

**STATELY HOMES THE MIRROR AND METAPHOR OF  
COLONIAL SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**

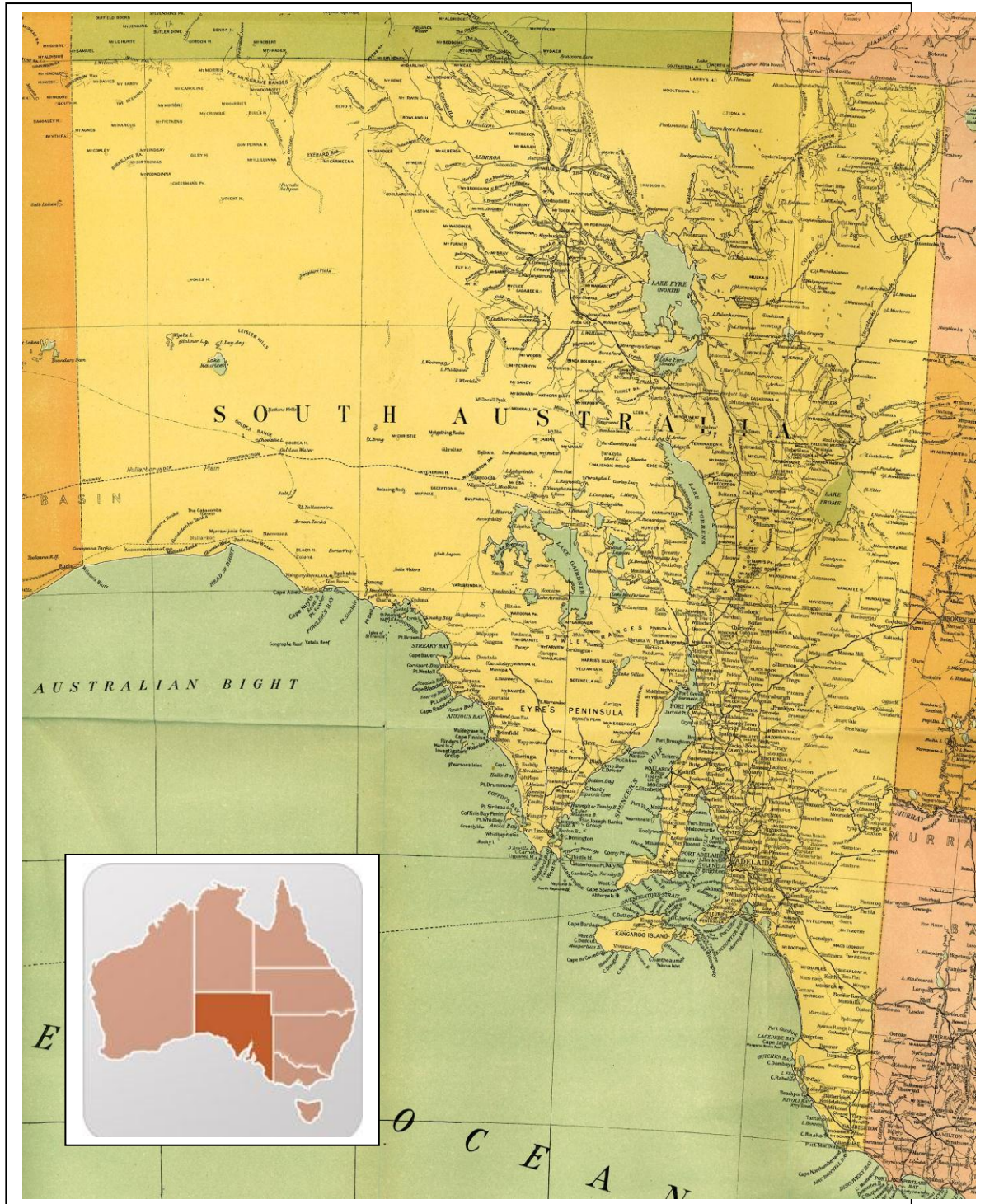
**Volume 1**



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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment for the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy  
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Faculty of Education, Humanities, Law and Theology.  
Flinders University.**

**2010**



South Australia, c1916

## **DECLARATION**

‘I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text’.

Robert M. Stone

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## ABSTRACT

Established by an Act of the English Parliament in 1834, South Australia was intended to be a model colony. Without convicts, it was to be populated initially by British migrants drawn from the disaffected middle classes □ those who were influenced by such factors as religion, politics and self interest □ as well as sponsored emigrants ('young marriageable persons') of both sexes who would ease the overcrowding in England. The capital, Adelaide, was a planned city, its population selected according to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's (1796-1862) economic, social and political theory of colonisation.

The proposed colony of South Australia was therefore an attractive proposition for those who professed ideas of civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions. Regardless of the opportunities for social improvement afforded to the middle classes, there was no comparative incentive for the English aristocracy and landed gentry to emigrate, however, which left a vacuum in the social hierarchy of the colony. This vacuum was filled by a distinct class who emerged from within the colony and who are described in this thesis as the 'new gentry'.

The new gentry styled themselves leaders in the community, and built stately homes as a visible manifestation of their wealth and position in society. However, stately homes are more than just physical objects; they also contribute to a wider cultural landscape and the construction of particular perceptions of 'the past', both in terms of human behaviour and social complexity, and the origins of an area or set of ideals. Over the first 80 years of the colony, economic accumulation, social positioning and closely negotiated social interaction resulted in the creation of a densely layered landscape – both in terms of creation and consolidation of the notion of the 'new gentry', but also of the physical expression of this negotiated social class on the landscape of Adelaide. Stately homes were built in prominent positions with display in mind and had architectural finery that would have impressed both the passer-by and the visitor. They made a statement about the nature of basic social relationships, such that the architectural symbolism of wealth, taste and authority was both intentional and obvious; they also conveyed a message of exclusion based on social status and class. Between the years 1850 and 1880 the new gentry formed themselves into a tight social network and built their homes in exclusive residential enclaves with symbolic barriers which has a significant impact on the cultural landscape.

The stately homes of the new gentry were not mere copies of the homes of the English landed gentry. The new gentry aimed to create their own version of the landed gentry based on an independent image of colonial Australia, yet at the same time remaining conscious of those characteristics which were essential to separate them from the rest of society. The highly independent nature of the new gentry was also reflected in the architectural designs of their houses; there was no one dominant style, yet there were sets of common architectural features.

On the critical question of their use, these houses were not merely objects of bricks and mortar, but could be compared to a theatre in which the real life dramas and social interactions of the occupiers and visitors were played out. The internal configurations and spatial dynamics of these houses played as important a role as the exteriors in reinforcing the much sought-after image. The internal design of stately

homes in part communicated social roles by presenting barriers to procession through the house. Again, there was no one dominant internal configuration, yet a consistent pattern of specialist rooms and, through processional pathways, common social barriers, is evident. It can be concluded from a study of the floor plans of their stately homes that the new gentry not only had a common understanding of the external architectural features which reflected their status in society but also the division and use of internal space in order to separate and control the movement of people according to their class and social status.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century events took place that had a profound impact on this exclusive world of the new gentry and, in turn, on the role and status of their stately homes. Many large pastoral leases were resumed by the government and sold for farming. Being designed to accommodate an earlier cultural and social scene, the economic base which supported these stately homes was now diminished, resulting in many becoming redundant and either demolished or sold for alternative uses.

Stately homes had a major impact on the 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape, but to what extent has this been reduced through changes in the underlying culture that led to the building of these stately homes? Today, decisions must be constantly made as to which stately homes are worth preserving and, for those to be kept, what sort of restoration, renovation or adaptive re-use is appropriate? Demolition of former stately homes can result in the total or partial obliteration of our tangible cultural heritage, whereas demolition of associated buildings and re-use of stately homes can significantly reduce the intangible cultural heritage that is the image of life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Over 50% of the stately homes considered in this thesis have undergone a change in use with a consequential impact on the state's cultural heritage. Preservation of heritage is one form of cultural salvage and a world that is about to be lost is in need of preservation.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the long gestation period of researching and writing this thesis, many people, organisations and businesses have provided valuable input and support. To all of them I owe a debt of gratitude. First and foremost I acknowledge the receipt of an Australian Postgraduate Award and an annual Research Student Allowance provided by Flinders University. The financial assistance assisted me in carrying out the extensive research, travel and collection of data on stately homes across South Australia.

Focussing on a single theme over an extended period of time can in itself be a challenge. Research undertaken by colleagues begins to appear more exciting than one's own and opportunities to undertake field work in unrelated areas a constant distraction. To counter this, many people have assisted me and given freely of their time to ensure I maintained steady progress and remained focused on achieving my goal. Special recognition must go to the lecturing staff of the Department of Archaeology at Flinders University for their support and encouragement and providing opportunities for involvement in the teaching program of the faculty, especially in the areas of historical archaeology and cultural heritage management. To my primary supervisor, Dr Heather Burke, what can one say? What is more difficult, writing the thesis or the having to read the numerous drafts? Without her guidance, encouragement, positive criticism of the many drafts of this thesis, it would not have been completed. To my second supervisor, Dr Claire Smith, I thank her for her encouragement and also to Dr Alice Gorman, who questioned the aims of my field work and assisted me in the design of my building survey pro-formas. To my fellow undergraduate and post graduate students at Flinders University, I owe a special thank you. As with any marathon, pursuing a PhD thesis can be a lonely journey and it was the very presence of my fellow students who, probably unknown to them, encouraged me to succeed.

There were also others outside the University who assisted me in my task. To the long-suffering staff at Heritage SA who retrieved from their archives numerous files on heritage homes, thank you; especially Sally and Gillian. Heritage officers and staff of LGAs, volunteers in tourist offices, especially in country towns, knowledgeable volunteers in regional museums who gave me access to invaluable archival data on the district and the owners of stately homes in their region, and enthusiastic local historians who materialised almost on demand; all made significant contributions to this thesis.

Visits to stately homes were the enjoyable part of this research, with many of the owners granting me access to photograph their properties and to record details of the architectural features. The highlight was the opportunity to transport one's self back in time and to enjoy the hospitality offered in stately homes that are now tourist venues. Tourist accommodation was available at *Bungaree*, albeit in the converted Stallion's Box, from where I was able to inspect at my leisure all the other historic buildings, St Michaels Church, and the extensive gardens associated with the house. The owner, Sally Hawker, provided historical records of the property and access to areas of the property which had remained unchanged for over a century. At *Anlaby*, I stayed in the former manager's house, which gave insight into another facet of life on

a historic pastoral property. The owners gave me unrestricted access to their house, associated buildings and the extensive historic rose gardens. Staying at *Padthaway* provided the complete experience of 19<sup>th</sup> century grandeur, while a tour of restored *Bundaleer* was an example of how heritage properties can be restored to their former glory.

Many of the current owners and occupants of former stately homes now converted to schools, hospitals or commercial premises, acknowledged that it was a privilege to occupy a heritage building and were generous with their time in providing a guided tours of the more public spaces and provide access to historic documents. A special thankyou must go to those who allowed me to inspect and photograph the interior of the buildings, especially where the stately home was their private residence. There are too many to thank individually, but I must acknowledge the special assistance given by Milton and Christine Bowman of *Forest Lodge*, Kirsty Dodd and Julie Kowlessar of *Wairoa*, Malcolm and Marianne Booth of *Bundaleer*, Sally Hawker of *Bungaree*, Bob Rowe of *Mackerode*, Simon Rowe of *Princess Royal*, Bill Hawkin of Bio Farm, formerly *Eden Park*, Annette Barrette-Frankel of *Saint Cecilas*, Ian Bennett of *Koorine*, Glen Clifford of *Yallum Park*, and Drs Peter and Drinda Gauvin of *St Margarets*.

Information on former stately homes occasionally came to light when the properties were advertised for sale. Open inspections were therefore another avenue for access; thank you to the land agents who gave permission to take photographs and complete my survey of the buildings.

Finally, thank you to Janet Stone of Icarus Industrial Design for reformatting the architectural plans and maps and converting my line sketches of processional pathways into their final form. To other family members, friends and colleagues who openly questioned my sanity in pursuing this marathon, but never-the-less supported me, thank you.



## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

*... the system of which the colony of South Australia was the result preserves in undying importance in history as the first attempt, since the days of the Greeks, at organised colonisation on scientific principles (O'Connor, 1926:119).*

*... South Australia ...[which] had to work without the natural leaders which in an English county gave the tone to society...had [now] raised an Upper Class in the colony of which any county in the old country might be proud (The Advertiser, 4 December, 1872).*

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The catalyst for this research arose from what appeared, in the first instance, to be a simple question: *What happened to the houses of the wealthy early South Australian colonists?* This is a far more complex question than would first appear of course, since there are many issues to be addressed, not the least of which are: Who were the wealthy early South Australians and what was their status in the colony? How did this status change over time? Was there anything distinctive in the ways that wealthy colonists built their houses? Why do we care what happens to these houses and do they have such an important place in our early history that they are worth preserving? While these subsequent questions can be researched individually, each is an integral part of the broader question and therefore the results must be part of the whole. Focussing attention on the houses of the wealthy creates a framework for understanding how wealth is translated into status within a wider appreciation of the built heritage of our colonial past.

To begin the exploration of these issues, this chapter will trace the formation of South Australia, particularly its initial years as a struggling colonial settlement, which became a thriving economy within a period of less than 40 years. It was

during this period that the new gentry emerged, and, in turn, began to display their wealth and status in the colony through the construction of their stately homes. Terms and definitions will be defined at the end of this chapter. Chapter 2 will provide the theoretical foundation for this thesis and its supporting literature. Chapter 3 will be confined to the methodology adopted to identify the leading colonists in South Australia and the characteristics that defined them as the new gentry. The selection of houses to be included in the sample of stately homes is primarily based on heritage listings, that is, the contemporary interpretation of what a 19<sup>th</sup> century stately home was, as defined by heritage professionals today. This definition was then applied to other, unlisted, buildings. Chapters 4-6 will examine the results of the research for this thesis: the formation of the gentry, the development of architectural features and symbolism on stately homes and finally the internal special dynamics of the buildings. The focus of Chapter 7 will be on the current status of these stately homes and whether they still provide a window into the 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape. The concluding remarks begin with quotations from two of Australia's most notable 19<sup>th</sup> century poets; these give an insight into the modern mythology of pastoralism and the bush which continues to be used as a framework for interpretation of stately homes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century; the emergence of the original members of the new gentry, the image they tried to create and the harsh reality of the outback which led to the demise of their symbolic power base, the stately home.

## 1.2 CREATION OF THE BRITISH PROVINCE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

John Betjeman, in his foreword to *The Australian Ugliness* (cited in Boyd, 1968:6) claimed:

Adelaide is supposed to be the most English capital. To me it is a triumph of the imaginative genius of Colonel Light, an early Victorian civil engineer and surveyor who carved out of the bush over a century ago a city with a green belt and streets still wide enough to cope with modern traffic before Town Planning on so grand a scale had been conceived in the Western world.

Established by an Act of Parliament in 1834 (4 & 5 William IV, CAP. 95), none of the features of the city of Adelaide just happened. Intended as a model colony, it was designed without convicts, and intended to be populated initially by British migrants drawn from the disaffected middle classes □ those who were influenced by such factors as religion, politics and self interest □ as well as sponsored emigrants ('young marriageable persons') of both sexes, who would ease the overcrowding in England (Price, 1924:11). Adelaide was a planned city, its population selected according to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's (1796-1862) economic, social and political theory of colonisation. The social, economic and political conditions prevailing in Britain from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were key historical aspects that played important roles in the development of Wakefield's 1829 theoretical proposal, *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia*. The early 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of turmoil for both Britain and Europe, and in this climate of unrest Wakefield consciously set out to establish a model colony which would solve the economic, social and political problems he had personally encountered and which were

becoming a growing source of discontent for both the middle and working classes in Britain. These conditions created a climate in which families were prepared to leave their homeland to commence a new life in the colonies, while at the same time, industry and trade generated the necessary surplus capital for investment in colonial ventures.

The first key precept in Wakefield's plan (1832; 1829a) proposed a balance between land and labour, with a realistic minimum price attached to land in the colony. He also saw colonisation as a civilizing mission and declared that a model colony should not have the stigma of convicts or habitual paupers, but should instead embody both political and religious freedom (Gosse, 1996:xvi; Pike, 1967:74). For there to be a balance between land and labour there also needed to be a carefully selected and balanced migration program, with the supply of labour exactly proportionate to demand, so that no capitalist should ever want labourers and no labourer ever want employment (Wakefield, 1829a:29). This seemed logical in theory, but, as time would tell, it was a naïve proposal that could only work if there were limits to both the supply of land through the pricing policy, and a continued and controlled supply of labour.

In the early years there was a strong demand for land in the colony that resulted in increased prices, especially in Adelaide and the nearby secondary town sites at Port Adelaide and Encounter Bay; this gave an appearance of prosperity. Land ownership was a goal of prospective immigrants and the promotion of the colony by agents,

such as John Morphett (*Cummins*)<sup>1</sup>, resulted in an influx of capitalists and labourers. Such prosperity was illusory, however, with the first major crops not being reaped until 1840 (Price, 1924:115). Those who had sufficient capital arranged special surveys in the country, squatters<sup>2</sup> moved their flocks into the grass lands and entrepreneurs who could see a niche for themselves set up business, with transport being one of the areas of high demand.

The second key precept in Wakefield's vision was religious freedom – especially from the entrenched Church of England. Wakefield, having been brought up by a Quaker grandmother, experienced the restrictions placed on society by the Established Church and considered it important to include a section on religion in his writings on colonisation (Wakefield, 1929a). In England there was a close affinity between the aristocracy, landed gentry and the Church of England. Referred to as the 'Established Church' (Hilliard & Hunt, 1986:195; *The South Australian Register*, 15 February 1840), the Church of England had a significant impact on all aspects of 19<sup>th</sup> century English society, resulting in a groundswell of opposition and the growth of Dissenting or non-conformist denominations, such as Baptist, Congregational and Methodist (Hilliard & Hunt, 1986:195). Wakefield's aim was to ensure that there was not only religious freedom in the new colony, but also that there was no established church or state funding of churches and schools. No person was to be

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<sup>1</sup> In order continually to draw attention to the link between the new gentry and their houses, throughout this thesis the name of the stately home will be identified in parentheses after the name of the owner.

<sup>2</sup> Squatter is the term given to settlers who used land often beyond the limits of surveyed areas for grazing and who eventually became known as pastoralists, land owners and sometimes squires, even though the land may have still been leased (Dutton, 1985:1). Squatters took advantage of the delay in completing early surveys and occupied (usually without lease) large areas of grazing land, effectively excluding later settlers (Dutton, 1985:83ff). Although the land could be resumed subject to six months notice and then sold at government auction, these squatters typically acquired vast acreages at these auctions and as a result purchased three quarters of the land offered for sale by this method (Hirst, 1973:11).

impeded or hindered from celebrating or attending worship in a peaceable and orderly manner, even though such worship might not be in accord with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England (Pike, 1967:249). The Act to establish the colony of South Australia was based on the principle that there would be no dominant church, religion would be supported by voluntary principle, and therefore Dissenters would be free to worship as they pleased (Brown, 1974:27). Wakefield's separation of state and church was one reason why many non-conformists chose to emigrate, 'to escape from those unchristian struggles and heart burnings which state interference at home had engendered' (Hilliard & Hunt, 1986:201). However, despite Wakefield's argument, the Act for the establishment of South Australia included a clause giving the officers of the new colony power to appoint chaplains and clergy of the Established Churches of England or Scotland (4&5 William IV, CAP 95, Para II). Whether this was included as a compromise to ensure the passage of the Act is not clear, but it can be assumed that the entrenched position of the Established Church prevailed on what may have seemed to be, at the time, a small concession.

The proposed colony of South Australia was therefore an attractive proposition for those who professed ideas of civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions. Regardless of the opportunities for social improvement afforded to the middle classes, there was no comparative incentive for the English aristocracy and landed gentry to emigrate, which left a vacuum in the social hierarchy of the colony. There was so much capital available in England at this time that the wealthy preferred overseas speculation, including purchasing land in the new colony, rather than venturing to the new world themselves (Pike, 1967:33). Samuel Sidney, a popular author in England in the 1850s, actively dissuaded the gentry from

emigrating, warning that it was not a luxury that some would assert; he also considered that 'gentlefolk' would be less likely to succeed in the colony (Evans, 1993:20-1). However, a vacuum by its very nature is destined to be filled, so who were the early colonists who filled this void?

As with all new settlements, there was a need for colonists with professional skills, especially lawyers, doctors, manufacturers, artisans and civil servants to administer the fledgling government administration. Professional people were recruited in England to important positions, such as colonial surveyor, chief medical officer, or residential commissioner, but the majority came from a wide range of backgrounds and many became involved in activities of which they had little experience. This partly contributed to the depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s, when the colonists endeavoured to grow crops using northern hemisphere farming methods. The first colonists came from the lower and middle strata of English society and had a wide range of skills, but few had the experience of settling a 'green field' colony. In addition, the early administrative chaos meant that colonists were more concerned with providing themselves with shelter and obtaining food rather than establishing themselves socially and in the first decade of the colony it took all the effort and abilities of the colonial officers to avert a threatening catastrophe (Price, 1924:115).

Evidence would suggest that those early colonists who identified a need for goods and services were able to establish a niche market for themselves and, through the accumulation of wealth, became the first prominent members of colonial society. For example, William Henville Burford, a butcher and candle maker, was granted free passage to Australia in October 1838. He had a checkered start to his business

ventures, but eventually made his fortune manufacturing soap and selling candles to mining companies. His two sons were partners in the business, with one, Benjamin, building *Attunga* in 1901. Burford was only one of a number who established successful entrepreneurial ventures in the colony. James Alexander Holden, was another □ he was a merchant, coach and saddler's iron monger and the son of a leather worker, who came to the colony to escape religious persecution. He established himself as a coach builder and became the founder of General Motors Holden, although ill health prevented him from accepting a public position (Loyau, 1978 [1885]:191). Similarly, George Sisley (*Clifton Manor*) was a flour miller and also an investor in quarries (Warburton, 1981:35); Heinrich Schmidt (*Craigbuie*) a glazier; Edward Drew (*Highfield*) another ironmonger; George Debney (*Undelcarra*) a prominent furniture and coffin maker, who also invested in the Burra copper mines, and Francis Hardy Faulding (*Wootton Lea*) a chemist, who founded F. H. Faulding & Company, pharmaceutical manufacturers (Appendix 3. Building Survey □ Owner Profiles). Those colonists with sufficient capital were able to compensate for their lack of knowledge by sponsoring skilled labour from England; for example, pastoralists recruited shepherds from England to manage the flocks. This enabled them to build stately homes in Adelaide or its suburbs and become involved in state and local politics.

Mineral discoveries formed a second stable economic platform for accumulating wealth. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, it was this initial boost to the South Australian economy in the 1840-1869 period that saved the economy from bankruptcy, resulting in the creation of several serious family fortunes and leading to the construction of the first phase of what were to become the stately homes of South



Australia. For example, Henry Ayers (*Ayers House*), W.W. Hughes (*Hughes Park Estate* and *Torrens Park Estate*) and John Dutton (*Anlaby*) became wealthy by exploiting mineral reserves. However, pastoralism, despite its peaks and troughs due to drought and price fluctuations, was the dominant industry from whose ranks emerged many leaders in the community. John Angas (*Collingrove*) became wealthy as a member of a dynasty of pastoralists who founded a world famous sheep breeding stud and was one of the first to acquire large pastoral leases.

As early as 1828 in New South Wales laws were being drafted to turn that state into a 'sheep walk' for the profit and pleasure of the new gentry (Clark, 1968:88). It logically followed that the title of 'gentry', a term used to describe landowners since the fifteenth century (see sections 1.4 and 3.3), would be applied within the first decade to these and other early wealthy colonists (Corfield, 1996:3; Nagel, 1974; Pike, 1967; Van Dissel, 1986; Warburton, 1979; Young, 1997). The consolidation and growth of the economic base between 1870 and 1889 resulted in extensions to many of the early stately homes and the construction of others which are now part of the built heritage of South Australia and the focus of this thesis. However, before discussing the concept of built heritage and its construction, the terms, 'stately home' and 'new gentry' must be defined.

### 1.3 STATELY HOMES AND THE NEW GENTRY: SOME DEFINITIONS

By the 1870s, the collective noun, stately homes, which carried a message of otherness and hierarchy, was used to describe the country houses of England (Mandler, 1997:63). Davison and McConville (1991:15) used the term ‘stately home’ to describe great colonial mansions; a term that has been adopted in this thesis to identify the homes of the early wealthy colonists. This term is in part self defining, in that the word ‘state’ or ‘stately’ suggests high station, display, an estate or class in society or the body politic (*Chambers Dictionary*, 1981). ‘Stately’ could also mean high estate, princely or noble but also imply aloofness and arrogance (Mandler, 1997:4). In comparison, houses of the gentry in the United States are often referred to as mansions or villas (Downing, 1968 [1850]:257ff). Initially the word *villa* referred to a country house, and hence a village was a small collection of houses which were often associated with a villa. The early settlement of South Australia followed this pattern, with villages often named after the prominent resident of the area, for example John Walker’s village is now Walkerville and the area settled by John Gilbert is now Gilberton (Scales, 1974:3-5). However, the contemporary use of the term *villa* in South Australia now refers to a detached suburban house; clearly no longer a definition that appropriately describes the homes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century new gentry. Downing, a mid 19<sup>th</sup> century American architect, defined a villa as:

[a] country house of a person of competence or wealth sufficient to build and maintain it with taste and elegance and, being of a larger accommodation, requiring the care of at least three or more servants. Architecturally [it] should be convenient, significant and the most beautiful of dwellings and being a private

house, should be the best and most complete manifestation of domestic architecture (Downing, 1968[1850]:257-259).

This definition is consistent with Kerr's (1865:340) image of an English country residence, which he considered should be 'comfortable'. Downing's ideal of 'convenient', has been interpreted as referring not only to physical comfort, but also to the comfort and convenience of privacy for the family, where the internal configuration of the house is designed to ensure a separation of function and class. Kerr (1865:344) also considered that a country house should be 'refined', with simple design and elaborated elegance in the ornamentation that should also be 'vigorous, sparkling and animated' (Figure 1.1).



**Figure 1.1** *Princess Royal* homestead built by Alexander McCulloch MP in 1864. C1978.  
Source: Heritage SA file.

In contrast, West (1999:103) defines an English stately home or country house from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards as one 'that is owned by the landed gentry and aristocracy,

surrounded by private land and with a permanent household of domestic servants'. These houses had the potential to be self sufficient, were linked to the political networks of their owners, and in the landscape were often represented as the self-evident embodiment of English cultural history. However, for this thesis, the discussion on stately homes is not limited to houses in the country. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, although the majority of stately homes built in the early decades of the colony were located in the country, many of the prominent early colonists also had commitments in Adelaide, especially as members of parliament, and hence built a city residence that was equivalent to, and often more substantial than, their country stately home; for example, George Hawker built *The Briars* in metropolitan Walkerville, which was a grander building than *Bungaree* on his pastoral property in the northern country region of Clare. In this respect West's definition begins to link the stately home with the wider social and political structures of which it was a part and applies equally well to stately homes across South Australia.

It is clear that all of these definitions extend beyond the age, architectural style and grandeur of a building, and allude to the ways in which such structures were also the visible evidence of personal achievements, such as wealth, power and status. Stately homes were more than just examples of architectural beauty and convenience – they were also built in prominent positions with display in mind and had architectural finery that would have impressed both the passer-by and the visitor (Gould, 1999:148). Furthermore, stately homes made a statement about the nature of basic social relationships, such that the architectural symbolism of wealth, taste and authority was both intentional and obvious (Herman, 1995:225). For the purposes of

this thesis, a stately home is defined as *a large prominent house, noted for its distinctive architectural design and decorative features, which is also a focus of community and social life in the region*. Not all stately homes had all of these features but as a minimum they had to have three or more in order to qualify as a potential stately home. As large prominent buildings, many stately homes were taller than other buildings, were sited on large parcels of land, often elevated, and hence dominated the landscape and were visible from a distance. *Montefiore* on Montefiore Hill in North Adelaide meets all these criteria. Similarly, what constitutes ‘distinctive architectural design and features’ will be explored in detail in Chapter 5, but included towers, bay windows, portico entrances and stained glass windows. Not all of the owners of stately homes came from wealthy English middle class backgrounds, but through their accumulated wealth became prominent citizens and leaders in their local community and/or the state.

Since the foundation of the colony of South Australia in 1836, the owners of stately homes in South Australia were men who styled themselves leaders in the community and who, by their actions, created a situation in which the title of ‘gentry’ could be given to them (Nagel, 1974; Pike, 1967; Van Dissel, 1986; Warburton, 1979; Young, 1997). Who were they? And is ‘gentry’ an appropriate title for them? These men were not emigrants from the ranks of the British landed gentry or aristocracy, but a distinct class who emerged from within the colony hence they are described in this thesis as the ‘new gentry’. Gentry derives originally from the term gentleman, however there is considerable debate about whether the term ‘gentleman’ carried the same social status in Australia as it did in Britain (Corfield, 1996; Goodwin, 1999).

In England the use of the term gentleman has been fluid over time, with no single definition or consistent criteria for who could be listed a gentleman (Heal and Holmes, 1994:7); this can best be illustrated by considering the aristocracy and landed gentry as separate groups. Criteria for elevation to the aristocracy has also varied over time and in the 18th century it was difficult to obtain a peerage if one did not possess a large estate (Townsend, 1970:xxiii). Even in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century land ownership was essential and a man without an estate could not expect admittance to the ranks of the aristocracy (Beckett, 1986:40). However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries it became possible for prominent business people or long serving parliamentarians who had held office, for example as Chancellor of the Exchequer or Prime Minister, to be elevated to the peerage (Townsend,1970:xxiii). From as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, within the ranks of the aristocracy there was also a hierarchy (Heal and Holmes, 1994:8-16), a matter that is outside the scope of this thesis but which resulted in variation with the aristocracy in terms of who would be classified as a 'gentlemen'. Despite this, hereditary aristocrats would still have considered themselves a superior social class to the untitled landed gentry.

As with claims to the aristocracy, claims to gentry status often revolved around the ownership of land or landed estates. Heal and Holmes (1994:7) refer to commentators who considered that 'all non-titled land owners with some claim to exercise lordship or jurisdiction were unquestionably gentlemen'. A further criterion was that a person had the ability to live off the land without manual labour; in the 17<sup>th</sup> century a person was not considered to be a gentleman if he worked in husbandry (Heal and Holmes, 1994:7-8; see also Marsden, 1977: 39-40). However, in England during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries there were also others who made claim

to gentry status, mainly from the professions, in particular lawyers and doctors, senior civil servants, members of the clergy, teachers and later merchants and urban businessmen. These people were labelled as ‘pseudo-gentry’ by Everitt (Heal and Holmes, 1978:8) during his analysis of the community of Kent in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, but by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century urban prosperity had produced many such who could legitimately claim gentility, a position which could be consolidated by owning land (Heal and Holmes, 1994:8; see also Young, 1997:26-43; Beckett, 1986:58). Thus, by the 19<sup>th</sup> century the term ‘gentleman’ had a much broader and more elastic interpretation and was the ‘legal designation’ of a person living off private income without an occupation (Corfield, 1996:21). In South Australia there is evidence that this designation was adopted, for example an owner was often described as a ‘gentleman’ on property Certificates of Title if they had independent sources of income.

In this sense, then, the concept of ‘new gentry’ in Australia can be equated with the older ideal of landed gentry in Britain; an untitled order below the aristocracy whose land holdings were sufficient to enable the maintenance of a lifestyle similar to that of the aristocracy (Young, 1997:28). However, this is not to suggest that all the new gentry were rich by English standards, only that within the context of the colony of South Australia it suited them to be perceived as such by the *hoi polloi*.

Realistically, from a global perspective, the new gentry of South Australia, in terms of wealth and ancestral lineage, could legitimately be compared with the upper middle class of England. In England, despite the increased wealth and influence exercised by industrialists and professionals, an entrenched class system was still

active. It was not the aim of the middle class to overthrow the aristocracy but to fit in with the status quo and leave government and high office in their hands, since there was clear perception that '[a]n aristocracy was trained to lead and rule' (Girouard, 1985:6; but see also Beckett, 1986:4). Wagner (1970, xv-xvi) would argue that the fruits of 'hereditary succession in the House of Lords have been independence, long views, and a code of behaviour' and that England had benefited from a system that linked aristocracy firmly to legislative power and responsibility. Rather than being viewed as plutocrats who used their power to further their own interests, the aristocracy were expected to take responsibility for the governance and interests of the nation.

This mythology, that those born into the aristocracy had the right to rule, was a core element in English perceptions of class relations, but was not one that transferred to South Australia. As will be discussed in this thesis, it was this attitude on the part of the aristocracy that precipitated the emigration of many wealthy middle class merchants to South Australia to establish a more egalitarian society. The English middle classes, who were serious minded and hard working, resented aristocratic frivolity and worldliness, especially in combination with aristocratic monopoly of power (Girouard, 1985:5).

At this stage there is merit in comparing and contrasting the settlement in some states of the USA with that of South Australia: other similarities and contrasting features of dress, housing and education will be discussed throughout this thesis. Like Australia, the USA is a large continent and the pattern of settlement and development varied between states. Each sought to include the concept of religious tolerance in their



constitution. In the case of South Carolina, for example, although it was settled in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were many similarities with South Australia. The majority of the first colonists to both were indentured labour, Dissenters sought out both in order to escape the Established Church and their respective constitutions included the concept of religious tolerance (Waterhouse, 1989:52).

However, there were also contrasts, South Carolina was established by charter as opposed to an act of parliament, and was vested in the aristocracy; this resulted in the sons of the aristocracy being among the first settlers (Waterhouse, 1989:3). The contrasts are based primarily around the plantation economy that dominated South Carolina, initially functioning through the use of white indentured (i.e. convict) labour and subsequently through the use of African and Native American slaves (Waterhouse, 1989:52). Unlike other states of Australia, South Australia deliberately excluded all convicts and all forms of indentured labour due mainly to the growing opposition, both in Australia and England, to transportation (see Russell, 2002:434). South Carolina adopted the English manorial system where the majority of land was owned by the aristocracy with hereditary title; in common to both colonies, land was the source of power and wealth. Unlike South Australia, however, South Carolina imported its own aristocracy who dominated parliament, and adopted an extravagant elite lifestyle which imitated the leisured activities of the English upper classes (Waterhouse, 1989:159).

From this discussion several important criteria emerge for being considered gentry: wealth, land ownership, public office and, in the case of elected positions such as parliamentarians, public acceptance. Acceptance by others was a major concern for

the gentry and, as such, the gentry have also been defined self-referentially as, ‘that body of men and women whose gentility was acknowledged by others (Heal and Holmes, 1994:19).

As mentioned above, members of the aristocracy and the English landed gentry did not emigrate to South Australia, hence there were none who could claim an inherited right to govern, nor in the early years, the status and position associated with land ownership. Those who eventually filled the top strata of South Australian society were drawn mainly from the ranks of the English middle class but there is no evidence to suggest that they were considered as, or held the title of, a gentleman whilst in England. Denholm (1979:162) argues that colonial gentry who used wealth to exercise political and social power in such a way ‘turned themselves into a hereditary ruling elite who took unto themselves the name of gentry, and who demanded appropriate recognition and respect from the lower classes’. In doing so, those who adopted the affectations and more pompous characteristics of the English landed gentry, as evidenced by their dress, diction and use of liveried servants, often became the subject of satirical cartoons and ridicule, such that by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century overt claims to the status of gentry disappeared from Australian society (Denholm, 1979:162) (Figure 1.2).



**Figure 1.2 This *Bulletin* view of 1888 extends its ridicule to the whole aristocratic idea.**

**‘Offspring of an absentee colonist out on a visit to the ‘Kawlinies’**

**“Have you evah noticed, bai jove, the haid twang with which these Austwalians tawk? Well it’s not English, you know, bai jove!”**

**Reproduced in Denholm, 1979:163.**

From the early years of the South Australian colony, the term ‘gentleman’ was used to identify the upper echelons of society; reports of race meetings listed the gentlemen who attended (*SA Gazette*, 20 January 1838); advertisements for villa residences on the Torrens River in North Adelaide were aimed at wealthy colonists (*The South Australian Register*, 4 January 1840), as were the advertisements for ‘gentlemen’s clothing’ (*The South Australian Register*, 18 January 1840). A report of a dinner at the Governor’s residence noted that the guests were a ‘respectable assembly’ and included ‘leading men of every opinion’ (*The South Australian Register*, 18 January 1840). At a dinner a week earlier hosted by Governor Gawler to commemorate the foundation of the colony, 200 gentlemen sat down to dinner; the report of the event named the more prominent guests including those ‘professional gentlemen who concluded the evening with a musical rendition’ (*The South Australian Register*, 11 January 1840).

By 1869 the new gentry had successfully entrenched themselves as a class, both consolidating their ranks and preventing new entry from outsiders (for a detailed analysis of this process, see Chapter 4). But did this overt claim to the status of new gentry in South Australia disappear? Van Dissel (1986:359) would argue that there

was no absolute erasure of status and class; by 1914, the South Australian gentry had become broadly delineated by such categories as ‘old’ wealth, ‘old’ status, and ‘old colonists’. The term ‘gentleman’, while used extensively in the early years of the colony, seems to have fallen out of favour by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although the attitudes, close association and influence of the new gentry continued. In 1963, C. D. Cudmore, president of the Adelaide Club, stated that ‘we carry on the kind of Club life that has been the joy and relaxation of English gentlemen, wherever they may be in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries’, and that ‘the standard has been maintained’. He continued that, despite the ‘winds of change’ the Club would ‘preserve, for future generations, a small proportion of the “gracious living” of the later days of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, into which some of us had the great good fortune to be born’<sup>3</sup> (Morgan, 1963:iii). For the purposes of this thesis the term ‘new gentry’ refers to those who became powerful figures in the colony, through either personal or accrued wealth or by virtue of their position in the administration, and who adopted a ‘genteel code’ deemed necessary to reflect the aristocracy of England. The precise qualities and characteristics of what constituted genteel behaviour throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century will be expanded in Chapter 4 as part of establishing who precisely the South Australian new gentry were and how they consolidated themselves as a class.

#### **1.4 THE COLONY AND ITS BUILT HERITAGE**

Stately homes are more than just physical objects; they also contribute to a wider cultural landscape and the construction of particular perceptions of ‘the past’, both in terms of human behaviour and social complexity, and the origins of an area or set of

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<sup>3</sup> James Francis Cudmore (pastoralist) built *Paringa Hall* as his city residence. Arthur Murray Cudmore, surgeon and Lieutenant-Colonel in the Australian Army Medical Corp was the father of C Cudmore.

ideals. This section deals with changes to the cultural landscape associated with stately homes, firstly, the changes from a natural landscape to a pastoral and controlled European-type settlement brought about by the colonisation of South Australia and then secondly, the changes that resulted from economic and social factors throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The negative impact of these later changes will be the subject of further discussion in

Chapter 7. Here cultural landscape is defined as ‘an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors’ (European Landscape Convention. Article 1a. Reproduced in Fairclough, Graham, Harrison, Jameson, and Schofield 2008:406); a definition which applies equally to both phases of change in South Australia for the time period under consideration in this thesis.

Study of the cultural landscape is an important area for archaeologist, anthropologists, historical geographers and historians, although one that is also dealt with slightly differently in each field of study (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999:3; see also Gosden, 1999:153). The notion of a cultural landscape is often attributed originally to geography and is generally applied to those areas of the landscape that have been significantly modified by human activity to distinguish them from the natural wilderness that has little or apparently no-evidence of human intervention (Blair and Truscott, 1989:3). This activity of modifying the landscape would include economic, political and technological forces (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999:1). ‘[A cultural landscape] approach is directed towards an understanding of the physical and cultural factors which have worked together to create the landscape that we see’ (Armstrong, 1989:9), and is a recognition of the dynamic nature of the landscape and of human

response to it. Cultural factors such as transport corridors, land sub divisions and settlement patterns, horticulture, changing land use and building technology, all contribute to the changing landscape; they give the landscape dynamism, shape and content.

Gosden (1999:153) argues that a consideration of landscape and material culture crosses the boundary between archaeology and anthropology, such that the material world can be divided into landscape and artefacts. Natural landscape or wilderness<sup>4</sup> can be considered to be the stable landscape but only if adopting a long archaeological time scale, as the idea of stable here is always questionable over the short term, while mobile material culture links to various social groups and is therefore subject to constant change that can be measured in the shorter term. Gosden (1999:153) states that in the western world the natural landscape was something to be appreciated in visual terms □ it was not lived in but looked at. The built environment fits in between these two notions, in that some elements of the built environment, such as stately homes, are relatively fixed for various periods yet also mobile across social groups as the social and economic environment changes. However, it can be argued that stately homes were also built to be looked at and that ‘being looked at’ remains one of the main functions of contemporary heritage regimes today.

This notion of the landscape as something to be looked at is reflected in many of the formal definitions of the concept for heritage purposes. The entry of cultural landscapes on the Australian Register of the National Estate and the registers of the individual branches of the National Trust is recognition of natural and cultural

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<sup>4</sup> In Australia, archaeologists agree that there is no such thing as wilderness in the way the Europeans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century conceived it. Aboriginal people had colonised all the environments of the continent by the Pleistocene, therefore all of the landscape was in some sense humanly managed and altered.

heritage places which are worth keeping for the future. Under the South Australian *Heritage Places Act 1993*<sup>5</sup> a place is defined as being of heritage significance if ‘...it has rare, uncommon or endangered qualities that are of cultural significance [Section 16 (1) (b)]’. The Act is based on the Burra Charter (Article 1.2) which defines cultural significance as aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual value for past, present and future generations. Under the Burra Charter model cultural significance is usually thought to be embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings and records related records and related objects. Several authors have criticised the Burra Charter model for focusing on fabric rather than community defined value assessments (Gibson, 2009:74; see also Waterton, Smith and Campbell, 2006:350). For Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006:347-349) the terms cultural significance and fabric in the Burra Charter (Article 1 Paras 1.2 and 1.3) assume that cultural heritage is fixed within and physically manifested in a heritage place.

Instead, Gibson (2009:67) argues that cultural landscapes are both artefacts through which we can trace past historical, social and cultural arrangements and places which reflect fields of action confirming and negating contemporary arrangements of culture and society. For her (Gibson, 2009:73) the study of cultural landscapes has been strengthened by the concept of social value, which has gained ground as a category of cultural significance, enabling places to be recognised for other than aesthetic or historical reasons (see also Byrne, Brayshaw and Ireland, 2003). The notion of landscape emphasises its socio-symbolic dimensions: landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and contextualised by people;

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<sup>5</sup> Each state and territory has its own heritage legislation which can result in difference assessments of what is considered to be a heritage place and hence what is included on a state Heritage Register.

this notion is one into which the study of stately homes neatly fits (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999:1). The study of cultural landscape is to emphasis the symbolic value and hence Blake (2007:235) defines the concept of 'place' to encompass all social and physical surroundings, natural and constructed space. Changes to the landscape are part of a continuum; it is not always a single event, nor are the changes always made by a single person (Taylor, 1989:16). Changes to the landscape, and in particular the built landscape, may also require interpretation of what went before. This may result in constructing an idealised memory of the landscape rather than retrieving a factual one.

Notions that the cultural landscape is dynamic, constantly in creation and imbued with spiritual and social meaning are noticeably more common in the interpretation of Indigenous landscapes rather than post-contact European ones. For Indigenous people

landscapes are defined and shaped by cultural perceptions and may in turn shape cultural perceptions and practices (Smith, 2006:168). However, spiritual meaning invested into the landscape is not confined to Indigenous people; it is common for all people (Read, 2003:194). Ultimately, cultural significance of a landscape is based on what it reveals of the relationship of human beings to the land (Armstrong, 1989:11; see also Gibson, 2009:74).

Indigenous dimensions of cultural landscape are not the focus of this thesis, even though it could be argued that the landscape of the new gentry was superimposed on an Indigenous original. This is particularly true of pastoral landscapes, where it is acknowledged that relationships between pastoralists and Indigenous people in the



late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries led them to construct particular kinds of pastoral landscapes (see for example Harrison, 2002; Patterson, 2008). In keeping with his previous research interests Harrison (2002:46) uses the term ‘pastoral landscape’ to reflect the experiences of the Aboriginal people involved in the industry, incorporating such features as Aboriginal huts, stock yards and mustering trails; in this thesis, however, the notion will be applied in a particular way, to refer to the cultural landscape that was created to pastoralists to reflect their own social status. While notions of symbolic meaning and nuances of contemporary constructions of 19<sup>th</sup> century pastoral landscapes underlie the analysis of stately home in this thesis, the particular construction of pastoral landscape used by Harrison (2002) lies outside the scope of this research.

## 1.5 HERITAGE CONSERVATION

In terms of identifying the key time period over which to study these buildings, this thesis will focus on stately homes built from the commencement of the colony in 1836 until 1914, the commencement of World War I. After World War I, economic issues appear to outweigh cultural and historic values and there was no co-ordinated effort at either a public or government level to conserve these buildings.

Governments were slow to enact legislation and only three states had parliamentary acts in place by the end of the 1970s. Awareness within Australia of the need to preserve our built heritage is perhaps best symbolised by the foundation of branches of the National Trust in each state of Australia. This followed the post World War II British model whereby the National Trust became the third largest property owner in its role of preserving those largely domestic structures which survived the Blitz or that came under post war economic pressure. The early history of the English National Trust was as a small and exclusive society primarily devoted to holding and protecting sections of the country side, however, by the late 1930s it had become a vehicle for protecting the heritage of the country house (Borsay, 2009:169; see also Mandler, 1997:172).

The Australian organisation of the National Trust, like its 20<sup>th</sup> century English counterpart, ‘found its initial *raison d’être* in public campaigns to save and restore the nation’s ‘stately homes’ (Davison and McConville, 1991:17). Although there was genuine concern amongst members of the Australian National Trust for the preservation of a wider notion of built heritage, the focus was in practice always on the more prominent historic residences, i.e. ‘the very best of the past’, which were

converted to 'house museums' to remind visitors of the grandeur and life styles of the wealthy colonists (Davison and McConville, 1991:18-19; Schofield, 2003:39; Simpson, 1993:161). Already this conjures up an image of a stately home as a large, architecturally significant building. Of the over 100 museums, reserves, buildings and properties owned or managed by the National Trust of South Australia, three (*Ayers House* in Adelaide, *Beaumont House* in the Adelaide metropolitan area and *Collingrove* in the country town of Angaston), were the homes of prominent South Australians. At the opening of *Ayers House* on North Terrace in Adelaide's Central Business District (CBD) as a reception centre, restaurant and house museum in 1973, the National Trust declared:

By opening Ayers House to the public it is hoped that people will be able to share in the unique atmosphere and history of one of South Australia's earliest and finest homes, built at a time when beauty, grace and elegance were an accepted way of life (Australian Council of National Trusts, 1974:110).

This statement implies nostalgia for a lost way of life that was no longer attainable (although still remembered by members of the Adelaide Club) and no longer acceptable. Life was more beautiful, lavish or graceful then but only made possible by servants who are no longer visible, although there is still visible evidence of their past existence in these stately homes.

Sir Henry Ayers, who purchased the building that was to become *Ayers House* in 1855 (Figure 1.3), was born in 1821, the son of William, a stevedore at the Portsmouth dockyard. At age 11 he entered a legal office, then in 1840, following his marriage, was given free passage for himself and his wife Anna to South Australia as

a carpenter. He worked as a law clerk to Sir James Fisher, the first Resident Commissioner and then in 1845 became the secretary of the South Australian Mining Association (SAMA) and was an original shareholder of the Burra copper mine. By 1850 he held sufficient absentee proxy votes to be elected managing director of the SAMA and, as agent for some of the absentees, invested their money in land and other mines (Parr, 1969:63). He consolidated his status in the colony when he was elected to parliament, was Premier on seven occasions, was President of the Legislative Council for 13 years and appointed a director of several banks and other important public utilities. He was one of the early colonists who, from humble beginnings as a sponsored immigrant, met the ‘right’ people and took advantage of his position to recreate himself as an important figure in the colony as a member of the new gentry.



**Figure 1.3** *Ayers House*. Purchased in 1855 by Sir Henry 1856

Ayers, who extended the original cottage

Photo: R. M. Stone, June, 2006.



**Figure 1.4** *Collingrove*. Built by John Howard Angas in

The house has been extended by successive generations of the family

Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2006

The significance of *Collingrove* (Figure 1.4) was similarly linked to the distinction of the family who built it in 1856. John Howard Angas (who also built the adjacent *Lindsay Park*) was the son of George Fife Angas, wealthy merchant and ship owner, who was credited with being the ‘Father and Founder of South Australia’ (Australian

Council of National Trusts, 1985:207). George Fyfe Angas, born in 1879 as the son of a coachbuilder, inherited his father's business and became founder of the National Provincial Bank in England; by 1832 he had sufficient funds to be elected to the British parliament. He was interested in South Australia and became an investor and land speculator in the new colony, but was also a religious dissenter who funded the migration of German Lutheran settlers. While still in England he formed the Union Bank of Australasia and the South Australian Banking Company in 1840 but it was not until 1843 that he sent his son, John, (*Collingrove* and *Lindsay Park*) to the colony to manage his affairs. George Angas did not come to the colony himself until 1850 and was soon elected to parliament, a position he held until 1866. John Angas was a notable breeder of sheep and cattle and owned extensive pastoral leases, including *Hill River Station* and *Kingsford*. He was a member of both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council for over 11 years. Bequeathed to the National Trust in 1976 by Ronald Angas, *Collingrove* is now bed and breakfast accommodation 'where it is possible for visitors to experience the elegance of the 19<sup>th</sup> century' (Australian Council of National Trusts, 1985:207).

Similarly, *Beaumont House*, built by the first Bishop of Adelaide, the Reverend Augustus Short in 1849, and later acquired by Sir Samuel Davenport. Similar to John Angas, Samuel (later Sir Samuel) Davenport, born in 1818, was also supported in his migration to South Australia by his father, George, a banker and descendent of an old Cheshire family. George became an agent of the South Australian Company, a director of the South Australian Banking Company and, in 1839 in partnership with two others, purchased a special survey of 4000 acres in Macclesfield, South Australia. Samuel Davenport arrived in South Australia in 1843 with an annual

allowance from his father, and gained experience in farming and breeding cattle. Not fitting the image of a bushman, Davenport, referred to by his contemporaries as the ‘Squire’ of Beaumont (Warburton, 1981:158), was respected by his tenants but did not have the leisure and comforts of many English country gentlemen; in many of the respects that set the architecture of the new gentry apart, his home, *Beaumont House*, was an unpretentious dwelling (see Chapter 7). He was a member of the Legislative Council, a director of The Savings Bank of South Australia and executive commissioner to the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. *Beaumont House* was acquired by Davenport, a prominent pastoralist, businessman, parliamentarian and philanthropist in 1856, and donated to the National Trust in 1969; a house described as having ‘distinctive’ Mediterranean character, and noted more for its early occupants than its architecture and its links to the origins of the olive oil industry in South Australia (Warburton, 1981:152) (Figure 1.5).

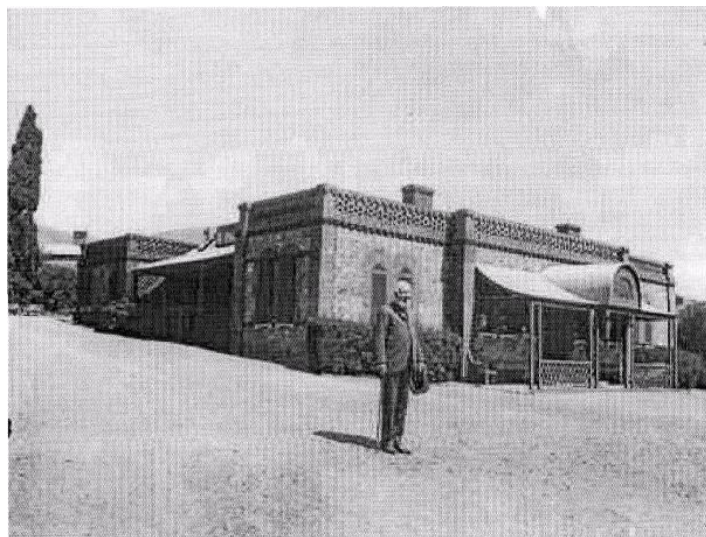


Figure 1.5 *Beaumont House*, c1880. Sir Samuel Davenport standing in front of the house which was originally designed and built by Bishop Short.  
Source: SLSA, B 1333

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the National Trust’s approach focused almost solely on the external physical aspects of such structures, in particular their architectural style, ‘grandeur’, and fabric. This approach, however, treated buildings

as individual specimens and not as elements of a larger whole □ the historical and cultural environment (Davison and McConville, 1991:23). Focussing on stately homes as isolated entities and concentrating only on their external features limits an archaeological investigation, because this approach fails to recognise their broader role in constructing the social and cultural landscape of South Australia. In country regions, stately homes became the centre for rural communities, with housing and services often provided by the pastoralists; in developing areas around Adelaide villages formed around stately homes, while in desirable residential urban areas, exclusive enclaves were created by the new gentry.

As will be discussed throughout this thesis, stately homes were not just individual examples to be considered in isolation, they were elements of a larger historic environment that played an important role in constructing and maintaining the social and cultural life of the community. They have also led to particular ideological understandings of the colonial past held by modern day South Australians and to particular versions of orthodox stories of the origins of the state and its significant history. In recent years there has been a significant growth in Australian history and heritage matters, with many people becoming interested in the history of buildings and monuments (Sagazio, 2004:11). Examples from South Australian newspapers illustrate the focus of community based heritage interests, often consolidated around lobbying for the preservation of structures. ‘Heritage a hot topic’ (*Eastern Courier*, 1 March, 2006); ‘Pilot study to save heritage’ (*Eastern Courier*, 3 May 2006); ‘Heritage begins at home’ (*Eastern Courier*, 10 May, 2006); ‘Save our heritage – it’s not too late’ (*The Advertiser*, 25 December, 2006). Despite this, or perhaps because of it, there has been constant conflict between heritage supporters, development

lobbies and some owners of historic properties for either the demolition of, or significant modification to stately homes in order to meet the changing demands of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (e.g., ‘Seeing red over blue, objections to heritage listing’ [*The Advertiser*, 21 July, 2004]; ‘Walford wins driveway battle’ [*Eastern Courier*, May23, 2007]). Stately homes had an important role in creating the cultural landscape of colonial South Australia, but to what extent does this continue to exist in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?



## 1.6 RESEARCH AIMS

There are several paths which this research could have followed in finding the answer to the original question. Stately homes were places of power, culture and class □ cultural and economic barometers of the construction of the colony □ and it will be the aim of the first part of this research to investigate the ways in which these buildings were designed and constructed to have such an impact on the nascent cultural landscape of the new colony. The second part of this thesis will examine how that impact has been altered through a change in the underlying culture that led to the building of these stately homes and what this means for the prevailing heritage regimes and notions of history currently in place.

Central to this thesis is the notion that style is a means of communication; a projection to the cognitive senses of a personal image of power, culture, and class, which, consciously or otherwise, results in identification via the process of comparison to others (Prown, 1980:197; Weissner, 2004:58). Stately homes have the marked characteristics and features that are symbolic of the new gentry, and hence are the visible manifestation through which they communicated their personal image. They are also artefacts, usually described as material culture, and therefore are not only subject to stylistic analysis, but also to formal analysis through the configuration of the artefact itself (Prown, 1980:197). In this thesis, the material artefacts are the houses and the cultural beliefs associated with them are the values that have been attached by the people who originally made or used them (Prown, 1988:19), but also the values attached to them today. Although homes are artefacts that can be examined, the cultural values behind their design, construction and use are subject to interpretation, especially if the surviving evidence of the building is the only

footprint left on the cultural landscape. Buildings as artefacts have a certain logic to them. Firstly, functional objectives must be achieved, where material and objects are assembled into a form which defines the purpose, and secondly, style, decorations and embellishments give an artefact significance over and above its practical uses, 'one belonging to the realm of cultural identity or 'meaning'' (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:1). Therefore, the study of houses as artefacts recognises their communicative nature as they create and order space, which is all about ordering relations between people and becoming visual symbols that we recognise as standing for society (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:2). So the statement conveyed by stately homes is more than just a building providing shelter; the architectural symbolism of wealth, taste and authority is intentional and obvious (Herman, 1995:225).

Weissner (2004:58) identifies four practical implications for archaeology when style is viewed in this way and considers the social and symbolic role of an artefact to be the single most important factor when considering changes in patterns of stylistic variation. Personal and social status can be identified by both the appearance and role of the stately home and its place within the cultural landscape over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Stately homes as artefacts can have a minor social and symbolic role in society, but according to Weissner, as a result of changes in the importance of that artefact can 'lead to frequent and intense social and stylistic comparison' and hence a stronger or weaker social meaning. How did the early colonists construct an identity for themselves through the material aspects of their houses? Just as identity formation was ongoing in response to changing economic and political factors, so, too, was identity construction through their houses. For example, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the new gentry built more substantial houses which reflected their economic

position and then adorned those houses with features that reflected their social status, such as ballrooms. However, many of these more substantial houses were built, extended and modified over a period of some years, often with a change in style to better reflect the new image that the owner wished to portray. The aim here will be to establish how the new gentry built their stately homes to communicate a personal image to both passers by and visitors and how that process was designed to evoke comparisons with the British landed gentry. In addition to being a social and economic barometer, are there different social messages encoded in houses that are built and changed over time and that therefore reflect a gradual increase in wealth and status compared to those built in one stage in what was essentially their final form?

Many of the new gentry also built or purchased more than one stately home. For example, W. W. Hughes owned *Hughes Park* in Watervale (Clare and Gilbert Valley [CGV] LGA) and *Torrens Park Estate* (Mitcham LGA) near Adelaide as his town house. Robert Barr Smith also owned *Torrens Park Estate* and *Auchendarroch* (Mt. Barker LGA) as a summer residence, and Sir Alexander Hay owned *Linden* (Burnside LGA) and *Mt Breckan* (Victor Harbor LGA). One strand of this thesis will investigate whether the cultural, social and community activities associated with stately homes were affected by their location and whether there was a connection between houses built in the country and those in the City of Adelaide or other urban areas. Did the purpose for which the home was built or acquired, that is as a principal residence or summer/winter retreat, result in any significant differences in the architectural design and were there different social messages associated with this? When comparing pastoral properties to stately homes in the metropolitan or suburban

areas, is there a correlation through time of the changes in the role and cultural significance of stately homes in the country and non country regions? For example, whether the stately home was in Adelaide, such as *Carclew* and *Montefiore*, in villages close to Adelaide, such as *Torrens Park Estate* in Mitcham Village, or in the country, such as *Anlaby* in Kapunda and *Bungaree* in Clare, was there a similar impact on the cultural landscape no matter what the location and can these changes be attributed to the same economic and cultural forces?

Secondly, the roles of history and cultural context are important when style is used as the basis of identification through comparison. The original style of an object may reflect imported historic styles, while subsequent changes in style might reflect a change in culture or utility. To what extent did early South Australian colonial homes follow the design of English stately homes? The object of this research will be to identify the various architectural styles used in the building of early colonial stately homes and to investigate whether there was an historical connection to the landscape of the owner's country of origin. Furthermore, did changes in style reflect changes in culture? No matter what their style, how did stately homes portray a symbolic image of the upper class and how did that image change over time (Johnson, 1993:47)? However, the archaeological evidence obtained from studying stately homes also gives us an insight into the lives and social status of others who worked and lived on the estates. Through the study of the homes of the gentry, archaeology plays an important role in identifying the physical evidence of genteel behaviour, particularly how stately homes became 'both the mirror of and metaphor for colonial society' (Kross, 1999:385). If following the genteel code and acquiring the graces of a 'genteel society' resulted in a change in behaviour, then can this be evidenced

through the changing style, design and adornment of the homes of the new gentry over time? Image, status and the visible display of wealth expected from the new gentry can be seen in three distinct facets: the exterior of the house, including the outbuildings; the interior, including its design and spatial dynamics; and finally, the garden, which was a domain reserved for family and special guests.

External architectural design can reflect wealth and power, while at the same time communicating a message of exclusion based on social status and class. As well as the study of the external form, style and grounds of the 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes, this thesis also explores the critical question of their use. These houses were not merely objects of bricks and mortar, but could be compared to a theatre in which the real life dramas and social interactions of the occupiers and visitors were played out. While external architectural design created the image of power, culture and class and could be used to distinguish between those who were part of the family circle, visitors of lesser social standing, and the domestic staff, the internal configuration and spatial dynamics of these houses also played an important role in reinforcing the much sought after image. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mansions of the English landed aristocracy conjured up the image of ‘upstairs and downstairs’, where the activities of the master’s household were separated from day to day domestic activities: a division based on status (Girouard, 1979:10). The internal design of colonial stately homes will be studied to ascertain whether the separation of activities was similar to those of their English and American counterparts and to what extent this can be shown to be evidence of the construction of a class system in colonial South Australia.

The internal design of stately homes in part communicated social roles by presenting barriers to procession through the house, that is, processional pathways. As part of the archaeological investigation of stately homes, this thesis will also analyse the social and symbolic roles played by the various components of these pathways, particularly external doors, verandahs and gardens. An impressive front porch and entrance may be the first image from a long tree-lined driveway, but it may also be a barrier to further progression into the house. How were these barriers based on culture and class? Given the historical and cultural context, can changes to the internal spatial dynamics of stately homes over the time period considered in this thesis be identified? If processional pathways are a key to understanding the social landscape, has the subsequent reduction in the estates and gardens associated with these homes resulted in a loss of their social and symbolic significance and a consequential reduction of their impact on the cultural landscape?

Finally, Weissner (2004:58) considers that, if style is a means of negotiating and communicating personal and social identity, then it is also an indicator of the balance between the interests of the individual and society. Trigger (1990:19) argues that stately homes exceed any practical functions required for a home, including, as they often did, ballrooms, reception rooms, extensive gardens, cricket pitches and boating lakes. So what other roles did stately homes, including the complex or estate associated with them, play in the community? This research will aim to identify their broader social role and explore whether this role was consistent across the state of South Australia. A stately home built on a remote pastoral property may have had a wider social role than one built in the City of Adelaide or the inner metropolitan area.

If this is the case, to what extent does this affect the image of power, culture and class reflected by the stately home?

To address all these issues the original question, *what happened to the houses of the wealthy early South Australian colonists?* had to be expanded to become a broader research question:

*What impact did stately homes built in the period 1836-1914 have on the creation and maintenance of South Australia's social and cultural landscape? To what extent has this cultural landscape been diminished or eliminated by the reduction of these estates, changes in their use or their demolition?*

## CHAPTER 2      STATELY HOMES, RESIDENTIAL ENCLAVES AND THEIR SYMBOLIC MEANING

*These formal qualities [of an artefact] are believed to have their primary functional context in providing a symbolically diverse yet pervasive artifactual environment promoting group solidarity and serving as a basis for group awareness and identity.*

(Binford,  
1962:220)

The study of houses is more than a study of physical form; it must extend to gaining an understanding of what they mean and how this may relate to cultural values (Johnson, 1993:28). Houses within the built environment can be seen as a behaviour setting – a setting for human activity, a catalyst for releasing latent behaviour. They create an environment which has symbolic meaning both for the owner, whose aim is to create an image, and for the viewer, who draws conclusions about the social standing of its occupants and hence modifies their own behaviour as a result (Rapoport, 1976:9). Therefore, houses as artefacts are a powerful source of information about the ideas in the minds of people long dead (Glassie, 1986:396; Glassie, 1983:17). Described as a text, reading buildings as artefacts provides an insight into our past culture □ here an inventory of learned concepts □ without being sidetracked by mere physical beauty (Glassie, 1986:396). It is the concept of buildings as artefacts arranged in a physical landscape that is important for understanding the cultural landscape and that is critical for the preservation of our built and cultural heritage. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to examine the social function of stately homes within the built environment □ this incorporates their symbolic meaning, which in turn directs interpreted meanings for different social groups, thus affecting behaviour.



It is argued throughout this thesis that, externally, stately homes impact the built landscape as vehicles of display and directed learning which reinforce a viewer's relative position in the social hierarchy. In England, Girouard (1979:2) argues that country houses were not just places where rich people lived, but also power houses – houses of the ruling class. While stately homes in South Australia were not as large or extravagant as English country houses (see Girouard, 1985: Mandler, 1997) the new gentry still used them to send explicit messages, attempting to create submissive consciousness in the lower strata of society as to the existence of power differences and disciplining them to the elite notion of appropriate behaviour (Paynter and McGuire, 1991:8). Therefore, the exterior architecture of stately homes had a common goal in broadcasting the socio-economic status of the owners, but not at the expense of the builder's individual experience and choice. Similarly, the interior of stately homes was a means of control and direction and again reinforced social status. As with the exterior, the internal configuration of stately homes was individually designed and, although the number and size of rooms varied, they had common nomenclature, uses and roles as social barriers and identifiers.

The early years of colonial settlements tended to encourage more egalitarian societies, where the priority was to provide food and shelter and to develop an economic foundation for future development. W.H. Gray, an earlier colonist, noted in 1837 that 'class distinction...were of necessity softened in this essentially camping life, which only gradually changed to urban living of a primitive kind' (Hasenohr, 1977:22). However, as the economic foundation of a colony consolidated, a social hierarchy emerged comprising opportunistic colonists from the middle classes, who

sought to become economic leaders, such as the merchants of Portsmouth, the plantation owners of Carolina or the pastoralists of South Australia. In an authoritarian society hierarchy is positively valued but in an egalitarian society people would not behave so as to draw attention to themselves; voluntary obedience and suppression of individuality were valued characteristics in an egalitarian society (Anderson and Moore, 1988:393). However, an apparent image of egalitarianism in the emerging colonies was largely confined to the working classes, where the defining characteristics would have been dictated by economic circumstances. For example, individual expression in the design and elaboration of houses was not a high priority, or even an economic possibility, for the working class. Their houses were often terrace or row houses, which had a degree of uniformity reflecting common social status (Glassie, 1986:403); this was also the case in Adelaide (Figure 2.1), its suburbs (Figure 2.2) and in the northern mining towns (Figure 2.3).



**Figure 2.1 Cottages, Stanley Street, North Adelaide  
*Dean Marryat Homes*, c1870s-1880s.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009**



**Figure 2.2 Workers' Cottages, Loch-Ness Avenue,  
Torrens Park (Mitcham Conservation Zone), c1870s.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009**



**Figure 2.3 *Tivers Row*; miners' cottages, Burra, c1856.**

**Photo: R. M. Stone, July 2007**



**Figure 2.4 Free standing cottage, Albert Street, Mitcham, (Mitcham Conservation Zone), c1870s.**

**Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009**

Even when freestanding cottages were built, the designs were similar and relatively unadorned (Elliot, 1860) (Figure 2.4). In a hierarchical society, independence, self reliance and ambition were highly valued and there was no longer any lingering social pressure to conceal the extent of one's wealth; in fact the opposite was the case and overt display became the norm (Anderson and Moore, 1988:392-3). The stratified structure of society confirmed the idealisation of wealth and betrayed the myth of universal accessibility (Anderson and Moore, 1988:391).

In considering the impact of houses on the built environment, it is possible to identify them as symbols within a landscape. Within this notion of social topography, architecture, as a text, communicates the nature of buildings. Apart from conveying the notion of providing shelter, a house can also make a statement about social relationships hence the architectural text can indicate symbolism of wealth, taste and authority, which is as intentional as it is obvious (Herman, 1995:225). As movement within the built environment is a key to interpreting an architectural text, Herman (1995:226) introduces the idea of a 'walking city' or a 'processional landscape' (see also Blackmar, 1988 and Upton, 1988). The concept of a 'walking city' is a mechanism for comparison, that is, it allows people to evaluate their own

characteristics and abilities against those of the others they see surrounding them. People must know where they stand relative to others and that position must be accepted by others (Wiessner, 2004:57). In a 'walking city' the location of a house becomes important, and in the case of a stately home, the passer-by is invited to consider the image that is being reflected as they walk past it. Movement through a city reinforces the viewer's place and the place of those whose houses are being passed in the urban landscape (Herman, 1995:234). Upton (1988:363) describes a 'walking city' as movement through 'an economically and socially layered community', thus providing a social landscape. The concept of a 'walking city' makes it possible for people to gain social experience from movement as they pass from one category of houses to another; this introduces the notion of residential enclaves. Whether they are stately homes or workers' cottages, enclaves produce a sense of social mutuality within classes; hence there can be no doubt in the reading of the architectural text as to the relative social status of the owners. Within an enclave the text is a constant, but with increasing distance from the enclave there is a different image which becomes an immediate source of comparison and highlights the controlled image of stately homes.

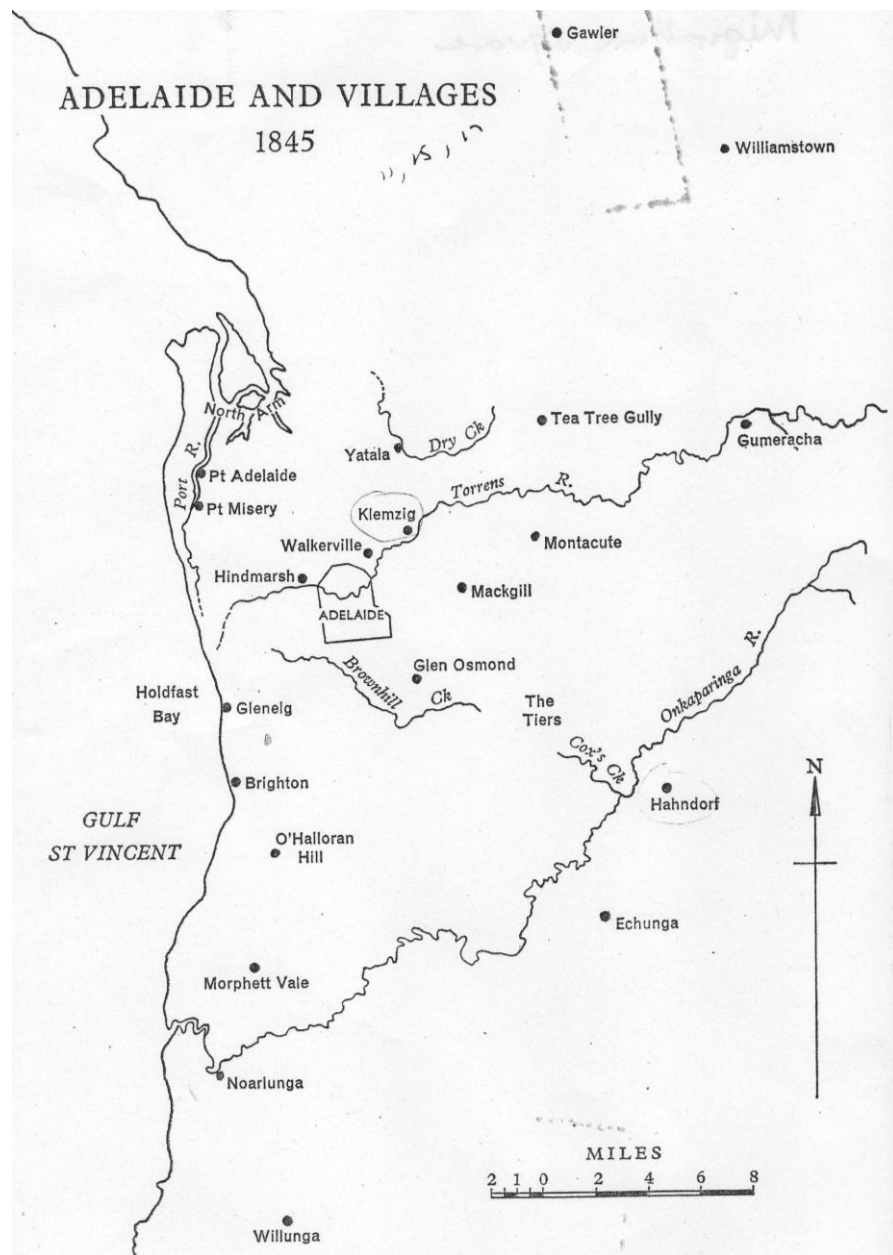
Herman's concept of a 'walking city' is set in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century merchant town of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, where the merchants built their mansions near their warehouses and the wharfs. This pattern was repeated in the 'walking city' of New York (Blackmar, 1988:372). Workers would habitually pass the mansions of the elite on their way to the wharfs and experience a changing socio-economic landscape. In Portsmouth and New York the entrances to workers' cottages were usually characterised by a street entrance with no front garden and a small rear

garden used mainly for growing vegetables, as well as an outdoor privy. A gentleman's mansion, by contrast, would have a deep rear yard, often with access for stables and coach houses, formal gardens, and in some cases also servants' quarters. Members of urban elites tended to live near one another, to build similarly impressive houses and to band together to defend their common economic interests (Goodwin, 1999:60). The landscape thus became a controlled zone of strongly representational forms, particularly prestige buildings. The notion of movement is therefore the textual and processional qualities representing the broader organisation of domestic life. By the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, merchants in Portsmouth had moved away from the grime and bustle of the wharves and occupied the thoroughfares in and out of the city (Herman, 1995:235). However, South Australia was not a merchant colony and there are no records of stately homes being built near the wharfs and warehouses of Port Adelaide. The few examples of stately homes in the port area are adjacent to, but not part of, the mercantile and shipping environment.

The development of exclusive residential zones, or enclaves, in South Australia from the 1870s did not parallel the developments in Portsmouth or New York. The new gentry did not build their houses close to their factories or warehouses, nor on major thoroughfares into the city. In the Adelaide 'square mile' (the core of the city as defined by the original 1836 survey) (Figure 7.7), the western sector had become an industrial centre by the 1850s, leading the new gentry to create residential enclaves in the north eastern and eastern sectors (Figure 7.3). Enclaves consisted of cosmopolitan individuals bound together by a shared taste in architecture, the arts, education, and social activities, as well as common and competitive interests in the

world of trade, urban development and the legislature (Herman, 1995:235). They were also bound together by their need to create a new social environment for themselves with a strong relationship between spatial form and the way in which encounters were generated and controlled; spatial organisation was therefore a function of the form of social solidarity and cohesion (Hillier and Hanson, 1984: 18,143).

In the first decades after the settlement of South Australia, colonists established small villages which encircled the site of Adelaide; the main constraints for these settlements were their proximity to the planned business centre and the availability of water and arable land (Figure 2.5). The earliest villages were located in prime locations, particularly on elevated sites in an endeavour to offset the impact of the hot summers. These included Mitcham, Walkerville and Burnside, and the summer retreat locations of Glenelg and the Adelaide Hills, where the new gentry established residential enclaves. These desirable locations were within easy commuting distance to the commercial centre of the city (Figure 5.4).



**Figure 2.5 Adelaide and villages, 1845. These villages are now all incorporated into the greater Adelaide metropolitan area**

Unlike their English counterparts, where the practice of building country houses and residential enclaves for the landed gentry and aristocracy had a history dating back to mediaeval times, the exclusive enclaves in South Australia were planned and financed by the new gentry. Property developers, as the term is understood today, did not play a significant role in the planning and development of such enclaves. The

primary role of early land agents and brokers was to purchase land in newly surveyed areas for English investors, but they were not responsible for establishing and constructing residential estates. However, many of the new surveys (4000 acres) in the country and the current outer metropolitan regions were carried out on the request of pastoralists who then had the first right of purchase. With every 80 acres of land purchased in newly survey country regions, the purchaser had the option to buy one acre in Adelaide; the 'one acre block' became the standard on which to construct their stately homes. However, the standard of the 'one acre block' was quite unrealistic and very soon speculators began to subdividing them into smaller residential workers' allotments (Twopeny, 1973[1883]:38; see also Hasenohr, 1977:37-39).

Also in contrast to English residential enclaves, where many buildings were terrace houses, the priority for the new gentry in South Australia was to build freestanding homes with formal gardens. Nineteenth century Adelaide was built on a greenfield site uncluttered by centuries of European occupation and its architecture became distinctive in several ways. Most notably almost every class of suburban house — except the very lowest — was detached and stood in its own garden (Twopeny, 1972[1883]:37). Lawns were not commonly a feature of these gardens, as the lack of available water and the hot summer made it difficult to keep them green. However, the warmer climate meant that fruit trees were prolific and flowers of all kinds could be incorporated into the gardens (Twopeny, 1972[1883]:37; see also Wilkinson, 1983[1848]:49). All the stately homes in the sample for this thesis were freestanding houses which stood in their own gardens: many of them also included extensive 'house gardens' and orchards (Appendix 6).



By way of contrast, Kerr (1865: Plate 37) illustrates the layout and design for a row of 11 attached London houses. These have all the characteristics one would expect in a South Australian stately home, except that the main function of the open courts at the rear was to provide access to the stables. In contrast to housing in Adelaide, the entrance to the first level of the house was off the roadway, as was access to the basement servants' quarters and service areas. There are rare examples of the new gentry in South Australia building terrace housing, either for themselves or as investments (see for example those built by Robert Vaughan adjacent to 291 North Terrace, Adelaide; Appendix 6, ACC9), but these are not included as stately homes. Where luxurious 'maisonettes' (terrace or town houses), were built for family members, these have not been included in the sample for this thesis because these were not the residence of the patriarch of the new gentry family. Similarly, there are no existing examples or historical records of large apartment buildings being built for the new gentry. There is one example where a hotel and school, built by Robert Vaughan as an (failed) investment, was converted into apartments and inhabited by working class people. The accommodation was overcrowded and substandard and associated with an outbreak of typhoid fever (Stone, 2004:36).

In South Australia terrace and row houses became the standard housing for the workers of Adelaide. Many of these were built by the new gentry by philanthropists or by paternalistic employers, for example, the cottages in Stanley Street (Figure 2.1) were built by a philanthropist for the poor, mainly women, and workers' cottage in Mitcham (Figure 2.2) were built for employees of the *Torrens Park Estate*. The *Tivers Row* (Figure 2.3) cottages in the northern town of Burra were built for the

workers employed at the Burra copper mine. There were different class connotations associated with terrace and attached houses, the beyond distinctions of scale, detailing and setting in England (Twopeny, 1972[1883]:37). In contrast to the mining towns of England, workers' terrace houses were not built as large residential enclaves but as discrete sets or properties widely scattered around the urban landscape. Such cottages tended to have small front gardens (and often entry directly from the street) and vegetable gardens at the rear. The interior of these houses, including the basic freestanding cottage (Figure 2.4), had a consistent layout of four main rooms, a parlour or sitting room which was often converted at night to provide additional sleeping quarters, a kitchen and two bedrooms (Elliot, 1860; see also Boyd, 1968). The bathroom, laundry and toilet were usually located at the rear of the house. These residences were in stark contrast to those of the new gentry both in the standard of the accommodation and the image which they conveyed.

The emergence of elite enclaves did not take place in an unstructured way; there is evidence of a systematic approach to their creation based on the behaviour of the upper classes in England. The English gentry typically lived for half the year in enclaves in London's dress circle regions, such as Chiswick and St James. Town life provided jobs, contacts and ideas, and was a place to meet friends, arrange marriages and catch up with the latest fashions (Girouard, 1979:7). Throughout the late Victorian period Thames-side zones gradually filled up with villas and took on the appearance of grand spacious suburbs (Girouard, 1979:6). Because space has a certain social logic to it, society also has a certain spatial logic and therefore space becomes a function of forms of social solidarity and a product of the structure of society (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:22). The use of the physical environment to

establish a social identity is important so that groups not only select different habitats, but also create them (Rapoport, 1977:249). Residential enclaves are a clear manipulation of the external use of space to include some and exclude others, thus discussion about buildings and clusters of buildings is also a discussion about spatial relations.

Hillier and Hanson (1990:22) argue that the urban landscape can be controlled by the creation of zones (enclaves) of strongly representative forms, (such as stately homes). Downing (1968 [1850]) advocated a strict class system of housing, with villas for the rich, cottages for the middle class and farmhouses for the labourers. The worst sin a person could commit in the eyes of architects such as Downing was to aspire to a house above their social status (Clark, 1988:541). Here the house is the central issue, particularly given that the designs of many houses were adapted from pattern books and were the means by which local elites, through their competitive desire, sought to affirm themselves through opulent architecture (Matthews, 1998:251). When these large and architecturally opulent houses were built by similarly minded people in enclaves it reinforced the visual impact of wealth on visitors or outsiders. In 18<sup>th</sup> century Annapolis in Maryland, USA, for example, fashionable Georgian-style houses, built of brick instead of the more common timber, were designed to display the wealth and taste of the owners and encouraged visitors to believe that this was an area of 'polished society' (Matthews, 1998:245). Thus a residential enclave of stately homes became an architectural representation of social hierarchy and segmentation (Herman, 1995:234). In effect, such enclaves created a social landscape as well as a physical one. Using Upton's (1988) idea of 'processional landscapes', architecture represents a category of social experience

within the landscape, thus procession through a residential enclave of stately homes represents a particular category of hierarchical social experience (Herman,1995:226). Movement through elite residential enclaves would reinforce one's place in society, with the buildings symbolising the social and economic distance between classes. The notion of enclaves therefore became one of the most defining characteristics of the rising Adelaiddian elite. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Just as the physical landscape and nucleation of exclusive residential enclaves created physical barriers, within those enclaves symbolic barriers were created by social cohesion. These barriers were to prove even more difficult to penetrate. Spatial patterns in a city not only reflect differentiations in land values, although this is a fundamental underlying factor resulting in economic and social stratification, but they also have social meanings. Spatial concentration and social stratification occur at all levels in the social continuum, with each group encouraging and supporting social cohesion, co-operation and deference (Blackmar, 1988:372). However, in considering the elite levels of society across a state, rather than focussing on a city, there are two further aspects to consider when constructing social cohesion. In the country regions of South Australia, pastoralists did not live in tight residential enclaves, although their properties, which could be as large as 100,000 acres, often had common boundaries. Social cohesion and co-operation was created through their actions □ mainly sharing ideas on pastoral matters, assuming a leadership role in local and state politics, hosting visiting dignitaries and display through the medium of their individual stately homes.

Social cohesion was the key to consolidating the new class created by the new gentry. It was through the process of social identification via comparison, whether via the creation of residential enclaves, building stately homes or the adoption of genteel behaviour, that the new gentry created a self image from which developed guidelines and limitations for interpretation (Weissner, 2004:57). The wives of the new gentry, both in the city and the country regions, also contributed to the construction of a socially cohesive group. In the city and the urban areas, residential enclaves were the dominant physical display of wealth and status, but it was the activities, internal decoration and spatial dynamics within stately homes, and adherence to a strict dress code by women, that were the most obvious forms of competition.

While men's clothing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was frequently criticised for being virtually free of class distinction, making it difficult to tell who was 'important', it was the women of the upper social stratum who worked assiduously on behalf of their husbands to maintain and sustain this group and its social mores through what they wore (Maynard, 1994:96; see also Russell, 2010, 274-281; Russell, 2002:449). Surviving early 19<sup>th</sup> century garments held by museums, and paintings, especially those by T.S. Gill in the 1840s, would suggest that class differences were quite apparent in the dress of South Australia. However, over time, ostentatious dress became less of an indicator. Following the economic boom of the mid 1880s there emerged a new wealthy group, the *nouveaux riches*, who made their fortune through manufacturing, merchandising and who counted their wealth in factories and commercial buildings. Ostentatious dress by the wives of the *nouveaux riches* became one means of blurring the social division between the strata of society, such

that observing the nuances of fashion became almost an obsession with the emerging middle class. However, despite endeavouring to assume the characteristics of the now entrenched new gentry, they encountered barriers to their acceptance into the ranks of the social elite. Social identity was therefore better served by discreet behaviour and refined appearance. Competition was transferred to public occasions, such as balls and garden parties at Government House, where women dressed to demonstrate precisely the degree of affluence of their husbands; being fashionably dressed was an indicator of wealth, social status and the power that came with it (Maynard, 1994:97-98; see also Russell, 2010).

One aim of a socially cohesive group is to keep out interlopers and thus maintain the separation of classes and their exclusivity. Fashionable dress and genteel manners were part of one strategy but cohesiveness could also be achieved by manipulating material culture through acquiring large tracts of land in desirable locations, subdividing, then either selling to friends or adding restrictive covenants to the conditions of sale. An alternative was to build a series of stately homes which could only be purchased by other wealthy individuals. These strategies also created psychological barriers by assuming positions of importance that lesser mortals could or should not aspire to: ‘can I live next to a person with liveried servants, who has an expensive landau?’ However, this did not always deter those who had aspirations to improving their social status, with many artisans, professionals and independent merchants acquiring properties on the fringes of residential enclaves and building their own houses to include some of the design characteristics of the new gentry (Blackmar, 1988:377) (Figure 2.6 & 2.7) (for more detail on these, see Chapter 5).



**Figure 2.6** Cottage, 134 Stanley Street, North Adelaide, situated between row cottages (Figure 2.1) *Nurney House* and *St Andrews* featuring lace friezes and stained glass fan and sidelights. C1880.

Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009



**Figure 2.7** Cottage, 138 Stanley Street, North Adelaide, Featuring entrance tower and stained glass windows. C1880

Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009

Again, this was a strategy by those who had higher social aspirations to blur the reflected image of buildings and confuse the social experiences and comparisons between the various levels of society. Thus walking along Stanley Street in North Adelaide is an example of Herman's idea of a 'walking city' or 'processional landscape' where the passer-by is able to interpret, through comparison of the houses, the relative social status of the owners.

Herman's idea of a processional landscape is a macro concept which focuses on the city as a whole or on residential enclaves in particular. In Upton's (1988:363) discussion of an articulated processional landscape, he describes a much smaller network of spaces, both internal and external to a house. Here the processional pathway was articulated in the sense that it was network of spaces that were linked and functioned as a setting for interaction that worked to embody a community as a whole. Upton was describing the slave era of West Virginia during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where the plantation environment was similar to the large pastoral properties of South Australia. Minus the slaves, South Australia's pastoral properties mirrored the socio-cultural image of stately homes as processional pathways when the workers

walked between the strategically placed farm buildings. The approach route for visitors to these properties also had physical and social barriers; common to both South Australia and Virginia were curved driveways that showed visitors the house from a variety of tantalizing views. But the landscape has no intrinsic meaning, it is symbolic and therefore must be interpreted, so what message does it engender in the viewer? Communication through the medium of landscape requires consensus concerning symbolic meanings, that is, members of each social group are taught how to interpret and how to behave (Duncan, 1976:392). The aim is for the viewer to understand the symbolism: for example, –‘I am one of yours’; ‘no entry’ or ‘directed access and behaviour’. Social control is important; therefore if the landscape is a method of communication it must provide cues to appropriate behaviour as a result of social identity.

Movement through the network of spaces of the plantations of Virginia and the pastoral properties of South Australia resulted in a continual dissolution and reformulation of the articulated processional landscape. However, in this case, the articulated processional pathway affected the planter and the pastoralist, not the workers or visitors (Upton, 1988:364). A stately home set within a pastoral community of workers’ cottages, shearing sheds, accommodation for fencing contractors and itinerant shearers kept the pastoralist in contact with the day to day functions of the property. The pastoralist would therefore adopt different personae: the head of his family and servants; the pastoralist working with his drovers and shepherds; the patron of the local church where he would associate with his peers, but more often with his own employees and those from other leasehold properties; and finally his role as a community leader, as a member of the local district council,



a magistrate, or as an elected member of parliament in Adelaide. Thus, the original meaning of the articulated processional landscape would be dissolved as the pastoralist moved from one space to another and reformulated when in a different situation. This subsequent meaning can be interpreted by the behaviour of the pastoralist and also by those with whom he associated. However, for this study, it is the meaning that is generated by the stately home that is the focus, although a private pew in the local church where the pastoralist would have been the main or sole benefactor also generated a powerful statement. The insight into the intentions of these early pastoralists can be gained by studying the network of spaces, external architectural designs and internal configurations of their homes, which can then be extrapolated to include other new gentry. It is clear that in the initial years (1840s), especially before wives joined their husbands on the pastoral leases, there was a close connection between pastoralists and farm workers. The arrival of families, however, resulted in a greater demand for privacy, both internally and externally, which extended to gardens and family recreation areas and a change in the network of spaces.

The idea of the textual interpretation of the exterior of the house is equally applicable to the interior, with different areas of the house having particular designations according to social function and value. In Upton's description of the plantation owner's house, the strategic placement of buildings or physical spaces expressed meaning through the organisation of this space; there were communicative and symbolic properties through material, colour, landscaping and the like. These physical elements can have differing meanings and their effect on behaviour changes accordingly (Rapoport, 1977:11). This non-verbal communication can take many forms, such as the physical and social barriers on approaching a house, but it also

applied to the interior layout, the location of doors, decoration and location of furniture within the house. The notion of exterior processional pathways and the different pathways for visitors and servants, or slaves in Upton's case, also applies to the interior of the house. Spatial characteristics of the built environment also influence and reflect the organisation of communication; who communicates with whom, under what conditions and in which context. Thus, the built environment and social organisation are linked and related (Rapoport, 1977:12; see also Kent, 1993:1-8); this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Deetz (1996:39) identifies key changes to the interior of houses in North America occurring around 1760 with the introduction of English Georgian architecture which resulted in a change in basic tradition. The symmetrical Georgian architectural style was adopted by affluent gentlemen; it was England's contribution to American domestic architecture (Glassie, 1986:400). The traditional 'folk' or vernacular building, which was constructed without the benefit of formal plans and could be changed to suit the needs of individuals, was now replaced by academic architecture based on very different convictions and a basic immutable order (see Glassie, 1983:117-122). Academic architecture was planned by architects, who adopted popular culture and incorporated contemporary styles and designs into their buildings and became less indicative of the attitudes and lifestyles of the occupants (Deetz, 1996:92; see also Glassie, 1986:420). Georgian architecture had an ordering of elements according to a strict repetitive system, which in turn gave them a similarity of external appearance and internal configuration. A Georgian house had definite elements which rarely varied; a low pitched roof, five windows on the front

elevation, two on the side elevations and two rooms on either side of a central hall which contained a staircase (Glassie, 1986:400).

Upton (1986:315) also notes these changes taking place in Virginia in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when academic architectural ideas significantly affected regional architecture to such an extent that vernacular architecture was eradicated. This change was a gradual process, unlike in South Australia where significant changes were made in decades rather than centuries; the gradual changes witnessed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Virginia were already factored in to early buildings. Glassie's (1983) extensive chronological study of change and development in both style and construction techniques of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century vernacular housing in Middle Virginia reflects economic and social change over the period. However, the houses in Glassie's study were of a style and fabric not represented in early South Australia buildings □ timber houses were not a common feature in the domestic architecture of South Australia, especially stately homes □ and their styles, namely Georgian and Gothic (which Glassie [1983: 74, 94, 107, and 142] refers to as English types) were not architectural designs adopted in South Australia. Virginian builders in the 18<sup>th</sup> century chose new forms, dismembering the new architectural concepts that were readily available in inexpensive pattern books, and incorporating these concepts into architecture. Professional architects now had greater influence and, based on their superior knowledge, spread their ideas and influence on architectural style and design (Upton, 1986:315). The influence of academic architecture found fertile grounds in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as urban merchants increasingly desired a separation of domestic and social functions and increased privacy; they wanted more space than in the traditional vernacular designs. They not only incorporated more space into the

plans of their modified Georgian homes, but also new ideas of how to control movement and in doing so created a correlation between space and social order; a control of interior circulation. Associated with the changes in wealth and social standing that accompanied the introduction of Georgian architecture was the introduction of the prestigious ‘detached house’, a free standing house sited on its own parcel of land and not attached to another dwelling. This developed in England in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to accommodate minor rural gentry and urban merchants (Upton, 1986:317) and was the model for the ideal as it later became established in South Australia.

The significant change from more organic vernacular architecture to more formal, structured and rigorously symmetrical Georgian architecture, which included detached houses, was the introduction of a central passage and the addition of new rooms (Deetz, 1996: 43; Upton, 1986:320-1). This was a reflection of an analytical desire for order and separation which grew out of the division of servant and servant spaces. The passage effectively shielded family and visitors from service areas and their activities; it also ensured that no room was accessible from the formal entrance to the house. In 18<sup>th</sup> century America, the entrance to a Georgian house was via a porch into a vestibule, from which doors led to family areas (Deetz, 1996:115). This enabled owners to directly and individually control circulation to every room in the house and also to create spatial barriers (Upton, 1986:320-1). However, it was necessary to include passages in the internal design to enable servants to pass the spatial barriers into the family areas of the house; in this thesis, they are called ‘communication corridors’ to distinguish them from those passages which were primarily for use by family and visitors. The same basic sequence of change in the

development of cottages was also evident in South Australia. Tivers Row (Figure 2.3) was an example where the entrance of each dwelling opened directly into the sitting room, a form typical of many early dwellings (Boyd, 1968), whereas later cottages (Figure 2.4) incorporated a central passage to provide greater privacy of access (Elliot, 1860).

The interior of a house is the social meaning of space; it is the transition from what was necessary in the beginning to provide shelter, to a structure having specific connotations of power and control. This change in the control of space reflects the individualism of the owner but it can also reflect a consistency □ an adopted common stance. There were differences in design and layout to suit specific needs, but the consistent element was the opportunity to create more spatial zones in order to exert power and control movement. However, it is the intention of the owner which is a subject of debate. Johnson (1993:29), in his discussion of functional perspectives in the social meaning of houses, looks at the architectural design model proposed by Rapoport. This model has four basic elements: space, time, communication (defined as ‘who does what with whom’), and meaning; (defined as visual cues in architecture and moveable goods). It is argued that these elements are visual cues which are decoded by the participant, for example a visitor and observer, by repeated behaviour and observation in a social context (Johnson, 1993:29). Johnson (1993:30) argues that we should look at action, not behaviour, if we want to understand how social meanings are attached to buildings. The stress is on the activity of building and using houses with reference to prescribed cultural rules which exist in the minds, rather than purely as externally observed behaviour. Here social relationships may be both overtly expressed through layout in some

circumstances but in others may be masked, especially in a class-based society. In Hillier and Hanson's (1990:22) example of enclaves, there is nothing masked about the creation of zones consisting of strongly representative types of stately homes; the interpretation of the visual cues is overt and unambiguous.

