INTRODUCTION

Plate 2 Government House, Adelaide, South Australia - main entrance and southern façade (view to the north) (G Copland 2000)

Research Aims

Through a specific interest in historical archaeology, and possible access to information, the decision was made to examine the colonisation of South Australia. Originally the intention was to examine the transportation of cultural ideologies, and the creation and development of a new settlement, to establish if, and how, these may have imposed themselves on material culture. Upon a closer examination of what settlement is, the aims of this thesis changed to examine the relationship between theoretical ideas of settlement and the settlement and material outcome. Upon re-writing the thesis a chapter on the relationship between the disciplines of history and archaeology and between written documentation and material culture was removed. However, there remained the need to situate the research within historical archaeology and connect the examination of theory to material culture. Completing further suggested reading, the argument for the use of the written documentation to support archaeological findings simply supported current thinking and highlighted areas in the argument that were unsupportable. Having the flaws in this chapter identified it was removed instead of refining it as it became clear that the issue was simply that 'settlement', as an

occupational style, had never been defined clearly. While settlement has been referred to, it is critical to identify and define the process of settlement to enable us to be clear about what we are specifically discussing. In turn this led to an exploration of the definition of settlement and what theory is useful in defining it. Of course the problem then arises as to where this fits into historical archaeology, as it has not been discussed before. Rather than looking at the specific subject material used here, being settlement in South Australia, one could say that settlement theory fits generally into the area of examining and creating theory and testing the results, such as Fletcher's *The Limits of Settlement Growth: A Theoretical Outline* (1995).

Consequently this thesis now concentrates on establishing what 'settlement' is, defining 'Settlement Theory', and then uses this to examine Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of Systematic Colonisation, which was put into practice in the South Australian Experiment. To test this the thesis then considers the effects on the settlement process, the South Australian Experiment, and ultimately the material outcome. The value of such an investigation is to refine our discussion of settlement and to test and consider the effects on the physical landscape of settlement. To do this the site of the capital for the settlement (Adelaide), the design of the capital, the Government Domain, and the style and forms of habitation, particularly the residences of the Governor of the settlement, were used. The latter required a search for the location of the first Government House (Government Hut), erected in 1837, but subsequently destroyed and almost forgotten in time. The hypothesis was that there would be clear links between the theoretical process and the material outcome. In the end the results are not sufficiently conclusive to clearly state that such links exist. There are certain indicators that suggest it does work, in particular where we see the very existence, as a result of the theory, of the introduced and created material culture. However, this is too obvious to be substantially worthwhile, since Systematic Colonisation Theory was created the

experiment took place, and therefore material culture was introduced to the site from the start. Perhaps it is too subtle a change to establish if the theory itself affected the type, style, and volume of material culture or if enough material survives from the early period to compare. However, this thesis is an attempt to examine the possible link by examining various theories of the settlement process, researching documents in Australia and overseas related to the settlement in South Australia and the Governor's residences, and physically examining the Government Domain and Government House. While this may not be conclusive, which may in part be due to not locating Government Hut, there are some settlement patterns and material outcomes that can clearly be attributed to the creation of the theory and the implementation of the experiment and, as a result, we have a better understanding of the settlement process and related theory. Thus, basically, the resulting research aim is to create and test the use of a diagnostic index of settlement, define Settlement Theory, and then test the results using two case studies being the settlement in South Australia and then the material outcome in the form of the selection of a site for the capital, Adelaide, the design of the city, the Government Domain, and the Governor's residences.

Study Areas and Case Studies

For this reason the settlement of South Australia (Plate 3) is a perfect case study as Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory, called 'Systematic Colonisation', is one of the few theories of settlement that have been put into practice. South Australia, as a case study, was also convenient, as there appeared to be an abundant amount of accessible documentary material, from the not too distant past, with which to examine the settlement process. Moving from the material macro of the settlement process, including the site and design of the capital of South Australia (Adelaide), and the area set aside for the Governor's residence the Domain, to the micro of the dwellings of the

various settlers in South Australia, provided the opportunity for a case study assessing the impact of the theory on material culture. In this study the choice was made to move away from the current trend of focusing on those who have been marginalised, or disregarded, and to consider instead those who appear to have power and influence and therefore to examine the residences of the Governor (Plate 4). Apart from the availability of information about such people, this was a chance to consider a pivotal participant in the implementation of the theory and examine the question of power and status in a political, economic, social, and material sense.
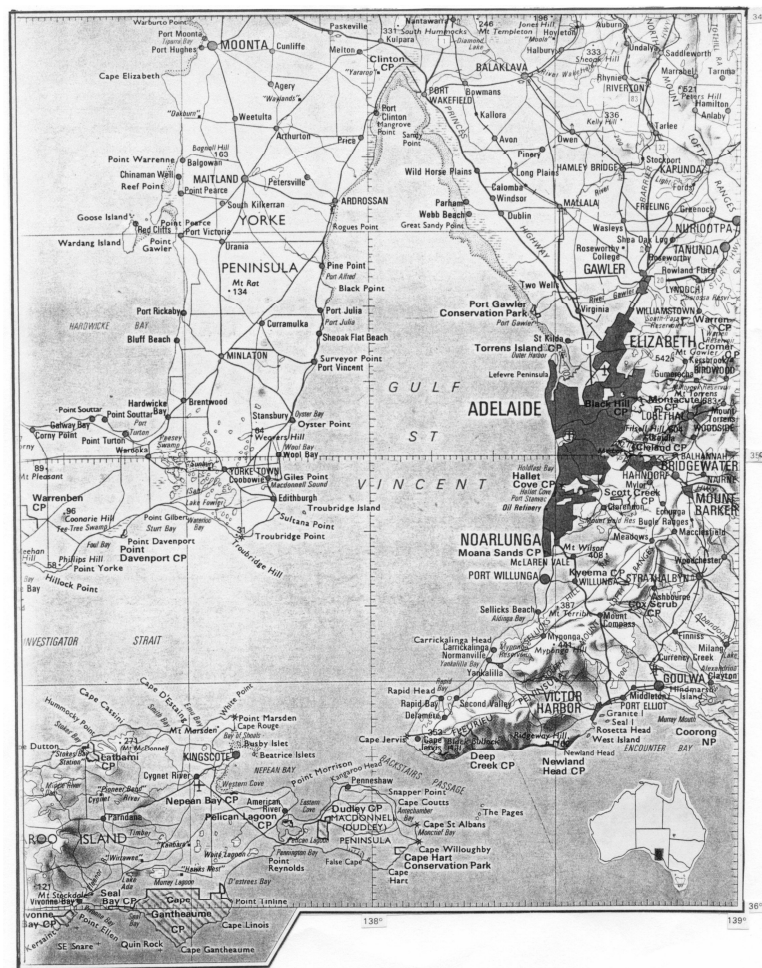

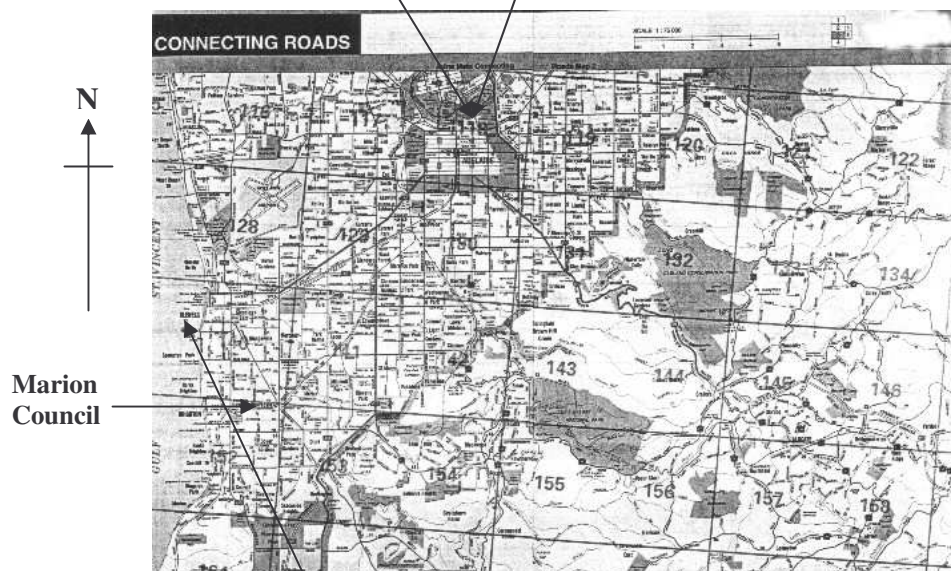**Plate 3** Map of South Australia, insert of Australia

First Government House c1838, view to southeast, artist unknown (Mitchell Library)

Government House, Adelaide, view to north (Copland 2000)

N

Marion Council

Adelaide and Suburbs, South Australia (UBD 1995:10-11)

Government Cottage Glenelg 1870, view northeast (MLSA B9460)

Plate 4 Map of Adelaide Showing Governor's Residences between 1836 - 1856

Chapter Overview

The chapters of this thesis follow this progression of macro to micro. This order was chosen simply as a vehicle to present the overall argument. It could quite as easily have been reversed and there is no suggestion that this is the best or only method available, particularly as one of the arguments discussed later concerns the general opposition to the creation of any linear progression as an explanatory mechanism (see Chapter 3).

Chapter One sets out the methodology used throughout this thesis. Chapter Two deals with settlement as a particular human style of landscape occupation and creates a possible diagnostic index of settlement, limiting the period of settlement from implementation of the theory in 1836 to the granting of Responsible Government in 1856 which is suggested as the separation between the settlement process and ongoing occupation. Chapter Three examines what Settlement Theory may be, and considers: variables that do not seem to be accounted for in the theory; the process of implementing the theory; the effect that the construction of stages/phases/linear development has on the theory; and differences in settlement theory from a disciplinary perspective. The process of implementing theory is particularly highlighted in Chapter Four, which examines Wakefield's theory of 'Systematic Colonisation'. The effects of the theory and the implementation of the South Australian Experiment are examined in Chapter Five. The corresponding material results with regard to the broader landscape are considered in Chapter Six and more specifically in Chapter Seven, with regard to the Governor's residences within the defined period of settlement. Volume II is a Pictorial Essay that not only represents a pictorial overview of the search for the first Government House, but also replaces the usual artefact catalogue found in archaeological reports. This volume also provides the reader with the opportunity to critically consider various choices made by this author in the search for Government Hut. Finally the conclusion

presents an overview and analysis of the research with possible future directions, and ends with a proposal to use the intended settlement of space as a future case study to examine settlement processes currently taking place. If what has been written here assists that settlement process, through the examination of what has occurred in the past, then it has achieved something. If nothing else, considering the past, with regard to the future, has given this author a glimpse of the possible mind-set of people living during the period of exploring our world and exposed the complexities of exploring new worlds.

CHAPTER 1

METHOD SETTLED UPON

1.0 General Methods

Theorising about processes acts like a 'quality control' that allows us to make improvements and alterations to current practice based on acquired knowledge. 'Practice', in this thesis, is taken to be human action and/or the practical implementation of theory. Mistakes can be made in theorising by starting from a particular premise that may be erroneous, or one may create more or different problems based on the mix of variables considered at the time. In the former valuable contributions can still be made through the theory's very existence and other theorists challenging the results. Similarly, in the latter, by changing the mix of variables, one can produce a different and perhaps improved result. In considering settlement it was noted that invariably authors would assume the reader understood the process being discussed and move on quickly to the area of interest to them, often using the word in different contexts. Therefore the starting point of theorising about settlement was, if not necessarily erroneous, sufficiently unclear to lead to misinterpretation of the results. Hence the overall method considered here was to start with defining what was being discussed and suggest that in doing so the results will be more easily interpreted, compared, and developed with further research.

Examining settlement related theories, and the use of the word settlement, highlighted that there was no overall 'Settlement Theory' and within the theories examined a number of variables were disregarded or not considered. Therefore the method used here was to try to define what 'Settlement Theory' might be and consider the effect of the variables that appeared to be missing. In doing so this would create a starting point from which to develop 'Settlement Theory', argue for and against it, and examine it in a

practical sense against a settlement to establish if the theory that operating in this way would improve the situation was in fact true. Furthermore, using this method would provide the opportunity to examine the material culture of a defined settlement and test the impact of what is deemed to be a Settlement Theory on the material culture. In turn this returned to the practical as it involved considering the practical implementation of a theory and therefore allowed for further insight into the process of implementation.

Researching various theories also highlighted that the collection of the data solely within one disciplinary field (e.g. history) was seen to be problematic, as it may bias or skew the outcome. Thus the overall intention in this thesis is to try to consider an interdisciplinary approach using settlement as a behavioural practice including many disciplinary areas. This is important, as archaeology is not only concerned with the study of material culture to establish the actions of human beings, but also the study of the behaviour of humans to help us better understand the resulting material culture. For instance the relationship of buildings to the landscape, or of wider alterations to the landscape, appears to be particularly connected to the process of settlement as opposed to other ongoing occupational styles. Therefore, with a better understanding of what 'settlement' means, we may be in a better position to examine the material outcome.

This chapter will set out the general and specific methodology used both in the research and in the presentation of the material in this thesis. The study area of research for this paper is South Australia, although material from other sources interstate and internationally has also been used where it pertained to the study area. Primary documents were used wherever possible from major repositories such as the South Australian Archives, which hold official despatches and documents relating to government, and the Public Records Office (PRO) at Kew Gardens in Britain, which

houses the Dominion records and the responses to documents held in South Australia. The Mortlock Library in South Australia was also an important place of research as it holds the papers, diaries, pictures etc. that pertains to South Australia, but are not specifically related to government and governmental instrumentalities. While research within South Australia was ongoing, work at the PRO was limited from 23 August 2001 to 22 September 2001 and included a search of Kings College Library, in the old PRO building at Chancery Lane, London. Art works and photographs of early Adelaide were examined at the institutions already mentioned as well as others, specifically; the Art Gallery of South Australia, the Australian National Library in Canberra, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney. Volume II, a Pictorial Essay, is included as a methodological approach to supplant the traditional artefact catalogue and provide a visual account. Apart from being a useful tool to refer to throughout the research its compilation represents material developments over the period being discussed. This process may also assist the reader in drawing their own conclusions regarding the data examined; the deductive processes used, and connects the pictorial data to the in-text references.

1.1 Methodology in Specific Chapters

There are other methodological approaches applicable to particular chapters that require mention here. For instance, Chapter Three, Settlement Theory, acts as a more traditional literature review, as does the work throughout the thesis, which is perhaps a change to the conventional methodological approach to thesis writing. For some this may be a problem, as there are not the neat separations between Historical Background and Literature Review, but this is one of the purposes of this thesis. Historical Reviews tend to be up front and not tied to the data until the conclusion and in some cases not even then. Such a process leaves the reader to draw the information together, much like

trying to gain an overview of the archaeological work across Australia, to be able to compare and contrast the outcomes. Overall this thesis does not lend itself to a traditional approach particularly as it, in itself, is trying to suggest a different, more inclusive approach overall which integrates the information throughout.

1.1.1 Settlement (Chapter Two)

Chapter Two considers the behavioural occupational process of settlement that is seen to be behaviour quite different from other occupational styles. The method used was to try to deconstruct the settlement process to better understand and identify the process being discussed. This led to trying to construct a diagnostic index of settlement to assist both in this thesis and in future investigations.

1.1.2 Settlement Theory (Chapter Three)

In Chapter Three an attempt is made to define Settlement Theory to both assist future application of this term and to identify the value of doing so for archaeology. The proposed diagnostic index of settlement is put to the test and variables are considered to examine problems and advantages arising in various theories of settlement founded in different disciplines. This approach is used also to highlight the limitations of strict disciplinary categorisation, in reference to settlement theories, and the ultimate advantage of an interdisciplinary approach, while also offering a possible rationale for these limitations. The difficulty of implementing theory is intended to assist both in the link to the following chapter, on the Settlement of South Australia, detailing the application of a particular settlement theory, and in the link to this thesis overall, which attempts to theorise about a particular methodological approach and test it in practice. The debate on linear stages of development is considered to reiterate how unproductive linear stages are. Other than on a general historical level, linear stages fail to allow for

the human condition of deviation from the norm, which in itself appears to account for change. Also in this chapter is some discussion regarding the individual as the instigator of change even though it may require a group to eventually effect the change.

1.1.3 Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Chapter Four)

Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of settlement, Systematic Colonisation, is considered individually from the perspective of a settlement theory and also as a theory that was to be implemented. Methodologically this relates to the previous chapter on settlement theories in general and uses documentary evidence as the prime source of data to consider the cognitive processes of settlement. This chapter also considers the personal impact of Wakefield on the development of the theory and expected outcomes.

1.1.4 Settling for South Australia (Chapter Five)

The method used in this chapter was to use the documentation available on South Australia, test the diagnostic index of settlement and the proposed definition of Settlement Theory, but also to consider theory actually being put into practice using a case study of European settlement of South Australia.

1.1.5 Settling Down (Chapter Six)

The method chosen for this chapter has two distinct parts. Firstly, the fairly conventional archaeological approach of using the material culture to evaluate changes in the settlement process, acknowledging that "the past exists not only in records of the past, but survives in buildings, objects and landscapes of the present day..." (Cohn 1987:49). The use of the landscape, such as the search for the site for the Capital (Adelaide), its design, and the creation of the Domain, is used to consider the impact of the theory and to evaluate its practical implementation.

The second part is to use the historical data as an artefact to firstly cater for the more ephemeral effects (such as political, economic or social change) on cognitive processes in settlement and houses and secondly to complement the material remains on the landscape. As Yentsch states, "artifact interpretation requires the imaginative reinsertion of people from the past into each distinctive context" (Yentsch 1994:294). It is assumed that the use of 'imaginative' refers to creative processes rather than fanciful musings. To deal with the ephemeral effects, diaries, letters, and official documents were used to try to gain an insight into the motives of those involved and the ramifications of these for settlement and material culture. With regard to the material remains, documents, drawings, photographs, and maps were used to try to establish the physical effects on the creation and development of a new settlement. This process also assisted in trying to establish the locality of the first Government House and examine changes to the building that now stands as Government House, as discussed in Chapter 7.

1.1.6 A House for the Governor (Chapter Seven)

The intention was to examine the material culture of the Governor's residences in light of the possible effects of the theory of Systematic Colonisation. This required the use of documentary evidence to find the first Government House as it burnt down in 1842 leaving no visible marker on the landscape. Its existence was almost completely lost to general knowledge and people dismissed its importance possibly because, due to its crude construction and style, it was called 'Government Hut'. A major problem encountered was the archival search. While later residences are fairly well documented, the Hut, particularly its actual position, has proven to be something of an enigma. It is mentioned in a number of documents, depicted on maps, paintings, and sketches, but unfortunately the accuracy of the maps and drawings are dubious. Poetic and artistic

licence has to be contended with, as well as the fact that surveyors are interested in boundaries, but not necessarily in what is on the landscape within the property. Surveyors' field-note books do not always record the buildings within the boundaries being surveyed and often omit natural features such as creeks running through the property. Others are a little more diligent and items such as a particular outcrop of stone or even a potato patch have been depicted (Copland 2000:29). Other limitations in this method, apart from the fact that accounts and references to the building are either vague or ill defined, are that much of the original landscape has been so altered that definitive directions are no longer available and there appears to have been no discernible landmarks in the immediate vicinity to accurately anchor the position of the building.

The archival search also offered the possibility of comparing the methodology of working form the written record to establish the archaeological record with the methodology used while working in Austria, where we used the archaeological record of salt mines (Dobiat & Stöllner 1999, 2000; Stöllner, Megaw, & Morgan 1999; Megaw, Morgan, & Stöllner, 2000; Stöllner et al 2003) to search for nearby habitation sites, to establish a written record. Perhaps this process would also gain some insight into determining differences between the written record and the archaeological record. Unfortunately, so far, neither the Hut in South Australia nor the habitation sites in Australia have been located. Even so, the written record of the Hut and the archaeological search did establish where it was not and assisted in collating data to provide a better description of the building (see drawing Plate 38). This information and the existence of other residences of the Governor were sufficient to consider the effects of the theory.

Other constraints such as the non-intrusive direction of archaeology today, and therefore the increased use of extremely sensitive sub-surface survey equipment, and the fact that the current Government House is still in use as a residence also limited this research to mostly desktop archaeology. Choosing this methodological approach, in keeping with the current major move away from excavation (Jack 1993:125), complements the non-intrusive survey and soil penetration devices now being used which have changed the basic methodology of archaeology. The benefits of course are the forced inclusion and integration of written evidence that is supported by Jane Lydon who suggests, the inclusion of this technique adds to the cultural context (1999:2). Such a direction is further supported by Anne Yentsch's use of this approach with "... the final objective … to see if it is possible to discern how the role of family members in the community and its household composition might reasonably be played out in the material world" and include all stratum of society (Yentsch 1994:50 & 294). Considering the material landscape in and around Government House, i.e. the other buildings and infrastructure in the grounds and in the vicinity of the grounds, indeed the location within the Colony, is examined to consider also the power, influence, status, and effect of the Governor.

The choice of using the Governors residences was based on the hypothesis that the theory did affect the material outcome and therefore the most likely evidence would be in the form of the residence of one of the people who played a major role in the implementation process. The period of time chosen is in keeping with the proposed idea that settlement is a particular process that starts and finishes and therefore the residences between 1836 and 1856 are considered. Often one part of a society is removed to privilege another for a particular point to be made at a specific time and currently it seems to be the privileged. Connah, for example, while providing useful points as to why someone would study documentary evidence, leans towards the current process to

disregard the seemingly privileged people in the archaeological record in favour of the disenfranchised settler (Connah 1988:1-5; 1998:5). Although this is for a good reason, as the latter are more often than not forgotten in the first place in the documentary evidence, the choice of using the enfranchised was because of the need to have documentary evidence to test the hypothesis.

There is also some discussion of the Governors themselves and their retinue to try to establish if there were any identifiable links between their particular lives and the material changes to the residences and the Domain. Yentsch used a similar process and poses similar questions, using two Governors in Maryland, to try to determine the effect of their "... behaviour ... backgrounds, training, and social networks..." on the material world (Yentsch 1994:50). Moreover, while there may be value in a comparative study of other Governor's residences in Australia or overseas the problem is that a contemporaneous process did not occur and the variables in time, environment and conditions detract from the argument dealt with here concerning the implementation of a particular theory of settlement.

The ensuing search for Government Hut began with examining maps, books, diaries and letters for details of the site, and the position of the building, up to and including the present day and current landscape. The data search went beyond the period being considered to establish changes to the landscape that could have affected the archaeological record. During this process, data was collected and examined regarding the builders, the occupants and those around them, and official documentation in the hope of locating further details regarding the Hut's position, construction, and use. Through libraries, art galleries, and archives, both in Australia and Britain, any pictures or references to the building were collected. The results are a Pictorial Essay, much like

an artefact assemblage or stratified excavation, and an unsuccessful Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey of an area of the current Government Domain which appeared to be the most likely and least disturbed position for the Hut. A brief mention is made of the GPR survey to demonstrate the action taken, particularly as the archaeologist, or as Cohn puts it the 'anthropological historian', "should have working experience of both the field and the archive" (1987:49), and for future research and archaeological reference. This Pictorial Essay, along with the bibliographic references, virtually replaces the catalogue of artefacts, and similar data, presented in the usual archaeological report. Of course in viewing the pictures one must bear in mind artistic licence, in much the same way we consider the written word and the possible biases of the authors. Using the method of a Pictorial Essay allows the reader to make their own deductions regarding the position of the Hut and may also assist future archaeological investigations in the form of excavations, surveys or garden reconstruction. The data compiled in this manner is easily accessible and with the ever-changing technological advances in computerisation may be revisited to superimpose the data to obtain more definitive results.

Consequently, like the written accounts, examination of paintings and maps had to be considered bearing in mind 'poetic and artistic licence' (Longmead 1983:336). Viewing the variations in the Hailes/Opie drawings of the landscape (Plates 86-88) gives an excellent example of the same scene being slightly altered. Due to various amounts of detail included, and the different perspectives and directions from which the artist, photographer, mapmaker developed their work, it was difficult to reconcile much of the data. Particularly due to the changes in the landscape that has occurred since where it is now not possible to view the scenes from the same vantage points. This can be seen in the Plates 126-130 showing the current view to the south trying to match the 1830s view

of the Hut in Plates 131-137, and the current view to the northeast Plate 150-151 (hampered by the current Parliament House) trying to match the only records of the co-existence of both Government Hut and the second Government House (the current Kingston Wing) in Plates 138-141. It has been encouraging to find the pictorial method, as an archaeological tool, being used successfully overseas in the re-evaluation of data, and conclusions developed through traditional archaeological methods, regarding the construction of the 'Iron Bridge' in Shropshire, Britain (Palmer 2002). Analysing the pictorial evidence produced a reconstruction of the Hut that is included in this chapter.

The written records regarding the Hut caused the usual problems of contradictory perceptions and specificity, highlighting the lack of detailed accounts of common, obvious, or well-known sites. This was probably exacerbated by the lack of specific geographical landmarks, other than the river and hills, because the comments were general rather than specific, for instance, the opportunity to write 'the Hut was next to the stone outcrop' or 'at the fork in the river'. In fact, the Hut itself was used as a landmark at night when late night revellers used a "guiding light on the Government House fence" (Hawker 1899:12) to find their way home. There is a similar confusion regarding the first hospital in the Colony (Forbes 1986, 1996:5–6). This book also highlights the connection of health and social services to the original theory by Wakefield and the implementation process. The data is presented here in chronological order.

1.1.7 Pictorial Essay (Volume II)

The Pictorial Essay takes the place of the artefact catalogue and offers the opportunity for the reader to critically analyse the available data. It was decided to create a second volume to house these pictures, drawings and maps, to allow the reader to access these

simultaneously while reading the in-text references. Having it in the main body of the work appeared too disjointed and, as there are many references to the Plates, the resulting constant flipping backwards and forwards became tiresome. While the Plate numbering is continuous, beginning in Volume II at Plate 61, there are no page numbers in Volume II. In many cases this collection of documentary evidence represents the only remaining material evidence of the material culture and landscape that once existed around Government House and therefore is no less important than a piece of the wall of the Hut or the original bank of the River.

1.3 Conclusion

In the conclusion the data retrieved is tested to consider if the methodological approach, and whether the various points and arguments, raised throughout the thesis, had any basis or value. The overall approach attempted within this thesis perhaps needs to be restated clearly which is best encapsulated by Cohn's use of historians as an anthropological case study and his statement that,

> I had to grapple with a historian's technical problems - locating, identifying, classifying, editing, and analysing documents. However, beyond this level I had hoped to treat the material differently from the manner of a historian. I wanted to treat the material of history the way an anthropologist treats his field notes (Cohn 1987: 2).

Therefore, having 'grappled' with the 'technical problems', the information was used not to simply reconstruct the events and draw conclusions but also to use the information for archaeological research, incorporate it into the fabric of the entire thesis, and use it to locate and examine material culture.

CHAPTER 2
SETTLEMENT

2.0   The meaning and limits of 'settlement'.

This thesis considers the human habitat and human activities in and around that habitat which are fundamental to the discipline of archaeology. However, this relatively obvious statement needs qualifying to clearly identify the specific area of interest under discussion. Therefore, while mention may be made of other hominids, it is *Homo sapiens* in the mid 1800s that are the focus and, while the habitat under consideration may be geographically varied, the ultimate focus will be on human activities. As Fletcher (1995:7) points out, "Humans are social animals. We habitually live in residential communities however small or transient". He also suggests that human interaction causes various strains, trash, noise, etc, which on a small-scale could account for changes in patterns of accommodation, and on a large-scale for initialising new settlement based on personal preference. To some degree the type of dwelling and particular activities, the 'small scale' within the associated habitat, will be discussed in relation to the human activity of creating a particular habitat, the 'larger scale', which has generically been called 'settlement'. There are a variety of human activities, along with numerous physical and natural environmental factors, that impinge on the practice of settlement. While all associated components are interrelated, and affect outcomes to varying degrees, the focus here is to consider how settlement has been discussed by others, establish the effect of a predetermined settlement plan on the process of settlement, and perhaps develop a better understanding and greater insight into this complex behavioural practice. The first issue to deal with is the language used in this paper in particular and by others when discussing settlement in general.

2.1   Settlement language

It appears that many words have been used to describe, discuss and analyse the human activities of travelling between places and of remaining in once place or another for varying periods of time. These activities become the basis of the work of the archaeologist who tries to determine why humans moved, paused, where they came from, why they left, how long they stayed at places, what other activities took place, what effects there may have been on the overall history of human development, the landscape, and many other related questions. As Daniels (1972:202) suggests,

> *Historical factors.* These comprise all the causal factors stemming from the way of life of the makers and users of the artefacts, their environment and their reactions to it. As complex and entangled as any set of data and causes in social sciences, these are the proper field of study of the archaeologist.

Many archaeologists ascribe words to the initial activity, or lack of act of 'pausing', that are not fully defined perhaps because it is so fundamental that pre-knowledge is assumed, and the words are assumed to be readily understood by others in the specific field and therefore need no further clarification. Part of the problem may also be that the particular focus of the enquiry takes precedence, such as agriculture or mining etc., or the difficulty in isolating the various forms of this activity in the archaeological record. Unfortunately, the English language being what it is, misunderstanding and bias (both unintentional and intentional) can occur, for instance whether the 'nomadic' style of landscape occupation, which is discussed further later, may be considered a style of settlement or land tenure at all, or whether it may be considered a less developed or underdeveloped stage in a progression of human behaviour towards a particularly biased views of what a developed society is. Bias and the possibility of misunderstanding are often seen across a collection of works, or a period in which works were written, and therefore care is required to be cognisant of the socio-historical context in which the work has been written. While deconstruction such as this may appear to be hypercritical, it also seems necessary. Analysing the use of the terminology enables us

to refocus on our overall intentions, and directions, and perhaps in the process create some guidelines to follow.

Even in the paragraphs above problems have begun to arise when making statements such as 'the human activities of travelling between places and of remaining in once place or another for varying periods of time', and 'this initial activity, or lack of activity of 'pausing''. With the first statement questions arise regarding what the activity was besides 'remaining', where the place was and why was that place chosen, and what the constraints were, if any, relating to the 'period' of time spent there. As to the second statement, the question immediately arises of does stopping/pausing constitute an activity? If it does, perhaps it is not the initial activity, as it also suggests that movement had been occurring up to that point. Overall these words could also suggest different meanings depending on the context of the sentence and/or indeed the entire text. I have tried to deal with these issues in the following and to create something of a taxonomy of terms used in relation to the generic act of settlement.

2.2   Defining Settlement

2.2.1   Mobility

In his review of Fletcher's book *Limits of Settlement Growth* (1995) Connah (1999:94) states that Fletcher considers "… transformation of human settlement – from mobile to sedentary, from sedentary to agrarian urban, and from agrarian urban to industrial urban …" which suggests that all processes are encapsulated by the word settlement. I would argue that all are human activities but not necessarily settlement *per se*, nor are they necessarily in a linear progression. Linear progressions are discussed later, but in terms of these activities mentioned here it would appear that 'mobile' simply describes the human ability and possibly the desire to travel, bearing in mind that, simply because you

can move does not mean that you will. Mobile humans may stop frequently or infrequently, with or without a residence (where 'residence' in this case is material for shelter rather than a particular place), and the duration of that cessation of travelling could vary. Therefore to begin with it can be suggested that when a person travels continuously, stopping only to meet the daily basics of physical needs, and without alternate purpose, necessity, or intent, they can be seen as simply wandering and not as settling. Fletcher (1995:165) calls this 'residential mobility' and 'mobile and transient residential behaviour' which he separates form 'logistic mobility' which he defines as the opportunity, ability, or desire to travel for short or long periods of time, but where there is a permanent place of residence one departs from and returns to (Fletcher 1995:165, 240-241). Of course there are the cases, discussed later in terms of commitment to settlement, where there is only the belief on the part of the travellers that they will return to the permanent place of residence, but for one reason or another they never do. Fletcher's vocabulary appears to focus on human physical activity by using the term 'sedentism', discussed in more detail later, as an antonym of mobile but, by doing so, perhaps demonstrates the linguistic link between activity and result which is the essence of settlement.

If we add variables of purpose, necessity, and/or intent to mobility, we add in the dimensions of nomadism, migration, exploration, trade, and visitation etc., which appear to alter its sense from chaotic wandering to purposeful patterns and, as such, move towards a possible meaning of settlement. For example, if routes are taken on a regular basis, and possibly repeated cyclically for a particular reason, or with particular lengths of visitation duration, then one could possibly call this a style/type of settlement, depending on the randomness of the events and whether a pattern can be discerned. In such instances a large area could be considered owned, occupied, or settled, where the

occupation style is based on nomadism, migration, or a combination of these and other activities, e.g. hunting, gathering, and trading, as occurs often in hostile environments such as Canada, the Middle East or Australia. Therefore settlement would seem to be a particular 'pattern' of human physical activities, more often than not tied to a Euro-centric view of use and ownership of land. However, it seems quite clear that settlement and land tenure are not mutually exclusive, as we have seen many instances of settlements taking place on land owned and used by others and land owned and used in a way that equates more to mobility and sedentism than the view of settlement discussed in this thesis.

