.

The gas lighting of premises of subscribers began late in 1869. The price of gas lighting limited the number of users for many years to largely public buildings, shops, offices and industry.

A public meeting of ratepayers in November 1869 voted against the lighting of the town by gas and there was no introduction of street lighting until 1879 and then only following private donation of lamp pillars to the Corporation. The lighting of the town began with residents donating lamps at a cost of £12 each to the Corporation. These were erected in prominent places and lit from dusk until 11pm when they were extinguished. By limiting the hours of lighting and not lighting during periods of full moon, costs of running the public lighting system were kept to £2 per lamp per annum. One pillar still stands on the pavement outside the Institute.

In the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, electric lighting was introduced. The scheme was the undertaking of the Gawler Corporation itself, with the approval of rate payers, and was partly influenced by long dissatisfaction with the service provided and rates charged by the Gas Company. Electric lighting of Gawler began in 1912 and, with special government authorisation to allow the Corporation to undertake operations beyond its boundaries, was extended to Gawler South in 1913 and Willaston in 1918. Gas lighting had never been widely adopted in private homes in Gawler because of the high cost, but private homes quickly adopted electric lighting. The decision of the Gas Company to close its Gawler works in November 1917 thus inconvenienced mainly business and commercial premises who had not yet changed to electricity<sup>83</sup>.

The Adelaide Electric Supply Company, which had taken over the supply of electricity to the Corporation in 1924, became the semi-governmental authority, E.T.S.A., and a large new substation was built on the historic site of the original public schoolhouse on Fotheringham Terrace. In 1978 more

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<sup>79</sup> Loyau. G.E. p.19

<sup>80</sup> Coombe, E.H. p134

<sup>81</sup> S.A. Parliamentary Papers 1858 Vol.II No.75, Petition of the Mayor and Corporation of the Town of Gawler, 13 September 1858

<sup>82</sup> Loyau G.E. p.24-25

<sup>83</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 236

than 100 years after gas was first supplied to Gawler the S.A. Gas Company proposed the extension of its services to Gawler with Gawler West and Evanston the first areas to be supplied.

For the first 40 years of settlement, residents' water needs were supplied from tanks and private wells with a reticulated water supply not available until the Gawler Waterworks were undertaken by the Hydraulic Engineers Department in 1883. An engine and boiler house were erected on the site of the well and delivered water to a reservoir built on Calton Hill, from which water entered the mains yielding 6000 gallons/hour. The permanent network system permitted street watering for the first time thus reducing dust. A small water scheme was also completed at Greenock Creek in August 1898 and connected to water tanks at the Gawler and Roseworthy railway stations.

Public agitation for a more permanent water supply in 1889-90, according to a scheme initially propounded by James Martin, was revived in September 1898 and was finally rewarded with a decision by the government in November to proceed with the Barossa reservoir, a project completed at the end of 1901<sup>84</sup>.

The frequently expressed proposal to dam the Para for a recreational facility was finally undertaken by voluntary labour in 1912, the Gawler Corporation having decided in 1910 that it could not afford the construction of a weir for this purpose. A barrage was erected across the South Para between the Gawler West and Goose Island foot bridges, and the area created gave much pleasure for two seasons before being allowed to fall into disuse from 1914. In May 1919 a new weir over the South Para, undertaken by the Corporation, was completed, but again inadequacies of construction were quickly evident and resulted in the area created falling into disuse within a few seasons (it was finally blown up in 1933)<sup>85</sup>.

From the late 1960's a whole range of new activities were undertaken by the Corporation with a view to encouraging commercial and residential growth within the township boundaries. An extensive sewerage project was begun in 1969 and in March 1970 the Engineering & Water Supply Department, Sewerage Branch, declared the Gawler Township a sewered area. The provision of sewerage in Gawler was of major significance, particularly to the Council as the local Health Authority. Poor soakage had for years resulted in difficulties related to effluent disposal and provided many hours of debate and deputation to government Ministers and Departments by Council.

In the last 30 years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most local services were initiated by the newly established Corporation, with emphasis on road improvement and maintenance (kerbing, footpaths and road metalling. Parkland improvements, fencing of public areas and extensive tree-planting were also undertaken. Much work was done on to construct recreation grounds with an oval and bicycle rack; the erection of an Exhibition Building in 1882 and of stockyards in 1883. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Fire Brigade Service was regularised and upgraded by coming under the Fire Brigades Board of South Australia.

The enlarged Gawler Corporation continued its long history of involvement in a range of services (although relinquishing their control of the lighting facility) and, with the extension of the Building Act 1923 to Gawler in 1926 became more directly responsible for the regulation of the physical environment and the encouragement or modification of particular proposals.

After some years of neglect, tree planting was from the 1930's again given much attention, and willows and poplars were planted along the riverbanks. More parklands were created, and facilities progressively updated to cater to the increased population and local demand. The Corporation was also particularly active in seeking to attract new industry to 'Greater Gawler' from the 1930's and to foster the traditional commercial activity of the town.

The most striking development throughout the 1920's and 30's was in the growth of the number and range of community service groups. These included a local division of the St. John Ambulance (1936),

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<sup>84</sup> Loyau, p.25

<sup>85</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 33-34

a branch of the Country Women's Association (1940), the Gawler Traders' Association (1947), Returned Services League (1948), Apex (1951), Rotary (1954), a Gawler Chamber of Commerce (1961), Meals on Wheels (1964), National Trust (1966) and an Arts Society and Lions Club (1967) <sup>66</sup>. Such formal organisations were necessary to replace the more fluid community action possible only within a smaller and more compact population and reflected the growth and increased diversity of the Gawler community.

In the latter part of this period the activities of most of the government service departments and the Corporation itself were also much extended. The Engineering and Water Supply Department extended its premises in 1961 and proposed a new scheme (not undertaken) for a Gawler River weir in 1968.

Various drainage projects and improvements to parklands and public facilities were also undertaken in 1968 to 1970 and in January 1972 a Council submission sought State Government Assistance for the controlled development of Gawler as a major civic, commercial industrial and residential city. There was no immediate response to this submission, but the renewed upsurge in building and commercial activity in 1973-1974 was to reinforce awareness of the need for development planning and controls. In 1973 the Corporation appointed its own Town Planner and the State Planning Office announced plans for the major redevelopment of Gawler. Subsequent plans (1975) for the development of the Gawler Town Centre recommended major development and redevelopment of the commercial area and the first \$250,000 to implement some of the planning recommendations was allocated in May 1977.

Local community activity was instrumental in initiating in 1970 a major Cottage Homes project and, after delays because of the lack of funds, the first homes were completed in mid-1973. This and subsequent Government community welfare activities reflected the increased composition in the Gawler community of the elderly, while the needs of the young were also recognised by the extension of educational, recreational and sporting facilities by State and Local Government bodies and by community groups in this period.

#### 4.3 Making Settlements to Serve Rural Australia

The population of Gawler had reached more than 300 by December 1847 compared with the 33 recorded at the census of January 1841. Rapid extension of settlement became possible from the late 1840's with the sale of large areas from sections of the Special Survey initially belonging to the speculative purchasers in England including Moore, Jerningham and Wright, and increasing traffic in town allotments as the prospects of industry and commerce within the township became more attractive.

By 1848, the township contained some sixty buildings including the commercial and industrial establishments and workshops<sup>86</sup>. Most were built on or immediately adjacent to the main traffic route (Murray Street), with the exception of St. George's and a few houses on the "Church Hill" of the original township plan. The structural materials were varied, with brick, pine and even mud featuring as well as local harvested calcrete, and probably only a minority were intended as permanent buildings. Few of these structures remain, most having been demolished and been replaced with more substantial buildings.

The original St. George's (1847- 48) was demolished to make way for a new church of the same name in 1864. King's Victoria Flour Mill (1845), originally in Jacob Street and later expanded, was destroyed by fire in 1867 and a new mill was built at Gawler West; the Gawler Arms Hotel (1848) was largely rebuilt in 1903; the schoolhouse (1848) site now houses an electrical substation; the original police station buildings (1842) were replaced in 1862/3 (and again rebuilt in 1962/3); the Old Bushman (1840) was largely rebuilt in the 1870's; and even the original "long, low, straggling buildings" comprising the Old Spot (1839) were demolished in 1855 and replaced with a single stone structure. Nothing of the original buildings can be found on the sites where cottages were known to have been built in this first decade

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<sup>86</sup> Hignett & Co p.35

of the township's existence, although it is possible that some original walls were incorporated into later buildings or extensions.

In the 1850's and 60's, within the original township, the available lots on Church Hill were rapidly taken up for residences and the heaviest concentration of cottages and residences was recorded in the North Ward at the 1870/71 assessment. The principal extension of settlement beyond the original township boundaries in this period was to the Gawler East ward where a large number of cottages and larger residences were built along High Street. Many new stores and shops were established along Murray Street and Martin & Co. set up a sawmill in High Street, on land subsequently used for the Phoenix Foundry<sup>87</sup>.

At the census of 1871, the population of the Corporation of Gawler had reached 1652 (799 males, 853 females) and the number of dwellings was recorded at 383. Much of this growth had occurred in the previous decade; at the 1861 census the population was already 1201 and the number of dwellings 358. However, 95 of these dwellings were uninhabited and it would seem probable that they were originally make-shift structures abandoned in favour of more substantial dwellings. The local newspaper, the *Bunyip* reported that there were many buildings under construction in 1866 and 1888, and many of the hotels, churches and grand private dwellings still standing are known to have been built in the 1860's.

The Corporation assessment records for 1870/71 show a prosperous residency and varied land use. A multitude of cottages, houses and "residences", shops, offices and industries (including seven wheat stores, two foundries, two mills, a brewery, a malt house, a brick kiln and a saw mill), substantial public buildings, many hotels and churches, two banks and a school. Considerable land remained vacant within the Corporation, but little was used as paddock or agricultural land.

Initially the buildings in Gawler were erected with little concern for beauty or homogeneity. Many of the cottages were thrown up hurriedly by landowners to be leased to new arrivals and labourers and tenancy rather than ownership was most common throughout this period.

The buildings erected in the next decade changed this picture substantially, many of the shops, churches and hotels being rebuilt or renovated, much vacant land being filled up and the large number of two room pine cottages declining as they were replaced with larger stone houses. There was still little homogeneity by 1870, but with the establishment of lime and brick kilns in Gawler and Willaston and the permanent settlement of builders and tradesmen, a local source of building workers and materials was created and the basis for a distinctive architecture was laid.