On the question of the assignment of meaning to a system of signs, Johnson (1993:31) would argue that they are rarely arbitrary: citing the example of crenellations, he contends they are a specific signifier of military defence. He then argues that elements of design may not be purely communicative or symbolic, again, crenellations may have a function beyond that of display. In a modern setting, crenellations may have a primary display function, although at the same time they may project an image of strength. On a stately home, crenellations may symbolise a connection to an English country home, while for the middle class they may be an attempt to copy the imagery of the new gentry (Figure 2.6). It is suggested that meaning is variable and not a single or unitary thing and is produced by individual people working within a given cultural structure, who, by negotiating and manipulating that structure, creatively manipulate existing meanings to produce new combinations of meanings (Johnson (1993:31). Using Johnson's analogy that houses are a text full of overt and hidden meanings, it will be argued in this thesis that the text was overt, conveyed different meanings to different people and was continually reinforced throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

With the emergence of a stratified society, housing conceptualised cultural identification; here the concept of culture is a way of life typical of each social strata and is transmitted symbolically. It is the symbolic culture of property of the societal groups which distinguishes among them and identifies them (Rapoport, 1989:xiii).

By 1840, more substantial buildings were being erected in South Australia. A distinctive style was developed for both lower and middle class dwellings and, while segmentation was reflected in design, there emerged a standard design pattern for both social levels (Boyd, 1968). While there was not always a clear demarcation line between the various strata of society, there was always an urge to move to the next level; literature on English and American architecture identified certain features which set mansions apart from the houses of other strata; these architectural features will be discussed in Chapter 5. It was these features, that some in the middle class who had aspirations to move up the social ladder would incorporate into their houses (Figure 2.6 and 2.7).

Collectively, for the upper stratum of society, cultural symbolism in the form of the built environment was used to influence behaviour and project behavioural patterns that reflected relative status. In Portland, USA, Herman (1995:236) argued that in the 1820s the ‘domestic architecture of the urban elite was becoming increasingly regional in character and that the lesser buildings of the cityscape were being developed on standardised lines’. Houses of the lower and middle classes adopted similar or standardised designs (Glassie, 1986:403) but Herman argues that the houses of the elite, or new gentry, had architectural authority over the urban landscape and that they were bound together by shared tastes in architecture. Their houses were not only larger but built on prominent sites and exuded an air of authority, social status and wealth on the processional landscape.

One variation between the stately homes of South Australia and the mansions of Portsmouth and New York was their architectural style. In New York, upper-class

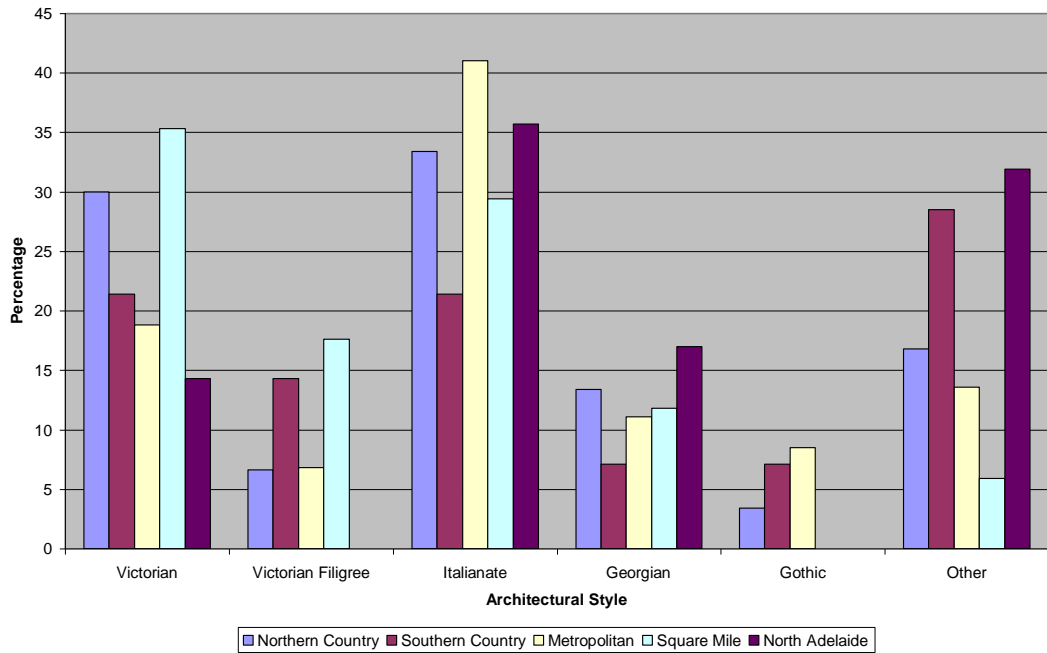
buildings were an amalgamation of traditional designs with Georgian architecture which, because of the ordering of elements according to strict repetitive system, gave them a similarity of external appearance. Georgian architecture was also not conducive to extravagant decoration, so the enclaves of wealthy merchants reflected solid conservatism (Upton, 1986:331). In Portsmouth by contrast, regional or vernacular architecture was adopted, which was a mixture of indigenous forms and academic ones combined in a distinctive local manner (Herman, 1995:236; Upton, 1986:315).

Herman's study focused on a single city, where the elite were predominantly from the merchant class and therefore there was a greater measure of similarity in architectural style. However, 'regional in character' and 'shared tastes in architecture' amongst the merchant class did not apply to the houses of the new gentry in South Australia; their houses tended to be individual in character and their shared taste was more in terms of architectural display rather than through use of the same or similar designs (Chart 2.1). The classification of styles used in this analysis relies on commonly accepted broad categories (see for example, Kerr, 1865, 340-380; Downing, 1880:257-353; Sagazio, 1992; Apperly, Irving, and Reynolds. 1994; Australian Institute of Valuers Inc., 1994). No attempt has been made to subdivide these categories into finer subsets, as has been done by Apperly, Irving, and Reynolds (1994). Such almost exhaustive sub-classifications of style can be a distraction but do support arguments that builders of stately homes varied individual architectural styles to suit their particular requirements rather than slavishly following an accepted style format.



South Australia was a colony that built on the experiences of older economies, where the changing landscape of the built environment did not evolve slowly but was created in a ‘finished’ form within decades of the foundation of the colony.

Chart 2.1 Architectural Style by Region



**LEGEND:**

Other: Includes architectural styles with only a few examples, such as Federation; Regency; Edwardian; Jacobean; Tudor and Other, or those buildings which could not be accorded a recognised style.

Within these broad categories of architectural style, differences in climate and activity had differential impact on architectural design. So, as part of constructing the built environment, stately homes projected individualism, but there were also common objectives which allowed housing to be ‘conceptualised as a system of settings within which certain activities take place’ (Rapoport, 1989:xiii). The new gentry of South Australia selected the more elaborate and decorative Victorian and Italianate architectural styles which enabled them to reflect their individuality (Appendix Five: Building Survey–External Architectural Features). Unlike Virginia, the more conservative Georgian and Gothic styles were not preferred in South

Australia, even though they were a reminder of important regal, ecclesiastical and monumental structures in England. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in contrast to Victorian and Italianate designs, other, less flamboyant, architectural styles gained in popularity to reflect the changing economic and cultural climate. These architectural styles have been collectively designated ‘Other’, and, although they were individually small in number, they were growing in popularity and continued to reflect the range of individual choices made by their owners.

But to what extent did the owners have an idea of what ‘system of settings’ or behavioural patterns was going to be adopted and did they design their house accordingly? For the tobacco plantation owners of Virginia and Carolina this ideal experience was manufactured, they created the urban landscape based on their familiarity with traditional English architecture and they then reformulated it to establish their own meaning (Upton 1988:388; see also Waterhouse, 1989: 87-92). In South Australia, it was a rapidly evolving social and economic landscape where the new gentry, who were drawn from differing sectors of the community, expressed their individuality in the architectural design of their houses, yet at the same time, worked towards a common objective which consolidated them as a group. These matters will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5-7.

## CHAPTER 3      METHODS

[This essay on material culture]... *proposes a particular methodology based on the proposition that [houses as] artefacts are primary data for the study of material culture, and, therefore, that they can be used actively as evidence rather than passively as illustrations.*

(Prown, 1988:18)

### 3.1      INTRODUCTION

For the archaeologist, human consumption patterns, in terms of the acquisition of physical assets, provide one of the more visible sources of evidence from which to analyse individual and group behaviour and also relative social status in the community. Houses, their internal décor and household objects give a tantalising insight into the material culture of consumers and provide a bridge between the reality of an individual's situation and the ideals for which they strive (Gibb, 1996:25; see also Mullins, 2007:202). Material culture can therefore be defined as 'the study through artifacts, of the beliefs – values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions – of a particular community' (Prown, 1988:18). However, this thesis will only focus on the most visible artefact of consumerism, namely, stately homes. It is the analysis of these stately homes which will provide the evidence as to how the particular community, namely the owners who fashioned themselves as the new gentry of the colony, symbolised their aspirations to, and acquisition of, power, status and class through architectural style, external adornment, internal design, spatial configuration and community and private social activities (see Mullins, 2007:205).

### 3.2 DEFINITION OF STUDY AREA

To assess whether there was a consistent pattern in the way the gentry constructed themselves as a class and as a status group, it was decided that, in order to make a comparative analysis, the sample of stately homes should extend across the whole of the state. To focus the comparative analysis on the emergence of the new gentry and the construction of stately homes, the state was divided into five main areas: the Adelaide ‘square mile’<sup>6</sup>; North Adelaide; the current Adelaide metropolitan area; and two country regions, one north of Adelaide and the other south (Figure 5.3 and 5.4). With some exceptions, namely the intersection between the metropolitan and southern country regions, the five areas are geographically clearly defined.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that what is now the boundary between the country regions and the metropolitan area of Adelaide does not necessarily correspond to any perceived boundary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; with the expansion of Adelaide some country LGAs are now part of the greater metropolitan area. For practicality of analysis and in order to more faithfully mirror possible 19<sup>th</sup> century social and spatial divisions, Local Government Authorities (LGAs) considered to be metropolitan today have been included in the country regions, for example, Gawler, which was the gateway to the northern pastoral region has been included in the northern country region. Similarly, sections of the Onkaparinga LGA which today are considered to be part of the current metropolitan area were considered as country in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Onkaparinga LGA is still considered to be a semi-rural LGA and has been included in the southern country region to better compare 19<sup>th</sup> century strategies in

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<sup>6</sup> The ‘square mile’ of Adelaide is bounded by North Terrace, South Terrace, East Terrace and West Terrace all of which are one mile in length, hence the name.

the country vs. the city. The Adelaide Hills and Mt Barker LGAs are included in metropolitan region, even though in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a number of these homes would have been considered to be in the country. *Dalintober*, for example, although part of the Adelaide Hills LGA, is located in the town of Oakbank, which is 40 kms from Adelaide. The original owner of *Dalintober*, Andrew Johnston, was a prominent brewer and had a stately home in South Terrace, Adelaide (*TPI Building*). Many stately homes built in the Adelaide Hills LGA were summer residences, even though some were distant from Adelaide, such as *Marble Hill*, the Governor's summer residence, or *Auchendarroch* the summer residence of Robert Barr Smith in the Mt Barker LGA. These two houses are considered to be metropolitan even though they had a similar function to *Mt Breckan* and *Adare* (Victor Harbor LGA), which are included in the southern country region. The actual distance to many of the villages in the Adelaide Hills was not great, and as the roads improved and the railway was built the region became a popular weekend picnic location for Adelaide residents.

Despite the blurred boundary between the metropolitan and southern country regions, the five geographic areas followed different development patterns, both in time and activity. Adelaide was the commercial and administrative centre of the new colony, whereas the primary focus of North Adelaide was residential, with the area adjacent to the River Torrens becoming an enclave of the new gentry (*The South Australian Register*, 4 January, 1840). The northern country region was initially pastoral, but with the discovery of copper at Kapunda, Burra and Moonta it became a major source of wealth in the colony, with Gawler becoming a major residential and industrial centre. The majority of the southern country region was separated from Adelaide by 'the 90 mile desert', land which at that time was unsuitable for

agriculture. Hence, the southern pastoral industry developed in the more isolated, wetter and cooler area in the south of the state. However, activity in the northern section of the southern country region focused more on agriculture rather than solely pastoralism, plus there were summer residences at Robe and Victor Harbor<sup>7</sup>. In the 19th century, much of the outer fringe of the current metropolitan area was an agricultural region supporting orchards and vineyards, but it was also a preferred residential location for those wanting substantial acreages. However, there were sections of the metropolitan regions which became enclaves for summer residences, namely Glenelg (Holdfast Bay LGA) and the Adelaide Hills LGA. So, in order to analyse and compare any variations in the origin of stately homes, data on their staged development over the three time periods, the occupations of their owners, the use of the buildings, the number and use of out-buildings and their current use, both within and between the five regions, has been collected by LGA (Appendices 1-5).

The three time periods, namely 1840-1869, 1870-1889 and 1890-1914, reflect distinct economic periods in the growth cycle of South Australia. During the period 1836 to 1840 the primary task of the colony was to complete land surveys of the proposed city of Adelaide and nearby country regions. There was still uncertainty about the future of the colony; hence it was a period of land speculation rather than of building substantial homes. No stately homes were commenced during this period, so, for the purposes of this thesis, the study commences from 1840. The period of 1840 to 1869 was one of exploration and discovery; the pastoral industry was established and large copper discoveries were made which established the economic

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<sup>7</sup> Originally named Port Victor, after *HMS Victor*. Robert Gouger in 1837 referred to the port as, 'Victor Harbor', as did the author of an article in *The Register* on 20<sup>TH</sup> January, 1838; both were misprints (Cockburn, 1984:226). Despite the error, the American spelling of 'harbor' was retained rather than the English spelling, 'harbour'.

base for the colony. From 1870 to 1889 was a period of economic growth, when many prominent pastoralists and businessmen made their fortunes. Houses built in the 1840-1869 period were expanded and new stately homes were built in all regions of the colony. The 1890s saw significant changes: the copper lode declined, wool prices fell, drought set in and pastoral leases were compulsorily acquired and then subdivided and sold to satisfy the growing demand for farming land. The economic base which supported many stately homes was eroded and many became redundant. This period ended with the commencement of World War I, the conclusion of which brought about further cultural changes.

### **3.3 SOURCES: HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY**

In any new colony, detailed written records on all facets of community life tend to focus on the more affluent and literate sectors of the population, which can result in a skewed understanding of events. South Australia was no different to other early colonies, with fewer written records relating to the personal lives of the majority of the population; however surviving photographs, artefacts and buildings do allow some of the gaps to be filled. Keeping written accounts of daily activities was not a priority for the early settlers, especially mineral prospectors and timber cutters, who ventured into the most remote areas whereas survival in the harsh climatic conditions of the colony was. However, since the focus of this thesis is on the upper stratum of society, their lives and their homes, fortunately information can be obtained from a number of sources, although, again, there are gaps. A person may be named as having an important role in an event, but then falls into obscurity, or early sources may have images of prominent houses but the owner, date and location are omitted.

Compiling a sample list of potential stately homes was the primary focus of early research as it often directed further investigation and, while there was a basic structure to researching primary and secondary sources, there was still an element of discovery and surprise. These included such serendipitous events as finding an obscure piece of information in a country museum, a photograph that helped to identify a house through a distinctive background feature, information collected by a keen volunteer of a local history group, or directions given by a local resident to an ‘interesting place’ over the hill. As a result, the early stages of this research were devoted to locating as many stately homes as possible and following up all leads to ensure that potential places met the definition. However, there was also a weakness in this methodology as some potential stately homes may have been omitted because they have not been included in the literature or in historical records; these exclusions were noted when some stately homes, otherwise absent from the literature, came to my notice too late to be included. For example, an 1890s mansion in Gilberton, which is part of the exclusive residential enclave of Walkerville, is not listed on the Register or in local tourist material and has not been included in the sample. Its existence was only noted when it was advertised for sale in April, 2010.

A wide range of contemporary sources, both primary and secondary, were necessary for the completion of this thesis. Historic and contemporary documents were crucial to several aspects of the data collection and analysis, including:

- to establish the sequence of construction for a building;
- to establish a sequence of owners for each building;
- to construct a personal profile of the owners of each building;



- to establish the activities carried on at these places.

Owners of many stately homes did not engage architects and hence plans were not often available. Building approvals were not always sought, or indeed necessary, hence the sequence of construction was not detailed. Similarly, there are limited records on the construction of many outbuildings on farming and pastoral properties which have not, until recently, been deemed an important part of the historical and cultural landscape.

Therefore, for this thesis, the majority of historical information came from secondary sources including:

- Early contemporary accounts of the colony, such as that written by Hodder (1893).
- Pamphlets written by members of The Pioneers' Association of South Australia, who were descendants of those who were on the first fleet to the colony.
- Publications by local historical associations and organisations associated with historic homes, such as the Cummins Society.
- Histories written by the descendants of the new gentry, including anthologies of letters. These publications included some photographs of the new gentry and their families which were not available from other sources.
- Photographs and pictures, many of which are reproduced in the secondary literature on the new gentry and their families.

- The former Mortlock Collection of State Library of South Australia (SLSA), which has an extensive archive of early photographs available both on-line and for in-house study.
- Early colonial newspapers, such as *The Adelaide Observer* and *The South Australian Register*, which were owned by the new gentry and reported on events and social activities in great detail. For example, a series of articles on the accidental death in January 1890 of Hon. J. G. Ramsay, MLC, Chief Secretary (*Eden Park*), was reported in *The Advertiser*, *The Adelaide Observer* and *The Mount Barker Courier*, which together gave a detailed account of his life and achievements.

Other sources of information included:

- Local museums, especially in the country regions, where there were often extensive collections of memorabilia about the owners of stately homes which portrayed their impact on the social and economic life of the community.
- Displays in stately homes which have become House Museums and which provided insights into the daily lives of the new gentry, in particular, *Ayers House*, *Beaumont House* and *Collingrove*.
- State Heritage Register files on heritage-listed stately homes, which often contained a brief outline of the history and successive owners, including photographs taken at the time of the initial assessment. These provided a link between the earliest photographs and those of today.

- Local and Adelaide City Council archival records and Lists of Local Heritage Places which are included in Council Plan Amendment Reports as required by the *South Australian Development Act 1993*.

At the outset it was reasonable to assume that there would be a correlation between those identified as the new gentry and the construction and appearance of stately homes. As the new gentry consolidated their sources of wealth and positions of power in the new colony, so, too, were their houses extended or rebuilt in a style that reflected their rising status, while in the pastoral areas squatters enlarged their holdings and consolidated their properties. The estates surrounding such homes were a major source of employment and became the centre of the social and cultural life in many rural villages. It was not only the activities of the new gentry that were well documented, but also the construction of, and activities associated with, their stately homes, including their sales and the liquidation of their effects during periods of economic decline. So in order to establish whether there was a correlation between the economic fortunes of the colony and the construction of stately homes, data was required on the patterns of construction across the state and changes in ownership and subsequent use. Again, historic and contemporary documents were crucial to this analysis:

- to establish the sequence of construction for a building.
- to establish whether the buildings and estates were used for family and/or community social activities.
- to identify the changes in the internal configuration of buildings during the sequential phases of construction.

- to note the changes in external architectural features during the sequential phases of construction.
- to identify whether there was a sequence and pattern for those buildings converted for alternative use.
- to categorise each building according to its current heritage status.

Therefore, for this thesis, the majority of historical information on the construction, extension, sale, demolition, re-development, and changes in use of stately homes came from secondary sources including:

- Secondary historical literature on the life and times of early colonial pioneers.
- Publications by local historical associations and organisations. These included photographs of stately homes in their region, but often with little commentary.
- Histories written by the descendents of the new gentry, which provided descriptions of their houses and how they featured in their social activities. Many of the photographs in these volumes included images of members of the family and friends and therefore provided information as to which sections of the house were the focus of family activities.
- Photographs and images held in the State Library of South Australia (SLSA) collection. Comparison between archival photographs and the current use of the site assisted in assessing the impact on the cultural landscape.
- Photographic archives of museums, especially in towns which were once the villages associated with stately homes.

- Surveys and publications by the National Trust of South Australia, especially descriptions of the interior of the homes and the gardens.
- Local histories commissioned by Local Government Associations (LGAs) to commemorate significant dates or events.
- Files of Heritage SA, including architectural assessments and criteria that resulted in the listing of the building on the South Australian Heritage Register.
- Articles from early colonial newspapers which reported on the early management and sale of land and proposed developments; the latter was normally confined to major buildings which assisted the research for this thesis.
- Current newspapers were a valuable source on the matter of heritage management, especially where there was a proposal for the demolition of a stately home.
- Magazines, such as *SALife*, which often featured articles on stately homes which included photographic evidence which would not otherwise be available.

Other sources of information included:

- The architectural museum of the University of South Australia, especially copies of plans drawn by the notable early architects, such as G. W. Soward and G. S. Kingston.

- Modern Real Estate brochures that provided pictorial evidence which, again, may not otherwise have been available and open houses that provided access when stately homes were advertised for sale.
- Access to stately homes which have become wholly or partially converted to public use, for example, as office accommodation, museums, university student halls of residence, or convention and tourist accommodation.
- Those former stately homes which have been converted for other uses, such as schools and hospitals, also provided some access, which enabled more in depth study of construction methods and fabric.

### **3.4 ASSESSMENT OF SOURCES**

Each of these sources, of course, is not without its limitations. Many of the early and also more recent literary sources were written by people and organisations associated with the new gentry, particularly their descendents, and therefore present a positive picture, highlighting the achievements and contributions of representative and/or notable South Australians (see Burgess, 1978[1907]; Loyau, 1978[1885]; 1883, Pascoe, 1901). Similarly, contemporary literature on the new gentry also tends to focus on the positive contributions they made to the early colony, although it can also lead to the omission of some details of their lives, such as interaction with the indigenous population (Dutton, 1985:15-34; Harrison, 2008:178-179), methods used to oppose farmers gaining access to their pastoral holdings, and attitudes to, and treatment of, their servants and other employees. In contrast to this, there are those who, according to the definition applied in Chapter 1, possessed all the traits of the gentry but were neither included in the contemporary literature nor lauded for their

contribution to the colony. This highlights the cultural construction of the gentry both by themselves and by those who came later. This potential bias and exclusion in some narratives will be analysed in Chapter 4 using data on the original and subsequent owners of each stately home as detailed in Appendix 1 (Building Survey – Owner Profiles).

Early newspapers were also selective in what they reported, with articles tending to focus on major social or civic events. A visit by royalty, details of the Hunt Club, local cricket matches sponsored by the new gentry, and attendance by those who were considered to be important members of society at public meetings, were typical of the kinds of activities that became ‘news’. Dinners and functions were often reported in great detail, for example, in *The Advertiser* on 11 July, 1846, a report on the Juvenile Ball given by the Lieutenant-Governor highlighted its purpose of ‘introducing to each other in their early years the sons and daughters of the upper classes of the colonists, and thus, on the one hand, laying the foundation, very probably, of the most extensive domestic happiness...’. The bias in reporting also applies to development within the colony, with reporting being largely confined to details of the grandeur of recently built stately homes (e.g. *South Australian Register*, 1 January, 1878), or commercial properties built by the new gentry. In the regular column, City Improvements, *The Chronicle* (19 July, 1879) reported that William Kither (*Morden*), butcher, had completed a new row of shops, *Kither Building*, which included large cool rooms. Then *The South Australian Register* (23 July 1884) reported that William Kither had constructed premises using new building techniques and had built the first refrigeration unit. Following this *The Adelaide Observer* (30 May 1896) printed a profile of William Kither, Alderman (ACC) and philanthropist,

as part of keeping the public informed of the activities of prominent citizens. One of the main strengths of newspapers as a resource was their coverage of the pending sale of stately homes and the auction of the contents, which reflected losses caused by drought, economic downturns or ill advised investment decisions (for example, *South Australian Register*, 2 April, 1879).

The photographic archives of the State Library of South Australia (SLSA), collections held by local historical societies and museums, and facsimile editions of early literature, provided a valuable insight into early South Australia, especially in the pastoral regions. There are numerous informal photographs of village life, local industry and work on pastoral properties. Many of the photographs of family and friends amongst the new gentry in these publications were often posed, although they still provide a window into their world, especially details of dress and leisure activities, such as tennis, and garden parties (Figures 3.1 & 3.2). The traits that clearly identified the new gentry are on display. These images also provide a comparison with farm and village life. One problem associated with some of the early photographs is the absence of details of where and when they were taken, which made comparison with the current situation more difficult.



**Figure 3.1 Tennis party, Adelaide, c1910**  
Location unknown.  
Source: SLSA, B 60628/27



**Figure 3.2 Afternoon tea in the garden, c1910.**  
Location unknown.  
Source: SLSA, PRG 280/1/11/561



Archival and published photographs of stately homes also presented problems. Often the precise location of the house was omitted or was incorrect, for example the archival photograph of *Eden Park* held by the State Library (SLSA, B 60658, c1905) was stated to be a Salvation Army Boys' Home sited in Wistow (Mt Barker). *Eden Park* did become a boys' home, but the house depicted in the photograph was not *Eden Park*; in fact the house has still not been identified. In most cases these omissions or errors could be corrected by site visits, but where the house had been demolished or significantly altered this was not always possible. However, old photographs were a major source of information, especially as a record of the staged development of individual stately homes. Photographs of stately homes were often associated with other events, thus giving an insight into their social and community functions; the meeting of the Adelaide Hunt Club at *The Brocas* at Woodville, for example, was well documented and photographed (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 A meeting of the Hunt Club setting out from *The Brocas* in 1870.  
Source: Pikusa, 1986:91, also Dutton, 1985:51 and Daly, 1986:15.

The most frequently photographed façade of the house was often the garden aspect and not the main entrance, which provided an insight into what could be interpreted as being a focal point of family life rather than the formal public view. For example, it was the elevation of the house facing the garden, such as at *Anlaby*, *Wootton Lea* and *Holden House*, which featured in many historic photographs, thus indicating the importance of the garden in family and social activities. Informal photographs of family groups having afternoon tea, at leisure reading or engaged in social activities such as croquet or tennis, and probably taken by other family members or friends, are an insight into the private and social lives of the new gentry and their families. Archival photographs of extensive gardens were also an informative pictorial resource and often the only data there was on historic plantings and garden design.

## 3.5 SELECTING A SAMPLE

### 3.5.1 *Stately homes*

No standard statistical technique was used to select the sample of houses to be considered for this research. The initial sample was obtained by searching the State Heritage Register, local government heritage surveys and registers, properties listed by the National Trust and the Commonwealth Register of the National Estate. It was assumed that the majority of stately homes would be included on Commonwealth, State and LGA Heritage Registers, either because the building itself was deemed to contribute to an understanding of the State's or local community's history because it was an outstanding representative of a particular class or place of cultural significance, or because certain elements (such as its construction techniques, design characteristics, or special associations with the life or work of a person) were deemed to be of historical importance (*Heritage Places Act 1993*, Sec 16[1]). This process highlighted the weakness in the current methods of determining whether a building should be listed on the State or Local Heritage Register. Each Local Government Authority undertakes a heritage survey of its council area and then recommends to the responsible state government minister, via the relevant government department, whether a building should be placed on a register; details of properties not recommended for listing are not included. While there are guidelines, the final interpretation of what constitutes a 'heritage place' is made by the relevant LGA and there is little effort to ensure consistency in assessment procedures. Buildings may be recommended for listing because of their architectural merit, or their association with prominent members of the local community or a significant event, such as the

commencement of an overland expedition in the early days of the colony.

Recommendations for listing can also be influenced by consultants advising local governments, which in turn results in a number of inconsistencies. For example, *Eden Park* in the country location of Wistow, was significantly and unsympathetically altered when it was a Salvation Army Boys' Home and then again when it became an institution for drug rehabilitation. However, it was built for a prominent businessman and parliamentarian who was the founder of the nearby major town of Mt Barker; the house, which is vacant and in poor repair, is listed on the State Heritage Register. By way of contrast, *Woodlands*, which is currently the administration building of a private Church of England primary school, has been removed from the State Heritage Register because of structural alterations.

*Woodlands* was associated with equally prominent colonists, is in excellent repair, and with sympathetic alterations that have not significantly detracted from the overall integrity of the building.

Difficulties in compiling the sample of houses for this thesis were compounded when houses were either not included on any heritage register or historic record, or when local heritage surveys provided only minimal information and then only recommended local heritage listing; there could be an assumption that these latter properties had only limited significance. For example, *Forest Lodge*, located in Stirling in the Adelaide Hills LGA, meets all of the criteria for listing on the State Heritage Register. The house was built for John Bagot, a prominent pastoralist and parliamentarian, and was inherited by his son Walter Hervey Bagot (*Nurney*), a leading architect, who designed the extensive gardens (in excess of 20 acres) which still exist. *Forest Lodge* is an outstanding example of Gothic architecture which has

remained virtually unchanged structurally, and is in excellent repair; this house and garden are not listed on either the state or local government heritage registers.

Further inconsistency in assessment is evident in the Walkerville LGA. In the suburb of Walkerville, and in particular Edwin Terrace, there is a residential enclave of stately homes which were owned by some of the more prominent early businessmen, in particular, George Brookman. Their houses meet all the criteria for inclusion on the State Heritage Register, being exceptional examples of 19th century architecture, with original front walls and gates *in situ* which enclose significant portions of original formal gardens. Of the 15 houses in the Walkerville LGA, 13 are on the local heritage register, one is not listed, with only one, a modest dwelling originally belonging to Phillip Levi, a prominent early pastoralist, and now part of a caravan park, listed on the State Heritage Register. In fact, there are only four listings for Walkerville on the Register: St Andrew's Anglican Church; the Hackney Bridge, noted for its steel arch; *Roseneath*, a house listed because it has a tunnel, and the former Levi residence □ a gross under-representation for such an important historical area.

Because of the inconsistent assessment of potential stately homes, an initial sample in excess of 250 houses was selected from the local, state, federal government and National Trust databases. The majority of potential stately homes were chosen from the state and local heritage data bases but, given the large number of heritage places and the brief description of each heritage place, this initial sample required further analysis. For example, in the NSPP LGA, there are 72 heritage places on the state register and 560 on the local list; Burnside LGA, 25 heritage places on the state register and 220 on the local list and for Mitcham LGA there are 36 heritage places

on the state register and 296 on the local list. All the houses in the initial sample were visited which resulted in a number being deleted from the final sample due to inaccurate descriptions in the historical records. There were 206 houses in the final sample of stately homes distributed across the five regions (Table 3.1)

**Table 3.1 STATELY HOMES BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY**

**A SUMMARY**

<b>REGION</b>		<b>NUMBER OF STATELY HOMES</b>	<b>TOTALS</b>
<i>Adelaide LGA</i>			
	“Square Mile”	17	<i>17</i>
<i>Adelaide (2) LGA</i>			
	North Adelaide	28	<i>28</i>
<i>Metropolitan Area</i>			
	Adelaide Hills	12	
	Burnside	22	
	Campbelltown	2	
	Charles Sturt	2	
	Holdfast Bay	15	
	Marion	1	
	Mitcham	15	
	Mount Barker	2	
	Norwood, St Peters and Payneham	11	
	Playford	1	
	Port Adelaide and Enfield	2	
	Prospect	4	
	Salisbury	1	
	Unley	10	
	Walkerville	16	
	West Torrens	1	<i>117</i>
<i>Country</i>			
<i>1–Northern region</i>			
	Barossa	5	
	Clare and Gilbert Valleys	7	
	Gawler	7	
	Goyder	3	
	Light	5	
	Northern Areas	1	
	Peterborough	1	
	Wakefield	1	<i>30</i>
<i>2–Southern region</i>			
	Alexandria	1	
	Coorong	2	

Naracoorte	3	
Lucindale		
Onkaparinga	1	
Robe	1	
Tatiara	1	
Victor Harbor	2	
Wattle Range	3	<i>14</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>206</b>

Having identified the final sample of stately homes, the aim of the field work was to:

- Assess the current use of the buildings and sites and compare it with the historic records (Appendix 1. Building Survey-Current Use).
- Photograph the buildings and any associated features, where possible from the same positions as those in the archival photographs. A compass bearing was recorded for each photograph (Appendix 6. Building Survey –House Profiles).
- Note the external features of the building, including details of architectural style, building fabric, type of construction, and architectural and ornamental features which may have been used to reflect the status of the owners (Appendix 5. Building Survey-External Architectural Features).
- Locate any associated outbuildings, such as stables, coach houses, gate houses, domestic areas such as dairies, or workers’ accommodation (Appendix 4. Building Survey- Associated Buildings and Grounds).
- Record the prominence of the front entrance to the house, and exit doorways and stairs leading to the gardens (Appendix 5. Building Survey-External Architectural Features).
- Identify remnants of the original gardens and associated features, especially those used for recreational and social activities, such as tennis or croquet (Appendix 4. Building Survey- Associated Buildings and Grounds).

- Understand the internal spatial dynamics of each house. This required access to as many houses as possible in order to identify communication corridors and note the variation in use and decoration of various sections of the house. Where only limited access was available, particular note was made of entrance hallways, front and rear stairs and reception rooms, as they were prime indicators of wealth and divisions based on social class (Appendix 2. Building Survey –Internal Features).

Not all 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes identified in the literature or archival sources have survived. In many cases a stately home may have been retained but its land subdivided (for example, *Bray House*), while others have been demolished and the land subdivided for urban re-development (such as *Birksgate*). In some cases the outbuildings associated with the stately home, such as gate houses or lodges, stables or coach houses, are all that has survived. Where this is the case, surviving outbuildings, together with archival sources, help to identify the original location, extent and scale of these now vanished stately homes. A limited number of these former estates have been included in the sample, for example *Moorcroft*, *Linden* and *Birksgate*, as they provide an insight into the extent of the 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape. The impact of subsequent development on these properties enables a comparison to be made between the 19<sup>th</sup> century and current cultural landscapes. Only one site has been included in the sample where the 19<sup>th</sup> century stately home and the associated structures and features have been completely demolished - *Fernilee Lodge* - as an example of a 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape that has been completely obliterated.



### 3.5.2 *The new gentry*

Although problems were encountered when compiling the sample of stately homes, there was always visible evidence that could be used to verify their presence; this was not the case when compiling the list of the new gentry. Having compiled an initial list of possible stately homes, an initial list of potential members of the new gentry was generated. Similarly, the names of subsequent owners in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were also added to the list. It was during this second stage that it became clear that a number of the new gentry not only owned several stately homes but were also members of exclusive social networks. To gain a better understanding of the owners of stately homes, individual profiles were compiled; again the analysis was by LGA across the five regions. Individual data was initially collated in three broad categories: occupation; whether they held public office; and the clubs to which they belonged.

For occupation, the aim was to establish whether there was a concentration of new gentry according to profession or occupation. To assist this analysis, details of occupation were collated in the following categories:

- Pastoralists, where this was the primary or sole occupation.
- Pastoralist/mining, whether they were pastoralists who became involved in mining, or those who had made their fortunes in mining and then acquired a pastoral property.
- Mining, where this was the primary or sole business activity.

- Professional □ this category included those who were lawyers, doctors or held senior government positions, such as surveyors, coroners, sheriffs or Commissioners of Police.
- Professional/mining, such as professional people, as defined above, who acquired shares in mining ventures.
- Merchants □ in a new colony merchants were a key group of entrepreneurs who were large scale importers, suppliers of equipment and stores to the pastoral and mining industries or who established department stores in Adelaide. A single shop owner was not classified as a merchant.
- Businessmen, this category included those who were stock agents, newspaper proprietors, or members of Boards of Directors of banks and other commercial enterprises.
- Businessmen/pastoralists, such as those who made their fortunes other than in mining and then acquired a pastoral property.
- Manufacturers, this group included brewers, foundry owners and manufacturers of farm equipment. This category does not include local artisans.

To gauge the extent of the social network of the new gentry, details of public offices were an important factor. For individuals such offices were a source of power, but collectively, public office resulted in a concentration of power to pursue common goals and interests. The important category was membership of the South Australian House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, although after Federation some became members of the Commonwealth Parliament. Whether they held the position of Premier, President of the Legislative Council, Speaker of the House of Assembly

or cabinet minister, was also noted. Others chose to concentrate on local government affairs and were members of District Councils or, for Adelaide, members of the Adelaide City Council. Again, those who held leadership positions, such as mayor, were also noted.

The final category was membership of various clubs and organisations. The main organisations were the Adelaide Club (Table 4.1), the Adelaide Hunt Club (Table 4.2) and the South Australian Jockey Club. Depending on their occupation, some members of the new gentry were prominent in industry-specific organisations, such as the Chambers of Commerce, the Stock Exchange and The Royal Horticultural and Agricultural Society. Membership details were not always readily available, except where they held senior positions, so these data were not collated for all members of the new gentry. This was included, where applicable, in the profiles of individuals. Data on the above categories is collated in Appendix 1 (Building Survey-Owner Profiles), categorised in Table 5.5 and discussed in Chapter 5.

Two other important elements of the biographies of the new gentry were their involvement in philanthropic activities, whether donating funds to schools, universities and the church, or their membership of organisations, such as the Adelaide Children's Hospital or the Royal Society for the Blind. As discussed in Chapter 4, unless the donations were significant, details of donations and activities were not meticulously recorded; again, where information is available this has been recorded in individual owner profiles. Finally, the social network of the new gentry, whether based on occupation, wealth, membership of clubs or philanthropic organisations, was primarily maintained through marriage. Whether these marriages

were to consolidate positions of power, to retain wealth within families, to exclude ‘interlopers’ from entering the social network, or just the result of constant association, is not possible to pinpoint, however it was a social phenomenon warranting further discussion.

Having compiled an initial list of the new gentry, it was not always possible to obtain comprehensive details of their personal lives and accomplishments. Many early biographers, such as Loyau, were selective when determining who should be included as *The Representative Men of South Australia* (Loyau, 1883) or *Notable South Australians* (Loyau, 1978[1885]). Similarly, other publications, such as Pascoe (1901), omitted the biographies of many notable colonists. Information on the activities of new gentry who were pastoralists, however, was more comprehensive, with regular articles published in the *Stock and Station Journal*; these were then compiled by Cockburn (1927; 1925). Similarly, early membership records of exclusive clubs, such as the Adelaide Club and the South Australian Jockey Club, were not complete and therefore club membership of the new gentry may have been omitted when compiling the profiles of the owners of stately homes. There were also colonists who were included in biographical lists of parliamentarians and notable South Australians but for whom there were insufficient details of their personal lives, especially whether they owned a stately home. The limitation of the early sources of data has inevitably resulted in some stately homes, and the new gentry associated with those homes, not being included in the sample.

## **3.6 FIELD METHODS**

### ***3.6.1 Data Collection – The Process***

The primary objective of the field work was to visit and obtain data on the stately homes included in the sample; this included any remaining architectural structures, such as gate houses and stables, other associated features, such as boundary walls and gates, plus known sites of now demolished houses. Two recording forms were developed to ensure that there was consistency in gathering this information. The primary function of the first form, 'Building Survey □ Historical Background' was to record location, current use, the history of ownership and the dates of any changes to the structure of the building. It was also the cover sheet for other historical data and articles pertaining to the owner and the building. This data was used to direct the field program in order to identify significant historic features and events as highlighted in the literature. The second, 'Building Survey □ Field Survey Notes' was aimed at obtaining consistent data across four categories: building style and external architectural features; a description of the grounds; details of existing outbuildings; and finally, internal architectural features.

The total number houses in each LGA has been represented on two maps, one of South Australia for the northern and southern country regions (Figure 5.3), the other for the 'square mile', North Adelaide and the metropolitan area (Figure 5.4); together they highlight the distribution of houses across the state. This method was preferred to locating each house on a single map which would have been congested thus making it difficult to identify individual properties. However, to illustrate the pattern

of distribution within exclusive residential enclaves, individual houses have been identified on detailed street plans within the Walkerville LGA (Figure 7.10), and sections of the ‘square mile’ (Figure 7.2) and North Adelaide (Figure 7.3) (ACC ).

### **3.6.2 *Analysis of data***

Five tables relating to different aspects of the historic and field surveys were used to record the data for analysis; all data has been collated by LGA within the five regions. Some level of duplication of data in the tables, such as name, date of construction and the original builder, was necessary to ensure that the tables were self explanatory.

The first set of tables relate to ‘Owner Profile’. This data was collated at three levels; firstly, details of the ownership of each stately home within each individual LGA for the period 1840-1914 (Appendix 3). Apart from the name of the house and the date of construction, this set of data focussed on the occupation of the original and successive owners of each house; whether they held public office and whether they were members of one of the exclusive clubs. Notable owners after 1914 were also recorded as an indication as to whether ownership continued to be in the hands of prominent citizens, or whether the house was converted for an alternative use.

Secondly, for each LGA, the occupations of all the individual owners of each stately home prior to 1914 was summarised into broad categories, namely, whether they were pastoralists, miners, professionals, merchants, businessmen, manufacturers, or any combination of these; there was an ‘other’ category to accommodate those who were, for example, members of the clergy. These tables also summarise the number

of owners who held public office and/or were members of exclusive clubs (Appendix 3). Finally, the summaries of owner profiles for each LGA were further consolidated into a 'Summary □ Owner Profiles' for each of the five geographic regions (Appendix 3). This data enabled comparison between individual owners at three levels: for each house; by LGA within each geographic area; and between the five geographic areas. This enabled analysis of relevant questions, such as are there discernable patterns in the occupations of the owners of stately homes, their election to public office, at either state or local level, or their membership in exclusive clubs? How does this data conclude that the owners of the stately homes defined and demonstrated the characteristics of the new gentry? These matters will be further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Downing (1968 [1850]:258) idealised stately homes as large, elegant, tasteful, convenient, significant and 'the most beautiful of dwellings', characteristics which are applied in this thesis to both houses and gardens. However, some of the characteristics, such as 'elegant', 'tasteful' and 'most beautiful' are subjective and not easy to define. To determine whether the stately homes in the sample displayed the architectural features satisfying Downing's definition, external architectural features were recorded for each house. The owners of these homes were an identifiable group who may or may not have consciously competed against each other to build the grandest home, hence one aim of the data was to identify the extent to which architectural features were held in common. The data for individual houses was consolidated for each LGA and then summarised for each geographic region (Appendix 5). Again, the consolidated data for both LGAs and geographic regions

enabled the comparison of external architectural features to determine whether there were any comparisons or contrasts evident across the state.

The architectural features selected for analysis were not only highly visible to the public but also created an image for visitors; this data has been collated in a set of tables (Appendix 6). Architectural features are also used as style indicators (Apperly, Irving and Reynolds, 1994), and while similar features are used for analysis in this thesis, the aim was not primarily to note their changing use but their role as identifiers that differentiated stately homes from housing in general. Highly visible external architectural features selected for analysis were:

- Size: this was considered to be a defining characteristic; hence the number of levels would be one indicator of a stately home, although this does not preclude some single level homes.
- Verandahs and balconies: they not only had a utilitarian function but were also used as means of decoration; they could be elegant, tasteful and beautiful. The use of lace work on balustrades, friezes and brackets was a more overt means of display (Figure 3.4 and 3.5).





Figure 3.4 *Dalintober*, cast iron verandah post with dragon head.  
Source: Raine & Horne sale brochure, 2009



Figure 3.5 *Dalintober*, cast iron verandah brackets with dragons.  
Source: Raine & Horne sale brochure, 2009

- Fabric and method of construction: these were important indicators of wealth. The selection of more expensive sandstone and bluestone is another defining characteristic of stately homes, especially where the stone has been cut and squared in ashlar or squared random coursed methods of construction.
- Quoins: these were a prominent architectural and artistic feature of most stately homes, especially where they were of carved sandstone.
- Entry to the house: this is a feature which can give substance to terms such as ‘elegant’ and ‘beautiful’, especially where decorated with stained glass side lights and fanlights. This can also result in the front entrance appearing much larger, and hence more imposing.
- An elegant entrance can also be associated with other architectural features which have both a utilitarian and display function, for example, porticos, towers and turrets are often associated with a striking entrance to a stately home, to the extent that some towers and turrets may have no practical function other than artistic display.

- Bay windows: an architectural feature which was often a centrepiece for display, especially when it included stained glass windows and ornate plaster or carved sandstone surrounds.

These architectural features have been selected because they are highly visible and their inclusion in original designs or as part of modifications and additions, are indicators of not only changes in fashion and architectural style over time, but also what the owners deemed to be important features of the buildings. However, focussing on a particular set of characteristics may result in some features used outside of this not being highlighted. This limitation does not detract from the analysis as it can be assumed that these features are further indicators of what were deemed to be important to some individuals.

The tables on external architectural features also included three other pieces of information: whether the stately home was listed on a heritage register; the origins of the name given to the house; and finally the source of the data, that is, whether there was access to the property, whether information was obtained from a street view only, or whether data was from literary sources. The inclusion, or not, of a stately home on a heritage register is one indicator of the current attitude towards cultural heritage management and the maintenance of the cultural landscape. As discussed above, there are inconsistencies in the current process and the implications of this will be discussed in Chapter 6. The selection of names for stately homes may reflect the country of origin of the owners and their desire to recreate their memories of 'home' in the design of their houses. Did nostalgia for England diminish towards the end of the century and, if so, was this reflected in a change in naming practice?

Finally, the source of the information recognises the difficulties encountered in gaining a complete picture of each house. Access to a property enables a more complete recording of the external architectural features, whereas the street view often limits the information to the front façade, although this may be supplemented by information from literary sources. Data gleaned from literary sources and archival photographs, while limiting, often provided sufficient information to assess the architectural features.

It is all a matter of context: the existence of other buildings associated with a stately home and evidence of the extent of the original property and garden, are important in understanding the impact a house had on the cultural landscape. Regrettably, there are only limited examples where the estate of a stately home has remained unchanged, offering a valuable insight into life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; *Anlaby*, *Bungaree*, and *Poltalloch* in the northern country region and *Padthaway* in the south, are such properties. In the metropolitan area and the ‘square mile’, locating sites and remaining structures from now demolished stately homes also presented a challenge, as subdivision has resulted in either the demolition of many outbuildings, or the diffusion of the original context, for example, through the separation of stables from the original house by suburban development. The suburb in which the former stately home may have been located may have been named after the house, for example, *Birksgate*, *Linden Park* and *Erindale*, but locating the actual site was difficult and rarely were there historic places notice boards or signs; (although Adelaide and Mitcham LGA are exceptions). The existence of buildings and architectural features associated with demolished stately homes provided some physical evidence to accompany the archival data, but often this had limited value because of the loss of

context. However, when combining the current physical evidence of the stately home with the archival sources, it is possible to recreate an image of a stately home and hence compare that with the current impact on the cultural landscape.

Subdivisions created a major problem when it came to locating and recording gardens. While a number of historic gardens still exist, for other cases reference to historical sources was necessary to understand what functions the gardens had and what contribution they made to social activities and hence the status of the house. Where archaeological evidence for both the associated buildings and gardens is no longer visible this has been noted in the tables as Ne, 'not extant', and where there is no literary or historical evidence for particular associated buildings, such as gate houses or lodges, ever having existed, this has been designated in the tables as Nx, 'never existed'. Again, data was collected on individual stately homes within each LGA, consolidated and then summarised for each geographic region (Appendix 4). One aim was to establish whether there was consistency in the number and type of outbuildings which were erected and whether there was a similarity between the geographic regions.

As with external architecture, internal design and decoration contribute to the perception of what is elegant and tasteful; especially the choice of materials and furnishings in the more public areas, such as entrance halls, reception and dining rooms. It is those features that go beyond being solely functional to have an important role in display. Entrance hallways or vestibules, and reception rooms to which visitors would be first directed, were vehicles for display designed to create an initial impression of wealth and status. The use of classical columns, arches, moulded

plaster work, ornate cornices and ceilings had no primary functional role; they were primarily decorative. The number of fireplaces, whether they were marble or carved timber, the rooms in which they were located and whether there was a difference in the material and decoration on fireplaces located in reception rooms as compared to those in bedrooms, and in particular, servants' quarters, would have been indicators of function compared with display.

All of the stately homes studied for this thesis are still in current use, which meant that access to the interior of the buildings was sometimes a problem. Details of access and sources of information on the internal configuration are discussed in Chapter 6, with Table 6.1 giving an analysis of access by LGA within the five regions. Those which were still private residences presented the most difficult barrier and access was not automatically requested, as this would have been an invasion of people's privacy. However, in some cases an invitation was given to walk around the properties and to inspect the exterior of the house and garden. On a few occasions the invitation extended to entering the house, but in only a few cases was a request made to photograph the interior. Problems in gaining access to stately homes that had a public or commercial use varied. For schools this ranged from complete free and open access, especially when current use of the former stately home was for administrative purposes, to limited supervised access and photography because of the presence of students. Similarly, for those homes now used as aged care accommodation, access varied according to the current use of the building. Limited access to stately homes now used for commercial offices was often granted, but it was limited to the entrance foyer. Those buildings now used as museums, provided the best access (for a fee) and often provided additional historical material, while

those now offering hosted accommodation provided an equally valuable opportunity to experience life in a stately home. Analysis of the current use of stately homes by region is discussed in Chapter 7 (Charts 7.1-7.6), together with a comparative analysis across the five regions.

Lack of access had two limiting effects: firstly, it limited the range and depth of understanding of a house's original use and thus a comparative analysis of its current use - for example, the use of a stately home as a dwelling in the 19<sup>th</sup> century compared to its use as either a dwelling or office building in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Secondly, it restricted a full understanding of the sequence and extent of structural alterations. However, where archival photographs were available, the street view was often sufficient to identify the construction sequence, especially when there was a change in building material or architectural design. However, street views obviously do not provide evidence of internal alterations and changes of use, for example, the alternative use of servants' quarters. The existence of original plans told only part of the story, but without subsequent plans or internal access it was not always possible to identify changes in use. Where access was granted to stately homes that have not undergone any significant alterations to the internal configuration, it was possible to recreate an image of what would have been experienced by visitors in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in particular at *Yallum Park*, *North Bundaleer*, *Padthaway*, *Anlaby* and *Paringa Hall*. Limited access also reduced the number of floor plans available □ even if access was granted it would have been unreasonable to ask permission to measure and sketch the interior of the house. However, sufficient floor plans were obtained from a number of sources, especially heritage conservation plans, publications on specific houses and sketches from real estate sales brochures. This

meant that there was at least a sample from which to assess internal design and layout to make an informed analysis on barriers based on class; these will be considered in Chapter 6.

Where access was gained, this was often restricted to some reception rooms; access to family rooms was often not possible, hence comprehensive data on internal decoration was not always obtained. Internal decoration was also widely varied, again reflecting individualism by the owners rather than conformity, so data on the internal features of stately homes has been restricted to the architectural features which demonstrated wealth, social status and class divisions. Again, it was important to indicate in the tables 'Building Survey – Internal features' (Appendix 2) whether or not internal access was possible, or whether it was limited to certain sections of the house. Where access was not granted, information was often limited to that gained from archival photographs or floor plans. The data collected on the internal configuration was also important for the analysis of processional pathways within a stately home and will form the basis for further discussion in Chapter 6.

Data was collated on the following internal architectural features:

- Entry: entrance into entry hall or vestibule can be the first physical barrier to further progression into the house. The design of this feature, could take many forms, but the function was usually the same.
- Communications: this related to further progression within the house and included the main hall, a stair hall which was usually set apart from the main

hall or vestibule, and communication corridors which enabled servants to move around the house without having to enter the main body of the house.

- Staircases: the staircase was an important feature and took many forms, but again there were usually two clear functions. The main staircase could be in a secluded stair hall not visible from the main entrance, or it could be a grand staircase which was a central feature of the main hall; these stairs were primarily for family and visitors. A rear staircase, usually unadorned, would be located at the rear of the house and was for use by the servants.
- Domestic quarters: these features were important indicators of both the structure of the household and the degree to which the house was the centre of social activity. Data in this category included cellars, butlers' pantries, whether the kitchen was within the main house or external to it and the number of storerooms.
- Servants' quarters: these were also an indicator of the structure of the household and were an indicator of class divisions; included here are the number of servants' bedrooms, housekeepers' rooms and servants' dining rooms.
- Features: not every stately home had the same internal features, but these were important indicators of wealth and social status and included ballrooms, billiard rooms, conservatories, libraries and reception or drawing rooms.
- Garden exit: gardens have been identified as an important feature of many stately homes and an extension of the interior of the house; the exit to the garden was therefore an important feature. The two main exits were either via a door, usually from a passage or corner of a room, or via French doors, usually a featured exit from the drawing room.



These tables (Appendix 2 Building Survey – Internal Features) also indicate whether the architect was known and whether the original floor plans were available.

For the construction and subsequent modification of each stately home, the data has been collated within the three time periods, and recorded as ‘Building Survey – Current Use’ for each LGA (Appendix 1). The data has then been summarised for each geographical region and comparison made between regions. The aim was to establish the growth and development patterns for both the construction of, and subsequent modifications to, stately homes.

Modifications and changes in the use of stately homes can be indicative of changes in both the economic and social structure of the colony. As a result of drought, a fall in prices, especially wool, the division of pastoral leases for closer settlement and fluctuations in the copper market, the economic base of stately homes was significantly reduced. However, in both the metropolitan area and in Adelaide, the price of land often exceeded the value of stately homes, which, in turn, resulted in the subdivision of many original estates. But there was also a change in culture and social structure, especially towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The cost of maintaining vast gardens was no longer sustainable and servants were too expensive and difficult to obtain. There was population drift to the metropolitan area and World War 1 had an impact on the population and the morale of many country towns, especially in the pastoral regions. Data on these changes has been collated for individual stately homes within each LGA and summarised by geographical region (Appendix 1). The economic and social changes in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century impacted on stately

homes. They were no longer the centre of community and social life; these changes impacted on the cultural landscape. The change in use of stately homes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and their impact on the cultural landscape will be discussed in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER 4      CONSTRUCTING THE GENTRY; CREATING PLACES OF POWER, CULTURE AND CLASS

*... a gentleman was made by nature. Title, rank, birth, dress, education, manners and even foreign travel could not in them selves work the trick.*

(Laughing Philosopher, 1777, quoted in Corfield:1996:2).

*...monumental architecture constitutes a universally understood expression of power and also why the basic significance of monumental architecture and luxury goods is so readily apparent to archaeologists.*

(Trigger, 1990:125).

### 4.1      INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, discussion focussed on the built environment, the symbolic meaning of stately homes and the creation of exclusive residential enclaves, the construction of which created a visible divide between the emerging upper echelons of society and others. This symbolism was reinforced by learned behaviour and the construction of processional pathways, both through the concept of a ‘walking city’, and by the creation of spatial barriers within stately homes which divided family and service areas.

Having defined both stately homes and the idea of a new gentry in Chapter 1, the focus now will be which early colonists emerged to fill the vacuum at the top stratum of society; who were they and where did they come from? These colonists needed more than just wealth and power to establish themselves as the new leaders of the colony; they also had to adopt the characteristics deemed necessary to be considered a gentleman, that is, genteel manners. Precisely how they did they link this to wider notions of gentility; and the genteel ‘code’?

## 4.2 THE NEW GENTRY AND THE GENTEEL CODE

From its earliest use in the English language, the term ‘gentle’ carried both social and moral connotations. In the time of Geoffrey Chaucer (1342-1400), a person was ‘gentil’ by birth or character and was not expected to be proud, rude, haughty, or aggressive, but modest, magnanimous, well mannered and valorous (Corfield, 1996:3; see also Heal and Holmes, 1994:1). By the fifteenth century the common usage of the collective noun ‘gentry’ was used to describe men of some distinction and, while not all gentlemen owned a landed estate, land was the chief source of status and power, therefore ‘gentry’ was a term applied to landowners (Corfield, 1996:3). In the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term gained popularity and elasticity; ‘not only did non-landowners buy into land and acquire dignity that way, but many non-landowners were also accorded the status’ (Corfield, 1996:4). Moreover, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a ‘gentleman’ was defined as a person living off private income without occupation (Corfield, 1996:21). That is, a defining characteristic of a gentleman was the ability to live on the land without manual labour, to ‘live idly’ (Heal and Holmes, 1994:7). As the middle classes grew in power and numbers the English landed classes had to receive them as new members into their ranks, as almost anyone who accumulated a large enough fortune would try to acquire an estate and lay claim to a position in the upper reaches of society (Franklin, 1981:24; see also Girouard, 1979:268). For centuries the large estates and mansions of the English aristocracy had been a symbol of wealth and power (Girouard, 1979:2), but by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only 54% of a sample of English country houses was still owned by landed gentry and aristocrats. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the middle class had steadily built a higher proportion of new

country houses, with those built by the aristocracy and landed gentry falling to less than 10% (Franklin, 1981:25).

With the expansion of the railways in England a number of manufacturers and businessmen who had no desire to relinquish their business interests but who recognised the advantages of living in the countryside, acquired more modest acreage on which they could erect an English country gentleman's house. The owners of these houses could buy many of the amenities of country house life □ for example an accessible country or seaside retreat for shooting or summer holidays □ but not the status and social position given by possession of a landed estate (Franklin, 1981:4); 'mere wealth was no passport' (Crook, 1999:240). Even though it was possible to make a large-scale land purchase, acquired social graces and manners did not always result in being accepted into 'society' or achieving the ultimate goal of acquiring a peerage or hereditary title and hence the accompanying social status (Rubenstein, 1996:91). By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, social privileges of birth and breeding were being swept aside by the 'mob of plebeian wealth', with the portals of many drawing rooms, once jealously guarded, breached forever (Crook, 1999:240).

Bushman (1992:xii) concluded that houses were just the outward signs of what 'the inhabitants hoped would be an inner grace'. Anyone with the financial means was able to purchase a house to portray an image of wealth and stability, but to achieve inner grace and social standing required them to differentiate themselves from others and thus to define a new social category - the 'new gentry'. To achieve this the new gentry in South Australia adopted the genteel code of the English aristocracy, evident

in conduct, culture and manners. A similar pattern was also evident in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century America, with colonists adopting the institutions and characteristics of the English aristocracy and landed gentry (McInnis, 1999:34; Sweeney, 1984:231). In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the elite of the American city of Charleston, for example, ‘asserted their cultural authority by maintaining an allegiance to the ideal of the English landed gentry’ (McInnis, 1999:32) as they emphasised their inheritance of an older aristocratic order. They achieved this by assuming a refined, cultivated and genteel lifestyle. Although America had severed ties with England following the War of Independence (1775-1783), the elite classes were still committed to the English model of aristocratic gentility and books on architectural design and gentility help to spread new cultural ideals. In America alone there were some 93 architectural books published in the decade before 1860 (Bushman, 1992:243, also see Bronner, 1983; Clark, 1988:536).

By adopting traits of the English aristocracy and landed gentry and following the architectural styles of England and Europe, one argument would suggest that the elite of both South Australia and east coast America, when compared to the English landed gentry, were of lesser social stature (see Denholm, 1979:167 for a similar portrayal of the élite in New South Wales at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century). In this light the Australian institutions could be viewed as hollow replicas based on different conditions, making them mere imitations and suggesting that Australian culture was a ‘fake’ (Young, 1997:30). Similar arguments can be made about the comparison between the American merchant class and the gentry of England, with Goodwin (1999:65) arguing that the new gentry of Massachusetts were no more than provincial elites, whose lights would have been so dim compared to those in London

that their identity would not have survived a return trip. However, colonial gentry became something more and something different from its English model, they were recognised for themselves and reflected the colony's history (Denholm, 1979:178). This is all a matter of scale of analysis (and meaning) only. Young (1997:30) therefore puts forward an alternative argument, 'that the imitations of British social and cultural forms were somewhat different from the originals, but that they served particular purposes and were no less genuine'. The particular purposes developed by the American gentry to ensure and proscribe entry into the upper circles of society in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century New England included owning property and the antiquity of the name attached to the property. This was the crux of identity for the landed elite, but the visible and personal accoutrements of this were also important: fine clothes, manners, education and interaction with the community (Goodwin, 1999, 55-63).

The colony of South Australia was different, it was considered to be a unique colony founded on a different platform from other Australian colonies, with its origins framed by an Act of the English parliament (4&5 William IV, cap 95). It had no convicts and all immigrants were free settlers. South Australia was a discrete entity and the emerging new gentry, while still clinging to their English heritage (Williams, 1980:75), became the elite of the colony. However, the American settlements could also be considered unique social identities and not mere subsets of the English gentry. Goodwin's comparative argument merely places the American merchant class, and therefore the South Australian new gentry, on a relatively lower social level, whereas, if viewed in isolation, in their new homeland they had equivalent status and power to their English counterparts. Within their own social context the new gentry of South Australia assumed positions of power and status; they became

leaders in social and political spheres, owned vast tracts of land, built grand houses and acquired all the defining characteristics of the elite of society. The question is: how did they do this and how did they represent this materially to others? Pike (1967) and Twopeny (1973 [1883]) consistently identify those characteristics most often associated with the aristocracy, which in turn can be recognised through the archaeological evidence. The main features were: land ownership; genteel behaviour; maintenance of elite residential enclaves including intermarriage and shared social associations; membership of clubs and societies; community leadership; education; philanthropy; and church affiliation.

#### ***4.2.1 Land ownership***

The possession of land, and the symbolic use of that land by the English aristocracy and the landed gentry, constituted a major distinction between them and the rest of society. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century land ownership dominated British politics and social life, with the upper classes owning estates as the price necessary for entry into higher politics. It was this model of rich and powerful English landowners, with the idealised image of landscaped picturesque villages that was exported to South Australia (Hobsbawm, 1980:77). For those who had some capital, the new colony of South Australia presented early colonists with the opportunity to occupy, and later acquire, significant tracts of land. The Bowman family is one example of those who took full advantage of these early opportunities. John Bowman, who arrived in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) as a free settler in 1832, had prospered as a pastoralist but without settling anywhere permanently. He saw the opportunity offered by the open spaces of South Australia to expand his pastoral holdings. His son, Edmund

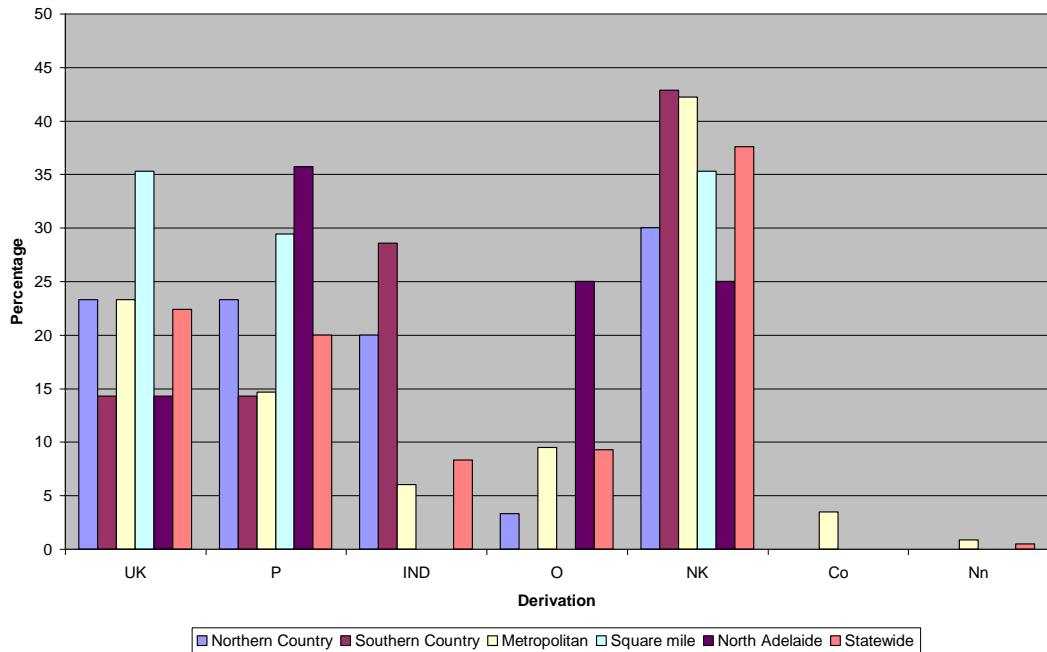


Bowman, came to Adelaide in 1838, and, after surviving a shipwreck in which he lost all his possessions, started to build the large Bowman pastoral empire and a succession of stately homes (Warburton, 1979:19). He purchased 80 acres in what is now the Adelaide suburb of Enfield and built *Barton Vale*, which he named after Barton parish in England, the ancestral home of the Bowman family. Edmund Bowman Snr became a major landowner in the mid north region of South Australia and, when questioned by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly investigating the sale of Crown Land, stated that he had purchased a ‘tolerably large area of crown land’ because it was ‘one great inducement for people to come to a new country, either with money or to acquire money, that they buy land’ (SAPP, 1886:Para.117). Bowman’s choice of a name emphasised the Bowman’s family link to England and advertised this connection to the wider community.

In the United States there was the propensity by the merchant class to identify with the English landed gentry by naming their houses after a place in England. This was also the case in South Australia, with the nomenclature of stately homes being one indicator of the desire to transport memories of England to the colony. However, a link between place names in South Australia and places in the United Kingdom (UK) was not as strong as might first be imagined, with only 22.4% of stately homes linked to places in the UK (Chart 4.1). The new gentry living in the ‘square mile’ had the largest percentage of their homes named after places in the UK, whereas pastoralists, especially in those in the southern country region, had the smallest percentage. Pastoralists, who had endeavoured to create their own version of the landed gentry and who often hosted visits by the governor and visiting royalty could be expected to have desired greater identification with the UK. However, it was the

pastoralists who also had greater contact with the indigenous population; hence a higher percentage of stately homes in the country regions had Aboriginal names.

Chart 4.1 Stately Homes: Nomenclature by Region



**Legend:**

UK=named after places in the UK; P=named after a person; IND=indigenous name: O=other: NK=derivation not known: Co=named after non UK places: Nn=no name.

The majority of stately homes named after people were either named for the owners of the properties or a member of their family, for example *Ayers House*, *Rymill House* and *Kingston House*. It can be concluded that the symbolic meanings attached to the nomenclature of stately homes were more closely linked to the colony and its indigenous heritage than to association with a place in Britain. However, some of the new gentry, especially those in the ‘square mile’, considered it important to maintain an association with the UK, possibly to generate reflected status thus enhancing their own position in society. This would be consistent with the naming of the main streets and town squares in Adelaide, many of which were named after royalty, governors, founders of the colony and their friends. The City of Adelaide is named after Queen Adelaide, the main street is King William Street; Gawler Place and Hindmarsh

Square are named after colonial governors, and Wakefield Street and Gouger Street are named after the prime movers to establish the colony of South Australia.

#### **4.2.2 *Genteel behaviour***

Those who had aspirations of becoming the new gentry in the colony also needed to change within themselves by adopting the genteel code of the English aristocracy (Bushman, 1992:xii). From the 16<sup>th</sup> century until well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century courtesy books ‘addressed themselves to an aristocratic readership and sought to define and foster the qualities of “trues nobility”...’ (Russell, 2010:117). Modes of behaviour were always subject to negotiation and from mediaeval times in England there had been a steady change in what was deemed to be acceptable behaviour and from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, etiquette guides became the source from which people acquired these skills (Shackel, 1993:129; see also Russell, 2010:116). The term ‘etiquette’ was introduced into England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was derived from the French practice of posting instructions on a castle wall to prescribe the ceremony of court and conventional rules of personal behaviour (Goodwin, 1999:18). Courtesy, or behaviour in ‘polite’ society, became codified into rules of etiquette to regulate and reinforce a social hierarchy as being part of the natural order; those who did not conform were considered to be ‘ill-mannered’ and hence treated as lower down the hierarchy. Etiquette guides were written by the elite or the nobility for their peers, which in turn enabled them to separate themselves from the lower classes (Shackel, 1993:136; Girouard, 1979:268).

In early 18<sup>th</sup> century England rules relating to civility became more intricate and precise in an attempt to prevent the upward mobility of the lower classes. Rules of civility were all about the erection of invisible ‘walls’ between people, limiting physical contact and increasingly guarding privacy and personal space against unwarranted intrusion by others (Russell, 2010:9). Private ceremonies observed in certain social cliques, such as ritualised morning calls between women, and afternoon teas held in the drawing room, became an invisible bar against intruders (Girouard, 1979:293; Shackel, 1993:140) and were imported into Australia with little modification from England (Russell, 1994:50, 61). Such intimate rituals were gatherings to sharpen social skills and provided the venues for encoded behaviour to sharpen class distinctions (Kross, 1999:397). Such strict rules of etiquette which were understood only by the initiated and were used to maintain exclusiveness based as they were on the exclusion of the aspiring lower classes of the bourgeoisie (Russell, 1994:50, see also Mullins, 2007:205; Russell, 2010:112).

Books on etiquette soon found their way to the new colonies of America and Australia; initially the rules of behaviour were borrowed and reproduced from British sources (Russell, 2010:9). It was not until 1885 that these rules were adapted for specific colonial circumstances and published in 1886 (Dent, 1980 [facsimile 1886 edition]). The advent of such books revealed the previously unwritten codes and ‘their rules were observed by new families with even more enthusiasm than the old ones’ (Girouard, 1979:270). Associated with them were many new types of material goods, such as items of tea ware (Warner, 1998:199) and dining utensils. The Preface to *Australian Etiquette* (Dent 1980 [1886]:i) mirrors English society by stating that ‘no one subject is of more importance to people generally than a knowledge of the

rules, usages and ceremonies of good society, which are commonly expressed by the word “Etiquette”. People who acquired knowledge of these matters and put them into practice were considered well bred and ‘to display an ignorance of them, is to subject the offender to the opprobrium of being ill-bred’ (Dent 1980 [1886]:i).

Breaches of the rules were assiduously noted, for example, Mrs Agnes Hay, wife of Alexander Hay, politician and owner of both *Linden* and *Mt Breckan*, became the subject of much Adelaide gossip because she always sat on the wrong (left hand) side of the carriage (Laube, 2001:32, 82), rather than in the seat of the hostess, on the right hand side (Dent, 1980 [1886]:185).

Wealth and property were important factors in determining one’s standing in society, but it was gentility that reflected culture, and genteel conduct that became the focus of elite society and thus also one of the defining qualities of the new gentry. With their newly acquired wealth, the new gentry were determined to present themselves as refined members of ‘polite’ society (Bushman, 1992:239). It was the home which was the primary site of genteel existence, where the image was most actively promoted through the purchase of luxury goods. It was also in these homes that the wives of the new gentry pursued cultivated activities, such as music, drawing, embroidery and polite entertainment based on English customs (Young, 1997:17).

Wealth, property and an elegant ballroom, however, were no guarantee of acceptance. For example, Mr Charles Rasp, who was credited with the discovery of the Broken Hill silver deposits and was one of its original shareholders (Pascoe, 1901:518), bought *Willyama* in Medindie in 1888. This stately home had a grand ballroom and extensive formal gardens, yet only four guests from the families of the gentry were known to have attended a function at *Willyama* (*Observer*, 11 August,

1906); Miss Gwynne, Miss Ayers, Miss Nora Kyffin Thomas and Miss Melrose. Mrs Agnes Rasp's name appears in all the reports of fashionable functions, such as first nights at the opera and race meetings at Victoria Park, but she does not appear to have attended functions at the houses of the other gentry (Van Dissel, 1986:359). Following the death of Charles Rasp in 1914, Agnes returned to Germany where she married Count von Zedwitz, further ostracising herself from society. On her return to South Australia she continued to hold functions in her stately home, *Willyama*, but continued to be excluded from the guest list of other major social events. Ladies sought to limit their social network and maintain its exclusiveness and admittance to 'Society' was determined by character, respectability, family background, good manners and taste and could be vouched for by a present member of Society (Russell, 1994: 74; see also Russell, 2002:440, 447); clearly Mrs Rasp did not meet these criteria. Similarly, Lady Clarinda Parkes, wife of the New South Wales premier, who was the son of a dispossessed farmer, was never invited to official functions at government house as it was considered to be 'crossing social boundaries forcing polite and social interchange between women who did not wish to "know" each other (Russell, 2010:341). Henry Parke's political status could not make his wife socially acceptable.

Genteel life depended on the creation of the proper environment and it was the primary function of specialist rooms to achieve this. In America, the parlour, as it was known, was commonly the most luxuriously furnished room (Wall, 1991:79). It was also the room into which friends, visitors or family members were first ushered, and for those who did not proceed further into the house, it became the sole, but crucial, stage on which to create the image of the wealth and status of the owner.

Although books on architectural design included a parlour or drawing room and books on etiquette suggested appropriate décor and rules of ceremony within this room, there are hints that attitudes towards the parlour were not consistent between urban and rural elites. In 18<sup>th</sup> century America many colonial elites built homes modelled on England's lower gentry, that is, those with more modest country homes who divided the internal space of their homes according to function (Kross, 1999:385, see also Johnson, 1993:89-105). Therefore, in their quest for gentility and social superiority there was a rise in demand by genteel society for the inclusion of parlours into house designs.

Was this also the case in 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes in rural South Australia? If so, how different was genteel behaviour defined in the rural areas as compared to urban environments? McMurry (1985:261, see also Dutton, 1985:54) argues that there were significant differences in attitudes between urban and rural culture, with country people tending to associate the parlour with waste, idleness and excessive formality, and regarding halls and parlours as luxurious nuisances. Certainly some local commentators, such as Geoffrey Dutton, himself a descendent of a South Australian pioneer pastoralist family, believed there was contradiction between the life of the pastoralist and genteel behaviour which created an inevitable element of artificiality in the lifestyles of the country landed gentry. According to Dutton (1985:120), the pastoralist, when he was out on his sheep runs, adopted the 'Australian' way of life, which was modest and humorous. However, when at the homestead or in town, he was labouring to keep up with the style of the landed gentry, which was pretentious and solemn, with traditions that were alien to his rural way of life. However, it has

been argued in Chapter 2 that articulated processional pathways would result in pastoralists and plantation owners constructing similar personae.

The parlour was also an important room in which women could display their genteel manners and hence much of the lavish decoration of these rooms in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted from their initiatives. Some evidence of this comes from the history of the establishment of the Queen Adelaide Club in 1909, where the expertise of a Mrs George Box, a widow from Melbourne and an elegant woman of good taste who ‘knew how things should be done’ (*Queen Adelaide Club*, 1984:2), selected period furniture, old silver and various art objects to ensure that everything would be done in ‘perfect’ taste, thus creating an atmosphere within the club of ‘beauty and comfort’ (Tomkinson, 1936:240). In fact, the widespread adoption of gentility was said to be a triumph for women, the exemplars of refinement’s highest virtues □ namely taste, sensibility and delicacy (Bushman, 1992:400). Women were not only responsible for the management of the house, which was the primary site of genteel activity, but also for procuring the household goods that defined gentility (Wall, 1991:69). Again, using *Mt Breckan* as an example, Alexander Hay bought many things for the new house at the 1880 Melbourne Exhibition, including ornaments, a bedroom suite and other furniture, yet the ingenuity in decoration was accredited to his wife, Agnes (Laube, 2001:69, 71). Bushman (1992:443) argues that decoration and social activities within the home were on the margins of life’s serious work, citing the 1872 satirical work, *The Manners of the Times*, which characterised genteel women as having ‘a slavish devotion to fashion, an excessive devotion to balls and fine clothes and for turning the house into a place that was foreign to the ‘master’s’ taste, such that he felt that he was not at home’ (see also Girouard [1979]



for other satirical illustrations). Not only was expenditure on one's apparel always in evidence and an indication of pecuniary standing, but for women it was a way of demonstrating the wearer's abstinence from productive employment; dress was important for respectable appearance rather than for the protection of the person and was also emblematic of the ability of the husband to provide it (Veblen, 1899:167-171) (Figure 4.1 and 4.2). Mullins (2007:195) citing Veblen (1899) who argued that the newly rich Victorian 'leisure class' manufactured an illusory sense of self importance and distinction through their consumption of superficial material goods; furnishings, internal decoration and women's clothing support his conclusion.



**Figure 4.1** Fashionably dressed at a garden party, c1912  
Location unknown.  
Source: SLSA, PRG 280/1/11/461



**Figure 4.2** *Reynella House*, c1906. Afternoon tea in the garden.  
Source: SLSA, B 58417

The parlour was not the only focus of polite behaviour, however, since the stately home played a broader role in society as the centre of social activity and lively entertainment (Gosse, 1996:xxiii). Stately homes of the new gentry were the venues for big coming-out dances at which their daughters made their debut into society, with entertainment being considered opulent by today's standards (Van Dissel, 1986:362). In the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, floor plans evolved to accommodate these social activities, with the addition of a ballroom becoming the most important room in the hierarchy of social importance, followed by the dining room, parlour or drawing room and then the hall (Kross, 1999:388). In South

Australia, balls, especially those hosted by the Governor, provided a social model for formal etiquette and dress to such an extent that Bishop Short was apparently amazed to find,

the tone and appearance of the assembled party, the music, lights, uniforms and dresses so thoroughly that of an English country town that he could hardly realise that he was in the antipodes (Pike, 1967:500).

The library, billiard room and smoking room (Figure 4.3) were reserved as the domain of the male members of any gathering. The ballroom (Figure 4.4), parlour, drawing and dining rooms were usually the most ornate rooms and were typically the focus of female polite behaviour.



**Figure 4.3** *Martindale Hall*, c1936. Smoking Room  
Rasp  
Source: SLSA, B 46419.



**Figure 4.4** *Willyama*, c1890. Ballroom; the portrait is of Mrs Rasp  
Source: SLSA, B 28297

This display of conspicuous consumption was an economic tool for growth during the period 1869 to 1890, when unrestrained consumption was the just reward of those who had risen to the economic and political elite (Martin, 1993: 141). From an anthropological perspective, the study of consumption represents a fundamental transformation which can be linked to an archaeological understanding of material culture (Miller, 1996:264; 267). Images of the interior of stately homes (Figure 4.4) and the drawing rooms of Sir Samuel Davenport (*Beaumont House*, Appendix 6, BU 5) and Joanna and Robert Barr Smith (*Auchendarroch*, Appendix 6, MB1.10; MB

1.11) are examples of the consumption patterns of the period. The number of chairs and specialised tables were also indications of the level of entertainment occurring in these rooms (Sweeny, 1984:246). In the USA, the parlours in the *Aiken-Rhett House*, Charleston were described as having ‘multi layered resplendent interiors’ (McInnis, 1999:38) where the ‘elite fashioned their social rituals after English precedents’ (McInnis, 1999:34) and their private entertainments usually featured a variety of amusements, including music, card playing, dancing and masquerades (McInnis, 1999:34, 38: see also examples in Crook, 1999:Figures 58-65). Therefore it can be concluded that materialism as reflected through consumption had a fundamental social purpose; hierarchical status competition in which goods publically displayed status and identity (Mullins, 2007:195).

Social activities held in stately homes provided an opportunity for the new gentry to vaunt their wealth and status through ostentatious displays of consumerism. Material goods mark or confer position in a social hierarchy and when individuals choose designs and adornment they also construct their own meanings for those objects (Sweeny, 1984:142). In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the elite of Charleston chose elaborate, ornately carved and decorated Regency style furniture much of which would have been selected from designs by Ackerman (*The Repository of Art, Literature and Fashion*) (McInnis, 1999:41). In the early decades of the colony of South Australia, colonists would have been aware of the fashions and furnishings of society in England, especially fine dining wares, much of which was imported from England (Brooks, 2005). However, as the economy grew so there was also an increase in the demand for fine furniture. Good quality furniture formed a vital component in creating the upper class interior and was an attempt to identify with

political power through cultural practice (Young, 1997:33; see also Mullins, 2007:202)). George Debney (*Undelcarra*) was a prominent manufacturer of fine furniture based on European designs; he opened his first warehouse in Rundle Street, Adelaide in 1846. He made furniture for parliament house and also refurnished government house for the visit of Prince Albert in 1867 (Warburton, 1981:8). However, other elements of household furnishings were equally important, for example, curtains, mirrors, lighting, wallpaper and elaborate cornices; *Bundaleer* (Appendix 6, NA 1.7); *Yallum Park* (Appendix 6 WR 3.13) and *Paringa Hall* (Appendix 6, HB 9.11: HB 9.12) are examples.

Gentility has been depicted as a world of leisure and consumption in which inhabitants surrounded themselves with fanciful, costly and decorative objects that were useless for the purposes of production (Bushman, 1992:xvi). In the Victorian period in particular houses were noted for their clutter, such that ‘gentility rewarded ornamentation over the instrumental, celebrated the conquest of necessity, and promoted time consuming frivolity’ (Kross, 1999:396). For the new gentry their stately home was not just a utilitarian shelter or a visible image of wealth and status, it was also a repository of things that helped organise the consciousness of the owners (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993:25; Martin 1993:146, see also Mullins, 2007:205-206). Polite society was defined by what it consumed and possessions played a vital role in communicating social distinctions (Sweeney, 1984:235). Consumption was evidence of ritual and cultural behaviour through which the ruling class justified and maintained its dominance (Martin, 1993:144).

### 4.2.3 *Intermarriage and associations*

*One of the great pleasures of genteel life was to enjoy the company of refined people* (Bushman, 1992:xv).

In Chapter 2 the conscious decision by the new gentry to create exclusive residential enclaves was discussed; they also maintained their class-based associations through intermarriage and membership of clubs and voluntary organisations (Nagel, 1971:19; Pike, 1967:499). In South Australia, the promotion of a class structure was facilitated by the Governor holding parties at Government House where, through introductions to each other in their early years, the sons and daughters of the upper classes could establish ‘long cherished friendships’ that were considered to be of benefit to the colony (*SA Register*, 11 July 1846; see also Russell 2010:122). By marrying their children to people of equal social standing, the new gentry could preserve their ‘genteel’ group and monopolise affairs in the colony (Nagel, 1974:20; see also Gosse, 1996, 1981; Moore, 1975:84; Van Dissel, 1986:355). A wedding was not only an ideal social opportunity to display wealth, but also a crucial symbol for the gentry as it often led to the consolidation of fortunes, social networks and the cementing of business and professional alliances (Russell, 1994:137).

The social network of the new gentry was consolidated through many members of their families intermarrying. Examples include: Sir John Morphett (*Cummins*) who married Elizabeth, the daughter of the first resident commissioner, Sir James Hurtle Fisher, in 1838; Rosina, the daughter of Andrew Tennant (*Princess Royal*), who married W.T. Mortlock (*Martindale Hall*) in 1891 while her sister Adelaide married Richard McDonnell Hawker (*Bungaree*) in 1903; J. Lavington Bonython (*Carhayes*),

who married a daughter of Sir John Bray (*Bray House*), Harry Ayers, (*Bray House and Dimora*), son of Sir Henry Ayers (*Ayers House*), who married Ada, the daughter of Sir John Morphett (*Cummins*) in 1866; John Bagot, who married Lucy, daughter of Sir Henry Ayers, in 1878, while his brother, Christopher Bagot, married Eleanor, the daughter of George C. Hawker (*Bungaree*); Charles Hornibrook (*St Corantyn*) who married Eliza, the daughter of G. K. Soward; Sidney Beach (*Verona House*) who married Elizabeth, sister of the Chief Justice, Sir Samuel Way (*Montefiore and Kadlunga*); Sir William Mitchell (*Mitchell House*) who married Erlistoun Barr Smith; George Hawker who married Joanna, the daughter of Robert Barr Smith, in 1886; Florence, the daughter of Sir William Milne, who married Sir Lancelot Stirling, son of Edward Stirling (*The Lodge*) in 1882; Frank, the son of Henry Downer, who married Charlotte, daughter of Alexander Murray (*Murray Park*) in 1900 and Cecil, the son of Sir John Bray, who married Claire, the daughter Thomas Bowman (*Campbell Park*) (Van Dissel, 1986; Cockburn, 1925).

Closer analysis of these marriages shows that they were not only between people from the same occupation grouping (Appendix 3. Building Survey – Owner Profile) although marriages between members of pastoral families were prominent, for example the Tennant sisters married into the Hawker and Mortlock families, other pastoral unions included Bagot/Hawkers and Hawker/Barr Smith. Other unions lead to an integration of prominent families across a number of occupations, for example pastoralist/public officer; newspaper proprietor/judiciary; mining/pastoralist; hotelier/architect; mining/ judiciary; university academic/pastoralist; merchant/pastoralist and medical specialist and politician/pastoralist. Close association between these prominent families would have been further enhanced through

membership of the Adelaide Club, as members of parliament and living in exclusive residential enclaves (Figures 7.3, 7.4 and 7.10). All of the above families had either their primary residences or their city dwelling in these three residential enclaves. The Milne, Bonython, Barr Smith and Stirling families also had summer house in the residential enclave in the Adelaide Hills.

Similarly, tracing the descendants of three families, the Barr Smiths, Gosses and Hays, is further evidence for how descendants of the new gentry were increasingly related by marriage and how this continued beyond the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 4.5). In 1839, Margaret Maxwell Kelly, the wife of a moderately successful weaver, emigrated to South Australia with her 12 children. One of Margaret's daughters, Agnes, married Alexander Hay (later Sir Alexander) (*Linden* and *Mt Breckan*), who became one of the wealthiest men in the colony. Alexander and Agnes had eight children, of whom their son, James, married Alice Dennistoun Stirling, the daughter of Edward Stirling (*The Lodge*); and their daughter, Agnes, married William Christie Gosse, a famous explorer and son of a prominent Adelaide doctor and first Warden of the University of Adelaide, Dr William Gosse. Agnes and William Gosse had six children; one son, Sir James Hay Gosse, married Joanna Lang Barr Smith (*Carramar*) and they also had six children. One of these, James Elder Gosse, married Yvonne Melrose, a descendent of the Melrose pastoral family; their son Hamish Alexander Gosse, is the current owner of *Kadlunga*. Another of James' and Joanna's sons, Edmund Barr Gosse, married Christobel Gebhardt, a descendent of the Gebhardt pastoral family (*Mackerode*). James' and Joanna's daughter, Mary Isobel Gosse, married Alexander Downer, son of James Downer (*Downer House*). Their

son, Alexander John Gosse Downer, was a former Foreign Minister in the Australian Federal parliament.

Other children of Margaret Maxwell Kelly who married prominent members of the new gentry included Sarah, who married David Shannon (*Kadlunga*); their son, William Moore Shannon, purchased *Coonawarra*, in the Unley LGA. Another daughter, also called Margaret, married Adam Adamson in 1847, who went on to make a fortune in the Victorian goldfields. His philanthropic activities centred on helping the destitute and he was associated with the James Brown Home for Crippled Children, Aged Blind and Consumptives (*Estcourt House*) (Evans, 1993:333). A fourth daughter, Elizabeth, married Elliot Aitchison in 1848; they had ten children, one of whom, Margaret Maxwell Aitchison, married John Frederick May (*Tortola*) a major manufacturer and foundry owner in Gawler (Evans, 1993:348). It was common for descendants to give their children names which were associated with their prominent ancestors so that names were often recycled from generation to generation, marking the networks of intermarriage.





Robert Barr Smith and Joanna Lang Elder (sister of Thomas Elder and business partner of Robert) had 13 children, of whom only five lived to marry and only four had children. Tom Elder Barr Smith married Mary Mitchell; Jean Barr Smith married Thomas O'Halloran Giles; Joanna Barr Smith married George Charles Hawker and Erlistoun married Sir William Mitchell. These marriages were the foundation for four prominent South Australian families which were also linked by marriage. For example, Tom Elder Barr Smith's daughter, also called Joanna Barr Smith, married Sir William Gosse, husband of Agnes Hay, creating a link with the descendents of Margaret Maxwell Kelly. The close connection and association of the large number of descendents is emphasised again with the repeated use of names associated with prominent founders, including Agnes, Tom Barr Gosse, Gertrude Gosse Hay, Agnes Hay, William Hay Gosse, James Hay Gosse and Agnes Hay Gosse, to name but a few (Gosse, 1981:np; Laube, 2001:164-165). Again, these marriages crossed a number of occupational groups, namely, pastoralists, farmer, merchants, university professor, medical specialist, medical practitioner, author, explorer, police commissioner; and full time politician and legislator.

Marriage outside the social circle, on the other hand, could have the opposite effect, resulting in exclusion from future association. One example was the two younger sons of Andrew Tennant (who owned the pastoral property, *Princess Royal*). After William Tennant quietly married Elizabeth Meincke (of unknown family background) at Holy Trinity Church, with only the rector's family as witnesses, and Frederick married Kathleen Hammill, the daughter of a cab proprietor, in a Catholic ceremony, all contact with the family was broken off and they dropped out of the gentry circle (Van Dissel, 1986:360). Similarly, two sons of Dr William Gosse,

married women of obscure backgrounds and disappeared from the scene (Van Dissel, 1986:360-361).

Intermarriage between families from diverse backgrounds, their dwellings located in exclusive residential enclaves, membership of clubs with restricted membership, parliament and business association through directorship of the largest merchant companies and banks at that time were cohesive elements that unified these prominent citizens under the title of the new gentry. By the 1870s a growing number of professional people came to live in the country who could be regarded as the social equals of pastoralists (Williams, 1980:114). At the beginning of the 1890s this unity became stronger when pastoralists and professional city men united in an attempt to prevent the introduction of a property tax and object to the 'busting up of estates' (Williams, 1980:132). However, there is a possible exception which could apply to the prominent citizens of Gawler. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Gawler was a major heavy industrial area and a regional transport hub. James Martin (*Martindale*) the founder of one of the biggest engineering works in Australia was considered by some members of the new gentry to be 'in trade' (Dutton, 1994:28) although his daughter did marry into a pastoral family. Only two of initial owners of stately homes in Gawler can be easily identified as members of the new gentry; they were pastoralists James Pile (*Oaklands*) and Walter Duffield (*Para Para*). The latter was a member of parliament and the Adelaide Club; William Pile was a member of the SAJC. The other prominent citizens confined their activities and associations within Gawler, two becoming mayor and although they had similar occupations as the other members of the new gentry, there was little evidence of any close association with them.

However, they did live in an exclusive residential enclave in Gawler, were community leaders and therefore could be considered a subset of the new gentry.

#### ***4.2.4 Clubs, societies and social/leisure activities***

##### The Adelaide Club

It was the membership of particular clubs in England that became a passport for entry into the culture of the ruling class and helped to sustain an elaborate system of old boys' networks (Sinha, 2001:495). Middle class English immigrants, senior military officers and overseas merchants, especially those stationed in India, sought membership of clubs which catered for a distinctive clientele amongst elite Europeans throughout the Empire. The 'club' represented an oasis of European culture in the colonies, functioning to reproduce the comfort and familiarity of 'home' for those living in an alien land (Sinha, 2001:489-490). The germ of this club culture was transplanted to colonial South Australia, where it quickly became established by leading colonists in 1838 when they formed the South Australian Club, patterned on the form of London clubs (Pike, 1967:505). Debts and the mortgage on the club's premises resulted in its failure in 1840, although it was eventually replaced by the Adelaide Club in 1863. The Adelaide Club was deemed to provide the kind of club life that had been the 'joy and relaxation of English gentlemen' (Morgan, 1963:iii).

Admittance to such exclusive clubs was clearly restricted and a person was admitted only according to their position in society. At the first meeting of the Adelaide Club

held on 28 July, 1863, founding members were able to purchase debentures, the funds from which would be used to finance the acquisition of a building. Members holding those debentures could nominate ‘any gentleman who shall become a member without ballot if no objection was made’ (Morgan, 1963:9). A Management Committee of seven members was formed, with Arthur Hardy (*Birksgate*) as the Honorary Secretary. From this date until September, 1864, further members were admitted by decision of the Management Committee, but from that date onwards new members could only be admitted through election by existing members. The proceedings of the selection process were ‘difficult to interpret’ (Morgan, 1963:10), and a register of members was not kept until 1898. However, a reconstructed list of members before October 1864 reveals the men who aspired to be amongst the ‘new gentry’ of the colony (Morgan, 1963:97). It can be concluded from this list that membership was tightly controlled to first create, and then ensure, exclusivity (Table 4.1). The Adelaide Club was considered to be ‘a fortress for themselves and for those whom they considered to be their social equals’ (Williams, 1980:115).