Mobile activities, such as exploration, trade, conquest etc., that may bring greater geographical distances into the realms of an very large style of land occupation e.g. empires, are activities that in themselves are not settlement but rather components of the pattern. Explorers, for example, probably fall into Fletcher's category of logistically mobile and, even though these activities may be a cause of future settlement at places of visitation and are certainly a component of settlement, neither they, nor nomadic styles of land tenure, are the focus of this thesis. However, it is where these activity-centric components of settlement are described as settlement that confusion occurs. For instance Hill, in her study on mining activities in Australia in the nineteenth century, uses terms like "exploitation of mineral resources and the associated settlements", "mining settlement", "slate-mining near the settlement", and "mining and associated settlement" (1999:60, 61, 64 & 67). In this instance one presumes, through association, that 'exploitation of mineral resources' or 'mining' was the purpose of, or what led to, settlement, while 'slate mining' did not stimulate the residential complex. The possible alternate meanings of 'associated' do not help, nor does the possible change in orientation of terminology from using 'settlement' as a verb, noun, or adjective. Hill's

paper discusses the connection between mining and settlement but we are left to determine the definition and parameters of settlement with a focus on the mining. In fact she defines 'tunnel' and 'adit' to differentiate between the two structures (Hill 1999:65) but does not address separating mining as a component of a larger geographical area of occupation, and possible relationship to a distant permanent place of residence, and a new settlement. As suggested earlier, activity and habitat are inextricability linked as the 'essence of settlement' but we need to define clearly which we are discussing to be able to determine what is occurring and how they are linked.

2.2.2 Sedentism and Settlement

Sedentism as a human activity or behaviour must be the starting point when considering the meaning of settlement. The complications of when this first occurred, why it occurred, where and, for what periods of duration, and the numbers of people involved, all interact in the way the term 'settlement' is used. Fletcher (1995:171) states that, "the application of the meaning of 'sedentism' is unstable, and its archaeological identification is currently uncertain". He goes on to state that stability is not assisted by "several regions with archaeological sequences that straddle a proposed shift towards permanent sedentism", where the size and form of their assemblages are not comprehensively detailed (Fletcher 1995:171). What he is considering is the behavioural shift from mobility to sedentism or rather to permanent sedentism as opposed to a possible interim process of sporadic or temporary points of visitation in a developmental process. However, the starting point would appear to be group behaviour, as the quality of life regarding physical and emotional protection, survival, and genetic success are more obvious in groups than in individuals. This being the case, sedentism is secondary to group behaviour, as a mobile group could achieve these same successes. The change from mobile group behaviour to sedentary opportunities is

demonstrated in Isaac's 'home base theory' (1983) which links the group activity to sedentism but not necessarily to the more intricate case of settlement. While not wanting to be locked into a linear process, one could say that changing to sedentism, i.e. remaining in one place for a period of time, does seem to conserve the time and energy normally applied to travelling, thus allowing this to be directed towards other pursuits and possible greater potential in terms of comfort, survival, and protection across the spectrum of human needs as seen in Isaac's (1983) theory mentioned above. Therefore it appears that group sedentary behaviour can be seen as the particular process called settlement. However, the duration of this sedentary behaviour, the numbers of humans involved, the intention or purpose of the sedentary behaviour, the sustainability of the landscape, and a number of variables in human behaviour relating to individuals and group dynamics, determines our views when connecting sedentary behaviour and permanent settlement.

Fletcher creates a stress matrix to assist in defining the limits of settlement growth. By doing so he in turn backtracks to use this to define settlement or permanent sedentism in terms of:

- The tolerable residential density 'Interaction limit (I-limit)' as the impetus to leave or expand elsewhere,
- The distance limits breaking down communication 'Communication limit (C-limit)',
- The threshold density 'Threshold limit (T-limit)' accounting for large areas that are sparsely populated which are not constrained by the C-limit and their low density, and environment, would seem to inhibit density change (1995:3).

He goes on to state,

> Within the terms of the stress matrix permanent sedentism can be defined as a class of behaviour which, whatever else it does, enables large groups of more than 200-300 people to function at higher residential densities than mobile or seasonally sedentary communities of the same size (Fletcher 1995:171).

For our purposes this is a quantum leap in terms of 'whatever else it does', as Fletcher's interest in permanent sedentism is viability and change within sedentary groups over a

certain size and over a certain area of landscape. While this is groundbreaking and an extremely useful process, and will be discussed further later, it cannot be seen as a suitable definition here.   As Fletcher himself concedes, from an archaeological perspective there are problems in determining whether permanent sedentism has occurred based purely on density and dispersal of occupation. Insightfully he suggests that biomechanical indices may assist in identifying periodicity and degree of site use to deal with changes in 'transition settlement' (1995:183). In using the term 'transition settlement', being various residential behavioural adaptations from mobility to permanent sedentism, we cannot assume that,

> we are observing a single process or a simple dichotomy between sedentism and mobility … Such an assumption would lead to specious generalisations if, in addition to several trajectories, oscillations between strategies were also involved (Fletcher 1995:183).

Problems regarding rigid stage developmental processes are discussed later but perhaps we could see the situation here in a simpler way by considering Hill's (1999:67) use of the word 'transition' when she states, "The history of The Welsh Village is one of fluctuating mining interests and transition in the character of the settlement". Here the purpose and intentional use of the landscape was exploitive and transitory in the first instance as part of a larger scale of settlement, similar to Fletcher's idea of 'logistical mobility', where the character changes to become a settlement in its own right. Such changes and the point of change may be difficult to determine using the archaeological record alone as, for instance, the use of more durable residential construction materials may well have been made from human choices in comfort and material availability rather than from a view to permanency. In South Australia John Barton Hack and his brother Stephen, for example, were "almost the only people in the colony who possess wooden houses, all the others living in rush-huts and tents" (Hack cited in Herbert 1978:13), but if the settlement had ceased at that point through some environmental catastrophe this may have been regarded as a temporary occupation of the area.

Although on balance we could probably draw such conclusions from the temporary nature of material used by Hack it would appear that Fletcher's statement of "sustained perennial continuity of occupation by a resident population" (Fletcher 1995:165) is a much more satisfactory definition of permanent settlement. As such this separates permanent settlement from sedentism by suggesting that permanent settlement involves 'sustained perennial continuity of occupation' by a group of residents. Even here there would seem to be qualifiers necessary to consider this to be a settlement. For instance, a male or female penal colony is not a settlement, but may well be 'sustained' and perennial'. Therefore to meet the criteria of settlement the group could not be simply a group of individuals where the agenda for occupation is set by others, but rather a socially, physically, or emotionally inter-dependant group of men and women with a range of ages where choices can be made. Also there may be temporal and spatial issues to be considered which are discussed later.

Kroeber suggests of civilizations that,

> There has really been very little attempt at basic classification of civilizations, either of their diachronic courses or of their synchronic anatomies, functions and generic properties (1963:171).

As there seem to be so many 'functions and generic properties' I would agree with Fletcher that "an independent diagnostic index for sedentism is necessary …"(1995:183). However, having already shown that sedentism is not necessarily settlement I have instead considered a diagnostic index for settlement and, using the earlier discussion in this chapter, tried to create this index using the following hierarchy of issues as a possible guide to expand on the factors constituting settlement. The resulting discussion often eliminates what does not constitute settlement to reach the meaning of settlement.

2.3   Settlement Diagnostic Index

- Individuals and Groups.
- Size and Construction of Groups.
- Purpose, Intent, Necessity, & Duration.
- Sustainability of the Natural Landscape.
- Group dynamics.
- Success or Failure - Chronology.
- Diagnostic Index of Settlement.

2.3.1 Individuals and Groups

As we are considering settlement I would suggest that we dispense with considering a lone individual. Individuals may have an effect on settlement within a group complex, which will be dealt with later, but a person totally on their own can live a sedentary life, and therefore fit into an index of sedentism, but not an index of settlement. The concept of settlement must be seen as a group activity, therefore one person alone cannot constitute settlement. For instance Nikolai Nikolaevich Mikloucho-Maclay conducted scientific experiments at Astrolabe Bay, on the north coast of New Guinea between 1871 and 1883, but there was no intention on his part to settle the area and in fact he appeared to do all he could to prevent subsequent settlement (Mikloucho-Maclay 1975). In such instances, often a person arrives at a place, stays for any length of time, then returns to their point of origin, therefore the issue of whether settlement had occurred would appear to be doubtful. On the other hand one person may be seen as a settler, and settle a distant location which is discussed in more detail later, but for all intents and purposes they are still an integral part of the settlement or group complex which they left.

There are situations where more than one person resides at the same place for various lengths of time with individual intentions and reasons for being there, often with no intimate social connection, and with no intention of settlement. These are simply a group of individuals and therefore do not constitute a settlement. Some such groups many have similar reasons, such as military service or trading, or are forced to stay, such

as slavery or punishment, but the reason they are where they are is generally based on the needs or goals of others and therefore does not constitute settlement. Goals and intentions are discussed further later, but it would also seem that in many instances these groups of individuals are also of the same sex. It would seem that a prerequisite of settlement would be something of a balance of both sexes if the intention was to create a settlement in perpetuity that would not require constant replacement from elsewhere. Consequently, as part of a diagnostic index, there would seem to be a need for more than one person, in fact a mix of people, and a social connection between these people for settlement to result.

2.3.2   Size and Construction of Groups

Within this mix and social connection it would also seem to be reasonable to suggest that there would be a requirement for both sexes and a range of ages to be present. I would argue that settlement suggests a social community which in itself suggests all avenues of human activity, including procreation, to at least maintain population numbers if not increase them. Other forms of group residential behaviour without the intended consequence of another generation must be seen as only a component of settlement, such as monasteries or nunneries. In these cases, as there is no intention of self perpetuation, commitment to permanency may be questionable and replacements must come from what can be seen as the actual settlement or permanent place of residence. Biological, environmental and social attitudes can cloud this issue, but overall the original intention must be population sustainability from within.

Therefore both sexes would be required and at least more than one male and one female. The greater the number of males and females together, the greater the probability that settlement is occurring based on the intended outcome of self-perpetuation. Children

not being born does not preclude settlement from occurring as an intended settlement may not survive long enough to have children as long as the potential existed. Therefore there should be a number of both sexes present who are sexually mature.

The example of the male dominated whalers and sealers on Kangaroo Island in South Australia is an interesting situation. At times they stayed up to three years at one place (Moore 1925:87-88) but it is quite clear that, at the time, there was no intention to stay permanently. At times there were also Indigenous women and interrelated children present (Leigh 1839:126; Gill 1909:122; Cawthorne 1927; Copland 2002; Taylor 2002), but there still did not seem to be an intention on the part of the men to stay. One could not even presume that the few men who appeared to have a closer relationship with the Indigenous women and did stay to participate in the settlement process in 1836, would have remained on the Island through intention if the eventual settlement had not in fact taken place. In this case permanent settlement actually took place at a later date than their arrival and in other cases settlement may have occurred quite quickly after such alternate uses of an area had taken place. There are some difficulties where there are indigenous people involved and where there are examples of both sexes residing at a place but where settlement is not the objective. Therefore there is a need to consider other factors such as purpose, intent, necessity and duration.

2.3.3 Purpose, Intent, Necessity and Duration

How long people stay in one place is tied to purpose, intent and, possibly, necessity relating to the physical and natural environment. As part of a diagnostic index of sedentism, the basic issue would be that people did stay in one place and that the duration should be of no real issue. However, as stated earlier, if this was only long enough to meet basic daily human needs then sedentism would not appear to exist.

When that stay is longer than satisfying these needs then sedentism would appear to exist and when this includes a purposeful intention to remain then settlement would appear to exist. Purpose in turn must be qualified by the intention. That is, the purpose may well be to meet human physical or emotional needs but also present should be the intention to remain indefinitely and not simply until resources run out or, like the whalers, to depart after a fixed period of time.

Common purpose/intention or predominant purpose/intention must also be considered, as there may well be a number of individuals and/or groups that partake in an exercise of settlement but have no purpose/intent or no ability to exercise either. People who are moved against their will cannot be seen to be forming a settlement as it is not their intention but rather someone else's that is at issue. For instance, convicts, placed in isolation from a community, are still part of the community process that isolated them and yet, eventually, they may unintentionally form part of a new settlement process. There is a historical complexity that must be considered where intentions of some members of a particular socially constructed group of the time, more often than not women and children, may not be considered by the dominant gender or age group.

In some cases, for a group of individuals or a more socially cohesive group there may well be a common purpose which is geared towards random, exploitive, or opportunistic events, but if the intent is for a limited or finite duration, whether the events themselves have a finite end or not, then this is not settlement. Generally in such cases there is a limited the range of ages, and an inequitable balance of sexes. There are also cases where individuals will be part of a settlement process, promoting the collective intent, while they themselves have no intention of remaining indefinitely. For example the Governors of South Australia, who came to South Australia with family, some even

producing more children upon arrival, certainly helped to create a settlement, but had no intention of remaining. They were part of a larger community, an empire, and were simply logistically mobile. Of course circumstances may change, such as the purpose changing from a particular activity, or the intention to remain from finite to infinite, and it is not always easy to see in the archaeological record when this occurs. Hill provides another example when she mentions, "as the interests of the original gold-seekers diminished within the gully, people with different values and perception exerted influence upon the landscape" (1999:64). These changes, and human deviation, are dealt with further in this thesis to try to determine the extent of their impact on settlement.

Therefore duration is only important in relation to purpose and intent whereby, even if the duration was only a day, if there was an interdependent group involved, with a common purpose beyond meeting basic daily needs, and there was an intention to remain, then we have settlement. Of course purpose and intent is often difficult to establish from the archaeological record, but the concept of 'agency' can assist, even though there are, as seen in Dobres & Robb (2000a), different views as to the meaning of agency and its use. Dobres and Robb mention that some interpret agency as "the strategic carrying out of intentional plans for the purpose of goals" (2000b:9) which fits well with the uses and considerations of intention and purpose in this thesis.

Shackel suggests,

> Observing subtle variations in the archaeological record and placing them within a historic and social context is one way to observe and interpret the choices made by agents (2000:232),

which may provide an answer to the difficulties mentioned above. Overall the premise still stands that even settlement of a one-day duration is still settlement. However, the

question that arises regards the effects and sustainability of the environment in which settlement takes place. This can be a determinant regarding duration of settlement, as discussed in the following section, but should not be regarded as part of the diagnostic index of settlement. Necessity to move through physical or natural environmental pressures does not mean people have reverted to mobility from sedentism, nor does it mean a lack of purpose or intent with regard to settlement, rather it is simply a reaction to forces outside the settlement process. Also the dimensions of the settlement, in terms of area or space occupied, does not determine settlement but rather different mechanisms to deal with the physical and natural environmental issues at hand.

2.3.4 Sustainability of the Natural Landscape

Sustainability is a very broad term and could encompass a lack of resources, a change to the resource availability, natural environmental factors, and associated limitations placed on settlement growth. Where there is limited growth potential Fletcher uses 'Threshold limit (T-limit)' and suggests that affected locations, where the environment limits the population density and growth, are not a new or separate settlement but rather a component of settlement (1995:3). Simply, the geographical dimensions of one settlement may be different than others. Distant or peripheral locations are tied to the core of the settlement, but if the relationship is unknown in the first place, or even, as a result of technological advances increasing the threshold, the relationship changes, then for our purposes it may be, or become, a settlement. The fact that the landscape inhibits settlement growth or even sustainability, where the 'carrying capacity' may be exhausted quickly, does not constitute a factor in the diagnostic index of settlement. Sustainability affects purpose, intent, and length of stay only in as much as is known within the historical context of the period. Therefore if sustainability was unknown or presumed but turns out to be so, then this is still settlement. For example, earthquakes,

inferior soil, and wars can create refugees, but these events do not alter the fact that the settlement these refugees departed from was a settlement. Similarly, as will be discussed in more detail later with regards to South Australia, the lack of understanding prior to arrival regarding the sustainability of the landscape does not mean that the purpose and intent was not to create a settlement. Success is not an issues as discussed further in section 2.3.6 below.

2.3.5 Group Dynamics.

Sustainability also refers to elements of the social environment, such as wars or social disasters (Zelinsky 1966:45-46). Fletcher uses the 'Interaction limit (I-limit)' to bring in numerous factors relating to the tolerable level of interpersonal limits within group dynamics that can be seen as the impetus to leave or expand elsewhere (1995:3). Kroeber sees this as 'functionalism' where sometimes 'culture' is used:

> as a base or background against which societal structure and dynamics, interpersonal interactions, and modifications of culture resulting from societal and personal situations, are examined (1963:161).

While not using the word 'culture', Fletcher is examining the 'modifications' and he tends to focus on population density as a factor. I would rather simply leave it at diverse human levels of tolerance that, in direct correlation to the diversity in human genetic composition, have a wide range. As such this does not form part of the diagnostic index of settlement, though it may well affect the success and structure of the settlement.

The success or failure of a settlement, however that is quantified, does not detract from the fact that settlement existed using the other factors in the index. Interactive tolerance levels do impinge on issues regarding purpose, intent, and commitment only because the levels can change within the group dynamics based on the diversity of purpose, intent, and commitment of others. Stresses placed on a settlement by such diversity, and

perhaps resulting in intolerance and a change in purpose, intent, and commitment, can be seen later in the South Australian case study. However, this does not detract from the fact that settlement existed, but does raise the question of collective purpose, intent, and commitment to the general idea of settlement. There must be an overall or majority impetus to create a settlement, no matter how individuals viewed the final product in terms of their personal purposes, intentions, and commitment.

Not withstanding this, within group dynamics there must be the ability for others to participate in the process, i.e. there are not restrictions such as land ownership, military necessity, etc., preventing others from occupying the area. Of course there may be some arbitrary restrictions such as religion, nationality, etc. where some groups propose a social unity but generally there is an open-ended ability to reside. Interestingly, in Australia, by using the idea of *terra nullius*, the issue of land ownership was dispensed with based on a western perception of land usage. Hence one has to be careful when considering these factors and human behaviour. Some particular variables of human behaviour will be discussed later in terms of factors that have not been sufficiently accounted for in the practice of developing theories regarding settlement processes.

2.3.6   Success or Failure - Chronology

Success or failure of a settlement is not a factor in the diagnostic index but does raise the issue of temporality because for something to succeed or fail it must have started at some point. The question of when this point was is often difficult to establish with settlement for a variety of reasons, some of which have already been mentioned. While success or failure will be discussed in more detail later, it would seem that settlement is an act or the result of many acts ending in a discernable process this very index is trying to diagnose. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* suggests that to 'settle' means to "establish

or become established in more or less permanent abode or place or way of life …", 'settlement' means a " … newly settled tract of country, colony", and 'settler' is "… one who settles in a new colony, early colonist" (1963:1162-1163). While 'settle' encapsulates sedentism and clearly demonstrates an activity, 'settlement' and 'settler' supports the chronological aspect of the beginning, new, and initial status of settlement, and the relationship with colony/colonization that is discussed later. Once settlement has begun it almost seems to require new terminology to refer to it because it already has passed the point of settling. This is perhaps the most complex point, because changes to the process mean using terminology such as 'ongoing settlement', 'settlement growth', 'larger settlement', 'hamlet', 'village', and many other associated terms. While it doesn't seem possible, it would also seem appropriate to stop using the word 'settlement', without a qualifier, when referring to anything beyond a point of initial, new, or first settlement. There is the option of not mentioning settlement at all unless one is specifically discussing this process. For instance, there is no definition of settlement in the *Collins Dictionary of Archaeology*, possibly because it fell into similar categories of "agriculture or domestication" which the Dictionary deliberately does not to cover (Bahn 1992:Introduction), but there are definitions of 'settlement pattern study', 'site', 'site catchment analysis', 'site exploitation territory', and 'site structure' (Bahn 1992:450 & 460). The terms used in defining the first are "human features on the landscape" and "population centres", both of which work well by not ascribing the word settlement and therefore preconceived ideas of what that might mean. These terms would seem to be best to use before talking about the settlement processes involved. Similarly in defining the other four specific terms the Dictionary uses "primary residential locus" which again does not presume to suggest a case for or against settlement. The problem when discussing settlement is when to stop calling it just that.

Later in this paper I have chosen, arbitrary as they are, limits to when I consider initial settlement to be over. These limits, or warranting arguments "to support interpretations of empirical observations" (Bahn 1992:537), would seem to be associated with meeting certain goals that can be aligned to purpose and intent in the settlement process. It could be said that the general purpose and intent of settlement would appear to be the ability to meet physical needs beyond daily subsistence, to have an economic, social, and political independence within a personally tolerable society, and be able to partake fully within this society and the decisions affecting yourself and those associated with you. Others may choose a different set of criteria but overall it would seem that, when discussing settlement, one should always clearly state the limitations and cease to call the result simply settlement from that point onwards. What term to use instead of settlement causes some difficulty, as there is a desire to constantly refer to residential land using this. The answer may be to be diligent in using another noun such as the name of the city, state, village, etc., and/or 'settlement' as a prefix or suffix such as Settlement of Adelaide or the Adelaide Settlement. If the location being discussed is not named, name it and use that name. The arbitrary use of the word settlement detracts from considering this as a particular phenomenon. Throughout this thesis I have adopted the convention of using 'settlement' only where the occupation style meets the requirements of the diagnostic index of settlement.

When we are dealing with the archaeological record we have a terminus point as the material components of the settlement, village, city etc. are abandoned or changed from one type of occupation style to another, and more often than not in various states of decay. This does not automatically mean this is a failed settlement process but could be a successful settlement that has been affected by any number of factors causing its demise at some later date. For instance, one could say that there must have been a

successful settlement at Pompeii, but it was not a settlement that was extinguished by volcanic action, it was a city and a particularly well developed pattern of existence. Therefore, for a settlement to fail, the conditions suggested in determining when settlement is over and a new process underway must not have been met, regardless of the time taken to achieve the set conditions. Once again this does not mean that settlement did not take place, but rather that it failed.

2.3.7   Proposed Diagnostic Index of Settlement

- **Individuals and Groups**

  Is there present more than one person, in fact a mix of people, and a social connection between those people?

- **Size and Construction of Groups**

  Are there a number of both sexes present who are sexually mature and/or with children who could in time reach this stage?

- **Purpose, Intent, Necessity & Duration**

  Have the people been at the place for a common purpose, longer than required to satisfy basic daily needs, and with an intention to remain indefinitely?

- Group Dynamics

  Is there a collective impetus to create a settlement, a general permissible freedom to settle, however that is established, no matter how individuals viewed the final product in terms of their personal purposes, intentions, and commitment?

- **Success or Failure - Chronology**

  Have the terminus points of a settlement, based on the limits and conditions ascribed to it, been met? If so settlement is over and a new process underway and if not then, while it exists, settlement is continuing. Success or failure is only determined in relation to the original goals being achieved.

2.4   Settlement Terminology

With this index in mind it is easy to see that much of what has been written in the literature refers to the success or failure of settlement rather than the activity of settlement itself. The following discusses a variety of uses of the terms associated with settlement that will be examined later in terms of this index. Let us be quite clear that, if we are not talking about 'settlement', then we should not use this term. If we look at the index we can see that much of the literature uses the term inappropriately and too generically to have meaning in terms of 'settlement' (Taylor 1937; Spillett 1972; Bell 1984; Connah 1988; Fletcher 1995; Cunliffe 1997; Hill 1999.). Considering population numbers and composition, structure and material components, and the dimensions of a site, are all valid areas of consideration for a discussion of settlement and may interact with each other. However, while this may seem pedantic, these possible components of settlement cannot be ascribed the name 'settlement' without addressing the phenomenon itself and possibly testing this with something like the index above. By not addressing the phenomenon, the thinking, debate and discourse become confused and dismissive of the particular phenomenon that we may well be considering. This is an easy trap to fall into as can be seen when Hill states,

> The majority of the buildings are distanced to some degree from the more drastic effects of mining, which are mainly focused on the Nimrod reef on the western side of the settlement …(Hill 1999:61).

This use of direction and locale are probably the major cause of misuse. Hill uses 'western verge of the settlement', 'main settlement area', 'south of the Welsh Village', and 'northeastern slopes …. from the settlement' (1999:65 & 66) which tends to suggest that Hill considers the residential buildings to be the settlement/village etc. This is an interesting division, particularly if considering infrastructure such as roads, but stifles the discussion regarding settlement practices and associated material culture and

alteration of the landscape. More appropriately Hill does use 'settlement-landscape' and 'northern boundary of the study area' (Hill 1999:65) which are far less confusing. Perhaps this is simply an archaeological perspective where inference is not desired when discussing the location of material culture. For instance, in excavations where common terms are used, e.g. 'site', 'trench', and 'unit' etc, which are not really that different from the required broader landscape identification of an occupation site, the use of these terms does not predetermine the outcome of the analysis of the material and site. To say 'the knife was found in the kitchen', rather than 'the knife was located in trench x at level x', would be problematic if one had not first determined what was the kitchen.

This raises the question of context and whether there can be a different use of the term 'settlement' in works that are more technical/scientific than in narrative/theoretical, or even within different parts of the same work, such as data presentation as opposed to analysis and conclusions. This in itself suggests that either the contextual and processual schools of thought could well account for the terminology or direction taken when considering settlement as contextual may well be more concerned with the location than processual may be with the conditions that created the location. It could be suggested that the reason for not being able to define the term, or create models in any useful sense, is not being able to maintain a standard or rigorous use of the term across a wide spectrum of studies. There would also seem to be different uses of the term based on the discipline one is focused on, which is discussed more fully later, as suggested by Yentsch when she states that in anthropology 'culture' is often seen, "as a possible *marker* of social phenomena, like group identity, but not as *models that shape* social phenomena, creating social and historical process" (Yentsch 1994:296). The diagnostic index attempts to separate out the social phenomena from the structure, or

components, that shape it, which often seem to be confused and erroneously interchanged in the literature.

2.5   Diagnostic Index of Settlement and Terminology

A number of publications from articles to books spanning a wide chronological range, can now be used to consider the components of the proposed index. Obviously this is not a complete anthology but more of a supportive guide to the ideology developed in the index. The following examples, from across a spectrum of time and archaeological genres, demonstrate the use of the term 'settlement' and highlight the need for reference to a diagnostic index.

2.5.1   Individuals and Groups - Size and Construction of Groups

To begin with, while excavation data is included in site reports and allows for demographic conclusions to be drawn (Kroeber 1963:153), there seems to be little attention paid to quantifying or qualifying 'Individuals and Groups' or 'Size and Construction of Groups' when specifically discussing settlement.   This may be accounted for in the various biases of writing over the years in terms of specific interests, gender etc. Pompeius Trogus wrote of the Celtic settlement of Italy that there were '300,000 men to seek new territories' (Cunliffe 1997:69) which provides a number but also probably uses the term 'men' as a generic term for people. Often the terms used are generic, and open-ended and we are left unable to determine how many people are involved, whether they are men, women or a number of both, and whether or how they are connected socially. Hill rightly states,

> the presence of people within the landscape is a stimulus for change and the marks left by human activity can reveal the relationship that existed between people and their surroundings (1999:60).

However, this does not necessarily constitute or assist in a discussion of settlement. It appears that the word 'presence' or 'occupation', and derivatives of these words, are often used. Similarly 'presence', 'occupation', etc. are also often linked to chronology by words such as, 'initial', 'first', 'early' and derivatives of these words (Valladas et al. 1988; Roberts, Jones & Smith 1990; Nayton 1992; Fletcher 1995, Fullagar, Price and Head 1996; Feathers 1997; Hill 1999) where the quantity, nature of those involved, and/or the phenomena taking place are unknown or unclear. It could be suggested that terms such as 'presence' and 'occupation' etc. instead of 'settlement' should always be used unless settlement is diagnosed.

Of course one could say that these texts are not talking about settlement, they are talking about human occupation for one reason or another. However, this is often linked to questions of settlement. Valladas et al. continue in the same vein using "intensive human occupation" (1988:614), and Roberts, Jones and Smith do not stray into issues of social phenomena by using terms such as "moving inland" (1990:156). On the other hand, Fullagar, Price and Head use terms such as, "The nature and date of the human colonization …", "colonization at this time", "sites suggest an initial colonization", "colonization by archaic humans", and "Aboriginal colonization" (Fullagar, Price and Head 1996:751) which suggests a greater pattern to the occupation than is clear at this time. Colonization is discussed further later, but the inference is that the occupation pattern in colonization is not just settlement in itself, but can also be seen as a particular pattern of settlement and is therefore perhaps also a component of a core settlement situated elsewhere. Their later statements suggesting "prehistory of Aboriginal landscapes" and "an antiquity for humans in Greater Australia at or before the Late Interglacial" (Fullagar, Price and Head 1996: 755 & 771) are devices less likely to be misconstrued. However, the problem can be seen in the editorial related to the Fullagar,

Price and Head paper, when Chippindale takes the leap to discussing occupation as "the nature of the first settlement of Australia", "evidence for an Australian settlement", and "human settlement of the continent" (Chippindale in 1996:729, 731). Some might suggest that use of particular terminology, as may have occurred in the past, is somehow racially prejudiced in an attempt to downgrade the phenomena that is occurring. For instance Lesley Head states that we are,

> … coming to terms with Australia as a cultural landscape over very long periods of time that are quite different perhaps to the views we might have had several decades ago of pristine wilderness, for example, empty landscapes, *terra nullius* (Quantum 1997:4).

However, it could be suggested that the problem is really that the phenomena is not being discussed adequately, and inconsistent terms are being used.

Feathers uses impartial terms such as, "successive occupations", "expansion", and "aboriginal interactions" (Feathers 1997:8 & 9) but alludes to the connection between occupancy and settlement when mentioning "… regional questions such as prehistoric settlement patterns and land use …" and "regional similarities" related to "the beginnings and cause of social complexity" (Feathers 1997:8 &10). Moreover, much like Fletcher's 'Threshold limit (T-limit)' accounting for large areas that are sparsely populated (1995:3) Feathers suggests, "Settlement studies, moreover, include not only large prominent centers but small, dispersed habitations …" (1997:8). The terminology problems are clearly seen in Hill when, without defining what is meant by settlement, she uses terms such as, "development of settlements" (Hill 1999:60), "the settlement was established", "it is difficult to place a precise date on the origins of the settlement" (Hill 1999:61), "settlement became established", "later period in the settlement's development" (Hill 1999:63), "the Welsh settlers who established this settlement…", and "inhabitants of the settlement" (Hill 1999:66). The use of "structures inhabited for a longer period" (Hill 1999:64) may well have been a sound place to start creating a

definition but, even so, the complications of not considering what a settlement is surfaces in Hill's inability to separate the interrelationship or lack of it between a mining outpost or a distant village or town related to a settlement elsewhere. Hill even notes that another author considers "a wider landscape of settlement that includes pastoral and mining interests" (1999:61) then chooses not to follow suit. Rather than using the term settlement the terms 'town' or 'village' etc. would have caused less confusion between statements such as, "dwellings in the area", "remains of the village", "a result of settlement", and "vestiges of settlement" (Hill 1999:61).

Nayton (1992) is closer to the preferred outcome by attempting to define the process in which a town, Cossack, begins to form and ceases to exist and by doing so places limits of size, localised control, and intent, on the exercise (1992:75-76). She does use better terminology than many when she uses, "towns", "same pattern", and "although Butchers Inlet was used as a landing place from the first arrival, permanent occupation did not take place until after a government warehouse was established" (Nayton 1992:75). Terminology such as 'permanent occupation' assists us in not falling into the trap of considering the site as a separate individual settlement.

Fletcher (1995) achieves this best, if still a little generally in terms of the construction of groups. He, at least, talks about size, even if it is only to suggest a limit to growth in a settlement. Fletcher focuses heavily on the effects of social issues and structure using such terms as 'social organisation', 'community life', 'human society', 'social life', 'social life in settlements', 'viable community life', and 'residential behaviour' (Fletcher 1995:xx, xxiii, 8, 181). Some of his words quantifying occupation sites and settlement are general and deal with volume and area, such as growth, extent, low-density, residential density, compact, extensive dispersed space, plan spatial domains in houses

and residential districts, topography and even 'village like' (Fletcher 1995:xxiii, 47, 134, 168). However, in the process of discussing his formula or matrix regarding residential density and area, he does use specific area dimensions and even creates a definition, stating:

> Within the terms of the stress matrix permanent sedentism can be defined as a class of behaviour which, whatever else it does, enables large groups of more than 200-300 people to function at higher residential densities than mobile or seasonally sedentary communities of the same size (Fletcher 1995:171).

In his book 'sedentism' and 'settlement' are never clearly separated other than in the sense of duration when he uses terms such as: sedentism, residential mobility, permanent sedentism, mobile and transient residential behaviour, sustained perennial continuity of occupation by a resident population, seasonally sedentary, permanently sedentary communities, semi-sedentary, semi-mobile, sustained sedentism, episodic seasonal movements, different residential locations, complex palimpsest site, and initial sedentary communities (Fletcher 1995:165, 166, 175, 187).