Many of the buildings considered of primary heritage significance in the present Town of Gawler date from this period. These include The Globe (later Kingsford) Hotel c.1851; Congregational Church and Hall (the original church) 1851 and 1861; Methodist (Uniting) Church (the first 1850, the second 1869) and original manse 1858-59; the Gawler Stores (now Eudunda Farmers) as enlarged progressively by James Harris from the 1852; Gawler (formerly Union) Mill c.1853; the re-built Old Spot Hotel 1855 (with extensive additions and renovations in 1879 or 1880); Presbyterian Church 1855-1856 (now a restaurant); Railway Hotel c.1857; Gawler West Methodist Church (the original Bible Christian Church section) 1858; St. George's Church of England (the second) Church 1858-64; Criterion Hotel c.1858; Mill Inn c.1858; the professional chambers of Rudell & Rudell (formerly the S.A. Banking Co.) 1859; Oddfellows Hall 1859; Commercial (later Southend) Hotel 1859; Telegraph Station 1860; 'Para Para' homestead 1862 (District Council of Mudla Wirra); Hemingby residential group (villa and cottages) c.1865; Willaston Schoolhouse (Memorial Hall) 1865; Oaklands (the home of James Pile) 1866; Victoria Hotel 1866; Post Office 1866-67; Willaston Methodist Church (part) 1867; Exchange Hotel 1868; Gas Works c.1869; Baptist Church (part) 1870; Eagle Foundry 1870; Gawler Institute 1870. These buildings provided a focus of activities and a variety of services to the Gawler township and the surrounding district for more than 100 years<sup>88</sup>.

From the 1870's extension of residential settlement was marked in Gawler South, Gawler West and

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<sup>87</sup> Loyau, G.E. p.109

<sup>88</sup> Hignett & Co, p. 35-37

Bassett Town (until 1899 still within the District Councils of Munno Para West and Munno Para East) with Gawler South, which was systematically settled from the mid-1860's, showing the largest growth. Some settlement was attracted to these areas by the establishment of industry, particularly the Victoria Mill (1867), May Bros. Engineering Works (1885) and the Britannia Foundry (1885), but the principal draw-card was cheaper land in small building allotments<sup>89</sup>.

These areas did not evolve as separate townships but remained closely attached to Gawler by ties of commerce and employment. At the 1901 census Gawler South boasted a population of 1287 people and 257 houses but contained only five shops. It did, however, support two private schools and in 1895 the Anglican Church of the Transfiguration was built on Adelaide Road to cater to the religious needs of the large community. Gawler West and Bassett Town together had a population of 485 with 102 houses, but the proximity to the main township and the scattered settlement precluded any extensive development of local shops and services.

Willaston and Bertha also grew within this period and at the census of 1901 recorded together a population of 488 with 103 houses. Willaston alone had a population of 381, making it the largest of the suburban townships. Unlike the other townships south and west of Gawler, Willaston and Bertha preserved a separate identity. In 1877/78 they supported ten shops including the blacksmiths Jas. Wood and John Lamb, the large butcher's establishment of Edwin Gartrell (run by Hodgson and Clement 1878-1883), the general store and confectionery of E. Coombe & Son, the lime kilns of James Davies and the brickyards of Bright & Weaver. All were suppliers of materials and services to Gawler and Adelaide, rather than recipients of their materials and services.

Within the Gawler Corporation the South Ward remained remarkably stable in the number of shops and houses supported. The 1870/71 assessment recorded 56 houses and 47 shops, workshops and industrial premises, while the 1901 assessment recorded 62 houses and 41 commercial and industrial premises.

The number of shops in the North ward, principally along the north-west side of Murray Street, more than doubled in this period and a number of new houses were built, particularly along Finnis Street, although the total number of houses did not increase significantly as many of the new buildings replaced a former cottage or cottages. The main activity in building was in the East ward where, with the subdivision of former 'Clonlea' land in 1873 and of 'Gulf View' in 1876, the number of houses increased from 85 to 127 in this period and many substantial buildings on large allotments replaced former cottages<sup>90</sup>.

By 1900 the population of Gawler had reached 1996, but few of the original generation of settlers remained. Many of the leading figures in local commerce and industry, business and public service had died in the 1890's, among them James Martin, William Barnet (founder and proprietor of the Bunyip, Thomas Fotheringham (proprietor of Fotheringham's Brewery and Cordial Manufactory), Frederick May (of May Bros. Engineering Works), John McEwen (proprietor of the Prince Alfred Hotel), Carl Gustav Roediger (store keeper and chaff merchant), John Rudall (solicitor), George Warren (surveyor), J.C. Wilkinson (auctioneer) and W.F. Wincey (timber merchant).

Gawler was never to recover the spirit of enterprise of these pioneers who had made so much of the opportunities offered in the first fifty years of settlement. Even in the thirty years after 1871, in spite of the successful expansion of a number of industrial and commercial ventures, the lasting evidence of prosperity was not as great as in the preceding two decades. Most of the profits of the industries were ploughed back into plant and premises, rather than being diverted into public buildings, although a number of elegant private dwellings were erected in this period. Most church building at this time, for example, was in the form of additions and alterations rather than in new structures, and the funds were raised largely by the congregation. Significant exceptions were the Anglican Church of the Transfiguration at Gawler South (1895) and the Roman Catholic church, the second St. Peter's and St.

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<sup>89</sup> Coombe, G.E. p. 32-35

<sup>90</sup> Coombe, G.E. p34

Paul's, built in 1897/98. The principal public buildings erected were government owned and funded: the Gawler Primary School (1878), the new Railway Station (1879), the Courthouse (1881) and the Waterworks Building (1882); and the Town Hall, built by the Corporation in 1878. The memorial to John McKinlay, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1874, and the foundation arch of which was placed the following year, represented the only public undertaking of this period.

The Forester's Hall, built in 1899, was the only building to be erected by a Society, most groups having established homes before 1871 or being content to operate from the Institute. The active commercial life of the period was evident in the transfers and enlargement of shops and offices rather than in new building, for traders preferred to remain within the largely built-upon Murray Street. This trend was to continue throughout the 20th Century, so that the premises erected by the Bank of Adelaide (now the A.N.Z. Bank) in 1873 and the National Bank in 1881, Pile's Buildings at the north end of Murray Street (west) built in 1878, the shops (originally known as Wilcox Buildings) extending north from the Jacob Street corner and the extensions to a previously very modest drapers shop by Alfred Sheard in Murray Street (part of the present Essex House) in 1897, are the few remaining significant business premises from this period.

Murray Street was described in 1880 as "generally of a substantial character; occasionally one meets with a few dilapidated structures which merely stand as land- marks of the past, and which the daily marked progress of Modern Athens will soon sweep away to replace -them with new edifices worthy of the town"<sup>91</sup>. Over the next twenty years most of the temporary structures were replaced and the commercial centre achieved a high degree of harmony in architecture, evident in contemporary photographs and still suggested by a view of Murray Street buildings from the rear vantage point of High Street.

The most numerous new structures during this period were private houses, particularly in the East and North wards. In the North ward, most vacant allotments were used up by 1900 in the building of new houses, particularly along Finniss Street, and more substantial houses often replaced an existing cottage or cottages. In the East ward a number of residential dwellings had been demolished (lots 226 - 233) to make way for the new Phoenix Foundry premises, but new areas of residential settlement had opened up north of Lyndoch Road (along the present Warren, Edith and Blanche Streets), following subdivision of former 'Clonlea' land in 1873, and further east of the original extension, to the present Daly Street and East Terrace, with the 'Gulf-View' subdivision of 1876. Murray Street (all wards) was radically altered along its length by the replacement of cottages and houses by more shops and by the extension of one business into adjoining premises.

It is rarely possible now to state with certainty the architect or builder of these privately commissioned buildings. In many cases the owner was the 'architect' and various contractors undertook the masonry, carpentry and painting. Most building was, however, in locally quarried stone and locally made brick and by local workmen, and this gave a homogeneity and harmony to buildings in this period and ultimately to Gawler in general as earlier timber and iron buildings were replaced<sup>92</sup>.

The population of both the Gawler Corporation and the Gawler South District Council declined in the period between 1911 and 1921 and then remained stationary in the 1920's. Industrial, commercial and building activity suffered from an uncertain economic climate and the widespread unemployment and depression that was soon to affect the whole country had become apparent in Gawler by mid 1928.

The industrial activity that had made Gawler so prosperous and independent had virtually ceased by 1928 and the improvement and extension of railway services and changing export demands had eroded the value of Gawler's services to the surrounding agricultural district. By the end of the 1920's, workers were increasingly forced to seek employment outside Gawler, while metropolitan businesses and services were further intruding into the still profitable commercial arena of Gawler.

The agreement of 1920 between the Gawler Corporation and the Mudla Wirra South District Council

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<sup>91</sup> Hignett & Co. p.37

<sup>92</sup> Hignett & Co. p.37-38

and the Adelaide business firm of C.C. Deland, giving the latter a virtual monopoly on sand and gravel extraction from the North Para in return for royalties to sustain the falling rates, and the purchase and demolition of the Victoria Mill by the Railways Department and the use of the site for a sand dumping and trucking ground in 1928, were symbolic of the changes that had come to Gawler and its new dependence on outside interests and activity by the end of this period.

The general decline in local prosperity and optimism was rapidly felt in the building industry. Very few houses or other private buildings of any type were built between 1900 and 1928 within the Gawler Corporation. That there was a need for new houses was evident from the high rentals and house values prevailing by 1928, but those needing housing had no funds to pay for building or materials. Between the censuses of 1901 and 1933 the number of dwellings within the Gawler Corporation actually fell slightly (443 to 429) in spite of the expansion of settlement in East Gawler. Building continued south and west of Gawler, within the boundaries of the Gawler South District Council and the number of residential properties increased by some 60% between 1901 and 1921 (257 to 394) but again there was stagnation in the 1920's.

Public building in this period was also much reduced and reflected largely extension of church facilities to a more widely spread population and the provision of new educational and other facilities for the residential population of the whole district. This was evident in the erection of the Roman Catholic Convent in Porter Street, the new Methodist Manse at Gawler West and the new Fire Brigade Station in Jacob Street (all 1910), the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Bassett Town (1910/1911), St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Hall (1910/1911), the Congregational Church Kindergarten Hall (1912/1913), Hutchinson Hospital (1912/1913), the Gawler South Church Hall (1913/ 1914), Gawler School of Mines and Gawler High School on Lyndoch Road (1915), the first McKinlay Cottage Homes on Tod Street in 1915, North Gawler Lutheran Church (1921), Zion Lutheran Church in Cowan Street (1922), Gawler South Church of Christ (1924), the Roman Catholic School on Porter Street in 1925, the Willaston Methodist Kindergarten Hall (1927), the new Maternity Block of Hutchinson Hospital (1926) and enlargement of the original Gawler West Methodist Church (1925/1926)<sup>93</sup>.