**Table 4.1**                      **Foundation Members of the Adelaide Club  
1864**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Public Office</b>	<b>Stately Home</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Andrews, Richard	MP; Attorney	Monalta*	P (lawyer)
Bullock	General		
Angas, George Fyfe	MLC	Lindsay Park	Pa
Angas, John Howard	MP; MLC	Collingrove	Pa
Ayers, Henry (Sir)	MLC, Premier	Ayers House; Seafield Towers	Mi
Ayers, Harry Lockett		Bragg House; Dimora	Bu
Bagot, John Tuthill	MP; MLC	Forest Lodge	P (lawyer)
Baker, George Allen (son of John Baker)			Pa
Baker, John	MLC; Premier	Morialta*	Pa
Baker, Richard Chaffey (Sir) (son of John Baker)	MP, MLC. Senator: President of both the Legislative Council and the Senate	Morialta*	P (lawyer)
Bakewell, William	MP		P (lawyer)
Barr Smith, Robert		Auchendarroch; Torrens Park Estate	Pa

Bartley, William			P (lawyer)
Bayer, Frederick Charles			P (medical practitioner)
Beck, John			Me and Pa
Blackmore, James	Sergeant of House of Assembly		CS
Newnham			
Blyth, Arthur (Sir)	MP; Premier	Rust Hall	Ma (Iron monger)
			P (lawyer)
Boothby, George (brother of William)			
Boothby, William	Sheriff; Controller of Prisons		CS
Robinson (CMG)			
Browne, John Harris (brother of William)		Booborowie*	P (medical) (Pa)
Browne, William James	MP	Buckland Park* As above	P (medical practitioner) and Pa
			P (accountant)
Buchan, James Andrew			Bu
Colley, Richard Bowen	Mayor of Glenelg		P (lawyer)
Cooper, Charles D'Oyly			P (lawyer)
Cullen, Luke Michael			P (lawyer)
Daly, John George (son of Governor, Dominic Daly)			
Davenport, Samuel (Sir)	MLC	Beaumont House	Pa
Duffield, Walter	MP; MLC		Pa
Elder, Thomas (Sir)	MLC	Birksgate, Seafield Towers	Pa
Fisher, Charles Brown (son of James H Fisher)		Bundaleer, Hill River Station, The Levels	Pa
Fisher, James Hurtle (Sir)	MLC; Speaker, President, Mayor of Adelaide		Pa
Fisher, William Dundas (son of James H Fisher)			Pa
Forster, Anthony	MLC		Bu (newspaper owner)
			Pa
Fowler, William			Pa
Gilbert, Joseph		Cappeedee	Pa
Giles, Thomas			Pa
Gosse, William			P (medical practitioner)
			P (surveyor)
Goyder, George		Warrakilla* Aldgate	
Woodroffe (CMG)			
Grant, Frederick Augustus			Pa
Green, George			O (agent)
Halcombe, Frederick	Clerk of Parliaments	The Gables	Pa
Hall, George	MLC		Bu
Hallett, Alfred		The Wilderness	Pa
Hamilton, Edward Angas	MP		P (architect)
Hamilton, George	Commissioner of Police		CS
Hamilton. George Ernest			P (architect)
Hamilton, James		St Clair*	Mi
Hanson, Richard Davies (Sir)	MLC; MP; Premier	Woodhouse*	P (lawyer)
Hardy, Alfred (brother of Arthur)		Claremont*	P (surveyor)
Hardy, Arthur (brother of Alfred)	MP	Birksgate	Pa
Hardy, Arthur			P (lawyer)
Marmaduke (son of			

Arthur)			
Hart, John (CMG)	MP; Premier	Glanville Hall	Ma (miller)
Hawker, Alfred (brother of G.C. Hawker)			Pa
Hawker, Edward William	MP		P (lawyer)
Hawker, George Charles	MP; Speaker	The Briars, Anlaby	Pa
Hawker, George Charles (the younger)			Pa
Hayward, John Frederick			Pa
Hick, Richard			P (lawyer)
Hope, John		Wolta Wolta	Pa
Hughes, Henry Kent	MP; MLC	Avenel*	Pa
Hughes, Henry Bristow		Athelney	Pa
Hughes, Walter Watson (Sir)		Hughes Park; Torrens Park Estate	Pa
Hutton, William Stephen Moore	Under-Treasurer		CS
Jamieson, Hugh			Pa
Know, Nathaniel Alexander		Clifton Manor	P (lawyer)
Lawrence, William John			O (farmer)
L'Estrange, Henry			P (lawyer)
L'Estrange, Savile	Deacon		O (Anglican deacon)
Richard William			
Levi, Edmund, (brother of Philip)		Vale House	Pa
Levi, Philip Brother of Edmund)		Vale House	Pa
Lyon, James Carisbroke			Pa
Magarey, Thomas	MP; MLC		Pa and Bu
Main, George			Bu and Pa
Mair, William	MP	The Plantation*	P (accountant)
Marchant, George (brother of William)			Pa
Marchant, William		Linden	Pa
Lavington (brother of George)			
Mayo, George		Nibley House*	P (medical practitioner)
Milne, William (Sir)	MLC; President	Sunnyside; Eurilla	Bu and Me (wine)
Moore, Robert Waters		Frome House*	P (medical practitioner)
Moorhouse, Matthew	MP		P (medical Practitioner)
Morphett John (Sir)	MLC; President	Cummins	Pa
Morphett, John Cummins (son of Sir John)	Clerk of Parliaments	Cummins	CS
O'Halloran, William Littlejohn	Auditor general; Clerk of the Council; Private secretary to Governor Grey	Clanfeargal*	CS
Peacock, Joseph	MP		Me
Peake, Edward John	MP		P (lawyer)
Peterswald, William John	Commissioner of Police		CS
Phillips, John Randall			Pa
Phillipson, Jonas Moses			Bu
Prankerd, Peter Dowding		Athelney	O (agent,

Reid, Richard Jabb Brown			mining) Pa
Reid, Ross Thompson (brother of William)		Rostrevor	Pa
Reid, William Livingston (brother of Ross)			Pa
Roe, John H.			O (farmer)
Scott, Abraham	MLC		Pa
Seymour, Henry			P (lawyer)
Seymour, Thomas			Pa
Drought (son of Henry)			
Short, Henry Augustus	Anglican Bishop	Claremont (Beaumont House)	O (bishop)
Singleton, Francis Corbet	MLC; Auditor General; Clerk of the Legislative Council		CS
Stirling, Edward	MLC	The Lodge, Urrbrae (tenant)	Pa
Stirling, Edward Charles (Sir) (son of Edward)	MP	St Vigneans	P (medical practitioner)
Stirling, John Lancelot (Sir) (son of Edward)	MLC; President	The Lodge	P (lawyer)
Stokes, Francis William	MP	Mount Lofty House	Pa
Stow, Randolph Ishan	MP; Attorney General		P(lawyer/Judge)
Taylor, John			Pa
Taylor, Thomas	Mayor of Kensington and Norwood (now NSPP)		P (medical practitioner)
Turnbull, James Thomson			Me
Turner, Frederick Foote	Attorney General	Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide*	P (lawyer)
Wadham, William	MLC		P (surveyor)
Waterhouse, George Marsden	MLC; MP; Premier		Pa
Watts, Alfred	MP		Bu
White, James	MP		Pa
Wigley, William Rodolph	MP; Mayor of Glenelg		P (lawyer)
Wildman, E.T			CS
Williams, George Sibly (brother of John)			Pa
Williams John (brother of George)	MP		Pa
Wright, Edward Amand (brother of Edmund Wright and Stephen)		The Olives	Bu, Mi
Wright, Stephen (brother of Edward Amand)			O (farmer)
Wyatt, William	Chief Inspector of Schools	Karralta*	CS
Young, Edmund Mackenzie			Bu
Young, George			Me
Young, George	MP		Mi

Extract from *The Adelaide Club, 1863-1963* (Morgan, 1963:97-110)

\*Not included in the sample of stately homes for this thesis. See Chapter 3 for sample selection criteria.



LEGEND: Pa=pastoralist                      P=professional                      Mi=mining  
                     Bu=business\*\*\*                      Me=merchant\*\*                      O=other                      NK=not  
 known

\*\*defined as those involved in large scale mercantile ventures or international trade (Russell, 1994:8).  
 \*\*\*includes newspaper proprietors, directors of banks and insurance companies, land brokers and business agents.

The foundation members would have considered themselves as the pioneers of the colony; the pastoralists who had ‘tamed the outback’, and the professional people who had provided essential services and created the administrative bureaucracy. By 1869 they had created an identity for themselves as the new gentry, an equivalent to the landed gentry of England, which they preserved by restricting membership to the Adelaide Club, as well as through intermarriage and social connections. The Adelaide Club was the bastion of power in the colony and the custodian of genteel behaviour and standards. The foundation membership included premiers of South Australia, the Bishop of Adelaide, attorneys general, members of both houses of parliament, doctors and lawyers.

**Table 4.2                      Occupations of the Foundation Members of the Adelaide Club**

Date	Pastoralis m	Busines s	Manufacturin g	Professiona l	Mercantil e	Civil Servant s	Other
1864 (n=120 )	49 (40%)	10 (8%)	2 (1.7%)	37 (30.8%)	5 (4.1%)	10 (8.3%)	7(2) (5.8%) )

Forty nine (40%) of the foundation members of the Adelaide Club were pastoralists (Table 4.2) and a further 37 (30.8%) were ‘professionals’, of whom 21 (57%) were in the legal profession. The majority of the other members were either in business (ten [8%]), merchants (5 [4.1%]) one of whom was (Sir) William Milne (*Sunnyside* and *Eurilla*) or civil servants (10 [8%]); none could be classified as being ‘in trade’; as opposed to being a merchant, in South Australia trade constituted manufacturing. For

example, Harry Dutton (*Anlaby*) married Emily, daughter of James Martin (*Martindale*) the founder of one of the biggest engineering works in Australia, yet she seldom spoke about her family who were deemed to be 'in trade' (Dutton, 1994:28). In England 'trade' was associated with brewers, manufacturers, rail magnates and mine owners (Crook, 1999:100-153). Dutton (1985:126) considered it 'natural' for people on the land (that is pastoralists) in 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia to be conservative, and a reactionary tradition nurtured in the clubs kept alive some of the more poisonous prejudices of the old world. It was the ancient prejudice against 'trade' that motivated much of the exclusion in these clubs, thus maintaining the exclusive circle of the elite (Van Dissel, 1986:339). For example, in about 1914 (Sir) Edward Holden, a prominent manufacturer in the coach and motor vehicle industries, was refused membership of the Adelaide Club, leading his daughter, Dame Nancy Butterfield (Buttfield, 1979:277), to claim 'that the Adelaide Club did not wish to admit men who were 'in trade''. The two foundation members who were associated with trade were John Hart (*Glanville Hall*), a former sea captain and flour miller who became premier of South Australia in 1865 and Sir Arthur Blyth (*Rust Hall*), an iron monger, who was elected to parliament in 1855 and became premier in 1861. However, Hirst (1973:38) has argued that South Australian society seemed open to anyone with wealth so long as they were not 'shopkeepers', which was all that remained of the ancient prejudice against 'trade'.

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, merchants in England had been gaining in respectability and built suburban mansions which were bedecked in the trappings of gentility (Russell, 1994:8). However, of the foundation members of The Adelaide Club, only four could be described as merchants. Little is known about three of these men, none of whom

has been identified with a stately home nor it is not known how, or why, they became members of the Club. Only Sir William Milne (*Eurilla; Sunnyside*), a wine merchant, became a more prominent and influential member of the new gentry. He was appointed President of the Legislative Council and his daughter, Florence, married Sir Lancelot Stirling (*The Lodge; St Vigeans*). However, with the growth in the South Australian economy between 1870 and 1889, the number of merchants who were identified as new gentry increased (Table 4.3).

In the metropolitan region, 21 of the original owners of stately homes are classified as merchants, along with 19 subsequent owners and seven owners in the last period ending in 1914 (Appendix 3, Building Survey □ Owner Profiles). The majority of these merchants were owners of large department or hardware stores. John Colton (*Vailima*) is one such example: he was the owner of one of the larger timber and hardware businesses and became premier of South Australia; Malcolm Goode (*Karrawood*) was a general merchant who owned a large department store, as did Thomas Scarfe (*Eden Park*) and Malcolm Reid (also *Karrawood*), while William Kither (*Morden*) was a wholesale meat merchant, shop owner and large property owner. Kither and Goode were members of the Adelaide City Council but none were members of the Adelaide Club. Whether this was their choice or whether they were excluded because they were deemed to be ‘shopkeepers’ is uncertain. Other non-merchant members of the new gentry identified by their stately homes, but who were not members of the Adelaide Club, included Sir J. Langdon Bonython, newspaper proprietor (*Carclew* and *Carminow*) and the Hon. George Brookman (*Leahurst, Ivanhoe, Craigmellan and Glenthorne Farm*), a sharebroker who had mining interests (Table 4.1). From its inception, the Adelaide Club was probably identified

with the snobbery of the English landed gentry, something which was not embraced by all businessmen and some pastoralists who had secured their own status and position in society.

By 1850 Van Dissel (1986:340-353) could list 100 men he termed the ‘old gentry’<sup>8</sup> of South Australia 60 (60%) of whom were members of the Adelaide Club. Details of the occupations of the foundation members of the Adelaide Club (see also Table 4.1) and a comparison between the occupations of the ‘old gentry’ who were members of the Club with those who were not, are set out in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 A Comparison of the Occupations of the Foundation Members (1864) and the ‘Old Gentry’ Members of the Adelaide Club (1850-1920).

Date	Pastoralists	Businesses	Manufacturing	Professional	Merchants	Civil Servants	Other
1864 <sup>(1)</sup> (n=120)	49 (40%)	10 (8%)	2 (1.7%)	37 (30.8%)	5 (4.1%)	10 (8.3%)	7 <sup>(2)</sup> (5.8%)
1850-1920: members (n=60)	35(58.3%)	4 (6.7%)	4 (6.7%)	6 (10%)	4 (6.7%)	6 (10%)	1 <sup>(3)</sup> (1.7%)
1850-1920: Non-Members ) (n=40)	22(55.0%)	3 (7.5%)	2 (5.0%)	6 (15.0%)	4 (10.0%)	3 (7.5%)	0

(1) Foundation members.

(2) Included Bishop Short.

(3) Very Rev Marryat, Rector of Christ Church, North Adelaide. Van Dissel (1986:349) does include Bishop Short as a member of the Adelaide Club, yet Morgan (1963:107) states that he was a foundation member.

It is notable that in the period 1850 to 1920 membership of the Adelaide Club was dominated by pastoralists (35[58.3%]), although there were 22 (55%) who chose not

<sup>8</sup> ‘Old gentry’ are those members of the new gentry who acquired their wealth in period 1836 to 1889.

to become members. These were the pioneering pastoralists, seven of whom died before, or within ten years of the foundation of, the club and all but five died in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Membership of the Adelaide Club would not have been a priority for them. The other two main professions were professionals and civil servants. The percentage of merchants increased over time, although numbers always remained small (four [6.7%]) and by 1920 there were also four members who could be classified as businessmen and manufacturers. However, it cannot be concluded that by the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a general acceptance of people who were 'in trade'. The four 'old gentry' members of the Adelaide Club who were merchants in the period 1850 to 1920 were also prominent businessmen: Joseph Fisher, the son of Sir James Fisher, was also an investor, director of many large companies and a member of parliament; Sir William Milne (*Sunnyside* and *Eurilla*) a wine merchant, Sir William Morgan, a grocer; and David Murray, a draper. Milne, Morgan and Murray were also members of parliament and directors of some of the largest companies in the state. The four members who were manufacturers also held other important positions. Sir Arthur Blyth (*Rust Hall*) and Neville Blyth (*Bray House*), both sons of William Blyth, were iron mongers, however both were also members of parliament (Arthur later became premier), and directors of banks. The other two manufacturers, Joseph and Caleb Peacock, were brothers, tanners and merchants. Again, both were members of parliament and directors of the National Bank, and Joseph was also a director of the Burra Mining Company. It can be concluded that they were sufficiently removed from the social stain of being 'in trade' and, because of their roles as directors of major enterprises and parliamentarians, were accorded sufficient status to become members of the Adelaide Club and therefore accepted into genteel society.

In comparison to ‘old gentry’, Van Dissel (1986:340-353) lists 33 men whom he termed the ‘new gentry’<sup>9</sup>, of whom 13 (39.4%) were members of the Adelaide Club (Table 4.4); of these only two (15.4%) were pastoralists.

**Table 4.4 A Comparison of Members of the *Nouveaux Riches* Members of the Adelaide Club. (1850-1920)**

Date: 1850-1920	Pastoralists	Businesses	Manufacturing	Professional	Merchants	Civil Servants	Other
Members (n=13)	2 (15.4%)	5 (38.5%)	0	4 (30.7%)	2 (15.4%)	0	0
Non-Members (n=20)	4 (20.0%)	2 (10.0%)	10 (50.0%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	0	0

The two pastoralists, William Magarey and his nephew, Thomas, could easily have been included in the table of old the ‘old gentry’, even though Van Dissel (1986:351) states that they did not acquire their wealth until 1880. William and Thomas Magarey arrived in South Australia in 1845 and in 1849 acquired John Ridley’s flour mill. Thomas became a member of parliament in 1860, William in 1878; both were directors of banks and other major companies. Thomas was a foundation member of the Adelaide Club; William joined in 1868. If these two men were deleted from the ‘new gentry’ then there would have been no pastoralist members of the *nouveaux riches* who were also members of the Adelaide Club. The five businessmen who were members of the Adelaide Club were Sir John Bonython (*Carhayes* and *Carclaw*), Sir Howard Lloyd, Sir Robert Kyffin, William Kyffin and John Darling.

<sup>9</sup> Van Dissel uses the term ‘new gentry’ here to indicate those men who acquired their wealth in the period commencing 1880; these men have been designated in this thesis as the *nouveaux riches*. The term ‘new gentry’ as used by Van Dissel should not be confused with those defined as the new gentry in this thesis.

Bonython and Darling were members of parliament and, along with Lloyd, were directors of major mining and commercial companies. The Kyffins were proprietors of the *Register* newspaper and hence chose not to become members of parliament or company directors. The business activities of the men, and their status in civic and community activities and charities, were obviously acceptable to the established members of the Adelaide Club. The two merchants, Richard Law Smith (Harris Scarfe) and Richard Wills (G. & R. Wills), were both directors of two of the largest merchant and retail businesses at that time; Richard Law Smith was also director of many other important, large commercial enterprises.

Clearly there were fewer members of the *nouveaux riches* being admitted to membership of the Adelaide Club, but whether that was the decision of the management committee or of the individuals concerned is not certain. However, the absence of manufacturers and the presence of only two of the larger merchant/businessmen would suggest that there were still active prejudices against those who could be considered 'in trade'. This is supported when considering those notable members of the *nouveaux riches* who were *not* members of the club. These included Sir James Holden (manufacturer), Sir Sidney Kidman (pastoralist) and James Verco (flour miller) and four of his sons (although James Verco's fifth son, Sir Joseph Verco, did become a member in 1905). Either the existing membership of the Adelaide Club did not want to admit members of the *nouveaux riches* who pursued professions or trades considered unacceptable, or the *nouveaux riches* did not seek membership because they did not subscribe to the same values as the other members of The Adelaide Club.

### The Queen Adelaide Club

Forty five years were to elapse before an equivalent club for women was founded in Adelaide. In 1909 initial discussions took place in the home of Mrs J. W. Bakewell (*Mt Lofty House*), between a 'group of women, the wives of many of Adelaide's leading citizens, who listened to Mrs Percival Stow speak on the merits of forming a club based on women's clubs in London' (Queen Adelaide Club Committee, 1984:1). Minutes of early meetings and membership records are incomplete, but included amongst the twelve members of the founding committee were Mrs J. W. Bakewell, whose husband was one of the first directors of the Queen Adelaide Club and a member of the Adelaide Club, Lady Way, wife of the Chief Justice, Sir Samuel Way (*Montefiore*), who was the first president, and Lady Bosanquet, wife of the Governor, and the first Patron. Wives of prominent South Australians continued to lead the affairs of the Queen Adelaide Club, for example, Margaret Murray, sister of Sir George Murray (*Murray Park*), Mrs Arthur Waterhouse (262 North Terrace), Mrs Edmund Bowman (*Barton Vale*), Mrs Simpson Newland (*The Avenues*), and Mrs M. S. Hawker (*Bungaree*). The early directors were men and included Sir Lancelot Stirling, J. R. Baker, J. W. Bakewell and E. W. Hawker as the Foundation directors, then Sir Frank Moulden, Arthur Waterhouse, Sir James Gosse, Sir Stanley Murray and Sir Keith Angas, all of whom were new gentry and members of the Adelaide Club.

As with the Adelaide Club, membership of the Queen Adelaide Club was similarly exclusive. Initially, each of the twelve founding members submitted a list of women suitable for membership and those approved by the Committee were invited to



become foundation members (Queen Adelaide Club Committee, 1984:3). To ensure that standards were maintained, members were required to observe dress standards, including the wearing of hat and gloves, and aspiring members were vetted by the Committee, then proposed and seconded by members of the Committee before a final election (Queen Adelaide Club Committee, 1984:11).

In terms of their spatial location, Adelaide's elite clubs were situated in prominent positions close to the centres of power, the Adelaide Club was located directly opposite the Governor's residence, diagonally across from Parliament House and a short walk to the business and financial centre of the city; the Queen Adelaide Club was also located in North Terrace just a few meters from the Adelaide Club. There was no need to publicise the location of such facilities; their cult of exclusiveness was enough to reflect a position of assumed superiority and power. To this day there is no signage on either The Adelaide Club (Figure 4.6) or the Queen Adelaide Club (Figure 4.7).



**Figure 4.6** *The Adelaide Club*.  
165 North Terrace, Adelaide  
Purpose built in 1863, the building has undergone only minor alterations to the front façade. There is no external signage  
Photo: R. M. Stone, June, 2006.



**Figure 4.7** *The Queen Adelaide Club*  
Cnr North Terrace and Stephens Place, Adelaide  
Originally private residences converted in 1909. Side entrance only with no external signage.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, June, 2006.

### Sporting clubs

Not all of the early clubs in South Australia were as 'invisible' as the Adelaide and Queen Adelaide Clubs; the more visible ones catered for sporting activities but were no less exclusive. While membership of these clubs was still restricted, the activities were visible to the public and, in the case of horse racing, the general population were most willing spectators despite the fact that participation remained the province of 'gentlemen'. From at least the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Queen Anne was instrumental in founding Ascot Racecourse, royalty had been associated with horse racing. It is therefore no surprise that from the early days of South Australia 'a group of leading colonists organised the colony's first race meeting' (SAJC, 1955:1).

Advertised in *The South Australian Register* on 29 December, 1838, it was held on New Year's Day with 800 of the 2000 settlers attending. On the 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1839, *The South Australian Register* reported that the meeting was a 'great sensation' and listed the prominent citizens who attended (see also Morphett, 1955:72). Elite interest continued with patronage and control of the South Australian Jockey Club (SAJC). The SAJC was formed on 24 January, 1856, with Sir James Fisher, the first Resident Commissioner, in the chair, and attended by prominent citizens including the governor, Sir R. Macdonald (SAJC, 1955:10). In 1869 the SAJC collapsed due to financial difficulties, but reformed in 1874 with Sir John Morphett (*Cummins*) as president. When the SAJC had difficulty negotiating the lease of Victoria Park from the Adelaide City Council, a company was formed □ the South Australian Jockey Club Company Limited □ to raise funds to build a new racecourse on land provided by Sir Thomas Elder. The first meeting was held at Morphettville, named after Sir John Morphett, in September, 1875 (Hirst, 1973:42; SAJC, 1955:22). Membership of such clubs enabled the new gentry to reinforce their position in society through

control of the managing committee. For example, in 1898 membership of the SAJC Committee included John Barker, parliamentarian, pastoralist and member of the Adelaide Club, Tom Elder Barr Smith, pastoralist and member of the Adelaide Club, Sir Richard C. Baker, parliamentarian, member of the Adelaide Club and President of the SAJC, and the Hon. W. B. Rounsevell, parliamentarian, Mayor, and horse breeder.

The status inherent in being the owner of a large string of horses is illustrated by the size and prominence of the stables attached to many stately homes, some of which were, for example, approximately the same size as the house itself (Connah, 2001:144). Plans of English houses often showed the stables as large and grand structures. Kerr (1865: 257) argued that a gentleman's house should possess stables and offices commensurate with the magnitude of the establishment. Among the examples are *Blenheim* in Oxfordshire (built in 1745) which has a stable court, extensive stable boxes and carriage houses with servants' quarters above (Kerr, 1865: Plate 12). The stable complex symmetrically balanced the kitchen court, with entrance to both through a gate houses off the great court. Here the stables were an integral part of the overall architectural design. By way of contrast the extensive stables of *Toddington* in Gloucestershire (built in 1819) are some distance from the main entrance to the house and are located at the rear. Entrance is through a gate tower and in addition to the stables and carriage houses; there is an internal riding path which continues into the rear of the house (Kerr, 1865: Plate 15).

Similar practices were adopted in South Australia, sometimes modelled them directly on English precedents. *Martindale Hall*, for example, not only had an imposing

stable and coach house adjacent to the house, similar to *Toddington*, but also stables in the nearby village of Mintaro; both could accommodate a number of horses, as well as carriages and living quarters for the grooms. These men established themselves in important positions of power and status and hence elevated their own status by forming these clubs. Being in positions of power, the new gentry were not only able to display their status overtly to others, but also to become the 'gatekeepers' to ensure the continuing exclusivity of these clubs.

The Adelaide Hunt Club was another exclusive organisation whose activities were visible to the general population who were again most willing spectators. In England, fox hunting was regarded as critical for social cohesion, since it afforded the aristocracy their traditional right to cross farmers' land. Fox hunting was dominated by the aristocracy as only they could afford to maintain a pack of hounds and hence became a pastime that reinforced their web of influence (Beckett, 1986:13). In South Australia the Adelaide Hunt was an associated club that allowed some leading colonists to adopt this exclusive English pastime. To ensure exclusive participation, horses entered into the Adelaide Grand Steeple Chase had to be the bonafide property of subscribers to the Adelaide Hunt and 'gentlemen' [i.e. amateur] riders were insisted upon (Daly, 1986:6). The Adelaide Hunt afforded great pleasure, not only to the 'gentry' but also to the general population, who sought vantage points to watch the huntsmen perform (Daly, 1986:3-5). In the early years of the colony the Adelaide Hounds were maintained by William Vansittart, a horse breeder and pastoralist in Robe in the South East of South Australia. However, the numbers of gentry subscribing to the upkeep of the pack was never very great and on Vansittart's death in 1854 the Hounds were sold. Hunting with hounds was only resumed upon

formation of The Adelaide Hunt Club in 1869, the initial membership list of which ‘read like the who’s who of the South Australian sporting gentry’ (Daly, 1986:13).

**Table 4.5**

**Foundation Members of the Adelaide Hunt Club  
1869**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Stately Home</b>
Ayers, Harry Lockett*	Bragg House, Dimora
Bagot, E. M.	Forest Lodge
Baker John (Hon)*	
Baker, Richard Chaffey*	Baker dwelling (Lincoln College)
Blackler, R.	
Blackler, William (Master)	
Blackmore, E. G.	
Chambers, H.	
Downer, George (brother of John Downer)	
Downer, H.	
Fisher, William Dundas* (son of Sir James Hurtle Fisher)	
Formby, W	
Gerrard, W	
Gordon, A L	
Goslin, G C	
Gosse, William C* (married Agnes, daughter of Sir Alexander Hay)	
Hamilton, George*	
Mair, William*	
Malcolm, A R	
Mann, C	
Simms, W. K.	
Young, C. B.	
Fergusson James (Sir). Governor and President of the Club	Karatta House

Source: Daley, 1986:13

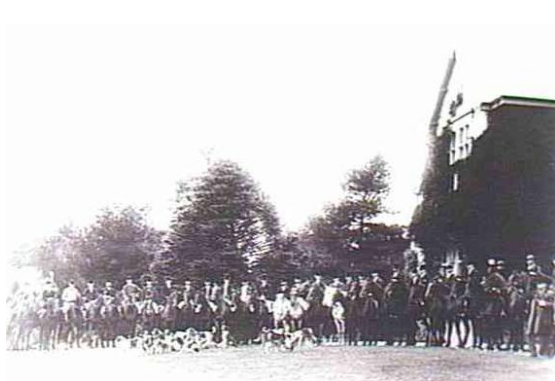
\*Also foundation members of the Adelaide Club

Meetings of the Adelaide Hunt Club were held at several places within two miles of the city centre (Twopeny, 1883:44, see also Moore, 1975:46; Warburton, 1981:11).

The new gentry held receptions for the Adelaide Hunt Club at their stately homes, with one at *Torrens Park* in the 1870s catering for between three and four hundred people (Daly, 1986:16; Twopeny, 1883:44; Van Dissel, 1986:362) (Figure 4.8):

With huntsmen in red coats seated at their table and the baying of hounds and the sound of the horn upon their estate, they came closest to the realisation of their yearning to live the life of the English country gentleman (Twopeny, 1883:44).

But the hunt was also responsible for inconvenience, with roads being closed and fences damaged (Warburton, 1981; 172, 293) as the riders observed their ‘aristocratic right’ to follow the chase wherever it took them (Daly, 1986:5) (Figure 4.9).



**Figure 4.8** Adelaide Hunt Club meeting at *Torrens Park Estate*, home of Robert Barr Smith, c1898

Source: SLSA, B 36429.



**Figure 4.9** Members of the Adelaide Hunt Club followed by people on foot, on bicycles and in horse drawn vehicles during a meeting in Oakbank, South Australia, c1914

Source: SLSA, PRG 280/1/7/191

In terms of the less visible leisure activities of the gentry □ those carried out within the confines of their stately homes □ invitations to gala events were an indication of social status and could be used to include or exclude people. But even here standards and protocols were observed to ensure that the amusements were considered ‘suitable’ for gentlemen. Unsuitable activities could harm a gentleman’s image and lessen his power and status, as well as undermine the status of his class as a whole (Girouard, 1979:5).

#### 4.2.5 *Community leadership*

Country houses were essentially power houses □ the houses of the ruling class □ a power that was based on the ownership of land. At the local level the landed gentry in 19<sup>th</sup> century England exercised power over their tenants and the local villagers by virtually running the counties and dispensing judgements as local magistrates (Girouard: 1979:2). However, the landed gentry also operated at a national level because they were often Members of Parliament. For centuries in England land was the chief source of status and power and land owners were the dominating class; something which they were not prepared to surrender. The aristocracy believed that the inequalities distinguishing one body of people from another were both essential and permanent, but events of 1828-32 heralded significant changes and the beginning of the demise of the old society (Clark, 1985:7). In 18<sup>th</sup> century England there had been moves to create a landowning monopoly of parliamentary power with the *The Qualification Act 1710*, which was ‘an Act for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by further qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons’ (see Witmer, 1943:11). This Act imposed a level income or property value of £600 over and above encumbrances (for residents of the Cinque Ports the annual value was £300) for entry into the House of Commons (Witmer, 1943:41; see also Beckett, 1986:415, 425: Corfield, 1996:9). *The Qualification Act 1710* therefore limited the choice of qualified voters of England to one group of men □ the landed men of the nation (Witmer, 1943:45).

The Act was roundly criticised all those it excluded -the traders, moneyed men and landless men who regarded themselves as qualified by ability, experience and

leadership, (Witmer, 1943:46) and was not repealed until 1838. The new legislation was only partially successful at transferring power from the aristocracy although subsequent amendments in 1867 and 1884 further extended the voting franchise (Beckett, 1986:451). Economic power gradually shifted towards the merchants and manufacturers who were equally ambitious, and able to invest in country estates, thus making themselves eligible to enter parliament. Even with this shift in the balance of economic power, the landed gentry fought to maintain control through the twin mechanisms of patronage (buying votes) and legislation, so that their political and social supremacy continued (Girouard, 1979:2; see also Beckett, 1986:425).

Facets of the patronage system were exported to South Australia, with the new gentry assuming certain functions that in England would have been carried out by titled aristocracy and landed gentry. Initially only the Governor was empowered to establish laws for the new colony, assisted by a Council comprising the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Advocate General and the Resident Commissioner (Munyard, 1986:52). Governors exercised their patronage simply by choosing particular colonists to fill crucial functions such as magistrates or Justices of the Peace (Denholm, 1979:164-166). In 1838 legislation was passed to replace the Council with a Legislative Council consisting of the Governor and seven others, all of whom were selected by the Governor. Most colonial upper houses were nominated bodies and consisted of people who had attained leading positions in society. Of the seven nominated members, three were officials of the colony who were bound to support the Governor and four were un-paid non-official members; there was no provision for elected representatives and any changes to the composition of the Legislative Council could only be approved by the British Parliament (Munyard,



1986:52). In 1851, Section 1 of Ordinance No 1 came into effect, which provided for sixteen members elected by the inhabitants and eight appointed by the Crown (Morphett, 1955:17). In 1856 the colony assumed responsible government on the introduction of a bicameral system, including a Legislative Council that required electors to have a property qualification, either owning a property worth £50 or being a £20 lease holder. The House of Assembly was more representative and manhood suffrage was extended to all immigrants who were naturalised British subjects.

Ironically, no property qualifications were required to be elected as a Member of the Legislative Council (MLC), even though there was a property franchise for voters. However, the pattern of the nominated Legislative Council continued, with pastoralists, merchants and professional men being the most prominent (Howell, 1986:117). Similarly, pastoralists constituted the largest category by occupation within the House of Assembly, with 90% of elected members between 1857 to 1890 being ‘accustomed to being their own masters’ (Howell, 1986:116). South Australia did not pay politicians until 1887, hence this was the opportunity for the new gentry to continue to have a significant voice in the legislature, as only those who had already attained leading positions in society, with independent incomes and sufficient leisure time, could afford to stand for parliament, resulting in many prominent members of the new gentry being appointed to important positions (Howell, 1986:117). For example, in 1864, 43 (35.5%) of the foundation members of the Adelaide Club were members of either the House of Assembly or the Legislative Council, five had official positions within the parliamentary system, such as Clerk of Parliament, while five were appointed to other positions of power within the colony, such as Commissioner of Police (two), Sheriff, Inspector of Schools and Under

Treasurer (Table 4.1). However, the influence of some of the South Australian new gentry extended beyond the colony. In 1897 Charles Kingston was made President of the convention to consider Australia becoming a Federation; John Downer was not only a member of the convention, but meetings were also held in his stately home in North Adelaide. Kingston became Minister of Trade and Customs in the first Commonwealth government, Sir Richard Chaffey Baker became President of the Senate (the upper house), and Frederick Holder became the first Speaker of the lower house, the House of Representatives (Gibbs, 1969, 119). By rising to positions of power in South Australia the new gentry were able to extend this into a national arena as well.

#### ***4.2.6 The new gentry as philanthropists***

Patronage and philanthropy go hand in hand: one gives support to community activities and organisations, often via the assumption of an honorary position as titular head or Patron, while the other provides welfare or humanitarian support to the community. The motivation for philanthropy is a vexed question, but there was an expectation by the populace that the gentry would contribute both to the well being of the community and to the general economic good of the country, including institutions such as churches, schools and universities. In 19<sup>th</sup> century England wealth and population lay in the country, and the political and social supremacy of the landed gentry continued through their control of patronage and legislation, even when there was a change in economic power to the cities. The wealthy landowners were expected to look after their dependents and to play their part in local government (Girouard, 1979:2, 5), but was this a spontaneous act of generosity □ a

traditional expectation of the landed gentry □ or motivated by self interest, or a combination of the two? In the USA wealthy merchants claimed the title ‘gentleman’ and assumed the trappings of the titled landowner which brought with it the notion of the obligations of the landed elite, that is, service to the community (Goodwin, 1999:58). The rising merchant class had a profound effect on the physical shape of cities by improving infrastructure, but at the same time the merchants were also improving their own lot (Goodwin, 1999:50). Similarly, in South Australia, John Bristow Hughes proposed to remake England on his own terms – and largely on his own estate of *St Clair*. He built shops, housing, a church, a schoolroom and a railway station, but given the economic advantage he was to gain personally, it is difficult to evaluate the degree of self interest or public spiritedness arising from such generosity (Warburton, 1979:42).

It could be argued that the original colonisation of South Australia was, in fact, motivated by philanthropic choices. Early emigration policies to the proposed colony were due, in part, to philanthropic organisations headed by the British aristocracy. In 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain the aristocracy and landed gentry had an important role to play in helping to solve a major problem: chronic unemployment and the consequential drain on parish relief. The House of Commons was told that the country could be saved from this ‘fearful convulsion’ only by emigration (Pike, 1967:42). A philanthropic system was proposed to provide free passage and, after some debate, Parliament established a commission, including members of the aristocracy, to implement it. Wakefield, however, considered that the members of the first Commission were benevolent and public spirited gentlemen who were ‘irresponsible and mere amateurs in the noble work of colonisation’ (Pike, 1967:43). The Commission was dissolved

and the task entrusted to a group of voluntary philanthropists called the London Emigration Committee, but it was the work of the British philanthropic societies, supported by notable philanthropists, that assisted ‘widows and orphaned daughters of gentleman, clergy, bankers and other professional men’ to emigrate to South Australia (Pike, 1967:43).

The colony of South Australia struggled in the early years and many philanthropic bodies were formed to provide ‘prompt, free and genuine charitable interposition’ to help distressed families (Pike, 1967:319; see also Richards, 1986b:127). However, it was the actions of the more prominent amongst the early colonists that allowed them to assume the important characteristic of their class through community leadership and philanthropy. For example, despite the desperate straits of some colonists, Captain Charles Hervey Bagot (*Nurney House*), a prominent early colonist, pastoralist, and founder of the Kapunda Copper Mine and parliamentarian, refused to allow an almshouse to be built or to adopt the poorhouse principle, which he considered the disgrace of England, instead insisting that the destitute sick be sent to the Adelaide Hospital. Captain Bagot was supported by Major O’Halloran (*Glenthorne*), but only because he had signed an expansionist declaration to prospective investors and immigrants that there would be no poor in the colony (Pike, 1967:315,319).

Whatever the motivation, the new gentry are today identified with some of the more prominent public buildings and institutions in South Australia; they made significant contributions to the establishment of non-conformist churches and were instrumental in establishing organisations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association

(YMCA). For example, Sir Langdon Bonython (*Carclew*) donated £100 000 to complete Parliament House, Robert Barr Smith (*Torrens Park Estate, Auchendarroch*) gave land to the Sisters of St Joseph for a convent and supported the establishment of the Salvation Army Boys Homes at Mt Barker (*Eden Park*) and the University of Adelaide, Sir Samuel Davenport (*Beaumont House*) gave land for a public park, and Sir Thomas Elder (*Birksgate*) gave land for the Morphettville racecourse. A walk down North Terrace in Adelaide is a testament to the philanthropy of many of the prominent names amongst the new gentry. Of the 150 plaques, statues and buildings on North Terrace, 46 are dedicated to men who were considered, for the purposes of this thesis, to be members of the new gentry. Of these 46, eight are identified on the plaques as being philanthropists:

Robert Barr Smith (*Torrens Park Estate* and *Birksgate*). The Barr Smith

Library of the University of Adelaide was named in his honour

Sir George Brookman (*Ivanhoe* and *Craigmellan, Glenthorne Farm*).

Brookman Building and Brookman Hall of The University of South Australia are named in his honour

Sir Thomas Elder, the Elder Conservatorium of Music was named in his honour (*Birksgate*)

Sir Sydney Kidman (*Eringa*)

Sir John Melrose (*Olooroo Station*)

Alfred Muller Simpson (uncertain)

Sir Edwin Smith (*The Acacias*)

Peter Waite (*Urrbrae*)

Three major statues on North Terrace are also dedicated to prominent members of the new gentry, namely:

Sir Walter Watson Hughes (*Torrens Park Estate*), who was one of the founders and first donor to the University of Adelaide. The Hughes building was named in his honour.

Sir Samuel Way (*Montefiore*), who was the Chief Justice of South Australia and the first Chancellor of the University of Adelaide.

Sir Thomas Elder (*Birksgate*), who made two significant donations to the University of Adelaide. Elder Hall and the Elder Conservatorium of Music are named in his honour.

Monuments, statues and the nomenclature of public buildings are public tributes to persons or events of local or national importance created for prosperity. They are highly visual objects designed to create civic pride, but, as with built heritage, must be interpreted. They usually represent only the more prominent members of society, tend to ignore human imperfection and never speak ill of the dead; the plinths tend to extol their virtues not their vices (Kerr, 1988:xv). The monuments on North Terrace have a purpose as they are created to be seen in order to convey to the viewer a message intended to influence memories and attitudes. The location of monuments also may have significance in association with their surroundings (Bruce, 1997:5), for example, the major statues are associated with buildings of which the immortalised persons were major benefactors. However, again interpretation may be needed, since the current location may not have been the original site. For example, a statue of Colonel Light is currently located on Montefiore Hill overlooking Adelaide

and called 'Light's Vision'; it was shifted there in 1938 from its original position as the marker for his burial place in Light Square within the 'Square Mile' of Adelaide.

#### ***4.2.7. Education and the new gentry***

##### Education in England

Education is another clear source of power. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Oxford and Cambridge were the only universities in England. They were often criticised as conventional and traditional places, which and 'degenerated to a large extent into the preserve for the idle and rich' (Barnard, 1971:24), but were still a source of privilege and power with students drawn predominantly from the aristocracy and gentry and restricted to members of the Church of England (Adamson, 1964:vii). Dissenters, Roman Catholics and Jews were all excluded (Hilliard and Hunt, 1986:195-197; Adamson 1964:9; Barnard, 1971:28.). Both considered religion to be the foundation of all education, and examination in religion was an essential part of examination for a BA. At Oxford the translation of classical works by Herodotus, Livy and Euclid or passages from the Greek gospels, were all demonstrations of competence in religion and being able to read and understand such 'classics' were marks of social class and were necessary to enter the Established Church and civil service. At Cambridge a greater focus was placed on theoretical mathematics leaving little room for practical science, modern literature or modern history (Adamson, 1964:81, 86). A growing intolerance of such traditional and apparently useless curricula led manufacturers and factory owners to agitate for more 'useful' forms of education while secular and scientific movements lobbied for

entirely new institutions to benefit those whom Oxford and Cambridge (Barnard, 1971:83).

To this end there was a movement towards establishing a London university, with the first college (University College) formed in 1826. This new college was inter-denominational, theology was absent from the curriculum and students were admitted without the religious 'test'; it was also non-residential and therefore cheap. While intending to offer a broader range of subjects that were more practically oriented, in its early years it focussed almost exclusively on medicine and initial attempts to establish mineralogy, engineering, design, education and chemistry all failed (Armytage, 1970:103; see also Adamson, 1964:93; Barnard, 1971:85; Sanderson, 1972:2). Nevertheless, such attempts provoked swift reactions from Oxford and Cambridge to the idea of a 'Godless' curriculum, and provoked a half century or more of argument against the various merits of academic versus professional education and vocational training.

The passing of the Reform Bill in England in 1832 changed this situation somewhat and provided for all grades of education, although at this stage there was no organised system and the extent to which the state or church should be responsible was still a matter of debate (Adamson, 1964:31). Throughout the 1830s, there were two aspects of 19<sup>th</sup> century university education that became the subject of much controversy: access to university education that was not based on the religion or social status of the applicant and the relevance of university education in a changing industrial and technological world.



From as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century mechanical and engineering technicians had been trained by professional groups or societies of engineers and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was general recognition that, in addition of the on the job training, there was a need for university education. By the 1830s pressure for the introduction of engineering courses had gradually increased (Aeuckens, 1989:xvii) and the various Mechanics' Institutes, private colleges and design schools that were established from 1823 onwards offered training for the benefit of employers needing qualified people to fill industrial jobs (Barnard, 1971:88). The aim was to provide working men with knowledge about new discoveries, inventions and improvements and allow them to pursue a knowledge of science; yet also ensure that they would not be educated above their class (Armytage, 1970:97; Barnard, 1971:89). This form of technical training was adopted in South Australia but only in the latter stages of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Education in South Australia

It was the education system that existed prior to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 that the manufacturers and middle class entrepreneurs did not want to perpetuate when they emigrated to the new colony of South Australia in the 1830s. The arguments for a secular education system independent from influence from the Crown or the Established Church were vigorously debated as was the need for vocational education as opposed to traditional classical studies. Later, arguments focussed on the establishment of a secular university with a broad ranging curriculum aimed at preparing men for the Church, but the earliest debate centred on the secondary education system.

From very early on in the life of the colony there were moves to establish a Proprietary School based on the Eton/Harrow model (*The South Australian*, 2 April, 1847), influenced by Bishop Short, the Anglican Bishop of Adelaide. The school commenced in 1847 with classes conducted at Trinity Church of England in Adelaide (Price, 1947:2). The initial proposal was that the school would be interdenominational, with shareholders and a board of directors (Tregenza, 1996:8), however the Committee of Management comprised 12 lay members of the Anglican Church. The teachers, where possible, were also to be members of the established Church of England, and Bishop Short and his successors always took on the role of President of the School Council. The Headmaster was to be a graduate of either Oxford, Cambridge or Trinity College, Dublin (*South Australian Register*, 2 April 1847), a fair classical scholar, a Christian, a master and a gentlemen; someone who could impart an appropriate tone of feeling and conduct to the rising youth of the colony and encourage them to alternative pursuits apart from making money. He also had to be less than 30 years of age and married to a woman who met the requirements of a helpmate for a Headmaster (Farr, 1936:3-4).

Not surprisingly, given its heavy Church of England emphasis, in 1847 the name of the Proprietary School was changed to the Church of England Collegiate School, and then in 1849 to the Collegiate School of St Peter (Price, 1947:4; Tregenza, 1996:13). The school was clearly an institution of the Established Church and the early curriculum emphasised those subjects deemed important for the sons of the gentry and that were essential for gaining entry to the civil service and the church. It was resolved that the school would offer all the usual branches of 'English, Foreign and

classical education' (*The South Australian Register*, 2 April, 1847). St Peters was immediately and repeatedly identified with the new gentry of South Australia; of the 65 founding proprietors 23 were described as 'settlers', now identified as pastoralists, and including prominent men such as George Hawker (*Bungaree*), Thomas O'Halloran (*Lizard Lodge*), Stephen King (*Kingsford*), Francis and Frederick Dutton (*Anlaby*) and William Allen, who purchased 4000 acres near Port Gawler and after whom the town of Allen Creek was named. Allen was the chief financial founder of St Peters and bequeathed £5000 to the Bishop of Adelaide in trust for pastoral purposes (Price, 1947:3); the Allen Scholarship Prize is still given in his honour. The new gentry, through the Anglican Church, also reinforced the exclusivity of St Peters by opening the Pulteney Street School, a less exclusive school to cater for the 'middle and lower classes' (Trogenza, 1996:6).

Even religious non-conformists or Dissidents considered education to be no less important; it was considered essential for the next generation to establish their position in colonial society (Williams, 1980:98). In competition with the Anglicans, the Wesleyan Methodists quickly established schools in the new colony, notably the Wesleyan Prince Alfred College, which was established as a balance to St Peters. As well as providing a curriculum deemed appropriate to the primary industry economy of South Australia, the objectives of Prince Alfred College (PAC) were to impart education as the age demanded, whether that was to prepare students for an active business life (for the learned professions), or for more advanced studies in connection with university. The prospectus stated that the curriculum would embrace all branches of a 'sound commercial education', with classical and mathematical courses for those who desired to study these 'higher departments' of educational

knowledge (Gibbs, 1984:26, 37; see also Williams, 1980:102). PAC was established by the Wesleyan Conference with five Trustees, all of whom were required to be laymen of non-conformist churches. The inaugural Trustees were Thomas G. Waterhouse (miner, grocer), George P. Harris (merchant), Sir John Colton (Wesleyan, merchant and parliamentarian), Michael Kingsborough (merchant; land and estate agent, Mayor of Kensington) and George W. Cotton (land agent and parliamentarian), all of whom were identified amongst the new gentry but were not foundation members of the Adelaide Club. The establishment of two exclusive schools, one for the sons of pastoralists, the other for the sons of leaders in business, commerce or industry, one Anglican and the other non-conformist, created intense intercollegiate competition (Price, 1947:15; Van Dissel, 1986:363). Through both education and sport this resulted in the continued and close association of the sons of the new gentry, a competition which continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The laying of the foundation stone for Prince Alfred College by no less a personage than Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, himself highlighted the entrenched antagonism between the Established Church and the Dissident denominations. In England at this time Wesleyans and other dissidents still endured some of the restrictions placed on those outside the Established Church, including impediments to entering Cambridge and Oxford which were not to be lifted for another 13 years (Gibbs, 1984:7; Hilliard, 1984:195). There were many objections to Prince Alfred laying the foundation stone for a Dissident institution, but the governor at the time, Sir Dominick Daly (a Roman Catholic), advised that the written protest should be ignored, thus delighting the Wesleyans who saw the protest as religious bigotry (Gibbs, 1984:28). While the stone-laying ceremony was only brief, having the Duke

of Edinburgh present could be construed as giving royal assent to the Dissidents' activities. It also highlighted the fact that the Dissidents had not rejected the role and importance of the English monarchy, a trait carried on by the new gentry as they continued their allegiance to the crown and the trappings of the English gentry.

The antagonism between the Established Church and the Dissidents also surfaced during the debate over the foundation of a university. Access to higher education in England had been a contentious issue for Dissidents and hence education was a priority in the new colony. By the early 1870s there were already moves to establish a university, even though the population was only 200 000 and Adelaide only 20 000. The first steps towards the creation of a university was a meeting between representatives of the Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches, who decided to found a Union College to provide education beyond school level and training for those who wished to devote themselves to the Christian ministry, irrespective of religious beliefs (Duncan & Leonard, 1973:2). For the Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the colony it was important that the college not be based on tenets of established religion, even though Bishop Short was elected the inaugural Vice President of the University Association, the body charged with the responsibility of transforming the college into a university. It had been proposed that Union College offer a complete Arts course that could be provided by a university alone. The establishment of a secular university left theological courses to be offered in separate colleges affiliated with the university (Duncan & Leonard, 1973:2) and training for the ministry continued to be through independent denominational colleges. Theology was not offered by a South Australian university until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The proposed university (The University of Adelaide) was initially financed with a donation of £20000 from W. W. Hughes (*Torrens Park Estate*; pastoralist and original lease-holder of the Wallaroo copper mine), who became the inaugural President of the University Association, and £40000 from Thomas Elder (*Birksgate*; pastoralist and mining magnate); both examples of the philanthropy of the new gentry. The university aimed to offer the education and training that was required of a colony which had built its wealth on pastoralism and mining, but the traditions of the English university system still continued, as did the role of the church. The former was due, in part, to the necessity to recruit professors from England, many of whom were graduates of Establishment universities. Of the professors appointed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, eight were graduates of Cambridge, two were from Trinity College, Dublin and University College London, and one each from Edinburgh, Paris and Melbourne (Duncan & Leonard, 1973:182-187). The appointees were concerned with English thought and philosophy and brought with them their own academic and social prejudices. This resulted in Greek and Latin continuing to be taught, at least one of which had to be taken by all students (Duncan & Leonard, 1973:2).

The *University Act 1874* was vigorously debated in both Houses of the South Australian parliament and raised issues relating to whether the degrees could be considered comparable to those of Oxford and Cambridge and how membership of the University Council should be constituted. Ultimately it was decided that, of the 20 members of the Council, only four should be ministers of religion, with only one drawn from the Anglican Church, and membership was later extended to include five members elected by the State parliament. Once passed, the Bill gave the University

of Adelaide the power to offer degrees in Arts, Medicine, Law Science and Music. The Act made no specific mention of women because it was deliberately intended that the university should admit them on an equal basis to men making it the only university in Australia to have this power in its Charter (The University of Adelaide, 1974:9, 11; see also Duncan & Leonard, 1973:9). This was a radical departure from the principles and procedures of Oxford and Cambridge, but on a par with other civic universities such as the University of London which admitted women in 1878: by way of contrast Oxford did admit women but did not award degrees until 1920 and Cambridge until 1948.

Despite the foundation of the University of Adelaide, some of the new gentry elected to send their sons directly to Oxford and Cambridge (Van Diesel, 1986:363; see also Williams, 1980:98-102). Many of the new gentry still considered the schools and universities of English gentry as vital to their descendants' own social status. C. R. Cudmore, in the Foreword to the Adelaide Club centenary publication (Morgan, 1963:iii), noted,

From the early days of South Australia, probably because of the method of the then colony's foundation, and the class and type of people who came here as its founders, a certain number of second, third and now fourth generation of those founders' families have finished their education at the old 'Oxbridge' Universities.

Many of these young men returned to South Australia and became established in their professions, or on the land, and consciously adopted other trappings of the new gentry.

#### **4.2.8 *The Established Church and the new gentry***

Many of the early English immigrants sought a life apart from the influences of the Established Church, which was identified with class and society. One of Wakefield's key platforms was the separation of church and state and despite his best intentions that there would be no dominant church in the new colony and that religion would be supported by the voluntary principle, existing religious tensions in England were unfortunately transported to South Australia. Some of the clergy, however, took a poor view of Dissenters and non-conformist denominations that is, members of Christian churches other than the Anglican church and looked forward to the day 'when "the Church" would rout dissent and assume its proper place in South Australian society' (Hilliard and Hunt, 1986:202). Their aims were supported by several early governors who also supported the Church of England as the main religious institution.

Dissenters and non-conformists had begun to raise funds to build churches upon first arrival (Brown, 1974:27). This was a cause of concern to the Anglican Church, which pointed out that the Dissidents were raising funds to establish their mode of worship and that the Church of England should also increase its presence; this led to the formation of the South Australian Church Building Society (*The South Australian Register*, 15 February, 1840). As the population grew, the regions outside the limits of Adelaide were underrepresented by the churches and the debate over state aid re-emerged, as the voluntary system was not generating sufficient subscriptions (*The South Australian Register*, 24 January, 1840; *The South Australian Register*, 15 February, 1840). The government provided funds to build churches in order to



prevent 'comparative heathenism', sin and crime, although it was the Church of England which benefitted the most and was therefore able to build a dozen churches in the five year period after 1846 (Hilliard and Hunt, 1986:201). This enabled the Church of England to maintain a church in every village, some of which reflected the wealth of the new gentry in the more exclusive residential enclaves; for example St Andrew's in Walkerville, St Saviour's in Glen Osmond, and St Michael's in Mitcham (Hirst, 1973:42) (Figure 4.10).



**Figure 4.10 St Michael's Anglican Church, Mitcham.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2009.**

The debate concerning state aid to churches was one of the more divisive and controversial issues in the early days of the colony. Those opposed to state aid were predominantly Dissidents who supported the voluntary principle, while the Established church, supported by the Governors of the day, were in favour of it. In 1845 Governor Gawler, a deeply religious man and a supporter of state aid, declared that South Australia was a crown Colony and therefore its laws must conform to the Mother country and in the Mother country the church was supported by the state (Brown, 1974:32). In 1847, coinciding with Royal assent to the opinion that state aid was not a breach of the Act under which the colony was founded, Rev. Augustus Short (1802-1883), a strong advocate of state aid, was consecrated as the first Bishop of Adelaide; he was to play an important role as a key decision maker in the colony. Born in 1802 the son of a barrister, Short was ordained as a priest in 1827. From

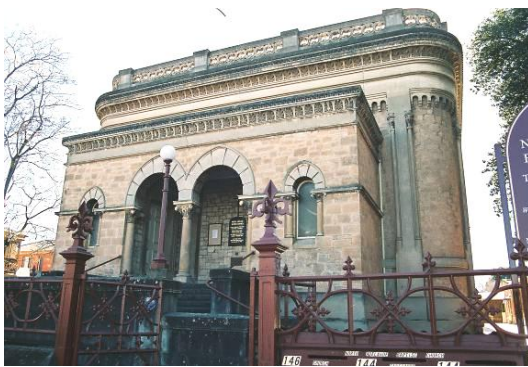
1835 he was the vicar of Ravensthorpe until offered the position of Bishop of Adelaide in 1845; he was consecrated in 1847, the same year in which his title is recorded as Doctor Short (Brown, 1974:3). He was a high churchman, and thus a divisive person in the colony, who frequently clashed with his evangelical parishioners and the colony's non-conformists. His appointment was a countervailing force to the strong non-conformist element in South Australia and was perceived by them as a deliberate strategy by the Church of England to lay claim to being the dominant church; 'an unwelcome reminder of the established church at home which many has sought to escape' (Brown, 1974:35). Unlike the ministers and lay preachers of the non-conformist churches, bishops moved among the upper classes. Bishop Short's appointment, his claim to social status in the colony, and his association with the Governor were all matters of great and long drawn out controversy. Indeed, Bishop Short assumed all the outward privileges of the new gentry, such as being a member of the Adelaide Club, along with Deacon Henry L'Estrange, both of whom acquired a similar position to that enjoyed by English bishops which was considered analogous to the aristocracy living off the country's wealth (Brown, 1974:10).

Religion, or more correctly, church affiliation, quickly became an issue for the new gentry of South Australia. In the late 1830s the majority of the estimated 800 people attending Sunday church services were non-conformists, with only 300 attending the Church of England (Hilliard and Hunt, 1986:200). At this time, clearly, most of the gentry were Non-conformist. By the early 1900s, however, the Church of England had become the church of the gentry and upper classes and many had not only converted to Anglicanism but had also transferred their sons from the Wesleyan

school of Prince Alfred College to the Anglican Collegiate School of St Peter (Van Dissel, 1986:363). The Church of England was now essentially a social institution to be attended for no better reason than that the Governor did so, with many of the early colonists finding it profitable to change allegiance as their personal social status grew (Wilcher, 1929:114; cited in Van Dissel. 1986:363). Sir Alexander Hay, for example, although he was Chief of the Caledonian Society (Presbyterian), married his second wife in Christ Church (Anglican) North Adelaide (Warburton, 1981:178) and in 1881 resigned as an elder of Stow Congregational Church to join the Church of England for his wife's sake (Laube, 2001:73). The new gentry now considered it fashionable to belong to the Church of England by re-establishing the tradition of the English gentry, including sitting in designated or enclosed pews as a display of social status (Nagel, 1971:27). This was a key indicator that the new gentry actively set about creating themselves in the new colony by changing their church membership. This was also reflected in the foundation membership of the Adelaide Hunt Club; of those members where their religious affiliation was known, all were Anglicans. This may reflect both the attitudes of Nonconformists not wishing to be associated with activities of the English landed gentry, and also their religious beliefs condemning such activities. There was not the same divide for members of the Adelaide Club. Again, where religious affiliation was known, there were comparable numbers of Anglican and Nonconformist members. Changes in religious affiliation of the new gentry beyond 1914 have not been researched as it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

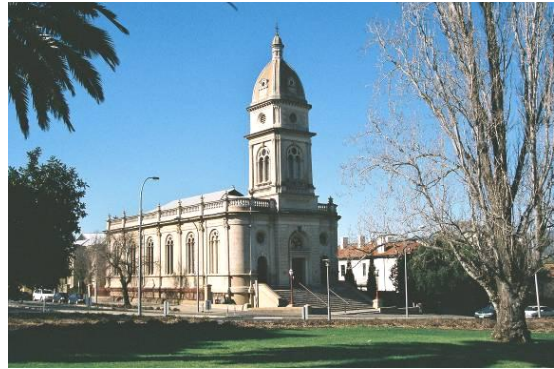
While it is difficult to establish whether there was competition between the Christian denominations to build the most impressive churches, it is noticeable that the style and grandeur of the buildings in the enclaves of the new gentry were in keeping with

the images portrayed by their stately homes. Just as the stately homes of the new gentry were statements of power, so it can be argued were the church buildings of the main denominations, with prominent locations for both stately homes and churches making an important statement to the community. The building of the Church of England cathedral on a site overlooking Adelaide is one example. In North Adelaide, sections of which were enclaves of the new gentry, many large impressive church buildings were erected for the non-conformist religions, such as the Tynte Street Baptist Church (Figure 4.11), and Brougham Place Congregational Church (Figure 4.12).



**Figure 4.11 Tynte Street Baptist Church, c1870.**

Designed by James Cumming.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2009

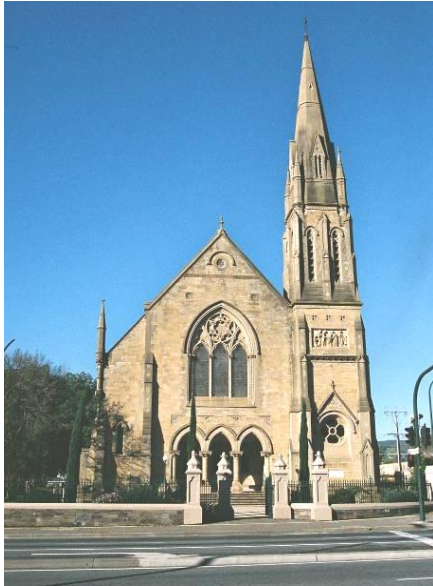


**Figure 4.12 Brougham Place Congregational Church, c1861.**

Designed by Edmund Wright in 1860.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2009

Similarly, in the residential enclaves of Norwood, St Peters and Payneham (NSPP) and Burnside, the new gentry contributed significant sums for the construction of imposing church buildings, for example Peter Wood (*Linden*) and James Gartrell (*Fernilee Lodge*), both partners in G Wood, Son & Co, contributed to the construction of two of Adelaide's prominent churches. Peter Wood, together with Sir Edwin Smith (*The Acacias*), was responsible for donating half the sum required to build Clayton Memorial Church (Figure 4.13) which was opened in 1883, the same period in which many stately homes were built. James Gartrell provided the funds to

build a Methodist Church (Gartrell Memorial Church) within the enclave of Burnside which was opened by Peter Wood, then Mayor of Burnside, in 1914 (Figure 4.14).



**Figure 4.13 Clayton Memorial Church, funds donated by Sir Edwin Smith and Peter Wood.**  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2009



**Figure 4.14 Gartrell Memorial Church, c1923. Officially opened by Peter Wood**  
Source: SLSA, B 1199.

Not only did the new gentry contribute to the construction of churches that reflected an image which was consistent with that of their stately homes, but they also built substantial homes for the bishops, priests and ministers of those churches, especially in their own residential enclaves, such as, the Anglican *Bishop's Court* and *Christ Church Rectory* in North Adelaide, the Catholic Archbishop's palace, *Duntocher* for the Methodist Church in the Adelaide 'square mile', the Roman Catholic Bishop's palace in Peterborough, and *Tortola* in Gawler for the Methodist Church. For the purposes of this thesis, these buildings have been classified as stately homes and included in the sample.

The emergence of a wealthy class in the colony who deliberately and successfully occupied the upper stratum of society created the new gentry of South Australian society. They took advantage of the opportunities that the new colony had to offer

and used their wealth to exercise economic and therefore political and social power and encouraged the next generation to consolidate their achievements by intermarriage and by friendship and business systems. They turned themselves into an hereditary ruling élite who took unto themselves the name of gentry and who demanded appropriate recognition and respect from the lower orders (Denholm, 1979:162). But it was more than wealth which was needed for them to be accepted in this role, they also had to adopt the characteristics of the English landed gentry. Genteel manners, education, religion, membership of exclusive clubs, philanthropy, social activities and a prominent position in the legislature were characteristics that were necessary for them to assume their place in society.

## CHAPTER 5 THE EVOLUTION OF STATELY HOMES

*A house is an institution, not just a structure, created for a complex set of purposes.*

(Rapoport,  
1969:46)

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising that data relating to the history of stately homes and their impact on the cultural landscape in 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia should parallel the economic development of the new colony. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the data pertaining to the emergence of stately homes, including their designers/architects, the sources of designs, the changes in the economy and the impact which all of these factors had on the external architectural features of the homes: the impact on the interior will be considered in the next chapter. However, before doing so, it is necessary to consider briefly the early history of the colony as it refers to land surveys, the spread of settlement, and general trends in economic development.

It was a number of early middle class colonists from England, seeing the potential of the 'waste lands' (that is, the unsettled portions of the new colony), who were instrumental in obtaining special surveys and so laying the foundation for the first pastoral empires. However, analysis of data obtained from investigating 206 stately homes will show that the construction of a substantial dwelling was not necessarily the first priority for many of these new colonists, especially those living in the country: 'a tent, a bark hut, a sod hut, a hut of pisé or wattle-and-daub would do' (Dutton, 1985:35; see also Hasenohr, 1977:18-23; Wilkinson, 1983[1848]:60-64). These early homes were small, primitive, exposed to the weather and, because there were often no windows, flies were numerous (O'Neil, 1982:11-26). Shelter was a

priority, therefore huts were simply constructed using materials that were readily available. Sod huts could be constructed within days, with neat solid walls made from cut black cubes of new and moist mud; the roof was usually thatched. Bark huts were made from bark cut from trees in large slabs which was uncurled by heating next to a fire, and often flattened with heavy weights with the smooth side downwards. The roof was made simply by overlaying sheets of bark, which was ‘nothing more than slating on a giant scale’ (Dutton, 1985:38) with the whole kept in place by stout saplings (Figure 5.1). Twopeny (1972 [1883]:32), in portraying the set of choices leading to this less than overtly impressive lifestyle, represents such early private houses as inclined to be ‘practical rather than beautiful, as the practical spirit of the colonists considered mere ornamentation wasteful and extravagant’. There was little incentive for squatters to build a solid and enduring house in the first instance as they did not occupy freehold land, and there was a pressing need to construct men’s quarters, outbuildings, shearing sheds and yards (Dutton, 1985:35), (Figure 5.2). However, once the pastoral property generated sufficient wealth, better housing did become a priority, especially if the squatter’s wife had remained in ‘civilization’ until a house was ready for her. Even so, there was often a gradual series of construction phases to any aspiring stately home (Tables 5.2-5.4; 5.6-5.8).





Figure 5.1 Country cottage with vertical sawn board walls and a bark roof kept flat by saplings.  
Source: O'Neil, 1982:16.

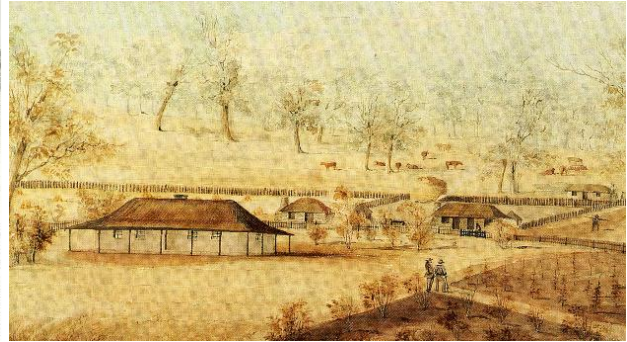


Figure 5.2 *Bungaree Homestead* c1843, painting by S. T. Gill.  
Note: the homestead is a simple thatched slab cottage, as are the smaller workers' cottages.  
Source: Hawker and Linn, 1992:38

There was also a gradual change in social status and class division which accompanied the emergence of stately homes that can be glimpsed through the external and interior material correlates of the homes themselves. Data relating to the exterior architectural features will be dealt with in this chapter, while data relating to the interior spatial dynamics of stately homes will be considered in the following chapter. Data on the current use of stately homes and the evidence of any associated buildings will be considered in Chapter 7, where discussion will focus on how the impact of these houses on the physical and social landscape has developed and changed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and what factors have contributed this.

## 5.2 THE FORTUNES CRESCENT

Underpinning the analysis in this thesis is the relationship between the new gentry and their stately homes. Therefore the aim of this section is, firstly, to collate the occupations of the owners of stately homes from the data on owner profiles (Tables 5.1: 5.5). By focussing on the economic activity of the colony, this data will provide

an insight into the correlation between occupation and the construction or modification of stately homes. A second aim is to undertake a macro analysis of the geographic location of the stately homes, the periods in which they were constructed and when any additions or modifications occurred.

It can be assumed that there was a continuing correlation between the economic fortunes of individuals and the construction and modification of their stately homes; but this analysis is more than just about individuals and their houses. It was also the impact on the cultural landscape occasioned by the construction of stately homes and the development of associated infrastructure which was evidence of social and cultural change. Changes to the built environment from cottage to stately home are expressions of individual taste and style, but it was the creation of a cohesive group through the power of association and the adoption of genteel behaviour that enabled them to dominate the cultural landscape in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

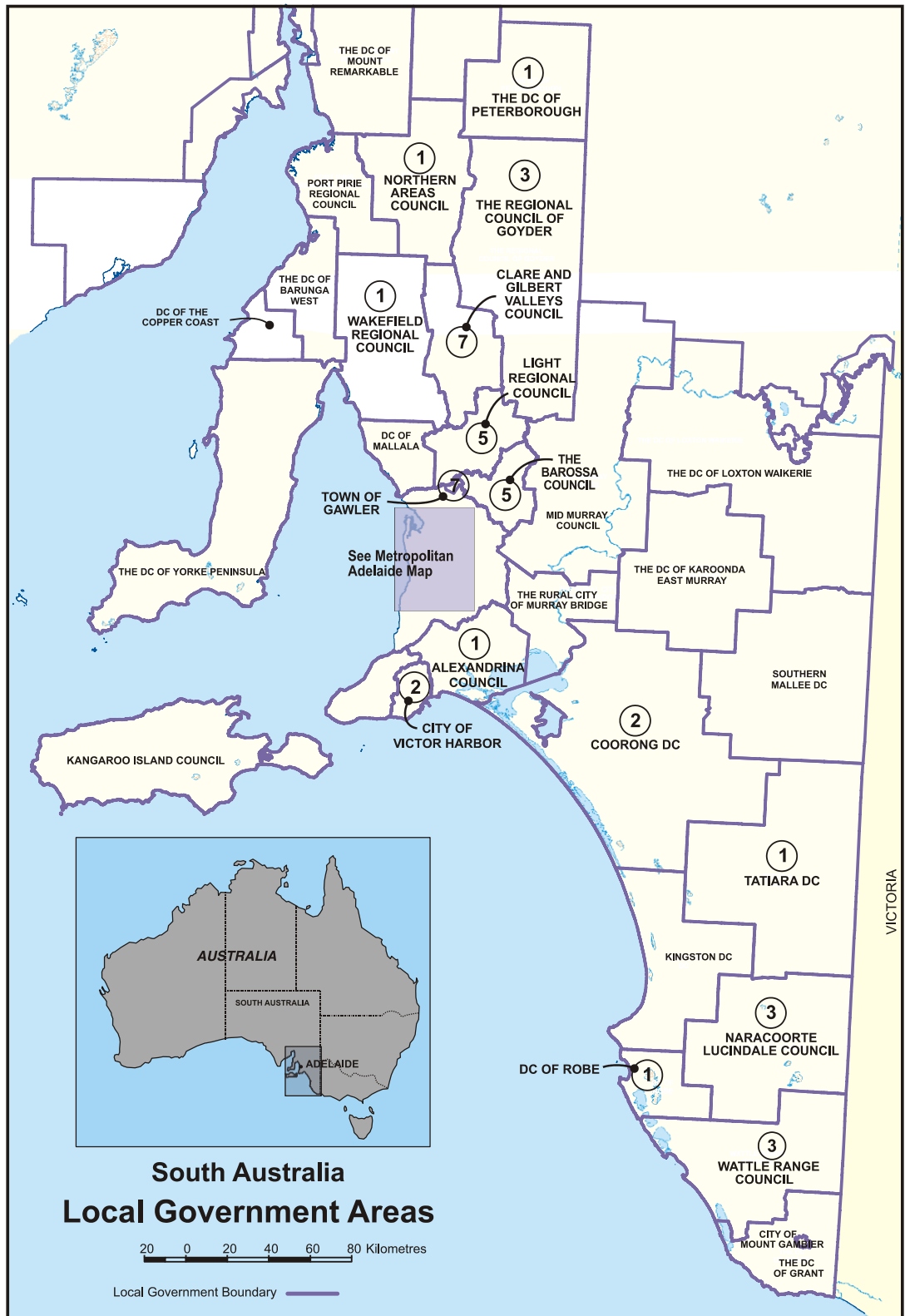


Figure 5.3 'The Fortunes Crescent' showing the number of stately homes in the South Australian country LGA s.

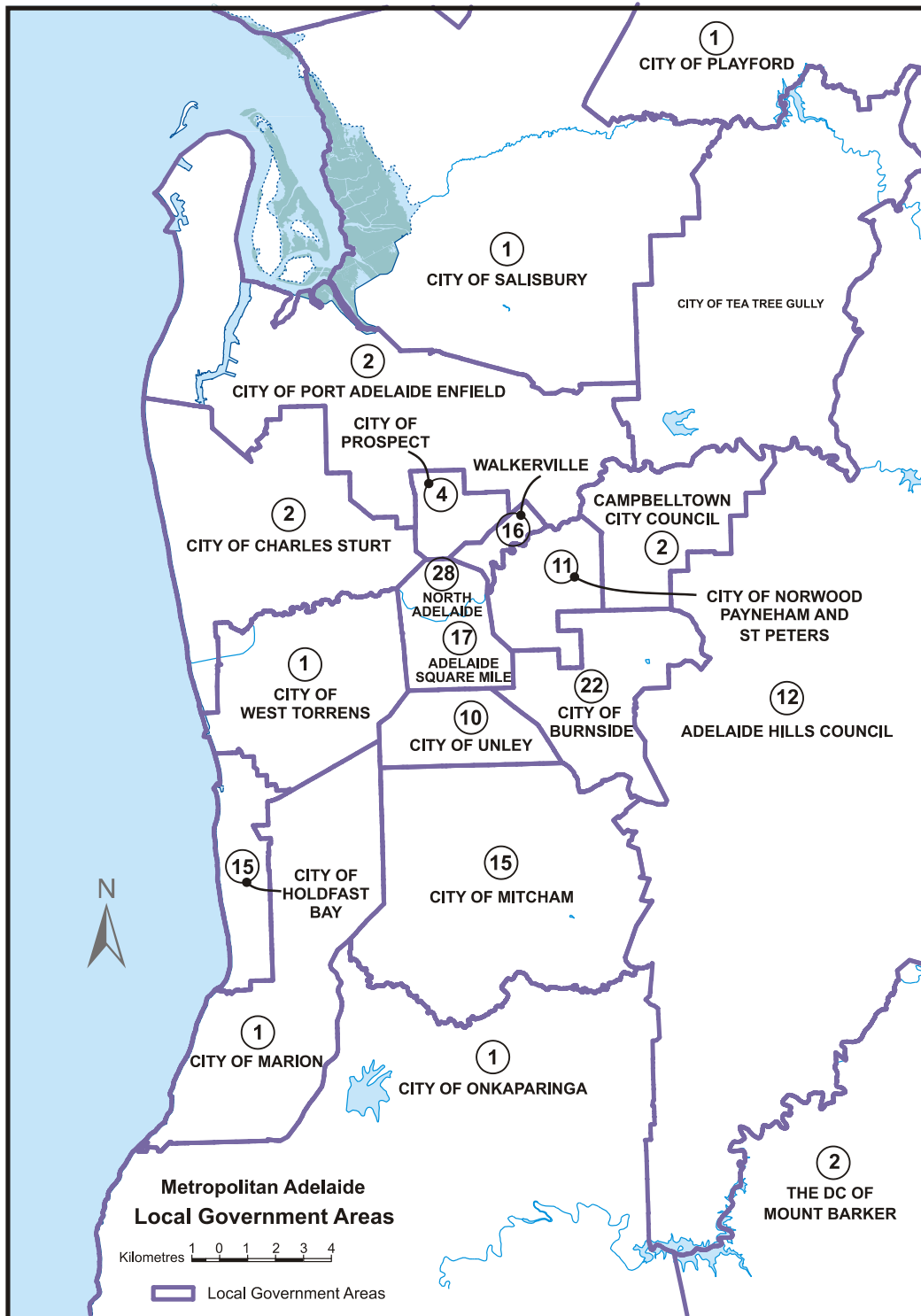


Figure 5.4 The number of stately homes in the metropolitan LGAs and the ACC.

The 206 stately homes studied in this thesis are situated in 32 of the 74 current local government authorities (LGAs), and range from the towns of Peterborough in the mid north, to Kalangadoo in the south (Table 3.1). The other 42 LGAs did not have homes which met the criteria for classification as stately homes (see Chapter 1). The majority of the stately homes in the sample for this thesis, especially in the northern region, were located in the 1841 survey areas which followed the escarpment of the Mt Lofty Ranges: an area which I refer to as the 'fortunes crescent' (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). The 'fortunes crescent' extends approximately 270 kilometres to the north of Adelaide and 450 kilometres to the south, however it is only 25 kilometres wide because of the boundary provided by the Mt Lofty Ranges to the east and the Gulf of St Vincent to the west. The exceptions are those houses in the lower south east of the state which are south of the Mt Lofty Ranges.

### ***5.2.1 Northern Country Region***

There are 31 houses located across eight LGAs in the northern region, with 23 of the 31 (74%) original owners of these properties being solely or partially involved in pastoralism (Table 5.1). This trend continued with the identified second owners, 18 of whom (64%) were again solely or partially involved in pastoral or associated industries. Of the other owners prior to 1914, 11 (69%) were pastoralists. Gawler LGA is the exception to this pattern, where only one of the eight original owners and one subsequent owner were involved solely in the pastoral industry, although a further two had both pastoral and business interests as flour millers. Gawler is a special case, however, as it was the link between the city and the pastoral and mining regions to the north (Whitelock, 1989; Yelland, 1970:109-114). It had become the

centre of heavy manufacturing in the colony by the late 1880s, specialising in the design and fabrication of farm material; it was also a transport hub for the northern regions (Whitelock, 1989:100, 128-132). Initially the easiest route for produce travelling to the coast was by bullock wagon through Gawler, but with the advent of the railway the town became not only the rail hub, but also the centre for the manufacture of steam locomotives. Gawler was also a major centre for grain, with the largest mills owned by two wealthy pastoralists (Whitelock, 1989:78; Price, 1924:129-140): Walter Duffield, who built *Para Para* on the fringe of Gawler, and Stephen King, whose property *Kingsford* was located in the hinterland in the Light LGA. The other six stately homes in Gawler were in close proximity, thus creating a residential enclave of the notable citizens of the town (Whitelock, 1989:57-60). This enclave included James Pile (*Oaklands*), the only pastoralist in the Gawler sample, but again there were special circumstances, as Pile's house was also the home of the explorer John McKinley, Gawler's most famous resident.

Therefore, with the exception of the Bishop's palace in Peterborough, and the houses in the residential enclave in Gawler, all of the properties in the northern country regions were associated with the pastoral industry, and in most cases their owners became important members of the new gentry who were influential in the political, social and economic direction of the new colony. Stately homes were also a reliable indicator of the economic fluctuations of the pastoral industry in the northern country regions and will be a point of comparison with the other regions of the colony. An analysis of the stately homes built in South Australia during the 1840-1869 period, the occupations of their owners and a comparison between regions provides an



incorporated the original dwelling or left it as a semi detached/detached building that assumed a different role and status, often as servants' quarters. Two examples are *Wolta Wolta*, where the original house was continually enlarged, primarily to cope with an ever expanding family, and *Yatara* (Figure 5.5), where the stately home was built immediately adjacent to the original cottage. Not all of these cottages survive. An original cottage at *Bungaree* (Figure 5.2), said to have been located in front of the current house, was demolished after the initial section of the new house was built. Similarly, records also suggest that there were earlier cottages at *Kingsford* and *Coulthard House* which have also been demolished. The construction date of the earlier cottage which now abuts *Tortola House* (Figure 5.6) is uncertain, but it already existed when William Wincey purchased the site in 1867. The cottage was constructed of random rubble with low ceilings, which would suggest that it was built in the early 1850s; a large chimney at one end would also indicate that it had a dual function as a residence and workshop.



Figure 5.5 *Yatara*: the early cottage is on the left.  
Note: the wooden balcony balustrade and wooden friezes.  
Photo: R. M. Stone. July, 2007



Figure 5.6 *Tortola House*: the original cottage abuts the rear of the later stately home.  
Photo: R. M. Stone. December, 2007

### 5.2.1.2 Homes constructed: 1870-1889 period

Seven houses were built in the next period (1870-1889), including the first stage of the current *Bungaree* homestead, with a further 15 either modified or expanded. Of



these, seven were built in the 1840-1869 period and *Para Para* was extended twice between 1870 and 1889. Two of the houses built in the 1870s and 1880s, namely *Martindale Hall* and *Tortola House*, have not undergone any significant changes since they were first built, although the latter did have a roof top viewing platform removed and lace work added to the balcony. Consistent with this is the fact that the basic structure of all houses first built in the 1870-1889 period still remains intact, with few additions in later periods. Building activity in the 1870-1889 period coincided with the growth, stabilisation and consolidation of the pastoral industry across South Australia and the growth of the manufacturing industry in Gawler.

#### **5.2.1.3 Homes constructed: 1890-1914 period**

By comparison, only two houses were built in the 1890-1914 period: the Bishop's palace at Peterborough, and *Bundaleer*, neither of which has been significantly changed externally since their construction, although verandahs on the Bishop's palace were enclosed in 1926 when it became a convent boarding school. As a result of the 1890s drought that adversely affected the pastoral industry, especially the northern region, and the enactment of the *Closer Settlement Act* in 1897, only six houses were modified or expanded in this later period, with *Bungaree* being the only stately home to be expanded twice.

**TABLE 5.2 Country- Northern Region LGAs**

**Summary – Building Period**

**N=8**

LGA	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Barossa	5c			3	1	1
Clare and Gilbert Valleys	5c	2		3	5	3
Gawler	3c,3	2		1	4	1
Goyder	1	2			1	
Light	3c, 1	1			2	1
Northern Areas			1		1	
Peterborough			1			
Wakefield	1				1	
Totals	16c, 6	7	1	7	15	6
TOTALS	22 (71.1%)	7 (22.5%)	2 (6.4%)	7 (25.0%)	15 (53.6%)	6 (21.4%)

c=denotes cottage or earlier dwelling

**5.2.1.4 Economic growth and stately homes**

Even though 1870-1889 was an economic boom period for the state, there were fluctuating fortunes throughout the first two periods. In some cases this prevented long term ownership and therefore earlier structures tended to undergo more change. In others, a number of pastoralists over-committed themselves financially and were forced either to sell their properties or subdivide them. Subdivisions, as will be discussed later, lowered the capacity for the property to generate income, with adverse consequences for the maintenance of stately homes. One of the more notable examples of overcommittedness was Edmund Bowman, who was forced to sell *Martindale Hall* to William Mortlock in 1879 (Warburton1979:78). Stephen King was similarly forced to sell *Kingsford* in the 1860s due to the effects of drought on his extensive pastoral leases (Whitelock, 1989:135). The early volatility of the pastoral industry was reflected in changes of ownership for many properties,

although not all were due to financial stress □ some capitalists probably took advantage of the increased value of the unimproved land and decided to sell to realise immediate profits. In the period ending 1914, only 15 of the 31 stately homes in the northern region continued to be occupied by members of the original family, with the exceptions of *Bundaleer* and *Werocata*, which were acquired by the government under the *Closer Settlement Act 1897*.

Using economic fluctuations as a base, stately homes in the northern region can be placed into two broad categories: those houses which retained their original structure and design and were not significantly altered, and those which were significantly expanded and modified. In the first group the houses that retained their original design characteristics were generally built in the later periods (i.e. after the consolidation of the pastoral industry), after personal fortunes had already been secured. Evidence of architectural design, features, image and the individual agenda of owners was less ambiguous when considering these stately homes.

The other group consists mainly of those houses which were originally more modest cottages and built in the earlier period, only to be expanded when fortunes improved (Table 5.2). This is a more complex group, with some of the original cottages forming the basis of a larger stately home, while others either abutted or remained independent of the main house: are there any differences in style, architectural features and image between the two subgroups?

Those stately homes which had more modest beginnings were often built in the 1840-1869 period. Three houses built in this period are *Wolta Wolta* (1859), *Hill River Station* (1849-1876), and *Inchiquin* (1843); all located in and around the town of Clare. *Wolta Wolta* is an example of a house which expanded in keeping with

John Hope's improved prosperity (Noye, 1997:15, 49). The house was extended twice, in 1866 when the house was enlarged and then again in 1874, when a two storey kitchen and service area were added; these were detached from the main house but connected via a covered walkway. The original cottage is still evident but with the later additions including features characteristic of a stately home; for example, superior stonework, bay windows, a conservatory and an elegant front entrance. The kitchen, service area and an adjacent cottage are of more modest construction and decoration, indicative of the increasing social and class divisions which emerged in the 1870s and 1880s (Figure 5.7) (for more details see Chapter 6).



**Figure 5.7** *Wolta Wolta*: the rear section is the first phase. To the left is the later two storey domestic section of the house and kitchen wing.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, March, 2007



**Figure 5.8** *Hill River Station*: on the left the early section of the house: note the original slate roof and house and intersection with the later additions.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, March, 2007

The original cottage of *Hill River Station* was also constructed early in the first period, namely 1849, with major extensions in 1855; the gate house was probably built in 1855, along with other workers' cottages which are still in use on the property. The two phases of construction of the main house are clearly evident (Figure 5.8) and, as with *Wolta Wolta*, the later section clearly indicates the status and affluence of the owner, C. B. Fisher, son of Sir James Hurtle Fisher, the first Resident Commissioner of South Australia. It was in the affluent second period that the next owner, J. H. Angas, also a member of a prominent early South Australian

family, built the gardens and swimming pool in 1876. The planting of numerous trees helped to establish a wide tree-lined driveway that encircled the house and came into view as visitors passed the stables but then very quickly disappeared from view when they continued along on the driveway past the house; the role of vegetation and driveways as social and cultural barriers will be discussed in the next chapter. *Hill River Station* was, and still is, a major pastoral property and the house was the focus of the large community of workers who lived and worked there, although there is little documentary evidence of a significant social role in the wider community (Noye, 1997:39-43).

By way of contrast, *Inchiquin*, which was built in 1843 by the founder and first Mayor of Clare (Noye, 1997:12), was the focus of social life in the community, and its owner, Edward Gleeson, was host to many important visitors, including several governors of South Australia. The house was, and still is, located on a large property on the outskirts of Clare, but is not fully visible from the road. The stables and coach house, which assumed the role of a gate house, are physically separated from the main house, which is located behind a substantial limestone wall. There are two entrances to the property, one which passes the stables and enters the house enclosure from the rear, while the other leads to the front of the house which is only partially visible from the driveway; the two driveways are linked. The house has a large secluded garden which acts as a visual barrier to other buildings on the property, now in ruins, and which separated the family from the workers. Again, it was the addition of the ballroom in 1884 by the subsequent owner which reinforced the stately home as the focus of social life in the community: a feature which can be compared across all regions.

The *Anlaby* complex, which was owned by the prominent pastoralist Frederick Dutton, whose son, Henry, subsequently built a famous set of gardens, is a variant within this group. The original house, which cannot be classified as a modest cottage, was not actually incorporated into the extended building. The verandah which joined the three original sections of the house was enclosed and then a library was built in the space between the side wings so as to incorporate the original front entrance. As with *Wolta Wolta* and *Hill River Station*, the final building evolved over time to suit the particular needs of the owner.

In the 1840-1869 period there are four examples where the original cottage abuts the stately home, namely *Tortola House*, *Yatara*, *Hughes Park*, and *Bungaree* (Table 5.2), although in the latter case the original cottage was demolished after the first stage of the current house was built and must be considered a unique example.

Consistent with the cottages that were incorporated into the second stage of construction, all of the original cottages that now abut the stately home were built in the 1840-1869 time period and, with the exception of *Hughes Park*, which was first extended in 1862, all were extended within the 1870-1889 period. In the case of *Bungaree*, however, what is now considered to be the stately home was built as a stand-alone structure. The first stage of the current *Bungaree* stately home was built in 1850 in an austere domestic Gothic architectural style characterised by asymmetry, decorative bargeboards and small windows, but as fortunes improved it was extended three times in the 1890-1914 period (Hawker, 1992:78). Additions to the complex of buildings included a large two storey semi detached kitchen and service area. The final form of *Bungaree* was an architectural style which particularly suited South Australian conditions, with wide surrounding verandahs and balconies.

To make a similar comparative analysis in the 1870-1889 period between a purpose built stately home, such as *Martindale Hall*, and one which had its origins as a modest cottage, is difficult. Only seven of the 31 houses built in the northern country region were built in the 1870-1889 period and none had their origins as a more modest dwelling. Only one of these, *Lanark* (later *Eringa*), was substantially enlarged. *Lanark* was built in 1876 and extended to its current dimensions by Sir Sidney Kidman in 1900, and, although the additions were large and imposing, they did not have decorative elements; this reflected Kidman's lifestyle as a pastoralist, an expert drover and bushman who regularly inspected his vast holdings (Dutton, 1985:112). Kidman, called the 'cattle king', did not have a prominent public life and probably built *Lanark* for his own private purposes and enjoyment, as there is little record of it being the hub of community life in Kapunda.

### **5.2.2 Southern Country Region**

As with the northern region, information on the suitability of land to the south of Adelaide was left to the early explorers. Governor Gawler outlaid funds for exploration, resulting in the development of Victor Harbor as an anchorage and entry port for steam navigation up the river in the 1840s. However, further exploration for some 50 miles along the Coorong south of the mouth of the River Murray, prompted him to announce that the country was 'worthless' (Price, 1924:146). Development of the southern country region therefore followed a different pattern to the north, with large unproductive and unsettled areas. The nutrient poor soil and unpredictable rainfall made pastoralism difficult and provided poor fodder for stock: a problem which was not solved for another century (Rolls, 1992:134). The major southern pastoral properties were also further from Adelaide, with the '90 Mile Desert' being

a natural barrier to overland travel. The two stately homes in the Coorong LGA were on the shores of Lake Alexandria, and bisected by the boundary of Alexandrina LGA, while the one stately home in the Tatiara LGA was adjacent to the Naracoorte/Lucindale LGA (Figure 5.3). This brings into focus the extent of the 90 mile desert which was virtually uninhabited and why the stately homes in the southern region of South Australia were influenced by trends from Melbourne. For these properties Melbourne was approximately the same distance away as Adelaide, but travel to the latter was through more hospitable terrain. Unlike their northern counterparts, the southern pastoralists did not have the same business or public interests in Adelaide, with only John (*Yallum Park*) and George Riddoch (*Koorine*) being members of Parliament; none were members of the Adelaide Club and hence there was not the necessity to maintain a city residence. Many pastoralists from the northern region, however, did have houses in or near Adelaide, with their city houses being of a comparable standard to those in the country: for example George Hawker's city residence, *The Briars*, was comparable both in size and elaboration to his country estate *Bungaree*.

There are only 14 stately homes in eight LGAs spread across the southern region (Figure 5.3), ten of which (71%) were directly associated with the pastoral industry. To this can be added *Karatta House*, built as a summer residence for Henry Jones at Robe and which is 350 kms south of Adelaide (Figure 5.3). Jones was a squatter who made his money supplying beef and mutton to the goldfields in Victoria. In terms of spatial distribution, with the exception of *The Lodge* in Alexandria LGA, all of the houses associated with pastoral properties were located south of the River Murray and were dispersed across the most southerly parts of the state. Although the number of houses in the south is relatively small compared to the north, metropolitan or



Adelaide city areas, there were both significant differences and similarities between the two country samples.

In the south there was no equivalent major industrial town like Gawler, hence no town-based residential enclaves of stately homes. However, the cooler southern climate and relatively sheltered bays of both Victor Harbor and Robe resulted in these places becoming attractive locations for summer resorts, thus providing another contrast between specific purpose houses and pastoral homesteads. Robe was also an important port which serviced the growing southern pastoral industry and was the port where 14,615 Chinese immigrants landed in 1857 before walking to the Victorian goldfields (Rolls, 1992:134). Robe was also the preferred summer location for pastoralists in the region. Many substantial buildings were erected in the town which became an important centre of social activity after *Karatta House* was purchased by Sir James Fergusson, the eighth governor of the colony, for use as his summer residence. As a summer retreat, *Karatta House* was a substantial building erected in an isolated location amongst the sand dunes. It was extended in 1869 when Fergusson added servants' quarters and again in 1870-1889 it became the summer residence of Henry Dutton (*Anlaby*) and George Riddoch (*Yallum Park*), both wealthy pastoralists.

Two houses at Victor Harbor, *Mt Breckan* and *Adare*, were built as summer retreats for wealthy businessmen. Two other stately homes located north of the River Murray are *Reynella House* in Onkaparinga LGA and *The Lodge* in Alexandria LGA. Reynella, named after Walter Reynell, owner of *Reynella House*, may not be considered a country town in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the area was a prosperous wine grape cultivation and mixed farming region; today *Reynella House*

is still surrounded by extensive vineyards and is part of a winery complex. Similarly, Strathalbyn, which is south east of the Mt Lofty Ranges and 57 kms east of Adelaide, was a prosperous pastoral and mixed farming district. Edward Stirling (also *Urrbrae House*) took out a special survey of 800 acres at Strathalbyn on a property originally known as *Hampden*, which became famous for merino sheep, cattle and horses and part of a large pastoral empire. After the original house on *Hampden* burnt down, Stirling moved to the gatehouse, hence the current name, *The Lodge*; after his death the house was occupied by his son, Sir Lancelot Stirling, a former President of the Legislative Council. Strathalbyn is still a prosperous semi rural area, but in the 21<sup>st</sup> century it is only 45 minutes from Adelaide and a major destination for antique dealers. Within the southern country region there are three LGAs which were previously either predominantly pastoral districts or associated with the pastoral industry, but which are now within commuting distance from Adelaide. The fate of the stately homes in these three LGAs was therefore similar to those on the perimeter of 19<sup>th</sup> century Adelaide where the estates of stately homes were absorbed into suburban sprawl. Stately homes in the southern country region therefore provide opportunities for comparison with both the northern country region and the metropolitan area to gauge the impact of economic and social conditions.

Of the ten stately homes in the southern region associated with pastoral properties, five retain their original use: *Koorine* and *Yallum Park* in Wattle Range LGA, *Cairnbank* and *Moyhall* in Naracoorte and Lucindale LGA, and *Poltalloch* in Coorong LGA, although the latter is also a tourist venue and provides guest accommodation in some of the original outbuildings. Only *Poltalloch* is still owned by descendants of the original owner, in this case John Bowman, although *Yallum Park* has been occupied by members of the Clifford family since 1914. The other

five stately homes are either private residences (2), a tourist venue (1), or office accommodation (2), which, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, were some of common alternative uses for stately homes in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

A common feature of stately homes in both country regions is the individuality expressed by the owners in choosing an architectural style. By the end of the period (1870-1889) a range of architectural features were common in stately homes across South Australia; these will be discussed in detail in section 5.3 below. While there were some similarities between properties, there was no dominant architectural style in South Australia. *Bungaree* (Figure 5.9) in the north and *Yallum Park* (Figure 5.10) in the south are both similar, for example; both were asymmetrical, two level houses with balconies and lace balustrades. However there are also differences; *Yallum Park* has bay windows on both the north and east elevations while *Bungaree* has the original plain two storey Georgian façade of the earlier house in the front with a bay window under the balcony on the east elevation.