Fletcher does call the transient types a 'class of sedentism' and refers to them as 'settlement patterns'. He considers that these require assessment in terms of 'transition' from mobility to sedentism (Fletcher 1995:135) and 'incipient sedentism' (Fletcher 1995:171) but cannot be assumed to be the precursor to 'sustained sedentism'/'permanent sedentism' (Fletcher 1995:166). It would seem to have been easier to call the 'permanent' simply 'settlement' rather the variety of terms used including 'stasis settlements', 'palimpsest occupations', 'pseudo-permanent sedentism', and 'persistent settlement systems' (Fletcher 1995:168, 169, 179). The approach taken in this thesis is to call this phenomenon 'settlement' based on the diagnostic index created. It should also be noted that Fletcher, while discussing behaviour and the numbers of people involved, does not extend the argument into specific terms regarding the constituency of the groups in question. Even in the instance of Victoria, Port Essington, North Australia, where we are provided with numbers and the names of men,

women and children arriving at a proposed settlement site (Spillett 1972:178-186), and therefore this part of the diagnostic index is fulfilled, the question of intent is left unanswered. While trade and military considerations were the purpose of intended settlement, all personnel were either Marines and their families, or male convicts. As such, one would think that their stay would be limited to their service and therefore of finite duration and therefore not qualify as settlement.

2.5.2   Purpose, Intent, Necessity, and Duration

Purpose relates to what the activity is , duration to the length of time involved with that activity, intent to the goals of partaking in the activity and duration of that involvement, while necessity seems to disqualify both duration and intent. Many confuse a particular activity with settlement rather than seeing it as part of the structure/components of settlement. As Lesley Head states "different points in the landscape have names and attachments" such as "quarry sites" (Quantum 1997:5) but these are components of settlement and/or may lead to settlement but are not settlement as a whole. Hill states, with regard to mining and in particular gold mining, that such activities are "exploitive colonisation", "episodes of human intervention", and "human intrusion" (1999:60, 65). Unfortunately confusion arises when she tries to separate mining and settlement suggesting "concentration of goldmining and settlement", "these are some of the earliest mining ventures associated with the settlement", and "gold seekers of the Welsh Village" (Hill 1999:61, 65, 66). If we are considering settlement, then which settlement are we considering? The settlement the miners came from? The residential community developed as a result of mining that in itself might well be a part of that settlement? Or a new settlement that becomes independent of the core? The use of "gold mining settlement" and "mining settlement" (Hill 1999:60, 61) works a little better but still leaves the focus on the activity without considering the meaning of settlement. Hill

grapples with the transition from a temporary mining site to a more permanent one by stating "the history of The Welsh Village is one of fluctuating mining interests and transition in the character of the settlement" and that the change "… provides a clear view of the evolutionary nature of the cultural landscape as subsequent episodes of human activity are superimposed upon each other" (Hill 1999:67-68). The latter is less provocative than the former. Even though the purpose, mining, had in part provided the focus for and determined the location of the residential area (Hill 1999: 64, 68), it is the inclusion of duration and intention to remain that implies settlement. In the area of intention to remain there is some conflict when Hill mentions "transient population", "relatively permanent settlements were established", "ethnic enclaves … link to homeland", and cites Jupp as stating of the Welsh that "Many were escaping the hardships of upland farming, or the degradation of industrial life, and gold seemed to offer sudden wealth and a quick return home" (Hill 1999:60, 66; Jupp cited in Hill 1999:66).

Nayton also considers purpose such as exploration, pearling, pastoralism, and gold mining, but tends to link these to infrastructure, such as durability of housing, transportation, and administration (Nayton 1992:75, 76), which incorporates intent, duration and sets up consideration of limits to the meaning of settlement. Where I have called these 'limits to be set', being the conditions to be met where settlement is over rather than simply a date, Nayton uses the term "Identifying chronological markers" (Nayton 1992:77) which she identifies as infrastructure construction, such as jetties, and government involvement, such as municipalities (1992:75-77). It is still doubtful that the towns, villages, etc. that she is talking about could be considered settlement rather than extensions, or far reaches, of a settlement. However if the limits, marking independence from the core in particular, are stated as gaining municipal franchise

rather than, as used in this thesis, gaining colonial, state, or national franchise, then it may be possible to assert that these are settlements.

In Fullagar, Price and Head we find similar terms, such as "prehistoric quarry locations" and "pastoral period", and also Indigenous purpose such as "pecked engraving" (1996:753), the latter being no more, or no less, purposeful than a non-indigenous art gallery or place of importance around which to create a settlement. They describe the related intentions using broader statements, such as "locations with important economic and ceremonial resources", "contemporary and historical Aboriginal resource management and relations to land", and "Aboriginal campsites associated with the pastoral industry" (Fullagar, Price and Head 1996:754, 755), which convey their meaning without transcending into a settlement debate.

Considering the prehistoric past creates particular issues concerning intention and duration where human longevity and changes in behaviour must surely come into the equation. Fletcher temporally links purpose to intentional duration using terms such as 'non-pastoral nomadic', 'seasonal kill sites', 'residentially mobile agriculturalists', and 'resource supply temporary camps' (1995:169, 174, 175) but, even though he suggests material behaviour is a determinant in sedentism (1995:166) and permanent sedentism over 7,000 years ago rare (1995:184), without consideration of the historic and prehistoric context we may actually miss seeing settlement of a different style than we are familiar with. Settlement for non-Indigenous Australians tends to be tied to the standard beliefs and understanding of the use of the land in our recent past. Therefore it is difficult to imagine a settlement process that is particularly designed to cater for a new and perhaps hostile environment, where we may well be required to be permanently mobile. Settlement within our understanding tends to be related to an ideology based on

the conditions the settler left, where, more often than not, the available technology is different from the places to be settled, and an expectation that similar luxuries of human existence could be recreated within a relatively short space of time. The interesting analogy is that the first settlers of Australia may well have had the same opinion but they may simply have been starting, through their experience, with a different set of values and ideology. After all, medieval mobile state capitals in Ethiopia (Fletcher 1995:170), and Celts who "changed their dwelling as their fancy directed" (Polybius cited in Cunliffe 1997:73), do not detract from the settlement of Ethiopia and the Po Valley, even though this does not fit our understanding of a settled landscape. In a similar way, the political incongruities of the revolving elected Sultanates of Malaysia today (Fitzgerald 1974:344), or the possibilities of rotating Queen Elizabeth with the President of India or Governor-General of Australia, is equally beyond our grasp.

Therefore overall it seems a question of naming the result of purpose, intent, and duration, and also it would appear, without considering the issue of settlement itself, then the result should not be called 'settlement'. Hill, besides using settlement, uses various terms such as 'landscape', 'features' and 'space' (1999:61, 63, 66), Fullagar, Price and Head favour 'site', 'location', and 'study area' (1996:751, 753-754), while their editor Chippindale uses 'settlement', 'site', 'land' and 'country' (editorial to Antiquity 1996:729, 731). Roberts, Jones and Smith include 'occupation levels' and also 'sites' (1990:153, 155), Yentsch uses 'site' and 'community' (1994:xxxii, 50, 296), and Macknight is definitive with 'Sydney' and 'city' (1996:10). Kroeber uses broader terms such as: 'nations', 'civilizations', 'tribal cultures', 'world dominance', and 'empires' (Kroeber 1963:162, 163, 166) but still mentions "their settlements" (Kroeber 1963:155). Overall Fletcher seems to be the only one who tries specifically to separate settlement from other terms by addressing the components and content of settlement

(Fletcher 1995:9, 47) and continually uses spatial descriptions such as 'cities', 'urban', and 'housing estate' (1995:5). It seems that the difference can be seen in the use of settlement as a spatial and location term rather than a behavioural term. Therefore it appears that using 'settlement' as spatial and/or locational terminology is inappropriate, unless one is discussing the social phenomenon itself.

2.5.3   Sustainability of the Natural Landscape

The sustainability of the natural landscape is not a factor in determining whether settlement exists or is taking place. Of course it may well determine the purpose, structure, dimensions, durability etc. of a settlement, and in many cases this is where confusion can arise. Landscape shaping settlement is mentioned so many times there is no need to cite all the cases here, but more often than not it has not been determined that settlement is being considered in the first place. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, terms such as residential area etc. should only be used until it is determined that one is discussing settlement. Cunliffe states "overpopulation in the Celtic homeland was the initial primal cause of the migrations, the reason for the movement to Italy was seen to be the lure of the products of the south" (1997:69). This demonstrates a sustainability effect on the 'homeland' and a dual purpose both to settle and to obtain 'products'. Hence sustainability affected the 'homeland' but not necessarily the settlement. Zelinsky, considering human occupation of inhospitable environments, states,

> Available evidence does suggest, however, that direct environmental influences are relatively unimportant in determining the size, distribution, and structure of populations in those tracts where continuous human residence is feasible (1966:51).

While Fletcher (1995) may disagree with this in regard to 'size' of population, the lack of environmental effect, on 'distribution' and 'structure of populations', appears supportive of the rationale for not considering it part of the diagnostic index of settlement.

2.5.4   Group Dynamics

Fletcher clearly shows the effects of human tolerance levels on growth (1995) and Zelinsky (1966) discusses the role of social avoidances and social disasters in relation to population distribution and levels. However, these do not affect the act of settlement as separated from the structure and location. Some writers mention that particular groups show cultural cohesion, such as Hill's Welsh miners (1999), which assists us, in part, by providing a stereotypical background to the group dynamics, but tells us little in terms of the act of settlement.

2.5.5   Success or Failure – Chronology

As stated earlier, Nayton's suggestion of establishing "Identifying chronological markers" (1992:77) works well as a terminological alternative to 'limits and conditions' regarding the success or failure of a settlement. Cunliffe uses the term "Initial Settlement' in reference to the Celtic migration to, and settlement of, the Po Valley (1997:73) but a terminus point is not clear, other than Cunliffe later calling the area the "Celtic Cisalpine homeland". Once the social phenomenon of settlement has been established by using the diagnostic index, a terminus date to settlement can be decided upon based on 'identified chronological markers'. At this point decisions can be made regarding success or failure, based on whether or not the aims/goals had been met. Whatever the result, success and/or failure have no bearing on the existence of social phenomena, rather they are simply a subjective comment on the process.

2.6   Settlement and this Thesis

Using the diagnostic index developed here allows us to recognise or define settlement as a social phenomenon and to define its beginning and, by establishing chronological markers, also its end. In turn this allows us to interrogate settlement's structure and the

processes involved in its coming into being and evolution. Much of what has been written concerns issues of structure and evolutionary process as will be seen in the next chapter dealing with related theory. Often these concerns are confused with the definition of settlement. Perhaps the concerns under discussion are seen to be so obviously about settlement that there appears to be no need to define it. However, this is possibly where much of the misunderstanding arises through the resulting difficulty of then being able to recognise settlement, the transition from an outpost, sedentism, or exploitative activity etc. to settlement, and/or the relationship of activity components of settlement to settlement.

2.6.1   Settlement

As stated earlier, settlement is seen to be the beginning of a social phenomenon, ends when chronological markers decided upon are evident, and can be defined with the use of the proposed diagnostic index. There may be problems with this arbitrariness, such as the variety of markers which could be chosen, but at least we will know what is being discussed. Fletcher's study is "concerned with the role of the 'material as behaviour' in restricting and aiding settlement growth" (1995:xix). This thesis is concerned with the point of settlement rather than growth. Moreover, although one could argue that settlement can be temporally a continuation/growth of an earlier settlement, which is dealt with in the next section, by using this index one can see that the 'earlier settlement' has more often than not passed the point of settlement, moving on to colonial expansion, empire, or conquest and should be named accordingly. Fletcher's "proposed theoretical model of interaction and communication outlines the basic operational constraints on community life and predicts distinct, large-scale patterns of settlement growth" (1995:xxiii). Even though he is often going beyond the point where the above proposed diagnostic index of settlement would suggest settlement had ended, and thus some other

process was occurring, his work can be seen a useful explanation for settlement considering the "operational parameters of social life in a settlement" (1995:xxiii, 3).

In the settlement of Australia there appears to have been a time without human presence. After this there was the arrival of what is seen to be the original inhabitants for reasons yet unaccounted for and visitations by various people either accidentally, for trade purposes or during exploration voyages. Subsequently there was a period of time where a large number of Europeans arrived with increasing population gains over losses. The latter of course does not take into account gains and losses in the Indigenous population. However, in the same geographic location we have also seen a Chinese migration with large initial gains and minimal retention rate (Choi 1975). Settlement occurred at different times and, as discussed in Section 2.6.3 below, there were many uses made of Australia that would not be considered here as settlement.

In this thesis the issue considered is not Fletcher's question of sedentism (1995:179), or which is the first settlement of an environment, or even the latest, but simply rather the point at which people or a group of people begin their particular settlement of an environment. In the case considered, South Australia, like many other places there were prior inhabitants to the European settlers. It is obvious that we are not dealing with an uninhabited land. Equally as obvious is that settlement practices will reflect this and as such will be dealt with in the appropriate contextual parts of this work. Settling an uninhabited landscape must surely present different challenges and responses to those where the landscape and its resources are already being exploited. For instance, acquiring information from the Indigenous population began almost from first contact and no doubt affected the process of settlement that is mentioned later. However, it should be borne in mind, as I mentioned earlier, that this is a process of settling an

inhabited land and therefore this does not and cannot be completely analogous to settlement of an uninhabited land. Much of the settlement theory deals with the occupation of inhabited lands, for instance the Frontier Theory in the United States (Turner 1893) is only plausible as a frontier for Europeans, as it certainly was not a frontier for the Indigenous Americans at that time other than through the collision with Europeans. This issue will be discussed further in later discussions of various theories.

At present we are still in the early stages of coming to terms with the Indigenous settlement process and extended use of this country, although the knowledge of the development of Indigenous arrival, settlement, and ongoing use of the landscape and resources is growing daily. In this area Fletcher's matrix may be useful as his, "stress matrix serves as a framework on which the evolution and development of human residential behaviour can be mapped" (1995:187). However, at present we cannot even be sure that the Indigenous South Australians did not displace an earlier settlement and, while there has been some discussion of the Indigenous arrival in Australia (Flood 1995:27-38; 79-93), it will probably be sometime yet before we can examine in detail the particular Indigenous settlement process with reference to settlement and settlement theory. We must also take into consideration that there may have been many processes going on at the same and different timeframes, including possible explorative ventures, arrivals, settlement, nomadic, and larger interconnected state-like structures depending on those involved and the resources and environment being dealt with. As Willey states "prehistoric settlement in the Maya lowlands is still a matter for speculation and debate rather than for statement of fact" (Willey 1990:341), which is why his work is more about development of settlement patterns rather than the settlement process *per se*. Franz Boas points out that the problem of early prehistoric settlement is that one can tell that it occurred and even perhaps when but not necessarily why it occurred (1966:324),

which supports the 'purpose' discussion in the diagnostic index above. Flood suggests that the reason for initial habitation in Australia could have been the allure of a new land or the pressure of population expansion at the point of origin (Flood 1995:35), but this is still conjecture. O'Connor and Sullivan's retrospective of coastal archaeology in Australia (1994) provides a good starting point from which to examine original habitation of the Australian continent, by providing an analysis of the texts available, particularly the debate on the environmental factors related to the Holocene and Pleistocene coast and their uses (1994:90–91), which creates a base from which to re-examine the possibility of settlement. Interestingly Fletcher suggests that there is a required level of material assemblages, e.g. materials and abilities to either partition quarters and separate houses or improve communication over short and long distances, for even permanent sedentism to occur and therefore this was only possible in the last 20-30,000 years (1995:179) and probably rare until 7,000 years ago (1995:184). Accepting his suggestions means there would have been, by his standards, few examples of settlement for the greater part of Australia's Indigenous habitation history. When the examination of Indigenous settlement is accomplished it may support or add to the theoretical discourse or it may change it radically. At this point however, there is insufficient data to appropriately consider questions, or further the debate, regarding original Indigenous settlement other than in an extremely theoretical way. Consequently, the decision was made to examine the European settlement process in South Australia, even though it was of an inhabited land, as we have the advantage of both large quantities of primary and secondary sources and surviving material culture. Moreover, the settlement itself was based on a new theory of settlement and provided a unique opportunity to test that theory.

2.6.2   Rationale or Aim of Settlement

The purpose, rationale, or aim of settlement has been included as a requirement in the diagnostic index of settlement and is considered in detail later to try to gain some understanding of the stresses and structure of a particular settlement, South Australia. While it appears that there is rarely a "first cause for any complex social phenomena [or] single organizing principle" (Burke cited in Yentsch 1994:296) the case of South Australia provides a chronological point from which to assess the phenomenon. It is understandable that in his introduction Fletcher argues against the dominance of one factor over another to explain settlement, but it must be borne in mind that, unlike this thesis, he does not appear to separate the social phenomena from the structure therefore some of the factors he mentions can be seen as affecting one or the other of these. Factors he mentions are environment, individual intent, selective pressures, and adaptation and various attempts to understand these through contextualism, processualism, dynamical systems theory, cultural selectionism, and action-oriented analysis (1995:xviii). Fletcher continues by stating:

> No matter what may have been claimed, environmental analysis cannot make the study of individual intent redundant. Nor can the contextually unique be useful or appropriately rendered down to universal generalisation. Conversely, action-oriented analysis and contextualism cannot properly ignore selective pressures and adaptation or reduce environment to mere background. Meanwhile, dynamical systems theory has yet to present its own model of human behaviour, and cultural selectionism still lacks a paradigm of cultural replication (Fletcher 1995:xviii).

As mentioned earlier only intent is seen as a factor in the diagnostic index of settlement, whereas the others are factors regarding the settlements structure, material components, and dimensions etc. and it would seem that only by separating settlement and its composition can we attempt to examine these fully.

Archaeologically there has been an attempt to use relative dating processes, or theory, to account for the movement of people and the creation of new or re-establishment of old settlements or 'palimpsest occupations/sites' (Fletcher 1999:169 & 175). However, accounting for movement rarely encompasses details regarding the rationale of why the

migration occurred. For example, the commonly debated 'Out of Africa Theory' and the peopling of the Pacific. The former is particularly highlighted in a paper by Foley and Lahr (1992), and the latter in the writings of Bellwood (1979) and Irwin (1992). Of course there are instances where changes in climate, landscape and resulting settlement abandonment can be seen in the archaeological record. These in turn may suggest a reason for movement through a crisis in the environment but not necessarily tie this to arrival at another place. Fagan suggests that there may be a connection between human migration and "radiations of mammalian communities out of Africa" (1996:74). It is perhaps understandable that the focus has generally been on how, when, and perhaps even generically who, as these questions are more readily answered and, once answered, could lead to a better understanding as to why. There are also cases where we know part of 'why' there should be a settlement, as there are obvious signs of resource exploitation over long periods of time, in difficult climactic conditions, in locations outside commutable distances to other habitations, but at this point in time cannot locate residential habitations. For instance, there are salt mines at Dürrnberg-Bei-Hallein in Austria (Stöllner et al 2003), where this part of 'why' is known to be salt exploitation, the 'when' is known to be particularly the La Tène period, but we cannot pinpoint exactly 'where' the people lived.

Consideration of settlement and its composition in the recent past may lead to a greater general understanding of why it took place and the cause. In many cases the lack of documentary evidence in earlier periods reduces the discussion to ecological changes, either natural or human induced and the material component. It is often difficult to build bridging arguments for the ephemera of social, cultural or behavioural rationale that are discussed further in the following chapter. The question of why, with regards to the occurrence or shape of settlement, has a bearing on the evaluation of settlement as

successful or not. If we know the purpose or the cause we can then consider whether the related aims and goals have been achieved. In turn the question of whether or not a settlement is successful has a bearing on how we view the theory of settlement, as it suggests the success or failure of the particular theory involved. However, it would seem that a settlement may be successful and yet the theory behind it found to be flawed. Or the theory may appear to be supported but the settlement may fail or relocate. What is the definition of a successful settlement? Equally what is the test of a successful theory, and does either matter in considering settlement? Basically they do not matter in this regard but do form part of the overall analysis in attempting to consider patterns and results. To deal with success or failure, both relative terms, it would seem useful to consider certain points, benchmarks, limits, conditions, and/or identification markers to evaluate these, such as:

- aims and of inception (theory), e.g. what was the purpose and the cause;
- implementation process, e.g. how did it occur, and;
- particular points in time concerning survival infrastructure being in place, e.g. accommodation and sustenance.

The latter would be a particular point of conjecture for many, as it could be based on value judgements regarding what people consider to be acceptable standards of existence, such as comfort, costs, and political autonomy etc. The benchmarks used in this thesis, and with the particular settlement study, will be seen later but what will also be seen is that they serve a particular purpose. Some of the earlier discussion on settlement can be seen to have set the agenda for choosing the benchmarks in the definition of the settlement process. For instance in the question of 'aims' we do not have to consider the process whereby the major impetus was establishing a military outpost, trading entrepôt or exploitation of a particular physical environment either geologically or simply for space, as these do not fall into the gambit of settlement used here. With regards to related theory, by considering the aims and goals, this thesis may suggest success or failure of the theory applying to settlement generally or specifically,

and also in the success or failure of settlement itself. It will be asserted that issues of transience, deviation, stages etc, and are all determinants in making the judgement of success or failure of the theory and indeed settlement.

2.6.3   Transition to and Beyond Settlement

2.6.3.1 Transition

There are two main issues with transition to settlement. Firstly, there is the change in residential behaviour to sedentism and secondly, sedentary activities to settlement. These two often overlap and are confused by many, as is clearly seen in Fletcher (1999) who discusses what he calls the 'growth of settlement' but is more often than not discussing the development of a community, town, city, etc. where, if we use the index above, settlement has ended. He does raise a valid point that there may also be movements back and forth between mobility and sedentism and a 'range of variants' (1999:166) which make identifying whether this is a transition, which could be seen as an issue itself, or not quite difficult. This thesis is not considering either of the two issues mentioned or transition, but rather settlement itself. However, as seen earlier in many texts, mention is often made of exploitive use of the landscape that is deemed to be settlement and is seen as a transition to settlement particularly where, in some cases, a settlement may have actually developed at a later date. With the latter it is difficult to determine a point in time when the transition occurs unless one puts in place something like the index being discussed, to provide 'identifying markers' to enable changes in the residential patterns to be clearly defined. Interplay and interaction between aims and goal, related to finite duration etc., are often ephemeral issues and 'transition' must serve us until we can better establish these. Either way it would seem more appropriate to continue to discuss the behaviour, as a mining venture, explorative expedition, etc., or

in terms of the relationship to the settlement/city/empire, until we apply the index and can be sure we are discussing settlement as is the case in this thesis.

2.6.3.2 Core/Periphery

Using the connection of the activity to some other social community may help to separate the activity from settlement. The use of 'centre/core' and 'periphery', while not completely precluding settlement occurring, shows a relationship that may assist in this separation but is not often used. Whether this is related to disciplinary epistemology is not clear. Macknight suggests:

> The very notions of centre and periphery, of middle and margin, of whole and part, may only be metaphors, but they imply some kind of differential valuation for various bodies of knowledge; they suggest some sort of canon, a hierarchy of significance based on some agreed criteria. The fact of the matter in modern Australia is that there is no agreement on criteria; there is no canon of common knowledge; no core of concern. Previous relationships of domination and subordination – it is hard to escape from the metaphors – are attacked or scorned (1996:10).

Cunliffe uses the term 'large nucleated settlements' but also the ideas of "core zones of innovation and intensification, and peripheries" where these developments were reflected (1997:1). It seems that often these words, centre/periphery or domination/subordination, are imbued with attitudes of right or wrong, depending on one's political persuasion, rather than being simply descriptive of a relationship. Once again the problem is within the 'identifying markers' because, if one uses 'dependant' as the preferred term, in relation to an exploitive activity, unless the terms of that dependency are spelt out there is confusion regarding the meaning and relationship. This can even lead to disregarding events in favour of the preferred ideology of the day, as shown by Macknight (1996:10) who suggests that the focus on the "white peopling of Australia" means that the "settlement marks the beginning of white history – the Aboriginal past is another matter – and the by-passing of the white, maritime history of the continent since 1606". Moreover, to suggest otherwise led to him being described as

"disloyal" (Macknight 1996:10). While this thesis does not attempt to establish when settlement occurred in Australia *per se*, the use of 'settlement' as a general and generic term clearly demonstrates the problem in discussing it as a social phenomenon and indeed other activities related to it and social expansion.

2.6.3.3   Colonization

One of the most commonly discussed processes of social expansion is 'colonization'. As mentioned earlier colonization is seen as a component of a core settlement situated elsewhere and suggests a certain amount of organisation. Conversely, 'settlement' suggests the possibility of a more random process without connection to the core, or dependency upon it, but basically, as seen in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1963:237), these terms appear to be interchangeable. Fletcher uses the term 'base settlements' when discussing 'semi-sedentism' (1995:166) where 'core' and 'logistic mobility' would appear to work better. However, it seems by using the index suggested we could see an end to settlement but not necessarily an end to being a colony. A diagnostic index may be required also of 'colonization' if we are to separate these two with any success. Particularly also when "the word colony is used to express very different ideas … Mere stations, also, for military or trading purposes, such as Malta or Heligoland, go by the name of colonies" (Wakefield 1834:237; Mills 1915:1-2). One could suggest that colonial South Australia had a terminus point in 1901 when Federation (Parkin & Summers 1994:Chapters 1; Summers 1994:Chapters 5) came into being, creating colonial Australia as a single entity with abolition of appeals to the Privy Council (Warhurst 1994:155).

Therefore you can have:

- settlement without colonization (e.g. a colony of people but not a colony attached to a particular political, economic, or social community – such as Pitcairn),

- settlement with colonization (e.g. a settlement of people which is also a colony attached to a particular political, economic, or social community – such as what was called Systematic Colonisation of South Australia),
- a colony that is not a settlement (e.g. after the settlement process has ended but the colony is still attached to a particular political, economic, or social community - South Australia), and
- the questionable cessation of colonization altogether (e.g. where Indigenous or other populations cease to be identified with a particular colonial power - Indonesia).

This is questionable as there is an argument that an area must be de-colonized for colonization to ever cease to exist. If a proper separation between 'settlement' and 'colonization' could ever take place then certain situations, such as Macknight refers to where *The Oxford History of Australia* states that colonial Australia began with many settlements starting at different times, with different people and in different places (Macknight 1996:9), can be avoided. After all 'colonial Australia' probably started with exploration and trade etc., and eventually led to settlement. However, it is not the intention in this thesis to create an index of 'colonization' therefore it is sufficient to say that when South Australian settlement is seen to have ceased, as discussed later, it was still a colony of Britain.

The term 'settlement' seems far less insidious and has none of the connotations, or academic argument attached to it, that seem to be imbued in the word 'colonisation'. Perhaps the word 'invasion' should be used, both as a more accurate description of the process in Australia, and in consideration of the effects on the Indigenous population but this term does not necessarily have any relationship to settlement. 'Collision' in this sense would appear to be more appropriate, such as in the Foster, Hosking and Nettelbeck book *Fatal Collisions* (2001), as it allows for a variety of human behavioural practices. One of the difficulties is the perspective from which one is viewing the situation. Exploration contact, transience, defensive needs, and trade contacts may not all be seen as threatening, but may be the precursors of settlement as discussed earlier in

Section 2.6.3. From most indigenous people's point of view, all settlement or components may be an invasion, certainly a collision, depending on the advantages or disadvantages of sharing the environment. From an early settler's position any time after settlement begins new arrivals are simply, as Nayton puts it, "later arrivals" (1992:75). From a current Australian's point of view, recent Asian or middle Eastern migrations may once again be seen as an invasion. In fact the 1850s movement of the Chinese to Australia is often referred to as the Chinese Invasion (Smeaton 1865; Sprengel 1986). The issues of colonialism, invasion, collision, etc., are not discussed here in any great detail, nor is the effect on Australian Indigenous people other than in reference to the European settlement process. These have been left to others with far greater expertise than this author.

2.6.3.4 Archaeological Settlement Indicators

Considering the indicators archaeologists use to determine settlement provides part of the rationale for the possible limitations in the settlement discourse to date. Demographic information is paramount in the diagnostic index of settlement being considered but there are other considerations also. As mentioned earlier material culture obviously plays a major role, as it denotes presence, and the number, type and chronology of the assemblage perhaps denotes types of activities, sociological connections, and duration. Therefore, "For the case of a group of artifacts, the target event is occupation" (Feathers 1997:6) and once we accept occupation we can move on to settlement. Daniels assists us in separating taphonomic factors from human intervention by providing a diagram as "A simple version of the causation of data from a single settlement site", which "relates only to portable artefacts but could … be extended" (1972:202). Unfortunately we cannot be sure how he is using the term 'settlement' but it is presumed to be habitation for our purposes here. This allows us to

look at the demographics and perhaps infer, through the data produced, purpose, intent, gender, sociological connections, duration, etc. and determine settlement or not. For instance, Hill mentions the purposeful interaction and modification of the terrain, and cites Susan Lawrence Cheney's analysis of Dolly's Creek as showing "community ties that can be observed in the positioning of buildings and the utilisation of features within the landscape"(Hill 1999:64 & 61), which accounts for presence in the first instance and particular social behaviour in the latter.

Fletcher suggests there is the need for 'biomechanical indices of mobility' (Fletcher 1995:183, Note 6 p241), which can be seen developing in Pate's work on isotopic analysis (2000, 2001), but how this would assist in determining settlement is not clear at present. Although Fletcher's book is about growth and development he clearly states that it "is concerned with the role of the 'material as behaviour' in restricting and aiding settlement growth" (1995:xix) where 'the role of the material as behavior' may be seen as a marker of the transitory/ephemeral thoughts and intent of those involved, precisely the issues required to consider settlement. Macknight points out that archaeology is not merely "how people lived" (1996:11) and Hill discusses assigning cultural indicators (1999:66). By combining these two "insight can also be gained into the way in which these people lived and the possible motives for their actions" (Hill 1999:68) which, with reference to the proposed diagnostic index, can assist in determining whether settlement is taking place, its structure, and dimensions. In later chapters, material culture, in the form of written texts, is used to help discuss motives, the changing structure of settlement, and theories concerning settlement.

2.6.3.5 Beyond Settlement

The proposed diagnostic index of settlement, if accepted, establishes what settlement is and separates it from other activities. By doing this, one is able to concentrate on the social phenomenon itself and what goes on in and around it. Having argued that settlement is finite, and once it is ended must become something else, such as community, village, or state etc., also allows for the developmental process of particular occupation styles to be discussed, such as city expansion or constriction, distant resource exploitation, imperialism, etc. The development process is not discussed in this thesis because it is seen to be beyond the limits of settlement being discussed here. Perhaps for the distant past archaeology has generally placed an emphasis on the development of the area of occupation, i.e. spatially, logistically, or structurally etc., rather than the social phenomenon of settlement, or rationale behind it, because material culture best lends itself to this direction. However, even in more recent times it is still seen to be difficult to discuss development without first identifying what is developing - settlement or the occupation area being considered? In most cases the discussion is about occupation areas beyond settlement as a social phenomenon but the term settlement is often used, causing confusion. Fletcher (1999) is a prime example discussing settlement growth but we can see, as mentioned in the indicators above, that there is the opportunity to consider social, community, and cultural indicators, all of which assist in the identification and discussion of settlement. Archaeology has the means to determine and assess settlement, and by using multidisciplinary techniques there would seem to be a better chance of achieving this aim. Theoretical attempts to understand the process are discussed in the next chapter, which places these theories under the umbrella of 'Settlement Theory', and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of various theories in light of the proposed diagnostic index and the views discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

SETTLEMENT THEORY

3.0   The Parameters of Settlement Theory.

The term 'Settlement Theory' is used here to encompass many theories, over time and across disciplines, which try to explain, and could be defined as, encompassing the human process, or a particular component of general human activity, generically called 'settlement'.   By considering theories in this manner assists in creating a better definition and noting problems which can be seen as not particularly new and, to a large degree, are still unresolved. In general we would appear to need such a theory as human beings seem to have a bent for trying to find common ground, or at least a set of a common factors, to describe a particular human activity or assemblage of activities and therefore be better able to understand the process. Like theory in general, one aspect of such theorising is perhaps purely historical in nature, in the sense that it is an attempt to simply describe, and better understand, the events and activities that took place. Another aspect appears to be to assist us in refining our understanding of the process, to avoid the pitfalls that befell earlier considerations, and possibly create alternative processes. Both aspects help us to better comprehend and analyse the specific activity we are considering, in this case - settlement.   Bearing these issues in mind, the parameters of 'Settlement Theory' were left as broad as possible in the first instance to enable unbiased selection and analysis of various theories and account for its existence, albeit seemingly fragmented and undefined, across all disciplines. Words, derived from a thesaurus and computer word search relating to settlement, and associated human activities, were used to select the theories from a range of disciplines, but with an obvious focus on material outcomes and correlates.

Establishing what a settlement is can be limited to a diagnostic index, as shown in the previous chapter, but when theorising about that settlement one must consider all of the factors that impinge upon the settlement process. This chapter deals with a range of theoretical attempts to both analyse the process of settlement and the formulation of alternative strategies for practical implementation and structuring of settlement. It will be asserted that the variables of transience, human deviation, and the physical environment are rarely accounted for in these theories and that forming these theories in stages with linear progressions limits the discussion and ignores variations.

In any examination of theory it is usual to limit the theoretical discussion to within a particular discipline. This tendency towards disciplinary categorisation gives particular variables precedence, but often results in separating theories by discipline, terminology, and historical approaches to data and analysis. Separating discussions in this way tends to privilege variables or foci of interest and consider them, in isolation rather than as being associated in any way. Some of the issues and problems can be seen already in the previous discussion of what 'settlement' actually means. The attempt here is to bring various theories together, examine their commonality and divergence, and raise particular issues regarding such theories, and theoretical processes, in the desire to better understand the settlement process in a multidisciplinary context. While this thesis is not an all-encompassing discussion of possibly related theories, including those of Marx, Turner, and Birmingham and Jeans, it does try to provide a variety of theories for a comprehensive examination and defining of the term 'Settlement Theory', which does not appear to have been attempted to date.