Commercial building was minimal in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the only new premises being constructed were those of the clothing factory in Union Street in 1914. Essex House was extended in 1905 and again in 1911 (in the process of which one of Gawler's oldest remaining shops was demolished) so that by 1928 it occupied an area previously housing up to six shops and workshops. Most commercial building activity was of this nature, involving the modification, alteration or extension of existing premises to meet new needs rather than demolition and total reconstruction. Industrial activity was the same, with the old cordial factory becoming a butter factory, the Victoria Mill being used for a fodder compression industry and the Albion Mill for a chaff cutting business in the first years of the twentieth century and subsequently as a chaff and grain store, while the tramway goods shed became, in a significant transformation, a motor garage.

The style of building showed no major changes in this period, and the new houses in Gawler South stood harmoniously with their nineteenth century neighbours. The extension of the Building Act to Gawler in 1926 was too late to affect building activity in this period, although it was to be significant in the local building revival of the later 1940's and 1950's. Most of the building to 1920 was by the same local contractors and tradesmen who had evolved the distinctive Gawler architecture of the later nineteenth century namely Taylor and Forgie; Thomas White (of Deland and Tardiff); Edwin Mould; Arthur Rebbeck and the Gawler South builders John Dieckmann and James Peek using the bricks of Busbridge and Bright and William Weaver (later William Gouger) and lime from the Willaston kilns of George Eyers, the Federal Lime Company, William Rendell and Ayling and Dwyer<sup>94</sup>.

The growth of residential settlements south and west of the original township (Gawler South, Gawler West and Bassett Town) was the most significant extension during the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This development was recognised by the creation of a separate Gawler South District Council

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<sup>93</sup> Hignett & Co. p.39

<sup>94</sup> Hignett & Co. p.40-41

in September 1899, comprising areas formerly within the larger Munno Para West District Council, with council offices built in 1905 in Adelaide Road.

The number of dwellings within the original portion of Gawler (North and South wards) changed very little during this period. The Gawler East ward saw some development during these years, with the establishment of a clothing factory in Union Street in 1914 which, with the egg packing business of W.M. Brown provided the only industries established within the Gawler Corporation boundary in this period.

A new township, Barrett Town, was laid out north-east of Gulf View in 1910. Scattered houses began to appear on allotments along the north side of Lyndoch Road and along the present Bella Street, but not in numbers sufficient to add significantly to the total number of dwellings in east Gawler.

The spread of residential settlement within the Gawler South District Council was also less rapid in this period and followed no particular pattern, tending to fill up gaps within Gawler West and the southern end of Gawler South. Significant developments were the increase in the number of shops serving the local population (from 11 in 1900 to 22 in 1928) the establishment of new churches and the Gawler South Mission Hall, which became a focus of local social activity.

The population of the northern township of Willaston grew considerably (from 381 to 555) and the number of dwellings increased from 84 to 121 in the period between the 1901 and 1911 censuses and to 151 by 1928. The population around Willaston was by 1928 more scattered, but within Willaston was also more concentrated as a number of allotments were further subdivided.

Industry in Willaston remained centred around the brick yards of William Weaver (later William Gouger) and the nearby lime kilns operated by George Evers (later Luxon and Dracker), William Rendell, A.C. Edson and Ayling and Dwyer and there was little new commercial activity, Coombe's general store continuing to predominate and only two new shops and a blacksmiths shop being established between 1900 and 1928, all along Main Street<sup>95</sup>.

The period of stagnation and economic difficulties of the twenties and early thirties prompted revival of interest in extension of the boundaries of the Gawler Corporation. The creation of "Greater Gawler" had been envisaged for many years. Before the separate Gawler South District Council was established in 1899, there had been moves by local residents (then within the Munno Para District Council) to amalgamate with the Gawler Corporation. The northern townships of Willaston and Bertha, although not sharing the dependence of Gawler South and Gawler West on central Gawler's shops, services and industries in the nineteenth century, had failed to develop any special relationship with the largely agricultural portion of the Mudla Wirra South District Council and had come increasingly to identify with Gawler's interests in the twentieth century<sup>96</sup>.

Official representations made before the Royal Commission on local government areas in 1933 reflected this status quo, with Gawler South preferring to remain separate and Willaston prepared to unite with the Corporation, but the Commission recommended a united municipality and Greater Gawler was proclaimed on the 1st July, 1933, its boundaries extending to include the former Willaston ward of the Mudla Wirra South District Council and portions of the Barossa (East Gawler), Munno Para East and Munno Para West (South and West Gawler) District Councils. The enlarged Corporation thus encompassed large vacant areas to the south, north and east that were to become the focus of new residential settlement and ensure the revitalisation of the town centre as new population was attracted to them.

After the depression the population of the Gawler Corporation grew rapidly from a little over 3,000 in 1933 to 4,436 in 1947 and 5,703 in 1966. After 1966 the rate of population increase declined and a significant feature in the population distribution of the 1970's was the increase in the proportion of older residents (over 60 years). The population increase of the 1940's to 1960's created a great demand

<sup>95</sup> Hignett & Co, p.13

<sup>96</sup> Hignett & Co. p.13



for housing, services and education, while the trend to an older population in the 1970's required more attention to the provision of community and private recreational and care facilities for retired and elderly citizens. The response to these changing demands was reflected in both the private building activity within the Corporation as well as Corporation and Government undertakings.

The location of the range of new community facilities built in this period reflected the particular growth of settlement in the southern portion of the enlarged Corporation, the new government High School (1964) and Roman Catholic School (St. Brigid's, 1963) being located at Evanston, Immanuel Lutheran Church (1962) being built at Gawler' South and the Church of the Nazarine at Gawler West. With the construction of the Adult Education Centre on Jacob and Finnis Streets (1967) and the new Post Office in Tod Street (1973) the town centre gained its first substantial new public facilities for more than fifty years.

Commercial buildings changed radically in appearance in this period. The picture theatre, built on Murray Street, of locally quarried limestone for Regal Amusements Ltd. in 1934 was the last major new structure in the old style. The new supermarket of Coles Ltd., opened on 24 October 1947, presaged a new development in commercial practice and construction, and the facade of much of Murray Street was altered as buildings were modernised, advertising extended and parking facilities provided for the ever-growing number of private vehicles. New commercial and industrial enterprises took over existing premises or constructed timber and iron and concrete block facilities for their activities, particularly in Willaston and Gawler South<sup>97</sup>.

Large new buildings appeared in the streets immediately west of Murray Street as booming commercial activity overflowed the traditional ribbon development along the main street. Much of the new development was unrelentingly "modern", making no concessions to the character of adjacent or preceding structures.

Increased awareness of Gawler's heritage and of the importance of long-term planning was evident in community activity (by the Gawler National Trust, other groups and individuals) aimed at the preservation of structures and by the measures taken by Council including the appointment of Mr. R.G. Walter as Town Planner (from 1973) to control the scope and direction of building development. A Town Centre Development Plan prepared by Bruer, Vogt & Hignett was approved by Council in 1975. Interim development control under the Planning and Development Act was also achieved in 1975. During the same period controversy attended the proposals to demolish the pioneer place wall and the original fire station and "Corporation Cottage" on Lyndoch Road (1970) and to build a Woolworth's supermarket on the corner of High Street and Lyndoch Road, the site of the former house and surgery of Dr. Dawes (1974), the design of a Coles supermarket on part of the former Albion Mills site (1977) and the form of expansion of various Murray Street premises. In some instances, local agitation prevented unsympathetic new commercial development<sup>98</sup>.

In private home building, the changes in this period were dramatic. From the 1940's there was developed a new range of locally produced materials of a character quite new in Gawler and their extensive use in subsequent housing development created structures comparable with those in the Adelaide metropolitan areas but quite alien to the earlier traditional sandstone and bluestone houses with their galvanised iron roofs and verandahs and brick and timber ornamentation. Between 1933 and 1947 the number of houses within 'Greater Gawler' increased by over 150, and already new trends in architecture were reflected, notably the use of plastered or painted cement finished brickwork (known in the trade as "Spanish work"). Between 1947 and 1961, however, more than 500 new dwellings were built and the range of new materials (mass produced red brick initially, with later use of cream and coloured bricks and concrete blocks and of many-hued roofing tiles) was greater, so that the physical appearance of Gawler was much altered<sup>99</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> Hignett & Co. p.40

<sup>98</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 39-40

<sup>99</sup> Hignett & Co. p. 39-40

Most of the private home building between 1933 and 1947 was scattered, appearing without any pattern (though largely to the east and south) as existing allotments were sold. There were no new formal subdivisions until those by the Housing Trust on land west of Barnet Road (part section 3221, the present Birkett Street, Ey Grove and May Terrace) in the late forties. A much larger subdivision followed in the early fifties on land south of the South Para known as Duck Flat (the present Lawrence Street, Marsh Avenue, Crosby Avenue triangular area).

By mid-1952 124 houses had been built or were under construction in Gawler for the Housing Trust (44 in Ey Grove and May Terrace, 40 in Marsh and Richards Avenues and 40 in Rice and Lawrence Streets) and this building continued at an average rate of 20 per year until the mid-1950's<sup>100</sup>. Most subsequent new home building by the Trust was further west and south of the original Gawler township and fell within the province of the District Councils of Mudla Wirra and Munno Para.

Private home building was on a smaller scale throughout the 1950's, but gathered impetus with the improved general prosperity of the 1960's and new homes privately contracted appeared scattered throughout the Gawler Corporation, although again concentrated upon the southern approaches and, later, towards the extreme eastern boundaries of the Corporation.

Approval was given for subdivision in Gawler East (off East Terrace) and Willaston (Brown and Bright Streets) in January 1972 in response to a growing demand for housing. In 1973 a number of flats were built in Evanston and the South Australian Housing Trust announced plans to build new home units at Gawler West. The rapid pace of development continued right up to the end of this period, placing further pressures on the limited area available for expansion within the Corporation boundaries.

## 5.0 Working

### 5.1 Organising Workers and Workplaces

In many service industries, working conditions in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were demanding indeed and one of the earliest unions to be set up was the Gawler Shop Assistants Union in 1864, to campaign for lower working hours since their hours were exceedingly long by Adelaide standards. By February 1889, most Gawler shopkeepers were observing closure on Wednesday afternoons. By July 1891, the closing of all shops on Wednesdays by 1.30pm was a fixed practice<sup>101</sup>. During the 1890's, trade unions had significant hold in Gawler, more so than in other provincial towns in South Australia at the time<sup>102</sup>. There were occasional strikes but in general relations between the employers and the District Trades and Labour Council was good.