**Figure 5.9** *Bungaree*: an asymmetrical house with bay windows on the left, verandah and balconies on two sides, both with lace balustrades.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, March, 2007



**Figure 5.10** *Yallum Park*: an asymmetrical design with a faceted bay windows, verandahs and balconies on two sides with lace balustrades on the balcony.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

In contrast, *Princess Royal* (1864) (Figure 5.11), designed by Edmund Wright, in the north and *Poltalloch* (1879) (Figure 5.12) in the south were predominantly Georgian

in style, with simple rectangular and prismatic shapes and symmetrical façades with verandahs on three sides, which was especially appropriate to country homesteads (Apperly, Irving and Reynolds, 1994:45). Georgian architecture was not a popular domestic style, especially in the hotter country regions, hence the verandahs added to both houses. *Russell Court* (1867) (Figure 5.13) in the metropolitan suburb of Glenelg, also designed by Edmund Wright for his brother Edward, is of a similar design to *Princess Royal*. *Princess Royal* was built in the early decades of the colony, hence its overtly English influence, and *Poltalloch*, built for John Bowman, also followed the Bowman family's affinity for an English architectural style. Edmund Bowman Snr built the Gothic *Barton Vale* (1850s) and Edmund Bowman Jnr built the Georgian *Martindale Hall* (1879).



Figure 5.11 *Princess Royal*, Burra.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007

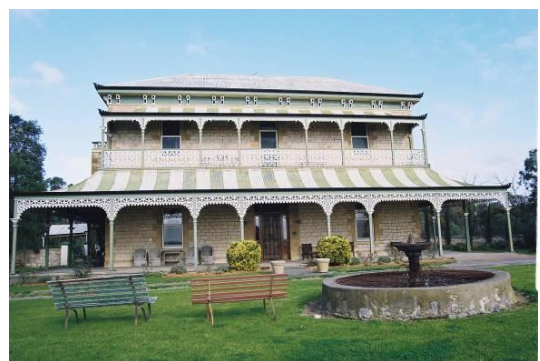


Figure 5.12 *Poltalloch Homestead*, Narrung.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007



Figure 5.13 *The Olives (Russell Court)*, Glenelg.  
Source: Jeanes, 1955:249

Other homes, such as *Wolta Wolta*, have no definable architectural style, with the final design being dictated by the original structure. What is rarely available is

documentary evidence as to the motives behind the choice of particular architectural designs and features; these must be deduced from the archaeological evidence by differentiating between functional and non-functional features of the building, the role of the building apart from providing basic accommodation, the design of the grounds and gardens as a focus of private social entertainment, and the extent to which privacy was secured by tree plantings, gate houses and lodges. Choice of architectural style may have been influenced by homes they remembered or imagined from England, such as *Martindale Hall*, said to be based on Kerr's (1865: 360) drawing of an English gentleman's house (Warburton, 1979:66), or by the dream to live a fantasy of owning a hunting lodge, such as *Clifton Manor* in metropolitan Burnside, an Irish castle, such as *Dunluce* in metropolitan Brighton, or *Holland House*. In the two country regions, distance between neighbours and the individual nature of pastoral lifestyles may also have been factors in the range of architectural styles of stately homes.

There are also some direct parallels between the two country regions. As with pastoral properties in the north, the majority of stately homes in the southern region were often preceded by either a basic settler's cottage or a more modest dwelling. Again, houses in the southern country region can also be placed into two broad categories: those which had their origins as more modest cottages; and those which from the outset would be categorised as stately homes, with any later additions not significantly changing the original design. Of the ten (71.5%) stately homes which were built in the 1840-1869 period, seven had their origins as more modest cottages and all were extended in the period 1870-1889; the other three homes built in this period maintained their basic design. Of the stately homes associated with pastoralism, six (54.5%) were preceded by more modest dwellings and only two

(18%) became the nucleus of a subsequent larger stately home, namely *Koorine* and *The Lodge*. *Reynella House* is the only other example where the original house was incorporated into the present homestead and, while not directly associated with the pastoral industry, viticulture is part of the primary industry sector and therefore followed the wider pattern of association with pastoralism. Adding *Reynella House* would increase the percentage of stately homes preceded by more modest dwellings to 25%. This is a noticeable difference to pastoral properties in the northern region, where 18 (51%) of 31 houses built in the first period were incorporated into the subsequent stately home.

The four other properties with earlier cottages preceding a stately home were *Kalangadoo House*, *Yallum Park*, *Struan House* and *Padthaway Estate*. All of these early cottages still remain in their original form and give an insight into the early lives of the pastoralists. In the first three instances stately homes were built immediately adjacent to the original cottage and incorporated the old structure as a service area, with two still serving that function for the current residents. At *Struan House* one earlier cottage is now part of the agricultural research station; there was an even earlier cottage which has been demolished. *Padthaway* is the only example where the original cottage is still a stand alone structure some 25 metres from the main house. *Adare* is the only non-pastoral property in the southern country region which has the original building adjacent to the stately home; it also functioned as a service area and servants' quarters. In the northern country region, only the cottage attached to *Tortola House* (Figure 5.6) is a comparable early cottage, although the semi-detached building on the *Hughes Park Estate* is also an example of an alternative use for the original dwelling. The remaining six houses in the southern country region were all primary structures; *Campbell Park* and *Poltalloch* on the

shores of Lake Alexandrina were built by the Bowman brothers, a family which was noted for constructing stately homes in South Australia; *Karatta House* and *Mt Breckan* were both built as summer residences, and *Koorine*, *Moyhall* and *Cairnbank*. The following table illustrates the pattern of development and the period in which these stately homes were built.

**Table 5.3** Country –Southern Region LGAs  
Summary – Building Periods  
N=8

LGA	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Alexandria	1c				1	
Coorong		2				2
Naracoorte	1c, 2				1	
Onkaparinga	1c				1	
Robe	1			1	1	
Tatiara	1c				1	
Victor Harbour	1c	1				1
Wattle Range	2c		1c		2	1
Totals	7c, 3		1c			
TOTALS	10 (71.5 %)	3 (21.4%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (8.3%)	7 (58.4%)	4 (33.3%)

Built between 1840 and 1869, *Karatta House* is less decorative than the other two dedicated summer retreats at Victor Harbor, *Adare* and *Mt Breckan*. It has a rendered exterior and few of the architectural features that are now identified with stately homes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Appendix 5. Building Survey □ External Architectural Features). *Moyhall* and *Cairnbank*, on the other hand, were both stately homes built in the late 1860s on extensive pastoral properties. A note in Heritage SA files described *Cairnbank* as being of ‘Georgian proportions’ but of comparative simplicity, which may have reflected ‘the religiosity of the Hensleys for whom the house was built’; it did not have many of the decorative architectural features of other stately homes. As with *Kadlunga* in the northern region, a verandah and

balcony were built on to the front elevation of *Cairnbank* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were few common architectural stylistic features in these three stately homes built in the period 1840-1869.

The two stately homes which have incorporated the original cottage, *Reynella House* and *The Lodge*, were both commenced in the 1840s yet their final architectural styles are very different. The extension to *Reynella House*, which was completed in the early 1870s, has bay windows with associated ornate plaster work and a lace verandah frieze. The two stages of construction at *Reynella House* are obvious, but this is not the case with *The Lodge*. It is uncertain when the extensions to *The Lodge* were completed, but the final building is a mixture of architectural styles. The first extensions to *The Lodge* probably took place in the 1850s, which coincided with Edmund Stirling's increased business activity in Adelaide and his leasing of an earlier house at *Urrbrae*.

The other five stately homes preceded by modest cottages were all built between 1870 and 1889, which again is consistent with events in the northern country region. Four of these stately homes, *Padthaway*, *Struan House*, *Yallum Park* and *Kalangadoo House*, were all pastoral properties but of more substantial proportions than either *Moyhall* or *Cairnbank* and with more architectural features and decoration. *Yallum Park* is considered by the owner, Glen Clifford, to be the 'most perfect example of a Victorian house in original condition in Australia' (*The Advertiser*, 26 April 1991). *Adare* in Victor Harbor is the final stately home which had its origins as a more modest 1840-1869 period dwelling, to which an elaborate front section was added in 1892. *Adare* is excessively ornate, equalled only by two houses in the Adelaide metropolitan area: *Attunga* which was designed by the same



architect, Frederick Dancker, and *Tranmere House*. The similarities between *Adare* and *Attunga* are also an indication that similar designs were used for properties in both metropolitan and country regions, even though they had different primary purposes.

Returning to the second group of stately homes, those not preceded by a more modest cottage, three were built in the 1870-1889 period: *Poltalloch*, *Campbell Park* and *Mt Breckan*, with *Koorine* the only one built in the 1890-1914 period. With the exception of *Mt Breckan*, which had its primary function as a summer retreat, the other three houses were pastoral properties. None of these four houses were significantly modified, although *Mt Breckan* was destroyed by fire in 1909 and rebuilt to retain its basic exterior design. Only the two Bowman houses were extended, with *Campbell Park* having a ball room added in 1881 especially for the visit of Princes Albert and George. *Koorine* was originally designed to imitate an English hunting lodge and expanded in 1904 to its current size.

The pattern of construction and subsequent extension or modification is similar in both country regions, which reinforces the fact that these houses were a barometer of economic and cultural change, especially in the pastoral industry (Table 5.4)

**Table 5.4****Country Regions****Comparative Summary – Building Periods**

COUNTRY REGION	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Northern Region N=31	22 (*) (71.1 %)	7 (22.5%)	2 (6.4%)	7 (25.0%)	15 (53.6%)	6 (21.4%)
Southern Region N=14	10 (**) (71.5 %)	3 (21.4%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (8.3%)	7 (58.4%)	4 (33.3%)

(\*) Eighteen (80.9%) of the stately homes were preceded by more modest cottages.

(\*\*) Seven (70%) of the stately homes were preceded by more modest cottages.

### **5.2.3 Metropolitan Region**

At the end of 1838, the colony was facing pressing problems; not only were there delays in land surveys and hence land settlement, but there were no organised government departments, no public buildings and a miserable harbour. However, increased migration resulted in a rapid growth of population and with it rapid development, so that by 1840 there were 8489 people living in the greater metropolitan area, of whom 6657 lived within the city; the remainder dwelt within three miles of the metropolis (Price, 1924:168). The city was the initial focus of land surveys, while the growth of the suburbs was usually controlled by geographic considerations, particularly the course of the Torrens River and its tributaries or the edges of the parklands and the location of important roads leading to the country. The majority (47%) of the residents of Adelaide, for example, lived in the north west quarter of the city, which was the gateway for the main road from Port Adelaide (Price, 1924:108). Similarly, the important early villages of Bowden, Thebarton and Prospect were principally inhabited by people engaged in the carriage of goods to

Port Adelaide. Walkerville and Kensington to the east, on the other hand, were not on major commercial routes but located in physically elevated areas, and regarded as ‘superior, having genteel residences and beautiful gardens and being altogether more aristocratic and English’ (*South Australian Magazine*, 1841:187; Price, 1924:175). Other villages quickly became part of the ‘fortunes crescent’ and the centre for prosperous farms and orchards. In 1840 the plans for Mitcham village were drawn up and, following the passing of a Bill by parliament to form District Councils in 1852, local village boundaries were defined and several local councils established.

This growth resulted in the metropolitan area having the largest number of stately homes: 115 spread across 16 LGAs. Their location follows the crescent line joining the southern and northern country regions, although there is not an even distribution; there are six major concentrations of houses in inner metropolitan LGAs, with another large group in the Adelaide Hills LGA (Figure 5.4). With the exception of Holdfast Bay LGA (similar to the Adelaide Hills and Mt Barker regions), where many houses were built as summer residences, these groupings follow the escarpment of the Adelaide Hills. They are often clustered around small creeks so that the combination of a waterway and the slightly higher elevation of the foothills provided cooler conditions in the summer months.

In contrast to the country regions, only 52 (22%) of the 231 people who owned these stately homes in the period 1840-1914 were either pastoralists or were associated with the pastoral industry. Those who were in professional occupations, such as merchants, businessmen or in manufacturing, accounted for 127 (55%), with other occupations equalling 41 (17.7%) (Table 5.5). Although fewer metropolitan stately homes were owned by pastoralists, they still represented a significant and relatively

constant proportion: in the period 1840-1869, 25.8% were pastoralists, in 1870-1889, 19.2% rising to 26.3% in 1890-1914 (although the absolute number declined from 18 to 11 in the last two periods). It must be conceded that these figures may not give an accurate picture, as the ‘other occupations’ (amounting to 42 or 18.1%) included 28 whose occupations were unknown. However, it is unlikely that ‘other occupations’ would include many, if any, pastoralists, as people in that industry tended to be considered more noteworthy and were therefore better recorded (see Chapter 3).

**Table 5.5** **Summary – Owner Profile**  
**Metropolitan Region LGAs**  
**N=15**

LGA	P	P/M	M	Prof	Prof/M	Mer	Bus	Bus/P	Man	Other
Adelaide Hills	3	2		3		1	4	1	1	2
Burnside	7		2	10		14	5		6	9
Campbelltown	1			1			2			
Charles Sturt							2		1	
Holdfast Bay	9	1		3		2	4			8
Marion							1			5
Mitcham	6	4	1	5		6	6			4
Mount Barker		1					1		1	
NSPP	2			1		5	5		1	3
Playford	3									
Pt Adelaide	2						1			
Enfield										
Prospect				1			1			2
Salisbury	2							1		
Unley	1			4		3	5			4
Walkerville	4	1	5	8		8	3	2	2	4
West Torrens								1		1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>42</b>

LEGEND: P=pastoralist; P/M=pastoralist and mining; M=mining; Prof=professional; Prof/M=professional and mining; Mer=merchant; Bus=business; Bus/P=business and pastoralism; Man=manufacturing

So, while pastoralism was the main industry in the country regions it was not the main activity of the new gentry in the metropolitan area. Many business houses would have benefited indirectly from the wealth generated by the pastoral industry, especially wool brokers and shipping agents, and others became wealthy from businesses which grew steadily along with the developing economy, especially

merchants and manufacturers. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that, since the early economy was ‘riding on the sheep’s back’, there would be a consistent pattern in the construction, modification and expansion of stately homes in the country and metropolitan areas.

### **5.2.3.1 Houses constructed: 1840-1869 period**

The number of stately homes built in the metropolitan area during the period 1840-1869 (Table 5.6) was approximately half the number in the country. Of the 46 houses built in this period, all but two were modified or expanded, with only five originally begun as a modest cottage; the others were more substantial structures, similar to *Anlaby* and the first stages of *Bungaree* and *Cummins*, which were later enlarged to become part of stately homes. One of those stately homes to originate with a small cottage was *Angove House*, a property of 15 acres which was purchased by Sir James Holden in 1866. In 1876 he enlarged the existing cottage to a mansion of 22 rooms, and developed substantial gardens with a fernery, glass houses and an artificial lake (Buttfield, 1979:56). However, the date of the earlier cottage’s construction and how it formed part of the stately home is unclear, as there is neither any description of the cottage nor any archival photographs. Similarly, Sir Alexander Hay demolished the earlier cottage at *Linden* to build his new home in 1876; again there is no archival image. The other three houses that had modest beginnings and are still extant are *Beaumont House*, *Kingston Park* and *Brighton House*.

The original cottage of *Beaumont House* (called *Claremont*) was built by Bishop Short in c1849 and purchased by Sir Samuel Davenport in 1856. It was modified in the period 1840-1869 and then again in 1890-1914, when the colonnade or arcade verandah was built (Warburton, 1981:156-158). The original building, as with other

examples where the original cottage abuts the extensions, became servants' quarters, while the later stately home was of a grander style with more elaborate decoration.

*Kingston Park*, the summer residence of the architect and politician George Strickland Kingston, was expanded several times in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and *Brighton House* had its first section built in c1840, with the front two rooms and verandahs added in the 1860s; there is clear evidence of the two phases of construction.

In summary, of those 46 houses built in the metropolitan region during the 1840-1869 period, nine (19.6%) were extended in the same period as their construction, including the rebuilding of *Linden*, 24 (51.7%) were either extended or modified in the 1870-1889 period and 11 (23.9%) were modified between 1890 and 1914. Five of these (10.9%) had been previously modified. Only two (4.3%) houses (*Athelney* and *Russell Court*) were built as is in the early period and survived without any further alteration (Table 5.6). This pattern is consistent with the two country regions, where again over 50% of homes built in the 1840-1869 period were modified in the following 1870-1889 period. Without having unrestricted access to these stately homes it is difficult to identify the original 1840-1869 house, especially where it has become incorporated into the new structure. For example, *Sunnyside*, in Burnside LGA, had a second storey added between 1840-1869 and the interior was then entirely rebuilt and a ballroom added in 1875, although the second storey and grand staircase were subsequently removed in the 1920s (Warburton, 1981:168-169). . A comparative study of the fabric, construction and architectural features of the original house with those of the extended stately home not only provides an insight into the changing wealth of the owners, but also what was considered necessary to enhance their new social status within the community (this will be explored further in Section 5.3)

### 5.2.3.2 Houses constructed: 1870-1889 period

In the period 1870-1889 a greater percentage of stately homes were built in the metropolitan area than in either of the two county regions (Table 5.6). The 1870s was a period of economic prosperity in South Australia and of the 48 stately homes built in the metropolitan area at this time, 33 (62.5%) were not significantly extended or modified before 1914. The commercial focus of South Australia was now firmly established in the City of Adelaide, with the new gentry establishing residential enclaves within the metropolitan area. Notable amongst these was Walkerville LGA (Scales, 1974:113-127), where nine (18.8%) stately homes were built in the 1870-1889 period, with only one (2.1%), *Willyama*, being modified in this period when the owner, Charles Rasp, added a ballroom (Scales, 1974:115). Prospect and NSPP LGAs also became preferred locations for the new gentry, with both having a common boundary with the Adelaide City Council. Burnside and Adelaide Hills LGAs were other regions which typified the development of stately homes in the metropolitan area. Burnside LGA was the early preferred location of the new gentry, with the first stage of construction for 14 (63%) of the 22 stately homes commencing in the 1840-1869 period. Of these 14, four (28.6%) were extended in the same period as their construction (1840-1869), eight (57.1%) in the 1870-1889 period and one (7.1%) in 1890-1914.

**Table 5.6 Metropolitan Region LGAs**

**Summary – Building Periods**

**N=16**

LGA	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Adelaide Hills	2	6	3	1	3	2
Burnside	14	7	1	4	13	3
Campbelltown	1		1		1	2
Charles Sturt	1	2				1
Holdfast Bay	6	6	3	2	5	3
Marion	1				1	1
Mitcham	7	5	2	1	6	4
Mount Barker	1	1			1	1
NSPP1	2	6	3		1	1
Playford	1				1	
Pt Adelaide	2			1	1	1
Prospect		3	1			
Salisbury		1				
Unley	5	2	3	1	4	1
Walkerville	2	9	5	1	1	2
West Torrens	1			1		
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>46 (39.5%)</b>	<b>48 (41.5%)</b>	<b>22 (19.0%)</b>	<b>12 (16.6%)</b>	<b>38 (52.8%)</b>	<b>22 (30.6%)</b>

The construction dates of stately homes in both the metropolitan LGAs of Burnside and Adelaide Hills were a barometer of the state’s economic activity and a point of comparison for this activity between the city and country regions. In the Adelaide Hills LGA, six (54.5%) of the 11 stately homes were built in the period 1870-1889, with only two (18.1%) houses built in the earlier 1840-1869 period; these were *Mt Lofty House* and *Dalintober*. With the exception of *Rostrevor*, which is on the very northern boundary of this LGA and which had its origins firmly placed within the pastoral industry, and *Dalintober* in Oakbank, approximately 40 kms east of Adelaide, which was the primary residence of A. G. Johnson, a local brewer, (the



TPI building in Adelaide was his city residence), all stately homes were mainly summer residences for successful businessmen. Those which were close to Mt Lofty summit, namely *Eurilla*, *Carminow* and *Mt Lofty House*, all built in a Victorian Gothic style, were particularly grand stately homes and formed a small exclusive enclave of summer residences; the Bonython family at one time owned both *Eurilla* and *Carminow* (Martin, 1996:16-127). The substantial nature of these stately homes is also evident in that four (66.7%) of the six built between 1870-1889, and two (66.6%) of the three built in the subsequent period (1890-1914), were not substantially modified prior to 1914.

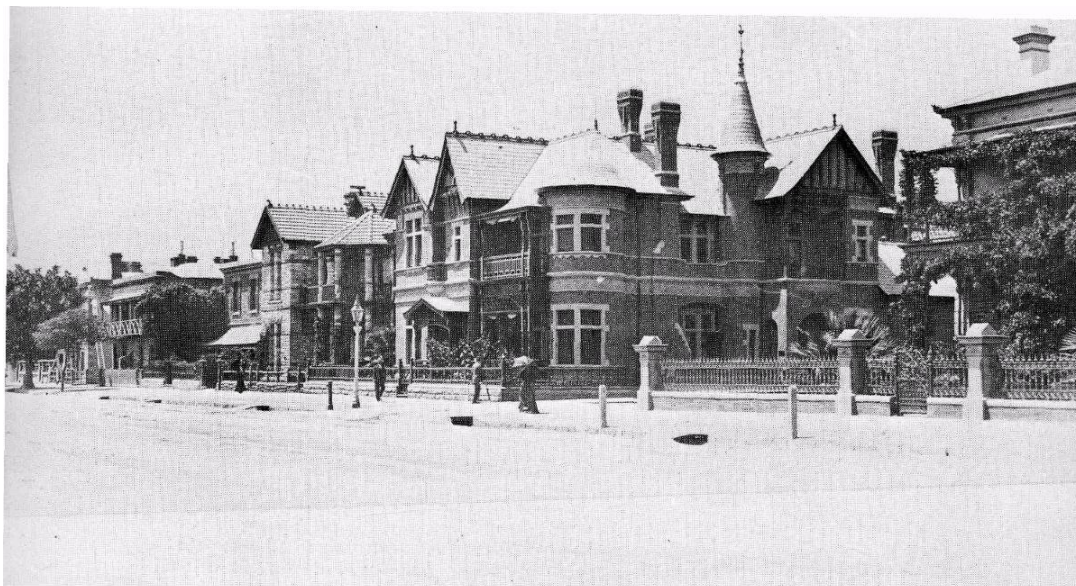
### **5.2.3.3 Houses constructed: 1890-1914 period**

Between 1890 and 1914, the number of stately homes that were constructed declined, especially in the country regions where the droughts of the 1890s had a major impact on the pastoral industry (Table 5.4). The metropolitan area was not immune to the economic downturn, with the number of stately homes built between 1890-1914 dropping to half of the previous periods. The majority of stately homes built in the last period were constructed in the residential enclaves of Walkerville, NSPP, Mitcham and Unley, with three stately homes built in the Adelaide Hills and three in the seaside suburb of Glenelg. However, as a percentage, there was not the same disparity between the metropolitan and country regions when it came to modifications and extensions, with fewer than 20% of metropolitan houses being modified between 1890 and 1914 (Table 5.8).

## 5.2.4 *Adelaide and North Adelaide*

### 5.2.4.1 The ‘Square Mile’

Although the Adelaide City Council has been considered as two distinct areas for the purposes of this thesis (the ‘Square Mile’ and North Adelaide), discussion of these two regions inevitably requires comparison along the way. Over the years, and especially in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the economic value of land adjacent to the Central Business District (CBD) of Adelaide had increased to the extent that it has exceeded the value of the stately homes built on it. As a consequence, many stately homes have been demolished, either for commercial buildings or for road widening, especially along North Terrace (Figure 5.14). On the southern side of this road only two now remain: No. 262 North Terrace and *Ayers House*.



**Figure 5.14** Mansions along North Terrace, c1901, Dr Lenton’s house (centre), designed by English and Soward, is now a multi storey car-park. Looking east,.  
Source: SLSA, B 5260.

As a result, the data for the ‘Square Mile’ does not give an accurate picture of the original number of 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes, with the majority of surviving homes

now concentrated in one critical residential enclave in the south eastern corner of Adelaide (Figure 7.4). North Adelaide was also considered to be a desirable residential location, despite the early inconvenience of negotiating the River Torrens which separated North Adelaide from the CBD. Land facing the river and overlooking the CBD soon became one of the preferred locations for the new gentry, with many moving from the ‘square mile’ to North Adelaide (Nagel, 1974:9).

Of the sample of stately homes in the ‘square mile’, only five (29.4%) were commenced in the period 1840-1869, and, of those, only *Bray House* had its origins as a modest cottage (Table 5.7). On the other hand, *Ayers House* and the Anglican Archbishop’s house, *Bishop’s Court*, were originally substantial buildings that were subsequently enlarged in both the 1840-1869 and 1879-1890 periods. The final two stately homes, *Springhill Lodge* and *Waverley*, were altered between 1890 and 1914, the former when it was converted to youth accommodation and the latter when a ball room was added.

**Table 5.7** **Adelaide City Council (ACC)**  
**(Adelaide ‘Square Mile’ and North Adelaide)**  
**Summary – Building Periods**  
**N=45**

LGA	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Adelaide ‘Square Mile’ N=17	5 29.4%	10 58.8%	2 11.8%	2 11.8%	4 23.5%	3 17.6%
North Adelaide N=28	9 32.1%	10 35.7%	9 32.1%	2 7.1%	5 17.85%	3 10.7%
<b>TOTALS N=45</b>	<b>14 32.1%</b>	<b>20 44.4%</b>	<b>11 24.4%</b>	<b>4 8.9%</b>	<b>9 20.0%</b>	<b>6 13.3%</b>

The late 1860s was a difficult economic period for the colony, with the pastoral industry adversely affected by drought; the economic downturn also affected the manufacturing and commercial sectors. Recovery in the 1870s was accompanied by

an increase in building activity, with ten (58.8%) stately homes built in the ‘square mile’. These houses were mainly located in the exclusive residential enclave on, or adjacent to, East Terrace (Figure 7.3). Only one of these houses, *Carhayes*, owned by Sir John Langdon Bonython, was significantly enlarged or modified subsequently; the exterior of the other stately homes, with the exception of the current Navy, Military Air-force Club (‘the Club’), are substantially unchanged. In the case of the Club all the verandahs and balconies were removed at an unknown date but probably after the building was acquired by the Club in 1956 (see front cover illustration). Only two (11.8%) stately homes were built in the period 1890-1914, neither of which was significantly modified prior to 1914.

#### **5.2.4.2 North Adelaide**

The pattern of construction is different in North Adelaide. Unlike the ‘square mile’, a similar number of stately homes were built in each of the three time periods (Tables 5.7 and 5.8). Included in the nine (32.1%) stately homes built in the 1840-1869 period was the *Bishop’s Court* (the home of the then Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, Augustus Short), the adjacent rectory of Christ Church, and nearby *Belmont House*, which was originally built in 1858 as a Masonic Lodge but then expanded and modified in 1863 to become the private dwelling of Dr Woodforde. Of those nine houses built in the first period, six were enlarged or modified, two in the 1840-1869 period, and four in the 1870-1889 period, with *Belmont House* being enlarged in both periods and *Bishop’s Court* enlarged in the 1890-1914 period.

Ten houses were built in the 1870-1889 period with only one being extended prior to 1914; *Downer House* had a ballroom added in 1882. Three were extended or

modified in the 1920s, *The Avenues* and *Lea Hurst* when converted for use as a hospital and the former Correspondence School was extended twice.

A further nine houses were built in the 1890-1914 period, of which only *Carclew* was extended when, in 1908, a library was added to the north west corner by Sir J. Langdon Bonython. The majority of North Adelaide stately homes built in the last two time periods have remained virtually unchanged; this provides valuable insight into what was considered to be the important indicators of wealth and social status amongst the new gentry of Adelaide during these periods (this will be explained further in Section 5.3).

**Table 5.8** **Construction by Period**  
**Comparative Summary (Percentages)**

LGA	DATE BUILT			DATE MODIFIED		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Northern Country N=31	71.1	22.5	6.4	25.0	53.6	21.4
Southern Country N=14	71.5	21.4	7.1	8.3	58.4	33.3
Metropolitan N=116	39.5	41.5	19.0	18.0	52.8	29.2
Adelaide 'Square Mile' N=17	29.4	58.8	11.8	11.8	23.5	17.6
North Adelaide N=28	32.1	35.7	32.1	7.1	17.85	10.7

### 5.3 ARCHITECTS AND THEIR SOURCES

Twopeny (1972 [1883] 30-38) considered that there was little to admire about early South Australian architecture especially private houses which did not pretend to any architecture at all. He claimed that 'many of the architects are self taught and have little or no apprenticeship in the profession' (Twopeny, 1973 [1883]:32), and that there was no architectural profession in the colony but a trade where buildings were planned by successful builders. The question arises as to the source or inspiration for the architectural designs of stately homes. In England, books and magazines on house designs would have been readily available but this would not have been the case in the early decades of the colony. Some English publications, such as *The Builder*, described as 'literature by professionals for professionals' (Girouard, 1985:16), if it was available in South Australia in the 1840s, would not have provided the practical information needed by builders to construct their cottages. Wilkinson (1983[1848]:29) advised prospective immigrants to have a few books when travelling to South Australia but books, especially on architecture, did not feature in the extensive lists of what emigrants should include in their baggage. However, books were important to pastoralists, especially in the period after they had constructed their first homes. Leisure was more plentiful and reading became the chief pastime with the majority of books, many acquired haphazardly from various sources, read many times to overcome boredom (Dutton, 1985:48). Histories and English poets such as Milton and Shakespeare are listed in the collections (Dutton, 1985:48) but neither Twopeny (1972 [1883]) or Wilkinson (1983[1848]) mention building or architectural literature in their account of early South Australian housing and their construction.

The availability and circulation of books was hindered by the tyranny of distance. South Australia covers a large area, 984, 377 square kilometres (England is only 130, 395 square kilometres) and in 1842 there was only a population of 38,700. In 1851 this had risen to 67,400 and by 1861 to 126, 800 but was still only 358, 300 in 1901. The first recorded discussion on the establishment of a library was made by the first residence commissioner, Sir James Fisher in 1836 but the proposal was not supported by Governor Hindmarsh who stated, 'what goods will books do in our colony?' (Morphett, 1955:5). Further attempts were made in 1839 to open a library with books being donated by individuals; the first collection of books from England for a public library was only 117 volumes. Vast distances, small population and the expense of acquiring books prevented the early establishment of regional libraries. It was not until 1856 that legislation was passed to form an institute library but it was not until 1884 that the Public Library building was opened on North Terrace in Adelaide.

Twopeny (1973 [1883]:33) argues that the early colonists who built houses for themselves wished to imitate their old homes in England or, if they came from other parts of the world, a particular house in the town where they had lived. For example, George Angas assisted 500 German speaking Lutherans immigrants who built colonial homes and farm buildings unique to Australia together with their distinctive Lutheran churches (Page, 1985:24). Therefore, it is argued that the absence of a single architectural style in South Australia can partly be attributed to the paucity of architectural literature, the region or country of origin of the builders and the small number of trained or experienced architects and designers in Adelaide.

The early architects, like the people for whom they designed their houses, were independent in their views on architectural style, hence many architectural business partnerships were short lived; many were also involved in public life (Bagot, 1958). An early and influential architect was George Strickland Kingston, who believed that architecture reflected the whole ethos of a community, and who developed a South Australian architectural style adapted to the local society, available materials, and local environment (Page, 1986:21). Kingston, who had received some architectural training in England, was appointed deputy-surveyor in the colony; a profession for which he had no experience. He proved incompetent and his quick temper led to his falling out with both officials and survey teams (Price, 1924:31, 73, 87, 89; see also Morphett, 1955:70-71). In 1839 Kingston returned to architecture and established himself as the first trained architect in the colony. He designed many stately homes, the first being *Cummins* for John Morphett, followed by *Bray House*, *Rust Hall* (Figure 5.15), *Glanville Hall* (Figure 5.16), *Ayers House*, *Bishop's Court* and *Oaklands* in Gawler. His 'signature' features included arched entrance porches, colonnaded verandahs and wide verandahs designed to cope with South Australian summers (Page, 1986:21). Through his architecture, George Kingston moved in influential circles and from 1849 took an active role in colonial politics, being a strong advocate for universal suffrage. He was elected to parliament, was the speaker of the first House of Assembly and in 1879 became one of the first 'colonial' knights. His son, Charles Cameron Kingston, became one of South Australia's progressive premiers.





Figure 5.15 *Rust Hall*, designed by G. S. Kingston for Sir Arthur Blyth.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2007.



Figure 5.16 *Glanville Hall*, designed by G. S. Kingston for John Hart.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007.

George Soward who, in partnership with John Wood, designed *Rostrevor*, *Woodlands* and John Rounsevell's home in Hutt Street, now the Navy and Military Club. George Soward's son, George Klewitz Soward, also an architect, specialised in large houses, often in the Gothic Style, notably *St Corantyn* on East Terrace (Figure 5.17) and *St Margaret's* in North Adelaide (Figure 5.18). Among the list of other stately homes George Klewitz Soward designed were *Wairoa*, *Strathspey*, *Meitke House*, *Fullarton Park*, *Hawker House*, *Hughes Park* and his own dwelling in Glenelg. As with George Kingston, George Klewitz Soward moved amongst important citizens, was elected to parliament and was a board member of the Public Library, the Museum and the Art Gallery.



Figure 5.17 *St Corantyn*, designed by G. K. Soward for his son-in-law, Charles Hornabrook.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2007.



Figure 5.18 *St Margaret's*, designed by G. K. Soward for Arthur Waterhouse.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007.

William McMinn, born in Newry, County Down in 1844, was another influential architect who has the distinction of being one of the earliest practitioners to be trained in South Australia. In 1864, at the age of 20, he left architecture and joined the first overland expedition to the Northern Territory not returning to South Australia and architecture until 1870 (Bagot, 1958:4). Articled to James MacGeorge, who designed *Holland House, Glenburnie* and *Waverley*, in 1869 he entered into a brief partnership with Daniel Garlick, a member of the Adelaide City Council, who designed 80 churches in the northern country region, and also *Para Para, Lea Hurst* and *The Avenues*. As an architect, McMinn represented the independent and individual spirit of the colony with designs across all genres; from the stately Gothic mansions of *Mt Breckan* and *Marble Hill*, Italianate *Montefiore* and *Dimora*, to *Addington* with its arcaded verandah and the French Provincial/High Italianate house at 261 North Terrace (Morgan and Gilbert, 1969:151).

Architects can be identified for only 71 of the stately homes included in this thesis (Appendix 2. Building Survey □ Internal Features). For many others it is likely that they were built to the individual request of the owner. With multiple indoor and outdoor servants, wealthy early colonists often commissioned homes with large rambling gardens without regard to domestic convenience. ‘At the same time, builders used pattern books as guides for the more modest but equally substantial homes for the thriving middle classes, artisans and working men’ (Page, 1986:79).

Colonial architecture developed a strange mix of formal and vernacular styles, with the formal individual architectural styles being designed by the growing number of professional practitioners, compared to the more standard and consistent design of vernacular cottages. The architecture that evolved was a response to the

commercialism, pastoralism and sectarianism of the South Australian people and their place. What also emerged was an architectural representation of social hierarchy and segmentation, and nowhere was this more evident than in the concept of a walking city (Herman, 1995:234; see also Donley-Reid, 1993:114; Wilk, 1993:34).

#### **5.4 EXTERNAL ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES □ A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

The discussion so far in this chapter has focussed on the overall pattern of changing economic and cultural conditions as manifest in the construction of stately homes and their expansion or modification in the three periods ending in 1914. A common factor throughout was that each home became not only a large imposing building, but also a cultural phenomenon □ in other words they were much more than just a ‘physical or utilitarian concept’ (Rapoport, 1969:46). Johnson (1993:140) asks the question ‘how do contemporary large and small houses differ from one another and what may this tell us about the relations between their inhabitants?’. While this discussion centres on the change in England’s 17<sup>th</sup> century farming economy, with economic polarisation through the growth of material inequality from a social and ideological sense, there was also a withdrawal of the upper and middling social groups from the body of shared values and the culture that formed those values; the analogy is relevant to 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the early days of South Australia there was no infrastructure or industry, and no indigenous housing to be adapted by the colonists for their own use, so early houses were built from bark or whatever material was at hand (see Hasenohr, 1977:21). The traditional design was, in the main, a simple two roomed structure with a hipped roof

which was later extended to four rooms with the latter two rooms having a skillion roof (see Boyd, 1968). As discussed above, wealth generated through mining and pastoralism resulted in an almost immediate departure from the early egalitarian society to a polarised or hierarchical one through growth of material inequality. As in England, one medium through which this polarisation was manifested was through architecture (Johnson, 1992:140).

The stately homes built by the wealthy individuals were, 'out of the ordinary, exceptional, national or international in taste and style and large in size', with a tendency to a particular range of architectural decoration (Johnson, 1993:140). There was an immediate departure from the almost 'invisible' early vernacular housing, which did not make an individual statement or impact on the landscape, to the large ornate structures which reflected status and social standing; nowhere is this better illustrated than in those stately homes where the original cottage is still standing, for example, at *Yaldara* (Figure 5.5), *Tortola House* (Figure 5.6,) *Yallum Park* (Figure 5.10) and *Struan House* (Figure 5.20). From 1870, Twopeny's (1973[883]:32) claim that houses of the early colonists were practical and expenditure for mere ornamental purposes was wasteful and extravagant, no longer seemed to apply to the new gentry. The overt or covert social meanings of these large imposing buildings are supported by the argument that the building environment reinforced socially important values and goals and hence buildings were symbols representing ideas and practices in a social realm (Gutman, 1976:43; see also Johnson, 1993:141); that is, architecture contributes to one's perception of self in relation to the world (Blake, 2007:236). In other words, if stately homes were symbols of wealth and became 'power houses', then this display can also be interpreted in symbolic terms (Girouard, 1978:3ff). If every part of a building is designed with a particular purpose or set of purposes in

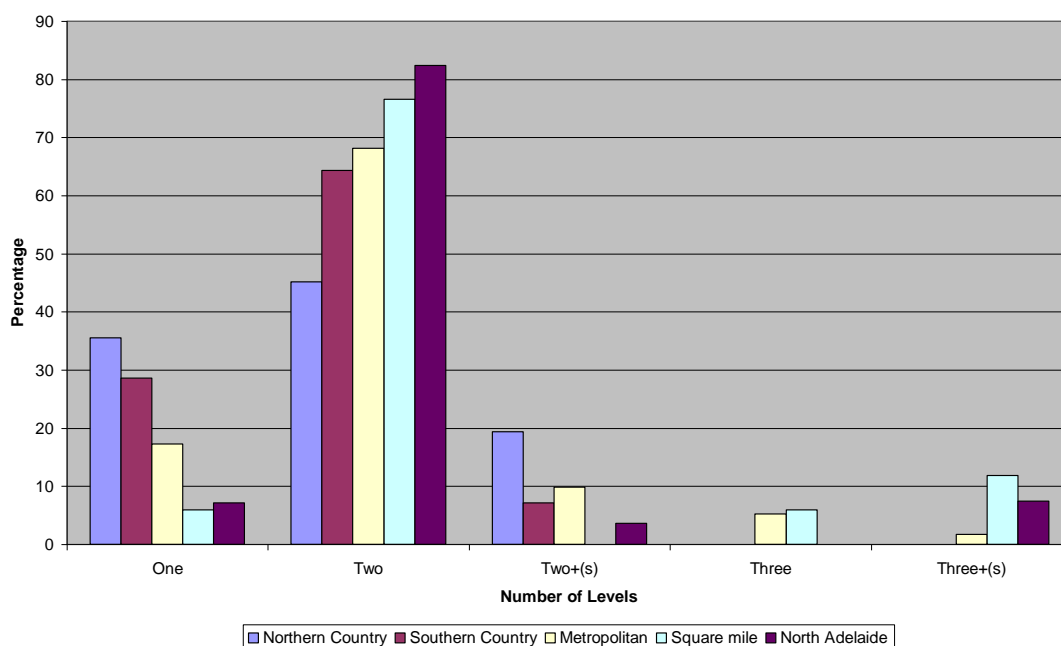
mind, then the ornamentation and decoration of that building will attract attention to those features (McBride and Clancy, 1976:168). Attracting attention in turn fosters an active response to the symbolism that the builder of the stately home is trying to project.

So, subsequent modifications to original dwellings do more than merely indicate periods of economic growth or the relative financial wellbeing of individuals. Changing architectural styles can also be a display of class and reflect perceived changes in social status. A closer examination of the stately homes reveals a consistency in the objectives of their owners when making changes to their dwellings such that stately homes consistently included a range of key external architectural features: chief amongst these were the number of levels, decorative verandahs and balconies, bay windows, the use of stained glass windows, towers and turrets, imposing front entrances and gardens. (Appendix Five. Building Survey – External Architectural Features).

### ***5.3.1 Levels***

Johnson argues that one of the key social meanings of a great house is the need to have a view over its park and estate, preferably combined with a formal garden; covertly, its meanings are attached to the symbolism associated with non-functional architectural decoration (Johnson, 1993:141). Therefore, if a stately home is going to make any kind of social statement, then being a prominent fixture in the landscape is an obvious place to start. Building a multi-level stately home not only sets the house apart from the more modest dwellings of the majority of the community, but also sets the bench mark and creates a literal ‘something to look up to’ for those aspiring to the ranks of the new gentry.

Chart 5.1 External Architectural Features - Levels  
 [(s) denotes one floor is subterranean]



The figures (Chart 5.1) clearly indicate that multi-storey buildings were preferred by the new gentry for their stately homes. There is a consistent pattern across the state, with a similarly high number of multi-storey homes in North Adelaide and the ‘square mile’. The highest percentages of single-storey homes were in the two country regions, while the metropolitan area, which was represented in all categories, reflected a more diverse range. The greater number of single level stately homes in the country regions is not due to a single factor but included the early modest single-storey cottages which were retained, for example at *Wolta Wolta*; abundance of land may have been a factor. Of the three houses were built in the country regions during the 1890-1914 time period, only the Bishop’s Palace in Peterborough was multi-storeyed.

In the northern region, 11 of the 31 (35.48%) houses were always single storey.

However, there is no discernable pattern as to why this is, since three (9.7%) were

purpose built in the latter two time periods, and five (16.1%) (all of which originated as cottages), remained single storey even after extensions were made. It is worth noting that, many of the single storey houses, such as *Holland House*, also had cellars, and/or a tower containing a single room. Multi-storey stately homes were in the majority in the northern country region, with 20 (64.5%) having two or more storeys. Of those, six included a suite of subterranean rooms in addition to a set of normal cellars beneath. The most extensive suite of subterranean rooms was at *Anlaby*, which also featured a subterranean ballroom. Subterranean rooms, a unique feature of South Australian stately homes, were a means of escaping the hot summers and were a luxury feature not found in ordinary houses. In the pastoral regions and smaller towns like Kapunda these stately homes would have made a strong visual statement, while those in the town of Gawler, although competing with substantial public buildings, were built in prime elevated locations.

In comparison to the northern region, ten (71.42%) of the 14 houses in the southern country region were multi-storey, although none had more than two above ground levels; *Adare* had three levels but one was a single subterranean room. Although the sample size is small, only one of the four (28.57%) single storey houses (*Campbell Park*) was purpose built in the 1870-1889 period. The other three were originally more modest single storey buildings and remained as such after extensions were carried out. Of these, *The Lodge* and *Reynella House* were first erected in the 1840-1869 period and extended between 1870-1889, while *Koorine* was built in the 1870-1889 period and extended in the 1890-1914 period.

One noticeable trend is that multi-storey buildings were greatly preferred by the new gentry in the metropolitan area, especially in the residential enclaves, with 82.75%

having multiple levels (Chart 5.1). In Burnside 81.81% of stately homes had two or more levels, but in the later enclaves a greater than average number were multi-storeyed, with 100% in Walkerville and 90.9% in NSPP. Multi-storeyed stately homes were also the choice of the new gentry in the Adelaide Hills, with 91.66% having two levels or more. By comparison, 80% of stately homes in Holdfast Bay LGA, the other preferred location for summer residences, were multi-storeyed, with the three single-storeyed homes only built in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

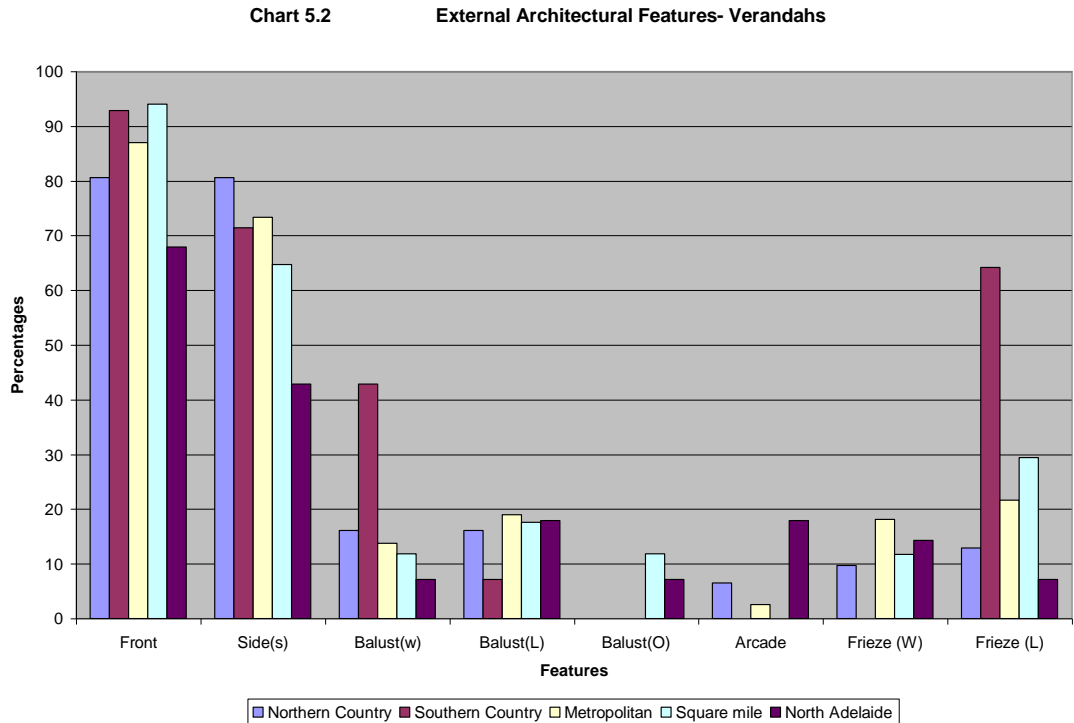
In the Adelaide regions multi-level homes were preferred, with only one house in the ‘square mile’, *Bray House*, and two in North Adelaide, *Buxton Manor* and *Grenfell Price Lodge*, being single-storey (Chart 5.1). Both regions had two three storey houses with the third levels in both cases being subterranean. The most notable example of this is *Ayers House*, the subterranean level of which accommodated extensive storage rooms, a butler’s room and a summer sitting room.

### **5.3.2. Verandahs**

Along with size and multiple-levels, verandahs and balconies were common features of stately homes (Chart 5.2). Verandahs appeared at a very early stage in Australia’s history; in New South Wales there were soldiers who had served in other British colonies who were aware of the virtues of verandahs in a hot climate (Baglin and Moffitt, 1976:5). Verandahs were a feature of houses in India, Portugal and Spain, but the use of wide verandahs at this time also became traditional on Australian houses (Colwell and Naylor, 1974, np). In fact, the verandah has been considered as the outstanding contribution to the distinctive architecture of Australia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and became an integral part of Australian vernacular tradition (Baglin and Moffitt, 1976:5, 9). The majority of stately homes featured a verandah on the front



elevation of the house, with a lesser percentage (but still greater than 60% in all regions except the ‘square mile’) having a verandah on at least one side elevation.



**Legend: (s)=more than one side; Balust =balustrade; (W)= wood; (L)= lace; (O)= other.**

In the northern country region only three (9.7%) houses (*Holland House, Martindale Hall and Kingsford*) did not have a front verandah, in keeping with their English Gothic or Georgian styles; styles which were impractical for the harsh heat of South Australian summers. *Princess Royal*, built in 1861, was one of the first stately homes to adapt the English Georgian style to include verandahs on all sides; this adaptation of the Georgian style was also a feature of *Poltalloch* (1876). In the northern region verandahs were a common feature of stately homes, mainly to counter the summer heat, but if verandahs were an integral part of Australian vernacular tradition (Baglin and Moffitt, 1976:9) then it would be expected that they would also feature in the southern country region, despite the more temperate climate. Thirteen (92.9%) of the 14 houses in the southern region had front verandahs; the only house not to have one

was *Mt Breckan*, which was consistent with its Gothic architectural design. Ten (71.42%) of the 14 houses also had a verandah on at least one side elevation, including *Mt Breckan*, which is a slightly lower percentage than in the north (80.64%).

Consistent with the stately homes built in the country regions, a verandah was a necessary architectural feature for houses in the metropolitan area, with 101 (87%) of the 116 houses having a verandah on the front elevation, and a further 85 (73.3%) having one on at least one side elevation (Chart 5.2). The lower percentage of verandahs on stately homes in North Adelaide compared with houses in the metropolitan area and ‘square mile’ is noticeable. Only 19 (67.9%) of the 28 stately homes in North Adelaide had verandahs, compared to 16 (94.1%) of the 17 in the ‘square mile’; the Roman Catholic Archbishop’s palace was the only stately home in the ‘square mile’ not to have a verandah on the front (west) elevation, although it did have verandahs on the northern and eastern elevations. It can be argued that the relatively lower percentage of stately homes with verandahs in North Adelaide was due to their architectural style and date of construction. Of the nine stately homes without a front verandah, three were built in the period 1840-1869, one in 1870-1889 and five in 1890-1914. Those built in the first time period emulated typical English architectural styles, such as Georgian and Tudor, where verandahs were not deemed necessary, for example *Belmont House* (Figure 5.21) and Christ Church rectory (Figure 5.19). *Hawker House* (Figure 5.20), built in 1883, is described as an early Italianate design which also did not include a verandah (notation: Heritage SA file, 1984). Those built in the last time period were all constructed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it was possible that verandahs were no longer in fashion. It can be speculated that the lower percentage of verandahs on a side elevation in both ‘the

square mile’ and North Adelaide could be due to the more ‘suburban’ environment, with the original town acres having been subdivided for closer settlement. This meant that they had closer neighbours, with many houses being built closer to the boundary of the property, hence creating a greater need for privacy.



Figure 5.19 Christ Church Rectory, c1850

Source: Morgan and Gilbert, 1969:102



Figure 5.20 *Hawker House*, now part of St Marks university residential accommodation

Photo: R. M. Stone, May, 2006



Figure 5.21 *Belmont House*. Plastered front elevation with engaged columns and portico entrance.

Photo: R. M. Stone, January, 2009

The verandah itself was not unique to stately homes; it was a necessity on most houses to endure the hot Australian summers. However, it was not the verandah *per se*, but how the verandah on a stately home was embellished that made it stand apart from verandahs on more modest dwellings. It was the decorative balustrades, friezes, verandah posts and brackets that were used as symbols of wealth and image and were certainly not a common feature on worker’s cottages. Cast iron or lace balustrades

and friezes were a prominent feature in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, although some decorative carved timber balustrades and friezes were also symbolic of the owner's wealth, especially those at *Parramatta Villa* (Figures 5.22 and 5.23).



**Figure 5.22** *Parramatta Villa*, North Adelaide. Elaborately carved timber verandah posts capitals and brackets.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007



**Figure 5.23** *Parramatta Villa*. Elaborately carved timber bracket.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

The decoration of verandahs on stately homes does not follow any consistent or discernable pattern, which once more reinforces the individuality of the owners. For example, one feature of stately homes in the southern country region is the higher percentage of homes with wooden balustrades (only *Adare* has a lace balustrade), yet conversely the southern region had the highest percentage (64.3%) of cast iron lace friezes, and no wood friezes. Lace was the preferred material but limiting its use to friezes probably reflects the cost of transporting heavy lace balustrades from both Adelaide and Melbourne to the remote areas in the south. With verandahs deemed to be a necessity, their embellishment with a range and combination of materials was the choice of the owner who wished to reflect their individuality and to project an image of wealth and status.

### 5.3.3 *Balconies*

Unlike verandahs, the data would indicate that balconies were not deemed to be such an essential architectural feature, since they did not apply to single-storey houses (Chart 5.3). While neither historical records nor the archaeological data indicate why some owners chose to have balconies and others did not, what is evident is that, in addition to their functional role, they had a prominent role in display. Owners of stately homes chose the more decorative Italianate architectural style rather than the more austere qualities of the Georgian. While there was tendency by the new gentry to adopt similar architectural features, it was the individual choice of the owners how these would be used. This can best be illustrated by comparing two stately homes of similar proportions, both with multi-level decorative towers: *Struan House* and *Eynesbury*. Both have verandahs on all elevations, but only *Eynesbury* has both verandahs and balconies on all elevations (Figures 5.24 and 5.25). However, there is no discernable pattern behind why some houses had balconies and other did not. John Robertson, pastoralist, built *Struan House* in 1873 in the southern country region (Naracoorte LGA), while George Wilcox, merchant of metropolitan Mitcham, built *Eynesbury* in 1880. There is no record that one influenced the other when selecting the design of their houses nor is there any record that they had the same architect. Architects, if one had been used, may have influenced the architectural design; for example *Princess Royal* and *The Olives* were designed by Edmund Wright, but he also designed *Belmont House* which had no verandahs.



Figure 5.24 *Struan House*, No balcony; verandah with lace brackets.

Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007.

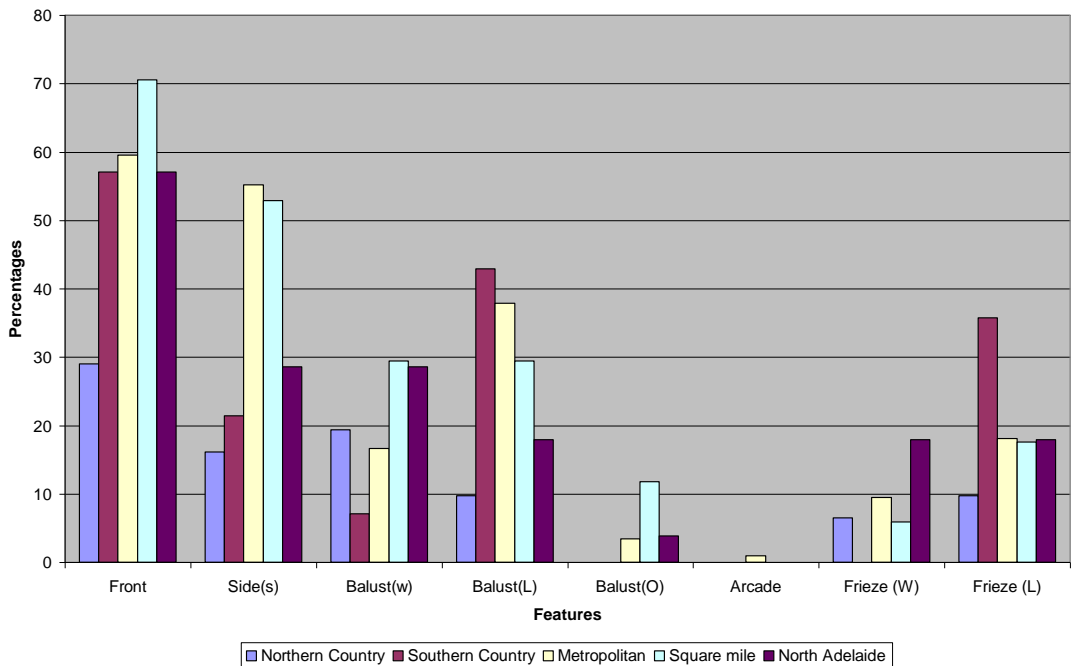


Figure 5.25 *Eynesbury*, c1982. Elaborate lace balustrades on the balcony; lace friezes and brackets on both the verandah and balcony.

Source: Heritage SA files.

While the absence of a balcony on some stately homes would be in keeping with their particular architectural style, for example Gothic and Georgian, the data would suggest that the balcony was a means of portraying a specific image that the individual owner wished to project (quite literally).

Chart 5.3 External Architectural Features - Balconies



Legend: (s)=more than one side; Balust=Balustrade; (w)= wood; (L)= lace; (o)= other.

There is a noticeable contrast between the two country regions, where the inclusion of a balcony on stately homes in the northern region is not only lower compared to all other regions, but is also only 50% compared to the south. There is also a difference in the choice of decoration, with a greater percentage of stately homes in the southern country region having both lace balustrades and friezes, for example *Yallum Park* (Figure 5.10) and *Padthaway* (Figure 5.26), whereas in the north they were predominantly timber, for example at *Yatara* (Figure 5.5) and *Coulthard House* (Figure 5.27). There is a noticeably higher percentage of lace used in the southern country region than in any other region. Eight (57.1%) of stately homes in the southern region had balconies and, of these, six (42.9%) had lace balustrades with five (35.7%) also having lace friezes; this is in direct contrast to verandahs in the northern region which did not have lace balustrades. It could be assumed that the reverse would be the case given the large foundry in Gawler and that the majority of cast iron ornamentation in South Australia was produced locally (Robertson, 1973:16). Today the use of lace conjures up an image of wealth, but the greater use of lace in the southern country area cannot be attributed to differences in the economies of the regions. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both regions were predominately pastoral, although the south did not have the added injection of wealth from the mining industry. However, as discussed above, the 90 mile desert was a barrier between the southern country region and Adelaide and coastal shipping was the main avenue of communication with Adelaide. Better communication with Victoria and Melbourne resulted in the southern country region being a major supplier of meat to the gold fields in Victoria and later the preferred overland route for Chinese labourers going to the goldfields. Melbourne was also noted for its use of ornamental cast iron on residential buildings (Robertson, 1967), hence it is more likely that the



use of cast iron lace on stately houses in the southern country region was influenced by trends from Melbourne.



**Figure 5.26** *Padthaway*, in the southern country region, lace balustrades brackets and friezes decorate all sides. Note: there is no balustrade on the verandah. Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007



**Figure 5.27** *Coulthard House*, in the northern country region. Wooden balustrades and friezes adorn three sides. Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2006

In the metropolitan area a balcony was not always considered an essential architectural feature, with only 69 (58.5%) having a balcony on the front elevation of the house and 64 (55.2%) placing it on one or more of the side elevations. For practical reasons all balconies had a balustrade, with 44 (63.8%) being of lace. Here, again, the display function of the balcony is clearly demonstrated. The ‘square mile’ had a higher percentage of houses with balconies, with 12 (70.6%) compared to 16 (57.1%) in North Adelaide. However, of the houses with verandahs, only 18.7% in the ‘square mile’ and 17.9% in North Adelaide had balustrades with lace work, while those with lace friezes was 25% and 31.7% respectively.

### **5.3.4 Fabric**

Looking back with the perspective of the 21<sup>st</sup> century limestone is regarded as an inferior building material, but in the early decades of the colony, buildings were constructed from all materials that were readily available. Bluestone was quarried from the Adelaide Hills and hence was the most common building material in the

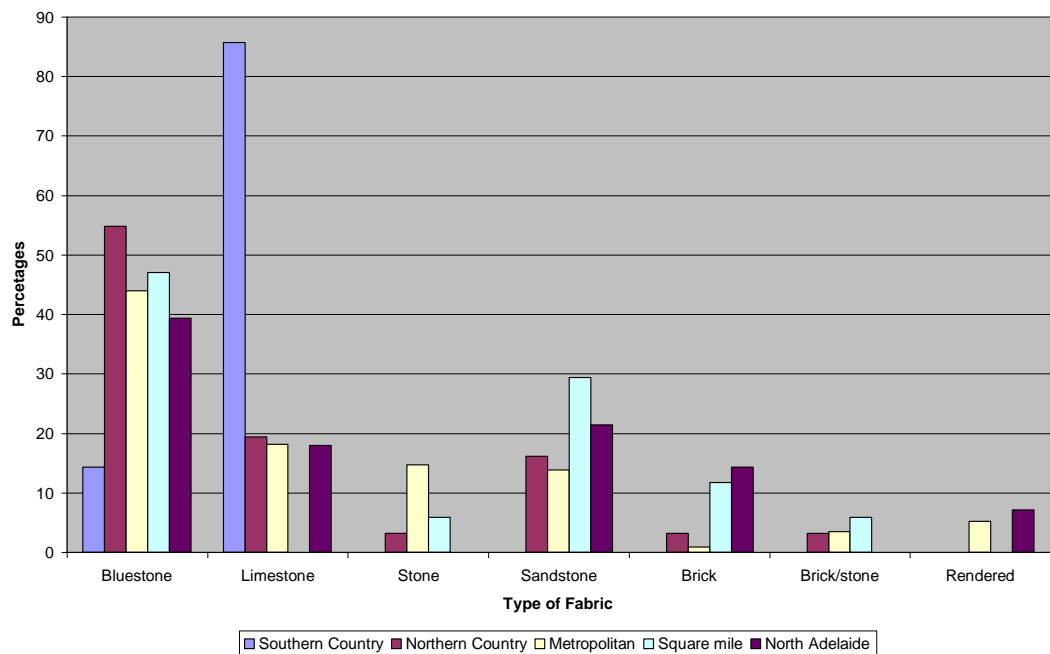


Adelaide and metropolitan areas, although limestone, often obtained when excavating the building site, was also used; *Belmont House* in North Adelaide is an example where the side elevations of the first stage of the building were constructed using limestone, with the second stage built of bluestone (Figure 5.28).



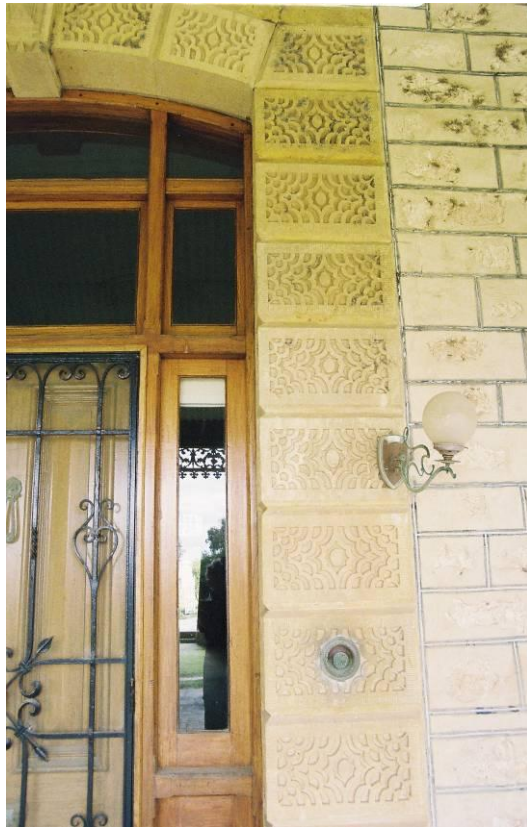
Figure 5.28 *Belmont House*. Left: the first stage built of limestone with random rubble construction. Right, the second stage built of squared bluestone.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2004

Chart 5.4 External Architectural Features - Fabric



As the aim is to demonstrate those external architectural features which were designed to project an image to the viewer, the data focuses on the materials used on the front elevation of each stately home. The mountain range which defines the 'fortunes crescent' and includes the Adelaide Hills continues into the northern country regions, hence bluestone was also the common building material here. With the exception of *Tortola House*, which was built of brick, all of the stately homes in the northern country region were built of stone; often locally quarried (Chart 5.4). In fact, stone was the most common building material for housing across the entire colony, with the quarry industry being established in the Adelaide Hills as early as 1837 (Bender and Piddock, 2006:29).

There was a marked difference in the choice of building material between the two country regions, with 12 (85.7%) of the 14 houses in the southern region choosing limestone. However, this was a predictable decision by the owners, since the southern region of South Australia is a major source of quarried limestone for the building industry and is still the main source of 'dressed' limestone in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It did not follow, however, that, having selected limestone as the building material, construction would automatically be either random rubble or uncoursed, as would be the case in cottages. Limestone, when combined with carved sandstone, as was the case at *Poltalloch*, became an impressive display fabric (Figure 5.29).



sandstone door surrounds; limestone ashlar construction.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007

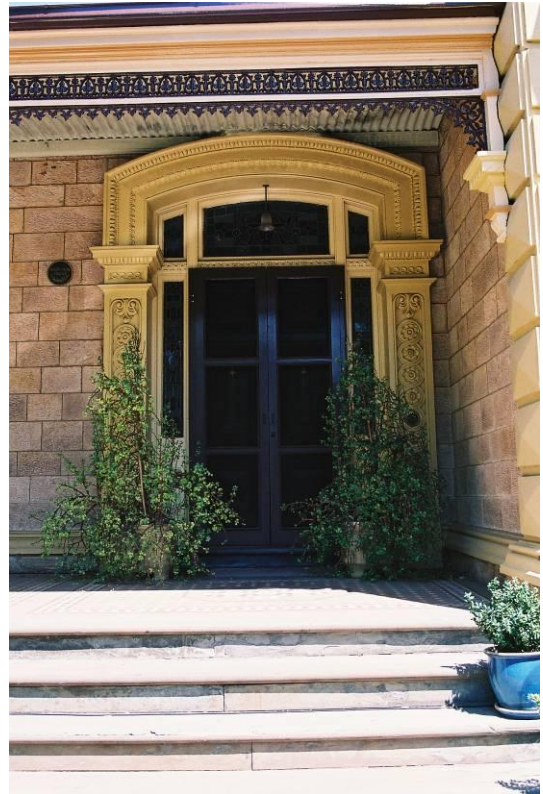


Figure 5.30 *Strelida*, North Adelaide: ornate plaster door surrounds; limestone ashlar construction.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

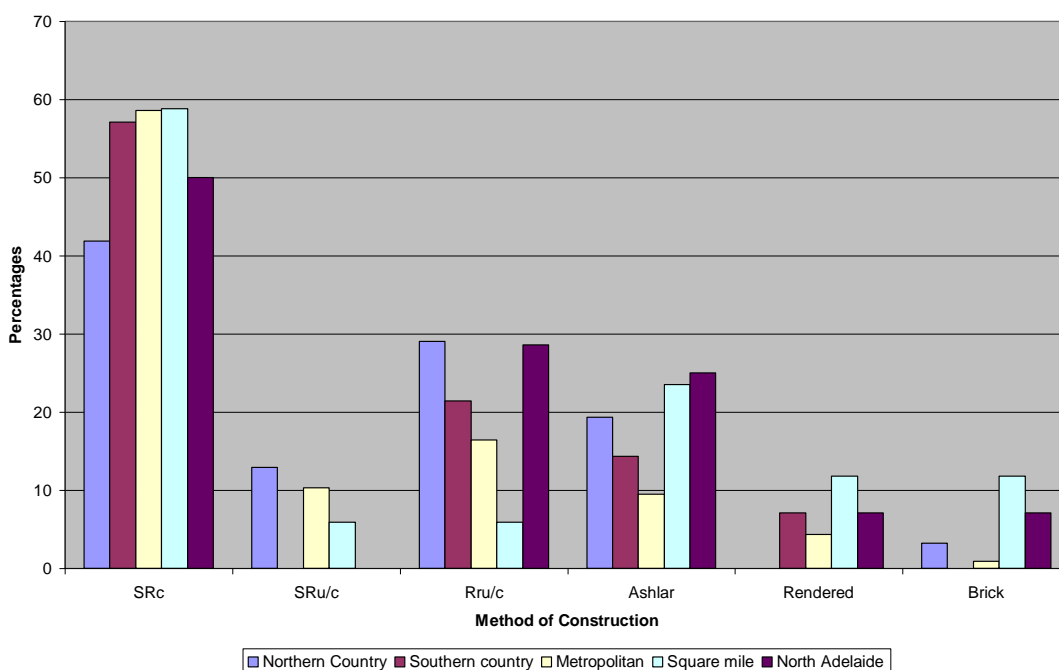
A range of fabrics were used to construct stately homes in the metropolitan area, with 51 (44%) built of bluestone, 21 (18.1%) of limestone and 17 (14.7%) of other stone. However, it was the use of sandstone on 17 (14.7%) stately homes, especially for carved window and door surrounds, that indicates more than a utilitarian function when selecting building material. Similarly, in North Adelaide and the ‘square mile’ bluestone was the preferred building fabric, with 11 (64.7%) homes in the ‘square mile’, and 11 (39.3%) in North Adelaide being built of blue stone. In comparison, limestone was normally restricted to the side and rear elevations of stately homes in the Adelaide regions, and was often quarried from the building site itself. Perhaps because of the notion that limestone was perceived as an inferior building material, there was a lower incidence of its use in the northern and metropolitan regions and

none at all in stately homes in the 'square mile', with only five (17.9%) using it in North Adelaide; for example *Strellda* (Figure 5.30). In contrast there was no sandstone used in the southern region, but instead limestone was preferred for decorative additions, for example at *Struan House* (Figure 5.24) and *Poltalloch* (Figure 5.29).

### **5.3.5 Method of construction**

The choice of building material was an important component of construction but it was the quality of that material and how it was used that were defining features. Good quality bluestone was hard and squaring the stone for quality construction would have been time consuming and required the skills of a stone mason. Having invested capital in obtaining squared bluestone, the stately home was constructed using either random coursed or uncoursed techniques. On the other hand, using limestone from site excavations on the side elevation of homes in a random rubble uncoursed technique was quicker, cheaper and did not require the same level of skill. However, in the southern country region the use of limestone and random rubble construction was evident in only three houses and then only on side elevations. For eight (57.1%) of these stately homes, the limestone was squared and coursed, with two (14.3%) having ashlar construction; these were the two Bowman brothers' homes on Lake Alexandrina, *Poltalloch* and *Campbell Park*. Ashlar construction was not only an indicator of the cost of construction, but when combined with carved sandstone, as was the case of *Poltalloch*, then display was clearly the goal of the owners.

Chart 5.5 External Architectural Features -Construction



Legend: SRC=squared, random, coursed. SRu/c= squared, random uncoursed. Rru/c=random rubble uncoursed

Many stately homes used more than one method of construction, and, as with the use of building material, it was the front elevation of a stately home that created the visual impression and hence was built using a more impressive method of construction. *Struan House* is one example where squared random coursed construction was used on all elevations, whereas *Albert Hall's* front elevation is of squared random coursed construction with squared random uncoursed on the side elevations. Across all regions squared random coursed construction was preferred, with a marginally lower percentage in the northern country region, reflecting both the higher percentage of earlier dates for stately homes and their origins as more modest cottages. Squared random uncoursed was not a common method of construction for the front elevation and was used predominantly on the side elevations; however this

was still a visually superior method of construction when compared to uncoursed random rubble.

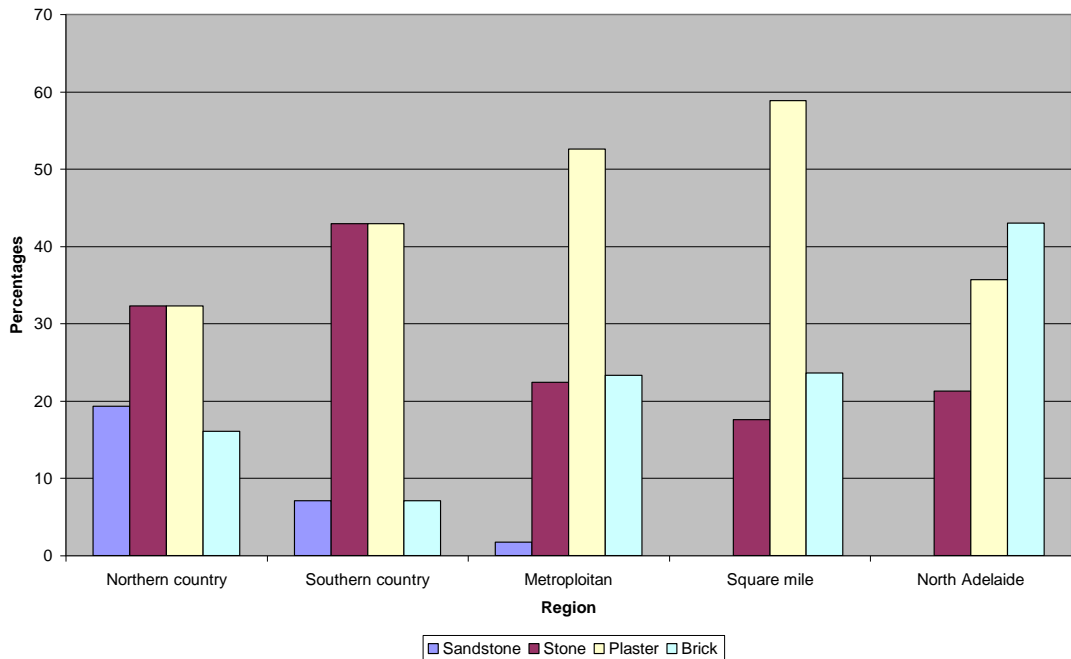
Ashlar, requiring the skills of a stonemason, was the most sophisticated method of construction, and was evident on stately homes across the state, with the highest percentage in the two Adelaide regions. In the northern country region, six (19.4%) homes were of ashlar construction, while the others were coursed square cut (41.9%), squared random uncoursed (12.9%) and random rubble uncoursed (29%) (Chart 5.5). The method of construction in the metropolitan area was mainly squared random coursed (68 or 58.6%) and ashlar (11 or 9.5%). The two less expensive methods of construction (squared random uncoursed and uncoursed random rubble) were not used as often (12 or 10.3%) and (19 or 16.4%) respectively (Chart 5.5). Of the 14 stately homes in the 'square mile', quality construction techniques were used on all occasions, with ten (71.4%) constructed from squared random coursed stone, four (23.5%) from ashlar, and the others either plastered or of brick. Of the four houses built of sandstone, three were of ashlar, with the others squared random coursed. The same pattern was evident in North Adelaide, with 14 (50%) constructed using the squared random coursed method and seven (25%) using the ashlar method. Other stately homes in North Adelaide either had plastered surfaces or were built of brick, which was increasingly used for both construction and decoration in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Initially the use of brick was reserved for the construction of quoins and for decoration, especially in the case of *Tortola House* (Figure 5.6), but it became an increasingly preferred building material towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; relative cost would certainly have been a factor here. *Buxton Manor* (1909) and *Roche House*

(1905), both in North Adelaide, are examples where brick was the sole building material. Rendering a house may have been a technique employed to disguise the use of uncoursed random rubble construction, as with the front elevation of *Belmont House* (Figure 5.28), but it was often associated with additional decorative plaster features such as lintels, keystones and bracketed eaves.

Of the other two external architectural construction features, namely roofing material and quoins, for this thesis the data would suggest that the former can no longer be considered a significant feature. Currently, the majority of stately houses have corrugated steel roofing, which in turn makes it difficult to determine whether that was the material used originally or simply a replacement at some later date. Slate quarries were in production in the early years of the colony and slate became a popular roofing material; four houses in the ‘square mile’ and one in North Adelaide still have slate roofs. In North Adelaide eight stately homes have ceramic tile roofs, six of which were built in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the others are *Montefiore*, which had the second floor removed in 1916, and *Nurney House*, which was significantly altered in 1930. Corrugated steel was a common roofing material from the 1860s onwards for rich and poor alike and is therefore not a distinguishing feature.

Chart 5.6 External Architectural Features-Quoins



The choice of material and the method of construction of quoins were other means by which owners of stately homes could express their own individuality and reflect their wealth. Carved sandstone, which could be used to make a visible statement about the owner, was the least preferred material; it was used on only six (19.6%) houses in the northern country region □ *Princess Royal* being the notable example, and none in both the ‘square mile’ or North Adelaide. In the country regions there was equal preference for stone and plaster; but there was no discernable reason why one method should be preferred over the other. In the south, dressed limestone was readily available but it was decorative plaster that gave the owners the opportunity to make a visible display. The plaster rendering on quoins could be plain, but when combined with decorative plaster work on bay windows, towers and entrance porticos, the total effect could create a powerful image of wealth and taste; again, *Struan House* is an example. In the metropolitan area, the ‘square mile’ and North Adelaide, plaster quoins were preferred; in some cases the design was further



enhanced by picking out the patterns in paint; *Albert Hall* (Figure 5.31) in Glenelg, and *Montefiore* and *Strelida* (Figure 5.32) in North Adelaide, are such examples.



**Figure 5.31** *Albert Hall*, Glenelg: decorative quoins and associated moulded plaster work.  
Photo: R. M. Stone., June, 2006



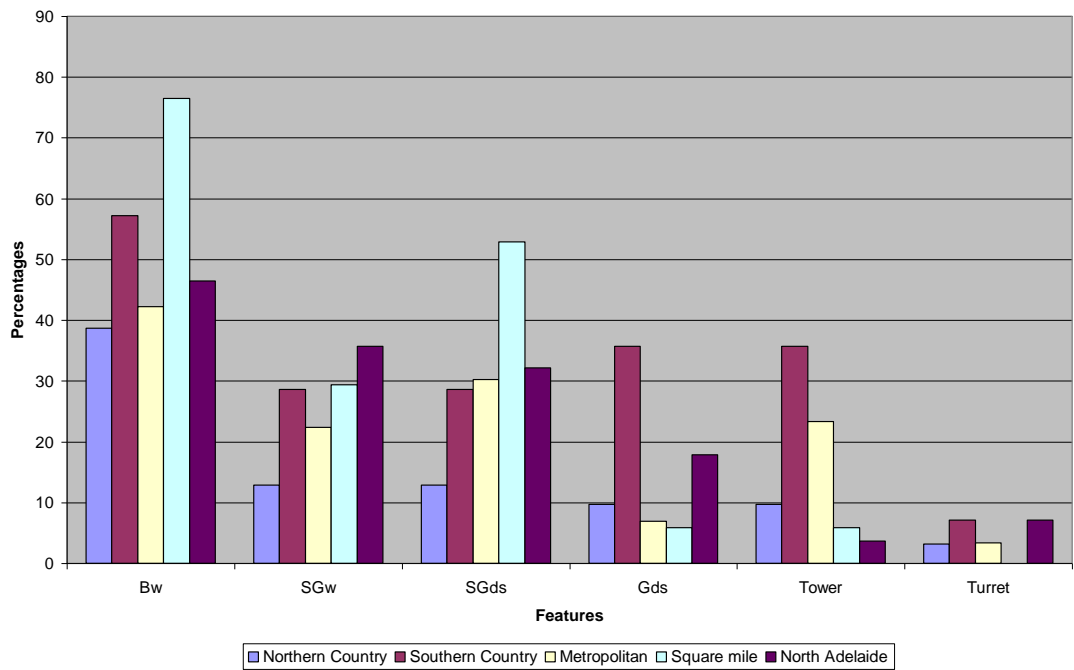
**Figure 5.32** *Strelida*, North Adelaide decorative quoins and plaster mouldings.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

There was also a greater use of brick in the non-country areas; availability and cost of construction were the main factors, especially towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The higher percentage of brick use in the northern country regions is distorted, owing to three of the five houses in the region being suburban dwellings in Gawler, so reflecting similar patterns to the metropolitan area.

### 5.3.6 Architectural features-other

Other external architectural features identified for closer analysis are those which were designed to make an immediate impression on visitors as they approached the stately home. It can be argued that the primary purpose of these features was for ostentatious display, although some features, such as glass fanlights and sidelights, also had practical functions. Most workers' houses did not have them, however, so their inclusion is not just an issue of practicality, it was the associated decorative designs and panelling that took them beyond this.

Chart 5.7 External Architectural Features -Other



**Legend: Bw= bay window; SGw= stained glass windows; SGds= stained glass door surrounds, incorporating fanlights and sidelights; Gds= glass door surrounds incorporating fanlights and sidelights**

### 5.3.6.1 Bay windows

The inclusion of bay windows in the design of stately homes was yet another opportunity for owners to project a particular image, especially when they included decorative plaster work in the form of scrolls, pilasters and classical columns. Bay windows were an architectural feature on the majority of stately homes across all regions, with only brick stately homes being the exceptions. Bay windows were not a feature of early, more modest cottages but were commonly included in a subsequent phase of building. Chart 5.7 indicates the significant percentage of stately homes within the 'square mile' with bay windows that were constructed in the 1870-1889 period. By this time, bay windows were an architectural feature that set the homes of the new gentry apart from the more modest dwellings of the rest of the community, hence the relatively high percentage of stately homes in all regions having this feature. The higher percentage in the southern country region, especially when compared to the northern country region, can be partially explained by the inclusion of summer residences, all of which had bay windows.

As a decorative architectural feature, bay windows were not confined to the front elevation of the house as would be expected; they were often a feature of the side elevations as well although were rarely placed at the rear, an area of the house usually reserved for servants. For example, *Wolta Wolta* and *Reynella House* had decorative bay windows added to two later formal reception rooms that were symmetrically located on either side of the front entrance, while *Bungaree* and *Padthaway* included one each on a side elevation. The location of bay windows was often determined by the internal design of the stately home; a matter which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In the northern country region, bay windows were a feature in 12 (37%) of the 31 stately homes across seven of the eight LGAs; only the Bishop's Palace in Peterborough LGA had none. They were also the feature that was added when a more modest cottage was expanded; for example bay windows were added to *Bungaree*, *Corryton Park*, and *Eringa*. In all other cases bay windows were an original feature of purpose-built stately homes, indicating their importance as part of often elaborate internal display (for further discussion, see Chapter 6). The one exception to this pattern was the addition made to the home of Thomas Fotheringham, Gawler's first brewer. Following a dispute over the location of the carriageway with his neighbour, James Martin of *Martindale*, he built a two storey bay window extension with no internal access from the main house, but which overlooked his neighbour's property.

Similarly, in the southern country region, bay windows were again a popular architectural feature. Eight (57%) of the 14 homes had bay windows, all of which were constructed as part of purpose-built stately homes. Of the seven (50%) stately homes which were preceded by a cottage built in the 1840-1869 period, all included a bay window in the second phase of construction, with *Struan House* and *Yallum Park* being the most elaborate in either country region. *Moyhall* was the only home to include a bay as part of its original construction, and the only building constructed in the 1840-1869 period to have this feature. Pastoralist William Robertson, who built *Moyhall*, promoted horse racing and hunting in the southern country region and can therefore be considered a style leader in terms of this particular feature.

In the metropolitan LGAs bay windows were a prominent feature of stately homes, with 49 (42.2%) possessing one, while in the ‘square mile’ bay windows were present in 13 (76.5%) of 17 and 13 (46.42%) of 28 in North Adelaide.

### 5.3.6.2 Stained glass windows

The use of stained glass in windows, fanlights and sidelights was another feature that characterised stately homes. Stained glass was also used in more modest houses but it was the elaborate framework in which the glass was presented and the extent of its use that set stately homes apart. In some stately homes, stained glass was also used as interior decoration, such as at *Paringa Hall* (Figure 5.33) and *Darroch House* (Figure 5.34), both of which possess fine examples on the landing of the main staircase.



Figure 5.33 *Paringa Hall*, Holdfast Bay: stained glass on windows on the landing of the main staircase.  
Photo: R. M. Stone. September, 2007.



Figure 5.34 *Darroch House*, NSPP, stained glass windows of the landing of the staircase framed by an archway.  
Photo: R. M. Stone. August, 2007.



Stained glass, and even plain or coloured glass fanlights and sidelights, were not a significant feature of stately homes in the northern country region, even though *Bundaleer* is a rare example, with one of the finest displays of stained glass fanlights, sidelights (Figure 5.35) and curved bay windows in the drawing room (Figure 5.36).



**Figure 5.35** *Bundaleer*: stained glass fanlight and sidelights, viewed from entrance hall. Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007.



**Figure 5.36** *Bundaleer*. Drawing room; curved stained glass in bay window behind the classical columns. Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007.

Only four (12%) stately homes in the northern country region had stained glass fanlights and sidelights, with another three featuring plain glass. There were also only four (12%) examples where stained glass was used in other windows of the house. This lower percentage may be due to the fact that the origins of many stately homes were more modest cottages, or, as argued by Twopeny (1973[1883]:32), it may also have reflected the subliminal attitudes of pastoralists to this kind of decoration.

The use of stained glass (28.6%) or glass (35.7%) fanlights and sidelights on entrance doorways, and stained glass windows (28.6%) elsewhere in the house, was

also a major display feature on stately homes in the southern country regions. Not only did these windows make an impression when approaching the house, but they also enhanced the internal ambience with colour and decoration. The use of stained glass in the southern country regions was comparable with that of the metropolitan area, with 35 (30.1%) having stained glass fanlights and sidelights and 26 (22.4%) having stained glass windows elsewhere in the house.

Stained glass fanlights and sidelights associated with the main entrance were again common features in the 'square mile', being a feature of nine (52.9%) stately homes both here and in North Adelaide (52.9% and 32.4% respectively) (Chart 5.7).

Similarly, the inclusion of stained glass windows in stately homes in the Adelaide regions is again comparable, with 29.4% in the 'square mile' and 35.7% in North Adelaide, again emphasising this as a central display feature on stately homes.

### **5.3.6.3 Towers and turrets**

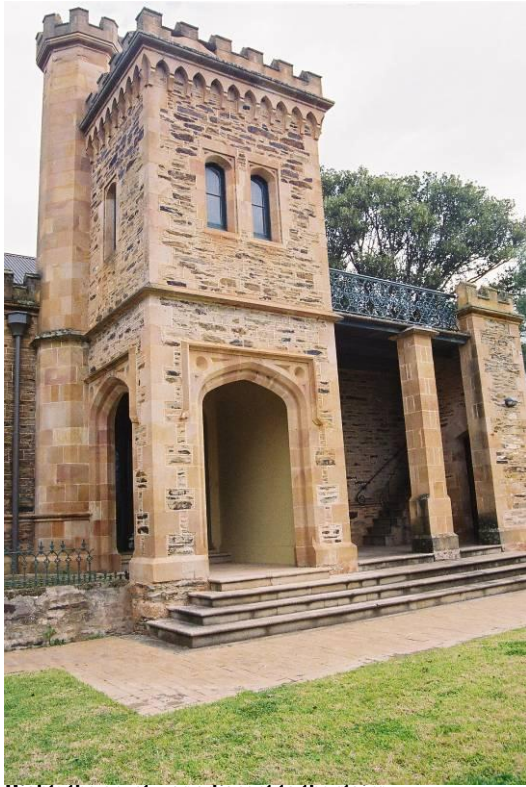
One of the more extravagant features of stately homes was the addition of towers and turrets<sup>10</sup>, although this was not consistent across the state (Chart 5.7). The small percentage of stately homes in the northern country regions which had towers again reflects the underlying conservative characteristics of pastoralists in this region (Dutton, 1985:35) who did not use some of the more overt displays of architectural design when building their stately homes. Only three houses had towers in the northern region: *Corryton Park* (Barossa LGA), *Hughes Park* (Clare LGA) and *Holland House* (Light LGA) (Chart 5.7). Towers were often notably added in a later

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<sup>10</sup> Towers are a landmark feature of stately homes and were usually built over the main entrance and crenellated (Apperly, Irving and Reynolds, 1994:122). Turrets became a more common feature on houses built in the period 1890-1915; these were a decorative feature built onto a corner of the house, not over an entrance, and often had a pointed 'candle snuffer' roof (Apperly, Irving and Reynolds, 1994:88).

phase of construction, although some houses located near the sea included one for the purpose of sighting ships coming into harbour; this was certainly not the case in other regions far from the coast, however. For example, William Rounsevell, who previously owned the Navy, Military and Air-force Club building in Adelaide, added both a tower and a ballroom to *Corryton Park* in 1869. Similarly, in 1887, J. J. Duncan, the nephew of William Hughes, added a grand new section to the front of the *Hughes Park Estate* which included a tower. However, it is the towers of *Holland House* (Figure 5.37), built by Richard Holland, a prominent pastoralist that are most unique, created, as they were, with an ‘eccentric mixture of Gothic and Tudor references’ (comment - Heritage SA files). The architecture matched Holland’s eccentric behaviour, as he also built his own crypt under the tower stairs. He was said to use the room on the first level of the tower to write his correspondence, but the second, smaller, corner tower attached to the main tower was purely for display. Another example of a secondary corner tower can be seen at *Glanville Hall* in Port Adelaide (Figure 5.38).





Right: the crypt was adjacent to the stairs.  
 Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007



associated with the entrance..  
 Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

Two houses in Gawler, *Tortola House* and *Trevu*, originally had roof top walkways, although there is no surviving external evidence of these today. An archival photograph shows the walkway on *Tortola*, whereas in *Trevu* there is an elaborately carved internal staircase leading to the ceiling but nothing beyond.

In the southern country region, six (42.85%) stately homes had towers or turrets, five of these were built in the 1870-1889 period. The towers had no single design: they ranged from the relatively modest castellated tower over the entrance portico at *Koorine* to the four storey high towers at both *Mt Breckan* (c1880) (Figure 5.39) and *Struan House* (1873-5) (Figure 5.24).



protruding above the four level tower.

Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2007.



Figure 5.40 *Adare*, Victor Harbor: elaborate turrets with ‘candle snuffer’ roofs. Left: garden stairs provide an entry and exit to the ballroom

Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2007.

The *Struan House* tower, as with the adjacent bay window, has elaborate plaster work with engaged columns featuring the three main classical capitals; being a popular venue for meetings of the Adelaide Hunt Club, the tower could have been used to view the hunt from the top level. The tower at *Campbell Park* rises from the centre of the house and lacks the decoration associated with towers of other stately homes; it was the only tower away from the coast that had any practical function, as it gave a view across Lake Alexandrina for shipping approaching the jetty. However, this cannot be said of the towers of *Mt Breckan* and *Struan House* and the turret of *Adare* (1892) (Figure 5.40). While located in the harbour town of Victor Harbor, *Mt Breckan*, and *Adare* were both summer residences; the primary function of these architectural features was one of display, with the chimneys protruding above the tower of *Mt Breckan* as a unique design feature.

In the metropolitan area, 27 (23.3%) stately homes have towers and four (3.4%) have turrets, but only four of the towers were on houses located in coastal LGAs. The

other stately homes with towers were mainly built in LGAs away from the coast. In the Adelaide Hills, for example, *Carminow* and *Eurilla* both possessed towers, although *Birksgate* had a stand alone observation tower which was used for spotting ships sailing up the gulf. The low percentages in the ‘square mile’ and North Adelaide would suggest that towers were not considered an appropriate feature in the closer residential settlements, with only one in each sector: *Springfield* in the ‘square mile’ and *St Andrews* in North Adelaide. Similarly, there were no turrets in the ‘square mile’ and only two examples in North Adelaide, with *Carclew* being the most prominent; the other being *Rymill House*.

The number of stately homes with turrets is small, since turrets really only became a more common architectural feature in South Australia in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the early use of turrets on stately homes such as *Adare*, *Attunga* (Burnside LGA) and *Tranmere House* (Campbelltown LGA) are examples excessive decoration, compared to the more conservative example of *North Bundaleer* in the northern country region.

#### **5.3.6.4 Entry**

The entrance to any stately home is an important display feature, especially when combined with elaborate stained glass fanlights and side panels surrounding the front door. Access to stately homes was usually either from an entrance off the verandah or via a portico. Porticos, which were often but not always incorporated as the base of an associated tower, were often the most elaborate entrances, with *Struan House* (Figure 5.20), *Paringa Hall* (Figure 5.40) and *Fitzroy House* (Figure 5.41) being the most outstanding examples. These porticos usually featured engaged or free standing

columns and elaborate plasterwork and, when combined with stained glass surrounds on the front door, made for an imposing entrance to a stately home.



**Figure 5.41** *Paringa Hall*. Main entrance with columns, elaborate plaster and stained glass  
Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2007



**Fig 5.42** *Fitzroy House*. Main entrance with stained glass fan and sidelights.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, May, 2008

It is important to note that porticos were not confined to stately homes with towers; in the northern region ten (32.25%) had portico entrances but only three (9.67%) had towers. Nor can it be concluded that the absence of a portico meant that the entrance to the house was any less symbolic or ostentatious. Entrances to 18 (58.06%) of the stately homes in the northern country region were off the verandah – a typically Australian style of identity with the floor surface often decorated with slate edging and polychrome tessellated tiles; these were predominantly stately homes on pastoral properties. However, the preferred entrance to stately homes in the Gawler LGA was via a portico, which was consistent with the preference for porticos in the other residential enclaves. *Lindsay Park* contains a striking variation of the verandah entrance, having its main entrance via a front colonnade or arcade which could be



viewed from extensive stone stairs rising from the lower driveway (Figure 5.43 and 5.44).



Figure 5.43 *Lindsay Park*, Angaston: c1930. note the colonnade front across the front elevation of the house.  
Source: SLSA, B 27277.



Figure 5.44 *Lindsay Park*, Angaston: stone stairs leading to the colonnaded front entrance.  
Source: *SALife*, March, 2006, pp20-31

In only two houses, *Martindale Hall* and *Werocata* were the main entrances flush with the front elevation in keeping with their Georgian style. By way of contrast, there is a direct correlation between the number of stately homes with towers (5 [35.7%]) and access via a portico (4 [28.57%]) in the southern country region. The entrance to the majority (71.4%) of stately homes in this region was off the verandah.

As with the country regions, the majority of stately homes with towers in the metropolitan area incorporated an entrance portico, although the number of houses with portico entrances exceeded the number of houses with towers. In the metropolitan LGAs an elaborate and ornate portico entrance was a feature of 61 (52.6%) buildings, yet towers featured on only 27; similarly in North Adelaide, 14 (50%) stately homes were accessed via a portico, although only one (3.57%) had a tower. Access to five (17.8%) homes in North Adelaide was via a colonnade or

arcade; *Addington* (Figure 5.45) now demolished, was an example of this elaborate, although uncommon, architectural feature.



Figure 5.45 *Addington* (now demolished), North Adelaide: colonnaded front elevation  
Source: Morgan & Gilbert, 1969:110.