Based on the assumptions made in the last chapter the advantages and disadvantages of various theories are discussed in light of the proposed diagnostic index of settlement,

whether they succeed or fail when applied to settlement generally or specifically, and the extent to which they account for variables. The need to account for all variables is perhaps obvious for the success of a theory, but, as will be seen, many theories limit themselves to particular disciplines and related variables, and, while successful in their own area, may not be sufficiently comprehensive to cater for a clear understanding of settlement. Also there are specific variables discussed here which appear to have a major bearing on settlement, yet are not accounted for. In this way this thesis is an attempt to examine and better define the parameters of 'Settlement Theory' and the possible implications of doing so for archaeology.

3.1   Diagnostic Index of Settlement.

In the first instance the diagnostic index of settlement must be applied to some degree to establish whether or not some form of human occupation is settlement. Having just created such an index in the last chapter it obviously has not been used in current theories to determine the status of the occupation and therefore discussions purely from this perspective would be redundant. Therefore, what is discussed in the following is how clearly theories define their subject, in particular settlement, and what issues are raised by considering the index. It is debatable whether any theory that suggests altering the infrastructure of an ongoing occupation, tearing down the old and rebuilding the new, could be termed new settlement. Moreover, within this thesis such an event is seen more as a change in an ongoing occupation style rather than a settlement. Also, this process is not seen as being related to the situation where settlement occurs in occupied, previously occupied, or unoccupied land.

I have considered Karl Marx's theories to be basically political, even though they are broadly based. Accepting a symbiotic relationship between politics and economics, Marx's theories incorporated initial requirements of a particular political environment to

allow the economics to gestate and are indicative of using political models to achieve particular goals. Where Marxism has generally been applied to a site of ongoing occupation it would seem that, in the majority of cases an end date of settlement, in terms of the diagnostic index, was well in the past, no matter how liberal one is in their thoughts of what that end date or required conditions may be. For instance the Russian Revolution can be seen to be based in Marxist philosophy but took place well after basic occupational needs, politically, socially, and economically, had been met. On the other hand, in other situations where Marxist theories have been used, such as those of the New Australia Movement in Paraguay in the 1890s (Souter 1991), one can easily see the conditions required by the diagnostic index of settlement being met at the time the theory is adopted.

Economic theories rarely attempt to isolate settlement from ongoing occupation as a particular process. Some appear to be specifically designed to answer questions about settlement or ongoing occupation, such as The Staple Theory (McCarthy 1964) and Settler Capitalism (Denoon 1983). Staple Theory posits that one can "determine economic structure and growth of a region, and so also its social and even political structure" (McCarthy 1964:5-6) through selection of a staple product, but it is limited to a "simple economic model" (Pomfret 1981:146). This theory would appear to be more about the development of ongoing occupation in the search for an appropriate 'staple' to improve the economic base, rather than a particular settlement imperative. However, the search for a staple in New South Wales circa 1804 is an example of Staple Theory in operation (Hainsworth 1965), when settlement may still have been in process. Similarly, "the repeal of the British Corn Laws [1846] and the opening up of a great overseas market [which] removed the last remaining restriction on the staple industry of the Wakefield agricultural colony..." (Price 1924:245) also describes a time when

settlement was still in process. Denoon's Settler Capitalism Theory, based on the proposition that "settler states were dominated by social classes committed to an imperial link, and to the production of export staples" (1983:228), suggests that similarities and dissimilarities can be seen between settler societies (Denoon 1983:230) but does not define settlement itself. Wallerstein's World Systems Theory (1979 & 1984) which, similarly to Marx, suggests historically definitive stages or phases of political and economic history leading to the ultimate period with the downfall of capitalism and the rise of socialism. However, Wallerstein does include a discussion of core and periphery, which alludes to a place of occupation and possibly places of settlement. Core and periphery is widely discussed in Development Theory, but is basically concerned with issues of economic and political dependency, rather than the process of settlement taking place. If one did consider this more from a settlement perspective, one could then consider the inversion of the process. That is, instead of seeing Australia at the periphery, certainly a typically western economic colonialistic view of the relationship with Europe after 1788, one could consider Australia pre-1788 as a centre, spiritually, socially and in terms of large-scale agriculture, horticulture and aquaculture. Such a process would allow us to consider occupation impacts, losses and gains, in ways that we have not been able to previously, particularly as the Indigenous occupation failed to be seen in anything other than a European perspective. Of course this has changed to some degree since the work done by Mulvaney (1969), but much has been obfuscated in the interim.

Of late there appears to be another form of colonisation, which could be called economic colonisation, by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Government of the United States of American. Using loans and economic sanctions, with the requirement of structural adjustment based on Western economic theory and

democracy, control is wrested from the country involved, thereby one does not even need to leave the original place of occupation to produce the effects of colonisation. This raises the question of whether colonisation today requires people at all? If this process does occur, then, in this instance, the debate is reduced to economics unless cultural practices are in fact economically based, in which case this can be seen as a form of cultural domination. Worthy of consideration is the possibility that a process such as this may also have occurred a number of times in the past. If so, then it would complicate the ability to identify and isolate the settlement process. Either way such a process certainly could not be considered in any way to be settlement.

Within social theory the question of the behaviour that is being specifically identified as settlement does not generally occur, although it does consider group dynamics. For example, sociologically, Home Base Theory (Isaac 1983) is premised on the adaptive advantages of group activities with a common purpose, although this is more in keeping with a consideration of sedentism rather than settlement. It is perhaps in the area of human behaviour that there is the closest relationship to the diagnostic index of settlement, which suggests that there is a need for particular behaviour to be occurring to consider a process as settlement. However, social theory is generally broader than such an index, presenting a more holistic approach to human behaviour.

Consideration of the natural environment seems to be the latest trend in the theory-building process and, while environment is not seen as a factor in the diagnostic index of settlement, it will be shown later that it most certainly should be a factor in settlement theory. Like other theories, environmental theories mention settlement without defining the word, but do consider parts of the index developed in the last chapter. Overall the

first problem is clearly that we cannot be sure when we are and are not considering the specific activity of settlement.

3.2   Transience, Human Deviation and the Physical Environment.

3.2.1 Transience

The variable of transient behaviour, dealt with in part in Copland (1998), is an issue that appears to be important to, but not often considered in, theories of settlement. Most settlement theories deal empirically with the settlers who actually settle and then chart the settlers' experience over time. However, with settlement there are at least four scenarios that must be considered: the transients; the settlers who arrive and then leave; the settlers who stay with the continual intention of leaving; or the settlers who actually settle. Here we are considering the transients. For the purposes of this thesis a transient is the explorer, trader, whaler etc. who are obviously just passing through and even perhaps staying for varying periods of time. Also, this includes those that work in a place, such as administrators or military personnel, who are staying as part of their employment. Moreover this may also include those who are intellectually transient, which are those who do not intend to settle or continually consider their residence in one place as temporary.

Dutton's perspective on transient and settler suggests that,

> the men who explore new countries are usually shrewd enough to come home again. Those who settle in them are usually on their beam ends, whether financially, politically or psychologically. Those who are doing well at home stay there. Thus the settlers of the new country have two lives; the one at home which was unexciting if not unsuccessful; the one abroad which may call forth genius, or at least unused reserves of bravery, endurance and ingenuity (1960:xii).

Apart from being a heroic view and reminiscent of the Frontier Theory, (discussed later), it is interestingly disparaging of the settler, while at the same time being

laudatory. Being 'on their beam ends', and having an 'unexciting if not unsuccessful' life 'at home' seems to be a common view expressed in Australia regarding both past and present migrants, reminiscent of the views held of migration in Britain prior to the mid 1800s. From Dutton's perspective, 'explorers' would generally be seen as transient, while 'settlers' would not, but it is questionable whether a person doing well 'at home' would not leave to do even better elsewhere. Overall the word 'settler' does tend to suggest that the person concerned stayed, while the transient - trader, explorer, tourist, prisoner, service personnel and administrator - perhaps did not. However, it is clear that many settlers and some transients did stay, and some settlers and many transients did not. Either way it can be assumed that, during whatever time was available, the settler and transient had some impact on each other and the settlement. Therefore both must be factored into any theory on settlement.

It is easy to assume that transience only affects whether the type of residential behaviour is a settlement or not, but in terms of change, commitment to infrastructure, population fluctuations, politics and economics, it also affects the settlement process from beginning to end. People, as individuals or groups, wash in and out of a settlement like the tide, bringing in not only fresh clean information, but also the flotsam and jetsam of earlier knowledge and material culture. Such knowledge is either used or ignored depending on the seeming value at the time to the society it reaches. Yentsch actually uses the term "the tidewater gentry" (1994:50) in referring to those who depart and return at their desire. Fletcher talks of this as 'logistical mobility' (1995:240-241). Whatever the term used, the ability of transients to influence the settlement seems clear.

Transience suggests a lack of commitment, which could obviously change the way a person acts and reacts to a given situation. Reticence to get involved based on intended

departure, or lack of concern for the long-term success of a venture has obvious consequences. For instance, failing to impart knowledge that may benefit others, or hoarding one's time by not being involved with the political processes required to ensure a settlement's success. In terms of commitment, there is the interesting process of calling the point of origin 'home', particularly even after several generations in a new colony, by many who had never been 'home'. Hill mentions "ethnic enclaves" that are a "link to their homeland" (1999:66) through a common cultural ideology which was reflected in my own family residing among a British enclave before returning 'home' after a couple of years in the 1950s. Even today this can be seen in Italian, Greek, and various Asian and African communities. Such ongoing connections are perhaps indicative of the question of commitment, or may simply be a process of dealing with a new environment. Yet it does raise issues regarding the independence of the settlement, particularly the possibility that a new colony was simply viewed as a suburb of the old. If the latter is the case, one could discount transience as a variable because the commitment would be to the same goals as residing in the original settlement and therefore no separation of commitment occurs. However, the goals, in what is considered in this thesis to be a settlement process, need to be different from those of the city, state, country, or 'core' it emanates from, even though some goals may coincide, because there is the opportunity to build a new, and hopefully improved, version of that which existed at the core.

Consideration of transience is in fact an important variable and consideration of this perhaps starts with who is actually seen to be transient. Traders, explorers, etc., have been mentioned earlier, but there are others such as the military and administrative personnel that are not so obvious. For instance, due to their limited period of office, the Governors of the Colony of South Australia would clearly be seen as transient. While

some of their family remained or returned to settle in the Colony permanently, the early Governors did not. As will be seen, many of the people involved in the establishment of the Colony never actually set foot in it, while at the same time they had either family members or associates who did. Therefore, perhaps these people can be seen as intellectually transient, directing their knowledge and skills towards a particular project for a period of time before moving on, but still with some sort of commitment. Commitment, or lack of it, to settle must have a profound effect on the settlement process. Commitment to different goals in a settlement, such as particular political, economic, social, or spiritual preferences, are other issues not specifically related to transience. In a case where the majority of inhabitants lack the commitment to settle, using the diagnostic index of settlement suggests that the behavioural practice is not settlement. However, if it is accepted that the process being examined is settlement, then lack of commitment by a minority may well be due to their specific transient behaviour. Also, those who participate in a settlement process with the intention and wherewithal to leave may be seen to be transients. Even those who did not have, but sought, the wherewithal to depart, such as the Welsh, many of whom "were escaping the hardships of upland farming, or the degradation of industrial life, and gold [which] seemed to offer sudden wealth and a quick return home" (Jupp cited in Hill 1999:66), may be deemed transients in the 'intellectual' sense if not the physical. As such these people would have little initial commitment to the overall success of the settlement other than meeting their personal goals and therefore must affect settlement, if nothing else other than through their inactivity or commitment to personal imperatives.

Personal imperatives may inadvertently assist the settlement in reaching its goals, but could also hinder the process due to the personal nature of the imperative. It would seem unlikely that there would be an intentional commitment to a settlement's failure or

loss, as it would undoubtedly impact on one's own success and gains. However, there are situations in which there may be benefits, politically, economically, or socially, for those in the settlement or those at the core if a settlement fails or loses something. Those who gain only through others' failures or losses are transient speculators/entrepreneurs and could obviously affect a settlement.

Memmi raises some interesting issues when he writes that,

> the Colonialist does not plan his future in terms of the colony, for he is there only temporarily and invests only what will bear fruit in his time ... the colonialist never planned to transform the colony into the image of his homeland, nor to remake the colonized in his own image! He cannot allow such an equation - it would destroy the principle of his privileges (1967:69).

In a superficial sense many did try to recreate the image of the homeland in a visual way through gardens, architecture, etc., as well as in a concrete political, economic, or social sense. Thus the coloniser may not have planned to replicate, but often succeeded in replicating, the old order. Certainly it would seem, as Memmi mentions above, that some did try to 'remake the colonized in his own image' by conversion to a particular religious belief, the imposition of particular laws and conventions, and even sexual relations e.g. Christianity, property ownership, the wearing of clothes, and monogamy etc. The point probably is that such conversion entailed the same responsibilities being bestowed on the colonised, but not the same rights and privileges. Even though Memmi uses the term 'temporary', he mentions that many did not return because their prospects were far better in the colony; returning would signal a lowering of standards and going "back to the viscous slowness of progress at home" (Memmi 1967:4-5). With people operating in this manner one could easily see the potential for putting their own needs, and possibly those of the core, over the needs of the settlement.

The number of people that saw themselves as transient but never left are hard to determine, but perhaps their existence can be seen in some of the attitudes regarding independence or separation from the core. Some statistical analysis of the numbers arriving and departing would give some idea of the numbers who actually left, but reasonable statistical analysis is difficult. The problem is demonstrated by examining the 'Blue Book', the 19th century statistical accounting system used in South Australia, which was flawed because it recorded people coming in and going out only at the ports (and not all ports) and did not record those who came in and out across the borders (Governor MacDonnell Despatch, SAA GRG 2/8. no. 186, Points 4, 8 & 13). A specific example in 1856 shows 9525 immigrants and 7278 emigrants and thus an overall gain of 2247 people (Pike 1957:517). This does not account for the departure of many of the inhabitants across the border to the gold fields, nor the influx and exodus of many Chinese (Wynd and Wood 1963:43; Yong 1977; Copland 1998:39-41). Further, whether these were the same people who came in, went out, and then came back again is unknown. Even if this could be deciphered by checking the passenger lists, which are often incomplete, it is difficult to be able to quantify, or even estimate, who considered themselves to be temporarily in the Colony, but never left, and who considered themselves permanent but did, in fact, leave temporarily or permanently. Hence there is no empirical data compilation from which to further an empirical argument at present. However, as seen in the case of the Chinese transient migration across South Australia in the mid 1800s, there is a written record of their arrival, almost no material culture remaining of their migration, yet the effect of their visit is imprinted on the political, economic, and social environment (Copland 1998). This imprint is shown in three ways in South Australia:

- politically, in South Australia beginning to formulate its own migration policy and support for Victorian policy over British policy;

- economically, through the monetary gains from the Chinese themselves and the increased trade and tariffs from rice and opium; and

- socially, in the debate on racism and labour issues in general.

Therefore, effects such as these further support the need to consider transience.

Politically the "theory of citizen reluctance..." (Robbins 1986:394) considers the question of why some people participate more fully in society than others, yet may have a strong connection to transients and a related lack of commitment. Generally political theory does not consider transience. It would seem that in economic theory transience should be accounted for, as the arrival and departure of people would affect the economy of the arrival and departure site, and, although not the issue here, would be part of the wider system of the parent site. Perhaps transience is not dealt with in detail because the holistic approach tries to present general theoretical outcomes from human behaviour. In environmental theory transient human behaviour could impact as much on the physical environment as nomadism (Griffith 2001).

Transience is not isolated as a factor in theories discussing settlement, probably because the focus is on those who remained more or less constantly in a settlement. The impact of transience can be seen specifically when variables such as gold rushes greatly affect population fluctuations. The political, economic and social ramifications of this may completely alter the settlement process, by either moving it on to ongoing occupation or to complete failure, thus bringing the settlement process to an end. Such variables are often disregarded in a similar way to Wallerstein's (1979 & 1984) economic progressions where he disregards 'windfalls', such as treasure, discovered resources, or plunder etc., in trying to maintain a natural progressive economic order. Jacomb's discussion of focal nodes (2000:57) - points of interaction such as trading posts - where

transience is the common behaviour, shows the value of these points of interchange for diffusion of culture and technology. While these are not considered settlement in terms of the diagnostic index of settlement, they do highlight what may happen as a result of transient behaviour by the minority within an accepted settlement and therefore perhaps should be accounted for in some manner. Of course this raises the question of what is seen to be more important: the slow but steady movement towards change, through growing acceptance of the change by the general population, or the dramatic fast and chaotic change, facilitated by an event or a relatively small number of people? To be inclusive it would seem appropriate to be able to accommodate both.

In some cases, transient behaviour may be alluded to in a theory, but it is difficult to be sure. For instance, Childe writes in terms of temporary forays from a settlement and mentions people becoming the "first permanent colonists" (1950:28). The length of these 'temporary forays' is unclear, but 'first permanent' suggests a previous 'temporary' colonist. However, we can only presume that there were no habitation sites found for the temporary migrations/forays and none for previous occupants at the colonised site. Similarly, Boas, whose work did produced the standard methodological approach to the use of language and material culture (1966:324–325) to analyse migration, tracks both of these factors but there is little social analysis of transient behaviour that could have produced change. More specifically, in Birmingham and Jeans' Swiss Family Robinson Theory (1983), where Wyss' Robinson family is used as a metaphor to analyse the settlement process, the Robinson family were actually on their way to another settlement and therefore can easily be seen as transients until their decision was made to remain.

Having discussed transience and the importance of its inclusion, how transience affects actions and interactions, and if at all, is discussed in the following chapters with specific reference to the Governors who came for a particular reason – employment - and did not stay, in a similar way to the later transient Chinese (Choi 1975; Yong 1977; Copland 1998) who came for a particular reason – gold – but of whom only a few stayed (Lydon 1999; Ah Ket 1999; Copland 2000).

3.2.2 Human Deviation

Human deviation from set behaviour appears to be another variable that is not clearly identified or necessarily accounted for in theory. Perhaps in some sense many theories actually describe deviation on a grand scale, but in doing so convert it to normative behaviour.   Different people, often in the way that best suits them and their circumstances, which in itself is human deviation, often interpret theories themselves differently. Jane Lydon appears to use the term 'human agency' (1999:7), as the human factor she considers to be an important part of 'microhistory', in a similar way to the use of deviation here, but perhaps, in the use of this term, she also allows for normative behaviour.

Perhaps it is best to first consider 'normative behaviour', which could be defined as behaviour that people would be expected to follow in the circumstances and under the conditions that exist. As Thomas suggests,

> rejecting the concept of the autonomous individual does not require that we resort to portraying past communities as being composed of faceless, identical automata. Instead, it means that we recognise that people are different by virtue of their differential positioning within the networks of power and knowledge. We are not free to be what we will be, but we realise our potentials differently because of our different opportunities, experiences, access to knowledge…. and because we may have been excluded, dominated or oppressed by others (Thomas 2002:38).

Apart from lack of power and domination etc. it would appear that the reasons behind normative behaviour would seem to be fairly obvious: fitting in; not being disruptive; getting on with life without concern for a particular area of it; and, perhaps, for the benefit of the overall success of the tribe, group, or society. Statt suggests that a 'social norm' is "[b]ehaviour expected of all the members of a society. The norm of social behaviour is therefore one definition of social normality" (1981:117). When considering normative behaviour one of the problems that would appear to be common to most, if not all, theories is that once something becomes normative behaviour, or the norm, then it is seldom discussed. Rather it is accepted as common knowledge and rarely made explicit. Consequently at some later date the actions are difficult to identify, as the behaviour may well have changed and we can no longer clearly understand the past processes involved.

Deviant behaviour, on the other hand, would define behaviour that diverges from this norm or its socially accepted practices. Here Statt states that a deviant is "someone whose behaviour violates prevailing norms of morality in his society" (1981:36) and most people would probably put this negative connotation on the word based on ideas of morality. However, 'deviation' as "a departure from the Norm" (Statt 1981:36) appears to be more acceptable and less negative when less emphasis is placed on morality. The question then becomes is it possible to separate 'deviation' from 'wrong doing'? Bohannan suggests that,

> in addition to the norms themselves, every society presents us with certain allowable deviations from the norms. The approved deviations are a sort of 'grey area' between the ideal and the punishable [and] societies differ vastly in the sort of punishment they mete out to wrong doers. So far as I am aware, there is no modern cross-cultural study of punishment (1963:296).

The area of punishment is an interesting one, particularly as one such punishment could well be to banish wrongdoers. In this case the possible migration and new settlement

that results is not directly attributable to the deviation, but rather the norm of the society, being the act of punishment itself. However, it is in the 'grey area' that the issue of deviation is discussed in this thesis, and in most cases these deviations do not fall into the category of punishable offences, even though they may well be seen, by different societies at different times, as crimes against the society. Settlement itself, or leaving the original or core society to form a new one, has been seen as a crime by various societies, one example being China where migration was prohibited from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century (Rendell 1952:6; Wang 1978:17). Some deviations, as will be seen in the following chapters, were punishable to various degrees, with, for instance, loss of position and authority. The interest here lies in the specific reasons and consequences of the deviation with regard to the settlement process, rather than what is seen to be criminal or anti-social. It is interesting to note that the first European colony in Australia was set up as a penal settlement, where transportation or exile was used as a punishment to cater for the large numbers of people who deviated from the social norms of the day. Those norms were biased heavily towards materialist protection of property and wealth and the political institutions that supported them, i.e. economics and politics. It is questionable whether in Britain the idea of 'transportation' arose out of an idea of exile/banishment or more out of necessity due to the large numbers of prisoners, but it could easily be argued that there is a strong correlation between the two. Since that time less draconian punishments have been put in place, tempered by a consideration of social and cultural issues. As regards societal change, what was once punishable by death or transportation, for instance stealing by a minor, was eventually reduced to various forms of imprisonment or corporal punishment, and has since become a process of negotiation to change behaviour. These changed outcomes reflect something of the societal normative belief systems of the day, which must be taken into account when viewing historical events, and the rationale for actions, out of their period of context.

A major question is whether or not deviation can be construed as normative behavior and, particularly within the issue being discussed here, whether migration is normative or deviant behaviour. If, for instance, migration, migratory habits, and the consequential settlement process are accepted as normative behaviour, then we are simply examining the different methods by which people do this, rather than why they do it. In this thesis the issues of how the process takes place are examined, but also in light of the reason *why* it takes place, to suggest that it is not innate or normative behaviour. This rationale is developed from the belief that not all people, in fact probably only a small number in comparison to population size, actually want to participate in this activity from an innate or normative perspective. More often than not it is event-driven migration, as can clearly be seen in Eric Richards' (2004) book concerning emigration from Britain; it cannot be normative behaviour, as an event is required to stimulate it rather than migration taking place under its own volition. Richards' book also highlights the problem of reliable figures from which to calculate accurately, but he does state of the late 1800s that "migrants, in reality, were a small proportion of the total population …" (2004:182-183). For example, in 1881 the total population of the United Kingdom was approx. 35,531,556 (Pears' Cyclopædia c1907:357) but by 1885 "there were about five million British-born people living outside the British Isles" (Richards 2004:280). Barring huge leaps in either figure over the four-year gap, this exodus would account for only 7% of the population. If emigration were a normative behaviour, then according to Statt everyone would eventually migrate. However, some do and most do not, but more often than not it would appear that factors other than normative behaviour, e.g. event-driven migration, are the stimulus to deviate from the norm, i.e. politics, economics, environmental factors or family, community, social group pressures etc.

The question of internal versus external migration adds a further confusing dimension to this problem. As will be seen later, some considered the Australian colonies to be a part of Britain and so the physical movement of people to the colonies could well be considered to be internal migration. Richards points out that this is unresolved, but there is a strong view in favour of the opinion (2004:183). He also states that,

> In reality most emigrants were not engaged in a mission, nor were they the uprooted or exiled; they departed in a spirit of enterprise which fitted well the unrivalled freedom of movement fostered under the *Pax Britannica* (2004:303).

One could even go as far as to suggest that the opportunity to participate in the extended Britain was also an event and therefore still a deviation from the norm.

It should be noted that nomadic processes are not seen to be part of deviation but are rather normative behaviour and produce a settlement style similar to migratory behaviour. In the nomadic case, often as a result of limited technology and/or the inability to control the conditions at hand, there would seem to be a requirement of systematic exploitation of resources and consequential movement to allow regeneration without assistance. Also, as discussed in the previous chapter, this can be seen as an ongoing occupation pattern rather than settlement. Such behaviour may well have been more of an imperative, and thus normative behaviour. Perhaps, for some people, this behaviour is genetically stronger than it is in others, or the circumstances are conducive to it, thus leading to a desire to be mobile, but it would be difficult to separate this from behaviour emanating purely from self-protection or survival needs.

Thus, whether or not human deviation is sufficient to contribute to and inform the discourse on settlement, or illuminate its changing patterns, is raised through the case studies. It will be argued that human deviation is the underlying cause of change and therefore any robust theory of settlement should be able to cater for this variable. There

seems to be little value in discussing this in any empirical, specific or chronological sense, i.e. "how many deviants does it take to change a settlement?" or "which stone started the avalanche?" and "when did this occur"? Particularly as it would appear that it may only take one deviation to start a movement towards change and many may be required to give the movement momentum or for the change to become the norm. More often than not it is difficult to pinpoint which individual deviation was the cause and/or when this occurred. There certainly have been numerous arguments about critical or definitive events, pivotal people, or accumulative circumstances and the timing of all of these, but the exactness of such arguments is unlikely to be completely convincing. There is even the debate about whether or not the theorist is, in fact, attempting to be so precise. In one such argument Carver suggests that both Marx and Darwin appear not to be concerned about the exact first or explicit origin of things (1982:60 & 62). However, Giddens does not agree with this evaluation of Marx and points to Marx's 'historical materialism' to show his intention to define points of change (1981:72). It is probable that Carver is using 'exact' in a figurative sense, meaning that Marx and Darwin were concerned with only a general idea of 'origin'. It is Carver's approach that is taken here, in other words a general premise rather than an explicit one.   Hence, rather than suggesting and discussing who, what, when, and where, the argument put forward throughout this thesis is more general, suggesting 'why' and further arguing that deviation is the essence of change (Copland 1998:13), while stating that there are only two basic proponents or catalysts: people and nature. Of course there are mentions of who, what, when and where that answer some of the minor questions, but these are incidental to the major question. Furthermore, there can be no strong conclusions drawn or universal statements made about the particular characteristics of those involved, geographic locations, or periods associated with the process, because obviously these,

too, are variables and would need individual consideration in the circumstances/case studies analysed.

In general, the direction in the following discussion is best defined as one of norms specifying "general standards of behaviour. Rules and decision-making procedures refer to specific prescriptions for behaviour in clearly defined areas" (Krasner 1985:4). The separation of these two issues works also for social behaviour and clarifies that the focus here is on general behaviour rather than specific 'rule' breaking behaviour. For instance, the case of "the Amish of Pennsylvania, whose cultural deviants, the less conservative, went over to the 'greater society', while the members of the Old Order clung tenaciously to its past" (Steward 1950:42) is an instance of general behaviour as opposed to cases of murder, theft, or any other infraction of some legal restraint or rule.

Deviation can also be seen in the commitment to different goals, which in turn affects the settlement process. While in terms of the diagnostic index of settlement there would appear to be a need for an overall collective goal to settle and remain permanently, there may also be individual, and in many cases competing goals, which are not shared by the collective. For instance, the desire to create particular political, economic, social or spiritual infrastructure must also colour the views of success or failure of the settlement, based on the success or failure of putting these structures into place. Therefore a settlement may exist in terms of the index, but the settlement may fail in terms of the personal, or even common, goals the process started out with. Goals as simple as creating a 'new life' may easily come into conflict with more complex goals of creating a new political structure. Also goals and commitment could well change due to circumstances. Bad experiences can change the original goal and lower a settler's commitment to settlement, but equally a good experience may alter the goals of a transient to become committed to settlement. Either way, deviating from the common

goals of society or the personal goals of an individual would seem to have an effect on the settlement and therefore requires consideration.

One could suggest that Marx's work, and theorising in general, is itself a form of deviation, because if, as Carver believes, Marx used the work of others on political economy to represent the normative situation of the time (1982:81), then his theory deviated from the norm. For example, Marx, in some instances, based his information on the premise that the observations made by others, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Robert Torrens, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, were the norm rather than a theory of what the normative behaviour actually was or could be. This seemed to be a popular pastime such that we see Marx quoting Malthus quoting Torrens (Marx 1972:24), and as Carver states, from " the time of Adam Smith, and even earlier, various versions of a labour theory of value had been put forward" (1982:82). This suggests perhaps more of a refining of normative behaviour than a consideration of deviation.

This failure to deal with different and changing circumstances, often as a result of human deviation, has forced modifications to be made to Marx's theory (Aronowitz 1990:151). However, Aronowitz does not see this as a problem, as he believes Marxism does not "dogmatically hold to a particular doctrinal canon" (Aronowitz 1990:168). Thus the theory allows for circumstances to alter and provides latitude for others to adjust the theory. Marx's pragmatism, as discussed by Popper (1966:84, 86, 322), can be clearly seen by Marx's mention of, but not accounting for, seemingly deviant activities that did not form part of his theoretical premise. For example as when Marx "noted the existence of some free labourers in Roman times and the persistence of slavery in modern times..." (Carver 1982:59) he was acknowledging these anomalies but did not analyse them. Therefore, while deviation is not specifically dealt with, perhaps

Marx builds in the ability to account for it. Marxists have in turn refined or altered Marx's original work to meet either their needs or those of the changing world, (in other words deviations) which Marx did not account for. Others have implemented the theory in Russia, Cuba, China, Paraguay, etc., but these have all been with some modification, and, again, deviation. The classic deviation is with China, as Marx envisaged an industrially rather than agriculturally based revolution.

In terms of South Australia it is interesting to note that Marx suggests that,

> by a wonderful feat of logical acumen, Colonel Torrens has discovered, in this stone of the savage the origin of capital. "In the first stone which he [the savage] flings at the wild animal he pursues, in the first stick that he seizes to strike down the fruit which hangs above his reach, we see the appropriation of one article for the purpose of aiding in the acquisition of another, and thus discover the original of capital." (Torrens 1823 as quoted in Marx 1954: 179).

Apart from involving material culture in the form of a stone and stick, here was a perfect opportunity to expand on the deviation from the norm to consider the deviation as being equally important as the results. Birmingham and Jeans suggest, in reference to the unstructured approach to inductive archaeological projects, that "serendipity cannot be legislated out of existence, but it is inadequate as a disciplinary basis" (Birmingham & Jeans 1983:14) and therefore a common direction may be more useful. This is a useful point, and also one that may apply to the intended consideration of deviation in this thesis, although it could be argued that deviation as discussed in this thesis is more than simple 'serendipity', and, while perhaps 'inadequate as a disciplinary basis', it should not then be totally disregarded.

In economic theory human deviation does seem to be considered, as humans create the economy by their behaviour. It could be said that regulation of human activity is an attempt to deal with human deviation and therefore this would in turn affect settlement. Economically grounded theory has often been used in this way. For instance, Mercantilist Theory, which evolved in England, was based on national aims, rather than

local or individual aims, regulation of overseas trade, building a stockpile of treasure, and promoting laws to support this end and avoidance of dependence on other countries (Southgate 1963:37). The focus on national interest means that a settlement would never be more than a suburb or adjunct to the nation. This system was superseded, probably due to the number of people who deviated from it, by an economic theory of *laissez faire* that was supported by economists like Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo (Southgate 1963:373). This theory promoted non-interference by government that, of course, allows for greater and more dispersed deviation. Such a theory could not help but affect settlement, perhaps in the first instance by simply promoting the opportunity for people to participate in economic advantages without government controls. Therefore there are no norms (controls) to deviate from. The establishment of a European settlement in South Australia was based on this policy. Perhaps overall economic theory can be seen as trying to account for human deviation by restricting it or supporting it without fully analysing the reasons for the deviation. Deviating from one economic theory to another often occurs particularly after one has been put into practice and either fails through not having the desired result, because of unintended consequences, and/or by being supplanted by a new theory.

In social theory human deviation is clearly the more likely of the variables being considered. However, it mostly seems to have been focused on the opposite, normative behaviour, in an attempt to achieve some ordered response. It would appear that social theory develops from the thought that human actions are in chaos and require some order to be able to develop reasonable outcomes, e.g. forming social groups and communities. Yet by creating an order, and by disregarding social differentiation or deviation, people are relegated to the position of being unable to escape the bonds of the circumstances in which they find themselves (Trigger 1989;364, 373). Establishing a

common order does provide a base from which to extrapolate particular theories, e.g. most people do this therefore we can determine their actions and reactions to a set of particular circumstances. While it is accepted that 'order' allows for 'reasonable and determinable outcomes' it is perhaps 'chaos' that caters for deviation and often leads to change.