In the first thirty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the socio-economic composition of the population and the age distribution meant that there were an increasing number of labourers, clerks, shop assistants and government, council and industry employees rather than self-employed merchants, shop keepers and tradesmen. By 1908, the eight hour/day system of work and the half day holiday on Saturday had been in place for over thirty years, however the amount of time for leisure among the working population was to be curtailed, for with the passage of the Early Closing Act in 1914, the hard won general early Wednesday closing was discontinued and even the 'no Saturday work' ruling at Martin & Co. was revoked when Samuel Perry took over the works in 1915. The uncertain economic climate in Gawler early in the twentieth century was reflected in the formation of Gawler branches of the Moulder's Union (1906), along with the Liberal and Democratic Union and the Australasian Agricultural Implement and Machinery and Ironworker's Association and the United Labour Party in 1907. These comprised mainly workers from the May Bros. and James Martin & Company foundries who were also active in the local labour party organisation. The Agricultural Implement and Machinery and

<sup>100</sup> Hignett & Co. p13-14

<sup>101</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 114

<sup>102</sup> Whitelock, D. p.116

Ironworker's Association (subsequently known as the Implement Worker's Union) was responsible for a ten week strike of May Bros. and Gawler Implement Co. workers in 1911 for a closed shop, which put more than 300 men out of work, created conflict among the workers over the virtues of strike action and showed clearly the growing divisions within the town as population grew and became more segmented. The sense of interdependence was still strong within the town and the importance of the manufactories and foundries to local autonomy was evident to all<sup>103</sup> however the reality was that strikes and over unionism and working conditions were a debilitating feature of the last phase of Industrial activity in Gawler<sup>104</sup>.

## 6.0 Educating

### 6.1 Associations, Libraries and Institutes for Self-education

#### 6.1.1 *Gawler Institute*

The Gawler Institute, founded in 1857, was derived from the philanthropic ideals of British Quaker George Birkbeck who believed that skilled tradespeople should gain 'useful knowledge' in their spare time. The resulting Mechanics' Institutes or Schools of Arts emerged around the British Empire. The Gawler Institute provided not only adult education but also lending libraries, reading rooms, museums, theatres and dance halls. They were effectively the earliest forms of Community Halls. The Gawler Institute first occupied premises opposite the Globe and its first President was Mr Mold.

The library opened in 1857 (as part of the Gawler Institute) with 700 volumes and 70 subscribers. Within 3 years, the offerings had increased to 2000 and subscribers had increased to 250. The Institute also housed a museum, whose main collection was from the Naturalist Club and whose collection was curated by eminent scientist Dr Richard Schomburgk.

In 1870, the building which now houses the Institute was opened. Along with the Town Hall, which was opened in 1878, the two buildings form the heritage centrepiece of Murray Street. The Institute designed by James Martin and built in the Italianate style of local bluestone cost £5000 and was funded by a community art union.

The Gawler Institute was a particularly strong example of its type and was responsible for organising South Australia's first rural fete as well as fancy fairs which attracted train loads of revellers from Adelaide. On its second anniversary, the Institute sponsored a prize of 10 guineas for the creation of a Song of Australia. There were 96 competitors and the winning entry had words by Mrs C.J. Carleton and music by Carl Linger. The song was runner-up to the final successful national anthem 'Advance Australia Fair'. The Institute also sponsored the first Comprehensive History of South Australia by Edwin Hodder in 1893<sup>105</sup>.

#### 6.1.2 *The Bunyip and the Humbug Society*

Two significant 'institutions' emerged in Gawler in the 1860's –the Humbug Society and its creation: The Humbug Society Chronicle – more commonly known as *The Bunyip*. The Humbug Society did not last beyond the 19th century, but its journal *The Bunyip* is still published today. The Humbug Society was developed as a satirical reaction to much of the pomposity of early Colonial public and social life.

The Society was mainly devoted to humorous activities, but it did also provide an avenue for local intellectual life to thrive. Its members met in the old Globe Hotel. The publication of the monthly 'Bunyip' from 5th September 1863, established a local newspaper that was initially the vehicle of the

<sup>103</sup> Coombe, G.E. p223-226

<sup>104</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 143

<sup>105</sup> Whitelock, D. p.123

cultural elite of Gawler and more latterly an important source of information for and about the Gawler community and local development. The first journal ran the Society's oath as its masthead. The chronicle was founded and managed by William Barnet, a Scottish born printer and run by his descendants until they sold it in 2003. Somewhat to the surprise of its founders the Bunyip gradually settled into the role of newspaper rather than as an organ of the Society – presumably because of the ongoing need for news and advertising content relevant to the local population in Gawler and district. Throughout the duration of its publication, the Bunyip has provided a comprehensive history of Gawler with stories of its colonial, agricultural and industrial years in over 6,000 issues.

In one of the Bunyip's first publications Dr George Nott (the Editor) wrote an historical sketch of the town in which he coined the term Colonial Athens, which became widely used thereafter<sup>106</sup>.

## 6.2 Schools and Other Educational Institutions

In the first years of settlement, some teaching took place at 'Clonlea' and probably other pioneer homesteads<sup>107</sup>. With the rapid growth of the township from 1845, however, and particularly the addition of more women and children to the population, there were new social developments. A public meeting in 1846 resolved to collect funds for a public school house and this was established on one of the sites reserved for a school in the original township plan (Lot 22, Fotheringham Terrace) and opened in 1848.

It served also to accommodate various denominations in their religious observances until their own churches were built.

The Schoolhouse was built from Government funds (£40) which were allocated by the Church of England Board for the creation of a school (St George's) along with further subscriptions totalling £200. The school was opened in 1850 and was initially a sectarian school, however within 3 years the school was open to children of all denominations. In 1857, it was extended with the addition of a separate classroom for a girls school in 1866. Thus, by the late 1860's Gawler had two licenced schools with six teachers and 236 scholars<sup>108</sup>.

St Joseph School was founded in 1867 at the rear of the Roman Catholic Presbytery and conducted by the Sisters of St Josephs.

A number of other private schools emerged during colonial times including in Willaston and Gawler West, but they were largely made redundant with the arrival of the first Government school, Gawler Public School, one of the first eight model schools built in the colony, built by William Tardif and opened in 1878 with accommodation for 600 pupils. L.S. Burton, Master for 24 years of St. George's School, became the first Headmaster of the public school. Built of solid bluestone on Church Hill overlooking the Parklands and later known as the State School and more latterly as the Primary School, it has provided education to significant numbers of Gawler residents to the present time. Other primary education schools included Evanston Primary School and Gawler East Primary School.

Secondary education developed from 'continuation classes' which commenced in 1907, and the class which became known as Gawler High School in 1910 moved to a separate building on Lyndoch Road in 1915.

Denominational schools have continued to exist in Gawler with replacement of St George's Grammar School with Trinity College in 1984 and the Immanuel Lutheran School replacing the old Lyndoch Road High School in the late 1980's.

The Gawler School District was declared to be under the provisions of the Education Act in 1878 and monthly meetings were held at the Institute to discuss matters affecting local and district schools.

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<sup>106</sup> Whitelock, D. p.79

<sup>107</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 217

<sup>108</sup> Whitelock, D., p 217

Further education has been provided since 1888, when some men met at the Gawler Institute to form an 'Amateur Assaying Club'. This was the forerunner of the Gawler School of Mines and Industries which was established within the Institute in 1893. As numbers increased, the School moved into James Martin's offices and in 1898 into the old Telegraph Office. In 1915, the School moved into premises on Lyndoch Road and in 1917, it was renamed the Gawler Technical School, teaching a broader range of courses including for returned servicemen and in cookery, shorthand, dressmaking and carpentry. Renamed the Gawler Adult Education Centre in 1967, it moved into premises off Jacob and Finniss Streets before being renamed Light College<sup>109</sup>. Further education is today provided in the TAFE campus at Gawler on High Street.

Roseworthy Agricultural College was established in 1883 as the oldest agricultural college in Australia. Founded to work on improving the productivity of local soils it has continued to make internationally relevant contribution to the use of superphosphates and improved wheat farming and now under the auspices of the University of Adelaide, it continues to work at the forefront of research and higher education in agriculture and the wine industry<sup>110</sup>.

## 7.0 Governing

### 7.1 Administration

#### 7.1.1 Local Government

South Australia's earliest citizens began agitating to be able to make decisions locally and independently of the British-run Colonial government within the first four years of settlement. In this regard, the Colony was extremely progressive, with Adelaide City Council becoming the first municipality in Australia in 1840, following a petition of residents seeking the rights and privileges of their own Council. From that point onwards, the history of municipal councils in South Australia mirrors that of the development of the State as they attended to the governance and principal needs of the colonists – roads, markets, sanitation, health, welfare and economic prosperity.

In June 1852, the *Districts Councils Act* was passed and municipal government was first established in the area in 1853 with the creation of the District Council of Barossa West which covered the western half of the Hundred of Barossa and locally governed the eastern half of the Gawler township. Gawler is seated at the intersection of four different cadastral divisions – Mudla Wirra, Nuriootpa, Barossa and Munno Para. From 1854 the western half of Gawler township was governed by the District Council of Mudla Wirra and the southern outskirts of the township were administered by the District Council of Munno Para West. The municipality of the Town of Gawler was proclaimed on 9 July 1857 after petition by ratepayers in as a result of dissatisfaction over this governance by three separate district councils. The boundaries of the new municipality followed the original town plus Gawler East, totalling 487 acres. The area was divided into three wards – North, South and East and Council soon prioritised upgrading Murray Street to improve gradients, creation and maintenance of roads and footpaths, fencing parklands, improved drainage works and bridge construction<sup>111</sup>.

Under new constitutional arrangements in 1855 Gawler became the principal polling place for the District of Barossa<sup>112</sup>.

Ongoing discussion from 1868 included the need for a town hall, but the location and source of funding were much debated. A final poll resulted in a site in Murray Street being selected and the foundation

<sup>109</sup> Whitelock, D., p.219

<sup>110</sup> Whitelock, D. p.111-112

<sup>111</sup> SMEC, p. 32.

<sup>112</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 66-67

stone was laid in April 1878.

By early 1893, ratepayers in the District Council of Munno Para West (which included Gawler West, Bassett Town, Evanston and Gawler South) voiced great discontent with their Council's approach to civic responsibilities. In August 1894 the Town of Gawler motioned to approach the District Council of Munno Para West to discuss extending Gawler's boundaries to take in Gawler South. Eventually the District Council of Gawler South was proclaimed as a separate council in September 1899. Amalgamation with Gawler did not occur until 1933. At the same time, large areas of Willaston and Gawler East were also added.