Similar to the country regions, the preferred method of entry to stately homes in the ‘square mile’ was off the verandah, with only seven (41.2%) via a portico. The contrast between portico and verandah access in the ‘square mile’, as opposed to both the metropolitan area and North Adelaide, can be attributed to necessary changes in architectural design to accommodate smaller blocks of land. Many of the original town acres had been subdivided by the 1870-1889 period and hence houses were constructed on smaller allotments with access via a verandah which could have been on one of the side elevations; for example at 261 North Terrace and *Sandforth House*.

### 5.3.6.5 Gardens

It was not only the architectural decoration of stately homes that was important: parks and gardens also had an important role in image making (Williamson, 1998:167, see also Girouard, 1979). Eighteenth and nineteenth century British

country homes were noted for their extensive grounds, with either formal gardens or park-like estates a conspicuous feature. These were copied in a modest way by the new gentry in South Australia in order to emulate the British landed gentry, especially on the northern pastoral properties. *Anlaby*, *Bungaree* and *Hill River Estate* can all be described as a microcosm of transplanted British society in both their physical and social structure, with their own self-contained villages complete with workers' cottages, workshops, council chambers, churches, and general stores. These stately homes all had enclosed gardens, which in the case of *Anlaby* included extensive formal rose gardens; *Eringa* had similar formal rose gardens. However, these formal gardens were not on the same scale and elaboration as the formal gardens of English country house as depicted by Crook (2000) and Girouard (1985).

Gardens, as with architectural style, were very individual, even though there were some common design elements, such as croquet greens, tennis courts and pathways. Grottos, boating lakes, cricket pitches and facilities for hunt meeting were features that occurred in many houses across all regions. Gardens also reflected changes in economic and cultural conditions, with most large gardens surrounding stately homes built towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as *Bundaleer*, were no longer the extravagant formal gardens of houses such as *Anlaby*, *Koorine* and *Forest Lodge*. Similarly, houses built in the first time period, such as *Princess Royal*, *Kingsford* and *Wolta Wolta*, also had extensive gardens, but as these homes were also part of pastoral properties, formal, decorative gardens were not the primary focus; also included in this category were the pastoral properties *Kadlunga*, *Yatara*, *Mackerode* and *Cappeedee*. Non-rural stately homes, such as those built in Gawler, were built on large grounds and originally had formal gardens, such as Thomas Fotheringham's house, but these were laid out more in accordance with gardens in defined suburban

areas determined by road ways and closer development. From the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, park-like country estates were a trend in the United Kingdom (Williamson, 1999:44) but, given that the majority of country stately homes in South Australia were the centre of pastoral properties, land had greater economic value as pasture. *Hughes Estate* and *Martindale Hall* certainly had large parks surrounding them but discrete sections were still set aside for extensive orchards and ‘kitchen gardens’.

Gardens became a feature of stately homes across the state of South Australia, but they were also one of the earliest casualties of economic and cultural change.

Maintenance of elaborate formal gardens was costly and hence it was not viable to maintain them during economic downturns; in its prime (c1890), for example,

*Anlaby* was said to employ 12 full time gardeners (Beames and Whitehill, 1981:75).

Gardens were also vulnerable when estates were subdivided, either for housing development, as in the case of stately homes located in the towns, or for closer settlement, as with pastoral properties. However, there are remnants of some of these formal gardens that, when supplemented by archival records, provide a clearer picture of the effort made by the new gentry to recreate the status and cultural lifestyle that formal gardens provided: two examples are *Werocata* and *Holland House*. *Werocata* is now part of a cattle stud and the house is no longer a principal residence, but there is evidence of terraced gardens on the sloping grounds in front of the house. The internal design of *Holland House*, with the reception room divided by concertina doors and having access to a wide terrace via French doors, is an indication that the gardens were a focus of the house (Figure 5.46). Steps led from the terrace to an area that would have been extensive garden with views across a



valley, but unfortunately most of the above ground evidence has been destroyed by its subsequent use as an agricultural research station.



Figure 5.46 *Holland House*, Turretville: reception rooms linked to a central room with French doors opening onto the garden terrace.  
Photo: R. M. Stone. July, 2007

In the southern country region there is evidence that the summer residences of *Adare* and *Mt Breckan* originally had large formal gardens which were the venue for both private and community social functions. Remnants of the garden terrace walls still exist at *Adare* but, as with *Mt Breckan*, subsequent commercial use has significantly reduced their original impact. However, it is the elaborate stairs leading from the even more elaborate ballroom that indicate the important role the garden played in the social life of *Adare* (Figure 5.47). Archival photographs of gatherings at *Mt Breckan* (Figure 5.48) would indicate a similar role. Both houses were located on slightly elevated sites giving commanding views from the gardens over Victor Harbor.



Figure 5.47 *Adare*, c1905 garden party. Centre: garden stairs from the ballroom.  
Source: SLSA, B 64337



Figure 5.48 *Mt Breckan*, c1908, guests in formal attire on the steps of the main entrance.  
Source: SLSA, PRG 280/1/11/618

*Karatta House*, the other summer residence, was built at Robe in an early period of the colony and was surrounded by sand dunes; it is doubtful if there was ever a formal garden as the strong southerly winds and sea spray would have been a negative factor. There is archival evidence of an extensive park around *Karatta House*, however, which would have given an uninterrupted vista of the ocean and surrounding countryside.

The location of *Campbell Park* and *Poltalloch House* on Lake Alexandrina is also an area not conducive to exotic gardens, but there is some evidence of the types of gardens which did exist here. *Campbell Park* has large Norfolk Island pines which were planted in the early years of the house and which are tolerant of coastal conditions. Some of these trees still exist today, but there is no archival or current physical evidence of a formal garden. A large grassed area extending from the house

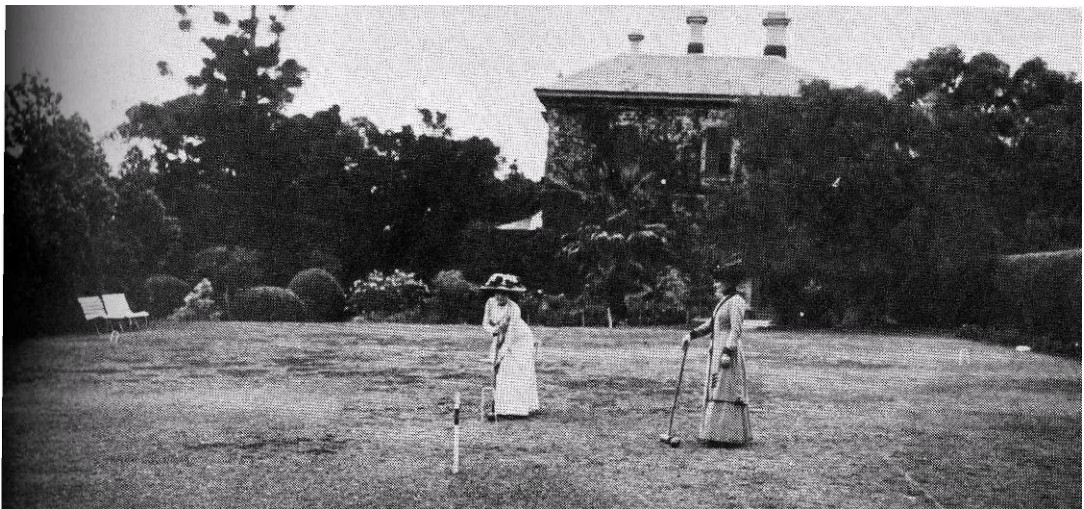
to the jetty on the lake would have been the probable site for outdoor social events. *Poltalloch* also has large exotic trees adjacent to both the main house and another large family dwelling on the property. *Poltalloch* was also associated with a significant number of outbuildings and workers' cottages, so its original formal garden was enclosed by stone walls; the original fountain situated on a lawn is still *in-situ*.

The other pastoral properties in the southern country region were in areas much more conducive to formal gardens and there is still some evidence of their 19<sup>th</sup> century design and function. *Koorine* was noted for its extensive formal gardens, with archival photographs demonstrating how the gardens concealed the house from the road way, only gradually to reveal it as visitors approached. Remnant evidence of its original layout still exists, but it no longer makes a visual impact. Large Norfolk Island pines and other exotic trees are also indicators of the park which surrounded the house garden at *Yallum Park*. As with *Koorine*, the house at *Yallum Park* was not visible from the road; concealed by the extensive park of trees, the stately home only became visible at the end of the carriageway. There were also similar features at *Padthaway*, with large exotic trees leading to extensive gardens surrounding the house. As with *Poltalloch*, there were a significant number of other buildings which were associated with the running of the estate so the garden was fenced off. *Padthaway* was built in an isolated location and so it is unclear what role the house or gardens played in community activities. Finally, both *Struan House* and *Moyhall* were owned by cousins John and William Robertson respectively, who were both great supporters of horse racing and coursing, with the first coursing event in Australia being run on the *Moy Hall* estate (Cockburn, 1925:203). *Struan House* was the largest home in the southern region and the motivation for its magnificence was

said to have included a goal to outlive other homesteads in the region (comment: Heritage SA file, 1983). *Struan House* has been described as being 'more like an English Nobleman's seat rather than a squatter's residence' (Cockburn, 1925:203) and included state governors and circuit judges among its many distinguished guests. The celebration of the opening of the house in 1876 was said to have been the largest party ever given in the south east of South Australia (Cockburn, 1925:203). The current gardens at these two stately homes do not adequately indicate their previous important social and community roles. An 1879 archival photograph of *Struan House* shows a designed garden which was no longer evident by 1890. While large exotic trees remain in the grounds of *Struan House*, the current park-like grounds, when combined with roads and car-parks, do not give an indication of any earlier formal gardens. *Moy Hall* has a large grassed area in front of the house, but there is no evidence that there was ever a formally designed garden here; again evidence of the economic value of pasture compared to the decoration formal gardens. There is no firm evidence of formal gardens in the southern region equal to those of *Anlaby* or *Eringa* in the north, although archival photographs of *Koorine* and the existence of large exotic trees indicate that impressive gardens did exist.

It is the gardens of stately homes in metropolitan LGAs which are the surviving legacy of their important symbolic role as an indicator of wealth and status and which enables a comparison between gardens developed within the residential enclaves and those of stately homes in semi-rural areas. Stately homes which were built in the 1840-1869 period, in what was deemed to be (at that time) the outer fringes of the City of Adelaide, tended to have larger acreages. The use of land surrounding these stately homes included primary production, although the grounds of these properties were also important as a focus for social and recreational

activities. Not only were stately homes the focus of sporting activities, such as the Adelaide Hunt Club, which used properties such as *Urrbrae*, *Torrens Park Estate* and *The Brocas*, but the gardens were also the venue for private social activities, such as garden parties and ‘genteel’ pastimes, such as croquet (Figure 5.49).



**Fig 5.49** *Linden*, Burnside: croquet on the rear lawns. Date: probably late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century.  
Source: Warburton, 1981:181

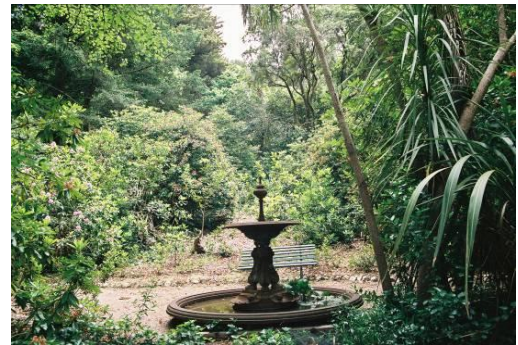
Construction of the majority of stately homes on these large estates commenced in the 1840-1869 period, with Burnside LGA being the prime example (63.6% were built in this period). By contrast, stately homes built in the emerging residential enclaves, while still on substantial areas of land, had as their primary focus the creation of a formal garden within the boundaries of the property. In Walkerville LGA 13 (81.25%) of the 16 stately homes have remained as private residences and hence the current mature gardens provide an insight into the significant expenditure by the new gentry on this particular element of their private domain. The summer residences of the new gentry in the Adelaide Hills LGA were especially noted for their gardens, but were different to both the semi-rural gardens in the early suburbs of Burnside and Mitcham and the metropolitan enclave of Walkerville. The



substantial estates of these summer residences and the milder climate enabled the new gentry to create some magnificent gardens, remnants of which still exist today at *Beechwood*, *Wairoa* and *St Vigneans*, the only gardens in the metropolitan area to be included on the State Heritage Register. The original garden of *Forest Lodge* (Figures 5.50 and 5.51) is the sole example of a major formal garden that remains unchanged but currently not on the Register.



**Figure 5.50** *Forest Lodge*, Stirling, Adelaide Hills c1896; the original garden as designed by John Bagot.  
Source: Martin, 1996:122



**Figure 5.51** *Forest Lodge*: the mature gardens; the house is no longer visible from the bottom levels.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2008

With many stately homes in both areas of ACC remaining virtually unaltered since the 19<sup>th</sup> century it is possible to visualise the design and function of their gardens. In North Adelaide the front elevation of most homes was closely aligned to the roadway, and had smaller, yet still formal front gardens. Many of these houses also had a rear street entrance which provided access via the stables and coach house and with comparatively larger and more elaborate rear gardens. However, the rear gardens of many houses have now been either subdivided or developed to accommodate their current alternative commercial use. Because personal access to private residences was limited, it would appear that the larger rear gardens were the focus of private social occasions. Two stately homes in North Adelaide where the gardens were a major feature are *St Andrews* and *Nurney House*. The formal terraced gardens are

still an overt display of wealth, yet offer only a tantalising glimpse to the passer-by over high walls (in the case of *Nurney House*), or through obscuring vegetation (at *St Andrews*); similarly the gardens are not visible from the rear of either stately home. The garden of *Nurney House*, which was built by Captain Bagot (also *Forest Lodge*), pastoralist, miner and parliamentarian as his city residence, was expanded and redesigned in the 1930s by his architect grandson, Walter Hervey Bagot; the garden is the only one in the Adelaide regions to be listed on the South Australian State Heritage Register.

Two other stately homes in Brougham Place, North Adelaide, namely *Taylor House* at number nine and the adjacent unnamed dwelling at number seven, have gardens which are indicative of what would have existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; both houses had formal gardens with numerous shrubs and small trees. It is then possible to extrapolate this image to the other stately homes on Brougham Place, the majority of which are now part of Lincoln College, the gardens of which have been replaced by open grassed areas.

Stately homes built originally on a surveyed town acre may have had more extensive gardens, as indicated by archival photographs of *Ayers House*, however only remnants of these exist today. Subsequent subdivisions and the cost of maintaining gardens, in the 'square mile' have meant that large formal gardens no longer exist; for example, *Rymill House* which still occupies its original town acre, has little evidence of its original gardens. However, the compactly designed gardens of homes on or adjacent to East Terrace which have remained as private residences have not changed significantly since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 5.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the evolution of stately homes which were built by men who had aspirations to a position in society not attainable in Britain. They came from a variety of backgrounds, many were from the British middle classes, and had some capital which they used to acquire land. Establishing an economic base and income stream was their first priority; large houses were not, but these were built later as a testament to their new financial position. The architecture that evolved in South Australia was in response to commercialism, pastoralism and sectarianism of its people and place (Johnson, 1981:1). However, there is little to suggest that the new gentry sought to emulate the extravagance of the landed aristocracy of England; the South Australian colony remained somewhat cool to the excesses of English Victorianism (Johnson, 1981:2). Nor is there any literary evidence to suggest that the new gentry of South Australia competed with each other by building ever larger houses or building ‘beyond their incomes to keep up with their rich neighbours’ (Girouard, 1985:8; see also Crook, 2000:19-23). One exception was *Martindale Hall* which was built using labour and materials imported from England at enormous cost. Here Edmund Bowman was trying to recreate the image and lifestyle of the English aristocracy, which was his undoing. Drought and over extended financial commitments resulted in *Martindale Hall* being sold at a significant loss (Warburton, 1979:65-103).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the hard working middle classes of England resented aristocratic frivolity and worldliness (Girouard, 1985:5). By 1850 stately homes in England were no longer as ostentatious but were still built to reflect the



power and status of the owner; they were now designed for family life and entertainment of friends rather than show (Girouard, 1985:16).

The study of stately homes for this thesis has shown a distinct pattern. During the period 1840 to 1869, the majority of houses were designed to meet the immediate needs, especially in the rural areas; entertaining, croquet greens and leisure gardens were not a high priority. During the second period, 1870 to 1889, existing houses were extended or new homes built, to provide additional family accommodation, separate domestic and service areas but now gardens and parks to reflect their increasing status and leisure time. By 1870, new emigrants would have brought with them an understanding of the trend in England of building less ostentatious and extravagant stately homes. Although houses in South Australia became more ornate, extravagant classical architecture, as illustrated by Crook (2000) and others, was limited to Ionic or Corinthian columns which adorned some towers (*Struan House*) entrance porticos and entrance halls (*Paringa Hall*); but they were not a common feature. However, there were two distinct symbolic messages emanating from these stately homes. Firstly, they reflected the individualism of the builders; there was no one dominant architectural style and final selection was dictated by nostalgia or memories of places in Britain, climate and location, the influence of professional architects or more often, by builders. However, despite this individualism there was a common perception of what external architectural features were deemed necessary to accurately reflect their wealth and status. Some had a primary function of display, for example stained glass windows, fan and side lights, moulded plaster decoration and towers, although the latter would have a practical use if the house was near the coast. Despite their individualism they acted as a group, consolidating their position in society through association and the creation of exclusive residential enclaves which

gave a collective image. Many pastoralists and miners had stately homes in metropolitan residential enclaves, while those new gentry whose main residence was in Adelaide or metropolitan areas often had financial interests in pastoral properties; others built summer houses in exclusive enclaves in the Adelaide Hills or coastal areas. As individuals, the new gentry did not confine their activities to one geographic region or to a single profession (Table 5.1). They further consolidated their image as a separate and exclusive class by making their homes the focus of their social life by creating formal gardens which were the centre of social activity.

Focus must now shift to the internal configuration of the homes of the new gentry.

Was there the same formula □ individual internal design based on a range of influences but again with a common objective of spatial dynamics based on class and function? To fully explore this question the next chapter will focus on the elaboration and decoration of internal space, creation of processional pathways and their symbolic message.

## CHAPTER 6      INTERNAL SPATIAL DYNAMICS - PLANNED CLASS AND SOCIAL DIVISIONS

*... the mansion allowed the elite to interact with whom they wished when they wished...*

(Kross, 1999:386)

### 6.1      INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has established that the external features of stately homes were a major means by which the new gentry constructed themselves as a new class. Their distinctive external architectural features and elite residential enclaves were external visible means by which they consolidated and advertised their position to others; another was through the internal space within their houses. As noted earlier, buildings are artefacts which have both function (that is, the practicality of providing a home), and meaning; they have a social use by creating and ordering space. Therefore, one of the main aspects of the interior of stately homes was how the mansion allowed the elite to interact with whom they wished, when they wished, rather than with whoever may have been present at more public gatherings in public places (Kross, 1999:386). Hence, the aim of this chapter will be to consider how the interior layout of stately homes and whether they were designed to create a visual image that reflected the status of the owner and how this may have been affected through the ordering of physical barriers between the family, servants and visitors.

There are two parts to this analysis; firstly, whereas the external architectural features of a house were an overt demonstration of wealth, status and power, the ornate internal decoration and construction of specialist rooms conveyed a much more subtle and more heavily encoded message. Secondly, to what extent did the internal

spatial dynamics focus on the owner's quest for gentility, in which the new gentry strove to distance themselves socially through the creation of a refined, cultivated and genteel lifestyle (Kross, 1999:385; McInnes, 1999:33)?

## **6.2 EARLY DWELLINGS –THE FIRST TEN YEARS**

In the early years of the colony, domestic housing was unadorned and had few of the architectural features that came to characterise a stately home. Similarly, interior decorative features were not a priority and were also not common. Analysis of the internal layout of the original slab cottage at *Bungaree* provides an insight into early colonial, non-stately homes. This is a rare example of a slab cottage where the exterior elevation, floor plans and contextual association with other buildings are available, unlike many others. A foretaste of what was to come in stately homes is evidenced in the early stages of two properties, *Cummins* and *Anlaby*, where the owners created their own world according to what they perceived was the lifestyle of the gentry. These three dwellings, all built within the first decade of the colony, were owned by men who were to become prominent members of the new gentry and their houses indicated the social and cultural divisions which were to become the norm of 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes.

*Bungaree* was constructed in 1842, and was part of a well established pastoral property when painted by the artist S.T. Gill in 1846. Reconstruction of the floor plan (Figure 6.1) for the original slab cottage at *Bungaree* was based on a description by James Hawker, one of the three Hawker brothers who established *Bungaree* station (Hawker and Linn, 1992:36). The cottage had an open plan configuration with access

to all subsidiary rooms from a central room which served as a hall, drawing, dining and breakfast room. There are no records of house servants, although other small buildings for station workers were evident by 1847 (Figure 5.2). Initially, George Hawker had a more egalitarian attitude, with resources being channelled toward providing farm buildings and accommodation for workers; although his cottage was larger and separate from those of the workers. He and his wife Bessie, whom he married in 1845, continued to live in the slab hut until 1856-1858 when it was replaced by a two storeyed structure built of stone quarried from the property (Hawker and Linn, 1992:61)(Figure 6.2). This stone house was in stark contrast to the smaller slab cottages of the workers and with the construction of an enclosed garden, created a symbolic and physical barrier between it and the other cottages.

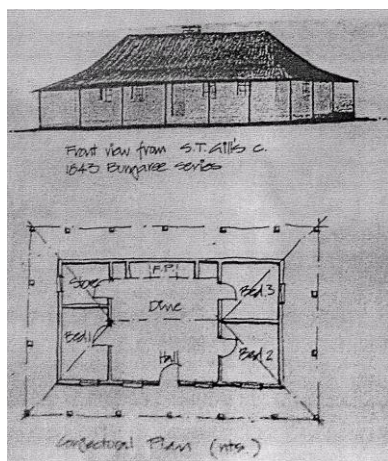


Figure 6. 1 Bungaree slab hut and floor, -plan . c1841.  
Source: Hawker private collection.



Figure 6. 2 Bungaree: c1880. The stone house was built in 1858.  
The building at the rear is possibly the original slab hut.  
Source: SLSA, B 13400

By way of contrast, although built in the same year as *Bungaree* the internal design of *Anlaby* (built in 1841 in the neighbouring LGA of Light in the northern country region), was intended from the outset to physically and symbolically separate family, visitor and domestic activities. It had early indicators of this separation based on function and status. The house had three separate sections, with the formal entrance opening onto an imposing vestibule off which was the main reception room; this

room overlooked, but had no exit to, the formal gardens. There were two side wings: one was private family quarters, the other domestic and servants' quarters (Figure 6.3); verandahs connected the three sections.



Figure 6.3 *Anlaby*, c1860. Family quarters on the left, kitchen and servants' quarters on the right.  
Source: SLSA, B 21351

Whereas *Bungaree* was open space with communal living focused on a central all-purpose room, *Cummins* (1841) and *Anlaby* (1841) were the first houses with evidence of an internal design that reflected specialist space and division based on class and status. What these examples show, and what will be further demonstrated in this chapter, is that no matter what early form stately homes took, subsequent stages of development resulted in homes with a suite of similar features.

If the ordering of space in buildings is about the ordering of people; then it has specific social objectives (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:2). Central to this manipulation is the question of power (Johnson, 1993:31). The new gentry, in their quest to distance themselves socially through the creation of a refined, cultivated and genteel lifestyle, configured the internal designs of their stately homes in such a way as to create both barriers against progression through the house and also to separate people according to their class and function within the household. There were three main

ways in which this was achieved. Entrance vestibules, stair halls and main halls<sup>11</sup> were designed in such a way that visitors had to be advised as to the direction they were to take; there was no implied freedom of movement. Similarly, for servants, their movements within the house were both restricted and directed by specifically designed communication corridors and rear stairs; these also separated their activities from those of the family. This movement by family, visitors and servants through the house can be represented by processional pathways, and will be discussed further in sections 6.4 and 6.5. Finally, the progression from modest cottage to stately home resulted in separate areas for domestic activities and servant accommodation. Again, these areas were designed to ensure a separation of function, with specific areas of the house set aside for servants' bedrooms and dining areas and complement social activities, through specialist spaces such as large kitchens and butler's pantries.

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<sup>11</sup> A vestibule is an area adjacent to the entrance of a home; it is often referred to as an entrance hall. Where there are two such halls, the first that the visitor encounters has been referred to as the vestibule and the second as the entrance hall. A stair hall is usually off to one side of the vestibule or entrance hall; it conceals the main stairs from view. The main hall is the central feature of larger stately homes; it may also have a main staircase and it is from here that people progress to other parts of the house.

### **6.3 INTERIOR DESIGN AND DECORATION**

Identifying the internal configuration of early cottages is often difficult, as the floor plans may have been significantly altered when they were incorporated into the fabric of the new building, even when they remained adjacent to it. This can also apply to those original cottages which are still stand-alone buildings but where the internal layout has been changed to accommodate their current use, particularly in the absence of early documentary evidence. Regrettably, early paintings and archival photographs of houses and street scenes offer no hint of the buildings behind the façades, or the lifestyles that they enclosed (Pikusa, 1986:8). However, it is the interpretation of archaeological evidence, together with architectural floor plans, which provides both insights into the living conditions within the precursors to the colony's stately homes and also demonstrates the stark contrast between lifestyles and social dynamics in modest cottages and stately homes.

Demolition of many early cottages also limits the size of the sample that can provide physical evidence of the lifestyle of the early colonists and of the spatial configuration and décor of their homes. While reasonable data on external architectural features could be obtained either from a street view or from the literature and archival sources, the same was not always possible for internal architectural features. For some stately homes access to the interior was either restricted or not possible, and hence comprehensive data on the ornate internal decoration and specific roles of some specialist rooms was difficult to obtain (Table 6.1). In cases where floor plans were available it was possible to gain an understanding of the internal spatial dynamics, although not of the decoration. Many



stately homes were also not designed by known architects (Appendix 2. Building Survey □ Internal Features) and hence original plans were not available. In the early years of the colony there were few architects in practice and the builders who both designed and built stately homes published no requests for tenders, therefore authorship and other details of buildings in this period are scarce (Jensen and Jensen, 1980:14). Fortunately, access was gained to stately homes in all of the five regions and the information gained from these visits has been used to expand the understanding of stately homes in general. Archival photos also gave some insight into furnishings, decoration and the use of specialist rooms.

**Table 6.1 Building Survey – Internal Features**  
**Summary –Internal Access and Source of Information**

Region/LGA	Number	V	%	VI	%	LS	%	NA	%
Adelaide	17	3	17.6	2	11.8	1	5.9	11	64.7
North Adelaide	28	2	7.2	1	3.6	23	82.1	2(1)	7.2
Metropolitan	117	28	23.9	10	8.5	21	17.9	58	49.6
Adelaide Hills	12	5	41.7	1	8.3	4	33.3	2	16.7
Burnside	22	1	4.5	6	27.3	3	13.6	12	54.5
Campbelltown	2	1	50.0					1	50.0
Charles Sturt	2					2	100.0		
Holdfast Bay	15	5	33.3			2	13.3	8	53.3
Marion	1							1	100.0
Mitcham	15	4	26.6			4	26.6	7	46.7
Mount Barker	2	2	100.0						
NSPP	11	4	36.4	2	18.2	4	36.4	1	9.1
Playford	1					1	100.0		
Prospect	4	1	25.0					3	75.0
PA/Enfield	2							2	100.0
Salisbury	1							1	100.0
Unley	10	2	20.0	1	10.0	2	20.0	5	50.0
Walkerville	16	2	12.5					14	87.5
West Torrens	1	1	100.0						
Northern Country	30	10	33.3	1	3.3	9	30.0	10	33.3
Barossa	5	3	60.0			2	40.0		
C& GV	7	1	14.3			2	28.6	4	57.1
Gawler	7			1	14.3	1	14.3	5	71.4
Goyder	3	1	33.3			2	66.6		

Light	5	3	60.0			1	20.0	1	20.0
Northern Areas	1	1	100.0						
Peterborough	1	1	100.0						
Wakefield	1					1	100.0		
Southern Country	14	5	35.7	5	35.7	1	7.1	3	21.5
Alexandrina	1	1	100.0						
Coorong	2	1	50.0	1	50.0				
Naracoorte	3	1	33.3	1	33.3			1	33.3
Onkaparinga	1							1	100.0
Robe	1					1	100.0		
Tatiara	1	1	100.0						
Victor Harbour	2	1	50.0	1	50.0				
Wattle Range	3			2	66.6			1	33.3

**LEGEND:** V= visited, internal access; VI= visited but limited internal access; LS= no internal access, data from literary sources; NA=no internal access and no (or very limited) literary sources; includes demolished buildings.

Despite the problem of accessing information, archaeological evidence of the interior layout of a small but significant sample of early buildings can be considered indicative of the internal configuration of other earlier cottages and the lifestyles of the families who inhabited them. By way of illustrating the early lifestyle of the colonists and the social dynamics of these cottages, a detailed analysis will be undertaken of four cottages built in the 1840-1869 period which were incorporated into a subsequent stately home without the original floor plan being compromised. These are: *The Brocas* (1853, 1870) at Woodville in the Charles Sturt LGA; *Cummins House* (1841, 1854) in the West Torrens LGA; *Beaumont House* (1849, 1907) in Burnside LGA; and *Wolta Wolta* (1860- 1874) in Clare and Gilbert Valley (CGV) LGA. Each example provides insight into the different origins and sequence of events in the transition from an early cottage to a stately home.

The history of *The Brocas* is the subject of some debate, particularly in terms of who was responsible for building the initial cottage and the actual date of its construction (Bell, 2004). For the purposes of this analysis it is certainly the case that a six roomed cottage, owned by shipping agent John Newman, was in existence by 1853.

Other sources claim that the cottage was built in 1840 (Gunton, 1983:23; Marsden, 1977:28), but there is no evidence to support this. The interior of the rectangular building was divided by a single passage, with fireplaces in four rooms and cooking facilities in a fifth. A section of the final room was used for storage, but there is no indication whether the remaining section of the room was a servant's quarters; there are also no documentary references to servants at this time. John Newman was a prominent business man, sporting identity and local magistrate, whose initial priorities focused on these activities rather than on building a substantial home; for 16 years he was obviously satisfied with relatively basic accommodation, with both the exterior and interior of the original cottage lacking any decoration. There are no indications that Newman had any early aspirations to gentility.

By way of contrast to the history of *The Brocas*, the original design of *Cummins House* and the aspirations behind its construction tell a different story. *Cummins House* was a unique building in early South Australia, not only for being one of the first houses to be constructed of bricks, but also because it had early indicative characteristics of a stately home. It was built in 1842 by John Morphett (later Sir); born in 1809, his father was a tenant farmer and, after leaving school at the age of 16, he worked in Egypt for foreign merchants; it was here that he met Colonel William Light. He became interested in the colonies and on his return to England in 1834 assumed that the first colonists to South Australia would come from the ranks of land owners and speculators; he was correct with the latter and became a successful land agent in England and continued this role when he came to South Australia in 1836 (Morphett, 1955:44-45). Morphett became wealthy, a conspicuous figure in public life who endeavoured to introduce features of the English hereditary system. In 1843

he became a member of the Legislative Council; later he became its president. He proposed that the Legislative Council comprise hereditary members, with the eldest son inheriting his father's seat. Members would be nominated by the Crown and possess free and unencumbered land. In effect, he sought to have the Legislative Council become a House of Lords; a gathering of landed gentry (Perry, 1992:48). A prominent colonist before he even arrived Morphett and others like him were key figures in the creation of the new gentry in South Australia (Price, 1924:98). He built *Cummins* with every part of the building being designed with a particular purpose or set of purposes in mind (Gutman, 1976:45). For example, the initial floor plan of *Cummins* was planned as the first stage of a more imposing residence which did not require any alteration to its configuration to achieve its ultimate goal. Early *Cummins* had many internal characteristics suggesting the transition from public, open communal space as evidenced in the first cottage at *Anlaby*, to closed separate function space. There was an entrance hall, off which was a morning room (which could have functioned as the parlour), a large dining room and a loggia at the rear. The original house was not large, but neither was it a modest four roomed cottage which would have been more the norm at this time.

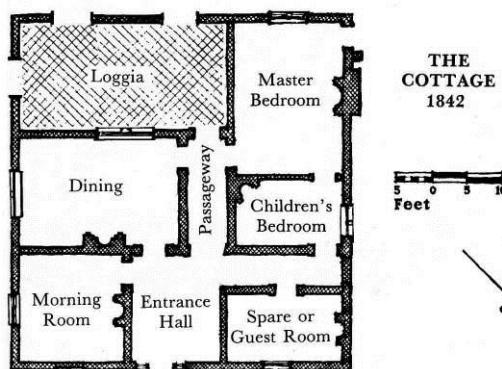


Figure 6.4 *Cummins*. Floor plan of the original cottage.  
Source: Visitor's brochure.

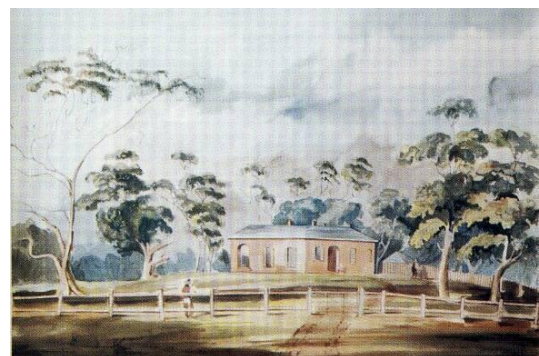


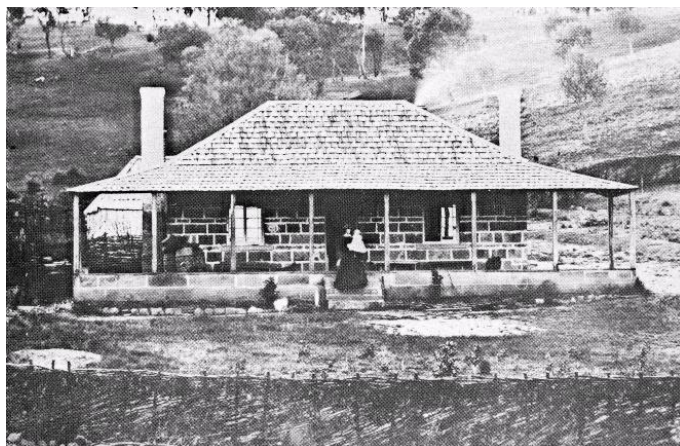
Figure 6.5 *Cummins*, c1850. Painting by Mary Milton.  
Source: Visitor's brochure.

There were only two bedrooms in the original house: the main parents' room and one for either the children or visitors; if used by visitors, the children would have shared their parent's room. There was an external entrance to the cellar which was adjacent to what would have been the rear entrance of the house. Consistent with the function and location of outbuildings, it can be concluded that domestic activities, which included cooking, were separated from the main house and that servants would have entered the house through the rear door. Originally there would have been a separate kitchen, but there are no indications of where this was located. Significantly, no accommodation was provided for servants in the main house. It is therefore likely that they lived near the stables which have been demolished.

The home of the first Bishop of Adelaide, Dr Augustus Short, provides a different insight into the social dynamics of a cottage built in the early years of the colony. Bishop Short arrived in Adelaide in 1847 with his wife, five children and 'a retinue of servants' (Brown, 1974:37). Bishop Short would have obtained financial assistance from the diocese, but his original rented house, although having six rooms, resulted in four to five people sleeping in a room. In 1849 he designed *Claremont Cottage* (later *Beaumont House*), which had a drawing room flanked by a bedroom and study, a sitting room, three bedrooms, servants' hall, maid's bedroom and pantry (Brown, 1974:56). However, there is a lack of details as to the sequence of, and dates for, the various phases of construction and the documented use of each room (Young, 1989:30). Brown's (1974:56) date of 1849 for the building of *Claremont Cottage* is in conflict with a plan drawn by Bishop Short himself in 1850 that shows proposed extensions around an original five roomed house, which included a 'maids' room (with no indication whether this was singular or plural), a men's room, pantry and a

servants' hall (Figure 6.35). The house was occupied in 1850 and, as there was no internal kitchen shown on the floor plan, it can be assumed that this must have been included in or near to the adjacent coach house. Short's modest sized house accommodated between 11 (one child died before the Bishop and his family occupied the house) and 13 people. The cottage was conservatively decorated but it included an internal W.C. □.unusual for the period. □.which was located at the far end of the house adjacent to the servants' quarters. Although *Beaumont House* was one of the earliest cottages, even its cramped conditions provide was evidence of an attempt to separate family and servants, with limited access between the servants' and family quarters.

John Hope arrived in South Australia in 1839 and was one of the earliest pastoralists to acquire land in the Clare district (Cockburn, 1925:62-63). He had interests in a number of properties, but purchased *Wolta Wolta* for his principal residence where he built a modest cottage in 1860 (Figure 6.6).



**Figure 6.6** *Wolta Wolta*; the original cottage built by John Hope. Domestic building on the left at the rear? c1860.  
Source: Noye, 1975:39.

The cottage had a central passage with rooms off either side; currently these are configured as two bedrooms and one large bedroom or family room. The early photographs show a chimney at either end of the building, neither of which exists today, so it can be speculated that in the 1860s the current family room served both as a kitchen and general living area. The first stage of the cottage has an open plan where the family activities focused on the one main room of the house (Johnson, 1993:140). There was no obvious accommodation for servants and washing and toilet facilities may have been located in a corrugated steel building seen at the rear of the early cottage. John Hope became a successful breeder who worked closely with other pastoralists in the region, but clearly his priorities were to purchase more land at *Wolta Wolta* and oversee his other properties in the region, namely *The Hummocks* and *Koolunga*, rather than build a large house.

The differing origins, history and internal configurations of these four early homes provide an insight into the emerging social and cultural environment of 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia. *Cummins* and *Claremont Cottage* are the earliest examples where the internal space of a home was divided according to social status and function. The division of space within buildings is a conscious manipulation by owners to create boundaries which do not exist in nature and hence they are an important variable when looking at the relationship between domestic architecture and the organisation of space. (Kent, 1993:1-2). Family and servant activities were confined to separate areas of the house, with servant bedrooms either in the main house, as with *Claremont Cottage*, or in a separate building, as with *Cummins*. Domestic activities, such as cooking and laundry, were also carried out in separate buildings. *Claremont Cottage* heralded the future trend where servants' accommodation, such as bedrooms

and dining halls, were incorporated into stately homes; but physically and symbolically separated. These features were added to *Cummins* in 1854; a comparable date to *Claremont Cottage* (1851). Kitchens were also brought nearer to, or incorporated into, the main house; the kitchen and associated rooms were added to *Cummins* in 1854 and to *Claremont* in 1856 when Samuel Davenport became the owner.

The internal configuration of *The Brocas* and *Wolta Wolta* were also similar but, in contrast to *Cummins* and *Claremont Cottage*, neither house had any provision for servants, nor was there any conclusive evidence as to the location of the kitchens. Was the kitchen incorporated into the large ‘family room’ at *Wolta Wolta* and in the small room at *The Brocas*? The configuration of these two cottages would not have been significantly different to the majority of modest cottages built in the early years of the colony. However, as will be discussed, it was in the subsequent stages that these two cottages incorporated the internal configuration which separated people and function according to class and order in society.

The additions to these four cottages also exemplify general trends in transformation from cottage to stately home and, while they may have had differing origins and internal configurations, they all gravitated towards the same or similar characteristics. *The Brocas* followed a deliberate pattern. John Newman was a prominent member of the Adelaide Hunt Club, whose friends included Colonel William Light (Gunton, 1983:24). There are three possible scenarios for why he continued to live in a relatively plain, unassuming cottage and why he built the imposing extensions to his house in 1870. In the late 1840s Woodville was relatively



isolated and not a prime location for outlaying large sums of money on a house: Newman was not married and therefore had no need to accommodate a wife and family; on his death the property was passed to a group of trustees. It was probably his association with other prominent citizens and his desire to host meetings of the Adelaide Hunt Club and the Hamley Gun Club that prompted him to build a substantial mansion of architectural grandeur adjacent to the original six roomed cottage (Bell, 2004:5) (Figure 6.7). The 1870 extensions included a square tower and ballroom and by 1873 also a verandah and balcony.



**Figure 6.7** *The Brocas*, c1876, with later additions, including, the tower, verandah and balcony. The original cottage can be seen in the rear. Source: SLSA, B 10656.

However, compared to other stately homes in this study, these additions were relatively modest in size. The entrance to the house was via a portico under the tower leading to a combined entrance and staircase hall. There were only two rooms on both ground and first floors, again with contrary possibilities for their use. Marsden (1977:28) identifies one room as a ballroom, while Bell (2005:39) identifies the same room as a drawing room. On the first floor there were two bedrooms. All rooms had had detailed cornice mouldings, ceiling roses, skirtings and architraves, far superior decoration when compared to the narrow corrugated metal ceilings in the original cottage. Additions to the rear of the original 1853 cottage contained servants'

quarters and a kitchen which had only utilitarian finishes; access was through exterior doorways with no direct internal access to the house. The 1870s version of *The Brocas* now reflected the status of a prominent member of the new gentry, with large reception and dining rooms, including bay windows, and complete separation of servants' and domestic areas. The changes in form and style at *The Brocas* were paralleled in many other stately homes.

Major additions to *Cummins House* were undertaken in 1854. John Morphett's position as a land agent who brokered purchases for capitalists still living in London also enabled him to purchase land for himself, often in association with other capitalists. The additions clearly demonstrated the two important characteristics of stately homes: firstly, the elaborate extension and decoration of the family quarters (Figure 6.8) and, secondly, the addition of separate, more modest, servants' quarters and domestic areas. Three outbuildings were also constructed at the rear of the house in 1854: a dairy, laundry, and ironing room.

Consistent with discussion in Chapter 5 on the importance of the entry to a stately home, an arched portico entrance was added to *Cummins House*, complete with marble tiles and a pressed metal ceiling (Figure 6.9).



**Figure 6.8** *Cummins*, c1900: the 1854 extensions included drawing room which was also a venue for musical evenings.  
Source: SLSA, B 17522/5.



**Figure 6.9** *Cummins*, c1900: the portico entrance and a bay window were added in 1854  
Source: SLSA, B 3211.

The size of the portico and the protection it offered gave it the feeling of a vestibule entry, although it was not designed to allow people to alight from a carriage within it. Consistent with the analysis of external architectural features, a bay window was added to the dining room; in keeping with the exterior fabric of the original house, it was built of brick. The open loggia at the rear of the house was enclosed to create a grand drawing room. It was the construction in 1854 of the drawing room with a curved feature wall (Figure 6.8) and notable decoration that was an early example of the reinforcement of social status. This room was designed, not solely as a family room, but for formal musical evenings similar to salon musical performances in the stately homes of England and the European continent; this was especially so after a grand piano was imported in 1855. The configuration of the internal layout also controlled access by outsiders. From the front entrance visitors could be directed to the front parlour and would be separated both physically and psychologically from those of higher status who would be directed to the drawing room. This gave the owners control over those beneath them in class and status.

By way of contrast, the servants' quarters and service area were constructed around what was probably an open courtyard in 1854. All the servants' rooms lacked decoration and had low ceilings. There were three bedrooms, only one with a fireplace (presumably the housekeeper's room), a servants' hall, kitchen, pantry, scullery and store room. Access to these rooms was via the courtyard and the entrance to the house for the servants was through a side door adjacent to the cellar. Therefore, in contrast to the family, servants were exposed to the elements as they moved from one section of the house to another. *Cummins* was an early example of the transition from a modest building, with a relatively plain exterior and a greater proportion of shared inner space, to one of the principal stately homes in South Australia, owned by a person who had quickly established himself as an important member of the new gentry.

*Claremont Cottage* was purchased by Sir Samuel Davenport in 1856, and later renamed *Beaumont House*; it became his home for the next 50 years (Figure 6.10). Davenport only made minor extensions to the house by expanding the rooms on the south east corner to accommodate an internal kitchen (Warburton, 1981:1). The uses for the front rooms were changed, with one bedroom becoming the vestibule when the front door was relocated to the north elevation. The house remained virtually unaltered until 1907, when the subsequent owner, Emily Vincent, a wealthy widow with three children, who married Major Vincent, began extravagant improvements by adding three large rooms which sheltered behind an arched verandah (Young, 1989:30) (Figure 6.11). Davenport was a prominent politician who experimented with Mediterranean plants, especially olives, and, having no children, probably saw no need to extend the house.

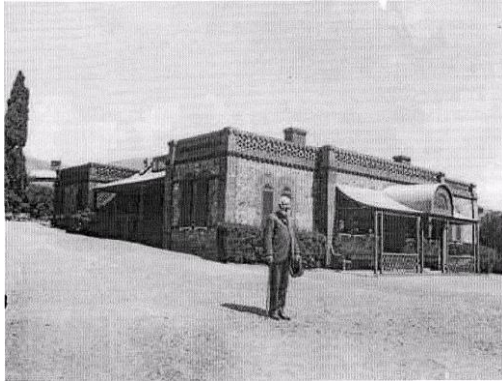


Figure 6.10. *Beaumont House*, c1880, home of Sir Samuel Davenport (pictured).  
Source: SLSA: B 13333



Figure 6.11 *Beaumont House*; arcade verandah on the right and main entrance now on the left (north elevation).  
Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2006

*Wolta Wolta* was one of only a few stately homes extended a number of times before reaching its final configuration. In 1866 an increase in prosperity or family size resulted in two rooms being added to the original cottage. These rooms, currently designated as a lounge and bedroom, were accessed only from the front verandah, with no internal access from the original cottage (Figure 6.12). This second stage of the building resulted in a change from the open plan where family activities focused on one room, to a separation of space; barriers and restricted movement was becoming evident. In 1866 there was another building to the rear of the main cottage, which is possibly the cottage that exists today and that was built at the time of the extensions to the main cottage; possibly as servants' quarters (Figure 6.12).



Figure 6.12 *Wolta Wolta*, c1866. Left: extensions to the east elevation. Domestic building at the rear of the main house.  
Source: Noye, 1975:49.



Figure 6.13 *Wolta Wolta*. Self contained cottage at the rear. The original cottage with later additions is in the front.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, March, 2007

When John Hope decided to make his permanent home in the Clare district he also determined that he ‘would live in the comfort and style that befitted a landed gentry’s family’ (Williams, 1980:109). In 1869 he had plans drawn up for a complete new front section to the house, including a conservatory on the western elevation which was completed in 1871 (Figure 6.13). Two years later he added a separate two storey building to the rear of the main house which contained a kitchen and servants’ quarters (Figure 5.7); the idea of closed space and restricted movement was now reinforced, with separation of function based on class. In contrast to *The Brocas*, where interior decoration in the extensions was modest compared to its exterior, John Hope lavished attention on the internal décor, especially the bay windows, which became features of both the drawing room and the dining room. Both rooms had high ceilings with ornate plaster work, especially on the arches associated with the bay windows. From the front door, with its glass fanlights and sidelights, the visitor faced ornate arches with engaged columns with classical-styled capitals; the original front entrance to the original cottage was replaced by an archway off the new corridor. The use of classical motifs in the form of Ionic pilaster mantle pieces and Corinthian columns, were indicators of the neo classical architecture of English stately homes and designed to project an aristocratic and sophisticated image (McInnes, 1999:36).

As a general observation, the early phases of other stately homes built in both country regions during the period 1840-1869 (with the exception of *Princess Royal* and *Trevu House* in Gawler) were all replaced, expanded or modified in the following two periods. In the ‘square mile’ all houses built in the first period were modified or expanded, while in North Adelaide, with the exception of three, all were modified before 1914; similarly in the metropolitan area, all but five houses were

modified. The period 1870-1889 is the key to this transformation. It was in this period that the majority of South Australia's 19<sup>th</sup> stately homes were built and that the majority of original buildings were modified (Appendix 1. Building Survey □ Current Use).

The common internal architectural features which characterised a stately home included a separate entry hall and /or vestibule, the first barrier to further progression into the house; communication corridors which enabled servants to move virtually invisibly about the house; and either one or two staircases; one for the family, the other for servants. Evidence of domestic spaces, for example internal kitchens, storerooms, butler's pantries, housekeeper's rooms, servants' bedrooms and dining halls, were all indicators of the separation of both service function and personnel. Specialist rooms and features included billiard rooms, ballrooms, libraries, conservatories, classical marble or marbleised columns, elaborate plaster works and decorative painting, such as the decorated ceilings of *Yallum Park* (Figure 6.14), *Paringa Hall* and the theatre at *Torrens Park Estate*, elaborate marble and tiled fireplaces (Figure 6.15), the marbleised columns of *Ayers House* and *Bundaleer* and the dados and doors of *Yallum Park*; features that were not to be found in cottage or houses of the middle classes. *Yallum Park*, which is credited as being the finest example of original Victorian architecture in Australia, (Figure 6.14 and 6.16) was lavishly decorated with William Morris wallpaper as was *Auchendarroch* and *Torrens Park Estate*. The latter two houses were owned by Robert Barr Smith who commissioned large quantities of William Morris wallpaper and furnishing over a number of years, much of which is now held in the Art Gallery of South Australia. Finally, the main staircase, which was often elaborately carved, especially the stem



posts, was used to great effect in many stately homes to demonstrate wealth; *Carclew* is a notable example (Figures 6.16).



**Figure 6.14 Yallum Park:**  
Ornate plaster entrance hall.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007.



**Figure 6.15 Bundaleer :** ornate fireplace in the dining room  
The fire box is lined with ceramic tiles  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007.



**Figure 6.16. Carclew:** elaborately carved stem post of the main staircase.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, August, 2008



**Figure 6.17 Yallum Park:** dining room bay window with gold leaf pelmet  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007.

The use of marble, originating as it does in classical architecture and sculpture, makes a powerful statement concerning sophisticated taste and the ability to afford it (McInnes, 1999:36). Again, to reinforce the initial impact when visitors first entered



the house the hall often featured ornate arches complete with columns with classical capitals, as noted at *Wolta Wolta*, but also painted to give the impression that they were made of marble. From floor to ceiling these houses were decorated with moulded plastered and painted dados, and elaborately painted ceilings. It was the interior of the bay windows which was often reserved for special attention and became a feature of the drawing room in particular. A unique example can be found at *Yallum Park*, where the pelmets in the bay windows are decorated with gold leaf (Figure 6.17).

A key change that is obviously connected with aspirations to status is the inclusion of specified 'event' rooms from the mid 1870s onwards. Social events in the early decades of the colony tended to be sponsored by the Governor, but with substantial architectural development these were supplanted by private parties and professionally hosted balls (Maynard, 1994:42). Extravagant building programs resulted in stately homes becoming the focal point for social events. Although it was argued that many pastoralists considered specialist rooms, such as parlours and ballrooms an extravagance (Dutton, 1985:54), evidence (Appendix 2. Building Survey – Internal Features) shows that pastoralists did include ballrooms, billiard rooms and parlours in their country stately homes and even the Dutton homestead at *Anlaby* had a large ornate parlour or reception room, as well as a subterranean ballroom. Pastoralists readily assumed the role of a country squire and the addition of a ballroom to their stately homes enabled them to demonstrate their cultivated lifestyle by inviting people they considered to be their social equals to what were often grand occasions, especially if associated with visiting dignitaries. Pastoralists also adopted the mantle of members of the new gentry when in Adelaide and their

city residences reflected their status in society, for example George Hawker's city residence, *The Briars*, in the residential enclave of Medindie, was larger and more ornate than his pastoral residence, *Bungaree*. The ballroom at *Willyama* in the metropolitan suburb of Medindie was particularly grand, with an impressive hallway leading to it (Figures 6.18 and 6.19).



**Figure 6.18** *Willyama*: c1890. Ornate hallway leading to the ballroom.  
Source: SLSA, B 28308.



**Figure 6.19** *Willyama*: c1890. Ballroom.  
Source: SLSA, B 28297.

Edward Smith added a grand ballroom at *The Acacias* (NSPP LGA) which guests accessed from the dining room through doors that had hand painted glass panels. Alternatively, at *The Acacias*, gentlemen could retire to the subterranean billiard room, again via the same dining room doors but then by descending a set of stairs with wrought iron balustrades. However, the most notable example was the ornately decorated theatre built at *Torrens Park Estate* by Robert Barr Smith in 1882 which could seat 100 people: it is still used as a theatre today by Scotch College. Other rooms with specialist functions, such as smoking rooms (*Martindale Hall*), libraries (*Carclew*) and morning rooms (*Auchendarroch*) in which the ladies would be entertained for morning tea, completed the more elaborate social areas of stately

homes. A more exotic example is the large subterranean room, said to be a saloon, built by Bishop Newton in his palace in Peterborough to entertain his friends.

In contrast to the 1870-1889 period, 1890-1914 was a period of drought and recession, which is reflected in the lower number of stately homes commenced and/or modified. As noted earlier, only three new stately homes were built in the country during this period, two in the 'square mile', nine in North Adelaide and 22 throughout the rest of the metropolitan area. There was noticeable restraint in the exterior design, with brick becoming more popular, but what were the corresponding interior changes? In the northern country area, the two new stately homes were contrasting buildings with differing functions: Bishop Newton's palace at Peterborough and *North Bundaleer*, built for pastoralist George Maslin in 1898. All the characteristics expected to be found in a stately home were evident in *North Bundaleer*. Highly decorative stained glass fanlights and sidelights adorned the front doorway, which opened into an entrance hall that was highly decorative and had 'marbleised' classical columns (Figure 6.20 and 6.21).



Figure 6.20 *Bundaleer*, stained glass window side lights; front entrance and vestibule or entrance hall. Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007.



Figure 6.21 *Bundaleer*, classical columns and archway opening from the vestibule into main hall/ballroom. Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007.

The entrance hall led to an equally decorative main hall which doubled as a ballroom, off which were entrances to the library and main reception or drawing room; the latter highly decorated with curved stained glass bay windows. Marble fireplaces also added to the affluent display in both the drawing and dining rooms. The kitchen and service areas were separated from both social and family activities, with a separate communication corridor to the servants' quarters which also had a separate rear entrance. Although built in 1898, there was no reduction in the level of refinement and display in the interior of *Bundaleer* compared to stately homes built in more affluent times, nor was there any obvious evidence of cultural or social changes to the internal architectural design. Evidence would suggest that *Bundaleer* was the last 19<sup>th</sup> century stately home to be built in the country which reflected the prominence and wealth of South Australia's successful pastoral families.

Similarly, the Bishop's palace, built in 1912, contained internal design features and decorations that were characteristic of other stately homes. The entrance had a stained glass window and opened into a small vestibule which led to the bishop's study where he received visitors. Entry to the private residence was through two swing doors which were elaborately decorated with stained glass panels. The decoration of the reception rooms, with carved wooden fireplace surrounds and ceramic tiles, stained glass above many of the internal doors and a carved main staircase, were also the equal of other stately homes. There was even a stained glass window on the landing leading to his subterranean private entertainment room.

There was only one stately home constructed in the southern country region between 1890 and 1914, built for pastoralist George Riddoch. He did not emulate his brother by building another *Yallum Park*, but chose instead a Scottish - inspired hunting lodge which he called *Koorine*. It was built in two stages, eight initial rooms in 1898 and completed in 1904 to include a crenellated tower (Clifford, nd:109); the later design was by architects, English and Soward. The interior did not have the cluttered atmosphere typical of the Victorian era, but had Japanese wallpaper, wooden fireplace surrounds, a billiard room, stucco surfaces, wooden arches with lattice work and leadlight above many of the doors (Clifford, nd:110). There is no mention of servants or servants' quarters, but for a prominent member of the community and member of the Legislative Council, *Koorine* would have been a focal point for social events, especially as Riddoch was a former chief of the Caledonian Society.

Many stately homes built or extended in the 'square mile' in the 1890-1914 period maintained the social and cultural divisions that were evident in the previous period. A grand ballroom, including a carved sandstone fireplace, and separate servants'

quarters, were built at *Waverley*, possibly between 1905 and 1911 when the rates assessment noticeably increased (Figure 6.22).



Figure 6.22 *Waverley*, carved sandstone fireplace in the former ballroom.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2008

In contrast, the house built on East Terrace for Nobel Prize winning physicist William Bragg in 1899, while having stained glass sidelights on the front door, and an entrance hall which led to the main hall, did not have the extravagant decoration used at *Waverley*, nor any evidence of servants' quarters. It is probable that towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the 'square mile', servants lived elsewhere and travelled to work each day. In North Adelaide *Carclew* was built for Hugh Dixson in 1896 and had all the internal features which would be expected of such a grand, flamboyant stately home. The arcaded entrance opened into an arched entrance hall, complete with classical columns, which in turn led to the main hall with an elaborately carved staircase (Figure 6.16). Off the main hall were reception rooms with bi-fold doors which, when opened, combined into a large ballroom. Again, the main feature of the front reception room was the bow window under the

tower; there was also delicate timber filigree work, an exit to the garden and a door leading to the conservatory. When John Lavington Bonython purchased *Carclew* in 1908 he built a library, the ‘quintessentially private male place’ (Kross, 1999:393), which tended to be entered by invitation only. *Carclew*’s library had stained glass windows, a fireplace and a separate entrance to the garden. By contrast, behind the staircase and in one corner of the main hall was the entrance to the service areas and the servants’ quarters. As with other stately homes, these are very plain, cramped quarters with a basic staircase to the next level. The current property manager recounts a story from a descendent that the owner’s children never ventured into the servants’ quarters which emphasised that there was not only a physical barrier between domestic and family areas, but also a psychological one as well.

Stately homes continued to be built within the metropolitan area and some of these are amongst the finest mansions still in existence in South Australia, such as *Forest Lodge* and *Wairoa* built in the Adelaide Hills; *Attunga* in Burnside; *Tranmere House* in Campbelltown; *Dunlace*, *Partridge House* and *Kapara* in Holdfast Bay; *Birralee* and *Strathspey* in Mitcham; *Eden Park* in NSPP; *Coonawarra* and *Yurilla* in Unley. Decorative interiors and a separation of family and servants’ functions continued to feature in these houses. The main entrance hall of *Wairoa*, which featured in the Australian film *Picnic at Hanging Rock*, was decorated with William Morris wallpaper (as was the case in all Barr Smith houses) and had a carved staircase. There were extensive servants’ quarters at the rear of the house, complete with their own basic staircase, with other services consigned to out buildings. Similarly, *Strathspey*, which was designed by George K. Soward, had an entrance hall with stained glass windows, a carved staircase and a decorated drawing room opening off

one side. The servants' quarters were an example of the contrasting standard between family and employee, with small rooms off the landing of the rear stairs. *Eden Park*, in metropolitan Kensington Park, was another example where social and class distinctions were evident in the internal layout and decoration. The entrance hall of *Eden Park* had seats along the walls for servants who were waiting to receive visitors. Doors led from this to the ornately carved stair hall, which had a stained glass lantern ceiling above it, main reception rooms and a dining room with timber filigree decoration around the bay windows and fireplaces, and one less elaborate door opening into the domestic quarters. These quarters included a kitchen, scullery and butler's pantry adjacent to the dining room, and, again, a basic set of back stairs leading to the servants' quarters.

Bathrooms, unsurprisingly, were not a common feature, with many of the early stately homes not having any. *Wolva Wolva*, *Beaumont House* and *Cummins* are examples of layouts that include no bathrooms in the initial plans of the houses. There would have been bathrooms and toilets outside the house, but for many stately homes each bedroom probably had a commode and wash stand which it would have been the responsibility of the servants to empty each day. Twopeny (1973[1883]:36) claims that 'of the sanitary arrangements, it is almost impossible to speak too strongly; they are almost invariably objectionable and disgusting'. Internal bathrooms began to feature in stately homes built in the 1870-1889 period and had become more common by the 1890-1914 period, although not all would have been available to servants except for cleaning.



All modest cottages preceding the stately homes in this thesis were built during the 1840-1869 period and all were either demolished, converted to other uses or incorporated into the subsequent stately home. There are only a few examples where there were several stages of construction between modest cottage and the final form of the stately home. Some were subsequently extended or redecorated, but that was after they had been identified as stately homes. However, no matter what the origins of the stately home, there was a common objective amongst the owners. The new gentry, once they had established themselves financially, moved to the next stage and built a house that externally demonstrated their new wealth and status in society. Internal decoration and the construction of specialty rooms again demonstrated wealth and status but also conveyed a subtle, symbolic message of control over movement based on class and social status. Discussion now must focus on the internal spatial dynamics and how this was used by the owners of the stately homes to distance themselves socially through genteel lifestyles.

#### **6.4 INTERNAL DESIGN AND SPATIAL DYNAMICS**

The next three sections will further examine changing internal spatial dynamics by constructing processional pathways for a sample of stately homes, with the aim of establishing whether a consistent pattern of internal design was adopted by members of the gentry. The social changes that took place over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century among the elite in South Australia mirrored similar changes occurring across the western world with the rise of the middle class (see Bushman, 1992:402-403; Crook, 1999:7-32; Girouard, 1979:270-271; Russell, 2010:120-121). In England this shift began earlier, since from the 17<sup>th</sup> century England there had been noticeable changes

in the power structure as landed capital dwindled and trading capital multiplied: two of the props which supported the ruling élite (Crook, 1999:9, 17). By the 19<sup>th</sup> century the upper classes were sharing power with the middle class, not only in the towns but also in the country where, with their new found wealth and influence, middle class merchants and industrialists purchased country estates (Girouard, 1979:9; see also Crook, 1999:14). The middle class has been defined as ‘those who lacked property value and titles and entitlement of the British aristocracy yet possessed or somehow acquired some degree of social and financial capital which differed them from the proletarian workforce...[and which] gave them powerful material and cultural investment in the ideas of manners’ (Russell, 2010:8).

The growth in material inequality that had been gradually taking shape since the 17<sup>th</sup> century in England resulted in a withdrawal of the upper echelons of society from the body of shared values, both in an ideological and social sense (Johnson, 1993:140). By withdrawing from ‘common’ culture and material life, they adopted a more ‘polite’ or genteel culture which polarised society; this was evidenced in architecture. ‘Polite’ architecture tended to be exceptional, international in style, with expressed overt sentiments and explicit architectural rules which in turn created an explicit text to an observer (Johnson, 1993:141). In the first years of the colony, before the new gentry became established, there was a vernacular culture where materialism was secondary to the primary goal of providing shelter and survival. However, economic development was accompanied by increasing evidence for material and social inequality reflected in the change from the more open, communal style of early houses of 17<sup>th</sup> century England to closed houses with different circulation patterns for specific groups (Johnson, 1993:146). From the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, country

houses in England were designed to fit an increasingly socially fragmented way of life (Girouard, 1979:12).

The genteel lifestyles of the 18<sup>th</sup> century placed an increasing emphasis on privacy, which required a separation of family and domestic servant activities and a more formalised delineation of space that created sharper boundaries between interior and exterior spaces and individualised interior spaces (Sweeney, 1984:245; see also Girouard, 1997:9-11). Stately homes in the Victorian era were subdivided and segregated still further, with the children living in a separate part of the house where they were cared for by a nurse (Franklin, 1981:80). The importance given to privacy resulted in servants being accommodated in a separate wing of the house, with the extreme position being that under no circumstances should the servants overlook the private life of the family, such that none of their windows could overlook the gardens or lawns (Franklin, 1981:88; see also Gould, 1999:144). The servants' quarters often overlooked the stables or farm buildings, such as at *Anlaby*, or were located in the section of the house furthest away from the exit to the reception rooms and garden, such as at *Adare*, *Forest Lodge*, *Wolta Wolta*, *Bundaleer*, *Holland House* and *Yallum Park*. In cases where there was tension in the social contact between masters and servants, the solution was to remove the servants to separate quarters some distance from the main house (Deetz, 1996:151). Even so, many servants needed to come into the house to do their work (invisible access) but there were strict social codes of behaviour in the Victorian household to ensure that contact was kept to a minimum (see Fairclough, 1992:354). Therefore, the internal design and configuration of stately homes was the physical manifestation of social distinction, with clear

communication corridors based on social division and class; this is what Upton has conceptualised as processional space (Upton, 1988:364).

Internal communication corridors can be equated with the creation of boundaries (see Kent, 1993:2). Hillier and Hanson (1984:146) argue that buildings are a domain of knowledge, in that there is a spatial ordering of categories and a domain of control. Their argument can be applied to the range of inhabitants or visitors who enter a stately home, where the owner and family have special access and control over a category of space created by the boundary. This can be subdivided into spaces that are controlled by an individual, 'whose social existence is mapped into the category of space' (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:146) within the building, for example, the library or the morning room. The opposite is the case for visitors and servants who may enter a building temporarily; both groups have a legitimate reason to cross the boundaries but have no control over the building. A building may therefore be defined as an ordering of categories of individuals to which is added a system of controls, namely a system of communication corridors. The creation of boundaries, internal spatial configuration and the use of communication corridors according to social status will be explored in detail in Section 5.4.

Within the outer boundary of a house, Kerr (1865:156) argued that there should be four primary lines of interior communication:

1. a line from the exterior to the interior of the house identified below as the carrier point;
2. a line from the vestibule or entry hall into the drawing room for visitors or private apartments for family members;

3. a line to the servants' department;
4. a line from the interior to the garden.

Linking both the overt and covert purposes of such communication corridors (that is, as both literal means for movement and symbolic means of maintaining class distinction), I will refer to these as processional pathways □ they allow certain people to progress through space while preventing others, but they also have an element of ritual about them. Creating and controlling individual movement does a number of things which helps consolidate a class and confirm one's position in that class. Processional pathways are both ideological mechanisms and a source of control imposed on individuals by others. By creating this control mechanism, it becomes a tradition which individuals accept having imposed upon them and has a similar impact to that of a 'walking city' and an exclusive residential enclave. Processional pathways, through their daily use, impress upon people their status and role, enhanced by the overt display of wealth (and implicitly power) evidenced in the internal finishes and features.

The main entrance to a stately home was the first opportunity for the owner to present a barrier to further procession into the house. The entrance hall and/or vestibule was a space beyond which some visitors could not progress. A central hall which created a more formal front entryway provided regulated access to most rooms of the house, and helped strike a balance between the family's need for privacy and the comings and goings of non-family members (Sweeney, 1984:245). Conspicuous consumption within such a space was designed to enhance the social prestige and power of the owner with an ostentatious display of wealth (Trigger, 1990:124).

It was not necessary for stately homes to have all three spaces (a vestibule, entry hall and main hall), but it was a common feature for them to have an entrance which acted as a barrier (Goodwin, 1999:146). Procession beyond the entryway led to reception rooms, representing an essential expression of upper class taste and therefore not necessarily part of the processional sequence for all guests (West, 1999:111). In both 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australian stately homes and American homes of the upper classes, one of the reception rooms was called the drawing room and devoted solely to the formal entertaining of visitors (McInnes, 1999:39). The drawing room, insulated from its immediate surroundings and from everyday domestic activities is, from the perspective of a processional pathway, a non-distributed space, that is, a space that is unlinked as much as possible from the surrounding spatial system (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:159). Analysis of the available floor plans of houses identified family bedrooms, which were normally located in remote sections of the building or on a separate level, as further examples of non-distributed space; so, too, was the library; these formed the ultimate exclusion zones. It was also noted that the standard of decoration and facilities in the family bedrooms, which included marble or tiled fire places, was consistent with that in the main reception rooms.

Consistent with Kerr's (1865:156) primary lines of interior communication, the next stage in the processional pathway was the ballroom, drawing room or dining room and, for the gentlemen after dinner, the billiard room and/or smoking room. While some of these rooms, such as libraries, ballrooms and billiard rooms, were not present in all of the houses, there was a consistent pattern in the pathways. These special purpose rooms that may or may not be non-distributive, had strict functions

and purposes, for example the library, usually located near the back in a quieter part of the house, was for the gentleman who had either professional occupations or literary tastes, or pretensions to either, for example *Carclew* (Clark, 1988:542). Similarly with billiard rooms, these were all either in remote sections of the house (*Strathspey*) or a subterranean level (*Urrbrae House* and *The Acacias*). If there was no adjacent smoking room, as was the case at *Martindale Hall*, then the majority of billiard rooms had a separate exit, usually to the garden, for example, *Urrbrae House*, *Meitke House*, *Strathspey* and *Kings College*. The morning room or boudoir, on the other hand, was a private area for the woman of the house, who would use it to entertain other women of equal social class to afternoon tea, for example, *Carclew* and *Auchendarroch*. Often stately homes had a second, less formal, parlour set aside for more informal entertainment or family occasions. The addition of a less formal parlour, often called a 'sitting room', became a feature after 1870s; this room was often adjacent to the formal reception room (for example, *Mt Breckan*) or close by (*Ayers House*). Access to reception rooms was therefore a complex procession that clearly communicated either social inclusion or exclusion resulting from the creation of an elaborate series of social and physical barriers (McInnes, 1999:45).

The internal stairs could also be used as a barrier. A grand staircase was clearly designed to have an immediate impact, especially if it led to a reception or drawing room situated on the first floor (see Fairclough, 1992:354); none of the houses in this study had public reception rooms on the first floor. However, if the sole function of the grand staircase was entry to the private and family rooms, the impact on visitors would give a tantalising image of a part of the house to which they had no access; for example *Carclew*, *Martindale Hall* and *Darroch House*. On the other hand, where

the staircase was put in an unobtrusive position at the side of the house rather than in the central hall, this clearly implied that visitors were not welcome upstairs (Clark, 1988:543), for example *Ayers House and Yallum Park*. Again, an additional set of stairs at the rear of the house was necessary to separate the domestic sections from the public and private areas and to allow servants access without being seen (Downing, 1968[1850]:272; West, 1999:543, see also Fairclough, 1992:354). These stairs were in a place invisible to visitors and enabled staff to move around the house out of the gaze of the family. Each barrier served to reinforce the image of wealth and power, but also to affirm the visitors' status as they passed beyond each barrier (Upton, 1988:364).

If the ordering of space in buildings is about the ordering of people, then it has specific social objectives. Hiller and Hanson's (1990) use of spatial syntax and their analysis of the kind of spatial patterns produced by buildings has provoked debate and has its critics (see for example Edmund Leach [1978] and Michael Batty [1985]). Yet spatial analysis itself as a concept is widely used in archaeology and other disciplines and although there are disparate approaches and methodologies, the theory of space created by Hiller and Hanson has become the most commonly adopted by archaeologists (Fairclough, 1992:349). This model reached a zenith in popularity during the 1990s, as there is little evidence of it being applied by historical archaeologists in the last decade or in Australia. Hiller and Hanson focus on the pattern of relations amongst inhabitants and between inhabitants and strangers as these are reflected in the use of interior space and the patterns created by boundaries and entrances (Foster, 1989:40: see also Fairclough, 1992:348). This approach has been criticised for 'its extreme belief that spatial organisation is a function of the



form of social structure' as it can be demonstrated that 'spatial order does carry some social information' (Foster, 1989:40).

Leach (1978) is particularly critical of Hillier and Hanson's work, especially when model building of social structures turns into formal mathematics. Leach (1978:400) argues that the whole exercise becomes meaningless, as the mathematical model fails to take into account the complexities of different social forms and systems of the 'real' situation. From their analysis as architects, Hillier and Hanson's model is mired in the modern world and therefore their theory applies less and less to past societies, which can be very different. Batty (1985:162) also argues that in order to bridge the gap between spatial form and social analysis there needs to be more information on social behaviour in particular past social contexts. Graphic presentation of spatial maps of permeability within commercial and public buildings is also used by Markus (1993) to identify the movement of different groups throughout a building or industrial complex. In an example of a bath house, although there are divisions based on gender and class, the same criticism applies (Markus, 1993, 152-153). Locating spaces on the same horizontal planes, or levels of permeability, to illustrate patterns of access through the building does not give a deeper understanding of the social context that produced it. Spatial maps require further information and analysis of the social complexities in order to be translated into observable space use patterns (Leach, 1978:400).

## 6.5 SPATIAL ANALYSIS

To examine the relationship between the internal structure of spaces or primary cells and how they relate to the rest of the system and hence explain the relationship between internal and external relations, Hillier and Hanson (1984:143) use a method of syntactic analysis of interior structure □ termed gamma-analysis □ which seeks to generate order in both spatial and social terms (Batty, 1985:161).

Graham Fairclough (1992) and archaeologist Sally Foster (1989) have been interested in similar questions of social structure, boundaries and access by insiders and outsiders as well as how this analysis can be applied equally to individual houses. Analysis of permeability within settlements will not be pursued in this thesis although it could apply to a small sample of major pastoral properties which had their own internal villages, such as *Bungaree*, *Martindale Hall* and *Anlaby* in the northern country region and *Poltalloch* and *Padthaway*, in the south. The focus of this thesis is on the spatial organisation of individual stately homes; particularly the analysis of social information which may be reflected by subtle use of architecture, permeability and physical boundaries (Gould, 1999:140).

Architects or builders routinely create boundaries out of otherwise unbounded space, while the use of space is a means of organising that unbounded space (Kent, 1993:2). Gamma-analysis of the interior ordering of structures according to social variables within given spatial parameters can be presented in a diagrammatical form, called gamma maps, that highlights the internal and external relationships in the social logic of space (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:143). Gamma maps represent the continuous relationship between cells; in the example of houses, each cell is represented by a

room. Hillier and Hanson (1990:146) argue that a building is a domain of knowledge in which there is a spatial ordering of categories and, through that ordering a domain of control. A category of space created by the boundary, called a gamma structure, is identified by a person who has access to and control of it; a gamma structure is any space created by a boundary. In Hillier and Hanson's (1990:147) analysis, the entrance from outside the boundary (that is, through a door) to any gamma structure is represented by a carrier point. Hillier and Hanson (1990), and others, only ever use a single carrier point for any structure, regardless of how many entrances it may have, but give no explanation for why they exclude alternative entrances, or how they chose one particular entrance. As an alternative in this thesis, because the focus is on the status ordering of space, where there is more than one entrance, more than one carrier point has been depicted, especially where there are separate points for family and servants. As will be illustrated, the use of more than one carrier point enables processional pathways for the family and servant to be shown separately, it highlights the spatial barriers between the two sectors of the household and the resulting diagrammatical representation mirrors the floor plan which is not a feature of other models.

Permeability, which is defined as the depth to which an individual can access a building, may be either 'shallow', that is, restricted to a few or to a particular series of spaces, such as front rooms near the entrance, or 'deep', being those spaces furthest into the building (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:184; Fairclough, 1992:354; see also Foster, 1989:42). Every space within a building can be assigned a depth value according to the minimum number of steps required to arrive in that space beginning from the carrier point; in this context a step is not literal, but defined as the

movement from one space room to another (Hanson and Hillier, 1990:149). Note that permeability is not necessarily a function of the number of rooms □ that is, a house with many rooms can still be shallow, but is about the controls imposed on (West, 1999).

Diagrammatic representations of shallow and deep access retain the features of the gamma map but line up cells with the same depth value horizontally; this is called a justified gamma map (Hanson and Hillier, 1990:149, 151). Foster (1989: 41-42) reconfigures an access map of a simple house into a justified access map to indicate the depth of certain cells within the house. Access by visitors is ‘shallow’, because they do not proceed beyond the front rooms of the house; the family and special guests proceed to the ‘deep’ rooms, which would be the family apartments or special rooms, such as the library (Fairclough 192:354, see also Leach, 1978:354 for the discussion on the ‘deepest space’ in a prison). The weakness of this method is that justified maps require addition permeability lines which Hanson and Hillier (1990:146) call “ringiness”, which can be defined as rings or arcs required to join non-adjacent spaces on a gamma map. For example, where there are multiple entrances to a building on all four elevations, with the initial permeability lines originating from a single carrier point, ‘ringiness’ can be used to join spaces (Hillier and Hanson, 1990:151 Figure 94[c]). However, as will be discussed below, the diagrammatical model for the analysis of the interior of individual houses used in this thesis is such that ‘ringiness’ is not required, since does add avoidable visual and analytical complexities. West (1999) also uses Hillier and Hanson’s (1990) justified permeability diagrams to create access maps to provide a clear and visual guide to the complexity of an individual house plan. West (1999) uses access maps to show

change over time between phases in a house, including how links to previous generations were maintained through retentions of particular routes, or between houses in different periods (to illustrate the degree of modernity), and to identify the function of unnamed rooms on plans according to where they are situated and how they are accessed and their level of permeability.

Foster (1989:41, Figure 1) uses Hanson and Hillier's model in a justified map of a small modern house; the main living space and 'best' room are on the same horizontal plane, the kitchen is a deeper level into the building with the rear garden the furthest space; in this particular example, 'ringiness' permeability lines are not necessary. This diagram would indicate that visitors would have access to the first and shallowest level, the family the next level and also to the final deepest level, the back garden. Gould (1999) adopts a variation in the analysis of permeability, to illustrate the strict internal division which shows how a house is split into areas for family and servants. *The Elms*, a large manor house in England, was built with display in mind, with the architectural finery and decoration designed to impress visitors and workers alike (Gould, 1999:148). In Gould's study, he showed that technological development and industrial economic growth was matched by an increase in the number of servants and a consequential increase in the size of the building including a separate servants' wing. The enlarged manor house became a symbol to denote power and social prestige. The new servants' wing was a discrete area with a separate entrance for the servants and the only link between them and the family was through the kitchen (Gould, 1999:150-151) illustrating the control of space through strict internal division.

Gould (1999) illustrates these controlled routes of access and boundaries using 'permeability diagrams', which are different to justified gamma- maps (Hanson and Hillier, 1990) and access maps (West, 1999). All cells or spaces in Gould's (1999:151, Figure 9.4) diagram are numbered, including corridors, whereas Foster (1989:41, Figure 1c) merely identifies corridors as transitional spaces, complicating her interpretation as they are not aligned with other levels of permeability.

Fairclough (1992:350) also uses the term 'transitional space' in relation to *Gurness* in the Broch Period; however there is no legend to identify them. Transitional spaces here can be defined as those (neutral?) areas which enable access from one space to others. Gould's permeability diagrams represent the configuration of the floor plan of the building and clearly indicate the movement within and between floors. This method is designed to show the division between the family and servants' sections of the house. It also emphasises that all cells are connected and hence there is no need for the ringiness of other models. Another advantage of this method is that there are two distinct sections of the permeability diagram which begin at the separate entrances for family and servants. The understanding of levels of access or permeability is also different. For both servants and family, initial access to the house would be shallow and subsequent movement would be to deeper levels as they moved into their respective social sectors. Just as the justified access maps require interpretation of the comparability between level of access to various cells, so too with the permeability diagrams; do guest rooms and family bedrooms have the same level of access? (see West, 1999:113, Figure 7.2; Gould, 1999:151, Figure 9.4).

Similarly within the servants' section there would be differential levels of access, with the kitchen hands having restricted access to the butler's pantry, or through

access being gendered □ that is, women's bedrooms and men's kept separate (see Fairclough, 1992:355)?

One criticism of many models is their deliberate use of a single carrier point. It is important for all spaces to be given specific designations, thus 'transitional spaces' (Foster, 1989:41), for example, a passage or stairwell would be named as these may also have differencing depths of permeability. If the permeability diagram for *The Elms* (Gould, 1999:151: Figure 9.4) had two carriage points, then the servants' entrance could have been shown at its true position relative to the floor plan. In West's (1999:114, 115; Figures 7.6 and 7.8) access maps the use of a single carrier point requires connecting lines to demonstrate links with an interior room, which is a variation of Hillier and Hanson's model (1990: 151; Figure 94[d]).

However, for a more complex building such as a stately home, where visitors may be have different levels of social importance, and hence access to different depth, justified gamma maps require further analysis to obtain social information. In the case of justified gamma maps, they do not bear any direct relationship to the architecturally designed physical organisation of spaces within a building, nor do they clearly indicate spatial barriers between family and servant spaces. Therefore, neither gamma maps nor justified gamma maps are used in this thesis, as they do not provide visual identified information of the social and class divisions within a household.

Although the basic theory underpinning all the models discussed above is similar, for this thesis the object in analysing the floor plans of stately homes is to identify how

the barriers based on status and class were created by the internal architectural configuration and whether, as is the case with *The Elms*, there were major changes which corresponded with the increase in wealth, power and status of the owner. Thus, to better illustrate the permeability of a building, where there is more than one entrance, especially where they have specific uses for family or servants, more than one carrier point is used. This ensures that the access diagrams mirror the floor plan of the house and highlights spatial barriers. Hence, to differentiate the diagrams used in this thesis from those discussed above, the term ‘processional pathways’ has been used.

## **6.6 PROCESSIONAL PATHWAYS**

The aim of this section is to examine the internal spatial dynamics and processional pathways of a sample of stately homes and, with the aid of a graphical representation of the floor plans, establish whether there was a common pattern to the spatial dynamics, for example, what spatial barriers were created to reinforce social divisions within a household and how these were consolidated over time. To assist this process, a number of carrier points have been used in order to:

- Clearly differentiate between the social class and status of the people accessing the building and the entrances assigned to each social group.
- Diagrammatically represent the processional pathways in the same format as the floor plan. In contrast to Hillier and Hanson diagrammatic representation of permeability levels, building plans indicate function and purpose; they emphasize that functional relations are from the viewpoint of someone using the building rather than the actual spatial arrangements (Faulkner, 1958:150;



Fairclough, 1992:351). Analysis of architectural floor plans is about access, use and purpose and the interaction between occupants of the house, that is, the family and servants, as it is with strangers. 'Thus in planning diagrams, a room's relationship to another is often determined, not by the location, but by access to and from other related rooms' (Fairclough, 1992:351). Therefore the diagrammatical representation of the internal spatial dynamics and permeability of a building used in this thesis will generally shadow the general shape of the building (see Gould, 1999:151); indeed it has been argued that there is no advantage in departing from the actual visible layout (Fairclough, 1992:351), an argument adopted in this thesis.

- This diagrammatical representation of processional pathways provides a consistent format which is allied to the floor plans and therefore aids interpretation and comparison between buildings. This method also obviates the necessity of using circular links, 'ringiness', between cells as used by Hillier and Hanson (1990:151; Fig 94c) and West (1999:118-119).

A small sample of 20 stately homes have been selected from within the five regions across the three time periods (Table 6.2). This will provide not only comparison between geographic regions, but also an indication of changes which occurred over time.

**Table 6.2**

**Processional Pathways**

Region	Construction by Period		
	1840-1869	1870-1889	1890-1914
Northern Country Region			
<i>Bundaleer</i>			X
<i>Hughes Park</i>	X	X	
<i>Martindale Hall</i>		X	
<i>Para Para</i>	X		
<i>Wolta Wolta</i>	X, X*	X	
Southern Country Region			
<i>Karatta House</i>	X, X*		
<i>Mount Breckan</i>		X	X
<i>Struan House</i>		X	
Metropolitan Region			
<i>Barton Vale</i>	X	X	
<i>Beaumont House</i>	X		X
<i>Cummins</i>	X, X*		X
<i>Estcourt House</i>		X	
<i>Koora Weera</i>		X	
<i>Strathspey</i>			X
<i>The Brocas</i>	X	X	
<i>Urrbrae House</i>			X
‘Square Mile’			
<i>Ayers House</i>	X	X	X
North Adelaide			
<i>Carclew</i>			X
<i>Correspondence School</i>		X	

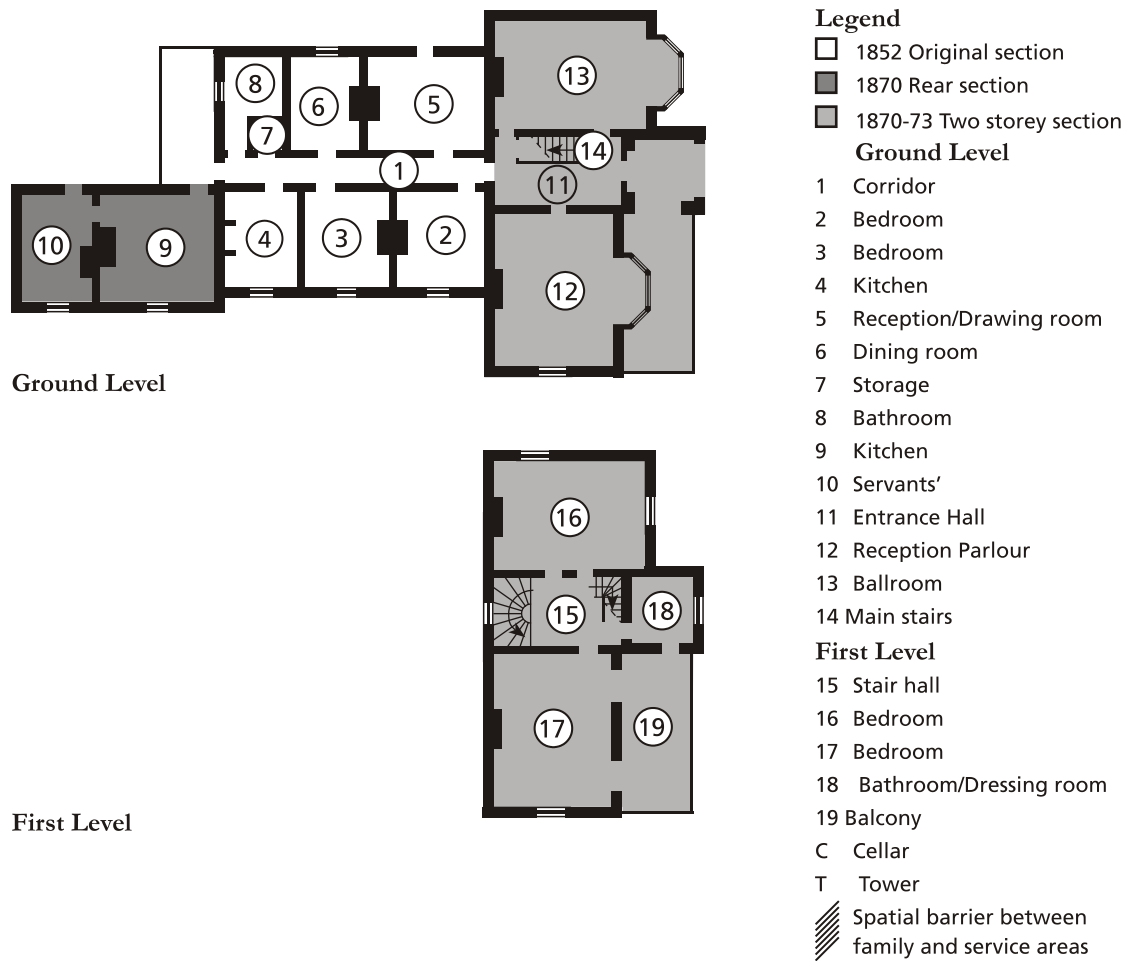
\* Two ‘Xs’ means that the house was altered twice within the period.

**6.5.1 The 1840-1869 period**

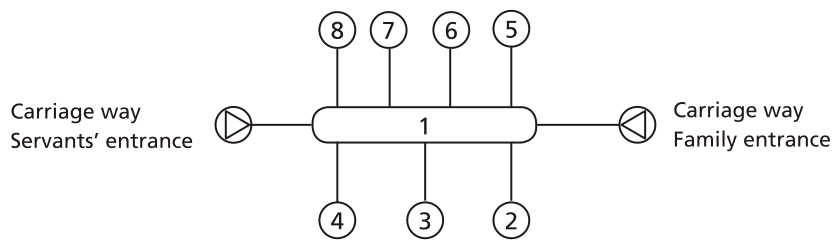
Architects were rarely used for stately homes commenced in the 1840-1869 period, and original plans, if they ever existed, may have only been rough sketches. For those early cottages which have survived, the interiors have often been altered to suit their new function, thus it may be pure speculation as to the original purpose of each

room; this presents a problem for constructing processional pathways. However, where archaeological and archival evidence is available for such houses, basic processional pathways can be drawn. In this section, the four exemplar cottages of *The Brocas*, *Wolta Wolta*, *Claremont (Beaumont House)* and *Cummins* will again be considered as case studies to illustrate the different original and subsequent internal layouts and spatial dynamics, in stately homes over time.

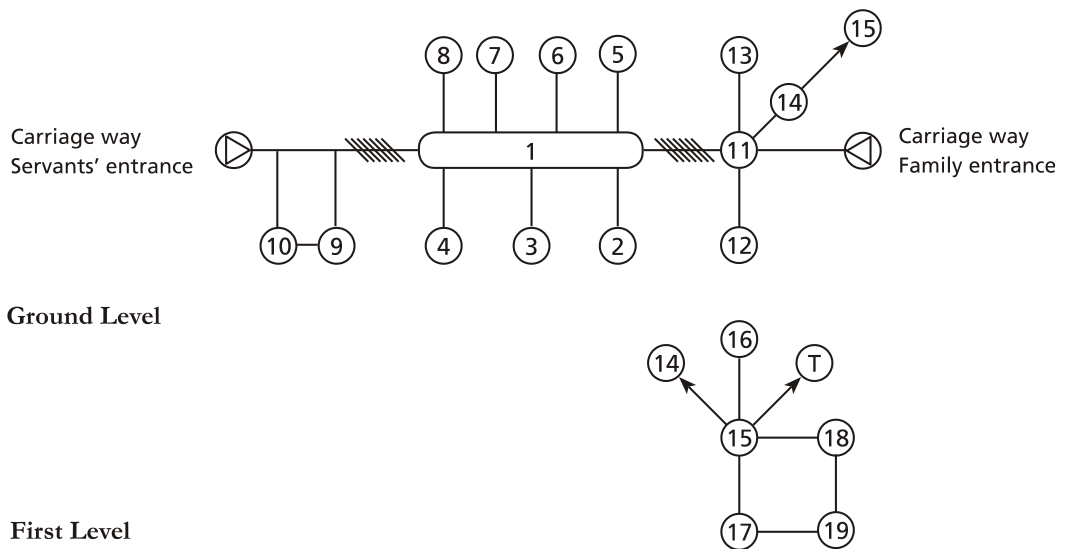
*The Brocas* is a unique example, as the original symmetrical six roomed cottage built in c1853 remained unchanged until 1870. There is no evidence that the owner, John Newman, had servants, but given his position in society, he would have had some help. If this was the case, then they would have entered the house through the rear entrance (Figure 6.27).



**Figure 6.27** *The Brocas*, ground floor plan, the central section is the original. In 1870-1873, the original six roomed cottage was extended to include a two level section on the front of the house and a rear single level domestic area..



**Figure 6.28** *The Brocas*: processional pathway for the original cottage

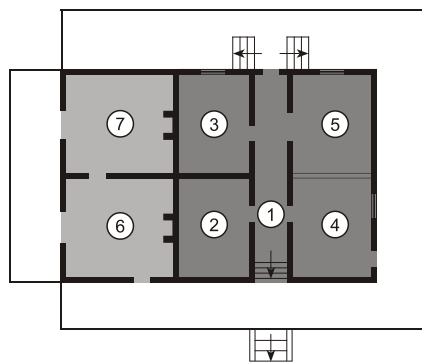


**Figure 6.29** *The Brocas*: processional pathway for the 1870s stately home.

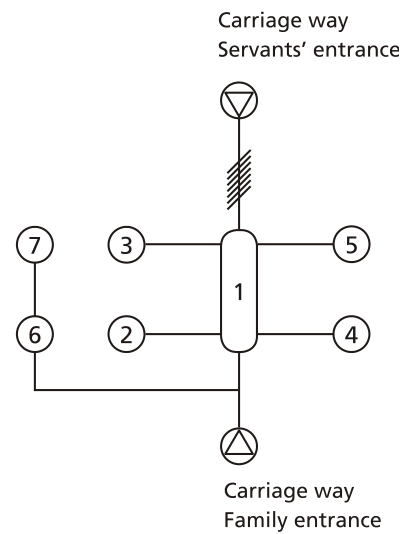
The processional pathway for the original cottage was simple and distinct (Figure 6.28), but the evolution of cultural differences between one social group and another were more obvious when the extensive additions were made in 1870; these created more definable spatial barriers between the new servants' quarters and the original cottage, and between the original cottage and the new two storeyed front section. Three processional pathways were evident, with the route for family and visitors commencing through the portico into an entrance/stair hall (Figure 6.29). Visitors could proceed to either the drawing room or dining room, whereas the family could continue up the stairs to the bedrooms or move through to the rooms of the earlier cottage. Again, with the addition of a separate accommodation wing for servants there was a complete separation of their activities.