For archaeologists in general, 'order' or the normative approach to life appears to be something of a constraint. One could easily misread the archaeological evidence based on one's own perception of cultural norms. It is obviously not easy to consider possibilities outside of one's own cultural norms, let alone the reactions and cognitive responses of past generations, but it is equally as obvious that the archaeological evidence being considered must be based on a different set of norms and deviations. As Steward (1950:xiv) states in his consideration of interdisciplinary attempts to broaden area research, that he "is doubtful whether he could rid himself sufficiently of his own professionally conditioned thinking to do justice to the ideas of others". Evan-Pritchard supports and broadens this view by stating,

> Certain kinds of fact are noticed, and they are seen in a certain kind of way, by people of our culture. To some extent at any rate, people who belong to different cultures would notice different facts and perceive them in different ways (1964:85).

Similarly this issue can be noted in terms of gender analysis. While Normative Cultural Theory may have some validity, it is perhaps the advent or acknowledgment of Critical Theory (Hodder 1986), which many see founded in Marxism, that has the greatest potential to highlight the possible normative biases inherent in social theory.

Perhaps it is the impact of the individual, as opposed to the group, within normative behaviour, that is not generally considered in social theory. Fletcher suggests that,

> Social pressures do not absolutely predetermine the actions of individuals. The actions of specific individuals are indeterminate relative to the nature of within-group communication. Individuals can unpredictably exercise creativity and reformulate the expressions of their society. People can be at odds with their community. They can make serious, even personally disastrous, social mistakes (Fletcher 1995:46).

Therefore holistic behaviour, such as group behaviour and behaviour expressed as social pressures, can be understood as Normative Cultural Theory but perhaps, if chaos, deviation and change are in fact related, then there still needs to be an Anomalous Cultural Theory to account for the individual. Disregarding the individual, and deviation, can be seen as early as 1758 when Lord Kames was purporting the 'holistic', which he termed 'capital circumstances', and disregarded deviations by simply stating that "accidents, or the singular nature of a people, or a government, will always produce some peculiarities" (Kames quoted in Evans-Pritchard 1964:25). Evans-Pritchard suggests that in the early development of sociology there was an overall need and desire to establish natural laws that in turn produced the norm and therefore "dealt with societies and not individuals" (1964:25, 42).

However, Normative Cultural Theory does allow us to look at deviations by setting standards, rightly or wrongly, of normative behaviour and it is perhaps from this premise that social theory is put into practice in attempts to change or influence normative behaviour. It may be useful at some point, through examination of the material culture of society at points in time, to try to establish the normative behaviour of the majority, to enable us to measure the degrees of deviation and then to consider whether or not there are any patterns in this that support the random nature of events and people's behaviour as the cause of deviation. While this is the process used in archaeology, the details of either the normative or deviant behaviour are often not sufficiently defined or documented in a way that allows for easy analysis and

comparison across a range of projects and subjects. Perhaps one method to assist such analysis and comparison would be to promote a need for all reports to contain a section clearly noting normative and deviant behaviour. This may appear repetitious in projects that are similar in nature, but it may well allow for the examination of possible disparities not easily seen otherwise, or at least the author's views of what is considered to be normative or deviant behaviour.

In Environmental theory human deviation can be recognised from time to time in migrations brought about by population pressures, where people move from their usual physical environment. A specific example of human deviation from a theoretical premise was the movement of people beyond the 'Goyder Line' in South Australia. The Goyder Line was an environmental boundary defining the limits of sustainable rainfall. Goyder had theoretically stated this and legislation was put into place to restrict sales beyond this line, but following a period of good rains in the late 1800s the settlers moved into the area beyond the line (Buxton 1974:177-178, McGowan 1990). Long-range weather forecasts were unavailable and the settler could equally have been correct in estimating that the rainfall would continue for some time, as much as Goyder could have been wrong that it would not. Eventually it was Goyder who was proven to be correct, but the deviation of disregarding the theory could potentially have been as successful. It would also seem that occupying land beyond the 'Goyder Line' is in direct contradiction to the 'Learning Phase', in Birmingham and Jeans' Swiss Family Robinson Theory (1983). The 'Exploration Phase' is where people push the boundaries of the environment by exploring further afield, while the 'Learning Phase' is a period of time where the settler learns about their new environment. However, the 'Learning Phase' allows no room for people who do not wish to use the information gained in this phase, and thus does not allow for deviation from a linear process. Of course it could be

argued that testing the 'Goyder Line' was part of Birmingham and Jeans' 'Exploration Phase', while the occupation of the area beyond it was the 'Learning Phase'. However, this simply raises another flaw in progressive stages, as one could well then expect that 'Learning' also occurs from, and in, an 'Exploration Phase'.

In searching for the point of change/deviation, or focal node, many used the 'frontier', perhaps seen as the limits of normative behaviour, as a point of reference (e.g. Alexander 1947; Stansbury 1977; Reynolds 1982; Nayton 1992; Foster, Hosking, Nettelbeck 2001). Similar in a way to *laissez faire* economic theory, the lack of controls at the frontier allows for deviation. The question then as to whether this is deviation as there is no norm to measure it against. One could refer the behaviour back to the occupation site and thus determine that the behaviour was a deviation. However, as the circumstances are different at the frontier, or beyond the usual occupation site, should the different behaviour be considered deviant? It would appear more appropriate to compare various areas beyond occupations sites, as well as the conditions to establish what actions and behaviours are being exhibited. In this way there would be the ability to determine normative behaviour in these circumstances and environments and, conversely, deviations. There have been some attempts at this over time (e.g. Roberts 1937; Fitzpatrick 1939; Alexander 1947; Nayton 1992) in relation to the frontiers of Australia and the United States of America, but more could be done.

The most famous frontier theory was F. J. Turner's (1893) *The Frontier in American History,* concerned with mobility, innovation and resourcefulness. It particularly allowed for the human factor, or deviation, to be seen as an element of change. It dramatically changed the previously accepted methodology by considering the wide-ranging effects of movement from a place of occupation to the creation of a new

settlement, allowing for the incorporation of all factors. It has been widely accepted that this theory, which was in many ways heroic in nature, probably in keeping both with normative attitudes and the literary genre of the time, has been used to try to create a foundation for a national identity. However, this process failed to consider many of the less attractive human traits, and therefore all points of deviation, as highlighted in a similar debate on national identity in Australia, between Ward (1966) and McQueen (1970). In this debate Ward takes a folkloric-legend approach to human behaviour, while McQueen presents a much more factual account. Even so, it is difficult to separate normative and deviant behaviour, particularly where the situations are neither normal nor usual at the frontier. Suffice to say it is easier to consider behaviour at the original occupation site where the norm exists and perhaps most, if not all, behaviour is deviant at the frontier – and therefore normal.

The frontier seems to be an ideal breeding ground for deviation and the perfect environment to create a legend based on lack of information and mystery, such as the stories of *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift (1726), which contained elements of truth about the furthest points of the world. Legend is a subject that may actually be useful in archaeology in determining where the frontier was, as shown by Griffith's suggestion that a certain body of legend, on the one side of aggression and the other of defence, only arises on the frontier where the *Volkerwanderung* came to a halt (2001:284). In a similar way Reynolds (1982:198) tries to "explore the other side of the frontier" when writing about the Australian Indigenous reaction to the European aggression. However, legend may be problematic in terms of determining actual behaviour, particularly in terms of deviation.

The legend that developed out of the Frontier Theory has its detractors, based on its apparent focus on the individual response to circumstances as a catalyst for change. Gojak's review of Heather Burke's book, *Meaning and Ideology in Historical Archaeology*, suggests that Burke's book is "a nice corrective to the American ideological obsession with the individual as the key in all matters, and moving back onto groups as active participants in social change" (Gojak 2000:64). Whether Gojak's interpretation is correct or not, there is a problem with his statement. It would seem reasonable to suggest that change or deviation from the norm emanates more often from the individual, if not necessarily 'the key in all matters', rather than from a uniform collective response, even though it is difficult to pinpoint the individual responsible and one must also accept the need for a supporting collective response to make the change effective or far reaching. Perhaps, as with Marx, for whom social relations are not the will of the individual but may be influenced by the individual (Carver 1982:22 & 24), Gojak is simply suggesting the need to be inclusive and move beyond the individual response which, if not supported and encouraged by a popular movement, will die and be obliterated from the record anyway. Gojak's comment also appears to be relating to the folkloric historic view, or legend, of the Frontier Theory that would probably be supported by many postprocessualists. However, Donald Pate suggests this comment represents a misunderstanding of historical archaeology as practiced in North America in particular and archaeology in general (pers. comm. 2001). Moreover, it should be remembered that the impact of Frontier Theory was not on methodology alone, since many theories can be traced to having foundations in the Frontier Theory even though they appear to be much more limited in scope.

More focused, or perhaps what can be seen as the initial steps in frontier or belt occupation, the latter being a broad band area of similar activities, are the focal nodes at

the frontier of occupation (Jacomb 2000:57), from which a stable settlement can evolve. This has been discussed in the last chapter in terms of determining what a settlement is and where many places of exploitative occupation have eventually developed into a new settlement. While these are clearly not seen as settlement in the sense of this thesis, they are mentioned here because of the connection to the frontier, and their connection to deviation, and may assist in determining the point at which the process changed from outposts of ongoing settlement to settlement itself. Focal nodes are part of the discussion within another settlement theory, Diffusion Theory, which was developed by Friedrich Ratzel in *Anthropogeographie* (1882) and *The History of Mankind* (1896), and practiced by Gordon Childe (1950:5, 9). It argues that inventions occur only once and ideas are defused through settlement or migratory behaviour. Schortman and Urban (1987) discuss the extent and limitations of Diffusion Theory, including the different use of this theory by archaeologists, and also cover many of the issues mentioned in this paper regarding stage theory, lack of consideration of environment, staples, etc., or other disciplines.

3.2.3 Physical Environment

Having discussed the human element, one could argue that the only other factor in the equation of settlement is the natural environment. Of course it is accepted that this, in turn, could alter the economic or social/cultural practices of a group of people and perhaps even their political practices but once again in such cases this requires the human to act or react to the change caused by natural environmental pressures. However, even in this there is a human factor, due to changing abilities to impact upon the natural environment and alter it either intentionally or unintentionally. At one time glaciations, droughts, and other natural changes to the environment, including the effects

of meteors, were outside the control of human activity, but of course we now know that

certain human actions may in fact cause glaciations and droughts (Griffith 2001).

The environmental issue is highlighted by Dutton's comments, that,

> For the idealist, a colony could start from emptiness, so that nothing may distract
> the working-out of correct theories; for the practical man, a colony should have
> fertile land and ample water (Dutton 1960:146).

In the case of South Australia it was not empty and, although it had some fertile land,

the fertility was fragile. While it had water this, too, was not necessarily ample. There

is a shortfall in theory that does not account for the variable of the landscape, and all it

does or does not contain. This is a basic problem that settlement planners and theorists

could well have catered for by acknowledging the possible impacts, even though the

focus of the discussion was on other factors.

In economic theory the physical environment would also have an economic effect from

the perspective of the availability of resources and the ability to exploit them, and

therefore need to be considered. Of course, had the lack of resources and the physical

environment been fully integrated into the economic theory, allowing and for an

alternative approach to the economy, then the variable of deviation would have been

accounted for and a linear stage process seen as impossible.

With regard to physical environment it can be seen that the environment does not

predetermine the outcome, although human behaviour can be seen to be a reaction to it.

As Fletcher states,

> People can misjudge their situation … Circumstances have only a selective
> effect. They generate outcomes, of which we can make sense, by acting for or
> against whatever an individual or a group has tried to do on the basis of premises
> and expectations" (1995:47).

Therefore the variable of physical environment is removed or subjugated to a place of lesser importance, or not discussed at all in favour of the focus on the human behaviour itself.

The closest social theory comes to the idea of considering the effect of the physical environment is perhaps in the consideration of part of it in the form of the natural environment, in particular biology. This can be seen in one of the divergences in social discourse that separates nature, in a biological sense, and culture. Horigan suggests the reason for this is that "the opposition between nature and culture has been used as one attempt to 'ground' the human sciences, to legitimize and justify their existence as autonomous disciplines" (Horigan 1988:4). This suggestion is not an unlikely scenario and supports the idea that theories tend to be discipline-focused. There may be an even more sinister rationale in separating biology and culture as seen in the outcomes of World War II and more recent ethnic cleansing. However, putting aside issues of racial purity, there is a certain element of truth in Childe's statement that,

> ... culture and race do not coincide. What distinguishes human progress from organic evolution is, in fact, just this: a human society can adopt an invention made by another society biologically quite unrelated to it; physiological mutation can only be transmitted from parents to children by biological inheritance (1950:1).

Of course the flaw in the argument is one of logic and fact. The factual flaw emanates from the idea of biological separation between humans, or even the degree of separation, and the logical flaw is that there is a relationship between the two quite separate issues of change in society and biological change. Horigan (1988:4-5) suggests that Kroeber and Boas separate race and culture by,

> arguing that cultural phenomena could only be understood in terms of culture [thus] they both undercut the theoretical premise of eugenics and racial anthropology, that is, that the cultural and historical achievements of a people were a product of their racial composition; [and] they thereby helped to establish anthropology as a theoretically independent institution in the human sciences.

The problem that Horigan sees in this direction, which certainly seems in part to be a reaction to the unsavoury use of previous theoretical directions, is that it denies the possibilities of instinct or biological imperatives, and the "philosophical habit of pitting one against the other" (Horigan 1988:102, 105-106). Fletcher argues for the removal and exclusion of the separation between "biological and cultural perspectives" and "animal and human behaviour" by suggesting a bridging process in the need for an "interpretative device" for stability (1995:xviii-xix). He sees that device as "the long-term … operational role of the material component of human behaviour" (1995:xix). Perhaps this is similar to what Childe was trying to say by mentioning 'inventions', in other words it is the use of material culture that separates humans from the natural environment. Marx, using Torrens' analogy of the use of a stone for the meaning of capital, supports this suggestion. However, we do know that the animal world occasionally uses a 'material component' to achieve certain outcomes. For example, birds, otters, and monkeys all use stones to open hard nuts. The association may be better understood where the material component and the 'long-term' or 'operational' roles are seen to be the development, progress, or at least adaptation/refinement of the material to reach the desired outcomes.

Obviously the variable of physical environment is central to environmental theory, although in the past, like the human factor, environmental issues are usually put relatively quickly aside to concentrate on other factors. Perhaps for political, economic and social theories the time-span factor, mentioned earlier, is the problem in incorporating the physical environment. As Tosh states,

> the more esoteric disciplines have on the whole remained the province of their respective specialists, and most of them relate to environmental changes measured in millennia rather than centuries or generations - the relevant timespan for most historians (Tosh 1991:218).

For instance "in terms of geological and biological time, two hundred years is nothing" (Costin and Frith 1974), while it can be cataclysmic in other disciplines. However, even in a general sense, changes in the physical environment, or its actual impact on the machinations of humans, seem to be given little consideration in other disciplines, such as politics, economics, and sociology. This may be simply because they are so obvious that they do not seem worthwhile mentioning. For instance, physical environment would affect the Mercantilist Theory in respect of resources; the fact that this is simply a theory limited to areas with resources is so obvious it is not stated.

In some cases there may be tenuous ties to the physical environment, such as Turgot's Ripe Fruit Theory, when referring to the American Colonies (Turgot quoted in Price 1924:2 & 8). This uses an environmental metaphor to suggest that "Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only until they ripen" (Price 1924:2 & 8). Having done so the theory would seem to be able to support an environmental argument, once again from a resources perspective, as well as an economic and political one, but what is 'ripe' in terms of changes in the natural, political, economic or even social environment? The answers from one perspective could be production or location of resources, democracy, global economy, and equality, but, as this is not stated, it is therefore left to the reader's imagination. One could liken the idea of 'ripe' to the use of a maker to define the end of the settlement process in the diagnostic index. The Ripe Fruit Theory is very general and also underdeveloped, but the embryo of an inclusive process seems to exist.

The idea of a relationship between the old and new colony is articulated to a better degree in Wallerstein's World Systems Theory (1979; 1984), but this theory, which does encompass different disciplines, also fails to clearly discuss physical environmental factors. The Fertile Island Theory mentioned in Price (1924:245) is also

underdeveloped and would appear to be nothing more than an erroneous, and nationalistic, view that all of Australia was fertile and therefore settlement would be successful. Of course this may have only pertained to the areas that are fertile, but even those areas presented difficulties which could have led to settlement failure, due to lack of experience of the fragile fertility, particular ecology, and climatic conditions. A change of climate is alluded to as a reason for migration by Childe (1950:25), but he mostly deals with the technologies found at points of migration and focuses on the description of these finds without fully developing, or analysing, the reasons behind the migrations. Boas, apart from seeming to work from the wrong premise that migration was from the American continent to Asia, mentions that "… human migration was only halted by impossible barriers …" (1966:324–325). Presumably he is referring to the physical environment, but he does so without further discussion or analysis. A broader and more recent approach is by Brian Griffith (2001) who presents specific consideration of the environment in settlement patterns and also includes the issues of culture, particularly the associated changes relating to attitudes towards women.

While the frontier can be seen as a physical environment, many theories consider it to have a sociological perspective. Alexander (1947), rather than simply using 'frontier' has used the term 'moving frontier', suggests that Australia did not have a "steady and progressively expanding frontier in the American sense" (1947:26). On the other hand, Roberts disagrees with this view (1937:392) and is supported by Gaye Nayton, who suggests that the time frames are just different, i.e., that the movement of the frontier was simply faster in Australia (Nayton 1992). Alexander catalogues the differences between the North American and Australian experiences. These include the agreement with Fitzpatrick that large-scale farms occurred in Australia as opposed to small farms in America (Alexander 1947:36; Fitzpatrick 1939), bringing in something of the

physical environment debate. Large holdings are considered in the Wakefield theory from an economic and political perspective rather than in regard to physical environment. The large pastoral holdings in Australia have, in turn, been the basis for the Big Man's Frontier Theory (Rosecrance 1964:285; Fitzpatrick 1939) that simply suggests that the occupation process required large holdings or a 'Big Man' to succeed. Such holdings are given as a reason for the different experience of occupation in Australia, particularly with the escape to the city rather than to the frontier as in North America (Fitzpatrick 1939:287–288). This escape or movement in itself is the basis for the Safety Valve Theory (Turner 1893 cited in Alexander 1947; Fitzpatrick 1939), the basic premise of which is that the frontier provides a release of society's pressure by being a place people can go to, out of desire or necessity, but it fails to account for all the deficiencies in any given society. Geographical space and dimension is obviously physical environment, therefore from this perspective it has been included within many theories although perhaps its impact is still not fully considered.

Staple theory (McCarthy 1964; Hainsworth 1965) must be seen as related to physical environment, as it requires the harvesting of a product or the availability of resources which are environmental, but does not discuss this as a particular issue because it is perhaps understood that a supportable environment must exist or because the focus is on the economic outcomes of having, or not having, a staple. While along a similar line of argument to Frontier Theories, the Pioneer Belt Theory (Bowman 1927/28; Taylor 1937; Roberts 1937), in which "a pioneer belt is a region of recent, of progressing, or potential settlement" (Taylor 1937:360), seems to be more inclusive of both the physical environment and economics. In this theory, even though 'occupation' may have been a better term than 'settlement', there could also be the opportunity to consider Indigenous occupation processes. The Indigenous use of the environment was often disregarded or

misinterpreted to the detriment of those who came to occupy the land and was not a factor considered in theories that considered the environment. Recent research on the Indigenous use of environment can be seen in Heather Builth's ground breaking work on eel aquaculture at Lake Condah, Victoria (2002). This research is sure to change many views on Indigenous occupation patterns, particularly regarding ideas relating to what sedentism, settlement, and occupation is, and may allow for future theory to include this aspect, as well as greater consideration of the physical environmental factor altogether.

3.3   Implementation of Theory.

Apart from the variables mentioned there is a tension between creating and implementing the theory. In a chemical experiment the transition from theory to practical implementation is a relatively simple process in which a theoretical idea is postulated, a practical experiment with all the rigours of scientific methodology is attempted, a result is obtained either in the positive or negative, and thus the theoretical idea, or aspects of it, is established or returned to drawing board. In the social sciences or humanities transition from theory to practical implementation is not so simple. Moreover the narrative aspect of the methodology complicates this process as much more is left to interpretation and conjecture than adding a specific ratio of one chemical to another. Furthermore, variables, in particular human beings, who are far more complicated than the properties of chemicals, causes the overall process is much more complex

This is particularly important to any discussion of the 'South Australia Experiment', which like few other theories, attempted to implement the theory of 'Systematic Colonisation'. At the time, in 1834, the idea of the South Australia Experiment was

perhaps one of the first examples of a colonisation theory (South Australian Association 1834:17) to be seen to be an independent process, rather than being a suburb or extension of the core occupation site or societal developmental process. Setting up an experiment is as much a part of the experiment as actually conducting it and the first person to arrive in South Australia, while an important and definitive part of the experiment, does not represent the only point in time to be considered. Some of the changes from theory to implementation were subtler than others, which may account for the difficulty in establishing when the process changed. However, it is more important to realize that the change occurred, and how this impacts on the material outcomes and therefore the archaeology than the actual date of change. Moreover, from the very beginning of the South Australia Experiment there is a blurring of the changeover of personnel involved from theorist to the practical person. Firstly, during the creation of the experiment where there was a change, over time, from the more idealistic to the more practical. Secondly there was the change from those who developed the experiment, fought for it, and created the possibility of it, to those who actually had to implement and/or participate in the experiment. Further blurring occurs from the fact that some of the people involved took part in both processes and the various forces and changes outside the process that occurred overtime and impinged upon it.

The attempt to implement the theory, exemplifies "that stress between the practical and the ideal …" (Dutton 1960:145). Dutton (1960:146) suggests the theorist requires a 'clean canvas' upon which to work, while the practical person required particular conditions. The theorists involved saw themselves as political, economic, and social scientists, and from their perspective the 'ideal' was the theory. However, there are several groups involved: the original theorist, the later theorists whom Dutton (1960:146) considers to be more practical, and then the settlers themselves. Each group appears to have had different agendas and expectations, thus the people involved at all

levels are a major factor to be considered. The theorists involved, mentioned in Dutton's quote, were acting practically in seeing their own possible employment as an outcome, much the same as the settler, but a different type of employment which achieved greater remuneration for less physical involvement, namely as bureaucrats or investors. The majority of settlers were more likely to be interested in acquiring land to farm. The fact is that many theorists did not gain positions of employment, or advantage from the scheme, and many settlers were unable to farm in an unfamiliar physical environment.

Kerr's title *'A Exelent Coliney', The Practical Idealists of 1836 – 1846* (1978) suggests that theory and practical implementation succeeded in working together. The theorists who built the experiment were idealistic and those who did not actually build the theory were also idealistic, as shown by their support of the theory to the point that, for many, they risked their livelihood, even their life, to be a part of the experiment both in Britain and South Australia. It will be shown, in the following chapters on Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory and the implementation of the South Australian settlement, that as a result of not knowing what the theory expected of them, the people deviated from it. Moreover, those that did know often purposefully deviated from it, and the lack of consideration of local conditions left no alternative but to force deviation from it.

The South Australia Experiment highlights one of the main problems in the transition between the ideal and the real: accounting for the variable of environment. Settlers with limited knowledge outside their own physical, natural or social environment were particularly challenged by the new colony and its associated conditions. At one point there was a call for experienced farmers to migrate, when actually there were none in Britain at the time (Dutton 1960:160) who had experience of farming under South

Australian conditions. Of course the Indigenous inhabitants had a well-developed understanding of their environment and resources, but were never really considered as part of the experiment or capable of providing useful information. However, this also raises the question of the various expectations of the people concerned. It could be argued that varying expectations are simply diversity but, if normative behaviour exists, then normative beliefs and expectations should also exist, and probably do in terms of survival and positive outcomes. One tends to notice this in a general belief of infallibility amongst younger people, accounting for higher risk taking and opportunistic endeavours. Taking this to be the case then, where there is a divergence of expectations one could assume there is also deviation.

In the past some theorists have suggested practical possibilities for creating a settlement, and some suggest a more general, pre-designed way for people to live. Wakefield's systematic colonisation is an example of the former, while Karl Marx's manifesto is an example of the latter. The results of such attempts so far have not proven to be very successful. Such theoretical attempts to move to practical implementation have never been a perfect blueprint, an all encompassing detailed plan, or a step by step method, but, rather, still a theory which, in more cases than not, is filled with vagaries leaving a great deal of latitude in implementation. This latitude, in turn, then allows for human deviation and yet other unaccounted variables and in doing so has probably led to the ultimate failure of these attempts. Those that are rigid and try to be all encompassing also lead to deviation by those who do not hold with the rigidity. Theory can fail in the practical application but not all is necessarily lost, as a new outcome can be reached and a new theory developed. Often, however, the process is stopped, without the next theory being developed and informed by the last. This is possible even though Marx was informed by Wakefield etc., because few experiments have actually been tried and once

started are often altered, (as in ongoing occupation), rather than abandoned and started again. Perhaps the human condition is too complex for social experiments to work completely in practice which is supported by the Chinese view that while "they had devised man's most perfect system of government and society[,] [i]f they were not always perfect in practice, that was just because man could not live up to his ideals" (Schurmann & Schell 1967:xvii).

From a political theory perspective we have seen that Marx's theory did not move to practical implementation easily and often only did so with some alteration. Marx himself states that his theory is 'neither explanatory, nor predictive, nor directly testable' (Marx quoted in Carver 1982:103). There is no plan or blueprint in Marx's theory, but rather ideas (Carver 1982:77 & 100). This is a difference highlighted in the Wakefield theory in the next chapter, which, while still not fully detailed, did produce a plan. Marx never participated in a practical implementation of his theory, nor can one be sure that he envisioned its implementation in Russia, as it is generally considered that he expected the revolution to occur in the United Kingdom.

From the economic perspective Price considers that *laissez faire*, discussed earlier, in its infancy, was unable to cater for the changes required in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (1924:7), in particular he suggests that Adam Smith's ideas in *Wealth of a Nation* had discredited the Mercantilist Theory thus damaging colonies run under this system (Price 1924:8). This process continues today when economic theorists create theories and from time to time governments, often on the advice of their preferred economist, will put them into practice. More often than not this process required political involvement to implement the theory. Moreover, we are little surprised at the problems arising from the practical implementation of political, economic, and social

theory where new ideas come into vogue prior to suitable infrastructure being put into place to deal with them or without fully considering their effects. It seems quite common in the implementation of economic theory to attempt to cater for, or try to inhibit, deviation. Moreover, these theories are often put into practice, even where there are other variables not accounted for.

As regards implementing social theory we see the theory being put into practice mostly by governments to attempt to alter behaviour. While social theory is an attempt to influence people and their thinking, to encourage self-regulation of their behaviour, it is interesting that politics and economics are often used practically to achieve the desired social outcomes. The social issues of human interaction are intrinsically connected to politics through the creation of laws to protect, encourage and also restrict human activity. Social theories in terms of punishment and rehabilitation are examples of these, as are financial incentives or disincentives through income maintenance inextricably linked to economics. The question is whether or not social theory can be implemented in its own right? Certainly we can theorise about how social connections develop, as with Isaac's Home Base Theory (1983), but, if one started with the premise that people would benefit from living together, then the only way this could be implemented would be to encourage like-minded people to get together, to engineer this through some other means, probably political and/or economic directives. Another area of practical implementation is through education, which is considered to be a discreet discipline in itself, by indoctrination of children in various aspects of social theory, such as equality of opportunity and standards of behaviour etc.

The South Australia Experiment, discussed later, while both politically and economically based, did have a large social content, but it is hard to say whether the

social engineering would have occurred without the political machinations or economic incentives. Once again the Australian Paraguay experiment may be seen as an example of putting theory into practice but this time in the form of a social theory experiment, even though it was politically inspired by Marx's theory and operated under the economics of socialism. However, it seems difficult to separate the three disciplines in the implementation process. Perhaps social theory cannot be put into practice without benefit of the others and is only focused within anthropology where issues such as "the relationships of culture and history, structure and praxis" are emphasised by people like Marshall Sahlins (Yentsch 1994:296).

Implementing environmental theory has tended to be in terms of conservation and the threatened environment on a small to worldwide scale. Again politics and economics play a major role in the implementation process, as does indoctrination. For the general population the major problem is which theory to believe and therefore support and put into practice. Of course political and economic pressures may well heavily affect the information available and those people with vested interests in particular environmental outcomes. The classic example is the focus on passive smoking while the burning of fossil fuels goes almost unchecked. An example of the problem can be seen in the settlement of South Australia, discussed in the following chapters, where the settlers arrived without knowledge of the land and prior to the surveying. Environmental theories are invariably reliant on politics and economics in connecting theory to practical implementation and are often historic in nature, examining in detail what has occurred in the past to theorise about what could be put into practice. However, these seem to be more intent on suggestion and influencing thought processes than in practical application.

Often in theory there is the practical outcome in terms of a suggested methodological change rather than particularly a change to the subject being theorised about. This is perhaps where the issue of theorising historically about past, and continuing, processes, as briefly mentioned above, has particular value, such as Birmingham and Jeans' theory about how settlement takes place, although it does not attempt to suggest a new way in which to settle but uses this in an attempt to turn theory into practice through a proposed change in methodology. In discussing the Birmingham and Jeans process Bairstow suggests that for an archaeologist to work inductively based on deductive reasoning denies their ability to,

> observe what is unhampered by any preconceptions as to what should have been, that they collect particular data, not to illuminate some preconceived hypothesis, but from which to formulate new hypothesis (1984:5).

Critical Theory offers a different interpretation appearing to suggest that one cannot avoid such a situation, but rather be aware of it and try to account for it. Perhaps the Bairstow approach is exactly the point Birmingham and Jeans, along with others, argue about. Simply digging a hole, or surveying an area, without due consideration of the deductive process, returns to the scatter-gun approach of archaeology which would seem to be a waste of time and resources, which are always limited, and it is,

> the willingness to subject one's beliefs and assumptions to the confrontation with harsh reality that distinguishes scientific work from mere uncontrolled exercise of imagination – or so philosophers of science, and with them processual archaeologists, would argue (Renfrew & Bahn 1991:416).

The debate of which does or should come first, theory or practice, continues, but it would seem that this would depend on whether one is theorising about what has occurred to develop a new, and perhaps improved outcome, or about what has never existed. Either way with the former there is often the creation of linear development phases.

3.4   Stages, Phases and Linear Development.

Examining the theory and practical implementation also raises concerns regarding the use of stages, phases, and linear development as explanatory devices for theoretical principles. Using such explanatory devices often disregards or dismisses lines of enquiry that do not fit neatly into the theory being developed. This can be seen when Fletcher states we cannot assume that,

> we are observing a single process or a simple dichotomy between sedentism and mobility … Such an assumption would lead to specious generalisations if, in addition to several trajectories, oscillations between strategies were also involved (Fletcher 1995:183).

The very question of transience or deviation as variables in settlement practice, and the difficulties of implementing theory, introduces the concern that the theory is, more often than not, rigid and couched in terms of stages, linear phases, periods or epochs, which are sequenced into some kind of progression. These are called 'stages' for simplicity's sake here, using the word in the sense of a transitionary period or level reached. This notion is interesting, as most theories discuss stages in terms of a value judgement, implying a movement towards improved conditions, which is in itself the epitome of transience. Perhaps empirically there are standard times and circumstances when transience or deviation occurs. If this were the case then the stages device would still work by including those times of transience and/or deviation. However, transience and deviation suggests a departure from a linear process, and therefore from a stage, by perhaps creating a new stage or returning to an old one. One can always look at the past and, by omitting certain details that do not fit precisely, create a standard process. Yet, the danger is in then trying to impose a linear process on the future and on all other examinations of the past. The process of creating stages may well be simply a historical approach, whereby using "*period* or *age* we imply some kind of wholeness and homogeneity ... in which parts fit together in some kind of coherent pattern" (Cohn

1987:46), but often these stages are also adhered to in a theoretical sense, by using them to build a theory of what will or did ensue.

The idea of stages developed from the Enlightenment philosophers who saw that "... change was from simple to complex, from irrational to rational, and from superstition to enlightenment" (Cohn 1987:53). Therefore the world could be ordered, categorised and tabulated based on technologies, and stages of growth were considered to be based on the institutions of these societies such as "... family, religion, and higher levels of organizations ..." (Cohn 1987:53). Economically this translated into development, thus there was the concept of 'underdeveloped', particularly in relation to what was called the Third World. Socially this became the notion of being civilised, with a heavy weighting on economic processes and a strong connection to religious beliefs. Interestingly no one seemed to consider the possibility of being overdeveloped, except perhaps Marx, thus missing many of the advantages which the so-called underdeveloped had in social, spiritual and economic areas.

For archaeology the Three Age System played its part by ordering the world into ages based on materials and technology (Stiebing 1993:46-49, Renfrew & Bahn 1991:23). Transfer of technologies has always occurred, but perhaps not quite to the extent of the diffusionist zealots. Moreover, there has been the sharing of ideology, at some times in the sense of enforced acculturation, and at others in an osmotic process. Therefore strict linear development had inherent flaws that are clearly brought to light with the location of rudimentary stone tools in-situ with complex stone blades. Such finds confused many people for some time, even though they themselves probably had a hammer in the same toolbox as a jeweller's fine screwdriver. Still today there is the notion of hierarchy, where Western processes are at the top and those of other nations on the bottom. The

whole process of order became entrenched in theory, with the need to establish a progression towards a value judgement of what was and is developed. This in itself constructed an order that therefore missed many of the nuances relating to relationships between people and between people and the natural environment. Therefore, one could suggest there has been an imposition of the theoretical norm, which in many cases awaits a deviation to break away. As will be seen settlement theories have been affected by this line of thought by following developmental stages to the point where the process of settlement itself is not defined or discussed, but only broad stages of what is considered to be development.