Recognition was given to the enlarged community comprising Gawler and sustaining its commercial centre by the formation of the Greater Gawler Council in 1933. This reinforced the established distribution of residential, commercial and industrial settlement and helped to ensure that the growing southern residential areas remained oriented toward the Gawler town centre and its services rather than other growing townships within the Munno Para District Council. With the incorporation of Willaston into the enlarged Gawler Corporation considerable areas capable of sustaining small-scale industry were also acquired, and a number of premises connected with building materials were established in Willaston during the 1940's.

It was not until 1985 that the remaining parts of Willaston, Evanston Park and Evanston Gardens became part of Gawler Council<sup>113</sup>.

### 7.1.2 *Policing and Justice*

The Ancient Order of Foresters, one of the friendly societies instituted on philanthropic principles, established the first Court in Gawler in 1855. Its first meetings were held in the Old Spot Hotel.

Later, a Police Station and Court House were built in Cowan St between Light and Orleana Square. The original Court House became the Police Sergeant's house with the construction of a new Court House in 1881, by the builder of the Town Hall. The Local Court of full jurisdiction met monthly and the Local Court of limited jurisdiction met weekly with Messrs McDonald, Dean and Murray successfully filling the posts of the first three magistrates

In 1865, it was resolved that two foot-policemen were desirable for the town, to be paid for by a special rate provided for by the Police Act. By 1902, one of these foot constables had been removed and was not replaced by public request. Indeed, from the early 1840's to 1908, the Police presence in Gawler was modest: a sergeant, a foot soldier and a mounted constable. This number remained constant despite significant increases in population.

In 1967 The Police Station and Court House were refurbished.

### 7.1.3 *Services and Welfare*

Initially after settlement, Gawler was a relatively young community and the Government did not organise a system for the relief of sickness or distress. Friendly Societies filled the need for insurance services when people had to make their own provision for sickness and old age. These Friendly or Provident institutions offered basic medical insurance on payment of a small regular sum. In addition, they offered companionship and sometimes moral direction. The earliest of these started a branch in Gawler in 1846 when the town was only seven years old. The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows opened a lodge called the Loyal Gawler lodge on the site of the Public House 'the Old Spot'. Soon a high brick building was constructed behind the gables of the hotel, part of which was designated as a Lodge-room. The Lodge was held there until 1852 when it moved to the Globe Inn and thereafter to the Old Bushman Hotel. In 1858, the number of members necessitated a purpose-built structure – the Oddfellow's Hall of Gawler – which was the first in the colony. The two-storey building built under the guidance of architect Mr Wright was situated on Murray Street on the eastern side and a little below

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<sup>113</sup> SMEC, p. 32.

the location of the original Old Spot Hotel. The Hall which occupied the whole of the top storey measured 60 feet by 20 feet and was 16 feet in height, could accommodate up to 300 people. The lower portion of the building was occupied by the Institute.

Other public services were introduced by private effort, including the initiation of a district nursing service in 1896, the formation of a committee in 1897 to raise funds for the erection of cottage homes for the aged (ultimately with little success) and the establishment of the first private hospital in Orleana Square by Miss R. Banks in 1899<sup>114</sup>.

This reverted to residential use a few years later but two private hospitals were subsequently opened, one in High Street in 1906 on the property of Mrs. St. Mark Dawes, run in conjunction with the practice of Dr. Dawes and later his son (this continued to operate until the 1970's) and a second opened by Sister Greenslade on Victoria Terrace in 1904, subsequently run as a maternity hospital<sup>115</sup>.

In 1912 construction of the first public hospital was begun, utilising a bequest made to the town by Thomas Hutchinson. The hospital was erected on a two-acre site on East Terrace and was completed in November 1913, opening with two 4 to 5 bed wards and four private beds and a staff of two, the Matron and one trainee. The hospital was later extensively added to, a maternity wing being built in 1926.

A number of important new public service and welfare facilities also appeared in response to the changing needs of the growing community in the 1960's and 1970's, the most notable of which were the new High School on Barnet Road (Evanston) in 1964, the Adult Education Centre (Jacob and Finniss Streets), completed in 1967 and the new Catholic school, St. Brigids, also at Evanston, built in 1963, and a new Post Office in Tod Street, opened in 1973. New church building was limited in comparison with any previous period, but two new churches were built (the large Immanuel Lutheran Church at Gawler South in 1962 and the Church of the Nazarine, opened in Gawler West in 1956) and there were a number of extensions to existing buildings to accommodate the increasing community. In 1971 the establishment of the Cottage Homes Inc. in Fotheringham Terrace led to construction of over 30 accommodation units.

In 1974, Gawler High School was extended to receive a resource centre and in 1975 the Hutchinson Hospital was extended with a new Maternity Wing opened in 1977. In the same year, a St. John's Ambulance centre was constructed near the Elliot Goodger Park, following significant improvements to that Park<sup>116</sup>.

## 8.0 Cultural Life

### 8.1 Recreation

During the first decade after settlement, the population of the new township of Gawler grew to about three hundred, but the trappings of a civilised society had hardly begun to emerge. The first mark of a rising township in most country regions has been the arrival of the Public House. Gawler was no exception with the erection in late 1839 of 'The Old Spot' (known initially as the Golden Fleece and from 1842 as Calton's) in Murray Street opposite Whitelaw Place. For several years this attractive building was the most noticeable portion of the new town with 'its long low straggling buildings with gable ends presenting themselves in every direction, its spacious verandahs built of pine, pine and shingle' somewhat reminiscent of home<sup>117</sup>. It was first built by Mr Scheibener and afterwards occupied by Mr Tooth, but it was under the guardianship of Mr Henry Calton that it enjoyed its most prosperous days taking on the name Old Spot from 1848. Other public houses emerged with the Bushman Inn in

<sup>114</sup> Coombe, G.E., p. 47

<sup>115</sup> Coombe, G.E., p. 133

<sup>116</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 309

<sup>117</sup> Coombe, G.E., p. 43-47

1840 and the Gawler Arms in 1848, but these were prompted largely by the passing trade of carters and settlers. In 1855, under the new ownership of Mr G C Wyld, the Old Spot was demolished and replaced with a row of shops which were not successful. An 'unsightly edifice at one end of the street now bears the name (Old Spot) but was seen as a faint shadow of what was once the Pride of Gawler'.

An Agricultural and Horticultural Society was formed in 1856 and promoted agricultural and horticultural initiatives and improvements during this period by annual shows and exhibitions and, in the 1860's, by the holding of reaping and ploughing matches.

The early colonists relaxed by engaging in outdoor pastimes brought from Europe and enjoyed community fetes with sack races for the children and bare-knuckle fights for the men. Hunting and shooting were extremely popular, given the English passion for foxhunting, and they quickly formed the Adelaide Hunt Club which hunted in the hills not far from Gawler. Fishing declined drastically with the pollution of the river systems as a result of settlement, but the upper reaches of the South Para remained relatively clean and were stocked with fish upstream for the sporting angler. Enthusiasm for horse racing was widespread and gained hold very early after settlement with the principal races of the State taking place at Gawler in the second half of the 1840's<sup>118</sup>.

The Gawler Racing Club included races over two miles from 1910 and the Trotting Club was formed in 1938. Night trotting started in 1952 with a crowd of 10,000 spectators. Greyhound racing which also started in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century remains very popular. Other popular sports include tennis, swimming and golf, with a course opening in 1905, making it one of the oldest clubs in South Australia.

Gawler has also had strong links to gliding since the Adelaide Soaring Club started to use the facilities of the Gawler aerodrome in 1944.

Cricket and football matches, which had begun to be played in Gawler in the 1860's, were formalised with the formation of the Union Cricket Club in 1880 and the Gawler (1870) Football Club and the creation of the Gawler Cricket Association in 1880 and the Gawler Football Association in 1889.

The cinematograph had been introduced into Gawler in 1897 and two separate companies ran regular weekly pictures at the Gawler Institute by 1911. Gawler South Cinema Pictures were opened in the Gawler South Mission Hall in 1921. A roller-skating rink was opened in the Exhibition Building in 1909, a bowling club was formed in 1907 and greens opened in Jacob Street in 1908, a motor cycle club was formed in 1908 and bicycling again became popular following the formation of the Gawler Cycling Club in 1917. The Institute Literary Society's Union, founded in 1898 by the amalgamation of the Baptist, Congregational and Methodist Literary Societies, boasted a membership of 600 in 1908.

With the increase in local prosperity and population within the Gawler Corporation Council area from the late 1930's there was an upsurge in recreational and educational activities and facilities. A variety of sporting bodies and music societies were formed or reformed. A picture palais was begun by Strand Pictures Ltd., in the Gawler Institute in 1932 and a new picture theatre, the Regal, was opened in Murray Street in January, 1935<sup>119</sup>, continuing (as the Hoyts in later years) until 1967.

A new park was opened on the banks of the South Para, after the land was transferred to the Corporation by the Housing Trust in 1956, and land was subsequently purchased by the Corporation for an oval and cricket pitch at Willaston. Sixty-two acres north of Gawler (part of the former "Clonlea" property of John Reid) was also purchased for parklands in 1966. Kindergartens were opened in Gawler South, Church Hill, Willaston and Gawler (at the southern end of Murray Street) in the 1940's and 1950's. Community action for a swimming pool, recommenced in 1957 after initial efforts between 1950 and 1953, finally resulted in the construction of an Olympic pool in 1962 and the Gawler Bowling Club acquired large new greens on the parklands in 1961, replacing the Jacob Street green leased since 1908.

<sup>118</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 241

<sup>119</sup> Whitelock, D. p.161



## 8.2 Forming Associations

Friendly Societies, including Oddfellows, Freemasons, Sons of Temperance and the Druids were so numerous that they formed a Friendly Societies' Association in 1872 and held public demonstrations originally in Mahoney's Paddock and later on the Recreation Ground. Older than either of these two orders was the mysterious order of the Mystic Tye who held monthly meetings of a Masonic Lodge called the Lodge of Fidelity EC from 1849. As the town grew more prosperous in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, more groups and organisations grew up including St Vincent's de Paul Society, United Labour Society, Amateur Dramatic Society, the Caledonian Society and the Camera Club<sup>120</sup>.

The Gawler Agricultural Society was active from 1856 and until the construction of the Exhibition Building in 1882, it held its annual shows at various venues including the Institute and became the largest show of its kind in country South Australia.

From the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century a number of community service organisations created a strong community force, including the Country Women's Association (formed in 1940) and Meals on Wheels (formed in 1963). Other include Apex which began in 1951, the Rotary Club which was formed in 1954 and the Lions Club formed in 1967.