As with *The Brocas*, there are at least three stages in the construction of *Wolta Wolta* which clearly demonstrates its social evolution. The first (Figure 6.30) had a single processional pathway with the route leading to two non-distributed spaces, both of which were bedrooms (Figure 6.31). There is no indication on the floor plan whether there was a dividing wall in the 'family room', or whether the room functioned in a

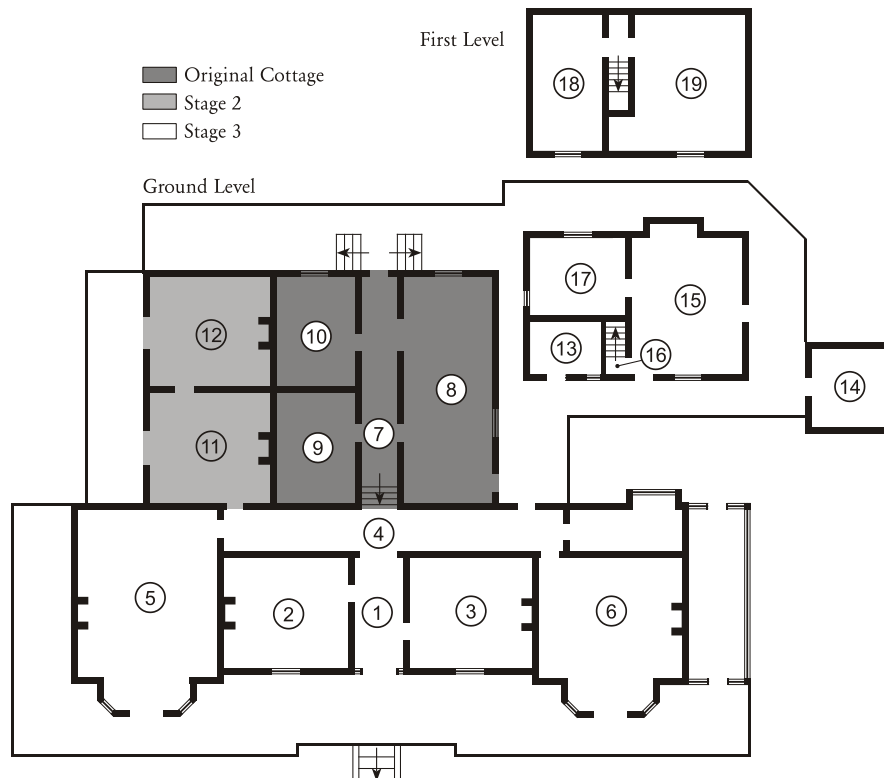
similar manner to the multi-purpose room at *Bungaree*; the double doors, however, suggest that it was divided in some way. The next stage of the building, when viewed in conjunction with the archival photographs, would suggest that entry was off the verandah (Figures 6.31 and 6.32). The processional pathway shows two separate routes: one leading to the lounge, which may have been either the drawing room or family living room and then proceeding to the main bedroom; this would have been for John Hope and his wife (Figure 6.33). The other route would have been the day to day route leading to the family or general purpose living room, which included the dining room and children's bedrooms. The function of the rear cottage is not clear, but if it was the servants' quarters then their access would have been through the rear door, thus separating them from family activities. A processional pathway can also be constructed for visitors, with the two bedrooms off the entrance hall probably having a dual role as guest accommodation. The strict definition of non-distributed spaces does not apply in this example, for, as in other stately homes, there is further procession from both the drawing room and the dining room to the gardens, which were a feature of *Wolta Wolta*. Contact between servants and the family was restricted to the entrances, the 'family room' and the dining room.



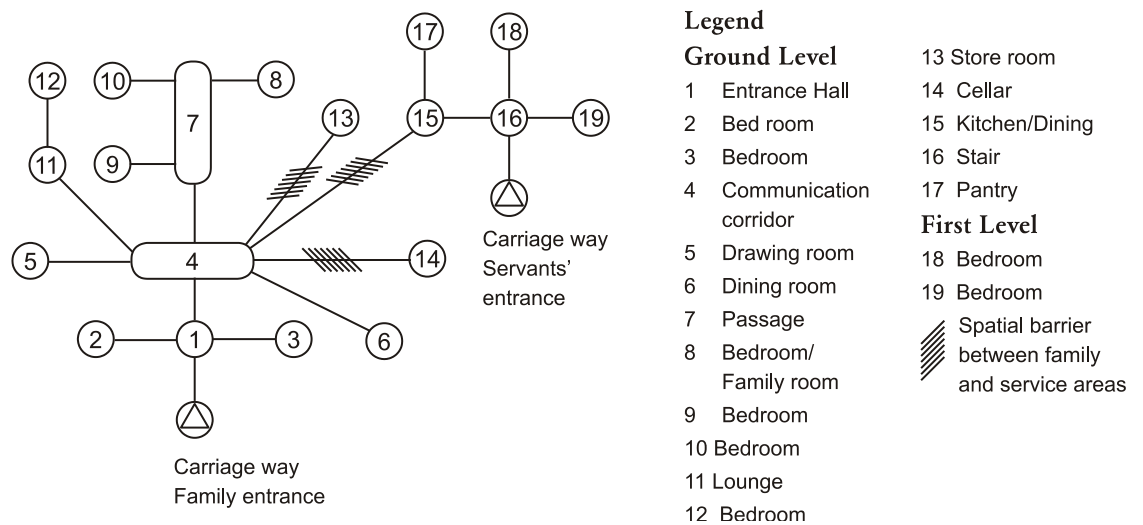
**Figure 6.30** *Wolta Wolta* floor plan of the first two stages.  
Source: adapted from the Ray White Real Estate:  
sales brochure, 2008



**Figure 6.31** *Wolta Wolta*, processional pathway for stages 1 and 2



**Figure 6.32 Wolta Wolta, floor plan of stages 1-3**  
 Source: adapted from the Ray White Real Estate: sales brochure

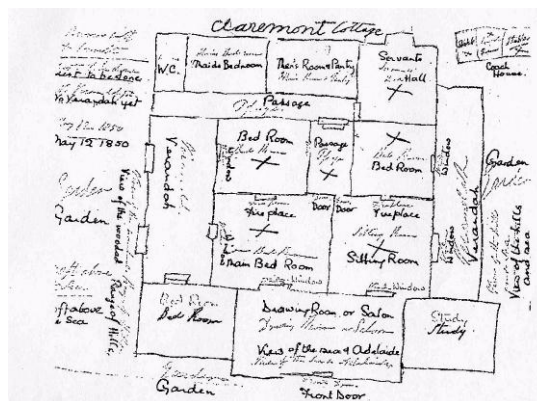


**Figure 6.33 Wolta Wolta, processional pathway for the final configuration.**

The separation of servants' accommodation and service functions was completed with the construction of a two storey building to the rear of the main house.

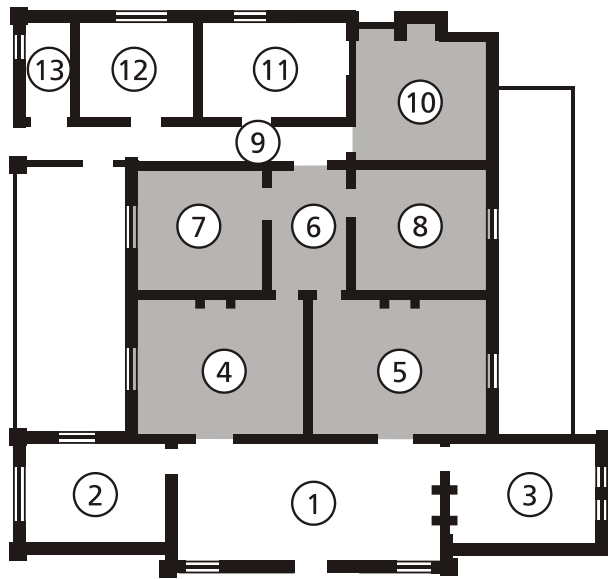
Additional external doors were opened to enabled servants to either enter the large multi-purpose room, or, if bringing food from the kitchen to the dining room, through a door opening into the communication corridor. Contact between servants and family and visitors was now kept to a minimum (Figure 6.33).

Sketch plans drawn by Bishop Short for *Claremont Cottage* are a valuable insight into early colonial cottages, not only because they show the two stages of construction but also because they illustrate the designated function of each room (Figure 6.34). Unlike the original cottage of *The Brocas*, which did not have discreet sections for family and servants, cultural differences were already evident in the basic five-roomed *Claremont Cottage* (c1849). There were two distinct routes in the processional pathway: one for servants leading to the servants' hall, the other for the family; it is assumed that the initial front entrance was located adjacent to the servants' entrance (Figures 6.35 and 6.36). Given the number of servants and children it is also assumed that the servants either slept in the coach house or one of the bedrooms; however direct contact between the family and the servants was limited to the passage.



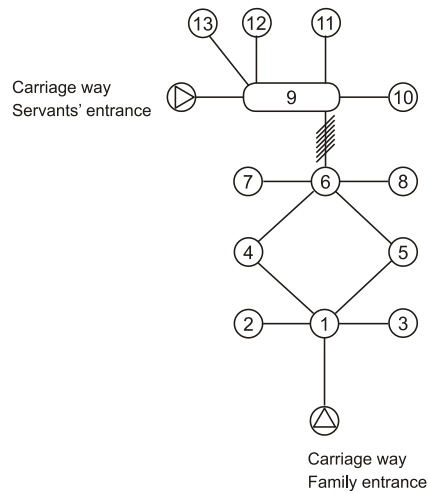
**Figure 6.34 Beaumont House(Claremont Cottage), c1849**  
 Rooms marked with an 'X' were part of the original cottage.  
 Source: Simpson, 1993:41



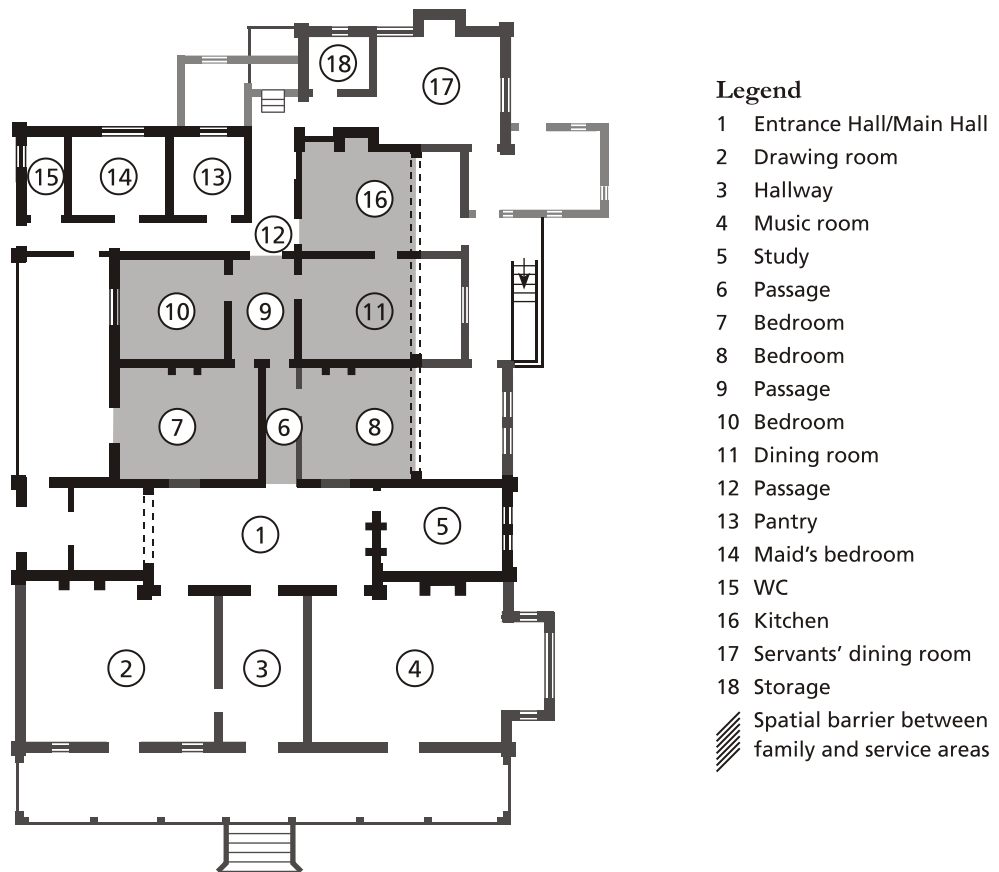


- Legend**
- 1 Drawing room
  - 2 Bedroom
  - 3 Study
  - 4 Bedroom
  - 5 Sitting room
  - 6 Passage
  - 7 Bedroom
  - 8 Bedroom
  - 9 Passage
  - 10 Servants' hall
  - 11 Men's room & Pantry
  - 12 Maid's Bedroom
  - 13 WC
- Spatial barrier between family and service areas

**Figure 6.35** *Beaumont House*, floor plan of the original cottage, c1850.  
 Source: adapted from the original drawing.

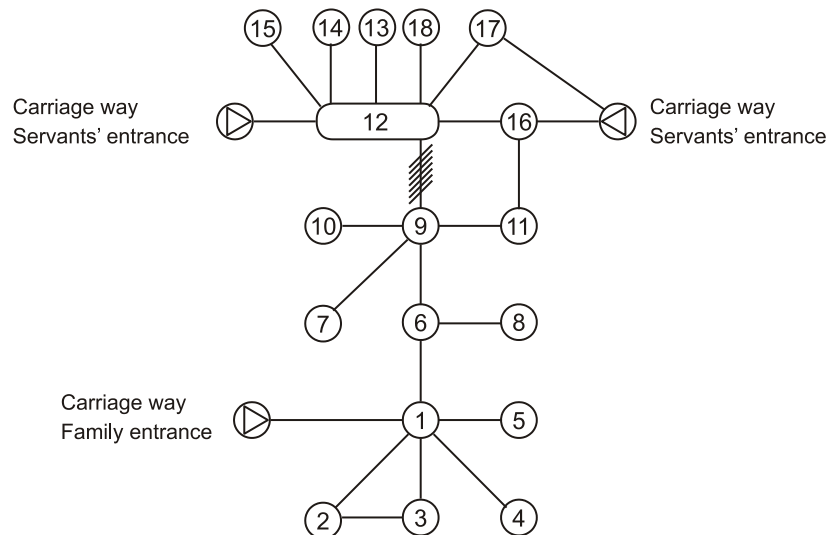


**Figure 6.36** *Beaumont House*, processional pathway of the 1850 cottage.



Floor Plan c 1904.

**Figure 6.37** *Beaumont House*, floor plan of the 1907 house. Source: adapted from Simpson, 1993:130)



**Figure 6.38** *Beaumont House*, processional pathway of the 1907 house.

The second phase of *Claremont Cottage* (renamed *Beaumont House*) (Figures 6.37) reinforces these divisions along social lines, with the entrance to the servants' quarters and the main entrance to the house now at opposite ends of the building. The

configuration of the floor plans is different to that sketched by Bishop Short, thus making the building more functional, but still with the sole point of contact between the family and the servants being the main communications corridor. Minor extensions, which included a kitchen and butler's pantry adjacent to the servants' hall, were added by Samuel Davenport in c1850s and did not change the spatial dynamics of the building, with the servants' and private sections remaining separate (Figure 6.37). Similarly, with the extensions in c1907, when Emily Vincent added three large rooms and an arcaded verandah, the spatial dynamics between family and servants remained the same but with the addition of an additional separate route for visitors to the drawing room and music room (Figure 6.37 and 6.38). Again, French doors provided further procession for visitors and family into the gardens via the verandah arcade.

The first phase of *Cummins* was also unique and a variation of the previous three examples. As with *The Brocas* and *Volta Volta*, there were no servants' quarters, although the location of the rear entrance and communication corridor suggests that servants were employed. As there was no internal kitchen, both it and the servants' quarters were probably located apart from the original dwelling, although there is no visible evidence of their actual location. However, as with *Claremont Cottage*, there was distinct evidence that the initial layout was designed to ensure a spatial barrier between family and service activities (Figures 6.39 and 6.40).

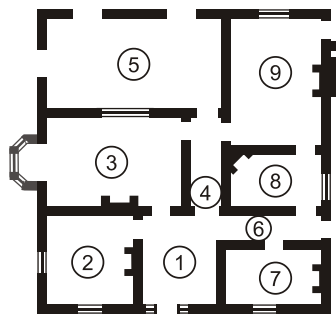


Figure 6.39 *Cummins*: 1845 floor plan of

Source: adapted from a Cummins Society tourist brochure.

Legend

- 1 Entrance Hall
- 2 Morning room
- 3 Dining room
- 4 Passageway
- 5 Loggia
- 6 Communication corridor
- 7 Guest room
- 8 Childrens' bedroom
- 9 Master bedroom

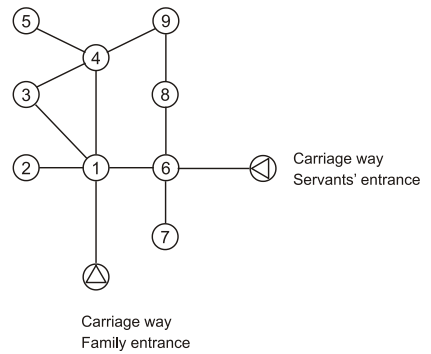
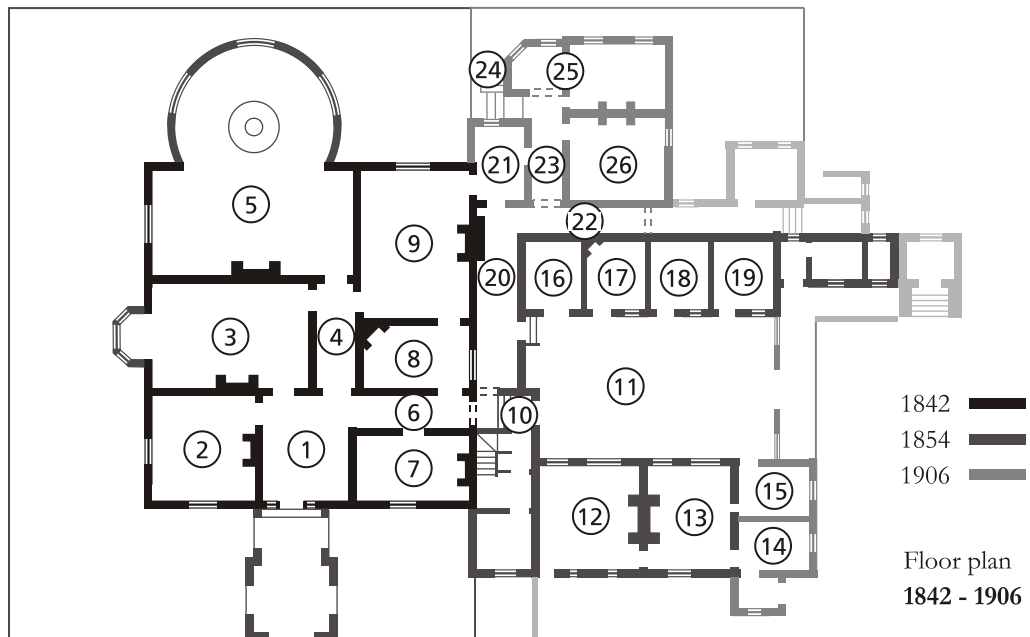


Figure 6.40 *Cummins*: processional pathway the 1845 cottage.



Legend

1842

- 1 Entrance Hall
- 2 Morning room
- 3 Dining room
- 4 Passageway
- 5 Drawing room (1854)
- 6 Communication corridor
- 7 Guest room
- 8 Dressing room
- 9 Master bedroom

1854

- 10 Porch
- C Cellar
- 11 Court yard
- 12 Servants' hall
- 13 Kitchen
- 14 Scullery
- 15 Pantry
- 16 Store
- 17 Servant's bedroom (housekeeper)
- 18 Servants' bedroom
- 19 Servants' bedroom
- 20 Communication corridor

1906

- 21 Dressing room
- 22 Communication corridor
- 23 Passage
- 24 Lobby
- 25 Bedroom
- 26 Bedroom
- /// Spatial barrier between family and service areas

Figure 6.41 *Cummins House*, three phases of construction. Source: adapted from a Cummins Society tourist brochure

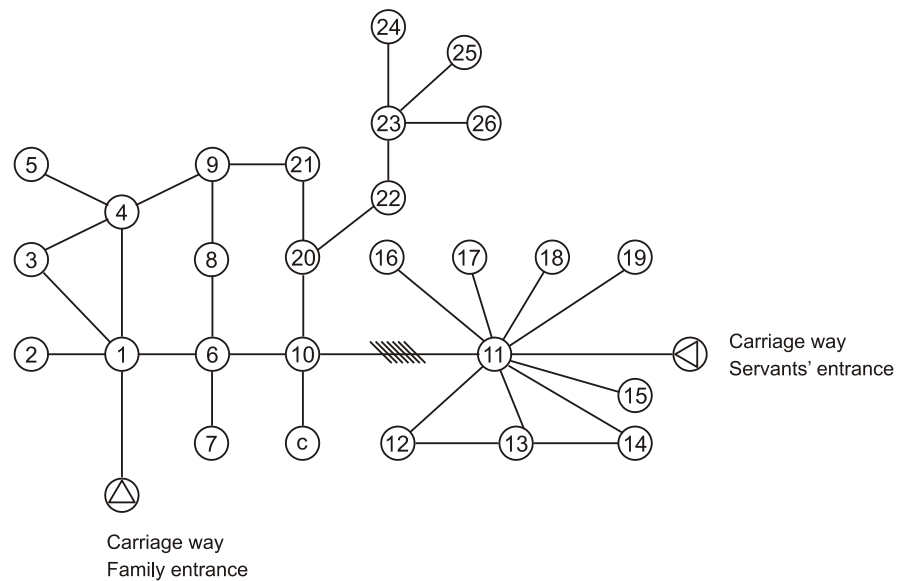


Figure 6.42 *Cummins House*, processional pathway for the three stages of construction.

The original route for both family and visitors was through the entrance hall, from which visitors could proceed to either the morning room or the dining room; the morning room was a non-distributed space. The route then continued to the loggia, this was later converted to a drawing room as indicated on the floor-plan. The family could take the same route or an alternative one to the private quarters, from which they could also continue to the loggia. In this phase of the development of *Cummins* the processional pathway for both family and visitors could proceed through the loggia into the garden, which included a croquet ground. Assuming that there were servants, access was through a side door with their route leading to the dining room (Figure 6.40). In the original plan there are three distinct routes based on class and social divisions; these were reinforced when separate servants' quarters were constructed as part of the 1854 extensions (Figure 6.41). Access to the main body of the house remained through the original side door and contact with family and visitors was still restricted to the corridor which was now the main access from the service courtyard and kitchen area to the dining room (Figure 6.42). For visitors and family the route now commenced at the impressive portico and ended at the drawing room, which was a non-distributed space; the processional pathway no longer

continued into the garden. The 1906 extensions, which consisted of additional bedrooms for the family, did not alter the routes for either visitors or servants, but did extend the route for the family with access to the rear garden.

These four examples indicate the differences in the chain of events which led to the transition from modest cottage to stately home, but in the final analysis there was an identical outcome: the creation of a stately home in which the internal configuration created spatial barriers according to class and social status. Having assumed that the owners of all four cottages had servants, although not confirmed for *Wolta Wolta* and *The Brocas*, it has been possible to create processional pathways. However, following the subsequent stages of development of the cottages, the processional pathways based on class and social status were made more obvious and the relationships between master and servant were becoming more codified.

The first stage of *Hughes Park Estate* was built in 1857 and consisted of a six-roomed cottage with two communication corridors and a cellar entered via the verandah. Although modifications have been made over the years, there was a clear division between the family section of the house, consisting of two bedrooms, a sitting room and a dining room, and the service areas, which included an internal kitchen and possibly a servant's bedroom. The house was possibly modified in 1862 by Walter W. Hughes, but it was his nephew, John James Duncan, who in 1887 built the imposing George K. Soward designed the two storey addition, complete with tower, which abutted the south side of the original cottage (Figure 6.43). Possibly at the same time, separate servants' quarters were built adjacent to the original cottage. The pattern of development for *Hughes Park Estate* mirrors that of *The Brocas*: from

a six roomed cottage, one of which may have functioned as a servant's room, to a stately home with separate servants' quarters. The processional pathways for both houses are similar, having distinct spatial barriers which separated family from service functions (Figure 6.44).

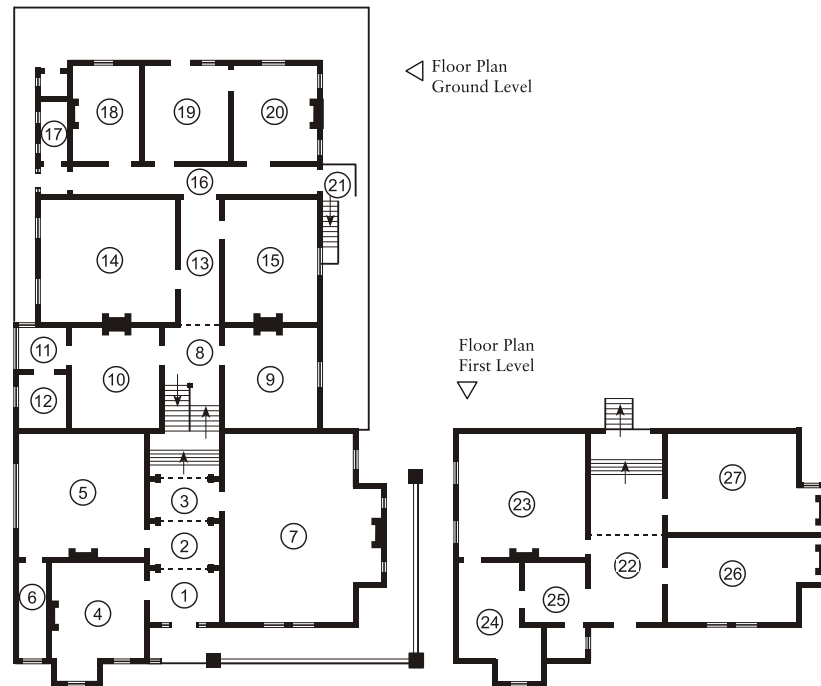


Figure 6.43 Hughes Park Estate floor plans. Source: Heritage SA files. Plans adapted from sketches.

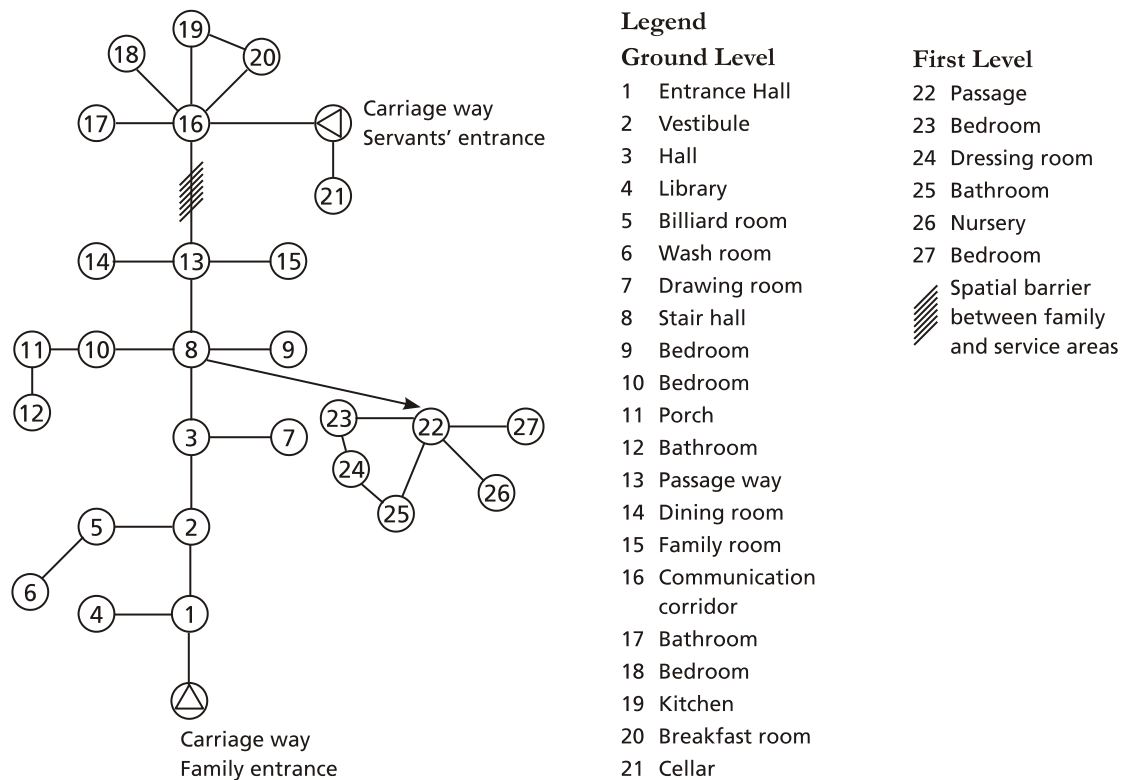
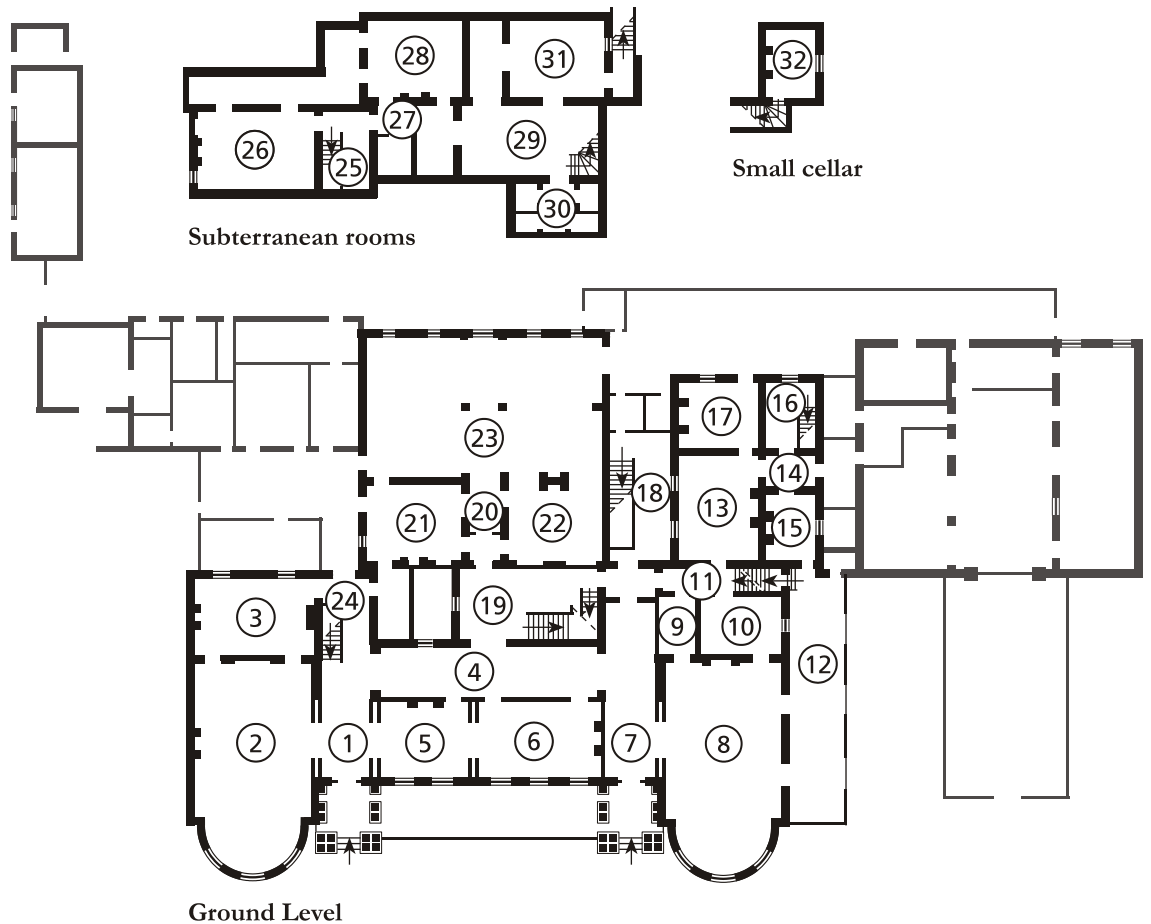


Figure 6.44 Hughes Park Estate, processional pathway.

There is some uncertainty about the early history of *Ayers House* in the Adelaide ‘square mile’, but Robert Thornber probably built the first dwelling on the site in 1846 (Marsden, Stark and Sumerling, 1996:145). By 1852 it was described as a nine roomed brick dwelling which was later incorporated into an extensive building program undertaken by Henry Ayers from 1858. The home was extended again in 1874 and 1875, when the first floor bedrooms and a matching bay window were added to the western elevation; the extensions were designed by G. S. Kingston. By the mid 1870s, *Ayers House* had been transformed into a stately home that was the focus of Adelaide social life, with a large ballroom and state dining room added by Henry Ayers as part of the 1875 extensions (Figure 6.45). Again, the processional pathways clearly defined the spatial barriers which separated service areas from the family and entertainment sections of the house (Figure 6.46). Sections of the first floor of the building are in poor repair, so access was not possible; however there are separate stairs for servants to access their bedrooms.





- |                           |   |  |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| <b>Legend</b>             | 13 Kitchen                                | <b>Subterranean rooms</b>                          |
| <b>Ground Level</b>       | 14 Corridor                               | 25 Stair hall                                      |
| 1 West Hall               | 15 Servants' room                         | 26 Butlers's room                                  |
| 2 Ballroom                | 16 Servants' stairs (stair bedroom)       | 27 Communication corridor                          |
| 3 Library                 | 17 Servants' room                         | 28 Summer sitting room                             |
| 4 Long hall               | 18 Servants' stairs to subterranean rooms | 29 Family stair hall                               |
| 5 Drawing room            | 19 Main stair hall                        | 30 Wine bins                                       |
| 6 Drawing room            | 20 Passage                                | 31 Store   |
| 7 East Hall               | 21 Unknown                                | 32 Small cellar                                    |
| 8 Dining room             | 22 Unknown                                | <b>First level</b>                                 |
| 9 Servery                 | 23 Unknown                                | S Servants' bedrooms (first level)                 |
| 10 Pantry (butler's)      | 24 Butler's stair to subterranean rooms   | F Family bedrooms (first level)                    |
| 11 Communication corridor |   | ▨ Spatial barrier between family and service areas |
| 12 Verandah               |   |  |

**Figure 6.45. Ayers House, ground level floor plan.**  
 Source: adapted from the Ayers House Conservation Management Plan, 1999:36

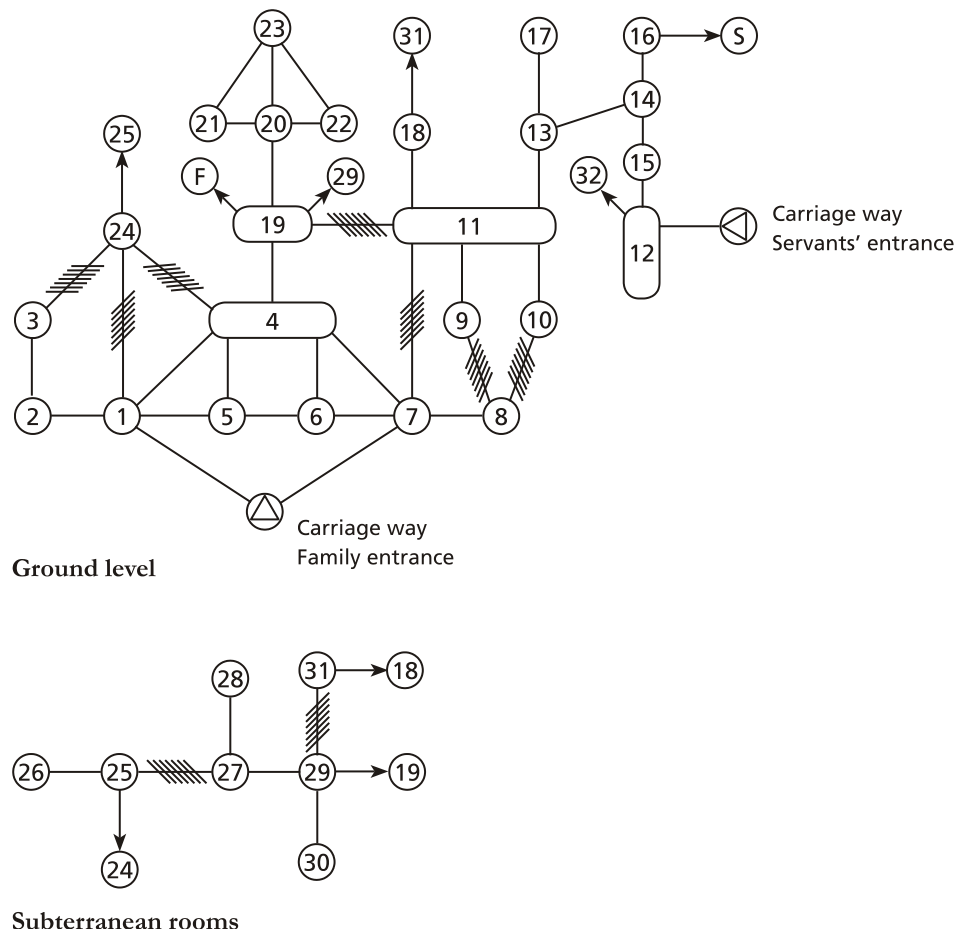


Figure 6.46 Ayers House, processional pathway

*Karatta House* was built in the mid 1850s for the pastoralist Henry Jones (known as the ‘swell squatter of the district’ [Heritage SA file on *Karatta House*]) as a holiday residence in the southern country region port of Robe. In the late 1860s, it was bought as a summer residence for the Governor of South Australia, Sir James Fergusson. It was during this period that the single storey servants’ quarters were built adjacent to the western elevation of the house and the second bay window was completed; the latter contained an ensuite bathroom for use by the Governor. The property was leased to Henry Dutton of *Anlaby* when the front of the house was upgraded. Even though *Karatta House* was only a summer residence, it contained many of the characteristics of a stately home. The service areas were separate from the family section of the house, with the spatial barrier being a door under the main stairs which led to a communication corridor. Although the servants were

accommodated in a separate building, there was one servant's bedroom leading off the communication corridor in the main house; this was possibly the housekeeper's room (Figures 6.47 and 6.48).



Figure 6.47 Karatta House, ground and first level floor plans.

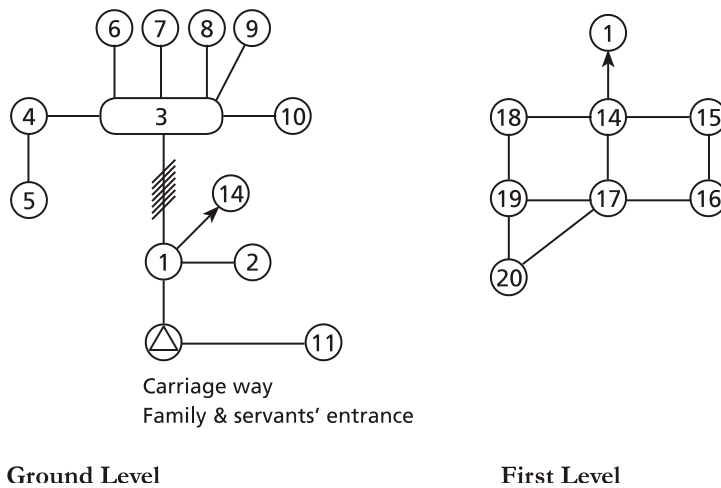
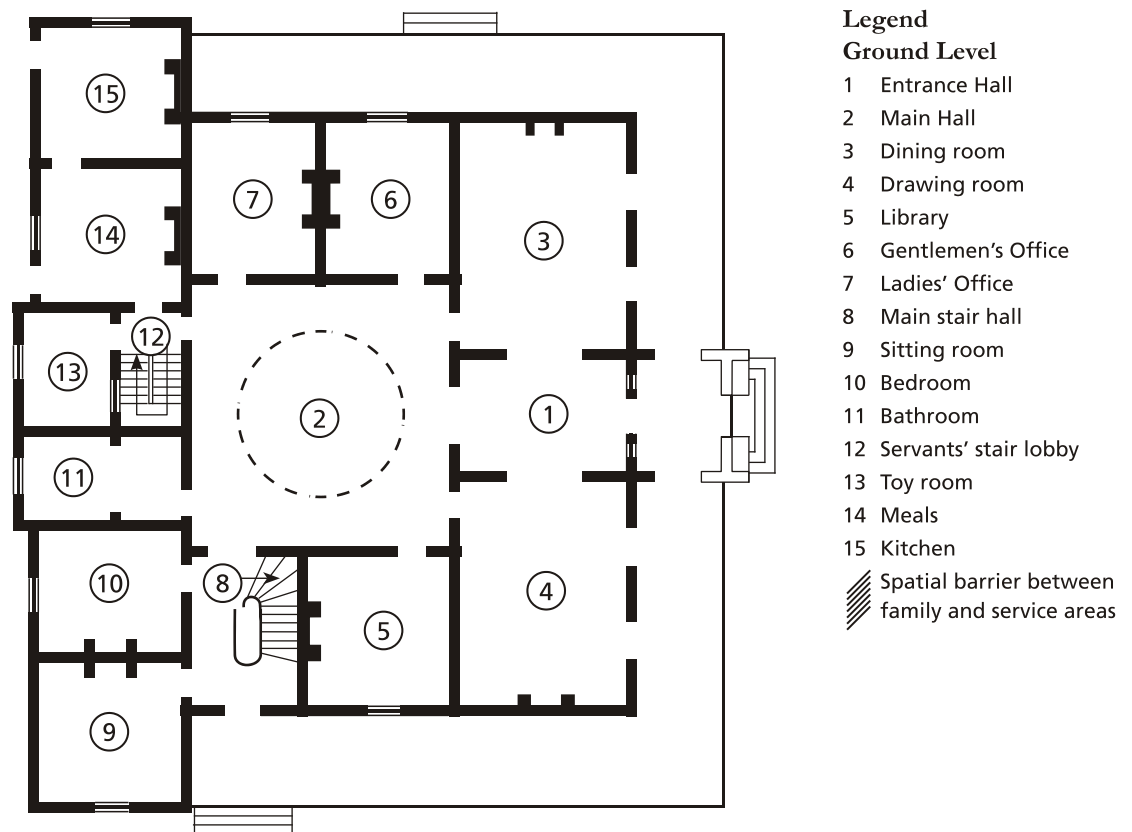


Figure 6.48 *Karatta House*, ground and first level processional pathways.

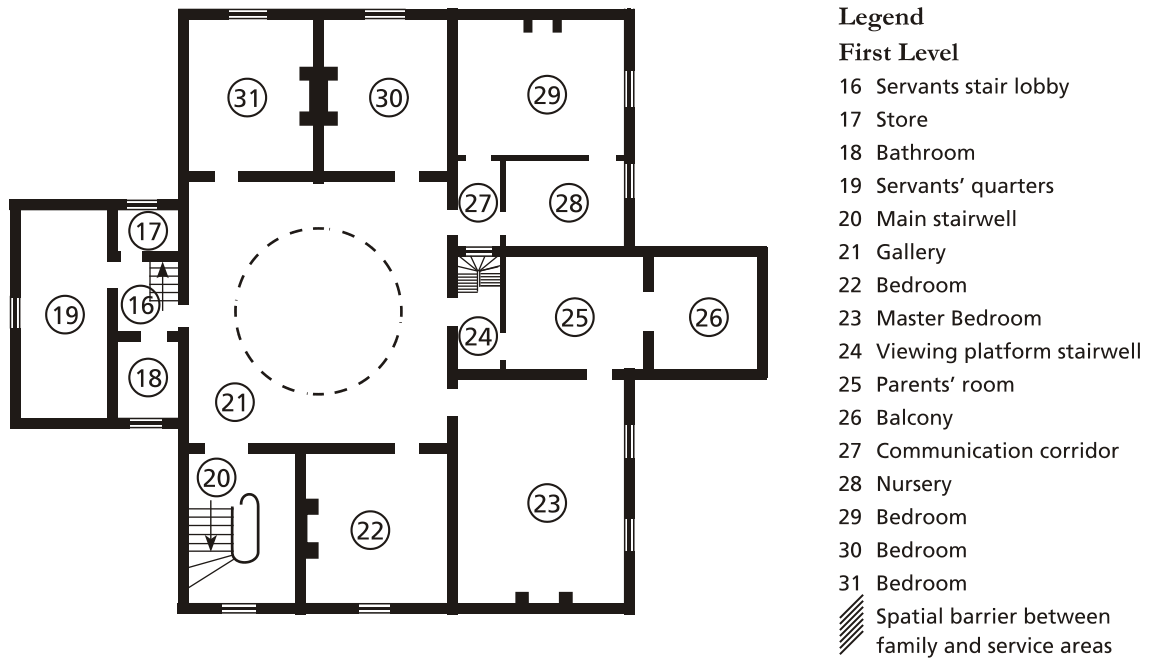
On the outskirts of Gawler, *Para Para* was built by Walter Duffield in 1862 and altered in 1880. The precise form of these alterations is uncertain, but the façade was either ‘reinstated’ or ‘renovated’ (Flightpath Architects, 2002:11); the gate house was built at the same time. Unlike the other homes, *Para Para* did not have its origins as a cottage, nor was its basic structure or internal configuration dramatically altered (Figures 6.49 and 6.50). Walter Duffield’s aim was to establish *Para Para* as a focus for his social ambitions. He held major functions there- it was estimated that 2000 people attended a single picnic on the estate in 1874, and the Duke of Edinburgh visited on two occasions. The internal architectural configuration of *Para Para* had all the features that characterised a stately home: entry from a portico under the main tower into a vestibule, which led to a large main hall with a domed ceiling and a spiral staircase off to one side. There was a separate servants’ entrance at the rear of the house and a rear staircase which led to servants’ quarters on the first level. There was also a separate nursery and adjoining bedroom for a nanny. However, what set this house apart were the separate bathrooms for both family and servants, a feature not found in any other house. The inclusion of servants’ bathrooms in the original 1862 design would indicate better understanding by Walter Duffield of the needs of servants; but it was not a concern that was copied by others in this period. The

processional pathways had distinct spatial barriers which separate family and service functions (Figures 6.51 and 6.52). Built towards the end of the 1840-1869 period, processional pathways illustrate the extent to which spatial barriers had become entrenched. Incorporated, as they were, into the original design of the house, processional pathway is a classic example of clearly defined separations based on class and function.

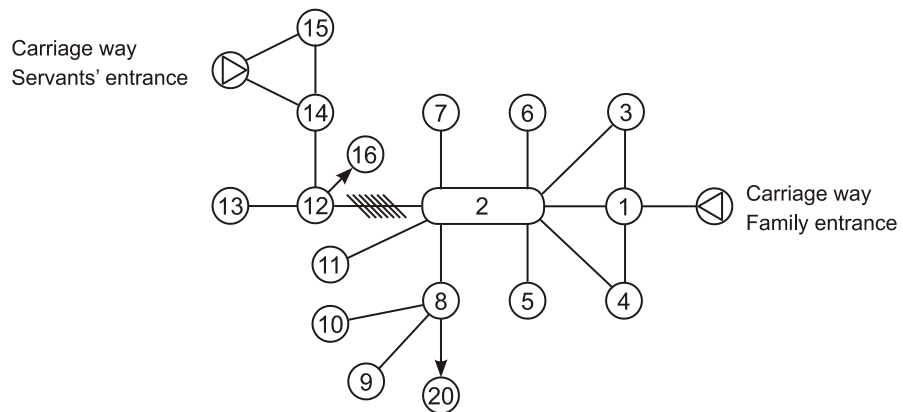


Ground Level

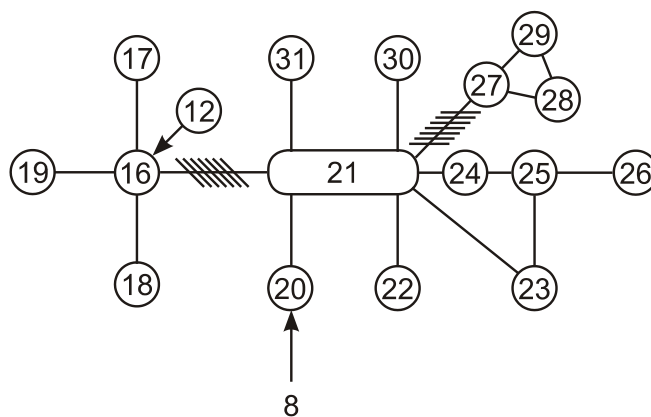
**Figure 6.49** *Para Para*, ground level floor plan.  
 Source: adapted from plans by Flightpath Architects.



First Level  
**Figure 6.50 Para Para, first level floor plan.**  
 Source: adapted from plans by Flightpath Architects.



**Figure 6.51 Para Para, ground level precessional pathway**



**Figure 6.52 Para Para, first level precessional pathway.**

In 1840, Edmund Bowman senior was granted 80 acres in the metropolitan suburb of Enfield where he built the first of the Bowman mansions, *Barton Vale*, in 1850-52.

As with *Para Para*, *Barton Vale* did not have its origins as a cottage but it clearly indicates that the section of the building west of the tower is different to the eastern section, in design, fabric and construction. Following the death of Edmund Bowman senior in 1866, his wife Elizabeth inherited *Barton Vale*. She married William Brooks and in 1881; extensive alterations were made to *Barton Vale* to the design of English and Soward, architects. This accounts for the architectural style of the building which belongs to a later date than 1852.

In 1854 the building had 11 rooms comprising six bedrooms in two wings on the first level and five rooms on the ground level (Figure 6.53). Warburton (1979:52) described the ground floor rooms as a main hall, with a billiard room and parlour on the left and a morning room and dining room on the right. Servants' quarters and domestic rooms were separated from the family rooms by a communications corridor. The processional pathway is similar to *Para Para* with the entrance to *Barton Vale* via a portico under the main tower which led into a large Gothic main hall. On the left of the main hall is the stair hall, with three flights of stairs leading to an upstairs gallery overlooking the main hall. Access to the library, described by Warburton (1979:52) as a parlour, is off the stair hall. Entrance to the ballroom/billiard room and parlour/reception room is from the main hall; family access to dining room is from the parlour/reception room. The processional pathway emphasises the barrier between the family rooms and domestic areas with a communication corridor being the spatial barrier (Figure 6.54). There were three servants' entrances one into the kitchen, a second entrance into a servant's sitting (house keeper's bedroom?) with the third adjacent to the cellar stairs.

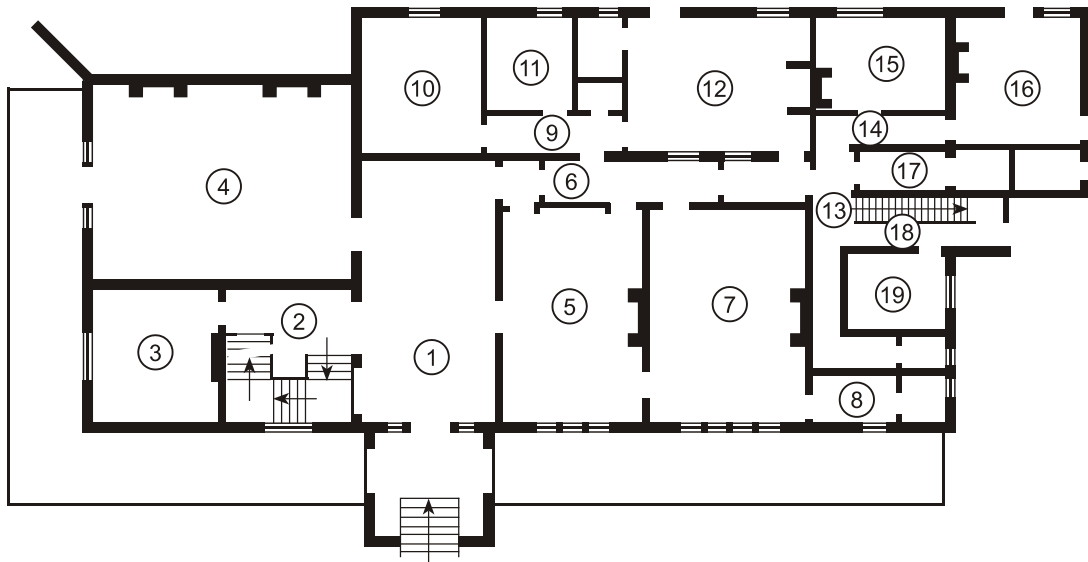


Figure 6.53 *Barton Vale* ground level floor plan.  
Source: adapted from plans by Cheeseman Architects Pty Ltd

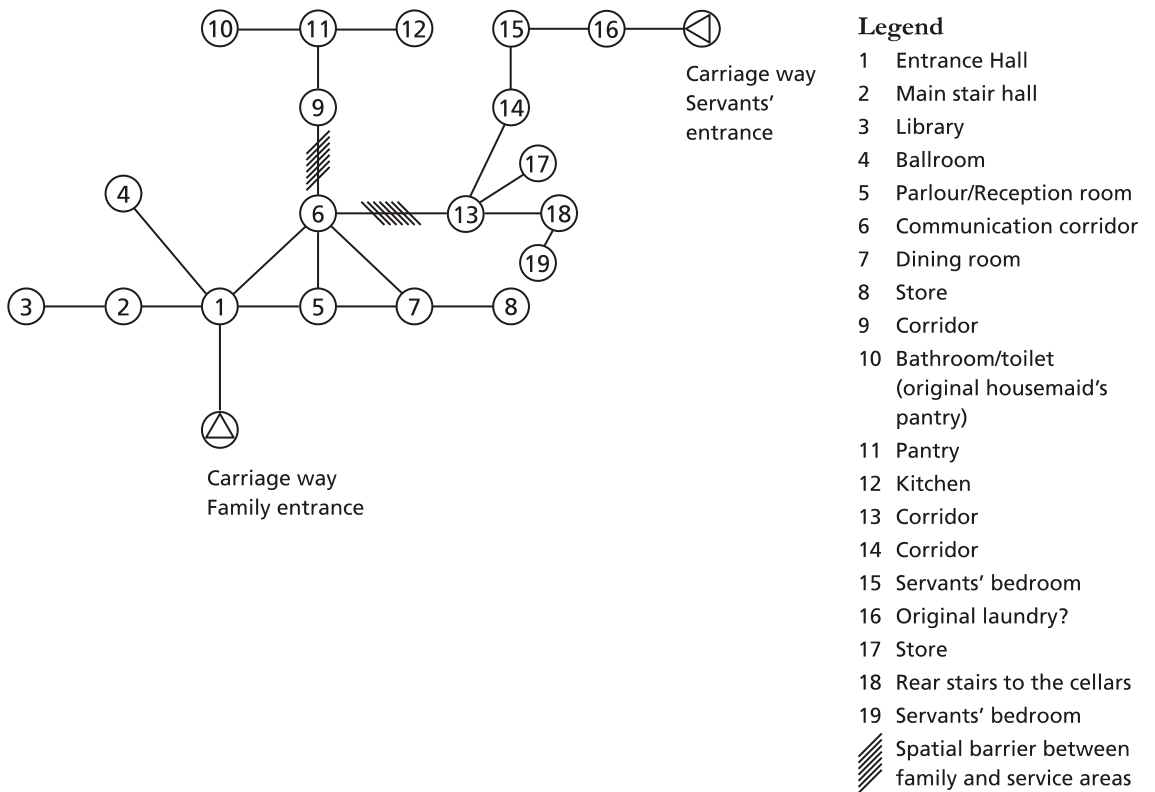


Figure 6.54 *Barton Vale*; ground level precessional pathway.

### 6.5.2. The 1870-1889 period

The internal spatial order of stately homes constructed during the economic boom between 1870 and 1889 saw a consolidation of the process of change. The profound shift in spatial form as modest cottages became stately homes was now an integral



part of internal planning and architectural design. Only *Struan House* in the southern country region was preceded by a four roomed cottage adjacent to the main house; it is currently used as office accommodation. All the other houses built in this period and selected for closer analysis were built in their current form and have not undergone any major structural changes despite later alternate uses.

*Martindale Hall* (1879), in the northern country region, is an example of spatial barriers and the separation of family and service areas becoming incorporated into the original plans. The design of the house may have been obtained from, or inspired by, an English pattern book encountered by Edmund Bowman while he was studying at Cambridge University (Warburton, 1979:66). *Martindale Hall* is a classical design, similar to those favoured in England at the time, and is said to resemble Palatial-Italian style as depicted in Kerr's publication of gentlemen's houses (Kerr, 1865:360). Kerr was widely read in England and the colonies and a signed copy by E.J. Wood, supervising architect of *Martindale Hall*, is held by the State Library of South Australia (Warburton 19879:66). This resulted in the spatial order of *Martindale Hall* being similar to the social and class divisions found in the country houses of the English landed gentry as depicted by Kerr (1865: Figures 6.55 and 6.57). The symmetrical floor plan, typical of Georgian architecture, which radiated from a central hall, was not common feature of Stately homes in South Australia, although *Para Para* (Figures 6.49-6.52) was another example. The route of the processional pathway for both visitors and family commences in the vestibule, which then passes into an entrance hall; these are both physical and visual barriers along the processional pathway (Figures 6.56 and 6.58).

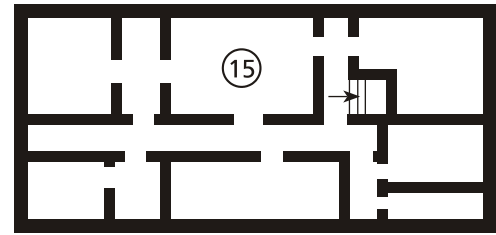
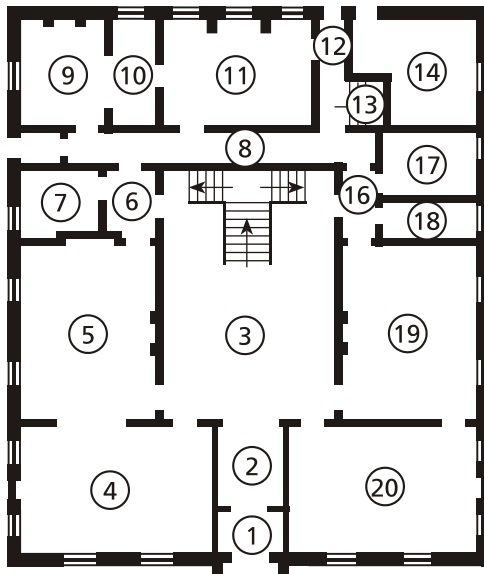
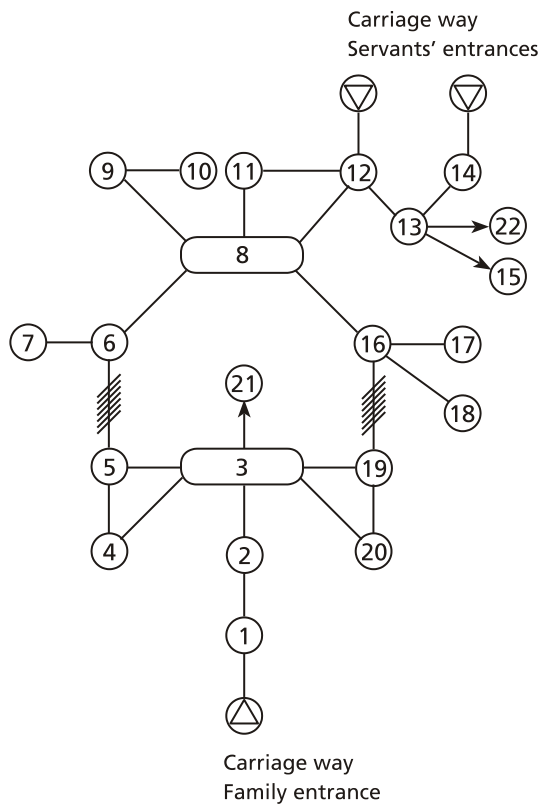


Figure 6.55 *Martindale Hall*, ground level floor plan.  
Source: adapted from a *Martindale Hall* tourist brochure.



### Legend

#### Ground Level

- 1 Vestibule
- 2 Entrance Hall
- 3 Main Hall
- 4 Drawing room
- 5 Dining room
- 6 Corridor
- 7 Butler's Servery
- 8 Communication corridor
- 9 Pantry
- 10 Scullery
- 11 Kitchen
- 12 Corridor
- 13 Rear stairs  
Down to cellar  
Up to servants' room
- 14 Laundry
- 15 Cellar
- 16 Corridor
- 17 Office
- 18 Toilet
- 19 Billiard room
- 20 Smoking room
- ▨ Spatial barrier between family and service areas

Figure 6.56 *Martindale Hall*, ground level processional pathways.

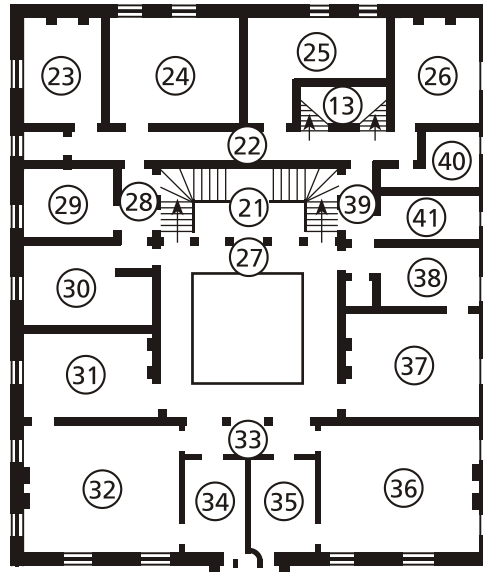
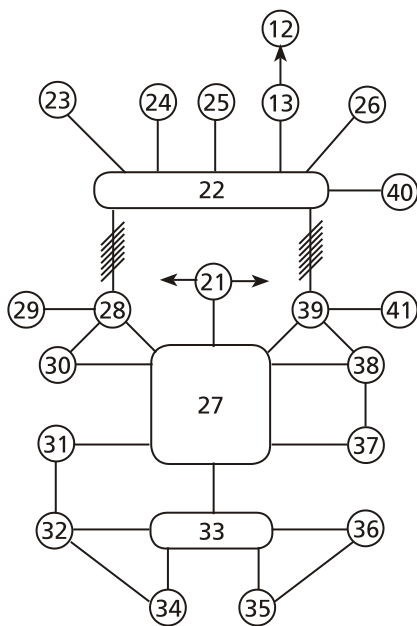


Figure 6.57 *Martindale Hall*: first level floor plan. The board room and room guest's lounge are designations for current use. The configuration of the dividing wall between the bathrooms (34 and 35), was adapted to fit the three glass panels of the window. Source: adapted from a *Martindale Hall* tourist brochure.



#### Legend

##### First Level

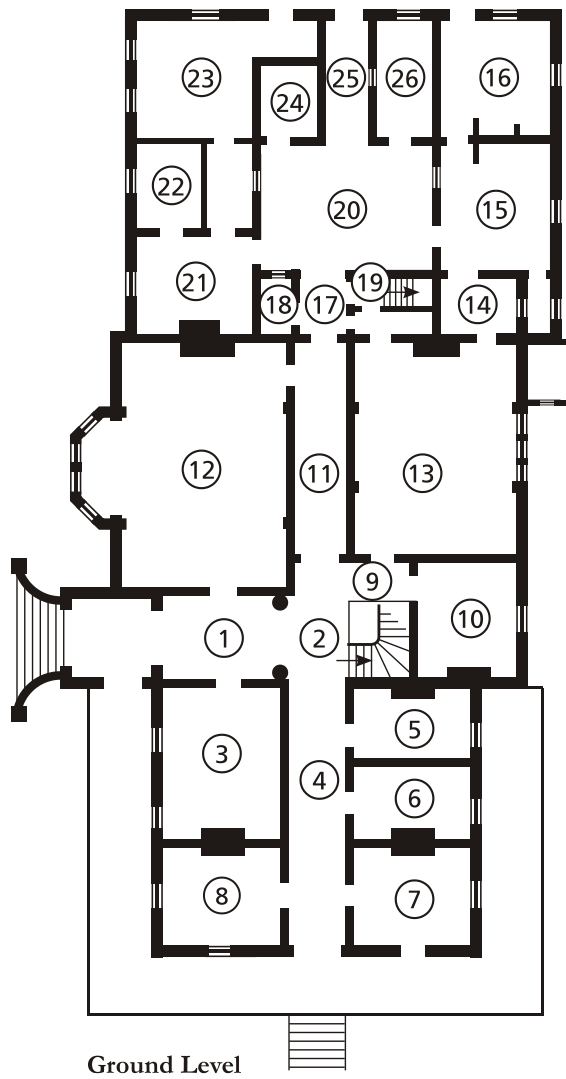
- 13 Rear stairs
- 21 Communication corridor
- 22 Servants' communication corridor
- 23 Bedroom
- 24 Bedroom (now Board room)
- 25 Servants' room (now Guest lounge)
- 26 House keeper's room
- 27 Corridor
- 28 Corridor
- 29 Dressing room
- 30 Bedroom
- 31 Boudoir
- 32 Bedroom
- 33 Service corridor
- 34 Bathroom
- 35 Bathroom
- 36 Bedroom
- 37 Bedroom
- 38 Dressing room
- 39 Corridor
- 40 Currently Guests' bathroom
- 41 Currently Guests' bathroom
- ▨ Spatial barrier between family and service areas

Figure 6.58 *Martindale Hall*, first level processional pathway

The route then led into the main hall, which was the main intersecting space from which alternatives routes could be followed, depending on the social status and gender of the visitor. The left hand pathway led to the drawing room, and then

progressed to the dining room, while to the right the route led to the smoking room and billiard room, from which, again, the visitor could proceed across the main hall to the dining room. The central staircase was off the main hall, which would have been the route taken by the family and specially invited residential guests to their private quarters. For the servants, their entrance was through a small door at the rear of the house which led to the domestic areas and a communication corridor which enabled them to move about the house without being seen by either family or visitors. Servants' quarters were on the first level, accessed via a narrow unadorned staircase in the corner of the house. The internal layout of *Martindale Hall* successfully creates spatial barriers in order to separate family and service areas. Servants would have been able to move around the service areas of the house without coming into contact with family or visitors, for example access to the dining room was only via the butler's pantry, which placed further control on movement.

Similarly, with *Struan House*, built by pastoralist John Robinson in 1873, the internal architectural layout clearly separated the family and services areas (Figures 6.59 and 6.60). The family entered the front door via a portico incorporated under the main tower, into an entrance hall, then to main stair hall off which were the main reception room, dining rooms and a series of rooms, all with fire places and a passage that led to the gardens. Consistent with the characteristics of a stately home, servants had a separate entrance to the service areas and a separate staircase to the first level servants' bedrooms. There were spatial barriers on both levels at the entrance of the communication corridors between the servants' and family areas of the house (Figure 6.61).

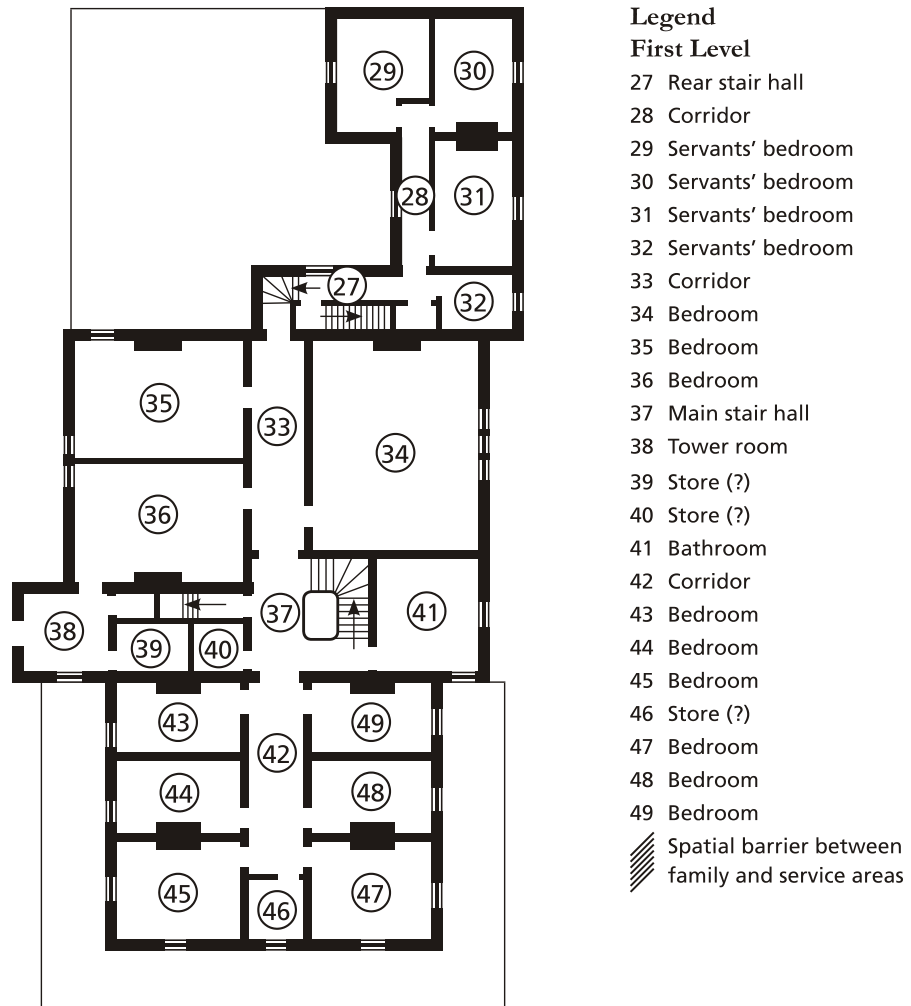


**Legend**

**Ground Level**

- 1 Entrance Hall
- 2 Stair Hall
- 3 Room (office)
- 4 Communication corridor
- 5 Room (office)
- 6 Room (office)
- 7 Room (office)
- 8 Room (office)
- 9 Communication corridor
- 10 Room (office)
- 11 Communication corridor
- 12 Drawing room
- 13 Dining room
- 14 Servery
- 15 Kitchen
- 16 Scullery (?)
- 17 Communication corridor
- 18 Store
- 19 Stair hall – servants'
- 20 Courtyard
- 21 Room – housekeeper's?
- 22 Room (office)
- 23 Room (office) } Originally
- 24 Toilet } Servants' Hall
- 25 Lobby
- 26 Toilet
- Spatial barrier between family and service areas
- G Garden exit
- C Cottage

**Figure 6.59 Struan House, ground level floor plan.**  
 Source: adapted from 1874 floor plans, Heritage SA files.



First Level

Figure 6.60 *Struan House*, first level floor plan.  
 Source: adapted from 1874 floor plans, Heritage SA files.

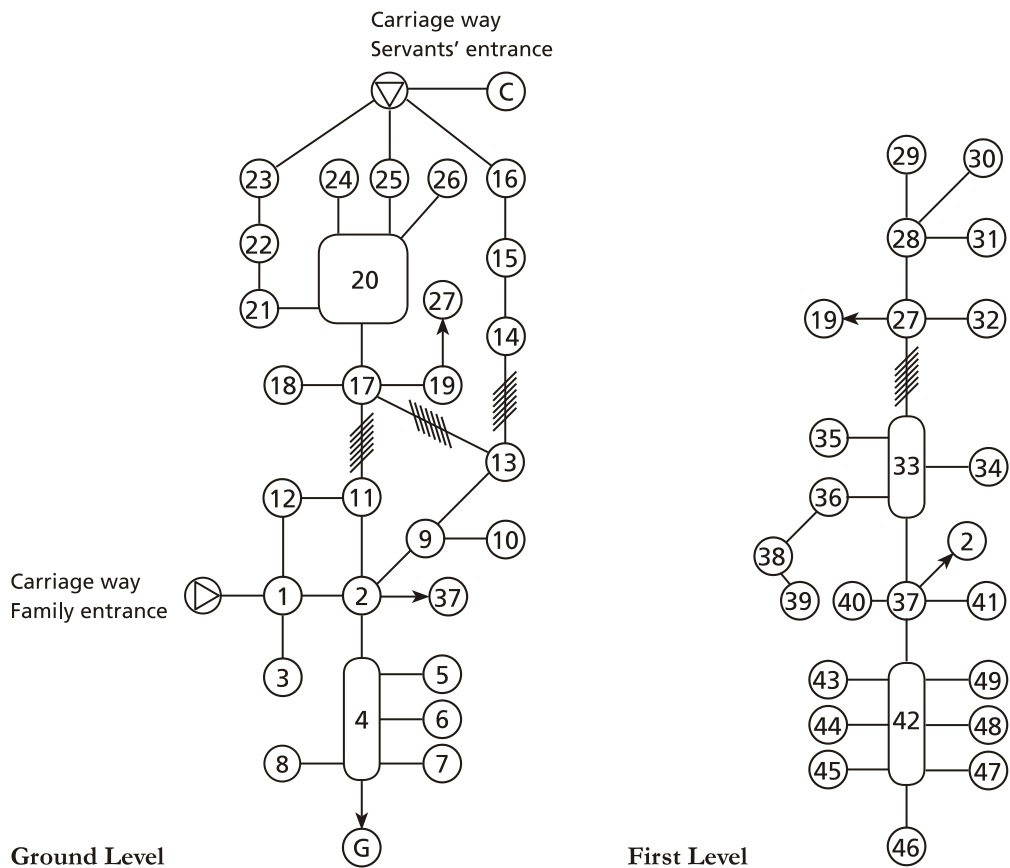


Figure 6.61 *Struan House*, processional pathways.

This pattern of internal spatial dynamics was not confined to country regions, these features were also evident in stately homes built in the metropolitan area during the 1870-1889 period. Nor were these cultural differences a feature of the stately homes built only by pastoralists, the upper echelons of society now included people from a range of professional, commercial and mercantile pursuits who acquired the external trappings of the new gentry. *Mt Breckan* at Victor Harbor, built by Alexander Hay in 1880 as a summer residence, yet its internal configuration demonstrates the consistency between the residences of pastoralists, merchants and businessmen in Adelaide and its suburbs (Figures 6.62 and 6.64).

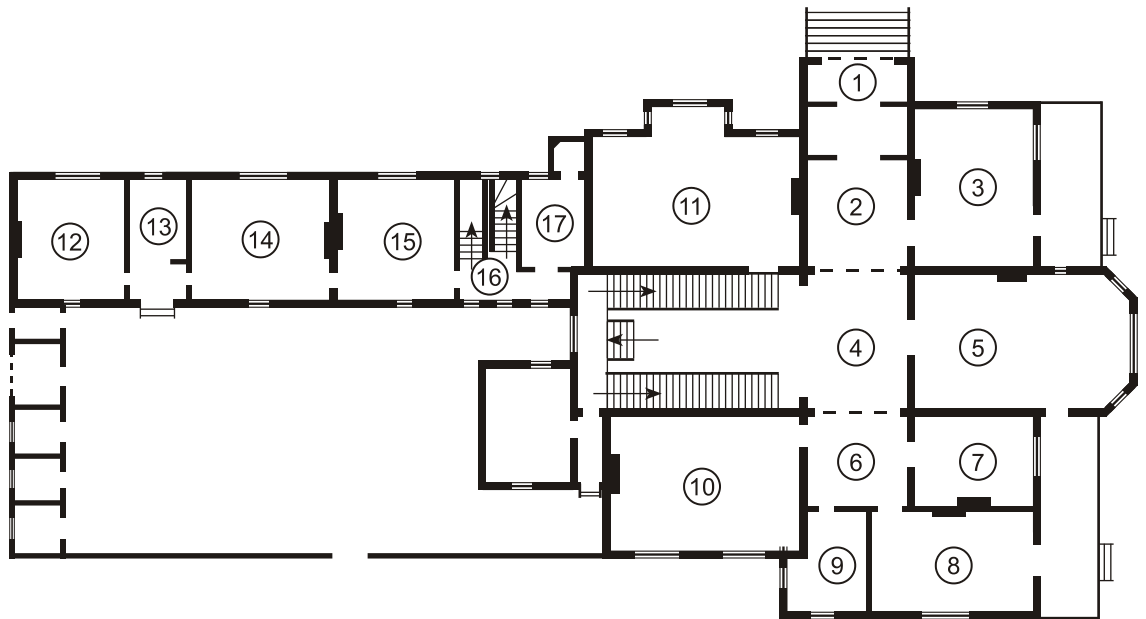


Figure 6.62 Mt Breckan ground level floor plan.

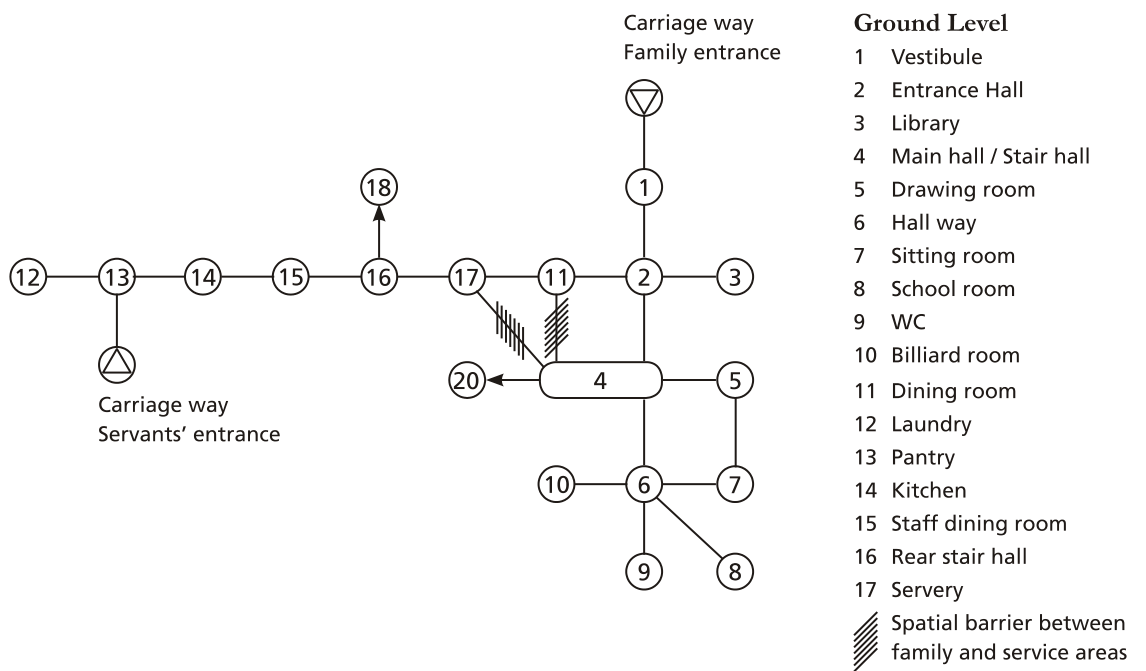


Figure 6.63 Mt Breckan: ground level processional pathway.



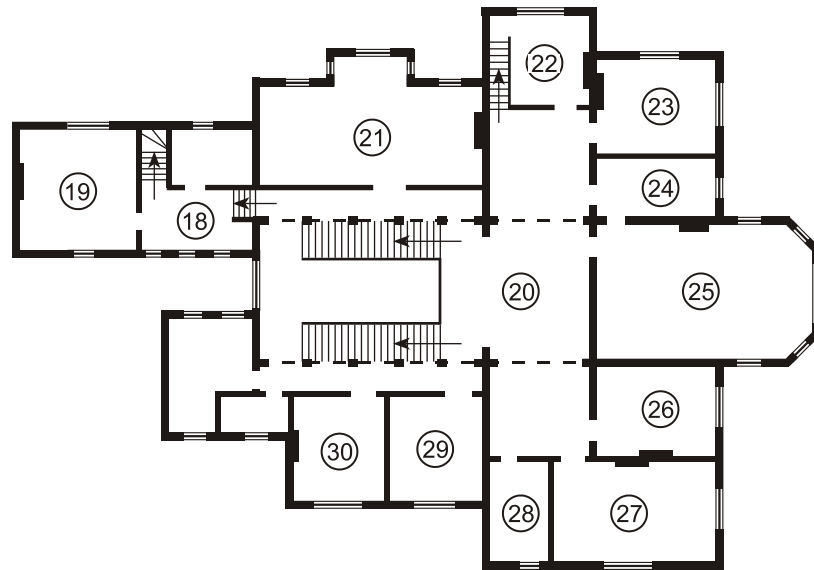


Figure 6.64 Mt Breckan: first level floor plan

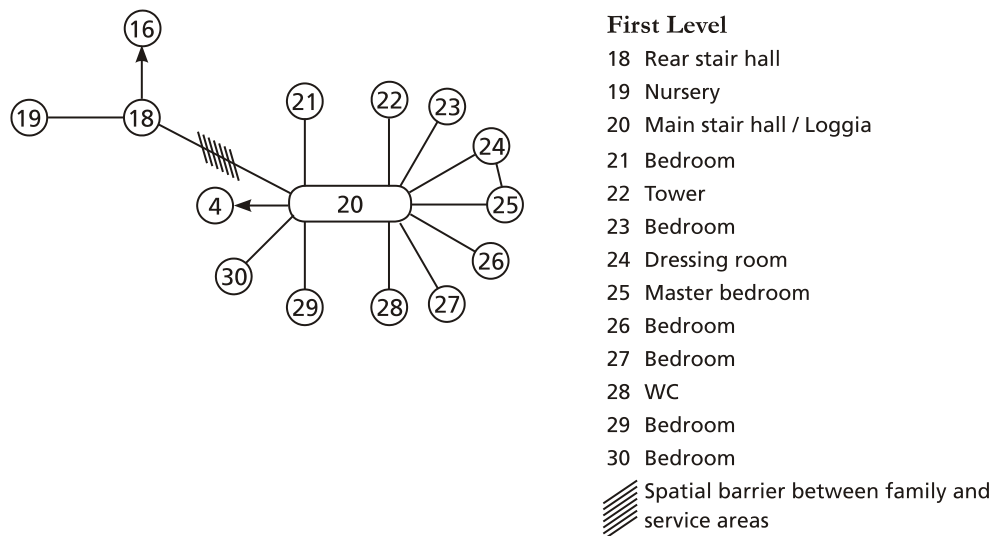


Figure 6.65 Mt Breckan. first level processional pathway.

The processional pathway for this house follows a similar pattern with both family and visitors entering the house via a portico entrance incorporated under the tower. The entrance has a vestibule and an entrance hall which in turn led to the main hall; this incorporated the main staircase. The servants' access was via an open courtyard, similar to *Cummins*, but there are no servants' bedrooms incorporated into the house, although there was a servants' dining room and bathroom which opened onto the courtyard. Contact between the family and servants was through the servery, with access closed from the main hall by a doorway. There was a rear set of stairs for servants to access the nursery which was the furthest point away from the master

bedroom. The processional pathway for servants was limited, with all domestic activities taking place ‘outside’ the main house and hence out of view (Figures 6.63 and 6.65).

Frederick Bucknall, a brewer and hotelier, built *Estcourt House* in 1882 on what was then a remote section of the coast in anticipation of it becoming a prime location for a new harbour channel (Figures 6.66 and 6.67).

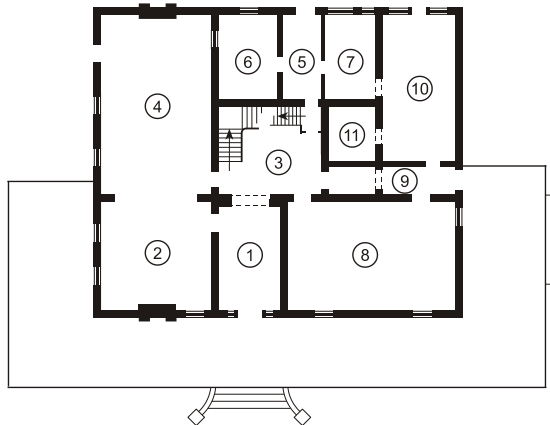


Figure 6.66 *Estcourt House*: ground level floor plan.

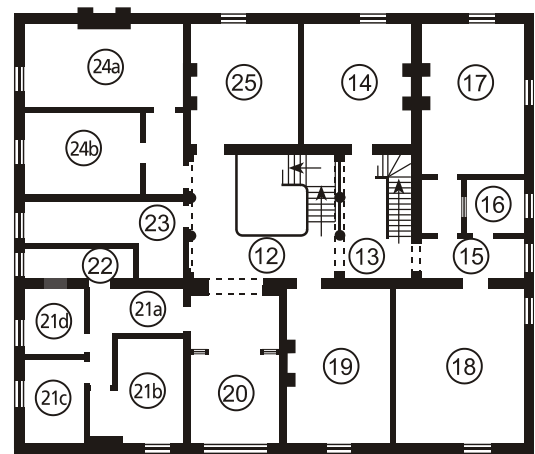


Figure 6.67 *Estcourt House* first level floor plan which was modified when converted into a reformatory.

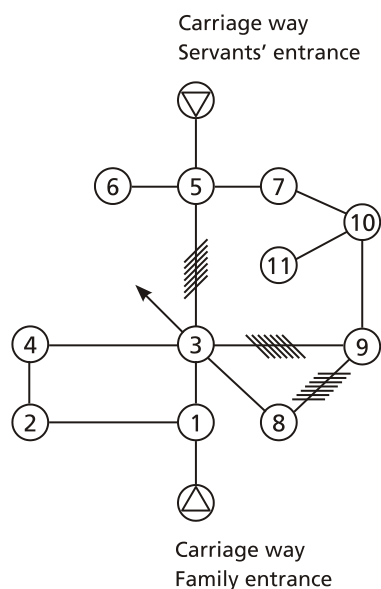
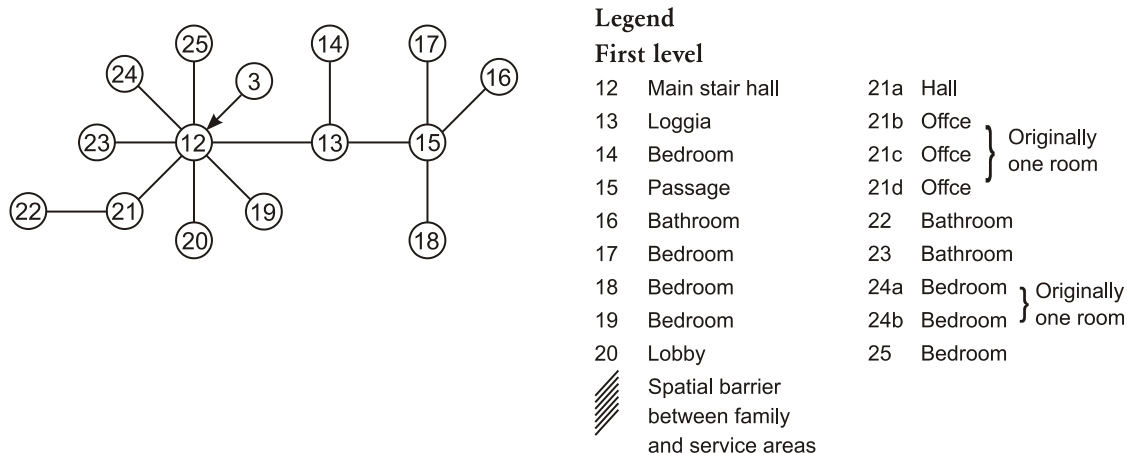


Figure 6.68 *Estcourt House*: ground level processional pathway.

#### Legend

##### Ground Level

- 1 Entrance Hall
- 2 Dining room
- 3 Main stair hall
- 4 Ballroom
- 5 Entrance hall - Servants'
- 6 Servants' hall
- 7 Bathroom
- 8 Parlour
- 9 Communication corridor
- 10 Kitchen
- 11 Pantry
- ▨ Spatial barrier between family and service areas

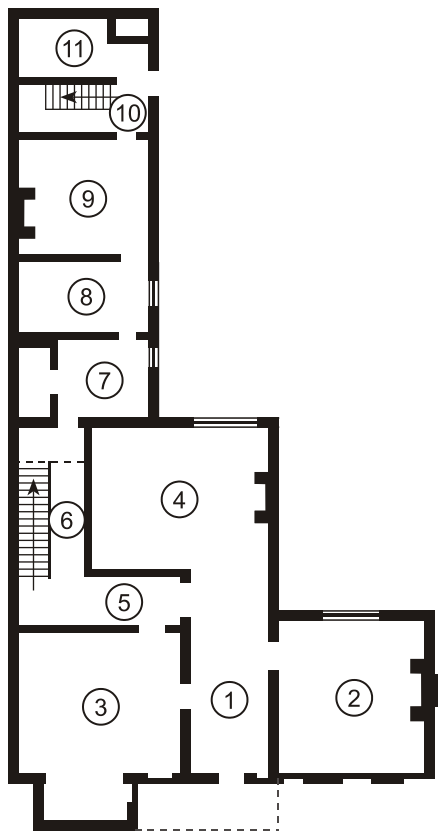


**Figure 6.69** *Estcourt House*: first level processional pathway.

The processional pathway for both family and visitors entered the house through an impressive doorway into an entrance hall or vestibule (Figures 6.66 and 6.68). The ground level had two distinct sections: the family area, which included a ballroom, dining room and reception room, and a rear entrance for servants which opened into a hallway, a servant's room, kitchen and storeroom. There was only one staircase leading from the stair-hall to the first level bedrooms and a loggia which had another staircase to the ornate roof lantern and widow's walk. To maintain the house and look after his family of 11 children, Frederick Bucknall employed eight servants, although there is no indication of where they slept. Although *Estcourt House* did not have any internal accommodation for the servants, the internal spatial configuration followed the familiar pattern of separating domestic activities from social events and family life and their movement was determined by the spatial configuration of the building to ensure that there was division according to social status and class.

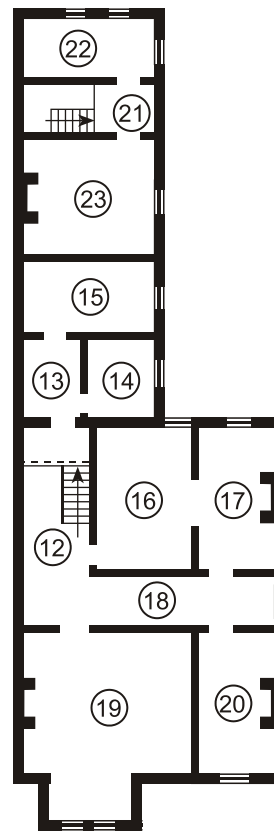
The dwelling built at 64 Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide (later to become the Correspondence School), for the prominent lawyer Frederick Turner (who became Attorney General in 1890), is a comparative example of a house built in a residential enclave favoured by the new gentry. This stately home, designed by George K. Soward in 1883, is not of the same proportions as either *Martindale Hall* or *Estcourt*

*House*, yet its internal spatial configuration still reflects the same social and cultural differences. Despite internal modifications made to suit later use, information from plans drawn in 1951 for proposed extensions (Figures 6.70 and 6.71) and an on site inspection allows the original processional pathways to be identified. There were separate entrances for family and servants and separate stairs, although a unique feature was that the servants' stairs led to their quarters which were then physically separated from the family rooms. The spatial barrier between the family and services areas on the ground floor was a door adjacent to the main stairs (Figure 6.72). This dwelling was smaller than the other houses but still had all the characteristics of a stately home, with both physical and symbolic separation of the classes.



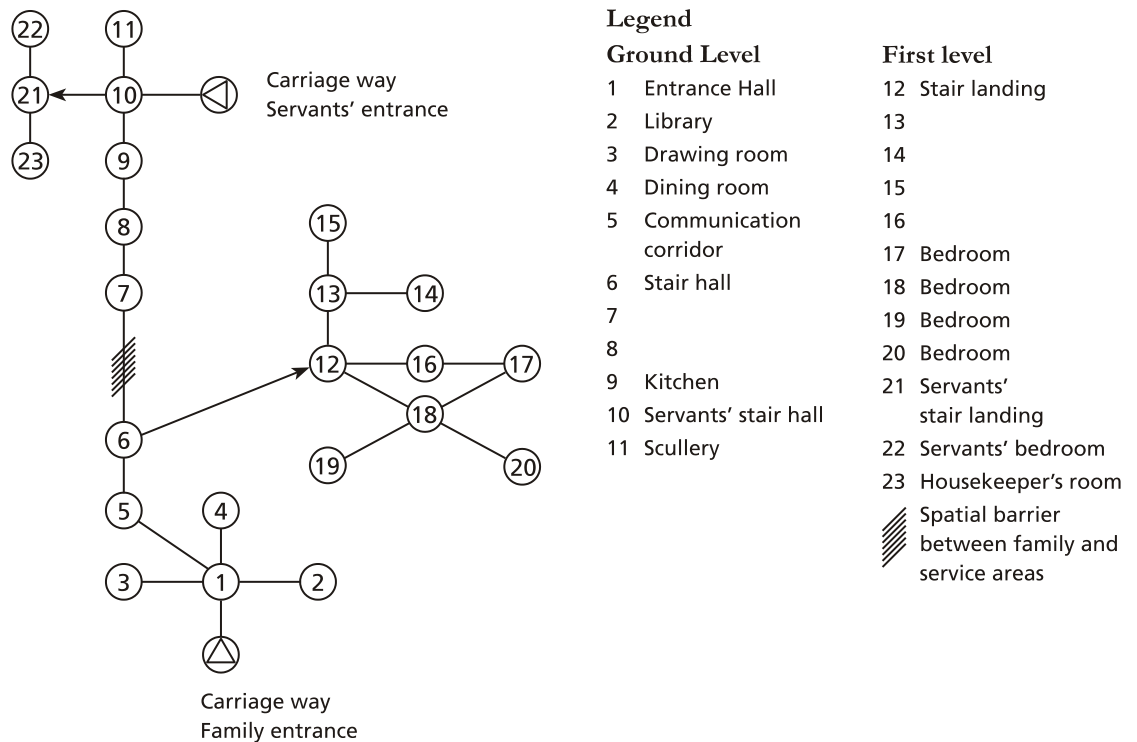
Floor Plan - Ground Level

Figure 6.70 Pennington Terrace (Correspondence School): ground level floor plan.