The debate over stages becomes semantically bogged down with suggestions such as those of Rex commenting on Comte's 1853 approach of 'invariable relations of succession'. Rex interprets this as "not simply a classificatory science, but science as a system of laws" (1961:16). Yet, there does not seem to be a convincing separation between the two. A much simpler statement is made by Giddens who claims to, "... reject every type of evolutionary view of history" (1981:72). Giddens, like Denoon (1983:230), obviously draws the line at creating stages. Cohn suggests that in the past "... history was linear and progressive, marching upward and onward, to liberal parliamentary democracy or toward the revolution which would bring the dictatorship of the proletariat" (1987:32). Writing in the late 1980s he argued that history used Modernisation Theory, "...an explanation of and program for European domination of the world … [and]… assumes a linearity in European history..." (Cohn 1987:36–37). While a convenient, and perhaps ingrained device the suggestion of the onset of "The Possible Ecological Age" by Griffith in 2001 suggests little has changed.

No discipline has escaped this process and in anthropology Bohannan and Glazer (1988) place Herbert Spencer, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Edward Burnett Taylor under the heading "Unilinear Evolution". Bohannan suggests that,

> Morgan, assumed that there were regularities in evolutionary sequences, and therefore that stages of social and cultural development could be determined [and] Steward, assumes that such regularities are unprovable, and hence that stages of social and cultural development are either misconceptions or are fortuitous (1963:360).

Horigan perhaps best sums it up when stating that,

> Nineteenth century anthropology, it is often claimed, can best be characterized by its commitment to unilinear evolutionism: the belief that all societies move through a set of determinate developmental stages and that this movement, or evolution, is in a single direction; the measure, of course, is always to the standard reached by European civilization (1988:9).

The overall concern is that stages fail to be convincing. This can be seen by Steward's assumptions mentioned above, particularly when one empirically considers theories that examine particular periods in time and then try to impose them on other periods such as the Roman Empire and the hegemonic processes of the British Empire. What of a repeated stage? The problem also arises where a broader approach is taken, such that a stage in a linear progression can be seen to occur either before or after it is expected (Fletcher 1995:166). An example of out of 'order' stages is the situation of the rise of the Japanese economy as one of the 'four dragons' in the Asian economic market, which failed to pass through many of the 'required' European economic stages in development (Vogel 1991). Imposing what constitutes one period in one place on another period in another place demonstrates an extremely subjective view of what development is and may only equate to a period of style, or manner of building, such as Georgian, without reference to either the physical or spiritual attitudes and constraints of those concerned at that time. As with a Georgian style building being built in 2002, similarly the "economic behaviour in China or Bali [etc.] cannot be wholly understood without

reference to family structure, religious concepts, and other factors of the total culture"
(Steward 1950:6).

There is little doubt of the use of stages in Birmingham's and Jeans' (1983), Swiss
Family Robinson Theory, where they use a progression from an Exploratory Phase to a
Learning Phase and then a Development Phase to explain colonisation. A biographer,
Dutton, forecast such a progression when he suggests that,

> The foundation of South Australia as a colony runs through three clear phases.
> First came the practical men, with their discoveries; then came the theorists,
> none of whom had ever seen Australia; third and last were the settlers, whose job
> it was to unite the fact and the ideal (Dutton 1960:147).

This statement can be seen as an example of the problem mentioned earlier where
certain details are left out, creating a simplistic progression in history that fails to
account for many variables. In particular the local inhabitants at the time of these
events, the events themselves and the myriad of issues that impacted on these phases are
not accounted for. The anthropological Systems Theory suggested by Bohannan
(1963:363), having a Social System, Event System, System of Material Culture and Idea
System, would tend to cater for this problem by considering a broader range of
interrelated and interactive issues.

From an archaeologist's perspective, Childe considers stages to be 'moments in an
organic process of economic accumulation and of scientific and technical advancement'
(quoted in Giddens 1981:97). Overall this tends to be a less dogmatic notion, with the
addition of the word 'organic', which also gives some human accreditation, but still
holds to the idea of 'advancing', which appears to be based on particular views of what
'advanced' is and means. It is generally understood that scientific and technical
knowledge that is more complex or refined may place society in a better position to
survive or achieve their goals in an easier, safer, quicker manner, but there seems to

often have been an equivalent loss with regards to emotional, spiritual, and even personal well being and therefore the question of 'advanced' poses a problem.

Stages do not meet the current needs of archaeologists, as the temptation is too great to accommodate linear development, and archaeology itself is the very antithesis of linear evolution. Often, in excavating, surveying, or researching, various technological changes are found in-situ together, overlapping, quite distinctly separate, or there are some links from one change to another missing. The linear progression within many theories is, in part, a product of the focus of the discipline, a focus that is described in this thesis as disciplinary categorisation. For archaeology, categorising and order is a useful tool in assembling the data to assist in discussion, and for something like economics it is not hard to see the movement towards a hierarchy from counting sticks to global economy.

Carver suggests that Marx avoids stages as there is "nothing in Marx's text [which] implies that development, whether on a world scale or by regions, must necessarily or inevitably proceed through that sequence of epochs" (1982:56). However, contrary to this, Giddens writes that,

> ... Marx establishes a relation between three key elements of his 'material conception of history': (1) the characterisation of the 'principal stages in the development of human society' thus outlined (to which, however, has to be added the 'Asiatic Mode of Production'); (2) the notion that a fundamental dividing-point in history, between the 'pre-history' and the 'true history' of humankind, is crossed with the advent of socialism; and (3) the conception that the movement of historical change which links (1) and (2) is to be found in the dialectic of forces and relations to production (1981:72).

This notion is supported when Leone, Krydre-Reid, and Bailey-Goldschmidt write, "When Marx identified the stages that historically define social relationships, the control of production and reproduction was central to his understanding of domination" (Leone et. al.1992:231-232). Perhaps these are not stages that are being discussed here but

rather changes in power relationships that would then support Carver's view of Marx. Such changes or refinements of technology and social interaction may indeed be seen to be a stage, or a point in time, to be able to discuss the circumstances surrounding the change. However, these changes should not be imbued with the values of development, improvement, linear progression that is often suggested when used in a theoretical context. This is a trap that archaeologists can find themselves in, as suggested by Leone, Krydre-Reid, and Bailey-Goldschmidt, in quoting Rabinow (1984:9), write:

> Traditionally, studies of structural transformations such as Deetz's analysis do not probe into the cause of change, assuming instead that they are "dealing with universals of human social life … progressing logically and refining themselves in the course of history" (1992:3-29).

Therefore perhaps we could assume that Marx is discussing these 'universals' and perhaps that others have wrongly interpreted these as stages of linear development. Leone, Krydre-Reid, and Bailey-Goldschmidt also suggest that Foucault demonstrated that:

> life, labour, and language are structured into disciplines which have changed suddenly at several points in time and, far from progressing with an unnamed logic, are directly related to modes of production (1992:230).

While 'modes of production' have perhaps allowed humans the time to contemplate and change their behaviour in a logical way, these are not automatic or imperative stages, therefore some stimulus, other than 'modes of production', must be considered. The direct relationship between change and 'modes of production' can certainly be seen, but I would argue that it is the stimulus for change, more often than not human deviation from the norm, that is the fundamental logic. Also the use of 'changing' rather than 'progressing' would perhaps avoid further possible misunderstanding in the quote above.

Social Theory starting from the normative premise tend to support the linear approach because normative reactions are grouped together, usually considering the majority

perspective, at particular points in time, much like the physiocrats starting from the premise of a natural order. Sociology and social anthropology were built on a foundation of the writings of "Montesquieu … D'Alembert, Condorcet, Turgot, and in general the Encyclopaedists and Physiocrats, to Saint Simon (1760-1825), who was the first to propose clearly a science of society" (Evan-Pritchard 1964:22-23). Following Saint Simon, Comte, Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl influenced David Hume and Adam Smith, in the 1800s, to "insist that societies are natural systems" rather than deriving "from social contract, about which Hobbs and others had written so much" (Evans-Pritchard 1964:23). Based on this premise, and using Comte's comparative method, the philosophers of the day

> implied that, human nature being fundamentally everywhere and at all times the same, all people travel along the same road, and by uniform stages, in their gradual but continuous advance to perfection; though some more slowly than others" (Evans-Pritchard 1964:24).

For example,

> the origin and development of social institutions: the development of monogamous marriage from promiscuity; of property from communism, of contract from status, of industry from nomadism, of positive science from theology, of monotheism from animism (Evans-Pritchard 1964:29).

As mentioned earlier, with regards to deviation, this general holistic approach considers broad trends and disregards the deviations. Many followed the path of stages, where associating variations as a whole overrode the difficulty of dealing with and explaining individual variables (Evans-Pritchard 1964:23-42). Development or 'advance to perfection' may not be seen by all as an improvement, which is supported by Evans-Pritchard who suggests modern social anthropology's approach "makes for integration and equilibrium in society [rather] than in plotting scales and stages of progress" (1964:41). A move away from historical stages tended to disregard historical influence altogether, particularly a functionalist approach in a context with no written history such as the Australian Aborigines and South Seas Islanders (Evans-Pritchard 1964:59). This

probably led to a disregard for, and perhaps contributed in part to some loss of, oral history. Overall the integration and inclusion of oral history, without necessity of stages, appears to allow for more insightful conclusions.

Environmental theory seems to be one area of theorising where stages would appear to be acceptable particularly in relation to the inorganic. The theory of the construction of the physical environment does cause debate between the evolutionists and creationists, but each theory places a chronological order upon it that seems logical. Of course with changing technology such theories may change, or be refined based on the new information, and we could certainly repeat a stage that has occurred in the past. Therefore once again perhaps it cannot be assumed that there is a linear process connected to these stages.

The stage theory, emanating from the rationale of natural order, or the stage building process is countered by Denoon's Settler Capitalism Theory, which although it favours induction leading to deduction, draws the line at creating stages (Denoon 1983:230). The inductive process may well lead to a common deduction through different processes and/or circumstances and either at a different and/or at the same time, and therefore stages cannot be supported. For example Alexander Tolmer (1882) invented a new flue device for a chimney in Robe, South Australia in the mid 1800s, when the same invention was being patented, at almost precisely the same time in Britain, when it took six months for information to be exchanged. Also it is common for most academic writers to have an idea, seemingly independently that upon further research is found to have been already articulated by someone else. Diffusion Theory, mentioned earlier, denies linear stage development to some degree by not accepting ideas can evolve and must be diffused. However, at the same time it is perhaps the greatest proponent of

stages, as the original idea must emanate from what is seen to be a society that has achieved a particular stage of development. For example, diffusionist thinking regarding mummification practices around the world when comparing these to the Egyptian methods being the believed point of origin is intended to support the theory and is a particular example of the contradiction. Perhaps there is the possibility of taking a different and more useful slant on diffusionism where one replaces the inability of innovations to be replicated with the uniqueness of human experience. If, for instance, we accept that the artefact or innovation, and even the socially constructed environment, can exist or be created at more than one place and one time, then diffusion fails to be convincing. However, replacing the artefact/innovation with the human experience, regarding how the human came to a point or even how they view it, which is never exactly the same in any circumstance therefore and never repeated, one could support diffusionism theory based on the individuality of humans. There is also the ability in this process to diffuse, in an exchange process of these views, attitudes, and technology etc., which may ultimately alter the actions and behaviour of other people. This approach would tend to support Childe's view of diffusion of culture by migration (1950:1), but his view seemed to be unidirectional which does not allow for flow back.

Another theory appearing to promote stages is World Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1979 & 1984). While more holistic than other settlement theories, but still missing many human elements, it is still based mostly on economics with similar views to Marx, working from a mode of production to explain the occupied world as it is, has been, and could be. Rather than stages systems are created such as: Reciprocal Mini Systems, Redistributive World-Empires, Capitalist World Economy, and Socialist World-Government. These tend to be linear progressive phases even though Wallerstein states he objects to such progressions as put forward by Rostow and others (1979:4). Even so

the problem with the linear nature of the theory becomes evident where different types of exchange do not appear to be able to be present at the same time, such as a capitalist economy does not support barter, and issues such as luxuries and preciosities are not included as part of an economy as they are seen as unaccountable 'windfalls'. The former is too restrictive, as we have seen that different types of exchange do take place at the same time. 'Barter Card' for example is a system of bartering that is operating at present alongside a capitalist economy. Also simply not to include luxuries in the argument, based on the inability to not readily account for 'windfalls', clearly suggests such arguments are not sustainable.

Continuing within this linear style is the Swiss Family Robinson Theory (Birmingham & Jeans 1983) that examines the settlement process in a traditional stage approach. Some of the limitations of this theory have already been mentioned and it is worth pointing out that even the first phase, the Exploratory Phase, has some shortfalls as one needs a stage before exploratory, ie why explore and from where. Of course one is examining a 'closed' environment, being set on an island, rather than an 'open' one which interacts with other forms of human occupation and therefore the theory, albeit then limited, functions better as an understanding of settlement. For example, while "Francis Light's settlement of Penang displays all the characteristic symptoms, and reduces the vast design and complex detail of empire-building to an exact, charming miniature" (Dutton 1960:xiii), it fails to place it in the larger context of colonisation and the very 'empire-building' process it is supposedly an analogy of. Also the Swiss Family Robinson Theory fails to consider the random event of the shipwreck that landed the settlers on the island or that they were going somewhere else to settle. While the use of stages can be seen as a reason for the failure of many theories, as shown earlier, perhaps the greater problem is the single focus arising out of disciplinary categorisation.

3.5   Disciplinary Categorisation (Discipline Focused Variables)

Limiting discourse to specific disciplines (disciplinary categorisation) appears to be an agent in undermining comprehensive understanding of settlement issues and theories of settlement. It is obvious that disciplines often contain their discourse to particular variables and therefore may disregard others. Fletcher has argued against the dominance of one factor, such as environment, individual intent, selective pressures, and adaptation etc., over another to explain settlement and supports an integrated approach and a "hierarchy of explanation" rather than "triumph" of one side (1995:xviii). He points out that "[w]e already use a variety of different kinds of explanations" and, the relationship between the material and the active components of our behaviour requires attention to at least three different scales of analysis – the small-scale special and temporal patterning of social life; the longer-term behavioural parameters of human interaction; and the large-scale constraints of resource supply which affect the capacity of a community to replicate itself and its material context (Fletcher 1995:xviii-xix).

Fletcher also argues for the removal and exclusion of the separation between "biological and cultural perspectives" and "animal and human behaviour" and the need for an "interpretative device" for stability (1995:xviii-xix). He sees that device as "the long-term role, operational role of the material component of human behaviour" (1995:xix). Moreover, various disciplines have simply defined the interpretative device within their particular understanding and epistemology such as 'capitalism' for Marx.

The suggestion in this thesis is that the settlement process allows for, and in fact demands, a holistic or multidisciplinary approach, as opposed to using a single foci or component, such as law, trade, religion, or climate etc., to explain the mechanics of the process. As Jack states,

what most distinguishes academic disciplines is not their subject matter but their methodology and to a lesser extent their preferred source. Interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approaches thus promise a three-dimensional view of problems and subjects whose position within a wider matrix is more or less distorted by a single viewpoint (1993:121 – 122).

In fact in the early 1990s there were conferences to consider the interdisciplinary movement of words like history, power and culture. Dirk points out that in "seminars and workshops we confronted the real force of disciplinarity, the way in which disciplinary languages, positions, and preoccupations shaped debate" (1998:vii). He goes on to suggest that this is supported by universities and wonders whether they could change and thus open up the debate (Dirk 1998:vii). Such a change would seem unlikely when considering Cohn's statement that,

> What would seem to be the defining feature of modern societies is the explicitness by which ruling groups are concerned with control of the internal and external 'others' and the proliferation of institutions - the police, prisons, social welfare agencies, hospitals, schools and codes (sanitary, criminal, building and occupational) - directed toward civilizing the colonized and controlling the masses at home. All of modern society seems to have been designed to keep objects and persons in 'their place' (1987:40).

Disciplinary categorisation seems to have been designed as the tool to keep theory and practice in their place, but the problem is that, in doing so, theory has been weakened and methodology stunted. However, Steward states that,

> international relations; nationalism; economic development (rural and industrial); colonialism [etc.] … are not specific problems; they are not logical or mutually exclusive categories of area phenomena or disciplinary specializations … They are simply foci of interest … (1950:84-85).

Milner (1991:17) adopts a similar stance to Steward's, whose view alludes to the problem that such theories are often taken to be all-encompassing or definitive, whereas the area is better considered by a range of disciplines to gain a better overall understanding of settlement. The two issues of general theoretical statements and 'foci of interest', have been used to wide-ranging effect in examining settlement and development, where colonisation, for example, is used to explain a much more complex

process. So there is a hierarchy of specific broad and simple variables considered in certain disciplines.

Aronowitz suggests that some have seen a crisis in Marxist thought with a number of disciples using, borrowing, interpreting and reinventing what has been written. Perhaps this is some attempt to broaden the disciplinary approach. Aronowitz also sees a decline in the status of Marxist metatheory (1990:xxiii) by this division into disciplines so that "nowhere does Marxism retain its status as the master discourse it once enjoyed" (Aronowitz 1990:xxiv). On the other hand, it is argued in this thesis that the social/cultural factors - the human aspects - are not sufficiently integrated into Marxist theory to hold the position of a metatheory. Examples of this problem are where Himmelfarb (1987:76-77) suggests that "Indeed, Marx doubted whether the peasants even in modern times (and a fortiori in the Middle ages) constituted a class". He also argued that "What the Marxist cannot do, however, and what Carlyle insisted upon doing, was to give work an ennobling quality for the capitalist as well as the labourer – provided only that the capitalist was a master-worker rather than a master-idler" (1987:58). In these instances, if a whole classes of people are left out then it is difficult to suggest that the theory is all encompassing and that there is a problem of disciplinary categorisation which does not account for certain variables. As Himmelfarb suggests,

> One can also sympathize with the social historian who, for all his radical sympathies, finds Marxism inadequate or irrelevant in explaining the ordinary lives of ordinary people, to say nothing of the abnormal lives of deviants, criminals, and the insane (1987:25).

Interestingly, Trigger suggests that, "inspired by Hegelian philosophy, Marx insisted on a holistic approach to understanding human behavior and history" (1993:162). A grounded holistic approach appears to be an oxymoron or contradiction unless 'holistic' is seen as the pre-eminence of politics/economics over all other disciplines. Such a premise would lend itself to disciplinary restrictions. When disregarding the

social/cultural factor, even if Marx considers certain human activities and their outcomes (Carver 1982:2, 14 & 101), the question of why such activities took place remains unanswered, other than somehow being a production imperative. Perhaps, as Memmi points out, "the Marxist discovery of the importance of the economy in all oppressive relationships is not the point" (Memmi 1967: xii), but rather it is only a 'point', 'foci of interest', or even a disciplinary imperative in economics or the politics of 'relationships'.

As has been seen implementing the theory appears to broaden the usually restricted disciplinary approach. For example, while Krasner suggests that all "States share the same minimalist objectives of preserving territorial and political integrity", he also suggests they "may pursue a more diverse range of non-minimalist objectives" (Krasner 1985:28). There may also be simply a question of scale, as some theories would seem to be on a world scale and some a regional or specific loci scale. For instance, for economic theories, it is that economically the industrialised countries dominate what was called the Third World, or rich countries versus poor countries while particular settlement theory may be reduced to a regional scale etc. In this thesis the two scales are the broader scale of European settlement of South Australia to consider settlement theory and then the particular scale of the physical needs of survival, such as 'shelter', in the form of the Governor's residence, to consider the archaeological implications. Through the involvement of many of the major stakeholders in the experiment the Governor's house, e.g. Government House, demonstrates how the impact of the tension between theory and implementation can direct the material outcome.

There are many books on political, economic, and social theory but there is an interesting and useful book by Kitty Dickerson (1995) as it provides an overview of

several theories and imbues relevance for the general reader, and specifically for archaeologists, as it deals with an easily recognisable artefact, fibre. It is useful for archaeologists to consider a commodity, such as fibre, as it not only fits well into the politics and economics of the day, thus relating to labour and production, as well as having a direct social and cultural relationship to people, and can end up in the archaeological record. As Giddens suggests, the theoretical swing to credit economics as the guiding light is,

> ... perhaps in some part because an emphasis upon the determining role of production has a compatibility with the main source of evidence, material artifacts, that archaeological research has to rely on in seeking to understand societies that no longer exist (1981:97).

Marx, on this issue, states, "it is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs" (quoted in Bottomore 1983: 25). Apart from perhaps confirming his epoch-making status, this statement clearly shows Marx's separation of human interaction from the economics of labour and production, and perhaps also promotes linear divisions in technologies. The separation between action and knowledge can be seen to be continued by the Communist Party in Australia, while adding a political slant, with their statement on culture pointing out that the, "ability to do things with the hands in a trained way is a part of culture. Political knowledge and capacity to do politically the things we have to do is also culture" (Miles quoted in Gould 1945:6). It should be noted that an archaeologist, while following this tenet to a degree, also attaches importance to the articles to establish how they were made and by which tools which in turn allows them to theorise about economic issues and their broader social ramifications. Memmi suggests that economics was the overall motive behind colonialism (1967:3), but Memmi's points out that writing on colonialism from a cultural perspective was criticised by many for lack of economic structure (Memmi 1967:xii). Memmi's attempt to include the human factor in economics appears to be have been discredited, probably

this could be seen as an attempt to firmly lodge the debate once again in the discipline of economics. It is not difficult to accept that such action inevitably limits theory, setting it up for failure by not considering and accounting for variables.

The principal limitation in the theories discussed so far appears to be the human factor so fundamental to social theory particularly as "Humans are social animals. We habitually live in residential communities however small or transient" (Fletcher 1995:7). While the aim of sociology is to consider relationships between "social facts, politics, economics, religious, moral, etc." (Evans-Pritchard 1964:28), social theory, unlike the theories of politics and economics, focuses primarily on people, usually holistically in terms of society and culture. On the other hand Steward's essential requirement is that the "sociocultural whole would seem to be essential to any interdisciplinary area research" (Steward 1950:151).

Yentsch suggests that,

> archaeologists and anthropologists agree that cultural discourse utilizes metaphor to convey meaning. Symbolism and symboloizing, evident in metaphors, are pan-human activities; their cultural expressions are endlessly varied but historically situated (1994:310).

Therefore it would seem that culture cannot be separated from other activities. Milner provides examples of an attempt at segregation in Marx's "distinction between mode of production, political superstructure and social consciousness", and Weber's between "class, party and status", and thus "we find the trace of the inherently problematic status of all such modern concepts of culture" (Milner 1991:3). Milner's argument supports the view put forward in this thesis that the disciplinary-focused theorist, or theory, fundamentally creates flaws by not considering other disciplines. Moreover it would seem reasonable to agree with Milner that 'culture' and Cultural Theory, rather than being a 'residual category', "is, in fact, one of the central discontents of our civilisation"

(1991:3-4). This 'discontent' manifests itself in the attempts to rationalise and define whom we are, where we belong, and creates a sense of 'other' and often therefore tension between the 'us' and 'them'.

Milner states, "there is in utilitarianism, moreover, not only a theory of the market and a theory of the state, but also a quite explicit theory of culture ..." (1991:7). As a theory, utilitarianism seems again to privilege economics and politics, but with a different underlying focus that is clearly socially orientated in human desire. This can be seen later running through the European settlement process in South Australia, as a fundamental desire for reduced government intervention and thus advancing particular "pursuits of pleasure" (Milner 1991:7) and could also easily fall into the category of instinct. However, among other things, utilitarianism seems to fail to consider any possibility of altruistic behaviour and therefore perhaps, as Milner suggests, it is not "adequate to the explanation of systems of value" (1991:12). Of course it still may be 'adequate' if one considers that altruistic behaviour is ultimately an inverted form of achieving one's own pleasure, either emotionally or physically in a better, more comfortable and safer social environment. In part, concerning the South Australia Experiment, such a view may help clarify what appears to be a tension in the thinking of the period between people operating ostensibly from an altruistic position, while also living within what appears to be a totally utilitarian experiment.

There are particular theories about settlement such as where Denoon mentions the 'pigment theory' (Denoon 1983:9) in relation to successful settlement. This theory suggests that the European colonial success is due purely to skin pigmentation, while attempting to perhaps explore wider issues concerning an underlying confidence in being able to settle successfully. The theory broadens into an economic consideration of

developed and under-developed countries, but has its foundations in cultural factors. Denoon points out the deficiencies of this theory by suggesting that one could equally suggest a Big Bird Theory because European settlement has appeared to succeed in South Africa, Mauritius, Australia and New Zealand, all of which have or have had large flightless birds, ergo all one has to do to ensure settlement success is to find such birds and move there (Denoon 1983:9). For Marcus and Fischer the problem with most ethnographies would seem to be that they "have tended to be locally bounded and relatively ahistoric, to avoid considering the larger system of colonial political economy itself" (Marcus & Fischer 1986:84). Such theories can appear to be racist and nationalistic and therefore feed upon themselves to further support such attitudes. The Frontier Theory, mentioned later, has been used by some to create a folk history and extrapolate a national identity, whether this was the original intention or not. For example, Charles Napier, one time gubernatorial candidate for South Australia, who considered people and outcomes to a greater degree in his settlement theories than others, in the end put nationalism ahead of all stating "... but commerce, or no commerce, it is glorious to people a new continent, and spread the language, and renown of England in distant regions" (Napier 1969:45). Perhaps this is also a reflection of inverted altruism.

Overall, to depart from a discipline focused theory, biological issues along with material culture, politics, and economics would need to be considered for a theory to be inclusive. It would seem that such inclusive social theory could well assist archaeologists whose work can traverse all disciplines as a "sociocultural whole would seem to be essential to any interdisciplinary area research" (Steward 1950:151).

The main factors, according to Price, "that have underlain most migrations of the human race, were geographic and economic in type" (1924:7). He includes the migration to

South Australia in this theory, albeit with a difficult geography and climate, and contributing factors of population and economic pressures in Britain (Price 1924:2-8). He does admit that,

> There were, of course, present such factors as religion, politics, and self interest, which have played so large a part in the colonization movements; but the chief reason was that population pressure which has so frequently caused an overflow from closely to sparsely settled lands (Price 1924:7).

The various arguments that could arise from the idea of the physical environment being able to sustain a growing population, or not, are not discussed by Price nor is the part played by the humans themselves. There is a hint of a human factor in the environmental debate when he mentions, behind the shoreline as being capable of sustaining settlement, where "areas have become inhabitable only by modern methods of water conservation and industry" (1924:2). Yet there is no discussion of areas that became uninhabitable due to human activity or natural changes. It is worth noting that the references to invention or 'modern methods', and not staying within boundaries, whether political, economic, social, or environmental, could well be considered deviation, and supports the thread of the argument in this thesis. Considering Australia as a whole, Price states that, "geographical reasons explain why this region remained so long unknown to civilized races" (1924:3). This would seem to translate to distance from Europeans, who were civilised, the inability to land at a habitable location for Europeans, and that the Indigenous population was not civilised. To be fair he seems to be attempting to move away from the particularly 'political' rationale for settlement and privilege the physical environment as well as economics.

Theories developing from evolution or creation certainly involve the environment and people, but, unless one is considering politics and economics as associated with the idea of the survival of the fittest a 'begetting process', politics and economics do not play a role. Therefore one could suggest that while there is something of a disciplinary focus it

is broader then other theories. It would appear that in a number of settlement theories such as: Moving Frontier (Alexander 1947; Ward 1966; McQueen 1970; Woolmington 1977; Creamer 1977), Pioneer Belts/Fringes (Bowman 1927/28; Taylor 1932; Roberts 1937), and Big Man's Frontier (Fitzpatrick 1939), environmental issues are pushed to the front. Although even these had a foundation in economics and politics and their proponents could well be labelled as physiocrats, as they too were concerned with 'natural order' (Neilson, Knott & Carhart 1948:vol. II, 1852). Taylor, using similar terminology, states, "the economic geographer believes that the distribution of human settlement is almost entirely determined by natural controls" (1937:361). Such a statement discounts technology that can allow humans to settle in less than hospitable environments and seems only to be a major factor where there are extremes. At the same time this view clearly shows the disciplinary focus that can ultimately limit theory. Like Price, Taylor tends to promote the disciplines of geography and economics over all else as does Roberts, who states that "to the geographical historian the story of Australia's development has been one of the continual pushing forward of the fringe settlement" (1937:392). In South Australia the 'Goyder Line' is a good example of the latter view, this boundary was pushed when climactic conditions were favourable, and eventually failed economically when conditions reverted (Buxton 1974:177-178).

Overall we can see that theories often consider particular variables linked to particular disciplines. For instance, a simple political component or 'foci of interest' is the "theory of citizen reluctance..." (Robbins 1986:394). Likewise economic theories that try to explain the nature of a capitalist world, and perhaps in turn settlement, are Development Theory, Mainstream/Modernization Theory, Trade Theories, Factor Proportions Theory, Product Cycle Theory, Absolute Advantage Theory, Comparative Advantage, Structural Theories, and Dependency Theory etc (Dickerson 1995). Settlements and ongoing

occupations use these to legitimise their economic activities or to alter their economic direction, or both. One particular example of a single component or 'foci of interest' is the Time-Span of Discretion Theory (Fox 1966). This theory considers the 1956 work of Elliott Jaques that is primarily about "financial reward in relation to the level of work done" (Fox 1966:7). However it does consider the idea of creating laws that are "based upon scientifically discovered and objectively demonstrated generally occurring human norms" (Jaques quoted in Fox 1966:8) and is more detailed than the Citizen Reluctance model (Robbins 1986:394). While seemingly still based on physiocrats' thought, such laws and devices would be extremely useful in considering settlement, as one could then consider deviation from these laws to refine them, but not necessarily in a Boasian way of historically ordered deviations.

Similarly with Cultural Theory, such as structuralism, feminism, postcolonialism, and postmodernism would seem once again to be particular 'foci of interest'. These raise a number of questions, including whether it is possible to be postmodern (Milner 1991:17) or if there can be postcolonialism (Moore-Gilbert 1997) without decolonising. The latter also highlights the difference in the use of language within different disciplines. In the discipline of English, postcolonialism seems to be viewed as a vague period after the act of colonisation which comes into effect once attitudes of colonising have waned, while many other disciplines, such as Politics and History, require a more definitive beginning and an end. For example, albeit in a purist sense, India and Indonesia can be viewed as decolonised because the colonisers actually left, returning autonomy to the countries involved, and therefore there is a period of postcolonialism. However, Australia and the United States have not been decolonised because the descendants of the colonists still control these countries and therefore no such period exists. It could even be argued that the use of such theories is a way to continue the process of

colonisation or modernism. In particular, Postcolonial Theory may be being used in ongoing colonisation, where the coloniser "endeavors to falsify history, he rewrites laws, he would extinguish memories – anything to succeed in transforming his usurpation into legitimacy" (Memmi 1967:52). Perhaps this can be seen as another problem of 'foci of interest'.

3.6   Settlement Theory Conclusions

It has been demonstrated in the last chapter that the parameters of settlement can be confined by the proposed diagnostic index of settlement, but in this chapter we have seen that the index, while a useful tool in determining if a theory is associated with settlement, is too limited to establish the parameters of Settlement Theory itself. Therefore, because of this, and as a result of the research, it is doubtful that a better, albeit slightly altered, definition of a 'Settlement Theory' could be found than the one premised at the beginning of this chapter, i.e.,

> Settlement Theory is a theory that tries to explain and/or encompass the human process, or a particular component of general human activity associated with the process, generically called 'settlement' - where 'settlement' meets the conditions of the diagnostic index of settlement.

While this is a definition of 'Settlement Theory' the parameters are broader where the ultimate theory would be multidisciplinary, have the ability to be practically implemented, avoid linear progressive stages, and consider variables, in particular transience, deviation, and the physical environment. As has been seen at present we do not have a definitive theory of settlement, but rather a number of theories that fall into the category or under the umbrella of, or a conglomerate and amalgam that constitutes, 'Settlement Theory'. Perhaps due to the complexities of human nature this is the best that can be achieved.

For instance, Marx's theory can fit the parameters of 'Settlement Theory' when it is applied to situations that fit the index. That is the situation or circumstances should fit

the index but not limit the theory in considering other aspects not dealt with by the index. Once settlement or occupation style has been established we can then scrutinise the theory to determine where and how well it deals with settlement. In this way 'Settlement Theory' can be all embracing and multidisciplinary thus avoiding disciplinary categorisation. The importance of being embracing is the theory then allows consideration of all factors, which affect and perhaps help define settlement.