## 8.3 Worshipping

As Gawler was a significant town in a notably religious colony, churches of every denomination were built within the first few years of settlement. The founders of South Australia seemed determined to create a society of religious tolerance without 'established' church privileges such as were common in Britain at the time<sup>121</sup>.

Colonel Light made special provision for churches when he laid out the town plan which provided space for the Anglicans (Orleana Square) and the Presbyterians (Light Square) on two of the main town squares and for the Catholics in the remaining (Parnell Square). In fact, the Presbyterian Church was never built at its planned location, but today the town has, in addition to the list above, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist (now known as Uniting) and Lutheran churches as well as Assemblies of God, Baha'i, Baptists, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, Seventh Day Adventists and Salvation Army places of worship.

The Church of England was the first to lead regular worship with Rev W H Coombs conducting services in the basement of the Victoria Mill from November 1846. By March 1847, the Foundation Stone of the first Anglican church in SA north of Adelaide was laid and the church named St George after England's patron saint and in honour of Colonel Gawler. The building was completed within 12 months and its shortcomings became apparent with faulty construction of the walls and the heavy roof necessitating its replacement after just a decade. In 1858, the foundation stone for a new 14<sup>th</sup> century early English style edifice was laid. The Parsonage House was built on glebe land near the Lyndoch Valley Road in 1848 and that same year the Church of England Board for the administration of the Government grant voted £40 for the building of a public school in Gawler.

In 1856, the Free Kirk of Scotland erected a building on Cowan Street with an elegant tapering spire visible from all parts of Gawler. The allotment had been presented to the Presbytery by the late Mr John Auld.

The Catholic Church in Parnell Square was erected in 1855 with a residence and schoolhouse on an allotment opposite. Father Coyle was its first clergyman.

The Independent Chapel was built at the junction of Dundas and Cowan streets in Light Square in 1851.

The Wesleyans built their first chapel in 1850 at the junction of Todd Street and Scheibner Terrace. It was enlarged in 1858 to accommodate over 400 worshippers.

<sup>120</sup> Whitelock, D. p.221

<sup>121</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 207-213

Churches continued to provide a focus for social activity as well as spiritual needs in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. With most of the denominations having completed substantial churches, attention was given during these years to establishing modest parish churches in the newer settled districts and to supplementary activity, displayed particularly in the creation of a number of church halls and the laying out of tennis courts on church land. By 1928 the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches all had associated courts. Church membership showed no significant decline and a wide range of new societies were established, individually and jointly, by the churches, particularly in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the number of alternatives to church organised activities for the young was also increasing<sup>122</sup>.

#### 8.4 Commemorating the Fallen

Gawler, like all Australian towns, suffered a significant loss of young men in the various wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with almost 500 fallen in World War One alone. They are commemorated by a statue, on the Adelaide Road, depicting a young Anzac in slouch hat and puttees with rifle and bayonet mourning his dead comrades. In March 1919 a mass meeting of the citizens of Gawler was held to agree a proposal to erect a Memorial Arch off Walker Place.

In June 1941, the first World War Two victims from Gawler were commemorated. In October of the same year, Gawler adopted the Navy corvette 'HMAS Gawler'.

In May 1969, Bernard Smith, the first local Gawler man killed in the Vietnam War was acknowledged in the local press<sup>123</sup>.

#### 8.5 The Arts and Sciences

In most newly settled townships, physicians and clergy became the community leaders and this was also the case in Gawler town<sup>124</sup> with Dr George Nott and Rev William Coombe promoting and supporting artistic and scientific pursuits along with a the number of Old Lutheran religious refugees (German settlers) as well as the 'forty-niners', a group of 'high minded and scholarly Germans' who settled at Buchsfelde on the Gawler river just out of town. Most famous of this group were the Roediger Brothers (one was Lutheran pastor), Frederik bis Winckel (botanist, vigneron and Chair of Mudla Wirra South DC) and Dr Richard Schomburgk, curator of the Institute museum for several years and later Director of Adelaide Botanic Garden. His legacy was Moreton Bay Fig Trees still seen in modern Gawler<sup>125</sup>.

The Gawler Institute was formed in 1857 and the impressive building erected in 1870 was to provide a focus for cultural activities and a home for many arts and science endeavours for the next century. The Gawler Institute building was constructed by Messrs. Deland & Tardif for £5000 and within a decade was housing many local organisations and associations including a debating class and an amateur dramatic society which were started at the Institute in 1878 in a bijou theatre<sup>126</sup>.

At this time, George Nott, writing in the Bunyip coined the term "Colonial Athens' for the township and this fell into colloquial use locally in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to describe not only the architecture of the time but also the intellectual and cultural pursuits, the high point of which was the holding of a competition to compose an anthem for Australia in 1859, remarkably, four decades prior to Federation. The result was the 'Song of Australia' written by Caroline Carleton to music composed by Carl Linger.

<sup>122</sup> Whitelock, p.207-213

<sup>123</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 307

<sup>124</sup> Whitelock, D. p. 65-66

<sup>125</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 65.

<sup>126</sup> Loyau G., p. 65

## 9.0 Marking the Phases of Life

### 9.1 Dying

The original cemetery, now known as 'the Old Cemetery', was designated at the top of Murray Street. Containing the remains of the original founders of Gawler, it has been disused since 1870, however attempts to reuse it for recreation and to build a band rotunda ended in the Council being sued by the family of one of those interred and so the site was abandoned until 1936 when it was dedicated as a parkland 'Pioneer Place'<sup>127</sup>.

In 1866, a new cemetery was created at Willaston and its first interment occurred on 18 November. In June 1933, the first burial after cremation occurred at Willaston Cemetery.

## 10.0 Chronology (1839 – 1984)

Based on Hignett & Co. (1981) with significant modifications / additions.

Date	
1839	Special Survey for Reid and Murray by Light along North Para. Gawler township planned by Light and laid out by William Jacob. John Reid took up residence on his selection 'Clonlea'. Old Spot Hotel built on Murray St (opposite Whitelaw place) by David Scheibener. Originally called 'The Golden Fleece' and later Calton's.
1840	Other members of Special Survey took up selections. Old Bushman Hotel built by Robert Robertson. Regular (weekly) conveyance between Adelaide and Gawler commenced.
1841	Bi-weekly mail/transport service commenced.
1842	Police Station (cells, yard, Sergeant's residence) built, Cowan Street. Bridge built over North Para. Copper discovered on Bagot's Special Survey at Kapunda.
1843	First District Court held in Gawler. Weekly mail service between Adelaide and Gawler. Post office facilities established by Henry Calton.
1845	Copper discoveries at the Burra. Victoria Mill established by Stephen King in Jacob Street. Enlarged 1848/49 and in 1853 by W. Duffield. Expansion of local police force recommended.
1846	Public schoolhouse proposed on land reserved for school, Scheibener Terrace. Daily mail/transport service commenced. Society of Oddfellows opened branch called Loyal Gawler Lodge. Meetings held in Old Spot Hotel.
1847	Establishment of rendering works by Reid and Devlin on North Para. North Para Bridge swept away in storm. St. George's Church of England, Orleana Square, commenced.
1848	Expansion of Victoria Mill by new owner, Walter Duffield. Establishment of bullock dray and agricultural implements manufacturing business by James Martin. Re-building of North Para bridge, west of original bridge, connecting Willaston and Gawler. St. George's Church of England consecrated (G.S. Kingston, architect) Anglican Parsonage built on glebe land in Gawler East, near Lyndoch Valley Rd.

<sup>127</sup> Whitelock, D., p. 157.

	Public schoolroom, Fotheringham Terrace, completed. Willaston township laid out. Gawler Arms Hotel built in Murray Street (Extensive additions 1868; rebuilt 1903). 'Golden Fleece' renamed Old Spot hotel.
1849	South Para bridge built. Willaston Hotel built. Postmaster appointed for Gawler. Order of the Mystic Tye held monthly meetings of Masonic lodge in Old Spot.
1850	St. George's schoolroom, Cowan Street, completed. Foundation stone of Catholic church, Parnell Square, laid. Methodist (Uniting) church built Bertha township laid out. Wesleyan Chapel, Tod Street, erected. Transept added 1858, classrooms 1875.
1851	Globe (Kingsford) Hotel built in Murray St. Name changed in 1858. Congregational church, Cowan St erected. Gawler East sub-division laid out. Para Para Estate purchased by Walter Duffield. Subdivided and sold in 1923.
1852	James Harris opened drapery in Murray Street. Expanded premises to Jas. Harris & Sons "Gawler Stores", now Eudunda Farmers. John Allen opened Blacksmiths Forge Murray St. District Councils Act passed.
1853	Municipal Govt established Barossa West District Council. Tannery begun by Harrison Brothers (short-lived venture). Victoria Mill enlarged by Walter Duffield (second addition to original). Evanston township laid out. Union Flour Mill, Murray Street (south) erected by Harrison Brothers. Enlarged 1856. Destroyed by fire 1914, rebuilt 1915.
1854	Fotheringham's Brewery established, Julian Terrace. New District Councils created for Mudla Wirra; Barossa West; Munno Para East (MPE) and Munno Para West (MPW) effectively dividing Gawler South between MPE and MPW and locating Gawler town as part of Barossa West and incorporating Willaston into Mudla Wirra.
1855	Original Old Spot Hotel demolished and two-storey premises built further down Murray St. St. Peter's and St. Paul's Roman Catholic church completed. Building & carpentry business (Taylor & Forgie) founded by W.S. Taylor, Tod St. Building business (Deland & Tardif) founded by B.E. Deland (architect) Cowan St. Ancient Order of Foresters held meetings at Old Spot Hotel.
1856	St. Andrew's Presbyterian church built, Cowan Street (Architects English and Brown). Spire removed 1893; Hall added 1910. Union Flour Mill (Murray St South) enlarged. Agricultural and Horticultural Society formed.
1857	Telegraph communication between Gawler and Adelaide begun. Railway from Adelaide to Gawler commenced. Railway Hotel built. Printing Business opened (William Barnet). Following reaction from residents towards council changes in 1854, Gawler township incorporated creating the 'Corporation of Gawler' Gawler West township laid out and lots sold by auction. Gawler Institute founded (including library). Building designed by Jas Martin. Branch of SA Banking Co. opened in Gawler (southern end Murray St). Court House built, Cowan Street. Extension of St George's Schoolhouse built. Brick kiln opened (Busbridge & Bright) Wright St.