Floor Plan - First Level

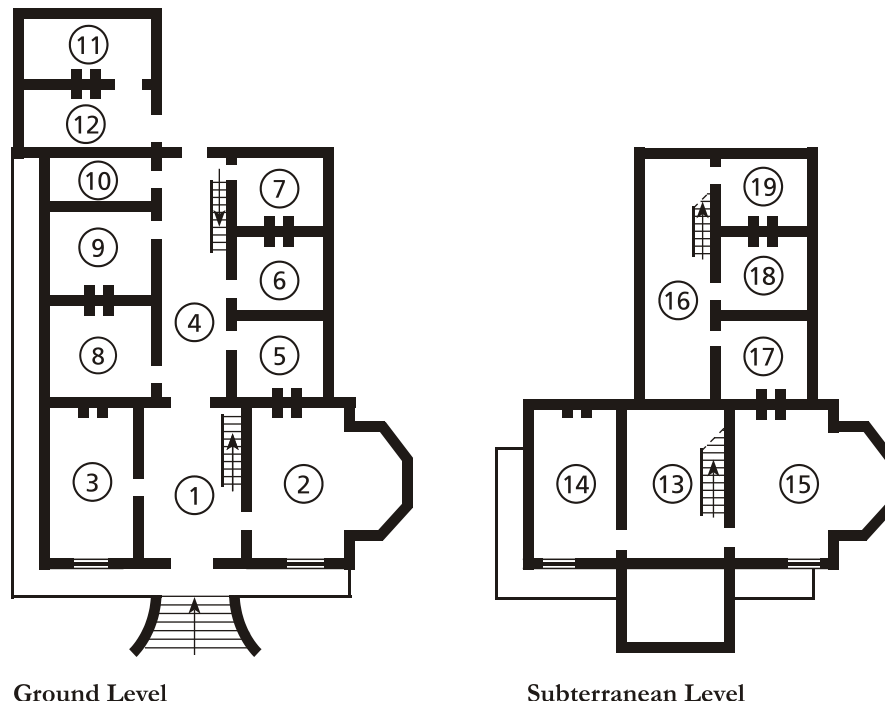
Figure 6.71 Pennington Terrace: first level floor plan.



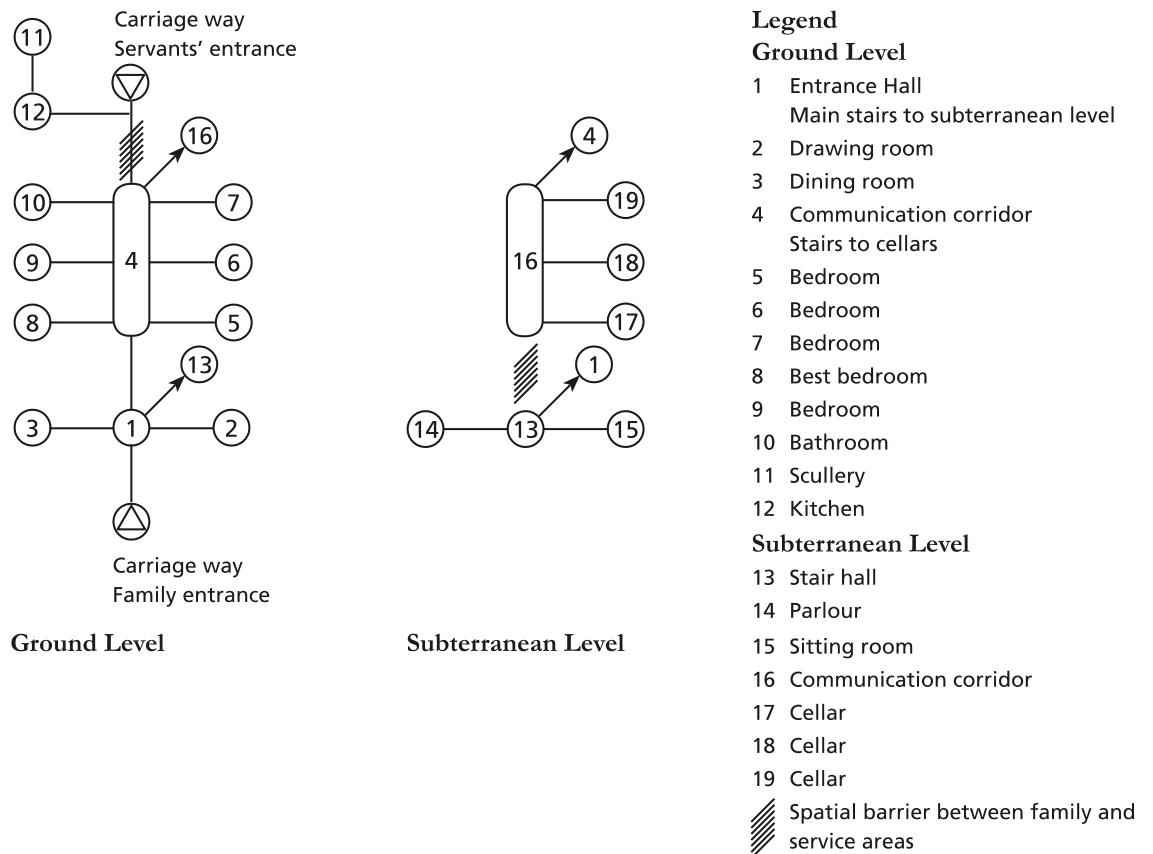
**Figure 6.72 Pennington Terrace: processional pathway.**

*Korra Weera* is another unique design which had all the characteristic of a stately home, except the family rooms, which would have been used throughout the whole year and not just the summer months, were subterranean (Figure 6.73). Built by John Pascoe in 1884, a prominent nurseryman and member of the Payneham District Council (now NASSP LGA), had wholesale and retail businesses in Adelaide and was prominent member of the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society. The entrance to the house was via a portico incorporated under the ornate Italianate tower which led into a large entrance hall with the main stairs leading down to a subterranean sitting room and parlour (Figure 6.74). The ground floor had a dining room, drawing room and a series of family bedrooms; the kitchen and scullery were at the rear of the house. There was also a second staircase down to the cellars but there was no access from these to the other subterranean rooms. The area set aside for cellars was disproportionately large, but this could have reflected the vocation of the owner rather than their domestic use. There is no record of there being servants, although

given the succession of prominent citizens who owned *Korra Weera*; it is likely that there was outside help.



**Figure 6.73** *Korra Weera*. floors plans.  
Source: adapted from sketch plans, Warburton, 1983:81.



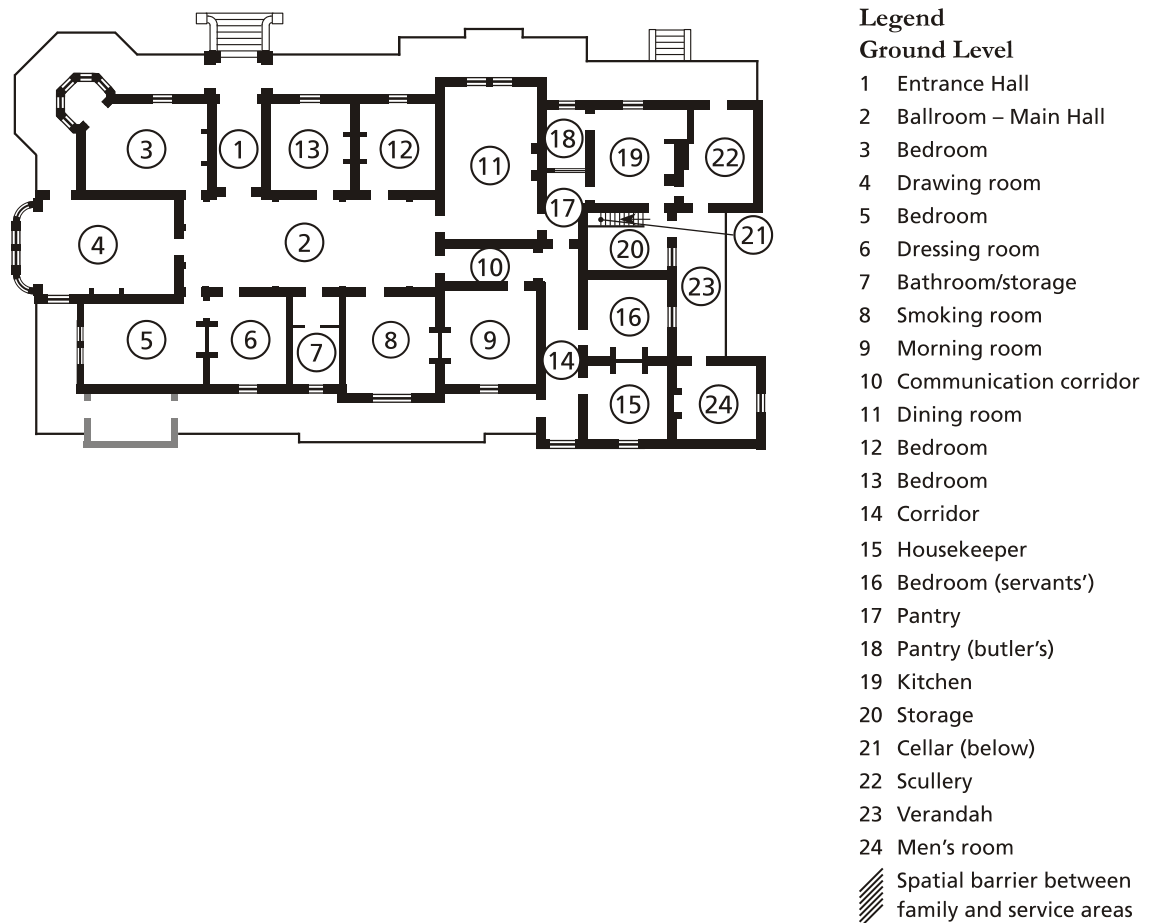
**Figure 6.74** *Korra Weera*, processional pathways.

Despite the different geographic location of the houses built in this period, the varying backgrounds of their owners, and each house's primary purpose, the internal spatial dynamics were all designed to achieve separation of people and function according to social status and class. The emerging difference in this period was servants' accommodation; not all houses had servants' bedrooms, although there were some areas set aside solely for servant use. The 1870-1889 period was a boom period for large pastoral properties and the need for servants and accommodation, especially in the remote areas, is understandable. However, the growth of residential cottages within the city and metropolitan area would reduce the need to provide bedrooms for servants.

### **6.5.3 *The 1890-1914 period***

For pastoralists, the great decade of the 1880s tipped over into the dismal droughts and economic woes of the 1890s (Hawker and Linn, 1992:136). As already noted, the number of new stately homes constructed across the state in this period was very small. Of the five houses selected for analysis from this period, *Carclew* and *Urrbrae House* were preceded by an earlier substantial dwelling, although there is no trace of their original location. None of the five houses are currently residential dwellings, yet the buildings have not undergone any major reconstruction or alternation. Three of the houses, *Eden Park*, *Strathspey* and *Urrbrae House* are in the metropolitan area, *Carclew* is in North Adelaide and *Bundaleer* isolated in the northern country region. *Bundaleer* was the last stately home to be built in this region during this period.

The original floor plans for *Bundaleer* were not available; however a modern floor plan drawn for the conservation program indicated the original use of all rooms. Although some changes have been made to the internal configuration of the building to accommodate its current use, the internal design of the building has not been compromised and all of the original internal walls remain (Figure 6. 75).



**Figure 6. 75 North Bundaleer: floor plan.**  
 Source: adapted from North Bundaleer Conservation Plan, Heritage SA files.



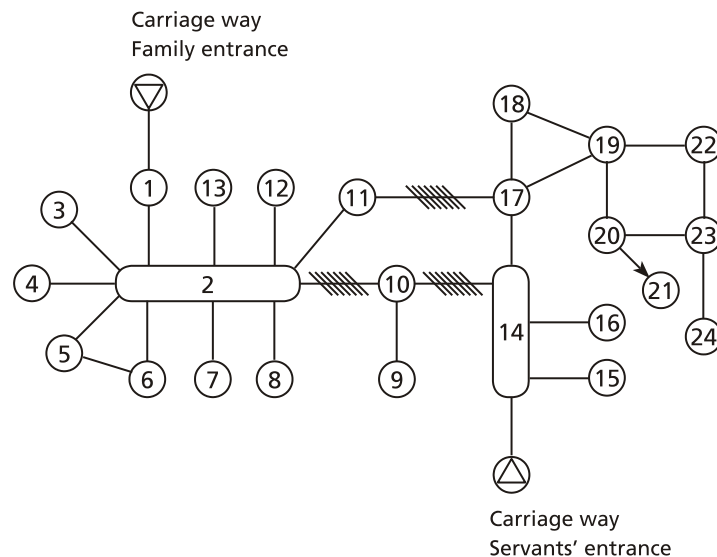


Figure 6.76 *North Bundaleer*: processional pathway

Although *North Bundaleer* was built in 1898, a time when the northern pastoral properties were still recovering from the drought and under pressure from closer settlement, the internal spatial dynamics of *North Bundaleer* continued with three distinct processional pathways for family, visitors and servants (Figure 6.76).

Entrance to the house was via a portico, which led into an ornate entrance hall and then into the main hall or ballroom, also ornately decorated. Even towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century social life focussed on stately homes, with the ballroom at *North Bundaleer* being the dominant internal architectural feature. Family and visitors could then progress to the drawing room, dining room, and library. The processional pathway for servants commenced at the rear entrance off the verandah and then via a communications corridor to the servants' quarters and the kitchen; access to the men's room was via the verandah on the north elevation from which there was no direct access to the rest of the house. Contact between servants, family and visitors was restricted to the route from the kitchen to the dining room via a servery (shown as a pantry on the floor plan). Servants could also access the main hall via a secondary communication corridor, however there was a unique feature, as this corridor was also the means of access to a room designated in the conservation

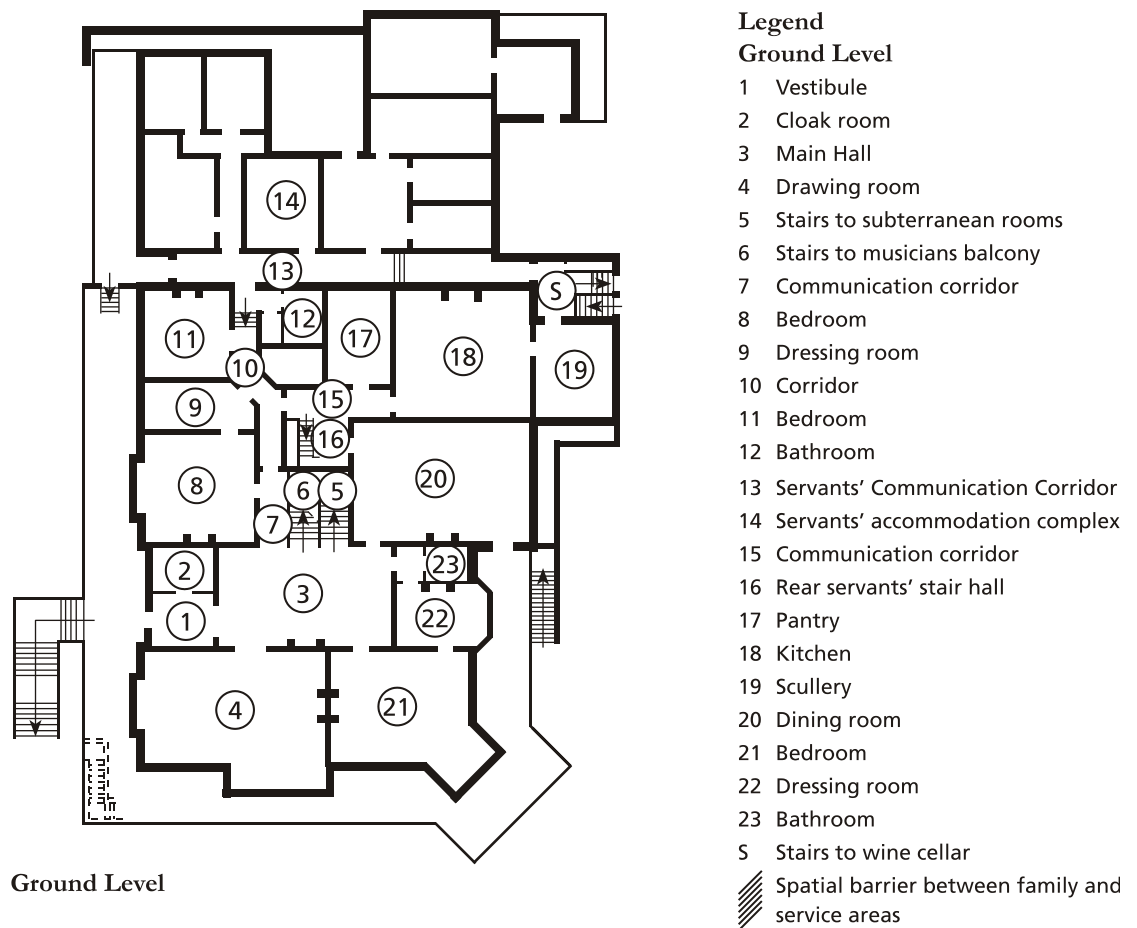
management plan *as* the morning room. This room is located off a relatively unadorned corridor which leads into the service area and servants' quarters; it has a easterly aspect overlooking the rear garden and is adjacent to the servants' rear entrance to the house. Although there is an overhanging verandah, the easterly aspect would mean that the room would have been very hot on summer mornings. It is an unlikely location for the lady of the house to receive guests so the room may have functioned as a private sitting room.

It should be noted that towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was scarcity of good servants and they no longer conformed to 'the gentry's image of working-class deference and respectability' (Russell, 1994:169). Twopeny (1973[1883]:49-62) provides an amusing insight into the role of servants and the relationship they had with the mistress and makes a comparison between servants in the colonies and those in England. There were fewer servants per household in South Australia, they were well paid, had greater flexibility in the use of their time, but also tended to be impertinent and 'moved on' if the situation was not to their liking. This sometimes resulted in a clash of cultures which challenged the image of the lady of the house as an ordered and restrained person and undermined her role as manager of the household. Therefore, it is probable that the location of the morning room was designed to enable discreet contact between the wife and the servants, and also create another spatial barrier between the main hall and the communication corridor.

As noted earlier, the metropolitan area was the conjunction between the country and the city, with some properties □now part of the inner suburbs of Adelaide □being rural properties in the early days of the colony. One such property was *Urrbrae*

*House*, which was built by Peter Waite in 1892. Waite was a prominent pastoralist and a partner of Thomas Elder, who was involved in the establishment of the pastoral company, Elder Smith and Company.

The architectural design of *Urrbrae House* was in complete contrast to English-derived extremes such as *Martindale Hall* (1879). *Urrbrae House* was designed to cope with South Australian conditions (Figure 6.77 and 6.79), with wide verandahs protecting the house on the north and west elevations; abutting the east elevation were the servants' quarters (now demolished).



**Figure 6.77** *Urrbrae House*: ground level. The servants' quarters at the rear are now demolished. Source: adapted from *Urrbrae house visitor's brochure*.

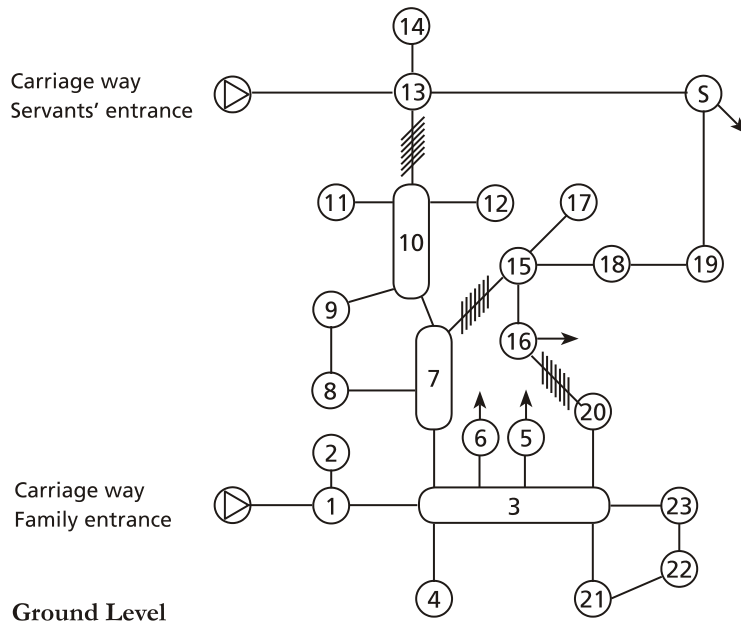


Figure 6.78 Urrbrae House, ground level processional pathway

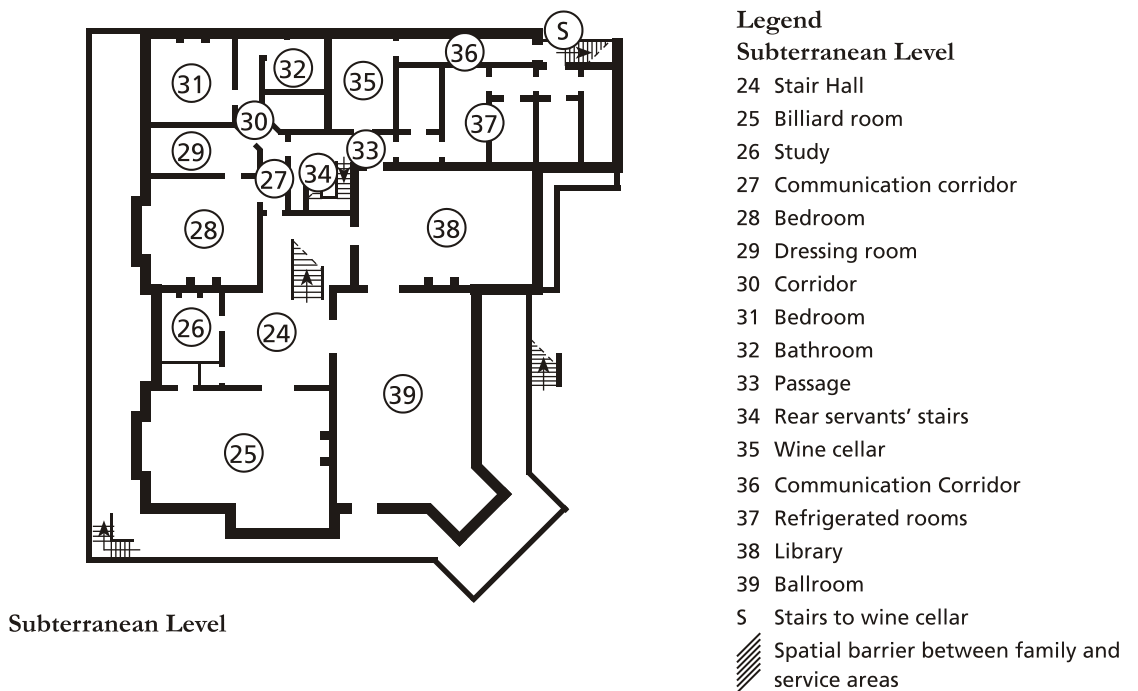
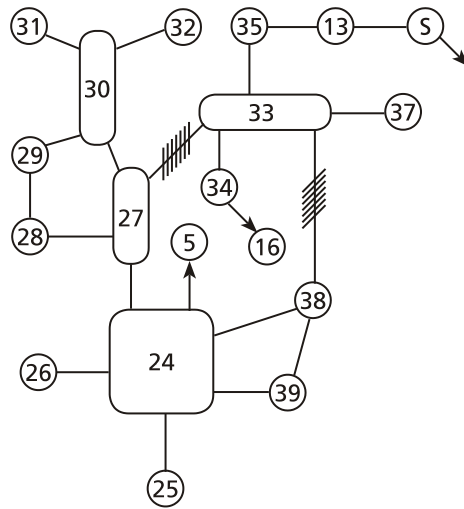


Figure 6.79 Urrbrae House: floor plan subterranean level rooms  
Source: adapted from Urrbrae house visitor's brochure.

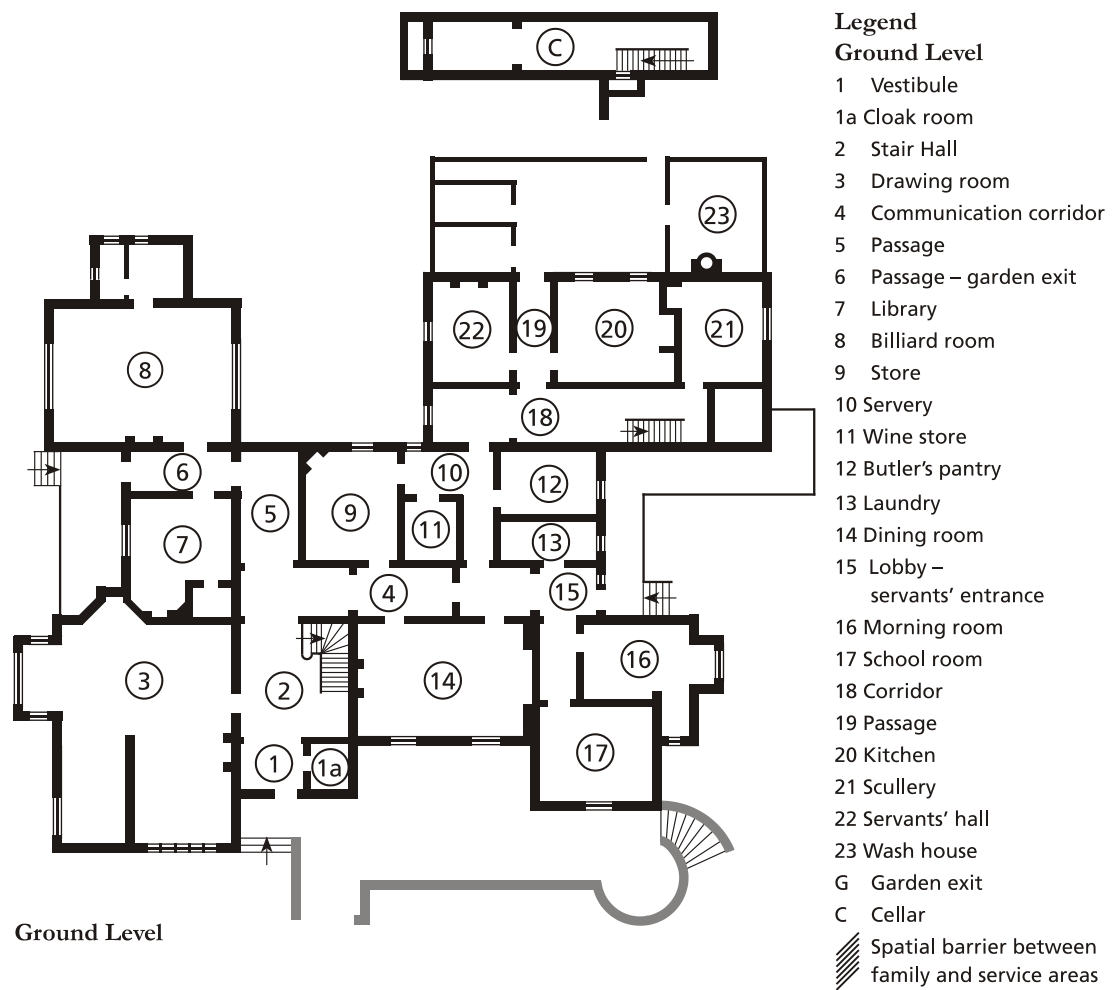


Subterranean Level

Figure 6.80 *Urrbrae House*, subterranean level processional pathway

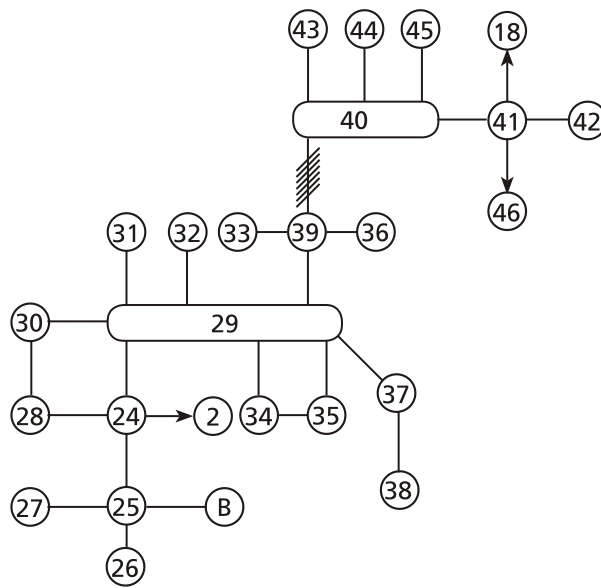
Despite the different designs, however, there was a similarity in the processional pathways within the two houses. From the initial carriageway of *Urrbrae House*, the processional pathway could take a different route according to the seasons (Figures 6.78 and 6.80). In the summer, the route would be to the subterranean level, in the winter or later months to the ground level. Entrance was into the vestibule and the main hall; a unique feature of this hall was the minstrel, or mezzanine space, which would be used by musicians to entertain guests. Off the main hall were a drawing room, dining room and the main staircase leading to the subterranean rooms which included a billiard room; this had an external exit to the garden. *Urrbrae House* had an important role in the social life of the new gentry and often hosted meetings of the Adelaide Hunt Club; there was also a subterranean ballroom. The servants' quarters were in a separate building at the rear (now demolished) of the main house and access was via rear doorways. There was a rear staircase for use by the servants to the subterranean rooms and refrigeration rooms; another unique feature of the house. The separation of family and service areas was similar to houses built in the previous period, reinforced by having the servants' quarters separate from the main building.

Nearby *Strathspey* was designed by architects English and Soward in 1891 (Figures 6.81 and 6.83) for the prominent pastoralist and parliamentarian, John Duncan, who also owned *Hughes Park Estate*. Constructing the processional pathways for *Strathspey* was difficult, as ‘normal’ progress through the house was affected by many seemingly random levels and small ‘nooks’ which seem to have no logical function (Figures 6.82 and 6.84).



**Figure 6.81. *Strathspey*: ground level floor plan.**  
 Source: adapted from a copy of the original English and Soward plans. Mercedes College archives





First Level

Figure 6.84 *Strathspey*, first level processional pathway.

The processional pathway commences through an arched portico into a vestibule before proceeding to the main hall, the staircase to the first level and a

communication corridor (Figures 6.82 and 6.84). The main section of the house included a reception room, library and billiard room; the latter rooms were in one

section of the house with a separate exit to the garden. The original plan also had a school room adjacent to the morning room; again, there was an alternative exit,

presumably to allow the children to go to the gardens without passing through the main body of the house. Consistent with other stately homes, the service area was

confined to one section of the house, with servants' bedrooms on the first level.

There were also small servants' rooms under the staircase and off the landings which reinforced their social status in the household. The processional pathway for servants

commenced via an entrance from a rear courtyard, which to led the servants' hall and the domestic areas. An indication of the level of entertainment at *Strathspey* was the

inclusion of a butler's pantry, servery and specialised storage areas which had restricted access, indicating a hierarchy among the servants.



As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of the stately homes in the 1890 to 1914 period were built by men who were now generating their wealth from non-pastoral industries. In 1896, Hugh Dixson (later Dennison), a tobacco merchant and parliamentarian, purchased a prominent property on Montefiore Hill from business man James Chambers. In 1901 Dixson demolished the existing dwelling and built *Stalheim* (Figure 6.85), which in turn was purchased by the newspaper magnate Sir John Langdon Bonython in 1908 and renamed *Carclew*; shortly after this date he added a single storey library. Analysis of the processional pathways for *Carclew* shows that there was no lessening of the spatial configuration based on social and class divisions; in fact it was strongly reinforced (Figure 6.86).

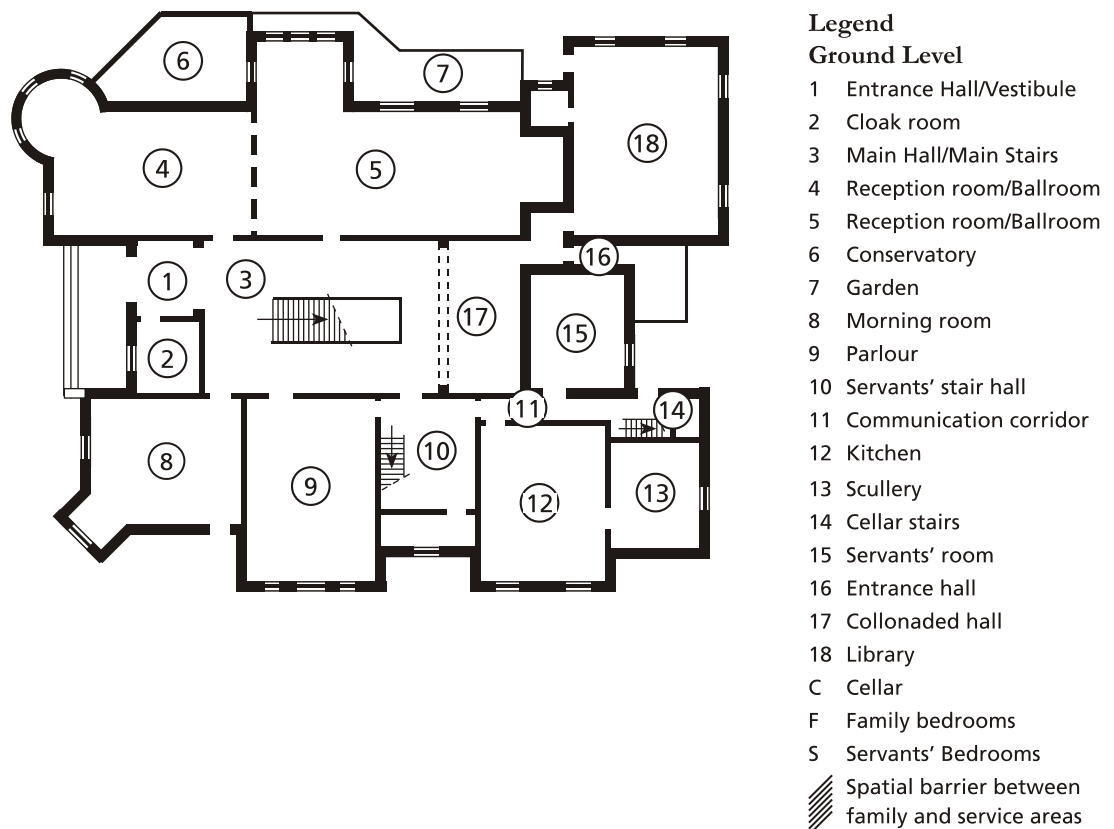
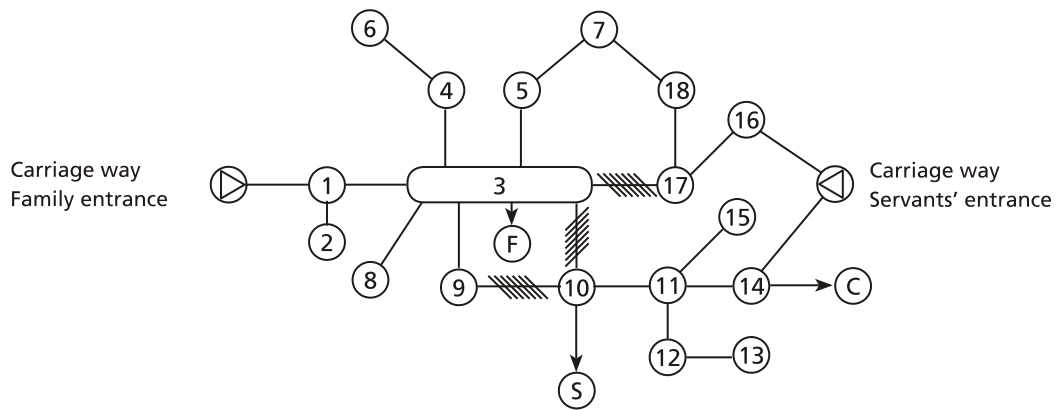


Figure 6.85 *Carclew*: ground level floor plan.

Source: adapted from the City of Adelaide Heritage Survey, 1981-86:69.



**Figure 6 86 Carclew: ground level processional pathway.**

Consistent with other stately homes discussed in this section, the entrance led to an entrance hall through a decorated archway into the main hall, from which the main staircase led to the family quarters on the next level. Off the main hall was the drawing room which could be converted into a ballroom by opening concertina doorways to the adjoining rooms; off the ballroom were a conservatory and an exit to the garden. Again, the servants' quarters were in a separate section of the house which was accessed via a rear door way; there was also a rear staircase to the servants' bedrooms on the first level. Contact between the servants and the rest of the household was via a single door at the rear of the main hall under the main staircase. The physical and visual barriers of the spatial configuration of *Carclew* ensured that contact between servants and family and visitors was kept to a minimum.

Finally, in 1899, Thomas Roger Scarfe, a partner in the major retail store, Harris Scarfe Limited, built *Eden Park* on 26 acres of land in the metropolitan suburb of Kensington. This house was unique for the period, as it included art nouveau features which were not to become fashionable for another decade. This house was also unique in that the entrance hall was an enclosed space with seating for servants waiting to receive guests. Several pathways could be taken from the entrance hall; directly into the drawing room or into the main stair hall which had a stained glass skylight. Other pathways continued from the stair hall, including an undecorated

doorway into the service area which included a servants' hall, located away from the family area of the house. Consistent with other stately homes, the servants' entrance was at the rear of the house, and opened into a lobby from which there were stairs to the servants' bedrooms on the first level. Reflecting the social status of the owners and the level of entertaining at *Eden Park*, there were large kitchens, storerooms, a butler's pantry and servery. As with *Strathspey*, access to the dining room was through the butler's pantry, again indicating a hierarchy amongst the servants. There were both physical and symbolic indicators of separation of the classes, as with *Carclew*, the service area was isolated physically from the rest of the house and symbolically by the doorway being located at the rear of the stairs and without any of the filigree decoration of the other doors.

Although the houses considered in this section all had servants' bedrooms, there was little physical evidence that there was separate accommodation for servants in many of the other stately homes, especially those built in the metropolitan area and Adelaide regions. *Bragg House* (1899) did not have servants' bedrooms, yet *Strathspey* (1899), built for pastoralists Sir John Duncan (*Hughes Park Estate*), did. All three stately homes built in the country regions, *Koorine* in the south (Wattle Range LGA) and *Bundaleer* (Northern Regions LGA) and the Bishop's palace (Peterborough LGA), had separate servants' accommodation.

## 6.7 DATA ANALYSIS

West (1999:103) citing Jackson-Stops and Pipkin's observations of the image of variations amongst English country houses asks, 'How can they 'tell a coherent story ...when they seem as varied as their creators....?' This observation would be equally applicable to stately homes in South Australia. Rules which guided the organisation of space, meaning and communication show regularity because they are linked systematically to the culture of the new gentry who shared a set of values (Rapoport, 1977:14). Analysis of the decoration and internal configuration of a representative sample of South Australian 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes across the state shows a consistent pattern by which the new gentry from all sectors of the economy used their homes as a clear physical manifestation of not only their wealth, but also their social status, and created a set of spatial barriers which separated procession through the house based on one's status and class (see Fairclough, 1992:353-354). An analysis of the processional pathways for each house reveals a similar pattern, which implies a shared set of values. While this may be anticipated, the fact that the new gentry came from different backgrounds, pursued different economic ventures and built their homes in geographically separate regions, could have led to a range of noticeable variations yet at the same time have consistent values. The consistency evident in social objectives, despite the differing internal configurations, was to create spatial barriers based on social status and class; a detailed analysis identified the social changes that took place in a small sample of the houses included in this thesis.

The selection of the stately homes in the sample highlighted the changes in social structure within the household over time, where the original house, especially if built

between 1840 and 1869, had been altered or extended, particularly in the economic growth period of 1870 to 1889. Altered houses were compared with houses which had not undergone any significant changes and were best illustrated by analysing the processional pathways.

**Table 6.3 Analysis-Internal Features**

House	Servants' Quarters. Phase 1	Servants' Quarters. Phase 2	Locations	Stairs	Diagram No.
<b>First Construction Phase. 1840-1869</b>					
The Brocas	No	Yes	Separate wing at the rear	Main only	6.27
Wolta Wolta	No (1)	Yes	Stand alone building at the rear	Not Applicable [NA]	6.30
Beaumont House	No (2)	Yes	Within the main building	NA	6.35/6.36
Cummins House	No (3)	Yes	Separate wing at the rear	NA	6.39/41
Hughes Park	Yes	Yes	Separate building at the rear	Main only	6.43
Ayers House	Yes	Yes	Within the main building	Five staircases -two for the butler's use	6.45
Karatta House	Yes (4)	Yes	Separate building	One	6.47
Para Para	Yes	NA	Within the main building	Two	6.49/50
Barton Vale	Yes	NA	Within the main building	Two	6.53
<b>First Construction Phase. 1870-1889</b>					
Martindale Hall	Yes	NA	Main building	Two	6.55
Struan House	Yes (5)	NA	Main Building	Two	6.59
Mt Breckan	No (6)	NA	Separate wing	Two	6.22/23
Estcourt House	Yes	NA	Main building	Two	6.66/67
Pennington Terrace	Yes	NA	Main building First level non-permeable	Two	6.70/71

			barrier		
Korra Weera	Yes	NA	Main building. Basement non-permeable barrier	Two	6.73
<b>First Construction Phase. 1880-1914</b>					
Bundaleer	Yes	NA	Main building	NA. Basement Access from service area	6.75
Urrbrae	Yes (7)	NA	Main building	Two	6.77/79
Strathspey	Yes	NA	Main building	Two	6.81
Carclew	Yes	NA	Main building	Two	6.85

1. Possible early servants' accommodation in a cottage at the rear of the main building.
2. It is known that Bishop Short had servants but there is no indication that their accommodation, or any service areas, were included in the main building.
3. No evidence of early servants' accommodation but the configuration of the building suggests that there were servants.
4. Summer holiday residence. Only one carriage point ?
5. No evidence of servants' accommodation in the still extant earlier cottage.
6. There was no servant accommodation at Mt Breckan only a staff dining room.
7. Earlier house demolished. There are no details of its internal design.

Analysis of the internal features of the sample of houses (Table 6.3) indicates consistent patterns of social behaviour as reflected in internal design. Of houses built between 1840 and 1869 only *Para Para* and *Barton Vale* were not significantly altered after this period nor were they preceded by an earlier cottage, although for *Barton Vale*, the architecture would suggest that it was built in two stages. The other buildings of this period were either preceded by earlier cottages or an earlier phase of building. There is little or no physical evidence of servants' accommodation in four of the buildings in this latter category. However, consistent with an increase in wealth and social status, all of these houses had servants' accommodation by the end of the 1880s. With the exception of *Beaumont House* and *Ayers House*, all of the buildings constructed in the 1840 to 1869 period and subsequently modified or extended, built either a separate wing attached to the main house or a stand alone structure, for example, *Wolta Wolta* and *Hughes Park*. The two buildings not preceded by cottages, namely *Para Para* and *Barton Vale*, included servant

accommodation as part of the original structure. However, with the exception of *Mt Breckan*, all the buildings in the sample constructed between 1880 and 1914 included servant accommodation within the main building. A staff dining room and service areas were part of a separate wing attached to the rear of *Mt Breckan* but there were no designated servants' bedrooms. A gate house or lodge still exists, so it may be assumed that there were staff cottages even though they are not mentioned in the literature.

The evidence would indicate that, no matter where the servants' accommodation and service areas were located, the one thing that was common factor was the symbolic and/or physical spatial barrier between the family and service areas of the house.

Two notable examples are *Korra Weera* and the former Correspondence School on Pennington Terrace where there were non-permeable barriers to/from some areas of the servants' quarters. A more obvious barrier in two level buildings was the location, function and decoration of the internal staircases. In all cases of two storey houses built after 1870 there were two staircases, one for the family the other for the servants, although in *Ayers House* there were two sets of stairs for the butler. The rear or servants' stairs were low status and 'primarily day-to-day functional rather than symbolic' (Fairclough, 1992:355), where as the main stairs were all ornately carved, some with statues on the stem posts. There were three examples where there was only one main stair case. The two storey section of *The Brocas* and *Hughes Park* were constructed on the front of an earlier building. Here the stairs were for primarily for use by the family with only functional access for servants. The stairs were elaborately carved thus indicating their symbolic value as status items. The only exception was *Karatta House*, which was a summer residence set in what was a

remote area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The servants were housed in a separate building with a possible point of entry to the main building which led directly into the service area. Finally, all of the buildings, with a question over *Karatta House*, had bipermeable points of entry, all of which were on different elevations of the building. Separate entrances reinforced the symbolic and physical separations of the occupants of the house. In the case of *Karatta House*, the floor plan would indicate that there were external entrances to the kitchen and communication corridor (Figure 6.47 [c]) that are no longer evident; these are most likely to have been entry points for the servants, again separating their access and movements from the family sections of the house.

Looking at the case of *The Brocas* in detail, the plan of the original cottage (Figures 6.27-6.29) had two entrances which, after inspecting the building, would indicate that one was for servants and the other for family. However, as there was no obvious servants' accommodation in the cottage, there were no obvious spatial barriers. Following the extensions, two spatial barriers were created; one between the new servants' quarters and the original cottage, another from the cottage to the now imposing additions at the front of the house. With two carriage ways it is possible to trace the level of movement of both servants and the family and to identify the spatial barriers. The family and visitors would enter into the main hall and other shallow rooms, for example the reception rooms, while movement to the deep parts of the house on the first level was the province of the family. However, servants may be drawn deeper into the house (usually invisible access) purely for functional reasons (Fairclough, 1992:354). A similar pattern emerges when the processional pathways is drawn from the servants' entrance. Again, initial procession is to the shallow front



rooms but these spatial barriers restrict their movement deeper into the cottage: another at the entrance restricts access to the extensions at the front of the house.

Finally, the design of the diagrams gives an image of the relative depth of movement amongst family, visitors and servants within the house. In all cases the diagrammatical representation of the processional pathways ensures that all rooms/cells /spaces are connected with non-distributed spaces clearly identified which coincide with the deepest levels of permeability for both family and servants.

These non-distributed family spaces and spatial barriers can be identified when the diagrams are superimposed on the architectural plans. Reception rooms and separate dining rooms featured in all stately homes and such non-distributed spaces, some reception rooms could function as distributed space if progression led to the gardens. For the family and guests, gardens played a crucial role as private retreats; they were an extension of the parlour, a place where polite people walked and conversed (Bushman, 1992:130) along processional pathways which were a continuation of the route into, and through, the house. For example, a description of life at *Sunnyside* (Burnside LGA) noted that, 'guests passed through the drawing room onto the verandah and into the garden which was a perfect picture of loveliness' (Warburton, 1981:173). Gaining internal access to the garden meant passing through the final social and class barrier. Other rooms which were non-distributed spaces included ballrooms, billiard rooms, libraries and morning rooms; again some of these provided further progression with external access to the garden or park. The house was a reflection of how household activities were organised and divided and hence the shape of the house of the house changed as the activities were modified.

Non-distributed spaces not only controlled progression through the house according to class and status, but also according to gender. The smoking room and billiard room at *Martindale Hall* were examples of non-distributed spaces to which men would retire after dinner. For many years smoking was regarded as an undesirable and unforgivable habit in many English country houses unless it took place in a smoking room; these began to appear in the 1850s (Girouard, 1979:295). Billiard rooms featured in a number of stately homes, although they often contained a separate exit to the garden, possibly to smoke outside the house, examples are *Urrbrae House*, *Strathspey* and *Gwent* at Pembroke College. However, non-distributed spaces based on gender were not confined to males. For women, *Ayers House* had a family sitting room where ‘after dinner, the ladies of the house would sew, play music or simply sit and talk in the room, while the gentlemen might indulge in port and cigars in the library’ (National Trust, nd:5). *Carclew*, *Auchendarroch* and *Bundaleer* had non-distributed rooms designated as morning rooms, which were primarily for women to host afternoon tea gatherings.

It can be concluded from the study of processional pathways and floor plans that the new gentry had a common understanding of architectural features and the manipulation of space which reflected their status in society and separated people according to class yet as individuals they determined the architectural style of their stately homes. The transition from modest cottage to stately home resulted in greater use of non-distributed spaces. The priority in the second stage of development of early homes was to create such spaces for the owner’s family and to separate servant’s accommodation. Notable also was that, despite the economic decline in the 1890 to 1914 period, there was no diminution of internal spatial barriers. The

economy was diversifying, closer settlement had reduced the influence of pastoralists who considered themselves the new landed gentry and wealth was now focusing on the city yet the new gentry clung to their acquired social status and endeavoured to maintain their stately homes as the centre of social life. The decline in the number of stately homes being built towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the prominence of manufacturing and farming, and the rumblings of war in Europe, heralded a coming change in both the social structure and the cultural landscape. These changes will be discussed in Chapter 7 when the future of use and survival of 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes will be considered.

## CHAPTER 7      19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY STATELY HOMES IN THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

*If any person for the sake of traffic [i.e. resale for profit] should have purchased any building in hopes of gaining more by pulling it down, than the sum for which he bought it, ... he shall be obliged to pay into the exchequer double the sum for which he purchased it.*

(A decree in Herculaneum, pre 63AD,  
cited in Binney, 1984:255)

This thesis has focussed on the emergence of the new gentry in 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia and the imprint they made on the cultural landscape through the construction of their stately homes. Although the new gentry emerged from different backgrounds and chose different ventures and career paths to become prominent citizens (Appendix 3. Building Survey □ Owner Profiles), it has been shown that there were common characteristics in both the external architectural design and internal configuration of their stately homes. To varying degrees, these houses became the focus of both private and community social life, with the owners being hosts to events such as the Adelaide Hunt and also to visiting dignitaries, especially in the country regions. Not only were their houses large, but they were also situated on considerable tracts of land which were used to create ornate formal gardens, at times surrounded by park-like settings. The new gentry worked assiduously to create a cultural environment in which there were social and class divisions, one to which entry was both restricted to those they deemed equal in status and closely controlled through various mechanisms. Through, for example, restrictive membership to clubs, restricted invitations to social functions held in their stately homes, and by overt and covert messages emanating from their exclusive residential enclaves, they achieved a cohesive and exclusive social group.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, events took place that had a profound impact on the exclusive world of the new gentry and, in turn, on the role and status of their stately homes. The huge tracts of land which were owned and/or leased by pastoralists were under immense public pressure to be opened up for farming (Hawker and Linn, 1992:76; see also Noye, 1997:33), forcing the government to commission George Goyder, the Surveyor General, to revalue pastoral leases in order to stop cheap grazing rights. His recommendation, published in 1864, was for an increase in rents of over 700%, which was accepted by parliament without amendment. The pressure applied by the public and the government was assisted by severe droughts in the period 1863 to 1869, which resulted in bankruptcy for some and greatly reduced circumstances for others (Hawker and Linn, 1992:97). However, to force a division of land for closer settlement under the *Crown Lands Consolidation Act 1878*, the government resumed leases and then sold the land. Some pastoralists had sensed the unease and sought to consolidate their properties by purchasing the land. Under the *Crown Lands Consolidation Act 1878*, pastoralists with leases could apply to have a portion of their runs surveyed, which could then be resumed by the government and sold; in this way pastoralists who had had successive good years were able to retain control. However, the new legislation, combined with the heavy financial burden of purchasing former leasehold land, increased rents, drought and the economic downturn of the early 1890s, as well as the end of the mining boom, all contributed to an overall decline in the wealth of the pastoral industry and of those associated with it. In some sectors of the economy this decline coincided with an increase in the demand for land, especially in the Adelaide and metropolitan areas, resulting in the subdivision of many properties. But there were also cultural changes. Members of Parliament were now paid; hence election to the

legislature was no longer restricted to those who had the leisure time to attend sittings, weakening one element of the power base of the new gentry. Servants were becoming increasingly difficult to employ and were demanding higher wages (Hawker and Linn, 1992:115). A lowering of the birth-rate amongst the wealthy (Evans, 1993) lessened the demand for large houses and, finally, the impact of the First World War, especially the loss of manpower suffered by pastoral areas (Noye, 1997:66), all affected the demand for stately homes. If there was a fall in demand from this time for stately homes as 'sites of conventional domesticity' (Mandler, 1997:63), what was their future? What were the alternative uses; should they be demolished to make way for 'progress' or should they be preserved as part of South Australian heritage and who should be involved in this decision making process?

Conservation, restoration, management and alternative use of heritage properties are on going problems for heritage professionals and there are many divergent views as to appropriate courses of action. Some heritage professionals, conservation architects in particular, set store on material authenticity; a 'near-scared' calling towards authentic fabric (Smith, 2006:124). It is argued that these elite houses require minimal interpretation to be 'read' as authentic statements with inherent meaning and value to those who have the cultural capital to do the reading (Smith, 2006:124; see also Bourdieu, 1991:183). Here cultural capital is the possession of means to independently interpret the meaning of a stately home; an alternative use of the term 'cultural capital' by Throsby (2000) and Provins et al. (2008) will be discussed in the next section. At the other end of the heritage spectrum are those who would see 'old buildings' as a hindrance to progress; an example is the current action by the Mitcham LGA to secretly update the listing of heritage places under *the*

*Development Act 1973* to ensure that these places are not demolished whilst waiting for government approval for their listing (Eastern Courier, 2011:1; 9).

The financial implication of maintaining a heritage property, whether the owner is a private individual, government body, an organisation such as the National Trust or a corporation can be a present and ongoing burden that must be factored in when an alternative use or economic reason to exist is considered. This need for an alternative economically sustainable use for elite properties resulted in the growth of the heritage industry in England, specifically tourism, which was encouraged by the elite in order to generate a source of revenue to maintain their crumbling edifices (Smith, 2006:115). Mandler (1997:369ff) refers to this as ‘Stately Home Business’ and explores both the motivation for opening country houses to visitors and the motivation for visiting. He argues that not all owners of country houses welcomed the intrusion by tourists, nor were they motivated by the altruistic need to preserve their country homes and contents as a legacy for the country; the aristocracy were often motivated by the desire to preserve their houses for their descendants (Mandler, 1997:377). Smith (2006, 115-161) conducted a broad ranging study of the reasons tourists visited country houses. One of the broad questions addressed in this survey was the process of ‘identity work’ undertaken on the sites and whether this simply involved reading the cultural symbolism or a more physically active sense of performance and place involved in the process (Smith, 2006:116). At present it is conservatively estimated that there are at least 550 houses in England open to paying visitors (Smith, 2006:125); by way of contrast, in South Australia there are only six stately homes in this category. Four are owned or managed by the National Trust (*Martindale Hall, Collingrove* [both also provide tourist accommodation. see

Mandler, 1997:373, Figure 89], *Beaumont House* [which also houses the offices of the National Trust hence restricted access] and *Ayers Houses* [owned by the South Australian government; over 50% of the site is a privately managed convention centre and restaurant] and three managed by other public bodies (*Cummins House, Urrbrae House and Kingston House*).

While no statistics on visitor numbers or profiles have been undertaken for South Australia, in England in 2004 there were 12 million visitors most of whom were middle class pastime (Smith, 2006:125). Even in relative terms these statistics would not reflect the case in South Australia. *Beaumont House* is open only on one Sunday afternoon a month, while *Collingrove and Martindale Hall* are in widely separated country regions; *Ayers House* is situated on of the cultural precinct of North Terrace and hence would most likely attract the most visitors

Given that so few stately homes are owned or managed by the National Trust in South Australia that can be considered house museums or tourist venues, what has been the fate of these buildings? Stately homes, like churches, are victims of changes in demography, economic and development priorities, culture and social values. 'Faced with so many redundant churches (read stately homes), the challenge is increasingly to find other sympathetic uses which are financially viable – where, to put it simply, the money put into buying, repairing and adapting the building is covered by an increase in value, so that if sold, costs can be recouped' (Binney, 1984:181).



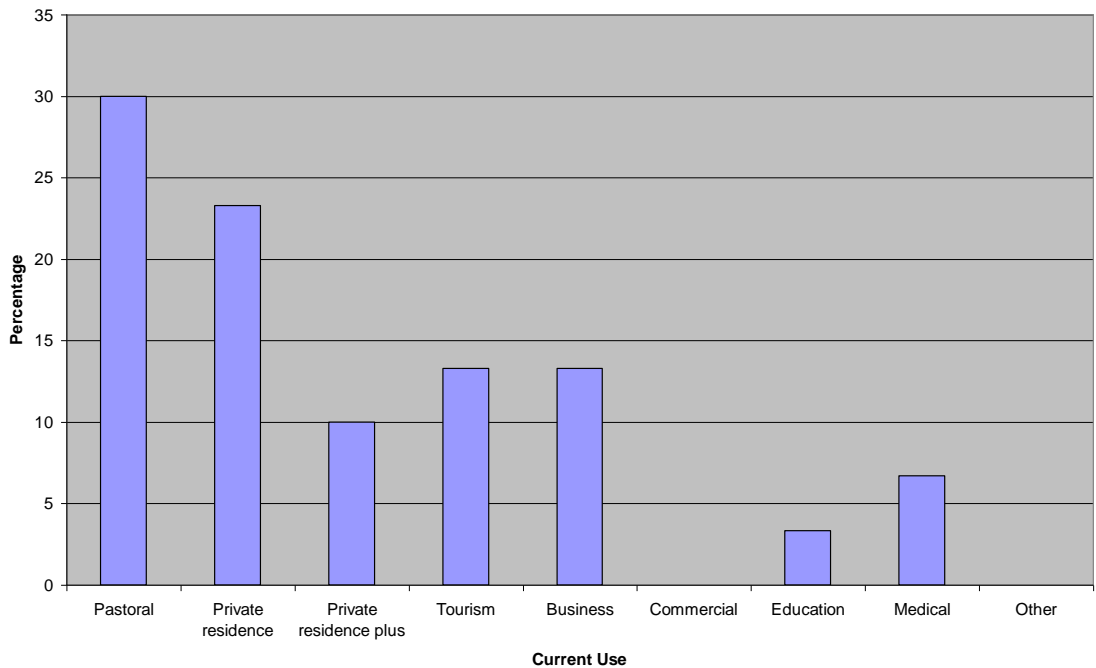
Being designed to accommodate an earlier cultural and social scene, what was the effect of these economic and cultural changes on 19<sup>th</sup> century stately homes and was it consistent across the state? Where these stately homes still exist, do they have the same impact on the cultural landscape and, if demolished, is there any remaining evidence? Again, to answer these questions the current use of these stately homes within the five sectors will be analysed and then compared to gauge whether there was a consistent pattern across the state.

## **7.1 STATELY HOMES AND THEIR CURRENT USE**

### ***7.1.1 Northern Country Region***

The northern country region was the early source of wealth for South Australia, mainly from mining, pastoralism, transport and manufacturing, and hence attracted a diverse range of business activities. However, this early wealth and prosperity did not guarantee that all the stately homes in this region retained their original function as residences of the new gentry; many eventually had alternative uses (Chart 7.1).

Chart 7.1 Northern Country Region LGAs - Current Use



Of the 30 stately homes in the sample for this region, nine (30.0%) have remained as part of pastoral properties, with seven (23.3%) continuing as private residences. A further three properties (10.0%), namely the Bishop’s palace in Peterborough, *Bungaree* and *Anlaby*, continue as residences, but in addition now offer convention facilities and/or tourist accommodation. The latter two were originally pastoral properties, and this still remains the main function of *Bungaree*, while *Anlaby* is now primarily a private residence. Of the seven stately homes which are now solely private residences, five are in the town of Gawler, with only one, namely *Para Para*, originally being part of a large estate. Of the nine stately homes which are still on pastoral properties, two, namely *Yatara* and *Werocata*, are in relatively neglected condition (Figures 7.1 and 7.2), as the houses are either no longer needed as a primary place of residence or are too expensive to maintain. Eleven (36.7%) of the former stately homes in the northern country region now have an alternative use.



Figure 7.1 *Yatara Homestead*, Kapunda. No longer fully occupied. Left: the original cottage is now vacant.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007



Figure 7.2 *Werocata*, Balaklava. No longer fully occupied  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2007

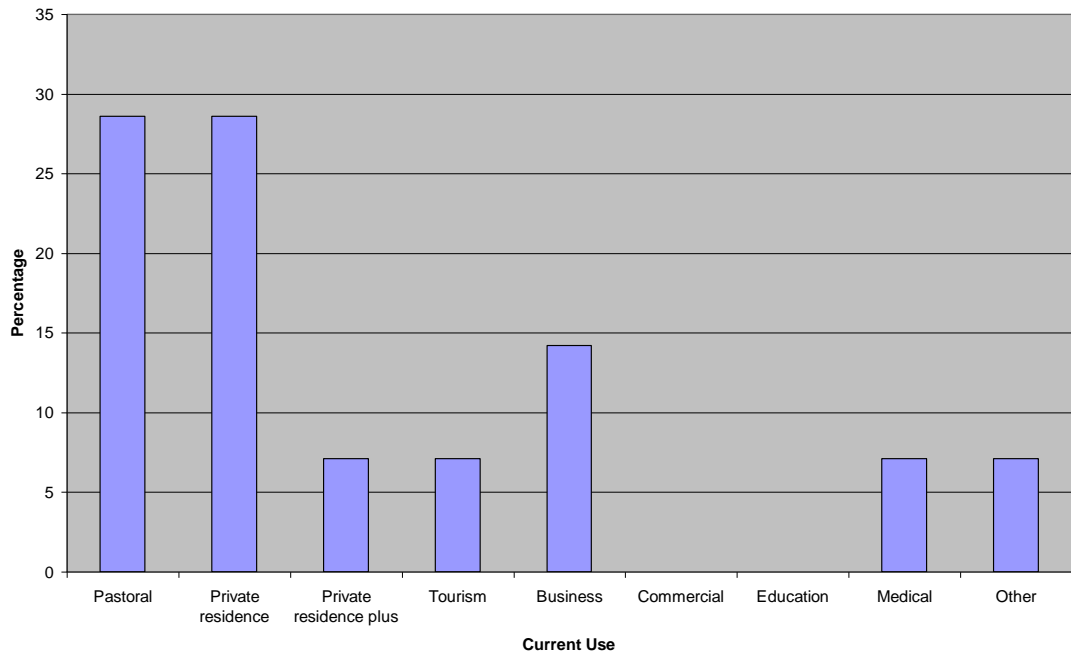
Despite the economic uncertainty of the pastoral industry in the northern region, only two (6.7%) stately homes had alternative uses prior to the 1960s. *Eringa* was given to the Education Department by Sir Sidney Kidman in 1921 and became the Kapunda High School, while *Holland House* was purchased by the government in 1908 and converted into an agricultural research station.

### 7.1.2 *Southern Country Region*

Although the total number of houses in the sample for the southern country region is relatively small, there is a contrast with the northern region in that more stately homes continue to be occupied as private residences (Chart 7.2).

Chart 7.2

Southern Country Region LGAs - Current Use



Of the 14 stately homes in the southern country region, four (28.6%) continue solely as pastoral properties, and four (28.6 %) are private residences, with only one (7.1%), *Poltalloch*, combining pastoralism with tourist accommodation. Only five (35.5%) stately homes have an alternative use, as compared to 46.7% in the northern country region. However, again, there is a need to look more closely at these figures. As discussed earlier, the southern country region can be divided, into one area above the River Murray and one below. The four houses above the River Murray now have, or have had, an alternative use. *Reynella House* is now used as office accommodation, *The Lodge* is part of an elderly citizen’s complex, *Adare* is a youth centre, and *Mt Breckan* is once more a private residence after decades of alternative uses, although it is currently being converted into apartments and the land subdivided. This partially reflects the effect of the increase in demand in the 20<sup>th</sup> century for properties which are in close proximity to Adelaide. In the area below the River Murray, two of the four houses which have been included in the ‘residential’

category, namely *Kalangadoo House* and *Campbell Park*, were once pastoral properties, but have also been used as either convention centres or tourist accommodation. *Karatta House* was at one time a boarding house before reverting to being a private residence. In the final analysis, only four (28.6%) stately homes in the southern country region have had continual use in their original role and these are all in the southern most area (i.e. south of the River Murray).

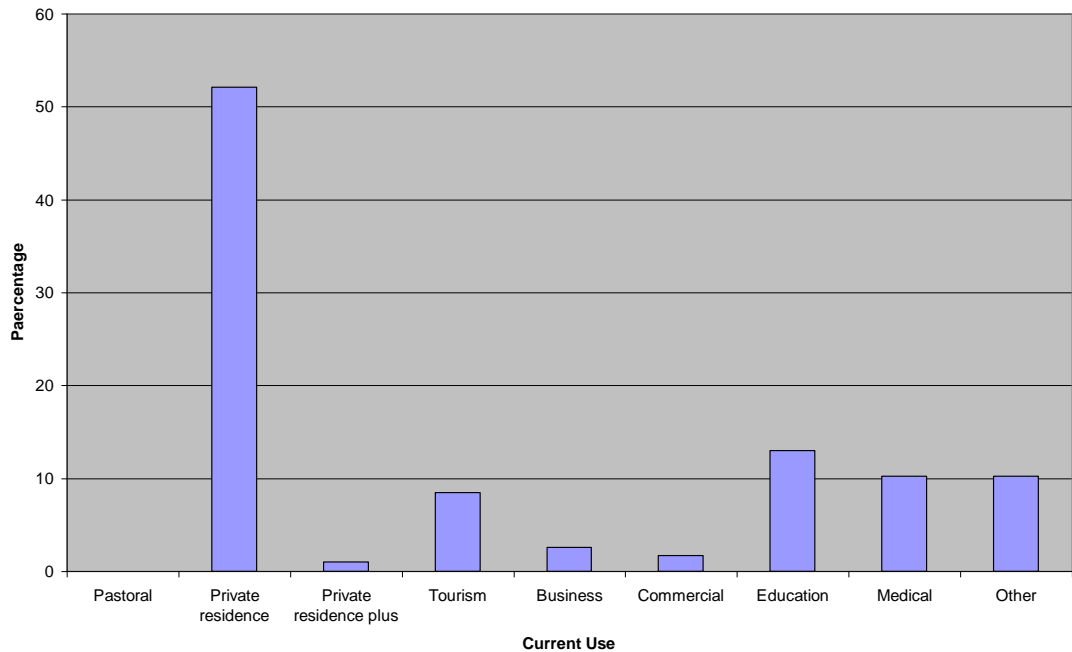
Despite the varied and changing uses for stately homes in the southern country region, only three (21.3%) had alternative uses prior to 1950. *Karatta House* became a guest house in 1922, *Struan House* was acquired by the government in 1938 for use as a training farm for boys, and *Mt Breckan* became an air-force training base in 1941.

### **7.1.3 Metropolitan Region**

Stately homes in the metropolitan area were subject to economic pressures which impacted on their viability as private residences. From the 1920s, the increase in demand for residential land resulted in the subdivision of the property surrounding them. For example, in Mitcham, *Willowbank* was subdivided in 1896, and both *Eynesbury and Glenburnie* in 1920. Similarly in Burnside, *Moorcroft* was subdivided in 1912, *Albyn and Sunnyside* in 1920, both *Highfield and Linden* in 1921 and *Clifton Manor* in 1926. At the same time, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, the tendency to have smaller families, when combined with the difficulty in obtaining servants and the higher cost of maintenance, resulted in stately homes becoming economically unviable. Despite economic pressure, 61(52.1%) stately homes have

remained private residences; one is also a private residence but also offers conference and reception facilities (*Wairoa*) (Chart 7.3).

Chart 7.3 Metropolitan Region LGAs - Current Use

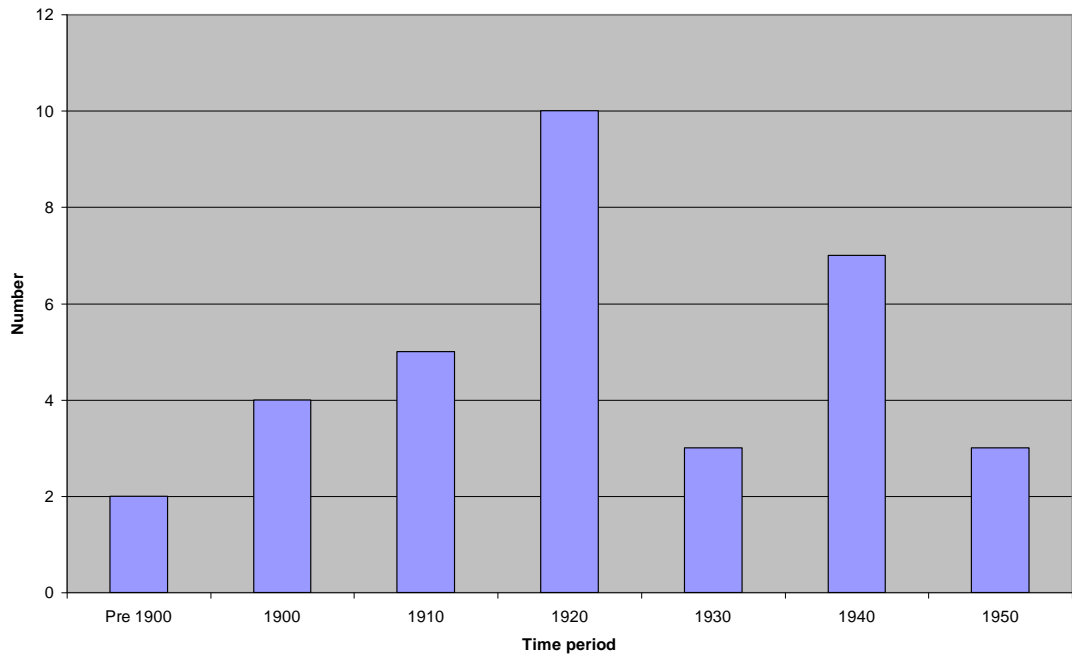


Fifty five (48.9%) stately homes in the metropolitan area now have an alternative use, which is a higher percentage than for either of the country regions. Further analysis of the raw data for private residences, however, shows that the exclusive residential enclaves created by the new gentry in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have been retained and hence skew the results. Where stately homes remain part of an exclusive residential enclave their impact on the cultural landscape remains. The new gentry, as a group, identified themselves as constituting a category distinguishable from others, thus creating a culture that both integrated and separated (Rapoport, 1977:249). To this end, prominent citizens in the metropolitan area created the residential enclave of Walkerville, which has undergone little change since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and still retains an image of wealth and status that was envisaged by the new gentry who built these houses. Many of the stately homes in these enclaves, built on wide streets, are now used for office accommodation or are part of

educational institutions; the fact that the streetscape has been little changed, with open parks and unaltered façades, ensures that the cultural landscape created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is still evident today. Ten of the 22 (45.5%) stately homes in Burnside LGA, 10 of 15 (66.7%) in Mitcham LGA and 15 of 16 (93.75%) in Walkerville LGA, have continued as stately homes; this represents 65.6% of the total number of private residences. Of the 62 stately homes which are principal private residences, 14 (22.6%) have had previous alternative uses; for example, *Estcourt House*, *Albyn House* and *The Briars* were all once hospitals and *Birrilee* also functioned as a school.

Changes in the use of stately homes commenced much earlier in the metropolitan area, with 34 (29%) houses assuming an alternative role by the 1950s (Chart 7.4), of these 19 (55.9%) were sold in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two of these houses are unique cases; *Estcourt House*, which as discussed earlier, was built in a relatively remote, unsuitable location but was suitable for a hospital for the disabled; and the original governor's summer residence, which was only a five roomed cottage at Belair later replaced by a grand gothic mansion, *Marble Hill*, more suited as a vice regal residence.

Chart 7.4 Stately Homes -Metropolitan Region LGAs -Alternative Use



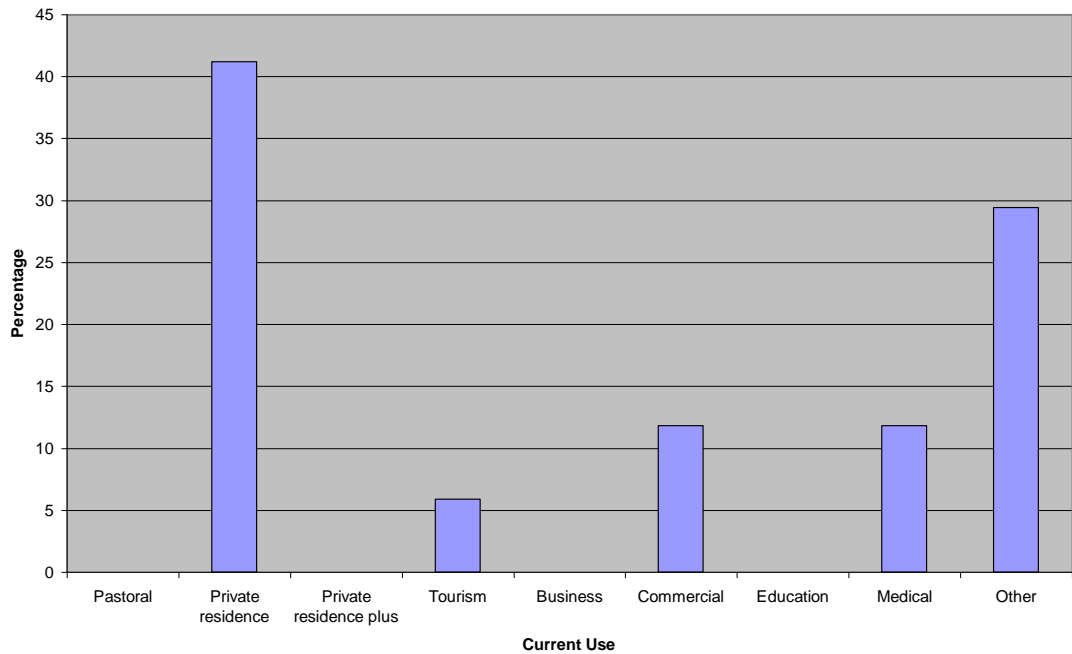
Ten became schools in these first three decades, with another five still playing a key role in some of Adelaide’s most exclusive non-government schools today.

#### 7.1.4 Adelaide City Council – ‘Square Mile’

Regrettably, an analysis of stately homes in Adelaide is often about what is no longer there (Burden, 1983), especially the residential enclave on North Terrace, of which only two stately homes remain, *Ayers House* and No.262 (one of the few stately homes not to be given a name).



Chart 7.5 Adelaide City Council -'Square Mile'-Current Use



Of the 17 stately homes in the ‘square mile’, seven (41.2%) are currently private residences, and of the ten (58.8%) that have alternative uses, only the Catholic Archbishop’s House was not part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century residential enclave in the south east of the city (Chart 7.5) (Figure 7.3). As with North Adelaide, there was little change to this residential enclave in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the exception being *Springhill Lodge* which was used as residential accommodation for the YWCA in 1913. Only two other stately homes had alternative uses in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: *Ayers House* became an entertainment venue in 1914 and 262 North Terrace was converted to a guest house in 1926; it became a medical clinic in 1953 before reverting back to a private residence. Both 262 North Terrace and *Rymill House* have been included in the private residence category even though they had earlier alternative uses. The former Andrew Johnson dwelling on South Terrace was acquired for TPI Offices (1946), and *St Andrews* became a Legacy Children’s Hostel (1946) and later St Andrews Hospital (1964); these two changes

resulted from an increase in demand for rehabilitation centres following World War

II.



**Legend**

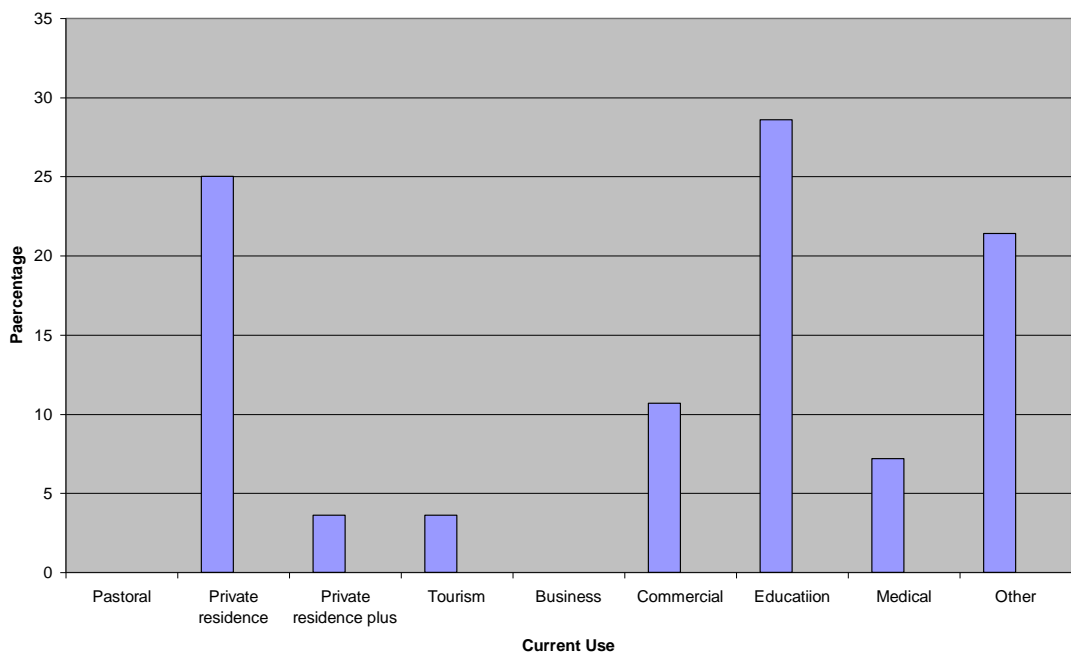
- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1 Ayers House                | 10 Navy Military Airforce Club           |
| 2 Bray House & coach house   | 11 Bragg Home (Public Schools Club)      |
| 3 Carhayes                   | 12 Ochiltree Home                        |
| 4 Cartref                    | 13 Rymill House and coach house          |
| 5 Craigwell                  | 14 St Corantyn                           |
| 6 Diamora                    | 15 Springhill Lodge                      |
| 7 Duntocher                  | 16 Waverley                              |
| 8 Dwelling Johnston (TFI)    | Catholic Archbishop's House (not on map) |
| 9 Dwelling 261 North Terrace |  |

Figure 7.3 City of Adelaide – 'Square Mile' – residential enclave.

### 7.1.5 Adelaide City Council – North Adelaide

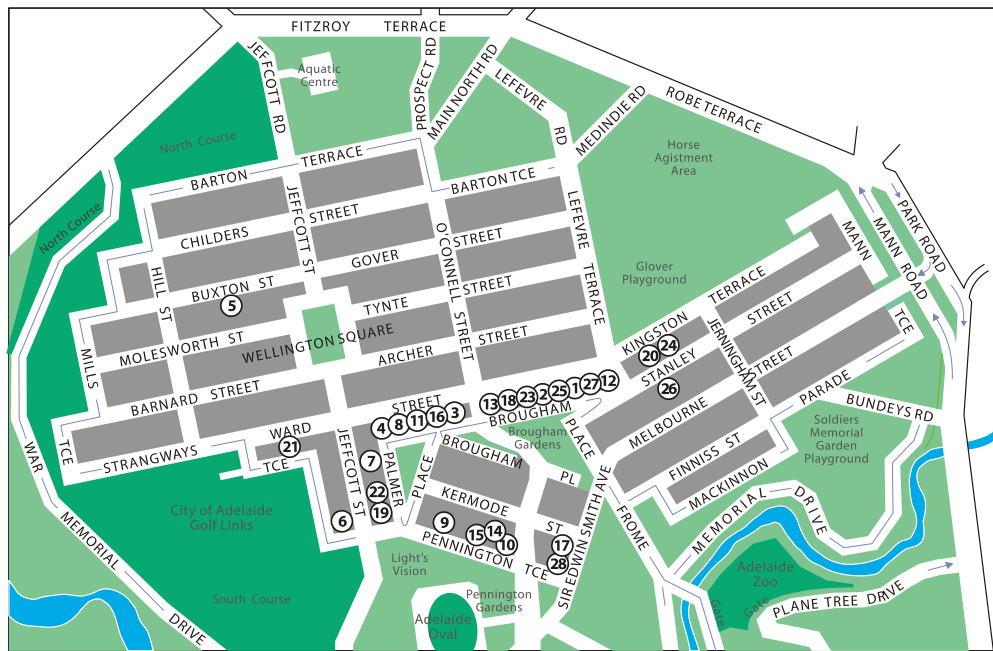
Given that by the 1870s North Adelaide was established as the residential enclave of the new gentry (Nagel, 1971:10) (Figure 7.4), it would be expected that a significant proportion of stately homes would still be used as private residences. This was not the case, however (Chart 7.6).

Chart 7.6 Adelaide City Council -North Adelaide -Current Use



Of the 28 stately homes in North Adelaide, only seven (25%) are still exclusively private residences, with the addition of *St Margarets* which is both a private residence and medical consulting rooms. Changing the use from residential to office accommodation, especially in North Adelaide, again reflected the demise of the large house in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when there was also a trend for moving to the suburbs (Heritage SA Report, 2005). Therefore, consistent with stately homes in the metropolitan area, eight (28.6%) stately homes were acquired between the 1950s and 1970s, and one in the 1920s for use as university student accommodation; this would also support the arguments that many of these houses were either no longer suitable

for private residences, or that the increase in demand for commercial properties in North Adelaide resulted in an alternative function. However, an analysis of the dates when these buildings were converted for other uses paints a different picture. Two stately homes, *The Avenues* and *Lea Hurst*, were sold between 1918 and 1919 to form the basis of the current Memorial Hospital, but it was not until 1948 that *Montefiore* was sold to become university student accommodation. North Adelaide remained a residential enclave through the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but from 1950 onwards more of these stately homes were sold for commercial properties or became university student accommodation. North Adelaide continues to be a desirable residential suburb today, but the area where the new gentry built their stately homes has now become a commercial and educational enclave.



**Legend**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Addington   | 14 Grenfell Price Lodge (St Marks College) |
| 2 Baker dwelling (Lincoln College)                          | 15 Hawker House (St Marks College)         |
| 3 Belmont House   | 16 Kingsmead                               |
| 4 Bishop's Court  | 17 Leahurst (Memorial Hospital)            |
| 5 Buxton Manor  | 18 Milne dwelling (Lincoln College)        |
| 6 Carclew   | 19 Montefiore (Aquinas College)            |
| 7 Christ Church Rectory                                     | 20 Nurney House                            |
| 8 College of Surgeons                                       | 21 Parramatta Villa                        |
| 9 Correspondence School                                     | 22 Roche House (Aquinas College)           |
| 10 Downer House (St Marks College)                          | 23 Rymill House (Lincoln College)          |
| 11 Duncraig   | 24 St Andrews                              |
| 12 Dwelling<br>(former Goode house. 5-7 Brougham Place)     | 25 St Margarets                            |
| 13 Dwelling<br>(former Beaglehole house. 58 Brougham Place) | 26 Strela                                  |
|   | 27 Taylor house                            |
|   | 28 The Avenues (Memorial Hospital)         |

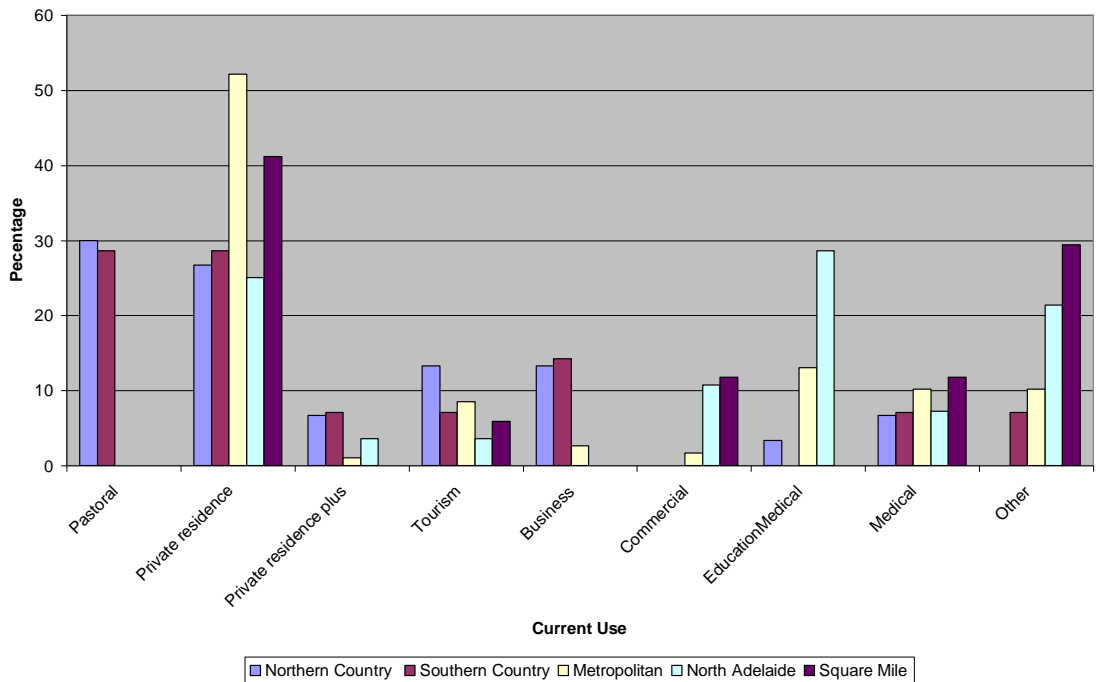
**Figure 7.4** City of Adelaide –North Adelaide – residential enclave.

### 7.1.6 Current Use – A Comparative Analysis

A comparison of the current use of stately homes clearly indicates that there is a similarity between the two country regions: the combined percentage of those homes still functioning as pastoral properties with those which are private residences, including those that have an additional use, for example private residence and tourist venue, are identical (63.5%). Despite the fluctuations in the economic fortunes of the pastoral industry, the majority of stately homes have survived and continue to be

used as originally intended. Although a smaller percentage when compared to the two country regions, there is a combined 53.1% of stately homes in the metropolitan area that are currently private residences; this is due mainly to the continued desirability of the residential enclaves established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Chart 7.7 Current Use - Regional Comparison



Similarly, with stately homes in the ‘square mile’ of Adelaide, 41.2% are currently private residences located in a 19<sup>th</sup> century residential enclave (Figure 7.3). However, the figures for the ‘square mile’ relate only to the sample used for this thesis, but if all the former stately homes that have been demolished for road widening (Figure 7.5) or for commercial development (Figures 7.6) were included, the percentage would have been significantly lower. The original plan of Adelaide was based on one acre blocks of land and did not predict the division of these areas into smaller units and the subsequent need for minor access roads (Figure 7.7).



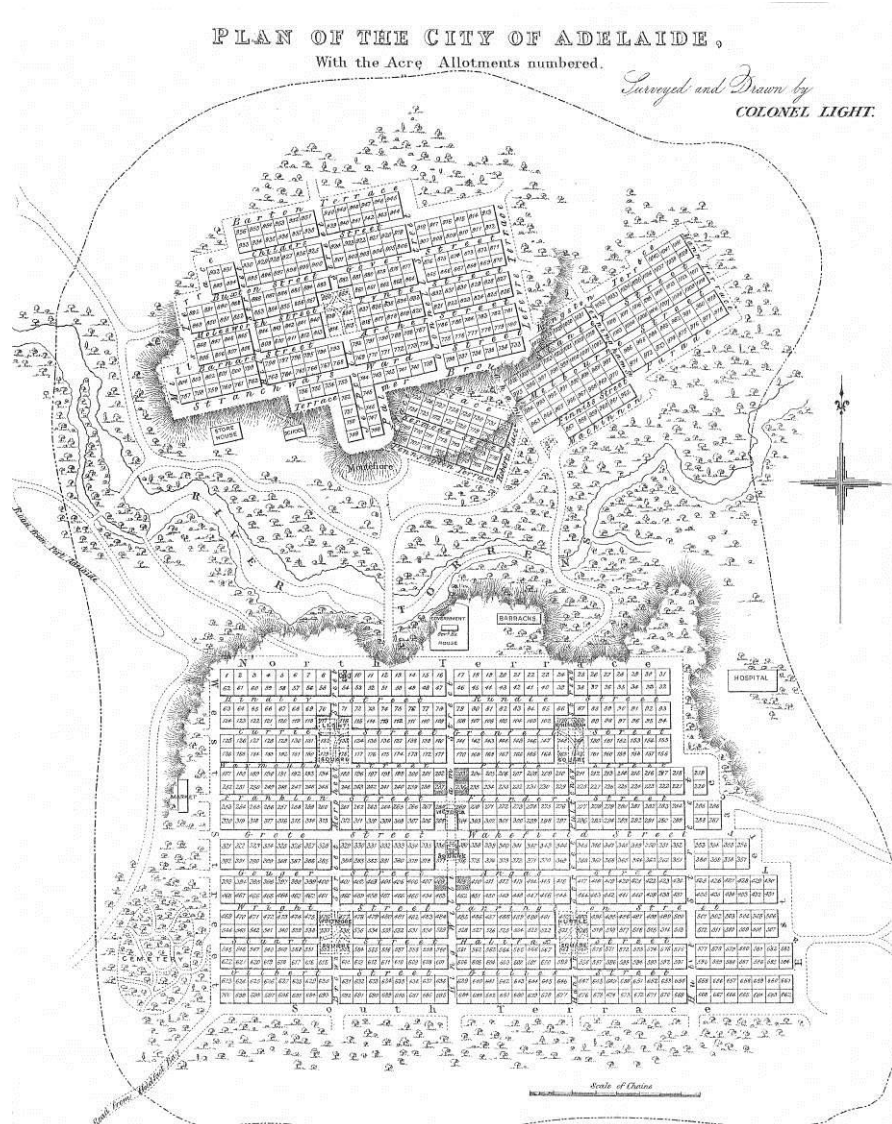
**Figure 7.5** Demolition of *Tavistock House*, part of the widening of Frome Road, Adelaide.  
Source: Burden, 1983:33.



**Figure 7.6** North Terrace, c1902. Residence of Dr Crank, now demolished.  
Source: SLSA, B 63835

North Terrace was a desirable 19<sup>th</sup> century residential enclave with proximity to Parliament House, the Governor's residence, the Adelaide Club, major institutional buildings and business houses in the CBD. However, with the increase in commercial and business ventures in Adelaide, so the demand for, and hence price of, land increased, far exceeding the value of maintaining a city residence (Figure 7.6 and 7.8). The current residential enclave in the south east of the city probably survived because of its greater distance from the CBD and the fact that it was adjacent to the parklands; this helped to retain its attraction as a residential area.





**Figure 7.7 1838 Plan of the City of Adelaide: surveyed by Colonel William Light**



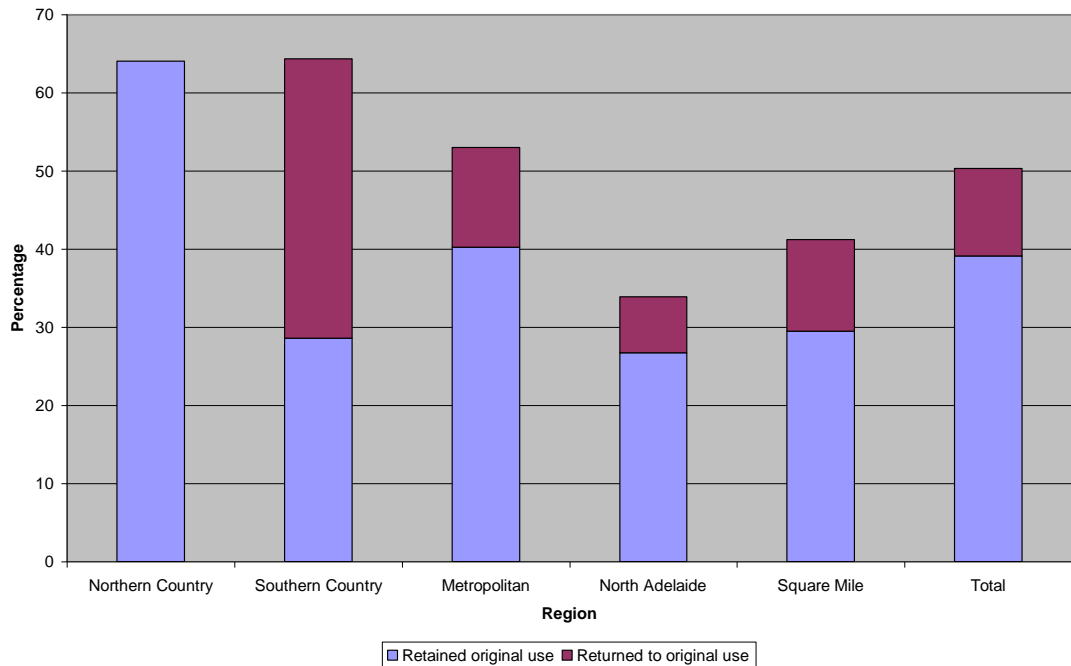
**Figure 7.8 North Terrace, c1920. Left: stately homes surrounded by CBD commercial buildings.**  
Source: SLSA, B22791.



By comparison, in North Adelaide the percentage of stately homes which combine a private residence with additional functions is only 28.6%. This is significantly lower than the country and metropolitan areas, and, while there is still a 10% difference between North Adelaide and the 'square mile', there is arguably a similar pattern. In the 'square mile' many stately homes were demolished, whereas in North Adelaide stately homes tended to be adapted to an alternative use. Whereas North Terrace is now an enclave of retail and commercial buildings, former residential enclaves in North Adelaide are now educationally, business and commercially centred, but with the basic structure of the former stately homes being retained. If more stately homes in the 'square mile' had been adapted rather than being demolished, then there would have been a closer similarity in the percentages.

Since the primary functional use of all stately homes was to provide family accommodation, it is useful to analyse the data by region where this is still the case. The number of stately homes across all regions, including those that now have an additional function such as tourist accommodation, have been combined to give the total number of stately homes that are currently private residences expressed as a percentage (Chart 7.8). This figure has in turn been further divided into those stately homes that have retained their original function as family accommodation, and those which have reverted to private use after having another function; for example *McBride* became a hospital but is once more a private residence.

Chart 7.8 Private Residential Use by Region



This chart again shows that over 60% of stately homes in the country regions continue to have private accommodation as their primary function, with North Adelaide having the lowest percentage. Across the state only 50% of all stately homes in the sample for this thesis are currently private residences. It has been established that a characteristic of stately homes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was their creation of a cultural landscape. Individual large homes with decorative architectural features surrounded by formal gardens or park like estates, such as *Martindale Hall*, or exclusive residential enclaves of stately homes, reflected the individuality and wealth of the owners and created a visual image to all. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the relative isolation of stately homes centred on large estates, such as *Eynesbury* and *Mitcham Lawn* in Mitcham and *Clifton Manor* and *St Albyn* in Burnside, created the context for their impact on the cultural landscape. Now, 90 years later, a new context has been imposed; the stately home has become an isolated island surrounded by a sea of modern suburbia; a curiosity in a modern setting.