Generally restricted variables and foci of interest can be seen as a reason for the failure of any one discipline to meet the specific needs of a holistic settlement theory. Marx wrote, "one can never arrive there by using as one's master key, a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical..." (Marx 1977:572). Perhaps, as suggested earlier, at present there are no parameters of settlement theory but rather just an umbrella that allows theories to be associated without suggesting supremacy, which also allows for interconnection and/or adjustment. With such an umbrella, issues such as:

- Memmi's compelling insight suggesting that Marxist theory is limited by considering everything from an economic perspective (1967:xiii), and

- where theory in general is hampered by the inability to express certain concepts outside certain disciplinary boundaries or establish the boundaries (Milton 1996:220; Geertz 1980:166),

can be catered for and not simply dismissed as uneconomic or genre-blurred. Moreover, perhaps other inconsistencies and problems may be seen, such as,

> the major problem with focusing on the disciplinary dimensions of theoretical and methodological work is thus not the intransigence of [these] … but the tacit inattention to hegemonic location of all the disciplines in the metropolitan West (Dirks 1998:xi).

Therefore by interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary discourse such intentions, of hegemonic bias or even the theoretical implications for settlement of occupied as

opposed to unoccupied land etc., can be established, tested, and accounted for in the process. Room can be made for "methodological eclecticism" (Moore-Gilbert 1997:115), or theoretical eclecticism, which does not necessarily dilute the epistemology, but rather questions interdisciplinary relationships (Carver 1982:35). For example, general hypotheses from both Marx and Darwin define "legal relations and forms of the state, variations and natural selection within species" (Carver 1982:36), which can be useful, even if not seeming to be correct in every case (Carver 1982:37). Also the lack of specific proposals allows us to take such divergences into account (Carver 1982:76). It should be remembered that, while the integration of disciplines is essential "to gain a holistic perspective on settlement patterns" (Stjernquist 1985, 237), this is not the same as attempting to integrate Celts, or the Indigenous Australians, into one hegemonic group. Operating in the latter fashion one can obtain eccentric results, such as Birmingham and Jeans' attempt to integrate all parts of a fictitious novel into a settlement theory, and it is for this reason that Geertz suggests that, "it is not interdisciplinary brotherhood that is needed, nor even less highbrow eclecticism" (Geertz 1980:169), but rather a healthy scepticism tempered by academic logical usage. That is, there is room under the umbrella for both for 'foci of interest' and holistic theory without compromising logic, thus avoiding the search for "a theory that reveals how all ways of organizing social life, not just the one's we don't like, reproduce themselves" (Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky 1990:150), but rather establishing a hierarchy of differing viewpoints and epistemologies (Fletcher 1995:vii). Fletcher provides a simple example of how this can be achieved.
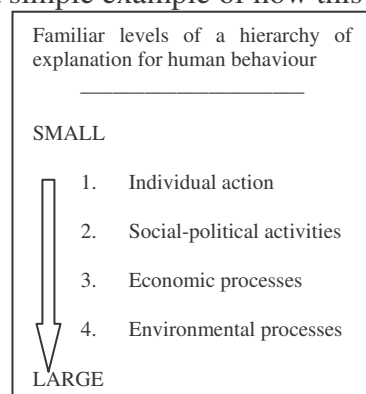
(Fletcher 1995:46)

A hierarchical approach may not be particularly new when considering the work of Comte, who saw sociology as the "…objective study of the associated life of man and made it the culmination of his hierarchy of the sciences" (Neilson, Knot & Carhart 1948:vol. II, 2388). However, as seen earlier with the cultural theorists who tend to take this view, it is unfortunately too often a precious view excluding other facts, and one that suggests prominence of that particular discipline to the detriment of others and theory in general. Alternatively Fletcher clearly supports an integrated approach and a "hierarchy of explanation" rather than "triumph" of one side (1995:xviii), and in this way the parameters of settlement theory can be broadened as required to necessitate encompassing all interactive elements. The difficulties in implementing theory still remain, but it has been interesting to note the interdisciplinary necessity required to implement theory, which is particularly disciplinary-focused.

Transience for example is a factor in 'Settlement Theory' although not a factor in the index other than to determine if all people involved in the activity are transient and therefore it is not a settlement being discussed. At what point a person seems to be transient, physically or intellectually, must be determined in each individual/group circumstance. Usually by behaviour, circumstances, or declaration. Broadly it would seem appropriate to assume a certain degree of transience until it is established otherwise. As such transience must be considered within the parameters of 'Settlement Theory' and the possible effects accounted for. Moreover, where this has not occurred the theory being considered should be re-examined in this light. Transience also raises the question of commitment to independent occupation rather than being a suburb or the periphery of the core occupation. Therefore it would seem that we may only be able to clearly discuss settlement in hindsight once it has ended by giving some modicum, or measure, of independence from the core, unless this is clearly stated from the outset or

at some point. Either way the impact of transience has been demonstrated and has to be accounted for.

While acknowledging the possible impingement by other variables, such as physical or mental capacity, gender, age, experience, skills, knowledge, ambition, character, socio-economic background, and circumstances this thesis attempts to contain these to the resulting variables of deviation and transience. It has been shown that the variables of transience, human deviation, and physical environment have been dealt with sparingly if at all in theory so far and the suggestion that they should be considered appears to be supported.

Practical implementation of theory has been shown to be problematic particularly due to the lack of consideration of all variables. Politics and economics, while particularly difficult to separate, appear to be pivotal to most theories, either directly within the theorising process or in the implementation of theories. Rather than being limited to political necessity or economic imperatives, settlement theory should also consider the human perspective in relation to these areas. World Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1979, 1984), while relatively inclusive of several disciplines, has problems with the political argument, as a certain amount of vague philosophical political ideas are presented, and also in the economic argument, where issues change over time and are not catered for within its relatively rigid theory. An example of the former is the limited discussion of the Socialist World-Government system and how it comes about or operates, and of the latter is not accounting for luxuries that can become staples (eg sugar and salt) (Kohl 1987:6). Social theory would be expected to fulfil this requirement but it has been shown that it is debatable how successful this process is, and the limitation can possibly be traced to the definitions of culture mentioned earlier. It could be suggested that the

very definitions of culture give rise to particular disciplinary focus, and by tending to take a general approach, failing to account for various deviations; the theory then fails to be a metatheory. It has been interesting to note that changes in societies attitudes and interests over time can be seen as a corollary to the changing emphasis in theory building process to be more inclusive of social, cultural, and environmental issues. Environmental concerns are so recent that it is hardly surprising they have not been fully considered in theories of the past. Although it has been shown that some consideration, even if in a convoluted way, has been given to the physical environment, the question will be whether this becomes a major focus, perhaps to the detriment of other disciplines in the future.

With regards deviation perhaps the current use of 'agency', as shown by Lyndon (1999) and postprocessualists, accounts for what is simply deviation from normative behaviour. From an archaeological prospective by marrying the two concepts one can easily see a processual approach to examining the point, or points, of deviation and from a postprocessual approach consider the cause or rationale for deviating. Whether one calls this deviation or agency the process is central to change and therefore a factor to be considered and accounted for in 'Settlement Theory'. It would seem from the discussion in this chapter that it would be beneficial for theorists to state what is considered to be the normative behaviour one is theorising about and the deviations from this that actually produces the theory. As has been shown this would allow those examining the theory to better analyse the starting point, argument, and the outcomes. In particular the point at which the deviation becomes the norm, in turn creating the opportunity for further deviation, and allowing for examination of why deviation occurs. It is interesting to note that Marxist theory fails to consider the human propensity to deviate from the norm, while, at the same time, recommends the need to do so.

The problems arising from the use of stages have been clearly shown and while the devise has value in some instances the trap to avoid seems to be being constrained or slavishly maintaining such stages. For instance, although there is a suggestion by Nayton of a "frontier stage" (1992:75), this could be avoided or disregarded as a necessity in all occupation behaviour. 'Frontier' conjures up visions of heroic values and despicable deeds as opposed to an area of new experience or expanding occupation so perhaps boarder or outer-occupation-limit theory would be better. The use of stages has often created a biased view of development and underdevelopment sometimes couched in terms of core and periphery relationships. For instance, the Fragment Theory (Hartz 1964), unlike the Swiss Family Robinson Theory concerning a 'closed' environment, relates to an 'open' environment where the fragment or new settlement has a relationship to the whole. In this theory Hartz does go further than the simplistic Ripe Fruit Theory mentioned earlier, adding further dimension by suggesting that the whole stagnates while the fragment develops (1964:9). He is clearly still conceiving of this in linear terms such as birth and death. Fitzpatrick sees the opposite, with the fragment 'congealing' in social and political isolation (1939:317). If one assumes that a lack of social class in Australia (Rosecrance 1964:276) (itself is both a simplistic and highly debatable view), is a positive development, then Hartz' view that the fragment develops is supported. However, on the other hand if this is viewed as a negative, as in the instance of the Swan River settlement, where the organisers "…provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River!" (Marx 1954:717), then with the failure of the fragment goes the failure of the theory. The interrelationship can be seen most clearly through Marx who was influenced by many associated with the European settlement of South Australia, and in turn laid the foundations of many other theories intent on the development or creation of new forms of society or settlement. Marx suggests there is an "… antagonism of the two modes of production, those being

in the mother country and the colony" (Marx 1954:716-717), development theories, in particular core/periphery, come to mind. Similarly Torrens' comment to Sir Robert Peel in 1843 suggests that the measure of the colonial market is the raw materials to be returned, rather than the amount of finished product it consumes (Marx 1972:222-226).

Marxist theory and in its influence has contributed to the problem of the belief in linear development. There is a value in creating historical chronologies, hierarchies, typologies, and orders etc., to facilitate the analysis of periods but it would seem appropriate to be wary of creating stages as this can lead to a restriction in thought or consideration of times, events, and material culture that can occur outside and during created stages. Often this direction has been taken as a result of trying to contain the argument within a discipline – disciplinary categorisation.

Disciplinary categorisation has, in many cases, shown itself to be simply the process whereby a particular discipline considers issues and factors that are of particular interest to their discipline. This being the case the theories evolving from this process are still of value, but one must be careful to evaluate and analyse these bearing in mind the limitations of intra-disciplinary discourse. It could be said that generally the factors involved in any theory on settlement are biased towards politics and economics. Most theorists have been seen as economists, politically inspired, or a combination of the two. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a movement towards social/cultural dissertations on the subject, some more successful than others, and an ongoing argument of which political/economic biases takes pre-eminence (Popper 1966:100) looking for a key factor seems to be redundant until all factors are considered. Of course, one could argue that many of the early theorists were also sociologists but, as "Comte coined the term sociologie in 1838" (Neilson, Knott & Carhart 1948:vol. II, 2388), they would not

have been be labelled in that manner at the time. Even today the term sociologist is used less than political or economic theorist, which may simply be a result of academic inclination or the relative longevity of the two disciplines. More recently the physical and natural environment has been given a role in theory building, with Griffith's book (2001) being a particular example. The need to focus on factors within particular disciplines would seem to be to allow in-depth analysis of the subject, but this perhaps excludes the ability to consider other variables, raised in other disciplines, which may impact on the subject.

Perhaps, overall, the human factor can best be seen in relation to Birmingham and Jeans' discussion of those left out, or not seen in the record - the 'inarticulate' (1983:13). Today this is aimed at the large bulk of society who are not recorded, the less powerful or disenfranchised, and therefore by including them, we have a better chance to consider all humans, their endeavours, in particular their deviation from the norm. The backlash, of course, has been to disregard those who were powerful and who in reality must also be accounted for. Also, while mentioning limitations of practice is part of scientific rigour and often forgotten by theorists, it is to Birmingham and Jeans' credit that they mention their disciplinary bias by stating of their theory that "while it demonstrates the economic and technological course of new settlement, [it] has less to say about its social aspects" (Birmingham & Jeans 1983:11). It is interesting to be able to discuss settlement without saying much about 'its social aspects': the people, without whom settlement does not even exist. Where the human factor is considered at all, the focus has tended to be on single issues, such as population pressures, rather than on human involvement in all areas, and even the treatment of these single issues can be limited. In the example of population pressures, the issue is often dealt with quickly and simply as a growing population which is unable to sustain the larger numbers, or a change to the

physical environment causing an inability to sustain either the existing population or growing numbers. In some cases a broader approach is taken, such as Steward's discussion of demographic trends which suggests the result are,

> important consequences or potential consequences: population pressures, lower levels of living, internal and external migration, readiness to accept radical polities, economic, and social ideologies, expansionist foreign policies to relieve internal pressures, changes in local communities and in social structure, and others (Steward 1950:92).

However, a similar view could be taken of population decreases, and views expressed seem to leap to the result rather than exploring what created this catalyst of population pressure in the first place.

The attempt by Frontier Theory to put culture and humans back into the equation is a useful one, but overall is limited to the frontier and even in this it fails to acknowledge the difference of origin and human experience brought to the frontier (Hartz 1964:10). Also, in general, frontier theories fail to include any meaningful reference to indigenous peoples of the world. However, two that do include indigenous populations are Woolmington (1977) and Creamer (1977), who thus provide a more complete picture. When these are considered along with Memmi's (1967) view of the relationship between coloniser and the colonised, we can begin to evaluate the situation more fully. It would also seem to be easier to consider Frontier Theories if the frontier is understood as a border (Copland 1998:17), either natural or social, which over time can change and thus be much more fluid and inclusive than a fanciful frontier between European Civilisation and Indigenous Savagery. Overall, perhaps when dealing with human beings, as part of an experiment where the variables are hard to control in a purely scientific manner, there may always be such stress. One of the most inclusive theories is Sear's theory that incorporates "living standards (S), resources (R), population (P) and culture and technology (T)" where,

$$S \overset{\sim}{=} \frac{R \times T}{P}$$

In other words "the lower the population and the more effective our culture and technology, the higher our standard of living will be" (Costin and Marples 1974:20) which, although difficult to quantify, certainly considers a variety of variables which are often confined to particular disciplines.

Environment has been shown to be a factor to be considered within the 'Settlement Theory' and where it is not considered fully in theory those analysing the theory should account for it. Recently there has been an incorporation of environmental issues into academic studies, in a similar manner to gender studies, whereby courses now include environmental politics, environmental tourism, and environmental studies in archaeology, etc. Perhaps this incorporation will lead to a broadening of the theoretical approach in the future, but at present these seem to be simply added into many courses without much cohesion to the subject material. Within environmental theory itself it is suggested that there are two camps when connecting culture and environment. Firstly, 'possibilism', which suggests that "the limiting influence of the environment is self-evident; agricultural activities *are* restricted by climate; technology *is* limited by whatever materials the environment provides" and secondly, the camp that see that the "environment directly causes cultural features" (Milton 1996:42). Such internal dichotomy can create lively fruitful debate or polarisation and even stagnation.

What are the specific implications for archaeology? Do we need 'Settlement Theory', if so – why, what would it do, and how would it help? Perhaps I am creating a limited foci of interest in considering archaeology specifically, but it seems a natural process to refine the discussion to particular areas to enable closer scrutiny. The advantages for

archaeology would be that we would know what we are discussing and perhaps be able to analyse the process more clearly and develop a better methodology, understanding of similarities and differences, and make comparisons locally, nationally, and internationally. Being thus focused we can be cognisant of transience having seen the effects, albeit little to no remnants of material culture, of the Chinese transient migration through South Australia in the mid 1800s. Also ascertaining and defining settlement as a particular occupation process, and considering deviation where settlement is deviation rather than the norm, allows for analyse of *why* or the rationale for settlement rather than simply examining a different method of settlement. Moreover we may then be able to quantify the degree of deviation by stating the norm, and assist analysis by stating where the norm is taken from, such as at the core occupation site or the frontier (boarder). Considering 'Settlement Theory' also highlights the need to be wary of stage that have value for addressing methodology, but may not as a period of development or underdevelopment. Overall it will help to promote an interdisciplinary approach that appears to be necessary to be successful. The implications for archaeology are to be diligent and inclusive at all time even though as Fletcher states that "theorising in archaeology extends across a diverse range of analytical procedures and epistemological premises" (Fletcher 1995:9). Specifically he suggests that,

> the relationship between the material and the active components of our behaviour requires attention to at least three different scales of analysis – the small-scale special and temporal patterning of social life; the longer-term behavioural parameters of human interaction; and the large-scale constraints of resource supply which affect the capacity of a community to replicate itself and its material context (1995:xviii-xix).

As such the diagnostic index of settlement would appear to be a useful tool as it allows for, transient behaviour, human deviation and the physical environment can be accounted for, while stages and a disciplinary focus avoided. In the process the connection of theory to practice, in either direction, may be facilitated. Most people would probably agree that, while an excavation or survey may be undertaken with a

fundamental understanding of various theories, few people start such activities by saying that they are going to test a particular theory, or work from a particular theoretical stand point. Conversely, "archaeologists have difficulty linking the results of actualistic studies with questions concerning culture change" (Rossignol 1992:8). The connection in either direction is often difficult due to the vague nature of the theoretical animal and the interpretation of the findings. A clear statement, using a 'hierarchy of explanation' of intent, both in theoretical and practical terms, may assist the process. There is a good example of success in this area by Gaye Nayton (1992), in her work on the application of Frontier Theory in Australia, in particular testing a methodological approach to the theoretical base and considering the "importance of frontiers in initiating social and technological change" (Nayton 1992:75). Also in the case of the partial excavation of 'Chinamans Hut' (Copland 2000) the attempt was being made to test questions raised in examining settlement and settlement theory, in particular to consider the possibility of determining ethnicity in building practice, and to gain some practical experience of managing such a project from beginning to end. Consequently, that project could be seen as moving directly from theory to practical implementation.

The movement from theory to practical implementation is considered further in the next chapter, examining Edward Gibbon Wakefield's practical approach to his settlement theory and, bearing in mind the theoretical discussion in this chapter, is followed by considering the practical implications in the South Australia Experiment itself. Following these chapters is research on South Australia's Government Houses, as in similar terms to Fletcher's 'small scale' and focus on material, which will try to connect Wakefield's theory, the practical implementation, and the implications for the material outcome in the form of Government House. The overall intention is therefore not only to theorise about the process of integration, but also to implement it, perhaps following

Paul Webbink's recommendation in his Foreword to Steward's book, that the definitive

prescription is that we,

> … stimulate interdisciplinary cooperation in research and integration of the findings of research, increase cross-cultural understanding, and provide data and experience tending toward universalization of the social sciences (1950:vii).

EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD.

Founder of New Zealand.

From a rare print in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. The original drawing was executed by A. Wivell in 1820, and the engraving by B. Holl in 1826 in London.

Plate 5 Portrait of a young Edward Gibbon Wakefield (O'Connor 1928)

CHAPTER 4

EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD

A Practical Theory

Systematic Colonisation Theory was developed by one of the earliest theorists, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, to produce a practical process of settlement from the theoretical. Marx called Wakefield, "the most notable political economist of that period" (Marx 1954: 632), however the Bill resulting from this theory was attacked by *The Times* newspaper "as the handiwork of 'Utopian theorists' if not 'selfish, mercenary adventurers'..." (Howell 1986:37). As will be seen, by looking more closely at the theory, and the man, there are many differing points of view about this theory. Also, while the theory apparently emanated from the social conditions, the economic conditions were well and truly entrenched in the formula, the variables of transience, human deviation, and the physical environment were not considered, and affected the ability to convert theory to practice.

In Britain in the early 1800s there was a surfeit of labour, which had economic and social ramifications, with particular economic strain due to the Pauper Laws of the time. Wakefield thought that large farms were in part an answer to this problem, rather than part of the cause, believing that "union is force" (Wakefield 1834:32) and that dividing land into small farms was 'unfavourable to production' (Wakefield quoted in Napier 1835:14). Interestingly, Australia became a nation of large land holdings, as mentioned in the Big Man's Frontier Theory in the last chapter, but this was probably more due to the physical environmental conditions rather than specific political, economic, or social efficiencies. Of course Wakefield's view sat well with 'land clearances' and industrial development. The former creates the space and the latter replaces people with machines, thus lowering the cost and making the machines more economically viable

for larger holdings. Wakefield's idea of a 'combination of labour' was basically to divide labour into separate tasks, the combination of which ran a large farm more efficiently. Charles Napier disagreed, suggesting that, while there is "a division of labour", both "time and materials are lost" (Napier 1835:17-18). His suggestion is that the labourer is working with their hands not their head. Therefore little work as possible is done for as much money as possible. Also as much time as possible is lost, the work is done quickly and not well, there is no consideration of tools and equipment, and task orientation does not work for all operations of agriculture (Napier 1835:17–18). Wakefield seemed to be thinking more of the capitalist than the labourer, or even suggesting an eventual conversion of labourer to capitalist, particularly extolling the virtues of his settlement plan which in the new colony's capital could be increased by the capitalist working "with their heads, not with their hands" (Wakefield quoted in Howell 1986:46). Napier supported small farms as it shared the wealth, was socially more productive, and also, as the people had a commitment, there was not "any waste of time, of knowledge, of labour, of money, of land, of tools" (Napier 1835: 24-25). Mills suggests that Wakefield overlooked small holdings (1915:329), but it was more the case that he did not see a financial, or even social, advantage to them and thus failed to account for them, or the possibility of human deviation from the plan towards small farms. Wakefield seems to include this idea of a workforce for large holdings in the settlement theory to facilitate moving the excess labour in Britain offshore. Perhaps underpinning his rationale was that in Australia as early as 1828 "the small holder was vanishing from the colonial scene" (Fitzpatrick 1939:230). As this movement was also agriculturally based this may well have also informed Wakefield's vision of large non-pastoral farm holdings, or it could well be that in Britain the farming at the time was primarily agricultural. Either way he failed to take into consideration Australian environmental circumstances sufficiently and since that time "Colonial experience has

proved that, at any rate in the early stages of colonization, the land may be developed equally well, and more rapidly, by that system of small holdings and isolated labour whose value Wakefield denied" (Mills 1915:329).

The question of where ideas come from or if in fact they can ever occur at more than one place at a time, was raised in the last chapter in terms of Diffusion Theory. It would appear that ideas, in the form of theories, are the culmination of considering a number of human activities and trying to weld these into some semblance of order to provide a template for others. Wakefield is no less a product of this method of theorising, as indeed was Karl Marx in using Wakefield's theories, and it could be said that the timing and the social conditions of the day provided the basis from which Wakefield developed his theories. The history of Wakefield's writings perhaps shows a development in his thinking as well as the effect of other contemporary influences. His background was Quaker and his grandmother was Priscilla Wakefield (nee Bell) who appears to have constantly looked after him. Priscilla was the daughter of David Barclay, founder of Barclays Bank, and the aunt of Elizabeth Fry the great social reformer. Priscilla was a philanthropist, writer of children's books, promoter of schools for the poor, and, among others things, credited as one of the instigators of Savings Banks for the poor (O'Connor 1928:18-23). Edward Gibbon's father, also named Edward, had spent his inheritance, attempted large scale farming to no great success, served on Parliamentary Commissions, which included enquiries into pauperism and conditions in hospitals for lunatics, and wrote a book on the economic conditions in Ireland (O'Connor 1928:21-22). Though it seems their lives were erratic and lacked discipline, one can easily see where the future directions of Wakefield's thoughts probably got their beginnings. Wakefield was born 20 March 1796, eloped and married a young heiress, Eliza Pattle, on 2 August 1816, and had two children before Eliza died on 25 June 1820 (O'Connor

1928:21, 30, 34). While his background and the era he lived was in may certainly have informed his views, it was the impact, in 1826, of the Turner affair that consolidated these to become the Systematic Colonisation Theory.

The Turner affair is a pivotal point in Wakefield's life. Francis Davies, who married Edward Gibbon's father, resided near Macclesfield and met the wealthy Turners, whose only child was Miss Ellen Turner. In 1826 Wakefield and his brother William visited Francis' father, Dr Davies, in Macclesfield and, upon leaving, put into action their plan to kidnap Ellen from her boarding school with the specific aim to have her marry Edward Gibbon (Harrop 1928:23). Through an involved process of deceit this was accomplished, but they were eventually caught, and the Lancaster Assizes of August 1826 set down an inditement against Edward Gibbon and William Wakefield (Harrop 1928:33). The case raised a great deal of public interest when on 14 May 1827 the judgement of the Court of the Kings Bench (Harrop 1928:39) awarded a prison sentence of three years at Newgate Prison for Edward Gibbon and three years at Lancaster Castle for William, while charges against their brother Daniel were dismissed (Harrop 1928:40). Many have speculated why Wakefield took such desperate measures. Some suggest it was for financial reasons. However, there is no mention of financial issues in O'Connor's book other than that Wakefield had asked for imprisonment rather than fine for his children's financial sake (O'Connor 1928:45). O'Connor is a descendant of Wakefield which could suggest either bias or a level of expertise. Harrop suggests that money was not the main motive but rather a political move, as Wakefield wanted to be the Member for Macclesfield to help the silk weavers there (Harrop 1928:41). Price talks of this incident as "youthful folly" (1929:1) and "a foolish abduction and runaway marriage" (1924:9). Howell notes that Pike (1957) had a similar view, citing him as using 'prank' and 'indiscretion' in reference to the affair (Howell 1991:12). While it is

accepted that he eventually served his time, and paid his debts to the community, it still seems like a gross understatement of the actions taken. O'Connor writes of her great-grandfather Wakefield's exploits (1928:37-45) and while it seems, on the face of it, he acted like a well mannered gentlemen of the day, one is left the odd feeling that something is missing. O'Connor puts it down to a time of duels and elopements, questionably normative behaviour, and thus a view that somehow these actions can be accepted. Howell suggests this view continues today (1991:12). However, it still seems odd to apparently indiscriminately abduct an unknown girl who had just turned fourteen years old (Howell 1991:13), and then marry her under false pretences. There is always the possibility that there was a lover's pact, but Ellen, is quoted at the time as saying of Wakefield that he was a man "whom I never saw till I was taken from Liverpool" (Turner cited in Harrop 1928:30). Much more realistically, R. C. Mills wrote in 1928 that it was "… a well merited sentence" (Introduction in Rhys 1929:viii). Interestingly, had Ellen been over sixteen, the penalty could have been death or perhaps transportation to Australia, and had the leader of the council for the prosecution of the case in 1827, later Lord Chancellor Lord Brougham, not missed most of the Lords discussion on the South Australian Bill in 1834, who knows what the wider ramifications would have been. Which in itself suggests how tenuous such events can be and the need for human deviation to be accounted for.

Wakefield's time in prison was well spent, not only writing his theory, but also studying his fellow inmates, which is probably where the famous 'no convicts' (or rather no people serving a sentence) clause came from and led to the fourth intended result of the plan, "to cause a superior class of persons to settle in the colony" (Wakefield 1963:48). This issue was also something of a backlash to what Wakefield had read of the penal Australian Colonial society which had developed. Wakefield's position on convicts is

ironic - Dutton (1960:147) argues that, "the most irresistible and delicious irony in South Australia's history is that the germ of the high-minded principles of its foundation came from the brain of a convict in Newgate prison". It is all quite laughable when one includes that Robert Gouger, who visited Wakefield in prison and later played a major part in the processes of the South Australia Experiment, had not long been released from the King's Bench prison himself (Howell 1986:46). In a similar vein the first Judge appointed to South Australia, Judge Jeffcott, had departed Britain by rowing out at night to John Franklin's boat (Dutton 1960:155) to avoid his financial difficulties and the ramifications of having killed a doctor in a duel. Although not convicts, one could argue that it was a matter of semantics regarding convicts, ex-convicts, or potential convicts, as the first major deviation from the theory which required no convicts.

In prison Wakefield was able to examine the processes involved in transportation at first hand (Harrop 1928:48-49). The suggestion is that his interest in the colonies was because he could have been transported himself and of course the colonies may have been able to provide a career that, due to his conviction, Britain no longer could (Harrop 1928:50). Either may well be true but the latter – (jobbing) - was something he argued against in his book *England and America* (1834). Although it was actively practiced by others in relation to his theory, Wakefield possibly intended to gain a position out of the process himself. In an earlier book*, Facts Relating to The Punishment of Death in the Metropolis* (1831), which helped to reform the criminal system and revolved around the prevention of crime (O'Connor 1928:53), Wakefield states that he found that the prisoners wanted to be transported in the hope of a better life (O'Connor 1928:60–61). The conclusions of this book were,

> … that transportation was in effect a system by means of which a criminal was sent to become a bond-servant in a country where capitalists and free-settlers were exceedingly scattered, and where the value of human labour was consequently above price (O'Connor 1928:61).

This economic consideration, either personally or in a societal sense, and the concentration rather than the scattering of settlement, were issues that were a major part of his theory as set out in his writing between 1829 and 1830. As seen earlier in the discussion on Marx, at that time there were a number of people considering the various issues concerning capital, the division of labour, and the accumulation of wealth, all of which tend to focus on the discipline of economics and in turn, to some degree, the political ramifications. Like Wakefield, other theorists may have been seen to be, or even believed they were, suggesting social change but the foundation seems certainly to be economic. The political and economic climate had produced conditions in Britain in which there was a surplus of labour with growing poverty. At the same time there was the continuing ascendancy of British industrial power, as well as its trading and colonial power. As an example of population growth, the population of Birmingham in 1815 was 90,000 and by 1832 it was 150,000 (Hodder 1898:33). As Marx, citing Wakefield's *England and America*, states "…[England had] a constant excess of population, ie., an excess in relation to the monetary requirements of surplus-labour-absorbing capital" (Marx 1954:256), which certainly seems to centre the arguments in economics.

The books and pamphlets Wakefield wrote were,

1829	A Letter from Sydney.
1829	A Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia.
1830	Statement of Principles of the National Society…systematic colonization.
1830	Eleven Letters By P---- in Spectator.
1831	Swing Unmasked, or the Causes of Rural Incendiarism.
1831	Facts Relating to The Punishment of Death in the Metropolis.
1833	The Hangman and the Judge.
1834	England and America, the Art of Colonization.
1835/39	Edition of Adam Smith's Wealth of a Nation with commentary.
1837	Popular Politics.
1844	A View of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Government of Canada.
1844	Sir Charles Metcalfe in Canada

The Systematic Colonisation Theory, and the rationale for it is shown in Wakefield's 1829 writings. The expected outcomes of the policy were stated as the disposal of

excess population, the creation of new markets for British products, self-funding government on the part of the Colony either in whole or in part, a superior person to settle, to creation of social conditions like the mother-country, and the binding of the colony to the mother-country (Wakefield 1829:47). The relationships to existing settlement theories were mainly through links to core and periphery developmental economic theories, with side issues of the social theory relating to people and their connection to the core. *Principles of National Colonization Society* (London 1830), was a reflection of Wakefield's *A Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia* (1829) (Main 1986:4), which in turn appears to have been developed from Wakefield's *A Letter from Sydney* (Rhys 1929) discussing a surfeit of land in the colonies and a commensurate shortage of labour. A different issue within this letter was that free grants scattered settlement, thus producing a greater amount of unproductive land, and therefore seemed to be proposing "a way to ensure a concentration of population and settlement" (Main 1986:4). Price describes this as "... Wakefield's doctrine of concentration ..." (1924:84). The National Colonization Society (NCS) was divided on the issue of the concentration of settlement, as it would appear to force some people to use inferior land (Main 1986:4). As part of a settlement process, concentration of settlement has interesting outcomes, in that it would seem to provide an opportunity for better infrastructure to be established. Of course there is also the question of better control of the population and it would seem to stand to reason that the cost of providing infrastructure would be less in a restricted environment and would also assist the ability to protect and govern the settlement. However, like the NCS concerns, this would tend to suggest that all the land would have to be used in a restricted area, thus requiring some people to take up less valuable or productive land than others - perhaps a sign of a social focus and lack of consideration of the physical environment. Overall it is more

likely that the idea of the concentration of settlement was grounded in political control and economic considerations.

The main points of Wakefield's theory were to use the excess labour in Britain From the sale of the land and from a rent-tax on land people could be paid to South Australia, the excess capital available in Britain could be used up, and there was the possibility of fund the colonies infrastructure. The first issue was that the land in South Australia had to be sold for a fixed and 'sufficient price', not given away as was the method at the time to pay for the number of labourers necessary to work the land. The second ramification of this was the creation of a working class who could not immediately purchase land, and thus be a continual labour force providing good profits, but who could eventually become landholders and therefore develop into a large middle class (Wakefield 1829; Marx 1954:722-723). Certainly this was an attempt at social theory, but once again the economics of the process, and lack of foresight for possible human deviation in the proposal, weakened the theory. Marx (1954:723) saw the attempt for what it was, stating that, "the English Government for years practised this method of "primitive accumulation," prescribed by Mr. Wakefield expressly for the use of the colonies".

Setting a sufficient price for land was also a theoretical and practical problem as Wakefield would not commit to a specific price, other than to argue that it be based on the amount of labour required to work the said land. As such, this can cause some problems when the price of the land increases in value (Mills 1915:330), and therefore is impossible fix in practice (Mills 1915:330). However as Mills points out,

> if the aspect of rigorous scientific accuracy, which Wakefield strove to give to this part of his theory, be discarded, and the sale of land at a high price be taken as a practical rule for colonization, it must be conceded that this plan possessed many advantages over the previous system in Australia (1915:332).