1858	<p>Foundation stone new St. George's church laid, Orleana Square (E.A. Hamilton, Architect).</p> <p>Transept for Wesleyan Chapel, Tod Street added.</p> <p>Methodist (Uniting) church manse constructed</p> <p>Oddfellow's Hall built Murray St (first in the colony). Additions made 1865.</p> <p>Gawler South township laid out.</p> <p>Bassett Town township laid out</p> <p>Gawler West Bible Christian Church erected (became Gawler West Methodist Church).</p> <p>Mill Inn, Gawler South, erected. Now Vincentian Centre.</p> <p>Criterion Hotel opened in Bassett Town.</p>
1859	<p>SA Banking Co. (was later Bank of SA, taken over by Union Bank 1892) built premises on Murray Street. Now Rudall &amp; Rudall's offices.</p> <p>Gawler Humbug Society formed.</p> <p>National Bank of Australasia opened branch in shop (until 1881 when new premises built in Murray St).</p> <p>Prince Albert Hotel built.</p> <p>Commercial Hotel (aka Grapes inn) built in Murray Street.</p>
1860	<p>Telegraph Station built in Murray Street. Post office business transferred there.</p> <p>Railway extended to Kapunda.</p>
1861	<p>Keystone of tower arch for new St George's laid.</p> <p>New Congregational church erected; Cowan St. Old church became the Church Hall.</p> <p>Duffield Hall built 1913.</p>
1862	<p>Commercial Hotel renamed Southend Hotel.</p> <p>Para Para Homestead divided (Mudla Wirra DC).</p>
1863	<p>Monthly Bunyip newspaper begun.</p> <p>New Police Station built, Cowan Street (Thomas Laycock Contractor).</p> <p>Footbridge begun (completed January 1864) over South Para to Gawler West.</p> <p>Union Mill purchased from Harrison Brothers by Walter Duffield and expanded.</p> <p>New hundreds opened up north of Gawler for agriculture.</p>
1864	<p>New St. George's church opened and consecrated.</p> <p>Land purchased by Corporation for roadway between High and Murray Street.</p> <p>Named Thorup's Lane after owner of land C.E. Thorup.</p> <p>Mail delivery by train commenced.</p> <p>Timber yard &amp; sawmill established (Pearce, Wincey &amp; Co.).</p> <p>Coachbuilding workshop and paintshop (Tod St.) Swann &amp; Ivert.</p>
1865	<p>Land given by Henry Ayers to Corporation for roadway between High and Duffield Streets. Named Ayers Street.</p> <p>New schoolhouse built at Willaston (W.S. Taylor, Builders). Became branch of District Council of Light (1980's).</p> <p>Hemingby Residential Group (villas and cottages) built.</p> <p>Gold discovered at Barossa</p>
1866	<p>Congregational church manse erected on church land, Cowan Street.</p> <p>New St. George's schoolroom opened.</p> <p>Residences built for James Martin ("Trevu", Deland Avenue) and James Pile ("Oaklands", McKinlay Avenue).</p> <p>New Post Office constructed in Murray Street (Pett &amp; Grey contractors).</p> <p>Branch of Bank of Adelaide (ANZ) established in Gawler (rented premises).</p> <p>Bank of SA taken over by Union Bank of Australia.</p> <p>Saw mills/timber yard/ blacksmith opened by Duffield &amp; Co. (Jacob St)</p> <p>Brick kilns opened by Bright &amp; Weaver (Paxton St.)</p> <p>Brick kilns opened by Samuel Snell (Howard St.)</p> <p>Lime kilns opened in Bertha by James Davies</p> <p>Victoria Hotel built at Willaston now known as the Willaston Hotel.</p>
1867	<p>Foundation stone Willaston Wesleyan church laid.</p>

	<p>Victoria Flour Mill in Jacob Street destroyed. Rebuilt at Gawler West.</p> <p>Foundation stone new Wesleyan Methodist church laid Willaston, completed 1869.</p> <p>St Joseph's School founded at rear of catholic church.</p> <p>Post Office completed and clock tower begun.</p> <p>Duke of Edinburgh visits Gawler.</p> <p>Opening of Roseworthy and Forester's line of railway.</p>
1868	<p>Gawler Arms Hotel extensive additions built in Murray Street</p> <p>Exchange Hotel built.</p> <p>Albion Mill (James Dawson) opened Cowan St.</p>
1869	<p>New Willaston Bridge constructed.</p> <p>Rebuild of Methodist (Uniting) church.</p> <p>Engine Shed addition to railway site.</p> <p>Strangways Land Act passed allowing selection of agricultural land on credit and creation of small blocks.</p> <p>Gasworks established (Seventh St, Gawler South). Offices of Gas Co. located in town hall.</p> <p>Gas lighting commenced for private premises.</p>
1870	<p>Baptist Church built in Murray Street (additions 1873, 1879, 1900, 1905).</p> <p>Gawler Institute erected (Deland and Tardiff, contractors).</p> <p>New South Para bridge completed (Mr. Nutt, contractor).</p> <p>Eagle Foundry, King Street, built by David Thomson.</p> <p>Train Shed addition to Railway site (James Marsh builder).</p> <p>Gawler Football Club formed.</p> <p>Old Bushman Hotel rebuilt</p> <p>Cemetery closed to further burials.</p>
1872	<p>New Phoenix Foundry premises built on High Street/Calton Road by James Martin.</p> <p>Friendly Societies Association formed.</p>
1873	<p>Bank of Adelaide premises erected in Murray Street. Became ANZ Bank in 1980's.</p> <p>Baptist Church addition built in Murray Street.</p> <p>Subdivision of 'Clonlea' land.</p> <p>Flax Mill (Roediger) constructed on Goose Island (Water St) Gawler South. Burnt down the following year (1874) and was not rebuilt.</p>
1874	<p>Foundation stone for McKinlay Memorial laid by John Forrest.</p> <p>Martin &amp; Co. formed by James Martin taking J.F. Martin and A. May into partnership.</p> <p>Coachbuilding works (Hill &amp; Sparshott) commenced.</p>
1875	<p>Keystone arch of McKinlay Memorial placed in position; memorial unveiled. Wall around (former) cemetery built.</p> <p>Wesleyan Chapel (Tod St) classrooms added.</p>
1876	<p>Victoria Mill, Gawler West, again destroyed by fire. Rebuilt 1877.</p> <p>Subdivision of 'Gulf View' land</p>
1877	<p>St. George's school closed.</p> <p>Albion Mill, Jacob Street, destroyed by fire. Rebuilt and enlarged 1878.</p> <p>Goods Shed built on railway site (James &amp; Mattison Builders).</p>
1878	<p>Town Hall built (J.J. Peek contractor with supervision of B.E. Deland architect and builder).</p> <p>Pile's Buildings, Murray Street, built.</p> <p>Branch Commercial Bank set up in Gawler (in Pile's Buildings).</p> <p>Gawler Public School, Porter Street, opened.(E.S. Wood, architect, William Tardif, builder.)</p> <p>Chaff cutting business commenced (Sale &amp; Eastwood) King St.</p>
1879	<p>New Railway Station built, Robin and Hack, contractor.</p> <p>Street lighting of Gawler by gaslight began.</p> <p>Tramway to Murray Street opened.</p> <p>Baptist Church Murray Street addition built.</p>

	Gawler and Willaston Lime and Brick Company, Willaston, commenced operations. Spur lines opened to James Dawson's Albion Mill and to Gawler and Willaston Lime and Brick Co. premises. Chaff cutting business commenced (James McDonald). Old Spot Hotel extensive renovations (1879/80)
1880	St. George's School re-opened under L.S. Burton. D. & R.J. Fotheringham's Cordial factory, 8th Street (Water St), in operation. Became Taylor Brothers butter factory; now Southern Farmers' Co-operative Ltd. Police Station enlarged, Cowan Street (Taylor and Forgie contractors). Union Cricket Club formed. Gawler Cricket Association formed.
1881	Martin & Co. moved part of works (smithy and foundry) to High Street premises (expanded early 1890s). Gawler tramway terminus goods shed built. National Bank of Australasia premises in Murray Street erected opposite Town Hall. New Court House built, Cowan Street (James Peek, contractor) (original Court House became police sergeant's house) Congregational church erected; Cowan St. vestry added Glucose / starch manufacturing plant opened at Victoria Mill.
1882	Exhibition Building erected on Recreation Grounds. Waterworks Buildings erected.
1883	Gawler Waterworks built by Hydraulic Engineering Dept. Stockyards constructed. Roseworthy Agricultural College established.
1885	May Bros. Engineering Works established at Gawler West. Robinson's Britannia Foundry established at Gawler West. St. George's church transept and chapel added 1885. Cement works opened (Gawler South/Basset Town).
1889	Early Wednesday closing for shop assistants announced. Willaston Bridge washed away in severe flood. Telephone exchange established. Gawler Football Association formed.
1890	New Willaston bridge completed. Four new footbridges and ford also completed.
1891	School room (for St George's) on lot 130 demolished.
1893	Geo. Hilfers (Albion Mill) in liquidation. Mill was idle for many years subsequently. Gawler School of Mines established in Gawler institute. St Andrews church spire removed.
1895	Foundation stone of Church of the Transfiguration, Adelaide Rd, Gawler South, laid. Chancel 1902; Hall 1914.
1896	Roseworthy winery established. District Nursing Service established.
1897	Limestone flux export to Port Adelaide commenced. Wilcox Buildings (cnr Jacob St/Murray St) constructed. Extension to Draper's shop (Alfred Sheard) Murray St (now Essex House).
1898	St. Peter's and St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church dedicated. Barossa Water Scheme agreed to by Government. Small water scheme developed at Greenock Creek with connections to Roseworthy and Gawler railway stations. Gawler School of Mines moves to old Telegraph Office premises.
1899	Forester's Hall, Murray Street, erected. Now demolished. First private hospital opened, Orleana Square. Gawler South DC recognised.
1900	Baptist Church Murray Street addition built.