## 7.2 STATELY HOMES AND THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Mandler (1997:1) considers that in England today, 'stately homes are widely accepted as a crucial part of the national heritage'. However, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was an increased commercial culture with less interest in history of any kind; this deterioration of value of the country house continued after World War I (WWI) (Mandler, 1997:4). Similarly, in South Australia, following WWI historic places were not valued and from the 1920s buildings were either demolished or radically altered to accommodate a new use. It was not until the 1970s when South Australia's built heritage was recognised for its historic value that, as a result of increasing public pressure for its preservation, legislation was enacted to protect historic heritage, not only the monumental buildings, but also the cultural and environmental landscapes surrounding them.

An underlying issue throughout the earlier chapters of this thesis has been the use of stately homes to create a cultural landscape and subsequent changes to that landscape over time. Discussion has centred on an historical archaeological interpretation of the impact of architecture, gardens, their purpose and use in creating that landscape. Cultural or social landscapes are entities that exist by virtue of their being perceived, experienced and contextualised by people; for this thesis the cultural landscape is the study of the socio-symbolic dimensions of stately homes both individually and together (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999:1). As discussed earlier, the new gentry built their stately homes as a physical manifestation of their wealth and social standing in the community, and this cultural image could be expressed in two ways. Firstly, many stately homes were built in prominent locations where they dominated the

landscape, such that passers-by could only wonder at the lifestyle of the owners. This was not confined to situations in the broad acres of the country, such as *Martindale Hall*. *Eynesbury*, only a few kilometres from the centre of Adelaide, is similarly depicted as the dominant building in the landscape (Figure 7.9).

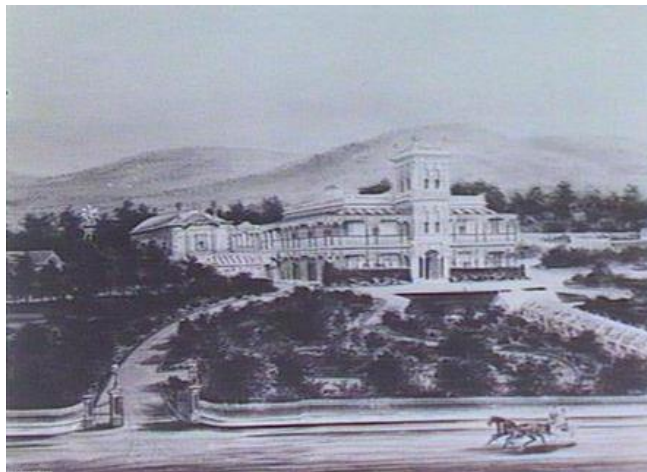
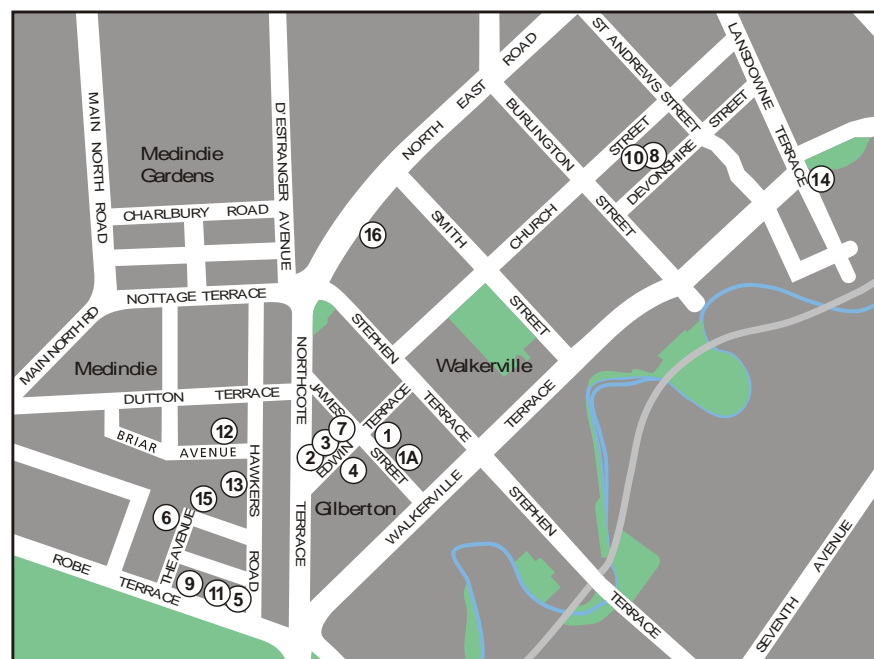


Figure 7.9 *Eynesbury House*, prominent location, c1880  
Source: SLSA, B 43584.

There was a deliberate act by the owners to create the landscape via their grand house on a large parcel of land which projected a particular image, yet was set apart from the activities of surrounding village life. Summer residences in the Adelaide Hills are other examples, but here they were even more exclusive, with their large formal gardens and parks obscuring the view of visitors who could only speculate about the lifestyles of the owners of these properties. Stately homes on country properties across the state, such as *Anlaby*, *Bungaree*, *Corryton Park*, *Padthaway* and *Poltalloch*, were centres of communities created to service the home and associated property. Part of the symbolism of stately homes included formal gardens and parklands which altered the visual characteristics of the landscape as both a broad canvas for the passer-by and an intimate experience for family and visitors. However, many stately homes built in the inner metropolitan area and Adelaide

regions which individually had a significant impact on the cultural landscape as part of an exclusive residential enclave, also had a collective impact. These enclaves were not constructed on major thoroughfares and their exclusive isolation did not invite curious observers to enter. For example, by 1900 the residential enclave which centred on Edwin Terrace, Gilberton, within the Walkerville LGA, could boast most of the large homes that are found there today (Scales, 1974: 119) (Figure 7.10).



**Legend**

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Aston               | 9 Jolley's Boat House |
| 1A Aston Stables      | 10 Monklands          |
| 2 Cosford             | 11 Rosmoyn            |
| 3 Craigmellan         | 12 The Briars         |
| 4 Dwelling (Brookman) | 13 The Myrtles        |
| 5 Ennis               | 14 Vale House         |
| 6 Fairlea             | 15 Willyama           |
| 7 Ivanhoe             | 16 Woodlawn           |
| 8 Holmwood            |                       |

**Figure 7.10** Walkerville LGA – residential enclave.

In 1878 J. W. Porter built *Cosford* on Edwin Terrace and developed extensive gardens which are still extant today. Porter's partner, Frederick Lakeman, also built a large house on the corner of Edwin Terrace and Northcote Terrace. Next door to *Cosford* on Edwin Terrace, was *Craigmellan* built by George Brookman in 1884; in

the 1890s he sold the property to Charles Drew, a merchant from Burra who supplied the Burra mines and who became a shareholder in the Broken Hill mines. In 1890, Brookman, who was also involved in mining, a member of the Legislative Council and philanthropist, then built *Ivanhoe*, on Edwin Terrace. Across James Street from Charles Drew's house was a substantial home built by Charles Muecke (son of Hugo C. Muecke, a miller, of nearby *The Myrtles*), while diagonally opposite Drew's house, Charles de Rose, brother-in-law of George Brookman, also involved in mining, built *Aston* in 1890. In 1909, *Aston* was sold to Albert Gebhardt, who owned *Mackerode* in Goyder LGA, in the northern country region. Other prominent citizens who lived in the enclave included William Horn, pastoralist and miner, whose house *Holmswood*, on Devonshire Street, was a show place set in 14 acres on an elevated site with commanding views over the Adelaide Hills. William Austin Horn also owned *Grenfell Price Lodge* (1877), then known as *The Herons*, and *Wairoa* (1893) in the Adelaide Hills, which was his summer residence. His brother, T. S. Horn, also lived in the enclave. William Horn was an associate of Charles Rasp of *Willyama*, who is credited with discovering silver at Broken Hill. Only Brookman and William Horn were members of parliament, the latter was also a member of the Adelaide Club, while his brother, T. S. Horn, hosted events for the Adelaide Hunt Club. The men were also noted philanthropists; George Brookman supported the South Australian School of Mines and Industries, Brookman Hall is named after him, William Horn donated marble statues to Adelaide, a famous coin collection to the Art Gallery of South Australia and equipped scientific expeditions to Central Australia, while Frederick Lakeman established the Mission for Seamen at Port Adelaide and was a benefactor of St Peters Cathedral. Gilberton, and in particular

Edwin Terrace, became exclusive residential enclaves for new gentry with local family connections, or business associations.

But what effect has the passage of time, the change in culture, the change in use or demolition of all or part of these stately homes had on the cultural landscape? In 1982, the Heritage Conservation Branch of the then South Australian Department for Environment and Planning was alerted to the fact that a proposal had been lodged with the local Unley LGA to build a retirement village on the site of *Ackland House* (Unley LGA). The subsequent report stated that ‘the boundary to the nomination (to be placed on the State Heritage Register) of *Ackland House* and gardens has been chosen to conserve the major landscape elements around the house which can readily be appreciated by the public and provide context for the building’ (South Australian Department for Environment and Planning, 1982). However, the Unley LGA had already given approval to develop the grounds, with the result that only the house was placed on the State Heritage Register. Cultural landscape can be regarded as the materialisation of memory, fixing social and individual histories in place (Knapp and Ashmore, 1999:13), but in the case of *Ackland House* this has been obliterated. The stately home with unsympathetic additions and significant internal alterations is now surrounded by retirement accommodation; the extensive garden no longer exists and has a modern boundary wall. This is a case where memory must reconstruct the past, rather than retrieve it from the image of the stately home. But *Ackland House* is not an isolated example; the principle applies equally to other stately homes where the original context has been compromised as the building has been adapted for an alternative use; especially for elderly citizens’ complexes. *Vailima* and *Forsyth House* (NSPP LGA), *Woodlawn* (Walkerville LGA) and *Martindale* (Gawler LGA)

are all surrounded by retirement accommodation which masks their origins as stately homes. Two exceptions are *Kapara* (Holdfast Bay LGA) and *Trevu* (Gawler LGA), where the later resident accommodation is at the rear of the former stately home, leaving the street view to project its original image. In contrast to residential enclaves where each former stately home contributes to, and maintains, the original cultural landscape, this is not always so for individual stately homes. Where the individual house has now either an alternative use, or the grounds have been subdivided for suburban development, the new context has to be mentally removed in order to restore the image of the past. The key element is to provide context for the building by conserving the major landscape elements.

### ***7.2.1 Heritage Listing***

The example of Ackland House highlights the conflicting interpretation of the significance and values of historic places and the conflict between economic and cultural values. Traditional modes of assessing ‘significance’ and decisions concerning cultural heritage have traditionally been the province of professions such as historians, conservators, architects and archaeologist and have been applied basically through ‘undisciplinary’ means and not by ‘selecting appropriate methodologies (strategies) and tools (tasks) to assess heritage values as part of integrated conservation planning’ (Mason, 2002:5). Under the South Australian *Heritage Places Act 1993*, which covers historic heritage in South Australia, including buildings which would be equivalent to English Grade I properties, membership of the Heritage Council includes those who ‘have knowledge of or experience in history, archaeology, architecture, the natural sciences, heritage



conservation, public administration, urban and regional planning or property development (or an combination of 2 or more of these fields), or some other relevant fields' (Section 5 [1] [a]). The inclusion of property developers is a matter of concern, but even more of a concern is the listing of heritage places of local interest under the *Development Act 1993*; such places would be equivalent to English Grade 2 properties. The Advisory Committee under this legislation does not include historians, architects, archaeologists, or conservation architects; there is provision for an environmental conservationist but the remainder are drawn from building, construction and urban development (Section 8 [2]). Of concern is that there is no provision under either Act for an economist who can raise questions about the criteria on which decisions are made.

Heritage economics is a relatively new field of research that seeks to contribute to the improved management, development and conservation of heritage items (Young, 2000:242). Economists can respond readily to the interpretation of artworks, historic buildings, and heritage sites as capital assets and bring into play a range of analytical techniques to evaluate their benefits and costs by placing a value, both use and non-use, on heritage places (Throsby, 2000:6-7). Heritage places have a cultural value from which can flow goods and services over time; they are assets which are cultural capital. Cultural capital here is defined as an asset which embodies a store of cultural value and is separate from any economic value which it may have (Throsby, 2000:6). An understanding of cultural capital as a cultural and economic asset which can be valued adds another dimension to the assessment of whether a place should be considered a valued part of our heritage and history. Further, where a place is already on a heritage list or is being considered for inclusion on a register, applications for

conservation, development or maintenance can be considered in economic terms, especially the cost benefit analysis implications for both the individual or corporation who may own the place and the community who wishes that place to be conserved or not. If a heritage economist was involved, a new perspective would be introduced into deliberations about whether stately homes should be modified for alternative use to provide the building with an economic reason to exist. In determining significance economic values have tended to be ignored but where decision making is concerned economic values cannot be ignored (Mason and Avrami, 2000:22). Economists have come a long way in applying evaluation methods to cultural heritage, illuminating in the process not just the economic dimensions of heritage but also many of their cultural attributes and benefits (Throsby, 2000:13).

In contrast to Throsby's assessment of cultural capital is a theoretical mathematical model which is also based on cost-benefit analysis. Fundamental to this model for the purposes of appraisal is the estimated monetary value of benefits arising from the historical environment (Provins et al, 2008:133). Under this model the concept of 'willingness to pay' (WP) (alternatively designated WTP, Throsby, 2003:275), or 'use value' is used to calculate the capital value of heritage, which is part of the wider notion of cultural capital (Provins et al, 2008:135; see also Mason, 2003:13). The definition of cultural capital used by both Provins and Throsby is different to the definition used by Smith (2006:124) or Bourdieu (1991, 183-184) as defined at the beginning of this chapter.

In addition to WP, economic value would also include a component where the public may be willing to pay something towards the upkeep of a heritage asset even though

they may not visit it; this is called a passive use value. The sum of the use and non-use values is the total economic value (Provins et al, 2008:136; see also Mason, 2003:13). Provins et al (2008:140) are critical of Throsby's viewpoint that, while cultural assets generate both economic and cultural value, he does not measure the value of heritage assets. Throsby (2000:7) argues that conventional cost benefit analysis should be supplemented by expert assessment of aesthetic and other values but again is criticised for not offering examples of how to score these values (Provins et al, 2008:140). However, in a later work, Throsby (2003:276) argued that an economic value can be calculated but there was a prevailing view that the value of art, and hence culture, cannot be valued in monetary terms. As a result, he questions whether, for the purposes for economic decision making, the economist's assessment of the value for cultural goods really matters and argues that an independent assessment of the cultural value should be sought (Throsby, 2003:281). Drawing on the basic notions of the Burra Charter, Throsby (2000:7) identifies those elements which contribute to the aggregate cultural value as aesthetic beauty, spiritual value, social value, historical value, symbolic value and authenticity value. Mason and Avrami (2000:15-17) also argue that the characteristic of heritage places range widely from economic to aesthetic or symbolic. They also argue that the values of cultural heritage are subjective and mutable, and that symbolic values, which refer to the capacity of a heritage site to stimulate or maintain group identity, for example an Aboriginal rock art site, cannot be given a monetary value based on market price (Mason and Avrami, 2000:15-17). In England, with the large number of country houses and other heritage places which charge an entrance fee, the Provins model has merit as the net present value can be calculated and then used to assess the cost benefit analysis of providing funds for restoration or conservation. This theoretical

model could be applicable to the study by Smith (2006), which looked at the heritage industry of visiting country houses as a way of gaining profit for the owner.

Exploring both models in fine detail is not core to this thesis but facets of the argument are important. Economists can provide decision makers with a cost benefit analysis when assessing the significance of a heritage place. However, where the mathematical model fails is where those elements identified by Throsby, in particular spiritual and symbolic values, are not factored into the equation even though they contribute to the aggregate cultural value. For example, to claim that the tens of thousands of Australian Aboriginal rock art sites should not be included in Australia's cultural assets because their spiritual and symbolic values cannot be expressed in monetary terms, cannot be entertained.

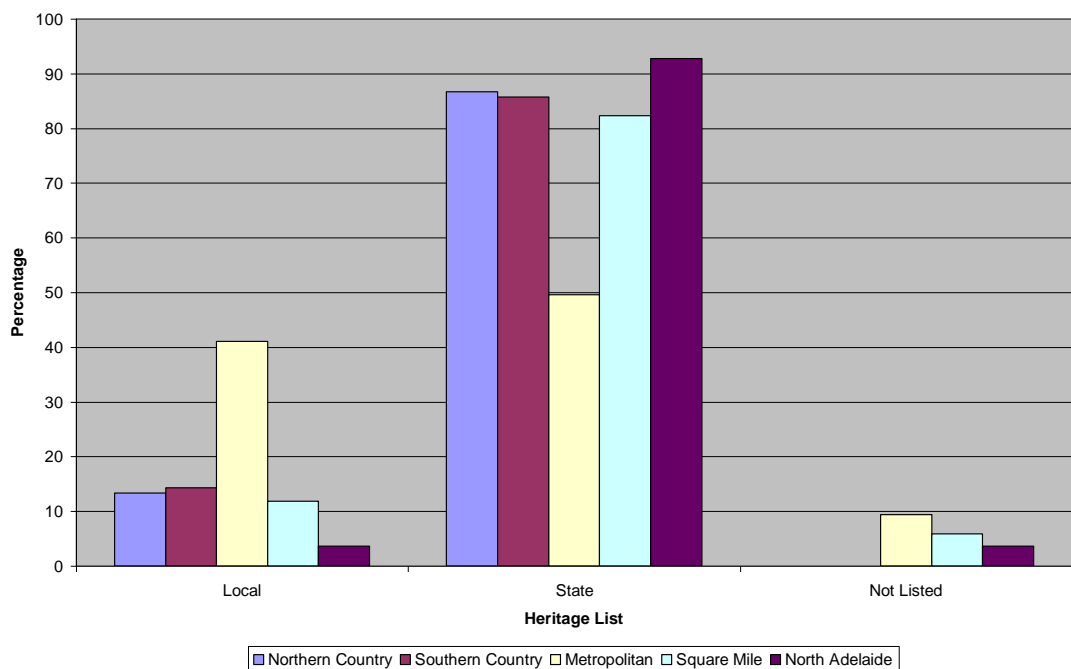
Discussion must now return to the consideration of problems and procedures of assessing historic places in South Australia. Returning to the example of *Ackland House*, the decision to allow subdivision and development of the site highlights the inconsistency and different interpretation of legislation when assessing the relative merits of a building as a heritage place. But to what extent are associated buildings and gardens considered to be an integral component of the cultural landscape and how important are they to the contextual integrity of the stately home? The answers to this question can best be answered by considering examples. *Bungaree* (CGV LGA) was a self contained village built around the pastoralist's home. Associated buildings included council chambers, church, general store, and accommodation for itinerant shearers and station hands, as well as the usual station buildings, shearing and wool sheds, stables and coach house. The complex of buildings survives today,

is still in use and hence provides an insight into the cultural landscape created by a large pastoral property. Similarly, *Poltalloch* on the Coorong was also a small village, although without a church, but had its own wharf from which the wool was shipped to Adelaide. However, adjacent to *Poltalloch* is *Campbell Park* where all the associated buildings are now in ruins and its wharf has been demolished. By way of contrast, *Albyns*, in metropolitan Burnside, has had all of its associated buildings, with the exception of the lodge, demolished and the original 15 acres of gardens subdivided for suburban housing. The house is being restored after a period of use as a psychiatric hospital, but it is difficult to reconstruct the impact the house had on the cultural landscape when it was owned by Hirsh Krantz, a wealthy businessman who invested in mining. *Albyns* was the cultural centre for musicians, including Paderewski and Dame Nellie Melba, and Krantz entertained lavishly in the landscaped grounds. The property was the setting for daytime entertainment, with croquet and tennis courts, while white peacocks paced the lawns (Warburton, 1981:243). It is impossible to recreate the cultural landscape because even the surviving lodge, which is now located on a nearby road, is separated from the main house, and there is no indication of their historic association. Associated buildings and gardens provide the contextual integrity which enables the recreation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape.

In the tables Building Survey □ External Architectural Features (Appendix 5) it has been noted whether a house has been listed on either the State Heritage Register (the Register) or a local heritage register; some houses in this study are not listed on either register or not having been registered, have been demolished. Of the 206 houses studied for this thesis, 135 (65.5%) are included on the Register, and hence

are afforded the protection of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*. Of the 71 houses not listed, 57 (27.7%) are considered as local heritage places as defined by Sections 24 and 25 of the *Development Act 1993*, which offers a lower level of protection. Buildings on a local register can be removed by individual LGAs, subject to final approval by the relevant Minister of the Crown. Of the 14 houses not listed, six have been demolished, with the remaining eight (3.9%) having no legislative protection. The primary impetus for assessing houses as heritage places is the responsibility of individual LGAs and their recommendations are included in their Plan Amendment Reports. Given that the legislation defines a Heritage Place, it could be assumed that there would be a level of consistency within and between the five regions, however, this is not the case (Chart 7.9). To understand why there are inconsistencies, discussion will focus on those houses not included on the Register since one of the underlying assumptions of this thesis was that all stately homes would be considered to be heritage places.

Chart 7.9 Heritage Listing by Region



In both absolute numbers (48) and as a percentage (41.2%), there are more stately homes in the metropolitan region on a local heritage list than in any other region; this is in stark contrast to North Adelaide, which has only one (3.6%). This leaves 11 (9.4%) houses in the metropolitan region which are not listed locally (five of which have been demolished), but only one of these occurs in each of the 'Square Mile' and North Adelaide. However, again it must be noted that the figures in the 'Square Mile' are skewed by the large number of stately homes on North Terrace that have been demolished, whilst in North Adelaide they have been 'recycled' rather than demolished.

Possible reasons for the non-inclusion of houses on the state Register are their current uses, architectural modifications and extensions, and possible influence by the current owners for their exclusion. Under Section 17(4) (a) (iii) of the *Heritage Places Act 1993* (the Act) property owners have the right to make a submission on whether their property should be provisionally entered on the State Heritage Register; such an appeal was successful by the owners of *Mitcham Lawn*. Under Section 20(1) the owners also have the right of appeal to the courts if their property has been provisionally registered if their submission was unsuccessful. The South Australian Heritage Council, constituted under Section 4 of the Act, has the right to recommend that either a place be removed from the Register if they consider that registration is no longer justified (Section 23[1]) (for example, *Woodlands* in Glenelg), or be designated a place of local heritage significance and therefore moved to a local register (Section 24[1]).

Details of the current and previous uses of all houses included in this study are detailed in the tables Building Survey-Current Use (Appendix 1). However, in order to understand whether current use, previous use or structural changes made to houses are the reasons properties have not been included on the Register, this section will focus on those houses not on the Register.

**Table 7.1 Current use of Stately Homes not on the State Heritage Register**

<b>Region/LGA</b>	<b>Non-residential</b>	<b>Residential – prior alternative use</b>	<b>Residential</b>	<b>Demolished</b>
<b>Northern Country</b>			(4)	
<i>C&amp;GV</i>			1	
<i>Gawler</i>			3	
<b>Southern Country</b>			(2)	
<i>Wattle Range</i>			1	
<i>Naracoorte</i>			1	
<b>Metropolitan</b>	(17)	(4)	(33)	(5)
<i>Adelaide Hills</i>	1		5	
<i>Burnside</i>	3	1	8	3
<i>Campbelltown</i>	1			
<i>Holdfast Bay</i>	5		1	1
<i>Mitcham</i>	1	2	3	1
<i>NSPP</i>	4		1	
<i>Prospect</i>	1		1	
<i>Unley</i>	1			
<i>Walkerville</i>	1	1	14	
<b>‘Square Mile’</b>	(2)		(1)	
<b>North Adelaide</b>	(1)			(1)
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>6</b>

Of the 71 houses not included on the state list, 20 currently are non residential, four are residential but have had a previous non-residential use, 41 have always been residential and six have been demolished. A closer examination of these houses



provides insight into why some have not been placed on the Register and the inconsistencies that exist in the interpretation of what constitutes a heritage place.

In the northern country region there are four houses, *Wolta Wolta* (CGV LGA), *Craiglee*, *Fotheringham House* and *Oaklands*, all located in the residential enclave in Gawler. These houses, all owned by prominent citizens, have not been significantly altered, although the land around *Wolta Wolta* has been subdivided, resulting in the stables and shearing sheds becoming part of an adjacent property. *Wolta Wolta* is similar to the nearby property *Inchiquin*; both were pastoral properties owned by leading colonists, with large houses and extensive gardens, yet one is listed on the Register and the other is not. In Gawler, *Trevu* and *Martindale*, now centres for elderly citizens' homes, have undergone major changes but are listed on the Register, while the other three homes, *Craiglee*, *Fotheringham House* and *Oaklands*, which have not undergone any significant architectural changes, are not, although the land around *Oaklands* has been subdivided.

In the Southern Country Region, *Moyhall* (Naracoorte/Lucindale (LGA) and *Koorine* (Wattle Range LGA) have not been listed, and, while both have had some minor extensions, the architectural integrity of the two houses remains intact. Yet *The Lodge* (Alexandria LGA), which is now part of an elderly citizens' complex, is listed on the Register. Extensions to *The Lodge* over the years have compromised the architectural integrity of the main house, although stand alone domestic buildings are still extant. Did the LGA consider the association with Edward and Sir John Stirling, both prominent politicians, as the reason for its listing? A heritage survey conducted by the Alexandria LGA in 1979 concluded *The Lodge* was of prime importance in the history of South Australian pastoralism and the expansion of

British settlement on the Fleurieu Peninsular and was occupied by the Stirling family for over 100 years. It is acknowledged in the survey report that the original building was obscured by late 19<sup>th</sup> century extensions and was internally renovated in the 1970s. The later additions are unsympathetic and architecturally the building is now a confusion of styles. However, the State Heritage Register notation merely paraphrases the local heritage report and, while it states that the property was owned by the Stirling family, there is no description of the building. It can be concluded that it was the historical association with the Stirling family that led to *The Lodge* being included on the Register and not for its architectural significance, especially since the heritage survey was conducted, the building has become part of an elderly citizen's complex.

In North Adelaide, only two buildings, *Addington*, demolished in 1972, and a former residence in Brougham Place, which is now used as office accommodation and adjacent to a multistorey building, are not on the Register. *Addington* suffered the fate of many historic buildings prior to the enactment of heritage legislation in 1976 and is a classic example of historic value being less than economic value. The architectural integrity of the former residence in Brougham Place has not been significantly altered and is in the vicinity of a number of other heritage listed homes that are now used as student accommodation. Was it considered that William Beaglehole, builder, hotelier, founder of the Lion Brewery and parliamentarian did not have the profile to warrant listing his house, or did its current use as office accommodation count against it, even though other listed stately homes in North Adelaide have been converted into offices? Either may have been the justification for not listing it on the Register.

In the 'square mile' of Adelaide, 14 (82.4%) of the 17 stately homes are listed on the Register – three houses are not listed: *Cartref*, which has been a private residence since 1882 when it was built by Josiah Wendt, a prominent jeweller; the city residence of brewer A.G. Johnson of Oakbank (also *Dalintober*), which is now identified as T.P.I. House; and the Navy Military and Airforce Club, which was built by John Rousevell, pastoralist, coach builder and parliamentarian. *Cartref* was divided into flats, but the external architectural structure has not been compromised and is still an integral part of the exclusive residential enclave of East Terrace (Figure 7.3). The other two buildings have had extensive unsympathetic additions which would have resulted in their exclusion from the Register. The Club is considered to be of local heritage value but the Johnson house, which is currently for sale, is not listed and therefore could be demolished. The basic structure of the building still exists but it is difficult to visualise it as the former city residence of a prominent citizen.

In the metropolitan region 58 (49.6%) of the 117 stately homes in the sample are listed on the Register, with one, *Carminow*, also listed on the now defunct Register of the National Estate<sup>12</sup>. Forty eight (41.1%) are classified as local heritage, four (3.4%) are not listed on any register and six (5.1%) have been demolished. The pattern in the metropolitan area is in stark contrast to the other regions, having the lowest percentage of listed stately homes. Sixteen LGAs within the metropolitan

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<sup>12</sup> The Register of the National Estate, established under the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, was designed to protect places of outstanding heritage to the nation. After the demise of the Australian Heritage Commission the list was frozen in February 2007 and no new places will be added. By February 2012 the federal government aims to have all places on the Register of the National Estate transferred to appropriate state registers; each state will have responsibility for its own heritage. For Adelaide there are 319 places on the Register of the National Estate of which 18 are stately homes. Anomalies include The Navy, Military Club and *Carminow*, which are on the Register of the National Estate but are not listed on the South Australian Heritage Register.

sample, all making independent assessments of what constitutes a heritage place, has resulted in a lack of consistency when nominating stately homes and associated structures for listing on the state or local heritage registers.

In the Adelaide Hills LGA there are six properties not on the Register, although all are of local historical significance. *Mt Lofty House* is currently a boutique hotel, whereas the others are still private residences. *Eurilla* and *Carminow* were destroyed during the 1983 bushfires and although they have been faithfully restored, this was probably the reason they were not included on the Register. Ironically, in 2008 the restoration of *Eurilla* was heralded as a significant event by The Mount Lofty District Historical Society. Originally built for Sir William Milne (*Sunnyside*) as his summer residence, it was purchased by John Lavington Bonython in 1917 and occupied by his descendants for the next 70 years. *Carminow* was owned by Tom Elder and Sir John Langdon Bonython, son of John Lavington Bonython; both houses therefore would meet the criteria of being associated with prominent citizens. Yet *Marble Hill*, the former Governor's summer residence, which was also destroyed in a bushfire (1956) and is still a ruin, has been listed: the property is still owned by the Crown and managed by the National Trust of South Australia as a tourist venue. To complicate matters still further, two properties, *Glenalta* and *Beechwood*, are not listed on the Register but their gardens are. Both properties have been extended, but the extensions at *Beechwood*, including the reconstruction of the heritage listed conservatory transferred from *Birksgate* prior to its demolition by Tom Barr Smith, have enhanced the property. Finally, *Forest Lodge*, which was occupied by the Bagot family until 2000 when it was purchased by a descendant of the Bowman family, has slipped through completely unnoticed. *Forest Lodge* is a superb example of Gothic

architecture which has remained unchanged for over 120 years and has 20 acres of landscaped gardens designed by Walter Hervey Bagot (also *Nurney House*). In contrast, both *Nurney House* and its gardens are listed on the Register. Again it can be assumed that the rebuilding and later additions to the five houses are what precluded them from being included on the Register, but what of *Forest Lodge*?

In Burnside LGA, four houses, *Abergeldie*, now a medical clinic, *Chiverton* (St Peters Girls College) and *Kings College* are no longer residences, while *Tower House*, which was for many years a reception centre, has now been restored as a family home. All the other buildings have remained as residences, with only *Sunnyside*, formerly owned by William Milne (also *Eurilla*), undergoing significant change. The external architectural integrity of all the other residences has been retained, as have those stately homes which are now non-residential buildings, although some additions to *Chiverton* are not sympathetic. Three buildings were demolished for suburban redevelopment: *Linden* in 1967, *Moorcroft* in 1969, and *Fernilee Lodge* in 2004. After taking into account the three buildings which were demolished, why were 12 (63.2%) of the remaining sample of houses in Burnside not listed on the Register? Change in use and major alterations only account for five of the locally listed buildings, yet another four, which also have alternative uses, are listed on the Register. Interpretation of the legislation is a key factor in illuminating this inconsistency.

Campbelltown LGA has only one building, *Murray Park*, which is now part of the University of Adelaide. Built by prominent pastoralist Alexander Borthwick Murray noted for his prize winning sheep. He was a member of both the House of Assembly

and the Legislative Council. On the death of Alexander Murray in 1903, *Murray Park* was inherited by his son, Sir George Murray who carried out extensive alterations in 1910. Sir George was Associate to the Chief Justice, Sir Samuel Way (*Montefiore*), became Chief Justice himself in 1917 and was Lieutenant Governor of South Australia, and ‘entertained every distinguished visitor to South Australia’ (Gunton, 1983:84). He was also a noted philanthropist who donated large sums to the Adelaide University and The Adelaide Teachers College and bequeathed *Murray Park* to become a teacher’s college. The building has undergone little change since 1910 and is still a prominent structure, so again it must be concluded that the change in use was the reason why it was not listed on the Register. Individual LGAs carry out independent heritage surveys of historic buildings and produces separate reports on each structure detailing the name of the builder and architect (where known), materials, significant architectural features. If a building is considered to be a heritage place and recommended to be placed on the Register, reports do cite the relevant sub-sections of the Act as justification, however the reasons are rarely given why a place is considered to be of local interest only.

There are seven houses in Holdfast Bay LGA which are not on the Register but only one, *Dunluce Castle*, has remained a private residence. *Essenside* was previously owned by the Tennant family (also *Martindale Hall*) and demolished in 1972 for coastal apartments. Two other properties, *Brighton House* and *Haywood House*, are now part of Minda Home for disabled people, *Partridge House* is a community centre, *Kapara* is part of an elderly citizen’s complex, and *Woodlands*, which is now a school building, was de-listed because of internal and external alterations. There are no reasons given on the heritage surveys as to why these properties are only

considered to be places of local interest and, excluding *Essenside*, why are they were not on the Register. Again, it can be assumed that change of use or structural alterations may have been the reasons for not being included yet, in comparison to *Seafield Towers* which has unsympathetic external changes, assessment of historic places does not appear to be consistent.

In Mitcham LGA only two of the seven houses have had continuous use as private residences; *Farr House* and *Glenburnie*. *Birrilee*, which was once a hospital, and *Mitcham Lawn*, which has had many uses, have been restored to private residences. *Strathspey* is now part of Mercedes College and *Birksgate* was demolished in 1972 for suburban redevelopment. *Strathspey*, designed by George K. Soward, is not listed, yet nearby *Torrens Park Estate*, which is now part of Scotch College, is.

A similar pattern is evident in NSPP LGA. Of the five houses not on the Register, only two have remained as residences: *Parkview* is owned by St Peters College and is used to accommodate a senior member of staff, while *St Helens* has undergone significant modernisation. *Athelney*, also owned by St Peters College, was used as a boarding school but is currently vacant. *Darroch House* is a funeral parlour, and *Valima* is part of an elderly citizens' complex.

Prospect LGA has only two houses not on the Register, one, *Comonella*, is part of Blackfriars School, while *Verona House* has had continuous use as a residence.

Unley LGA has only one house, *Mornington*, built by Luther Scammell, founder of F. H. Faulding, manufacturing chemists. The house has been significantly altered and is currently used as emergency accommodation. It is surrounded by flats, a shopping

centre, and is obscured from view; hence it is understandable why *Mornington* has not been listed.

Walkerville LGA presents a different scenario. Sixteen houses are not listed on the Register, but only one, *Woodlawn*, is non-residential; it is currently enveloped as part of an elderly citizens' complex and little of the original house is visible. *The Briars*, the former home of George Hawker (also *Bungaree*) was converted into a hospital but has now been restored as a private residence. *The Myrtles*, built by William Neale and owned by Hugo Muecke, a prominent miller, was modernised as part of a suburban redevelopment and has been de-listed. As noted earlier, the other 14 houses have had continuous occupation as private residences by some of Adelaide's prominent citizens, with many being part of an exclusive residential enclave which has remained virtually unchanged since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the Walkerville LGA, all of the stately homes were associated with leading members of the new gentry, but only one, *Levi House*, which is one of the oldest stately homes in South Australia and is now part of a tourist caravan park, has been included on the Register. It is difficult to comprehend the investigation and interpretation of the relative heritage status of individual homes and the causes of final recommendation for inclusion on the Register.

No reasons are given why some houses are considered to be heritage places and others are not, which also means that comparative analysis of assessment of houses across LGAs is difficult, so reasons must be inferred from the available data.



**Table 7.2**

**Stately Homes: Modifications and Change of Use**

Region	Extensions			Use and Heritage Listing			
	Pre 1914	Post 1914	No Extensions	Change	Heritage Listing	No Change	Heritage Listing
Northern Country N=30	21* (70%)	4	7	21	S=18 (60%) L=1 (3%)	12	S=8 (27%) L=3 (10%)
Southern Country N=14	12* (86%)	6	1	10	S=8 (57%) L=2 (14%)	4	S=4 (29%)
Metropolitan N=117	42* (36%)	61	34	63	S=35 (30%) L=18 (15%) D=6 Nr=4	54	S=23 (20%) L=30 (26%) Nr=1
'Square Mile' N=17	6* (35%)	8	4	11	S=9 (53%) L=1 (6%) Nr=1	6	S=5 (29%) L=1 (6%)
North Adelaide N=28	10 (36%)	15	3	17	S=15 (54%) L=1 (4%) D=1	11	S=11 (39%)

\* Some homes modified on more than one occasion both pre and post 1914.

**LEGEND:**

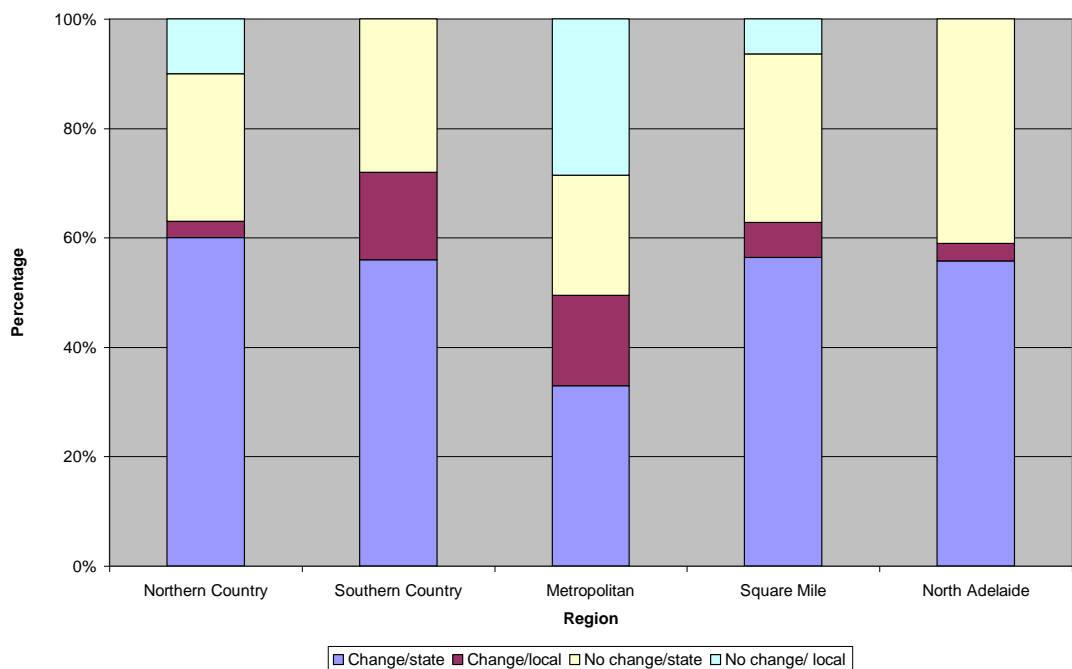
**S= State Heritage Register; L=local heritage register; Nr=not registered; D=demolished**

Analysis of the data relating to extensions and modification of stately homes reinforces what has been discussed earlier (Table 7.2). In the country regions, the early homes of pastoralists were predominantly smaller dwellings, hence a large percentage were expanded and modified before 1914. The percentage of homes extended in the two country regions would have been approximately the same if the 'suburban' houses in Gawler, which have remained virtually unchanged, had been excluded. In the two Adelaide regions and the metropolitan region the percentage of homes which were extended or modified prior to 1914 was almost identical. Again, this reinforces the earlier analysis that stately homes in these regions, which were mainly built during the 1870-1889 period, were in a finished form. However, it is the

data relating to the number of houses which have had change in use, whether modified or not, that provides greater insight into the reasons why buildings have been given heritage status (Table 7.3 and Chart 7.10).

In the two country regions and the Adelaide regions, the percentage of houses which have, or have had, an alternative use other than a home, and are listed on the Register are similar; within the range between 53-60%. Likewise, houses which have had continuous use as a family home also have a similar percentage on the Register: 27-29% across all regions, although North Adelaide is as high as 39%, which reflects the region’s origin as an exclusive residential enclave. In the southern country region, the percentage of homes which have had a change in use but have been given local heritage status (14%) is greater than any other country region; however, the aggregate percentages of houses in the country regions classified as local heritage places is similar (Southern 14%: Northern 13%).

**Chart 7.10 Change in Use of Stately Homes: Heritage Status by Region**



By way of contrast, the number of homes in the metropolitan region that have had a change in use and been included on the Register is smaller than the other four regions, at only 30%. However, the percentage of homes in the metropolitan region that have not had a change in use and are listed on the Register is comparable with the other regions (20%); again, this reflects the impact of exclusive residential enclaves. It can be concluded that change in use of former stately homes does influence their assessment as a heritage place but this is not consistent across all regions. This is undoubtedly the result of the number of LGAs independently interpreting the legislation when assessing the status of a stately home. The figures for the Adelaide regions are consistent because the assessment is carried out by one body. Similarly, in the northern country region there are eight LGAs and in the south nine. There are fewer local assessment panels and it can be speculated that there would be a different attitude to heritage in the country regions to that of the metropolitan region where there is greater pressure to demolish, subdivide and redevelop heritage sites. In the metropolitan region there are 16 LGAs, hence a greater likelihood of variation when assessing the heritage status of stately homes. As previously noted with *Strathspey* and *Torrens Park Estate*, both in Mitcham LGA, differing interpretations are not confined to different LGAs but also occur within individual LGAs.

Architectural integrity was another probable reason for houses not being considered as heritage places, with houses that have been restored or extensively modernised being excluded, such as *Woodlands* and the TPI building which were both delisted because of this.



*Movable Cultural Heritage Act of 1986*. Regulation 2(2) pursuant to the Act states that:

If an object of kind mentioned in Schedule 1 has been repaired, restored or reassembled, the age of the object is not affected by the action for any provision of Schedule 1 unless the action substantially modified the object.

While this positive statement refers to movable cultural heritage, it should apply equally to built heritage. Whether a building has been extended or modified in any way, or has a change in use, as long as the architectural and cultural integrity of the building remains, then it should be listed as a heritage place for purposes of the legislation. In defining heritage significance under Section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*, there is no reference to potential heritage places that have been repaired, restored or altered; hence there is no guidance for LGA assessors or the statutory committee established under Section 7A(1) of the Act and Regulation 4 of the *Heritage Places Regulations 2005*. As the data shows, too many stately homes have been omitted from the Register due primarily to either structural changes or alternative use which have deemed to either reduce the building's historical significance or has negated the building's original impact on the cultural landscape. There is a need for clearer guidelines to ensure that conflicting interpretation of the legislation does not result in more historic buildings being omitted from the Register.

However, it is not only the stately home that should be the positive focus of heritage assessments, buildings associated with each stately home should be considered as an integral part and hence afforded the same protection; this matter will be considered in the next section. Major heritage legislation was not introduced into South Australia

until 1976, so what of those houses that were modified or had associated buildings demolished prior to this date, what is their impact on the 21<sup>st</sup> century cultural landscape? This will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

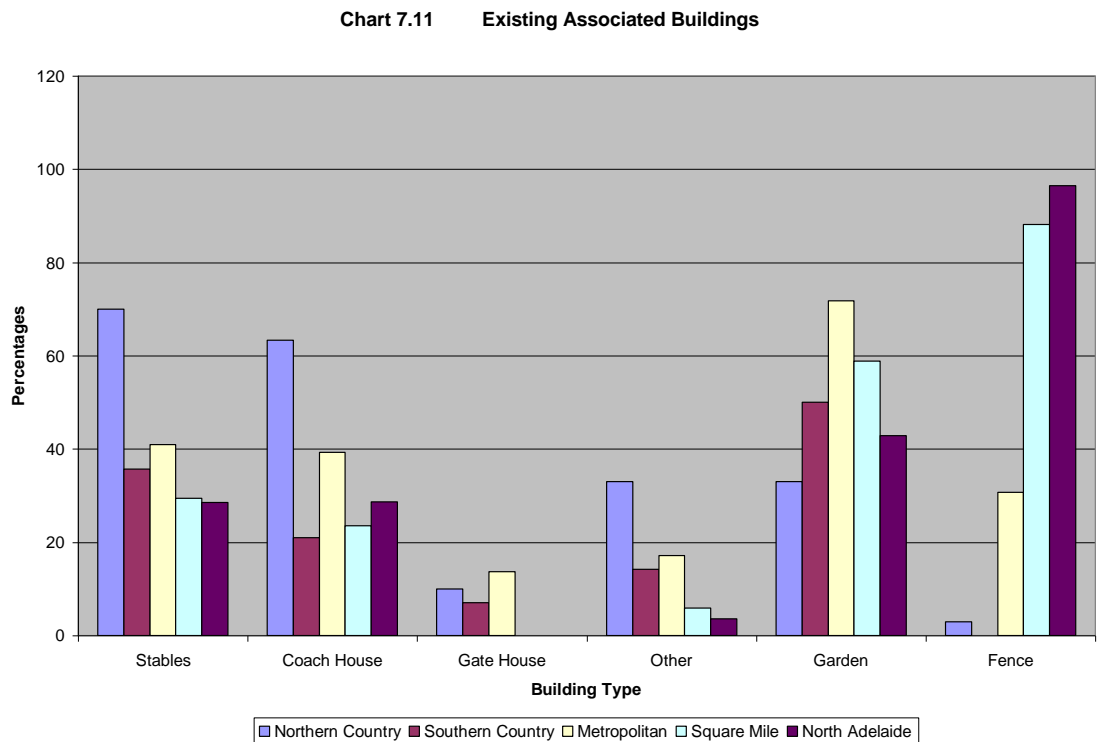
### ***7.2.2 Heritage listing of outbuildings and gardens - A matter of context***

The previous section highlighted the inconsistencies when determining what constituted a heritage place; this inconsistent interpretation of the legislation is even more evident when analysing the listing of buildings associated with the stately home (Appendix 4. Building Survey-Associated Buildings and Grounds). Under Section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993* there is no specific reference to stately homes, their associated buildings or the preservation of the original context; again it is a matter of interpretation. Under Section 16(1) there is sufficient scope for associated buildings to be considered as ‘demonstrating important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the state’s history’; ‘of qualities that are of cultural significance’; contributing ‘to an understanding of the state’s history’; or ‘representative of a particular class of place of cultural significance’. Again, it is the willingness or ability of individual LGAs to interpret the legislation that has resulted in either many associated buildings not being listed (even though the house has been) or permitting their demolition as part of a development application. Of the 206 houses studied for this thesis, 135 are listed on the Register (Chart 7.9), yet many of the heritage reports do not indicate whether associated buildings and gardens are included and for many there is a complete divorce between the house and garden, and other buildings.

It has been argued that a stately home, as an isolated entity, may not convey an accurate image of the culture and lifestyle of 19<sup>th</sup> century gentry. Loss of associated buildings, or the separation of buildings and fences due to urban infill, or the demolition of the stately home, are all examples where the 19th century image must be reconstructed with only some of the pieces available. However, it is the current understanding of contextual relationship between the stately home and its associated structures which is of greatest concern.

In an earlier study (Stone, 2004), the Tasmanian Heritage Branch considered that *Quamby*, the home of Sir Richard Dry, merchant and politician, should be placed on the Tasmanian Heritage Register, but that all associated buildings be considered of local interest only; the contextual relationship between the buildings was either not understood or not considered important (Stone, 2004:81ff). For this thesis the survival and contextual relationship of outbuildings was an important issue when considering the footprint of a stately home on the cultural landscape. Regrettably, outbuildings and associated structures are often not considered as contributing to the cultural landscape, with the architectural qualities of the stately home usually the main focus. A clear flaw in a system exists where the evaluation and recommendation of a property's heritage status is conducted by architects without any input on the cultural and contextual importance by an archaeologist or historian. This was reinforced by the fact that it was difficult to find physical evidence of some outbuildings and often the literature and archives did not record their existence. Furthermore, where outbuildings did exist, there was not always an obvious association between them and the stately home, especially in the metropolitan area where the original parcel of land had been subdivided and the buildings now

separated by later structures; rarely was there signage to identify their early association and hence a major loss of their contextual relationship. Therefore, because of these factors, the data relating to associated buildings is indicative only (Chart 7.11).



Associated buildings help to reconstruct the culture and lifestyle of the new gentry and allow a comparison between the regions. For example, there is evidence of more stables and coach houses in the country and metropolitan areas than in the two Adelaide regions. In particular, in the northern country region, the original stables belonging to 21 (70%) of the 30 stately homes still exist, along with 17 coach houses. With the exception of *Werocata*, where the stables could not positively be identified, stables and coach houses still existed on all the former pastoral properties. These rural buildings have survived because they now have alternative uses, or, in the cases of *Anlaby*, *Bungaree* and *Martindale Hall*, because the buildings have been preserved as historic reminders of their original use. In Gawler, stables and coach



houses existed on only three of the seven properties, but as horses and carriages of various types were the main mode of private transport in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it can be assumed that stables and coach houses associated with stately homes in Gawler have been demolished following subdivision of the land. For example, there is accommodation for a groom at the rear of Dr. Fotheringham's house, but there are no stables or coach house. Of the stately homes in the northern country region which still have coach houses and stables *in situ*, eight (38.1%) were not specifically mentioned in the heritage survey undertaken by the relevant LGA. It could be assumed, that, as these eight buildings are still on the same site as the stately home, they would be included in the heritage listing; however, it is the lack of reference to their specific heritage status which raises questions about the recognition of their contextual importance. Again, referring to *Quamby* as an example, the associated buildings were given a different classification, so if associated buildings were not mentioned in a heritage report, it could be argued that they are unclassified, have no protection and hence can be demolished.

There is a similar inconsistency in the heritage statements for the southern country region. Two properties, *Kalangadoo House* and *Struan House*, have earlier cottages adjacent to the main house but neither is listed; in the case of *Struan House* it can be assumed that its conversion to offices resulted in its exclusion. The heritage survey undertaken in 1983 does not mention the earlier cottage, while the official Register listing does not include a 'Statement of Significance'. The existence of a cottage, possibly built in the early 1860s, and a subsequent grand home built in the mid 1870s, is visible evidence of the change in fortunes of the pastoral industry and the important role that pastoralists and their stately homes played in the community. The

earlier cottage is an important part of the story of the pastoral industry and should be afforded heritage status. *Adare* also has an early cottage (built in the 1860s) which abuts the stately home, but can it be assumed that it is included in the heritage listing? A comprehensive heritage survey of *Adare* was conducted in 1997, but there was no mention of the earlier building; the assessment of heritage value focused on the owner, the architect and the architectural features of the later building. Together, the two buildings are another important example of the significant change between cottages built in the 1840 to 1869 period and the subsequent stately homes built in the 1870 to 1889 period. Similarly, with *Yallum Park* the earlier cottage which abuts the later building is not mentioned in the state heritage report, but in this case is specifically included in the Register of the National Estate Database. *The Lodge* has an adjacent laundry, servants' quarters and storerooms, but they are not cited in the heritage report. In contrast, the heritage reports on the two Bowman houses in the Coorong LGA, *Campbell Park* and *Poltalloch*, have a different format. For *Campbell Park*, all the outbuildings and ruins are individually cited, but the adjacent *Poltalloch* is referred to as a homestead, even though all of the outbuildings are listed on the Register of the National Estate Database. *Padthaway*, as with *Campbell Park*, has all the individual associated buildings listed, while only the shearing shed at *Cairnbank* is specifically mentioned in the heritage report and hence included on the Register. In Victor Harbor, *Mt Breckan Lodge*, which is some distance from the house, is not included in the heritage report and hence is not listed. Similarly, with the *Albys* coach house, absence of association can result in the heritage status of the buildings not being recognised and hence not listed on the Register. The outbuildings at *Karatta House* have been demolished and neither *Koorine* nor *Moyhall* are listed on the Register and hence their associated buildings are not protected.

In the southern country region only seven stables and five coach houses are still evident. The outbuildings at *Koorine* are known to have been destroyed by bushfire in 1984, but Lady Hay certainly had a carriage at *Mt Breckan* (Laube, 2001:142) and archival images of *Karatta House* also indicate that there were original outbuildings (Figure 7.11) which have now been demolished (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.11. *Karatta House*, c1869. Left, original outbuilding. Second bay window not yet completed. Source: SLSA, B 9869.



Figure 7.12 *Karatta House*. Outbuildings now demolished  
Photo: R. M. Stone, November, 2007

With 16 LGAs included in the metropolitan area there was a lack of consistency when nominating stately homes and associated structures for listing on the state or local heritage registers. Separation of the associated buildings and features, such as walls and gates, from the stately home weakens their contextual relationship and can therefore result in differing interpretation as to their relative heritage status. For example, the stables at *The Levels*, which are separated from the main house by a water channel excavated as part of the subdivision of the original property, are only included on the local heritage register. The stables have been restored and converted into offices, but there is nothing to associate them with *The Levels*, which is on the Register. The stables, coach house, gardens and a section of original fence associated with *Benacre* (Burnside LGA) only have a local heritage listing. The stables and coach house, which are adjacent to the stately home, have been converted into a residence. A note in the files of Heritage SA considers that the integrity of the stables

and coach house has been lost and that all physical evidence of the place's original function has been removed; hence its local heritage status. An opposing view is that it is an outstanding conversion which has assured their survival of the buildings without significantly compromising their integrity (Figures 7.13 and 7.14). Similarly, *St Albyn* (Burnside LGA) is listed on the state heritage register, while the coach house, which has been converted into residence, is only considered to be of local heritage interest.



Figure 7.13 *Benacre* coach house and stables, c1906  
Coach house doors on left.

Source: SLSA, B47447.



Figure 7.14 *Benacre* coach house and stables. Coach doors converted to a bay window. Balcony added to loft doorway.

Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2006

The number of surviving stables and coach houses in the metropolitan region can be compared with the country regions, given the need to travel into Adelaide, but again it can be assumed that many buildings have been demolished to cater for expanding suburbia. However, there are weaknesses in the data relating to associated buildings (Appendix 4. Building Survey-Associated Buildings and Grounds), as the historic records either do not record the existence of associated buildings or give no indication as to their location. Again, this is an indication of their relative lack of importance when assessing historical or heritage significance. The percentage of stables and coach houses in the two Adelaide regions are comparable, but less than the other regions, suggesting they were not needed for travel given the availability of hansom cabs.

In the 'square mile' there are inconsistencies in the format and content of heritage reports, and a different interpretation of what constitutes a heritage place and a lack of appreciation of what constitutes contextual association. Included in the heritage listing of five of the stately homes in this region are the coach houses, stables and, where applicable, the original boundary walls. However, the original *Bray House* coach house, which was separated from the main house as part of the subdivision, is now a private residence and is not specifically mentioned on the heritage citations. Similarly, for *Rymill House*, which is still sited on its original town acre, the boundary walls are included but the coach house, which is now office accommodation, is not. There is still a close association between the coach house and house in both of these examples but the contextual relationship has not been recognised. By way of contrast, the coach houses associated with *Parramatta Villa* and *St Margarets* have also been converted to residential accommodation, and are on separate titles, yet have been listed on their own merits on the Register.

In North Adelaide there is greater consistency, with buildings associated with stately homes being specifically listed in heritage reports. The exception is the former stable associated with *Downer House*, which has had many alternative uses over time and is now a chapel, but is not included in the heritage report.

Gate houses are a small but important group of buildings associated with stately homes. It had been argued that gate houses were a barrier to access to stately homes but there are only 22 surviving gate houses across the state, with 16 associated with stately homes in the metropolitan area. There is evidence of only three in the northern country region: at *Hill River Station*, *Hughes Park* and *Para Para*. All are

currently private residences but are difficult to place in a contextual association with their respective stately homes. At both *Hill River Station* and *Hughes Park* the gate houses are no longer associated with the main entrance to the estates. Today there are no indications that the gate house at *Para Para*, located on the corner of a major road and surrounded by suburban dwellings, was associated with the stately home, even though one of the original gate posts still exists (Figure 7.15). With the exception of *The Lodge*, there is no physical evidence or archival record of gate houses in the southern country region, although it is possible that some may have existed, for example at *Struan House*.



Figure 7.15 *Para Para* gate house and section of original fence and gate post, N320.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, August, 2008.

There are more surviving gate houses in the metropolitan area. These were mainly associated with stately homes sited on large land holdings which implied that the owners were more concerned with their privacy and limiting access. The number of gate houses in the 19<sup>th</sup> century would have been greater than those which exist today but given the demand for land, it is probable that more were subsequently demolished for suburban development. However, of the gate houses which still exist some, such as *Wairoa* (Figure 7.16) and *Carminow* (Figure 7.17), appear to fulfil their original function. Similarly the gate houses to *Urrbrae House* (Figure 7.18) and



*Wootton Lea* (Seymour College) (Figure 7.19) are still located at the original entrances, while the two gate houses of *Torrens Park Estate* are owned by different people; one has no current identity with what is now Scotch College while the other, the eastern gate house, is still adjacent to the rear entrance (Figure 7.20).



**Figure 7.16** *Wairoa*, gate house.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2007



**Figure 7.17** *Carminow*, gates and gate house.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2007.



**Figure 7.18** *Urrbrae House*, gate house.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2006



**Figure 7.19** *Wootton Lea*, gate house.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, July, 2009



**Figure 7.20** *Torrens Park Estate*, eastern gate house and fence post. Now bed and breakfast accommodation.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, September, 2007

Fences have been singled out because they are indicators of the original size of properties and, like gate houses, are an indicator of the physical barriers erected by

the new gentry. There is only one fence in the northern country region, at 'suburban' *Tortola* in Gawler, although the original gates of *Martindale Hall*, *Kadlunga*, *Princess Royal* and *Corryton Park* are still extant and stand as reminders of the past. There are also fences that separated the house from the associated buildings and pastoral activities, with the best examples being *Anlaby* and *Bungaree*; here two physical barriers were in place. The greatest number of fences is in the Adelaide regions, again indicators that the grounds of these stately homes have not been subdivided, while the lower number in the metropolitan region is an indicator of subdivision.

Apart from gate houses, the other associated buildings included in the data all had a domestic function associated with the stately home, such as kitchens, laundries, and separate servants' quarters. These were indicators of the different lifestyles between the regions and the early separation of domestic and family activities. There is only one example of these types of buildings in both of the Adelaide regions, with a higher percentage in the metropolitan and country regions. Again, the data may not be a true indicator, as these buildings would have become surplus as lifestyles changed and hence been demolished as part of any redevelopment. The largest percentage that has survived is in the northern country region (33%), where the buildings have either been given an alternative use or have been retained as reminders of the past.

Finally, it has been argued throughout this thesis that gardens were a particular feature of many stately homes that played an important role in the social and cultural life of the new gentry and the broader community. However, only seven gardens have been deemed to be important enough to be declared as heritage places and have



a separate listing on the Register; they are *Eden Park* (NSPP LGA), *Nurney House* (ACC[2]), *Undelcarra* (Burnside LGA), *Wairoa*, *St Vigneans*, *Glenalta* and *Beechwood* (all Adelaide Hills LGA). The houses at both *Glenalta* and *Beechwood* are not on the Register. *Beechwood* was owned by Tom Barr Smith, who added a two level addition at the rear of the house in 1969 and also relocated the conservatory from *Birksgate* when the latter was demolished; the conservatory has a separate state heritage listing (Figure 7.21 and 7.22). This is an example where the building itself is the key to heritage listing not the context; it is one of the few cast iron and glass conservatories remaining in Adelaide.



**Figure 7.21** Former *Birksgate* conservatory, now located at *Beechwood* (Adelaide Hills LGA), c1872  
Source: SLISA, B 10636.



**Figure 7.22** *Beechwood*. The former *Birksgate* conservatory, now an entertainment area. N180.  
Photo: R. M. Stone, May, 2009.

The 1985 heritage survey only mentions that the garden was laid out to create interesting vistas from the house (Danvers, 1985:6). No explanation is readily apparent for why the house at *Beechwood* is not on the Register: built in 1894 and extended in 1904, it is an example of important architectural features added by successive owners. Similarly, with *Glenalta*, built in the 1880s for Sir John W. Downer (also *Downer House*) and later owned by John F. Downer and Henry Rymill, the stately home is not on the Register, although both the house and stables are considered to be local heritage places. Although *Glenalta* has been modernised and extended in recent decades, it still remains an important example of a summer

residence built by the new gentry. By way of contrast, nearby *St Vigneans*, built in 1881 for Sir Edward Charles Stirling (also *The Lodge*), has been subdivided with a road now dividing the original estate. The house, former stables, coach house and surrounding gardens are listed on the Register; the former estate gardens have a separate listing on the Register. The nearby gardener's cottage, which is now a residence on a separate title and surrounded by the estate gardens, is not. Similarly with *Wairoa*, built in 1893 by William Horn, pastoralist, and extended by Tom Barr Smith in 1920, the house, all associated buildings and gardens are listed on the Register. These properties, all in the Adelaide Hills, have heritage listed gardens, but with no consistent treatment of the houses or associated buildings. Clearly there is no consistent assessment of heritage places, either between regions and LGAs, or within individual LGAs.

### ***7.2.3 Stately homes in a 21<sup>st</sup> century cultural landscape***

With the apparent confusion and contradiction as to what constitutes a heritage place, what does current society perceive as important features of stately homes? Are they seen solely as outstanding examples of 19<sup>th</sup> century architecture or are they reminders of the culture and lifestyle of a previous era? Are associated buildings and gardens considered as an integral part of that culture and lifestyle? Given the differing interpretations by LGAs of what constitutes a cultural landscape and contextual association, can any statement be made about the impact of stately homes on the cultural landscape? Do stately homes still reflect the image of 19<sup>th</sup> century culture in a 21<sup>st</sup> century environment? Where former stately homes have an alternative use, do they still reflect their former image or has this been supplanted by

a new image that is fundamentally different, as suggested in the case of *Ackland House*?

Of the 61 (48.9%) stately homes in the metropolitan area that are no longer residential properties, it can be argued that their impact on the cultural landscape has changed and in many cases, been reduced. Sixteen (13%) of these stately homes are now part of non-government schools and are surrounded by classrooms and other structures (Chart 7.7). These stately homes, to varying degrees, have lost their identity as stately homes. At one end of the spectrum is *Rostrevor House*, which has the appearance of a purpose-built public structure and, although relatively isolated from other school buildings, does conjure an image of a purpose-built university college similar to those constructed during the same period at St Peters College, Prince Alfred College and Adelaide University. However, at the other end of the spectrum is Seymour College (*Wootton Lea*), where the entrance passes the gate house along a tree lined road to the stately home which, is still separated from the more recent classrooms. All of the original outbuildings have been restored, and while they now have alternative uses, they are clearly signed as to their original function; reconstruction of the 19<sup>th</sup> century image is possible.

A similar scenario also applies to other stately homes in the metropolitan area that are now hospitals or the administrative offices of elderly citizens' complexes. Twelve (10.2%) stately homes are in this category, with *Attunga* now being used as a specialist medical unit within the Burnside Hospital. At *Attunga*, although the stately home still has a garden setting and a portion of its original boundary fence, its association with the 19<sup>th</sup> century culture of the colonial gentry is not readily apparent.

The other eleven are all located within elderly citizen's complexes; all of these former stately homes are now surrounded by independent living units and hence links with the past are tenuous; for example, *Woodlawn* is all but invisible and remnants of the original building are not obvious.

Where stately homes have remained as private residences it is more likely that a connection can be made to their earlier history. Again, the ability to make this association varies, for example where the land around the house has been subdivided and subsequently developed; the former stately home may be an architectural anomaly in a suburban setting. *Albys*, which was used as a mental institution, is now on a modest piece of land surrounded by suburbia; similarly *Barton Vale* and *Willyama*. Entrance to *Barton Vale* was originally along a long tree lined carriageway which passed a large lake in front of the house (Figure 7.23. and 7.24).



Figure 7.23 *Barton Vale*, c1900, entrance and driveway  
Source: SLSA, B 59856.

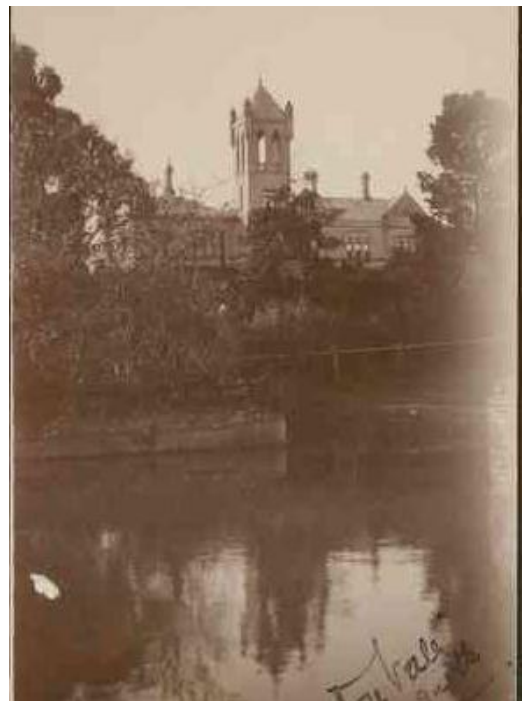


Figure 7.24 *Barton Vale*, c1920. The lake in front of the house is now grassed: open public space.  
Source: SLSA, B 21456

Today these features no longer exist and the house stands in complete contrast with the surrounding modest suburban houses, many of which were built during the period when *Barton Vale* was called *Vaughan House* and used as a home for ‘wayward girls’. Similarly, *Willyama*, was once a focus of Adelaide social life, with functions held in the spacious formal gardens. Today this image has gone and no longer reflects the life style of the early colony’s wealthy mining magnates. These are examples of those stately homes which had large estates near to Adelaide, where the value of the land eventually exceeded the heritage value of the property.

In North Adelaide, only eight (28.6%) stately homes in the sample are currently private residences and that includes *Bishop’s Court* and *Christ Church Rectory*. However, 26 (92.9%) are listed on the Register, with one house in the sample having been demolished and one not listed. Of North Adelaide’s stately homes only 6 (21.4%) have a listed coach house, stables, or fences, and in the case of *Nurney House* the garden has also been included in the heritage citation. *Parramatta House* and its former stables have been given separate listings, yet the citations do not acknowledge their association. There is no evidence of stables or coach houses associated with 22 (78.6%) of the stately homes; they were probably demolished when they were subdivided or when additions were made to the rear of the homes. Only two, *Roche House* (1905) and *Buxton Manor* (1909), were built in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when other modes of transport were becoming available, and possibly did not have any stables. Despite the alternative use for the majority of these stately homes, the front façades have not been radically changed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the exception being the removal of the first level of *Montefiore* in 1922. The majority of the houses are also located in a preferred residential enclave of the new gentry and hence they still present an image which has not been significantly changed. Again,

with the exception of *Montefiore*, the houses on the western section of Brougham Place did not have extensive front gardens, so, again, the changes are not as dramatic as those occurring on the eastern side, where the stately homes forming Lincoln College have all had their gardens removed.

Despite the change in use of stately homes in North Adelaide and the absence of stables and coach houses in the majority of cases, these stately homes continue to reflect the image of wealth and status that these residential enclaves imprinted on the 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape. The image of the new gentry living in enclaves is not significantly diminished by the absence of outbuildings and the casual observer is assisted in their interpretation of the stately homes with signage detailing their history.

As with other regions, those stately homes which have an alternative use no longer project their origins, especially those that have had significant alterations; this would also include William Bragg's residence (now the Public Schools Club), that has added a members' dining room. *St Corantyn* (Figure 7.25), is now a medical clinic and *Waverley* (Figure 7.26) is now part of the St Andrews Hospital complex. As part of a hospital, *Waverley* no longer reflects the external image, the location or architectural style of a stately home. Similarly, with *St Corantyn*, while the former stately home has not undergone any radical external changes, the architect G. K. Soward designed many public building in Adelaide, hence this former dwelling has a more institutional, public building architectural aura, once described as having a 'certain ecclesiastical touch about it' in other words, it has an architectural style associated more with public buildings than a residential house (Bonython, 1976:3). Its use as a hospital influences perception over its origins and the history of the

buildings. Here, the brain is the active part of the equation and interprets and places value on what is a passive landscape (Jacques, 1995:94).



**Figure 7.25** *St Corantyn*, now a Mental Health Services day hospital.

Photo: R. M. Stone, October, 2007.



**Figure 7.26** *Waverley*. Consulting rooms, St Andrews Hospital. The former ball room is on the right, and is now used as the hospital's board room.

Photo: R. M. Stone, December, 2007.

*Ayers House* alone is part of the tourist industry, with a section converted to a museum and so continues to reflect the image of 19<sup>th</sup> century society, even though the formal gardens are gone. With the exception of the Catholic Archbishop's palace, all of the other houses which are residential properties are located in an exclusive residential enclave, and, although there has been some residential infill on East Terrace (Figure 7.3), collectively they continue to have a significant impact on the cultural landscape; it is all a matter of context.

Different interpretation of heritage legislation by individual LGAs; negative perceptions of alterations and modifications to stately homes, the apparent lack of appreciation of the role that associated buildings have on their contextual relationship and contribution to the cultural landscape, and alternative uses that mask the original use of buildings as stately homes, all contribute to reduce the impact of stately homes. The lack of specific guidelines in the legislation which leads to inconsistencies in the assessment what constitutes a heritage place and what constitute contextual authenticity which can result in stately homes and/or associated

buildings being excluded from the Register, which in turn may result in lessening their impact on the current cultural landscape.



## CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

*For the drover's life has pleasures that townsfolk never know.*

.....

*And the bush has friends to meet him, and their kindly voices greet him*

*In the murmur of the breezes and the rivers on its bars,*

*And he sees the vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended,*

*And at night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars.*

‘Clancy of the Overflow’

A.B. ‘Banjo’ Paterson (1889).

The image that is portrayed of the early Australian colonist as he sought to overcome the strange harsh physical environment is of a rugged person (typically male) with toughness of spirit and body, loyal to his mates, independent, egalitarian, anti-authoritarian, and shunning and deriding notions of superiority by birth or fortune (Lawrence, 2003:212); see also Smith, 2006:169). This image was epitomised by Banjo Patterson, who wrote the national song ‘Waltzing Matilda’ and the classic ballad, ‘The Man from Snowy River’. It is against this romantic image of the untamed wilderness of the Australian landscape that the mythical image of the Australian bushman was said to be created (Smith, 2006:169).

Smith (2006:169) also argues that by the 1880s, Australia was an urbanised country and that the urban magazine, *The Bulletin*, endeavoured to create a distinctive national character by promoting an image based on the idealised characteristics of the itinerant pastoral worker. However, far from being a dominantly urban society in 1880 the population of South Australia was only 218,200 people of whom 104,000 lived in Adelaide and the metropolitan area with some 114,000 people occupying 984,277 square kilometres, an area approximately 7.5 times as large as England. Smith (2006:170) also endeavours to link the bushman mythology with the pioneer myth, which is about the struggle of Europeans to battle with and subdue the hostile land.

In contrast to image painted by Banjo Patterson and countering Smith's myth of the pioneering image, Henry Lawson, writing about the bush during the droughts in the 1890s, presented a different picture; one of hardship and dying sheep and cattle

Do you think the bush was better in the 'good old droving days',  
When the squatter ruled supremely as the king of western ways,  
...  
When you couldn't keep a chicken at your humpy on the run,  
For the squatter wouldn't let you and your work was never done;  
When you had to leave the missus in a lonely hut forlorn ...?

(‘The City Bushman’ [1892], by Henry Lawson, cited in Roderick, 1967:212).

Artists from the Heidelberg School, especially McCubbin and Roberts, also romanticised the bush, painting images of shearers, drovers and woodcutters (but see Baglin, 1985 and O’Neil, 1982 for alternative images of the harsh life in the outback). There was an element of truth in the images created by both Paterson and Lawson. The challenge of the early years of the colony, when the immigrants set out ‘a wide land to be won for us’ (Lawson [1899] cited in Roderick, 1967:212) was the time when the characteristics attributed to this mythological Australian bushman were born. However, in contrast to Smith’s (2006) argument that the images of the bushman and pioneers were myths is William’s (1980:24) study of the way of life of pastoral families in the early decades of the colony; a study based on the diaries of early colonists. Isolation, finding water, building living quarters (which normally consisted of primitive wattle and daub or bark huts with calico instead of glass windows and wooden doors), caring for flocks and protecting them from dingoes, disease and Indigenous people, adaptation of unsuitable English farming practices and obtaining labour were the many problems faced by the early colonists (see also Wilkinson 1983[1848]62-63). Similar accounts are also given by descendants of

other pioneering families (Andretzke, 2004; Dutton, 1985; Hawker and Linn, 1992; Hasenohr, 1977; Noye, 1997 and Robinson, 1971)

It is this contrasting background of the romantic life of the pastoralist and the drover in the idealised world of the outback as portrayed by Banjo Paterson and the harsh reality of the Australian landscape which was unforgiving, with drought the bane of the pastoralist (Wilkinson 1848[198]) that is the setting for this thesis. The period 1836 to 1914 is not long, but within that time span colonists recreated the landscape, introduced hard footed animals which were foreign to Australia, they planted crops and mined mineral resources. Some colonists became wealthy and morphed into powerful leaders of the colony; the new gentry. To summarise the sequence of events throughout this period as fortunes were earned, the image of the squatter changed to one of the new gentry, the landed aristocracy of South Australia. For the drover, the small farmer, and ‘the people of a country in possession of the banks’ (Lawson [1899]: cited in Roderick, 1967:212), the romantic images were fading. The last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a difficult period, incorporating many changes from the extravagant decades of the 1870s and 1880s. Fewer stately homes were built, and servants were both difficult to employ and no longer willing to accept their earlier subservient roles (Russell, 1994:167-170).

Based on Wakefield’s proposal, the colony was an attractive proposition for those who professed ideas of civil liberty, social opportunity, equality for all religions and who were attracted to the promised opportunities for social improvement for the middle classes. The first colonists to South Australia came from all walks of life; some could be classified as capitalists, such as merchants, traders and professionals,

or the sons of military and naval officers. Many of these early capitalists had sufficient capital to establish themselves and took advantage of being on the spot to purchase land as it was released following the completion of each land survey. The lives of four prominent early colonist discussed in Chapter 1 illustrated their diverse backgrounds, their impact on the social and economic direction of the new colony, their identification with the new gentry and the building of their stately homes.

It can be concluded from the data presented in Chapter 4 that the new gentry had established themselves as a separate class by 1869. The new gentry considered themselves to be the landed gentry of the colony, equivalent to the English landed gentry, and made themselves the custodians of genteel behaviour and standards. They further consolidated their position in society as a separate class through intermarriage and social connections as illustrated in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.5). Having established their position in society the new gentry built houses which were more than homes to provide shelter for the family; they were also monuments to their new wealth and status; factors which were on constant display. They used their stately homes, which were cluttered with furniture and consumables in keeping with the fashion of the Victorian era, to create social order; these material items were design to reflect and extend cultural categories (Gosden, 1999:163). Consumption and materialism had a social purpose; it was not simply an economic act but had a social purpose; it was a hierarchical status competition in which goods publicly displayed status and identity (Mullins, 2007:195).

As discussed in Chapter 4 the early pastoralists did not try to copy precisely an image of the landed gentry and aristocracy in England; however they set out to emulate

them by creating their own individual version. Their houses were not as large or as elaborate as those in England, but because the aim was to evoke comparisons certain features and associations were assiduously maintained. To mirror homes of the English landed gentry, the majority of stately homes in the country and the outer metropolitan regions of South Australia were located on large properties, with either walled gardens or vegetation screens which restricted public view. Gate houses, long and often winding carriage-ways, extensive gardens and private entertainment facilities, such as croquet greens, were all features common to both the English and South Australian stately homes (see Chapter 5).

Like their English counterparts, the new gentry established their own private social networks hosting visiting dignitaries and governors and many followed the trend of Victorian England and filled their houses with consumables which fitted the requirements of acceptable décor for houses of the aristocracy. Evidence of the clutter and consumerism of the Victorian period were evident in *Martindale Hall*, where pieces of furniture were decorative rather than primarily functional (Figure 8.1 and 8.2).



Figure 8.1 *Martindale Hall*, drawing room, c1885  
Source: SLSA, B 17731.



Figure 8.2 *Martindale Hall*, main hall, c1885  
Source: SLSA, B 177732-7.

It was the diverse backgrounds of the new gentry that were reflected in their individual pursuit of wealth and in the designs of their houses. In comparison, in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the USA, Georgian architectural style was the preferred model for the elite merchants, who built their houses based on designs from pattern books to conjure images of the English upper classes (Johnson, 1993:103). Upton (1986:331) argues that such buildings, which were an amalgamation of traditional design and Georgian architecture, ordered their elements according to a strict repetitive system, which in turn gave them a similarity of external appearance. This common architectural style did not reflect the owner's individuality and was in contrast to the range of architectural styles adopted in South Australia.

As a much later colony, Georgian architecture was neither popular nor appropriate in South Australia. Unlike in the United States, the new gentry of South Australia adopted no single dominant architectural style and did not favour any particular English design; individually they designed houses to suit their particular circumstances. Unlike England or the United States, wide verandahs and balconies

were prominent in South Australia and subterranean rooms were far more than merely inferior accommodation for servants, or service areas such as sculleries (McInnes, 1996:36). Georgian style was not conducive to extravagant decoration, so the enclaves of wealthy merchants in the United States reflected solid conservatism. However, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the United States was a period of economic and social change. There was now an acceptance of individual achievement and ambition and the new dominant capitalist class (the American *nouveaux riches*) began to call attention to their economic prominence and to symbolise their ties to the establishment (Anderson and Moore, 1988:391). Their homes were the medium for the expression and reinforcement of social status and, despite fundamental adherence to the classical style, there was a trend to Italianate ornamentation and turrets and crenulated walls became the new elite's architectural choice (Anderson and Moore, 1988:391-395). In contrast, the new gentry in South Australia expressed their individualism through a plethora of decorative architectural features and the use of colour both inside and out. While the architectural styles of their homes reflected their individuality, the new gentry did incorporate a range of similar architectural and decorative features to project a common set of values. These common features, such as decorative timber or cast iron balustrades and friezes, towers, turrets, prominent entrances, often with stained glass fanlights and sidelights and decorative plaster work, could all be incorporated while at the same time enhancing their individuality.

In the United States merchants built their houses on the thoroughfares leading to the harbour and industrial zones, where the workers would experience a changing socio-economic landscape. This contrasted with South Australia, where the new gentry

continually reinforced their social status by concentrating their houses in exclusive residential enclaves or by siting their houses on large estates. Enclaves began to be created in the 1840-1869 period, especially in Burnside, but gained momentum between 1870-1889 in the 'square mile', North Adelaide and inner metropolitan suburbs, such as Walkerville and Mitcham. Again, houses within these residential enclaves were built to individual designs, but collectively they presented a unified force in discouraging passers-by. Arterial walking paths in Adelaide did not pass through these enclaves, as barriers were established that signalled that casual visitors were not welcome in these zones. This socially-layered landscape was even more obvious in South Australia than in the United States, as social mutuality was now accompanied by social exclusivity, thus closing down boundaries and permeability between classes.

The concept of segregation and stratification in society was also reflected in the interior of the homes of the new gentry. In Chapter 6 the floor plans of a selection of homes demonstrated the individuality of their owners. Most houses lacked a central corridor and avoided the radiating rooms common to the English Georgian architectural style. The entrance was no longer symmetrically centred in the front elevation of the house and in South Australia could be offset either in the front or on one of the side elevations. A central corridor was uncommon (an exception was the Gothic styled *Holland House*. Appendix 6A-5, LI3:65), with the internal layout adopting a variety of configurations. Vestibules, entrance halls, stair halls, main halls and communication corridors were expressions of individuality, with the final layout reflecting not only individual design but also playing an important role in creating social barriers. As with the common architectural features of the exterior of the



house, there were certain specialist rooms which were common to, and essential in, most stately homes, such as reception rooms, parlours/boudoirs, ballrooms, billiard rooms and libraries. Furthermore, despite the element of individuality, the processional pathways for those stately homes considered in greater detail in Chapter 6 were similar; all indicated a common objective in the design of the internal layout to separate the activities of family and visitors, and family/visitors and servants. Here there was a similarity in purpose with the processional pathways of the homes of the English landed gentry and the merchants of the United States of America.

One feature of the stately homes in South Australia that was in direct contrast to Georgian architecture was the extensive use of decorative features and colour on both the exterior and interior. The use of colour as part of the interior decoration of stately homes in South Australia could also be an indicator of who was the inspirational source. In the male-orientated rooms, such as the billiard rooms, smoking rooms and libraries, the decoration tended to be more conservative, with darker colours and timber panelling to create a more solid, respectable and dependable image (for example, *Martindale Hall*, *Urrbrae House*, *Gwent House* and *Strathspey*). In contrast, the reception rooms/drawing rooms, parlours, entrance halls and dining rooms, were often a blaze of colour, with elaborate painted ceilings and cornices, and marble fireplaces with decorative ceramic tile surrounds. This tendency to colourful decoration and proliferation of design elements is akin to other distinctive ways in which Australian society set itself apart from Europe, England and the United States.



**Figure 8.3** A reception committee to welcome the Governor of South Australia. c1908  
 Left Sir Jenkin Coles, Premier, and G.Wilcox (*Eynesbury House*) on the far right.  
 Source: SLSA, PRG 280/1/11/592.



**Figure 8.4** Guests at the Mayor of Adelaide's garden party, c1912.

Source: SLSA, PRG 1/13/364

Colour has been noted in other contexts as a distinctive characteristic of nineteenth century Australian culture. In terms of dress, for example, and in comparison to the men (Figure 8.3), the wives of the new gentry tended to be colourful, fashionable, but also impractical (Figure 8.4). Maynard (1994:81) notes that 'Australian women, particularly those of the middle classes, were preoccupied with fashion ... Their mid-century gowns for special occasions ... were styled from brilliant coloured plain silk or brocaded fashions' and tended to be much more colourful than their European counterparts (Maynard, 1994:86). Dent (1980[1886]:342-375) devotes two chapters to such fashions: one to 'Dress', and another to 'Colors [*sic*] and Their Harmony in Dress'. In the 1870s and 1880s there was a fascination with French fashions and accessories, but

Twopeny (1973[1883]:75) believed that the French manufactured a certain style to suit Australian taste. This would suggest that there was a colourful distinctiveness in Australian dress generated by local women that became unique to the colony (Maynard, 1994:87). Maynard (1994:87) also suggests that Australian fashions were

not only different to those worn in the United States, but were ahead of them in the adoption of newer fashions. An Australian preference for colour has also been noted in other areas of cultural production associated with claims to gentility and fashion, such as ceramics (Lawrence, 2003:217-219).

As the middle classes became wealthier, they also adopted extravagant clothing for themselves and their servants. Servants were very important symbols of *bourgeois* status for the new gentry, as well orchestrated social events required an adequate number to attend to the needs of the guests (Maynard, 1994:109) (Figure 8.5). During the 1870s there was an increase in the use of liveried servants and fine carriages, which were other important ways for the new gentry to display their wealth and status within the community (Figure 8.6; see also Figure 7.13). However, the *nouveaux riches*, who had aspirations of intruding into the social sphere of the new gentry, also employed liveried servants, only to have them derided as being ‘ridiculously’ dressed (Kelly, 1977[1859]:61). In response to the rise of the *nouveaux riches*, from the 1870s the new gentry sought to distance themselves from these excesses through discretion and restraint in display and dress styles; maintenance of an elite social group was better served by discrete behaviour and refined appearance (Maynard, 1994:97).



Figure 8.5. Domestic servants at *Woodhouse*, Stirling, c1909.

Source: SLSA, B 50339.



Figure 8.6 Lady Bray and landau driver in colonial livery, *Bray House*, Hutt Street, Adelaide, c1900.

Source: SLSA. PRG 1098/40/3/25

However, by the late 1880s there was a change to simpler tastes for urban wear, with more drab colours which diminished to a certain degree the gender differentiation of the 1850s (Maynard, 1994:98). This change in fashion also coincided with the economic downturn in South Australia, and the decline in the construction of stately homes, a trend to a more conservative architectural style and the use of less decorative building fabrics, such as brick (for example, *Buxton Manor* [1908] and *Roche House* [1905]).

It is clear that the new gentry aimed to create their own version of the landed gentry, one based on an independent image of colonial South Australia, yet also remaining conscious of those characteristics that were essential to separate them from the rest of society. There was no one dominant architectural style, yet there were sets of common architectural features; no one internal configuration for their houses, yet a consistent inclusion of specialist rooms and, through processional pathways, common objects in creating social barriers.

Creating their own version of the landed gentry and colonial aristocracy, seeking positions of power in the legislature, and incorporating many of the more exclusive features of the English education system, did not mean that the South Australian gentry occupied a mere outpost of the 'mother country'. In their private lives the new gentry defended their own individualism, but also sought independence. Within the first decades of the formation of the colony of South Australia an elected parliament was established with full adult franchise. There was also an element of anti-authoritarian sentiment against outside interference in daily decision making by England; this ultimately led to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.

So it was that the first 50 years of the colony was a unique period in the history of South Australia, when the image of the bushman, the drover and squatter as independent and self-reliant individuals was created. The first immigrants reinvented themselves by pursuing occupations which were foreign to them, they became explorers of the interior of Australia, and some became wealthy through the discovery of copper or gold. Squatters were early pioneers of outback South Australia, risk takers and beneficiaries of a system which enabled them to occupy vast tracts of land for little capital outlay, thus becoming very wealthy. The early images of the pastoralists were of men immortalised by Banjo Paterson, who took an active role in running their pastoral leases. By the 1880s these same men had created a new and particular image for themselves; they were considered to be squires and were treated and reported as such. The image of the mole-skinned pastoralist with a wife running the domestic household, bearing children and providing meals for shearers and farm workers changed; the rural gentry now dressed in clothes which

indicated they no longer carried out menial chores. They hosted morning teas, garden parties and were spectators at sporting events; even when they took part they were well groomed for the occasion rather than the activity. This scenario was not exclusive to pastoralists; their success generated a need for brokers, shipping agents, transport, railways and general merchants. Again, some who embarked on these ventures became wealthy; they then acquired land, built houses and sought to have a place in the ranks of the new gentry. The new gentry had accepted their 'rightful place' in society.

The stately homes built by the new gentry in the period 1840 to 1914 created a social and cultural landscape in South Australia. From divergent backgrounds, many of the new gentry became wealthy and recreated themselves as the new gentry of the colony. Underpinning this was a desire to acquire land, to preserve their right to occupy that land, to build homes that mirrored their success and then to preserve the exclusivity of their newly acquired social status. However, the period from settlement to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be considered a transitory one in the state's history; the mining boom waned, the economy took a down-turn and the vast pastoral estates, which prevented the expansion of farming, were acquired and subdivided under the *Closer Settlement Act, 1897*. The culture created by the new gentry in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century declined and then virtually ceased; a process hastened by the outbreak of WWI. Many stately homes built in this period became financial burdens and were no longer able to be staffed or their vast grounds and formal gardens maintained; they belonged to a recent, but past, culture. Following WWI, nostalgia for the recent past was not strong, and many of these buildings were given alternative uses, especially as hospitals (*Torrens Park Estate*),

rehabilitation homes (*Auchendarroch* and *Estcourt House*) and schools (*Lanark* and *Strathspey*). Ultimately this saved them from demolition, the fate of most stately homes in areas such as North Terrace. Even George Kingston's house in Grote Street, Adelaide, was sold as a commercial property in 1904 and subsequently demolished in 1943 (Burden, 1983:18). The debate today is now focussed on the retention of the remaining stately homes (tangible cultural heritage) as reminders of a past culture (intangible cultural heritage) and a particular period in the state's history.

The background literature search for this thesis identified a number of sources pertaining to the new gentry, their role in developing the pastoral industry, or mining, their influential role in the state parliament, or work in formulating the constitution for the Commonwealth of Australia, their support for the church and education and their philanthropic works. Their role in laying the foundation of, and leadership in, the development of the colony has been acknowledged for posterity by naming towns, suburbs, streets and buildings in their honour and erecting statues in prominent locations. While there is usually some mention of the original builder of a house and its current use, in particular the works of Gunton (1983). Warburton (1979), who traces the lives of the Bowman family and Dutton (1985), who focuses on the lives of the squatters, there is little which describes the lives of the new gentry and how they themselves envisioned their homes and their roles within them. This thesis is a first step to filling this gap in the literature. It is not just the buildings, their style, decoration, or interior detail which is important, it is the image that is projected, the sense of power and separateness based on social status and wealth. This thesis has shown that the architectural design not only had a functional purpose but also a social and cultural one.

This thesis has also explored the conscious development of internal spatial dynamics of the stately homes designed to create divisions based on class and social status. This has been illustrated by establishing internal processional pathways. There has not been any previous attempt to diagrammatically represent the physical and social divisions of the interior of South Australia's stately homes. It is this symbolic value that a building conveys which helps the community to interpret its identity and to assert its cultural personality (Throsby, 2001:12; see also Mason, 2002:11-12; Mason and Avrami, 2000:17). The association of individual stately homes with out-buildings is important in our understanding of the social environment of 19<sup>th</sup> century South Australia. Similarly with the interior, it is the internal configuration, the specialist rooms and the need to create social barriers, which are important. It is understanding the overt and more subliminal features of 19<sup>th</sup> century homes which need to be understood and valued: in turn this affects our thinking on the preservation of the integrity of these stately homes and provides an insight into 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural landscape

Today the economy and culture of South Australia is changing and 'decisions must be constantly made as to which old buildings are worth preserving and, for those to be kept, what sort of restoration, renovation and adaptive re-use is appropriate?' (Throsby, 2006:2). It has been argued that there is an urgent need for heritage economists to be included in the list of heritage professionals advising the listing process, where modelling is based on disciplined analysis, and can be factored into the decision making process. Without assessing both the economic and cultural



value of cultural assets before decisions are made to allow the demolition of former stately homes can result in the total or partial obliteration of our tangible cultural heritage; preservation of structures such as boundary walls, some associated buildings or remnants of gardens may leave a footprint of the past, requires some interpretation. Similarly, retention and re-use of stately homes often retains their exterior architectural integrity and hence preserves the image of tangible cultural heritage. It is important in assessing conservation planning and heritage conservation to consider the social, cultural and economic contexts of behaviour (Mason, 2002:5). If associated buildings or boundary walls have been demolished, this can significantly reduce the intangible cultural heritage, comprising traditions, customs and beliefs; the image of life in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Re-use of stately homes can therefore result in possible damage to culturally significant property (Throsby, 2006:2).

LGAs in South Australia are therefore faced with the dilemma of choosing between an economic decision based on the demolition, re-use or modification of a stately home, and one based on a cultural decision to recommend that a building be preserved by having it listed on a Register. It is the difference between considering a stately home as an asset that can be replaced by a more financially profitable venture, or as a building of cultural significance, the value of which is not measured in financial terms but in its 'cultural value through its historical or aesthetic significance and the cultural experiences it provides for the community' (Throsby, 2006:4).

Preservation of heritage is one form of cultural salvage and a world that is about to be lost is in need of preservation (Gable and Handler, 1996:568), although this comes at a cost.

A decision to retain the exterior fabric and maintain the architectural integrity of a stately home, while allowing the demolition of associated buildings and structures, can reduce its symbolic value; this is also true where permission is granted to reconfigure the interior to accommodate its re-use. Conversion to office accommodation (College of Surgeons building in North Adelaide) or a school building (*Lanark House* in Kapunda) can remove the symbolic value such that the interior of the building no longer conveys an image of the lifestyle of the new gentry. Even the National Trust has recently converted half of *Beaumont House* into office space, which has visually impacted upon the building's historic significance. However, it is possible to preserve the aesthetic, historical and symbolic value of a stately home, even when converted to a school (for example, *Wootton Lea* and *Eden Park*), but this has financial implications for maintaining the building's authenticity and cultural value. The inconsistency and wide divergence that people and communities place on the value of buildings for cultural reasons is a measure of the cultural value as opposed to the economic value of a heritage asset (Throsby, 2006:9). Where there is no consistent interpretation of what constitutes a heritage place, and understanding the differences between aesthetic or architectural value and cultural and symbolic value, so there will be anomalies in the listing of what appears to be identical heritage assets.

Our cultural heritage gives us a 'sense of place', a connection with the past and a sense of perspective on the present, hence the need for its preservation and conservation. Education has a key part to play in understanding the need for conservation yet despite the current availability of information on matters pertaining

heritage it is not having the desired outcomes, especially amongst the decision makers. A case can be made to have greater central control over the assessment of what constitutes a heritage place. This could eliminate inconsistent interpretation but it is unlikely individual LGAs would agree to surrender their independence, especially if it reduced their authority over regional development. This action would also politicise heritage matters and distract thinking on preservation of our cultural heritage by focussing the debate on reallocation and diminution of political power. More prescriptive legislation would have similar political implications, as it could be argued that it would limit the right of individual LGAs to decide what is best for their region. Development versus conservation is here to stay but the case for conservation needs to be strengthened. The focus should be on the owners of heritage places, especially stately homes which are a financial burden, to increase their understanding of the importance of their custodianship; however, this must be accompanied by financial support, either through realistic conservation grants or tax credits.

There is a responsibility on the part of governments at all levels, the community and individuals to ensure that the cultural landscape is not diminished or eliminated by the loss of context through the reduction of estates occupied by stately homes, changes in their use or by their demolition. 'It is through "public spirited benevolence", whether exercised by enlightened philanthropists or by governments on behalf of all of us, that our cultural heritage can best be protected, preserved and enhanced for the benefit of ourselves and generations to come' (Throsby, 2006:12; see also Mason, 2002:13).

Research into stately homes of South Australia does not finish with this thesis. One area which requires further examination is the symbolism of the design and iconography of stained glass windows. Did the new gentry copy English designs or did they seek to create an aristocratic image for themselves through particular referents?

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