	Chaff cutting premises built (T.A. Waters) Murray St.
1901	Barossa Water Scheme completed. Compressed fodder industry begun by Darling & Son in Victoria Mill premises. Chaff cutting premises established (George Elme) Lyndoch Rd. Prince Albert Hotel rebuilt as two storey structure. Congregational Church (Cowan St) Tower added.
1902	Bequest of Thomas Hutchinson (d.1901) for a public hospital in Gawler. Church of the Transfiguration, Gawler South Chancel built. Egg packing and distribution business opened (W.M. Brown)
1903	James Martin statue erected on Murray Street (premises of Martin). Later removed to Julian Terrace park. Gawler Arms Hotel rebuilt in Murray Street (original built in 1848). Foundation stone of Freemason's Hall laid, Lyndoch Road.
1904	Private hospital opened run by Sister Greenslade on Victoria Terrace. Howell and Know commenced business as chaff cutters and grain merchants at Albion Mill.
1905	Baptist Church Murray Street addition built. Cordial factory (W.L. Haydon & Co.) on old premises of Fotheringham's factory (Water St.) Gawler Golf Course opened (one of earliest in the state). Gawler South Council offices built. Essex House extended.
1906	Private hospital begun by Dr. A.H.C. Dawes adjoining his home in High Street (now demolished). Taylor Bros. butter factory commenced in former cordial factory premises in Water Street (Eighth), now Southern Farmers.
1907	James Martin & Co. wound up Phoenix Engineering Works. Purchased by Henry Dutton. First two cottage homes, Tod Street, opened. New South Para bridge under construction - officially opened 22nd Jan. 1908. Federal Lime Co. commenced lime burning operations near Willaston
1908	Bowling greens opened in Jacob Street. St George's church tower built. Agricultural implement machinery section of James Martin & Co. purchased by syndicate of Gawler businessmen and operated as the Gawler Implement Manufacturing Co., then disbanded 1921. Turretfield Estate (originally the property of H.D. Murray, one of the Special Survey proprietors) sold to the Government for use as a model dairy farm. Now Turretfield Agricultural Research Centre. Foundation Stone of tower of St. George's Church laid.
1910	Gawler Sand Co. began large-scale sand mining from North Para, ceased within a few years. Foundation stone of Roman Catholic Convent, Porter Street, laid. Opened October 1910. St Andrews Presbyterian Church Hall built. New Methodist Manse built (Gawler West). Fire Brigade Station, Jacob Street, built. Seventh Day Adventist Church commenced construction on Ann (Twentysecond) Street, Gawler West. Opened 1911. New church built adjoining in 1969. Barrett Town subdivision laid out (East Gawler, NE of Gulf View) Long strike by employees of May Bros. and Gawler Implement Manufacturing Co.
1911	Opening of Gawler/Angaston railway and Gawler North railway station. Willaston Wesleyan church vestry added. Essex House extended.
1912	Electric lighting introduced to Gawler (Corporation undertaking).



	Construction of Hutchinson Hospital, East Terrace, begun (J.T. Quinn & Co. contractors). Completed 1913. Congregational Church Hall built. Para Weir completed – barrage built across Para South between Gawler West and Goose Island footbridges.
1913	Gawler South Church Hall, Adelaide Road, begun (completed 1914). Electric lighting extended to Gawler South. 6am commuter train to Adelaide commenced. Public Hospital Built (East Terrace).
1914	Union Mill destroyed by fire (rebuilt 1915) Deadman's Pass footbridge closed. Clothing Factory established by Jacob in Union Street. Church of the Transfiguration, Gawler South Hall built
1915	Purchase of James Martin & Co. by Samuel Perry - subsequently known as Perry Engineering Co. Joint premises erected as Gawler High School and Gawler School of Mines (Technical School) on Lyndoch Road. First McKinlay Cottage Homes built (Tod St).
1917	SA Gas Co. closed its Gawler works.
1918	Electric lighting extended to Willaston.
1919	New weir constructed by Corporation over South Para. Willaston Hotel delicensed. Became two private residences.
1920	Agreement between C.C. Deland and Gawler Corporation and Mudla Wirra South District Council for removal of minimum of 20,000 tons of sand per annum from North Para, upon payment of royalty of 6d. per ton.
1921	Gawler Implement Manufacturing Co. disbanded. North Gawler Lutheran Church built in Warren Street. Foundation stone of Zion Lutheran Church, Cowan Street, laid. Completed 1922; Church hall, 1954; Annex to part of church 1964; Zion pre school centre 1978. Gawler South Cinema opened in Gawler South Mission Hall.
1922	Zion Lutheran Church, Cowan Street, completed.
1923	Corporation electric lighting plant sold to Adelaide Electric Supply Co. Para Para Estate (of Walter Duffield) subdivided and sold.
1924	Gawler South Church of Christ, Adelaide Road, built. Fodder compression business in Victoria Mill premises closed. Electric substation built on Fotheringham Tce (on site of old public schoolhouse)
1925	Roman Catholic School built on Porter St. Gawler West Bible Christian Church renamed Gawler West Uniting Church, with extensive additions (church and schoolroom) built 1925/26. Passenger road bus service to Adelaide commenced.
1926	Extension of provisions of Building Act, 1923, to Gawler. Hutchinson Public Hospital, East Terrace, extension built (maternity wing).
1927	May Bros. wound up. Part of premises later used by Jeffs Bros, Millers. Willaston Wesleyan Church Hall added.
1928	Perry Engineering Co. closed its Gawler premises (plant removed to Mile End works). Victoria Mill demolished (gutted by fire 1927) to make way for sand dumping / trucking ground. Street names in Gawler South District Council changed.
1930	Gawler Trotting Club established in Paxton Street (later moved to aerodrome site). Local Syndicate (H.T. Brown) took over egg packing business of W.M. Brown
1931	Murray Street tramway closed to traffic and lines subsequently taken up. Institute Memorial Hall completed.
1932	Fotheringham's brewery closed (property taken over by SA Brewing Co.)

	St. George's Grammar school closed, re-opened as a Lutheran day school in 1933.
1933	Proclamation of "Greater Gawler" (enlarged municipality), included Willaston, Gawler East, Gawler West and Gawler South. Jeffs Bros. of Kapunda began milling operations from former May Bros, premises between Blanche /Murray Streets (18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> ). Formation of Penny/May Harvesting Co. (agricultural implements). Weir over South Para river demolished.
1934	Picture House (Murray St) – last significant public building constructed in 'old style'.
1935	Willaston General Store (C.E. Coombe & Son) sold
1936	Old Cemetery proclaimed a public park (Pioneer Place). St. John's Ambulance Division opened.
1938	Gawler Trotting Club established.
1939	Albion Mill demolished.
1940	Hulland's Precision Pressed Metal Co. opened. Branch of Country Women's Association opened.
1941	J Hallet (Adel) took over Paxton St Brickworks opened by A.E. Todd.
1944	Adelaide Soaring Club moves premises to Gawler aerodrome.
1945	Migrant hostel opened at Willaston. Was RAAF camp. J.R. Holden (Adelaide) took over pressed metal company (Hulland).
1946	Wooden Box factory opened (Maygers)
1947	First houses built for Housing Trust in Gawler, (CAT Duldig contractor). Clothing factory, Murray Street, commenced. Completed 1948. Branch of Gawler Trader's Association opened. Coles supermarket opened Murray St.
1948	R.S.L. clubrooms built on site of Albion Mills, after which the club took over premises of the Church of the Nazarene.
1949	Gawler Tiles (tile manufacturers) opened Willaston.
1950	Cement Linings (water pipeline manufacturer) opened Willaston. Transferred to Bertha St 1951.
1951	Apex Branch established.
1953	Willaston Lime Kilns rebuilt (W & E Taylor).
1954	Zion Lutheran Church, Cowan Street Church Hall built. Rotary Branch established.
1955	Henderson's Federal Spring Works commenced (Calton Rd).
1956	Church of the Nazarine, Gosford Street and Overway Bridge Road, Gawler West, erected (D.C. Mudla Wirra).
1957	Gawler West Uniting Church Hall built. Hutchinson Hospital, East Terrace extension built (nurses' quarters).
1961	Concrete masonry factory (J. Bessler) opened. Gawler Bowling Club moves to greens on Parklands. Gawler Chamber of Commerce established. E&WS premises extended.
1962	Foundation stone Immanuel Lutheran Church, Seventh Street, Gawler South, laid. Church completed 1963. New Police station buildings (offices, garage and cell block) begun in Cowan Street. Olympic swimming pool built.
1963	Gawler By-pass road opened. New Catholic school (St. Brigid's) opened on Para Road, Evanston.
1964	New Gawler High School built, Barnet Road, Evanston. Zion Lutheran Church Annex built. Meals on Wheels established.
1965	Adult Education Centre, Jacob and Finnis Streets, under construction (completed 1967). Deadman's Pass footbridge demolished.

1966	Police Station & Court House, Cowan Street, extensively renovated (interior only). National Trust branch established.
1967	Immanuel Lutheran Church Hall construction commenced (dedicated in Jan 1968). Friday night shopping introduced in Gawler. Adult Education Centre opened (Jacob & Finnis Streets). Arts Society established. Lions Club established. New retail/commercial development expansion west of Murray St.
1968	Taylor & Forgie built new chapel (Cowan St). Sound & Music Centre opened Murray St. H.T. Brown combined with Southern Farmers co-op and R.J. Finlayson to form Farmer Brown Egg Pty Ltd.
1969	New Seventh Day Adventist Church built adjoining old building. Eudunda Farmers premises expanded. Derek Sutch (chemist) and Duncan & Feist (chemists) expanded premises. Construction of five new retail premises Walker Place. Extensive sewerage project commenced.
1970	Gawler Mill (Jeffs Bros.) closed as a mill. Township declared a sewerage area.
1971	Cottage Home Inc. established Fotheringham Tce.
1972	Sub-division of Gawler East (off East Tce) Sub-division of Willaston (Brown & Bright Streets).
1973	Town planner appointed by Gawler Corporation. State Planning Office announced major redevelopment. New Post Office, Tod Street, completed. Oddfellows Hall sold to Super Elliott Cycles. Foodland supermarket constructed Murray St.
1974	Wintulich Smallgoods factory (Gawler South) significant expansion. 'Tom the Cheap' supermarket opened Tod St. Auto-electrical /motor rewinding premises opened (Tuckfield) Adelaide Rd. Gawler High School extended (inc. resource centre).
1975	Gawler Mill reopened as a restaurant. Assenders Bakery opened Adelaide Rd. Bank of NSW transferred from western side of Murray St to intersection of Murray St/Alton Rd replacing number of old galvanised iron and stone buildings.
1976	Development of Elliott Goodger Memorial Park, Willaston. Timer Fashions closed Julian Terrace factory.
1977	Opening of new maternity and gynaecology wing Hutchinson Hospital. Reid St widened. St John's Ambulance Centre constructed near Elliott Goodger Park.
1978	Demolition of Salvation Army Hall for Further Education Centre car park. Zion Lutheran Church pre school centre built. Sa Gas Co. extended services to Gawler west and Evanston.
1979	Large supermarket construction approved corner Murray St/Cowan St.
1984	Trinity College replaced St George's Grammar School.
1985	Remaining parts of Willaston, Evanston Park and Evanston Gardens became incorporated into Greater Gawler Council.
Late 1980's	Immanuel Lutheran School replaced old Lyndoch Rd High School.

## Appendix 1: Selected Bibliography

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