There is some confusion in this area, as Wakefield does set a price, and at the same time suggests that the revenue is not important. Of the latter he states that, "this last proposition is the sharpest test to which the theory of sufficient price can be submitted; but if it will not stand this test – if the proposition is not true - the theory is false" (Wakefield 1834 quoted in Mills 1915:327-328). Even though he is talking of the theory of sufficient price, quite rightly Mills suggests that Wakefield rests the validity of the whole theory solely on this doctrine (1915:327-328), since without it the emigration etc. would not be funded. Roberts suggests that this part of the theory was vague (1968:89), and even when it was tried again later in New Zealand, 1838-41, there was conflict between Sir George Gipps and Wakefield over the sale of land at fixed price *versus* auction (Mills 1915: 290-298). Ultimately, in that instance, Wakefield lost and the land was auctioned (Mills 1915:333). Land auctioning became the practice in South Australia and appears to be the only way that the market could set a price for land at the time. There are at least three obvious problems with the whole theory. Firstly, before capital and people arrive, the land supposedly has no value, secondly, it is assumed that, where the land is free, then people want to be landowners and work it themselves rather than use highly paid labourers, and lastly, landed proprietors would not work the land but provide capital to hire landless people (Mills 1915:328-329).

The sale of land was critical to the practical process of raising the emigration funds and is probably the underlying rationale for practical implementation processes to be inbuilt into the theory. However, it was also critical socially in trying to create a stable pool of labour, or a working class. Napier suggested that the labourer should be the owner of small farms and thus the owner of what his labour produces which would increase production (Napier 1835:22). Of course this opposed Wakefield's view of greater production from larger farms and the need for a labouring class. Napier goes on to state

that, "... whoever possesses the production, (by virtue of the distribution of the land, in the hands of the few or the many) will give his neighbour the very smallest share of production he can ..." (1835:22). He suggest that with large farms many labourers come off badly whereas with small farms few capitalists come off badly. This is more in keeping with Marx's ideas of the sharing of the means of production. The main difference between them is that Marx is looking to improve social conditions by privileging the general work-force, as was Napier, while Wakefield's plan was intended to privilege the capitalist. Marx raises this point himself, suggesting that Wakefield was affected by his normative cultural background by being unable to come to terms with why the labourer would want to continue to sell labour, rather than becoming a land holding capitalist (Marx 1954:718). To Wakefield the problem was that where land was cheap and men were free there were associated labour and market problems for capitalists. As the people not only farmed but also continued other activities such as building their own houses, and making their own implements, clothes, shoes etc. (Marx 1954: 719-720), this meant hey were not available to work for others, and were therefore not consumers. Marx noted this problem by stating,

> think of the horror! The excellent capitalist has imported bodily from Europe, with his own good money, his own competitors! ... No wonder Wakefield laments the absence of all dependence and of all sentiment of dependence on the part of the wage-worker in the colonies (Marx 1954: 721).

Theoretical problems aside, the experiment went ahead to test the theory in practical settlement. However, when the "Outline of a System of Colonization" (Rhys 1929:100 - 106) is read in conjunction with *A Letter from Sydney*, one can see that the latter is a clever and useful method to provide a story, in very acceptable terms, to the general public before laying down a structured programme of colonisation. People could easily relate the outcomes to the initial text and therefore make more sense of it, and in turn readily accept the truth of it, particularly as it supposedly emanated from a person who should know i.e. a colonist with first hand knowledge of the country and conditions.

Wakefield also gained middle and lower class interest in settlement colonies and emigration through his writing. Previously such emigration had been generally seen to be considered only by people with a lack of success at home, or who required a new start, and where colonies had been seen as a place for 'remittance men' (Howell 1991:10). Of course this was another confidence trick by a confidence-artist. If Wakefield had not used the nom-de-plume of Robert Young for the letters, and if the subsequent book had not been published as simply being edited by Robert Gouger without Wakefield's name attached, or if the public had realised the writer had never been to the colony, it is doubtful that there would have been any credibility given to it.

The articles in a *Letter from Sydney* (Wakefield 1829) and *A Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia* (Wakefield 1829) are slightly different. In the *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia*, which was the later of the two, a price had been added for land, the requirement of emigrants to be young and drawn equally from both sexes had changed to being specifically between 18 – 24. Also reimbursement of the passage costs of oneself or others (labourer specialists), changed to include the option of an equivalent amount of value in land. In terms of the people required we can see a connection to the diagnostic index of settlement proposed in Chapter 2. Overall the changes ranged from minor fine tuning to fairly dramatic suggestions of the day.

Article III suggests that the proceeds of a rent tax and sales of land were to go to an Emigration Fund to fund emigration for British labourers and also mentions another plan - Wilmot Horton's plan for the 'Pauper Emigrant', which advanced passage costs for land and stock against value of land as something of a mortgage or condition (Wakefield 1829). Wakefield's plan appeared to advance emigration without cost to the mother country, but Horton's plan at least attempted to place some conditions on the actual

working of the land. Article VIII stipulated that there were to be no conditions on the land and allowed for absentee landlords with no requirements to actually have the land worked (Wakefield 1829). Therefore it would appear that the possibility of speculation, or deviation from the plan, somehow did not cross Wakefield's mind. Mills suggests that Wakefield seemed to think that settlers would buy land at a uniform price and cultivate it, but this actually encouraged speculation (1915:331) as there were no controls after ownership passed into the hands of the purchaser. The conditions of land sales laid down in Article IX clearly show the differences from past practices and deficiencies in this theory by the presenting a starting point to the plan which is explained in the 'General Remarks' where the conditions required were:

1. disposal by act of Legislation,
2. disposal process to be uniform policy in all colonies,
3. Canada to be an exception to disposal policy due to proximity to the United States,
4. no one would appear to be injured by proposal,
5. squatting as a practice was acceptable, and
6. the step to protect the measure was to publicly stop the granting of land (1829:44–47).

Emigration until this time had been haphazard and unregulated and simply had been used for getting rid of surplus population and undesirables, but now it was a means to build prosperous communities benefiting colony and mother-country. The success was that emigration eventually became important enough for a Government department to control it (Mills 1915:324-325). Wakefield's plan of covering emigration costs and providing for tax relief and colonial government met the needs of Horton's committees (Main 1986:2), and in 1830 the NCS was formed and included Horton, Torrens, and J. S. Mill (Main 1986:4). The National Society pamphlet, "A Statement of the Principles and Objects of a Proposed National Society for the Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by means of Systematic Colonisation" was written by Wakefield (O'Connor 1928:85), and provided Lord Howick with objections to bestowal of waste lands. The Colonial Office regulations to sell land came about in January 1831 and "Lord Howick's dispatch

promulgating the rules involved was dated February 1832" (O'Connor 1928:86). The change to settlement practices had thus begun and in 1832 assisted emigration in New South Wales helped "swamp the convict element and to make New South Wales a colony where free settlers predominated" (Mills 1915:322-323). In 1835 Colonel Torrens stated,

> to Lord Howick belongs the honour of having been the first to give practical operation to the principle of selling lands at the disposal of the Crown; and of employing the proceeds of the sale in conveying voluntary emigrants to the Colonies (1962:vii).

However, of course, it is to Wakefield that the credit of the theory and plan perhaps should go.

The previous system of land disposal was one of "the shameless lavishing of uncultivated colonial land on aristocrats and capitalists by the Government, so loudly denounced by Wakefield … especially in Australia …" (Marx 1954:724). The change not only altered the process of settlement, but it also tried to eat away at the power of Government. Giving jobs was a perk that those in government readily used and abused. Napier says of the government of the day that,

> it is a mass of knavery and blundering made up, like any other piece of moral patchwork, sometimes with the most dishonest, and sometimes with the most honest intentions; but a spirit of jobbing has been its life and soul (1835:47).

Patronage of Naval and Army officers by the Colonial Office, particularly Governorships, was rife, as were positions for well-to-do criminals, debtors and drunkards, all of which Wakefield and others complained about (Mills 1915:14-15; Napier 1835:47; Main 1986:7; Wakefield 1834). The problem was also that the Government had the power to give and take away land and therefore had the power to make a person wealthy or ruin them (Rhys 1929:25). The fact that this would, and did, benefit many involved with the South Australia Experiment appears to be a happy unintended consequence. Some contemporary attitudes were problematic such as,

Mills' suggestion that Waste Land was believed to be useless, but could be used as a reward for officials (1915:324-325). Due to the change instigated by Wakefield the views on the colonies also changed, in that they were no longer seen to be socially inferior (Mills 1915:325) and by 1843 Charles Buller could state, "a colonial career is now looked upon as one of the careers open to a gentleman" (Mills 1915:325). The possible loss of this new found confidence in emigration, if the South Australian colony failed, was used as an argument for the British Government to consider financially supporting the failing scheme in 1840, as the failure would affect both labourer and capitalist and not only pertain to South Australia but could spread to other colonies as well (Audit 15 October 1840, CO 13/12 1840:157 &160). Interestingly this resulted in a situation in which the settlement created by the theory had then to be used practically to save that theory. Financial support of the settlement was approved thus deviating from one of the main tenets of the theory, but it was not only in their economic area that deviations occurred. It would appear that the new colony of South Australia, having been founded without convicts, gained privileges that convict settlements had not (Howell 1991:11).

This was intentional. The intention was as much to gain more power in terms of self determination, as it was about wresting 'jobbing' from the hands of the Government. Again, it mostly emanated from economic considerations, to allow the new settlement to freely pursue profit from business and less taxation. An act of legislation to create the colony, powers to make appointments to positions, the control of land and its sale, all seemed to undermine the prerogative of the Crown. Changes to this prerogative occurred later with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Statute of Westminster in 1931, but those suggested earlier by Wakefield and his followers convinced the Colonial Office that the people making the suggestions were republicans (Howell 1986:28). It is

doubtful that Wakefield saw himself like that; perhaps working from his own self-interest he did not see the broader ramifications. His constant underpinning of the theory and plan with connections to the 'mother-country' tends to suggest that 'republican' was not the correct term to describe him. As will be seen in the next chapter he certainly promoted attitudes of self-government for which there were valid logistical reasons. The republican ideas may simply have been an attempt to deal practically with problems of distance and communication which could cause problems in decision making while remaining responsible to a government halfway round the world. Napier pointed this out in his book in 1835 and the issue was raised in the British Parliament in 1839 (Mills 1915:274). At a meeting held in Adelaide on 17 April 1844,

> William Giles, asserted that 'the Wakefield principle could not properly be worked out without representation ... [and] the colony was now self-existing and self-supporting and ought to be permitted to be self-legislating' (Seaman 1986:77).

This does tend to suggest a political rather than a practical approach and develops possible benchmarks for the end of the settlement process, as suggested in the diagnostic index of settlement..

As with any political theory there was tension within Wakefield's theory. Wakefield promoted self-government but also promoted the use of Chinese labour as a labour source and market opportunity (1834:24). Clearly the gaining of the first denied the second (Mills 1915: 204) and it is doubtful he expected the Chinese to form part of the expected middle class or in fact own land, thus exposing an underlying tension in the theory. It could be argued that Wakefield's views on the Chinese market, which appear to be based on supply and demand and comparative advantage theory, were in fact put into operation and eventually led to the British economic policy in China in the nineteenth century. Humans will deviate from plans set down based on their perceived best interests and the conditions at the time. The Chinese migration in the 1850s to

South Australia in fact appears to have stimulated a move away from British control, rather than supporting a close connection to the mother-country. South Australia issued its own migration policy and moved towards a near federal view of governing in Australia through the colonies supporting each other, contrary to British policies of *laissez faire* (Copland 1998:116). This latter effect can easily be seen emanating from the works of Wakefield and his push for self government, and it is to him that many give the credit for the eventual conversion, of the British statesmen, and public, to the doctrine of responsible government for the colonies (Mills 1915:324-325).

Yet self-government, indeed any government, has to be paid for by someone and it is the 'self-supporting' component of Wakefield's theory and plan that has been the foundation of many arguments about the success of the experiment. Based on Wakefield's evidence, in the second governmental report on the Colony, Price suggests that "the fallacy that the system would be self-supporting he never put forward" (Price 1924:11). One wonders whether or not it was only the idea of the sale of land to pay for emigration that was, albeit inappropriately, colloquially termed 'self supporting'. However, Wakefield's intended third result of his theory, which he describes as "to make the Colony furnish a part, if not the whole, of the cost of its own Government" (Wakefield 1832:48), can be easily construed as meaning 'self-supporting'. His Article IX (Wakefield 1829) states that the Emigration Fund will cover infrastructure costs as well as emigration and suggests that "surplus might be sufficiently great to defray a part, or even the whole, of the expense of colonial government" (Rhys 1929:105). Price suggests it was the Colonisation Board that created the title of "self-supporting colonization" (Price 1924:27), suggesting that they then were responsible for its success or failure. Even so, 'self-supporting' would not appear to be a great leap from the original intent, but rather simply a catchy euphemism. Price's attempt to distance

Wakefield from the economic failure of the early settlement, on this point alone, is a limited view of the failure of the theory. The issue of 'self-supporting' was certainly a major contributing factor but it was the lack of this factor, in not accounting for the infrastructure costs and with no alternative in place, such as government financial support, that was the issue. In this Wakefield played a part, as Price himself points out, in that, according to John Brown the Emigration Agent in South Australia and also the second report to the select committee of the Colonial Office, there had been a proposal that part of the land fund be used for expenses of government, surveys and land office, but this had been rejected "... by Wakefield's immense secret influence over Torrens ..." (Price 1924:37). Without this rejection, self-support, or the intention of providing "the cost of its own Government", would have been a reality and may have been accounted for within the theory. Why this adamant turn around from Article IX took place and what Wakefield's influence was over Torrens still remains a secret. Perhaps the answer is that the proposal was to cover infrastructure costs by using the excess money, after emigration costs, from land sales, as well as Wakefield's expected rent-tax (similar to Napier's (1835) Poll Tax), although this rent-tax never eventuated. The lack of both of these to pay for infrastructure may have compromised the emigration component upon which the theory appears to have rested. The Treasury Audit of 1841 suggests that "it could not be expected that any new Colonial Establishment could be self-sustained by current revenue at the time it's income was the lowest and it's expenditure the highest" (SAA GRG 13/12 1840:155–156, 15 October 1840). Interestingly this Audit suggests establishing whether or not other colonies had cost more than the money being asked for to financially save the experiment (SAA GRG 13/12 1840:157). An answer is not shown but the funds were provided, which in itself may be an answer to the question. It could be argued that Article IX is not definitively suggesting self-support, although it is certainly inferring it, and this may well be seen as a problem arising from the conversion

of theory to practice, with the real failure being to account for a practical problem or variable. Of course this does not necessarily mean the failure of the settlement, just simply that it was not operational under the theory proposed.

This quantum leap from theory to practical implementation is discussed in general in Chapter 3. Specifically relating to Wakefield, Mills suggests tat the work was "'… a serious attempt to analyse the economic, social and political conditions of New South Wales" (Mills' Introduction in Rhys 1929:ix; Mills1915:326-327). However, the theory was not a 'scientific accuracy' but rather its use was in "practical rules for conducting colonisation in an orderly way ..." (Mills' Introduction in Rhys 1929:xi; Mills 1915:337). Inverting this, one could say that it was the inaccurate practical aspects that impinged on the theory, and that its conversion into practice was flawed by an inability to supersede deep-seated and biased assumptions. Wakefield believed that humans "have divided themselves into owners of capital and owners of labour" and acted in concert or combination (Wakefield 1834:26), which would therefore restrict practical considerations where this did not apply. He also saw that "division of employment is an effect of combination of labour" (Wakefield 1834:27), where tasks or jobs are individualised for increased production but there is a mutual dependence resulting in efficiency. This, of course, caused him great problems. In situations where people were multi-skilled for example, as in America and France, where " … cultivation of land is often the secondary pursuit ..." and people "do not confine themselves to one pursuit" (Wakefield 1834:28-29), Wakefield was never able to account for the diversity of personal needs and desires.

He started from what seemed to be a paradox where a great extent of waste land does not cause prosperity but rather is the reason for poverty. This was based on his belief

that the three elements of production are land, capital and labour and supported the

belief in the paradox through the examples of the deficiency of land in proportion to

capital and labour in Britain as opposed to the excess of land in proportion to capital and

labour in America (Wakefield 1834:2). While his assumptions in this area may not have

been correct Marx used Wakefield, whom he describes as a "British economist and

colonial politician" (Marx 1969:661):

- in terms of defining 'rent' (Marx 1969:301);

- as a theorist who correctly understood supply and demand in relation to labour
  (Marx 1969:398-399);

- as the person who discovered the premise "that capital is not a thing, but a social
  relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things" (Marx 1954:
  717);

- in relation to the division of labour, (Marx 1954: 308), labour/capital/commodity
  exchange (Marx 1954: 308, 502 & 546; Marx 1972:95, 187-188), and that

- "Wakefield's real contribution [was] to the understanding of capital..." (Marx
  1972:187, 570).

Marx is less generous with Torrens, the other architect of the South Australian

experiment, who he suggests wrongly uses the word 'labour' for labour power (Marx

1954: 168), and introduces 'irrelevant matters' into the debate about capital (Marx 1954:

159). However, Marx continues by accrediting the savings of capital outlay by

lengthening the working day to Torrens (Marx 1954: 382) while pointing out that,

> James Mill, MacCulloch, Torrens, Senior, John Stuart Mill, and a whole series
> besides, of bourgeois political economists, insist that all machinery that displaces
> workmen, simultaneously and necessarily sets free an amount of capital adequate
> to employ the same identical workmen" (Marx 1954: 412).

This may not be an economic issue, but rather a political one, particularly if one is

seeking more profit or capital to use elsewhere with the workmen doing something else.

Either way, as with Wakefield, the social/cultural understanding was overruled by

political and economic considerations, which may be why the transition from the theory to practical implementation was flawed. Even if the economic elements of land and labour "completely outran the inefficient compromise by which capital and organization were provided" (Price 1924:241).

The failure of the 1829 free settlement in Australia on the Swan River, Western Australia, only served to entrench Wakefield's views (Marx 1954:771 & 719; Dutton 1960:147) and focus the theory on the practicality of land distribution and the provision of labour. Mills suggests that "even as a series of practical rules the Wakefield system was applicable only at a certain stage of colonial development" and as the conditions changed in South Australia, and the colony outgrew the settlement process, the system was wisely abandoned, but it had introduced method and order to settlement (1915:337-338). Perhaps this is sufficient not to cast out the theory altogether, or for that matter any theory that does not necessarily fit all cases. In fact, as shown in Chapter 3, no theory that focuses on particular disciplines can possibly fit all cases. The Wakefield theory is a prime example. By focusing on economics and perhaps politics, with associated weaknesses in cultural and environmental areas, it cannot therefore function in situations where changes or deviations occur in these areas. In turn these weaken the economic and political to the point that even these cannot surmount or contend with change and deviation.

Systematic Colonisation Theory can thus be considered in two principal ways: either from the theoretical or the practical aspect (Mills 1915:327). It could also be considered from two minor aspects: a combination of both and/or the combination of earlier theoretical works. Price states that "Wakefield's deliberations on the colonies were by no means original", suggesting these had been practiced in America, the Swan River,

and by Gourlay in Canada (Price 1924:10). The issue is that these earlier practices were used as a basis for discussing and analysing colonisation and the empirical/inductive process, and in that perhaps there was no originality. Of the specific components of the theory, such as land-sales, selected immigration and self government, R. C. Mills states that "not one was new [but] … originality rests upon the fact that he combined them into a unified theory ..." (Introduction in Rhys 1929:xi). Similarly Dutton credits Wakefield for originality for bringing these less than original ideas into a single plan (Dutton 1960:148). Marx suggests, that:

> Wakefield's few glimpses on the subject of Modern Colonisation are fully anticipated by Mirabeau Père (Mirabeau - De La Monarchie Prussienne sous Frederic le Grand or The Prussian Monarchy of Frederick the Great), the physiocrat, and even much earlier by English economists (Footnote Marx 1954:717).

The value of the work was "to have discovered in the Colonies the truth as to the conditions of capitalist production in the mother-country" (Marx 1954:717). Marx used Wakefield's economic analysis and theory to develop his own theories, foreshadowing the treatment of his own works by future Marxists. Perhaps all these views have some merit. Original ideas may be rare and may more often be old ideas originally rearranged.

Whether the theory is original in any sense is still open to debate, although the combination of theoretical and practical, with an attempt at actual implementation, must still stand out as original, not only for that time, but also for the present day. Purely scientific theory, more often than not, does lead to experimentation, but not so often in the humanities and social sciences. Controls can be far more readily placed on inanimate chemicals, or particles than human beings. who, provide the variable of deviation and such experiments are also correctly inhibited by ethical and moral considerations. Wakefield and his supporters have claimed that his theory never had a

fair trial (Mills 1915:322-323). However, Wallas suggests that such a trial "would have been fatal both to the theory itself and to Australasian prosperity" (Introduction in Mills 1915:xviii). Wallas' rationale for this is the need for others to impact on the theory and "thought must go on in human brains" from all spheres and "must be the work neither of practical statesmen only nor only of theorists, not of a groups of friends only, but also of sincere opponents" (Introduction in Mills 1915:xix). This appears to certainly support the need for inclusion and interdisciplinary cooperation. Rather than not having had a fair trial, Howell suggests that the system was not systematic (Howell 1991:7) and the theory was "fatally flawed" (Howell 1991:8). In both experiments, in South Australia and New Zealand, Wakefield's theory was impinged upon by the environment and human deviation which it did not consider sufficiently. The environment in South Australia pressured the move to pastoralism from agriculture which modified the original plan (Jacomb 2000:47) and one could accredit this to a 'Learning Phase' as in Birmingham and Jeans' (1983) theory. At the same time we can see that Wakefield himself never seemed to go through this phase with his theory but rather doggedly maintained a hard line. Similarly, the gold rush of the mid 1800s prompted a human deviation from the plan in many ways, particularly through the loss of labour (Jacomb 2000:47), and could not be accounted for in the experiment. Hence perhaps a 'fair trial' could never have occurred, but 'fair' is not the issue - the issue is that it was 'trialed' and, like any experiment, the results were examined and adjustments made to the theory. where some parts do not succeed, and the experiment should then be trialed again. Therefore, rather than 'fair trial', it is more a case that the experiment was the trial and it is unlikely to be tried in the same way again.

Fair or otherwise, the European settlements of South Australia and New Zealand exist and it is debatable whether they would exist, either at all or in their current form, had it

not been for the attempted experiments. One could argue that the experiment is still in progress, albeit no longer a settlement process, and that adjustments to the theory have been made by adjusting the practical processes along the way. Perhaps this continuation is harder to see than in a purely scientific experiment, since a human experiment, such as this, cannot simply be disbanded and started again. In fact it is like an archaeological excavation; it can never be repeated or duplicated precisely in the same manner. Hypothesising about alternative outcomes of settlement in South Australia, considering either the Indigenous settlement and/or alternatives to European or other settlements, is not attempted in this paper and would seem overall to have questionable value. It could simply be stated that the experiment, so far, has worked in that the colony still exists, although not precisely as it was theoretically planned. R. C. Mills suggests "South Australia and New Zealand owe their existence as British colonies to his [Wakefield's] inspiration …" (Introduction in Rhys 1929:xii) and Price, in his heroic fashion, goes further, suggesting it is to Wakefield "... to whose genius British power in the Southern Pacific is largely due" (Price 1924:9). Perhaps the latter was trying to comment on the extent to which the theory influenced a broader political and economic change. For example, Wakefield's "ideas of colonial self-government, enshrined in the Durham Report … made possible the growth in its present form of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (Mills' Introduction in Rhys 1929:xii). Or perhaps Price's statement alludes to Wakefield's discussion of trade with China, using the Australian colonies as a source of cheap food to exchange with China for tea and silver to purchase cheap corn from Canada (Wakefield 1834:246) as in the Staple Theory. This idea of Wakefield's, from which Staple Theory seems to emanate, foreshadows the use of opium for that exact purpose, as mentioned earlier, and is perhaps a further comment on the extent of the theory's influence. Further, this globalisation of trade, in which the value of free trade and economics subsumes most racial prejudices, is reflective of the later debate on the

Chinese in South Australia in 1857 (Copland 1998), and perhaps prophesied the current global market. It is also reminiscent of the International Exhibitions of the 1800s and Richard Cobden's ideas that peace could be attained and warfare usurped by the abolition of commercial barriers and technological inventiveness. Wakefield's interest in the Chinese as a labour force (Footnote 2 in Mills 1915:300), and in the access of immigration to near neighbours such as the Pacific Islands, Asia, and India (Rhys 1929 92–99), could be seen as influencing current Australian global and foreign economic policy, particularly policies such as the Colombo Plan and current student exchange plans. In contrast Wakefield's pragmatic approach was that:

> [it would be to great] advantage to British manufacturers to enjoy free trade with millions of fellow subjects of Chinese origin, and, through them, perhaps, with hundreds of millions of customers in the celestial empire? (cited in Rhys 1929:99).

This suggests a reduction in racial tension, as it contains elements of potential economic superiority, and perhaps economic colonialism, readily seen in the actions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund today. Whether economic colonialism is traceable specifically to his theory, or utilitarianism as a whole, is not the question, but rather, if what he did say can be to related to other and broader issues.

For Marx the question is "but why, then, should "systematic colonisation" be called in to replace its opposition, spontaneous, unregulated colonisation?" (Marx 1954:718). The answer would appear to be in the development of the practical from the theoretical or analytical. Unregulated colonisation was what was occurring, which could certainly be viewed with academic interest, but Wakefield wanted direct involvement to attempt control of the outcomes with the intention of promoting his economic views. Marx would seem to be leaving change to something similar to natural selection, allowing others to make what they will of his theory, while expecting his theoretical outcome of eventual collapse of the capitalist system to take place without his direct practical

intervention. If for no other reason then, Wakefield should be commended for his practical attempt to test the power of his convictions, particularly considering his criminal record in the context of the era he lived in and the radical nature of his theories. "Although his political views became thoroughly conservative, in 1832 Wakefield was slightly radical in theory" (Pike 1967:81; Howell 1986:46) but, unlike those who entered the Reformed Parliament in 1832 (Howell 1986:48-49), it is not true to say he or his followers were anti-establishment (Howell 1986:46). There were a great deal of amendments to the theory through amendments of the Bill by the Reformed Parliament before the eventual South Australian Bill became an Act of Parliament, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Even Daniel Wakefield's father-in-law, the Birmingham radical Thomas Attwood, raised a question of moving poor labourers elsewhere should the scheme fail (Howell 1986:45) - a deviation not considered by Wakefield. Napier elaborated more fully on this point, suggesting that incomes would double and taxes reduce with the provisoes that land sales could produce a sufficient number of labourers, that these labourers remained in colony, and that a market could be found for their produce (1835:47). Practical issues expressed in 1835 by Napier and others could well have been considered and taken into account prior to actual settlement, since later the economic troubles of the new colony could be attributed to land sales, an insufficient number of labourers through attrition to other colonies, and the fact that a market for produce was not required, since speculation had supplanted production.

However, the South Australian settlement began by the end of 1836, and in 1837 there were two forms of assisted emigration to New South Wales; Home Government and Colonial Government (Bounty System) (Mills 1915:300-303). In 1838 Systematic Colonisation was tried in New Zealand, where similar problems to those in South Australia occurred, including an argument over the site for the Capital, but with the

added problem of the ownership of purchased land becoming null and void (O'Connor 1928:182-183). Mills suggests that,

> the Waste Lands Act of 1842, applying to all the Australasian colonies alike, marks the height to which the influence of the systematic colonizers had risen in convincing Parliament of the utility of the ideas underlying the Wakefield theory (1915:325-326).

Perhaps the processes in South Australia cannot be attributed to Wakefield alone as they were based on his principles, knocked into practical shape by Gouger, made popular by Torrens, and with the help of Angus who made the working of the Act of Parliament possible (Hodder 1898:Preface). The fact that there was a modicum of success (Pike 1967:495) appears to Mills as remarkable considering the flaws in the theory. He supports this view by footnoting those with similar views (1915:326), but goes on to say that "a general colonial policy for all homogeneous white colonies in temperate regions was in this way laid down by the systematic colonizers ..." (1915:324-325). In 1853 Wakefield made the ultimate act of commitment to his theory by emigrating to New Zealand, settling there, and dying there. Throughout the discussion here we have seen the issues raised in the last chapters. In particular the creation of a behavioural process that could be accepted as settlement within the diagnostic index of settlement from Chapter 2 and the considering of problems in Settlement Theory relate to disciplinary focus, and the failure to consider transience, deviation and physical environment from Chapter 3. Also, to a degree, how practical the theory was in practice which is further developed in the next chapter discussing the European settlement of South Australia.

EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD

From a painting now in the Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand. Present portrait by E. J. Collins in 1894, the dogs being by Richard Ansdell.

Plate 6 Portrait of an older Edward Gibbon Wakefield (O'Connor 1924)

CHAPTER 5

SETTLING FOR SOUTH AUSTRALIA

5.0 The Case Study and Limitations

This chapter considers the South Australian Experiment, that evolved from Wakefield's Systematic Colonisation Theory, from inception in the 1820s until 1842 when South Australia came under the same rules and guidelines as other British colonies. The settlement process itself will be examined from 1836, the arrival of the first settlers, until 1856, the granting of Responsible Government, when the ability for settlers to govern themselves ended the settlement process to simply an ongoing occupation process.

Examining the experiment highlights the difficulties of practical implementation of a theory and the consideration of variables effecting a theory. Also the arguments and conclusions of previous chapters tested. The events leading up to settlement are outlined as they impinge on the development of the theory, but the main issue when reading the relatively empirical data is that the processes taking place are in direct contrast to many settlement theories. For example Frontier Theory, is based on hindsight and tends to rely on the basic premise of people leaving a society, venturing into the unknown, or little known, and who create a world out of the material they have brought and/or that which is available on arrival. The experiment of Wakefield's theory relies on foresight where the promoters and intended settlers are trying to predetermine the society they want by gaining political and economic advantages well in advance of actual arrival at the settlement and assist the society being left behind. Therefore a group intention, as discussed in the diagnostic index of settlement, certainly seems to be

bolstered beyond simply an intention to reside permanently. Bearing this in mind, the relatively prosaic data takes on a more interesting hue of political and economic intrigue, with an undercurrent of sociological manipulation, leading to the eventual settlement and consequential changes to the physical environment.

The promoting the scheme and change were people of power and influence, such as Wakefield and his relatives, Major Torrens with his Irish estates, Whitmore who was married to the sister of Earl of Bradford, Hutt who married the Countess of Strathmore, George Grote a banker, and Warburton who had a private lunatic asylum at Hackney (Howell 1986:46). The theoretical ideas of the scheme, such as self-funding, self-supporting, and self-governing were at the core of the intended changes. The sale of land in colonies would serve the purpose of self-funding by funding emigration and thus appeared to have several effects being: reducing the population in Britain; restricting government financial commitment; use of excess capital in Britain; creating a commitment through the purchase of land rather than having it gifted; and encouraging a 'better class' of people – capitalists and labourers with no convicts - to emigrate. Similarly self-supporting would reduce financial dependency on the government, but also could perhaps create a market for British goods and products for the British market. Self-governing was clear enough in terms of reaching a particular population size to gain a Legislative Assembly, but was perhaps the least well defined, and most controversial, in terms of the attempt to wrest power from the government by dividing the powers between the Colonial Office and those running the experiment (Commissioners) in Britain, and the Governor and the Resident Commissioner abroad.

The discussion continues with the arrival in South Australia providing examples of variables not considered in the theory, in particular human deviation, transience, and the

physical environment. The earlier occupation of Kangaroo Island by Whalers/Sealers/Runaway Convicts in the early 1800s (Leigh 1839:126; Gill 1909:122; Cawthorne 1927) is mentioned, but is not seen as the starting point of the settlement process in South Australia. Even though it certainly can be seen as a precursor to the settlement process, it was random, transient, and embryonic, and therefore does not fulfil the needs of the diagnostic index to be considered a settlement. Moreover, it was not part of the Systematic Colonisation Theory discussed here, was not included as a variable like the Indigenous occupants which are discussed in more detail later, and to all intent and purposes was subsumed and superseded by the 1836 settlement (Copland 2002:132–133).

5.1 Chronological Background Leading to 1836 Settlement

Political economists in the late 1700s and early 1800s, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and John Stuart Mill, wrote about political and economic issues that directly and indirectly referred to settlement issues. During this time various practical measures were implemented that related to colonial settlement generally, and to South Australia specifically. There are many reasons for such deliberations, but fundamentally they are attributed to growth of population in Britain and increased costs of the Poor Rates (Main 1986:2; Torrens 1827:45–47; Napier 1835:8; Wakefield 1829 etc.). The latter was a result of the former since the growing population was increasingly unemployed thus requiring more financial support. Napier suggests, perhaps the obvious, that it is not overpopulation but rather 'over-bad government'(Napier 1835:8) that was the problem in Britain, but either way solutions were being sought.

Wilmot Horton, Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office in 1821, became Chairman of parliamentary committees on emigration in 1826/27 and supported emigration to be funded from the Poor Rates. Presumably this meant a one time payment and thus saving on ongoing costs, but there was no continuous emigration plan. His argument was that this would add to the national wealth by including the colonies as part of the extended nation (Main 1986:2) which appears to be a relatively Mercantilist, and core-periphery, view. The contemporary view appears to have been "Export or Die, Emigrate or Starve" (Dutton 1960:xiv), with the added pressure that "the Napoleonic wars left England looking overseas, and the many gallant and under-employed half-pay officers and ex-officers looked hardest of all" (Dutton 1960:xv). Thus adding perhaps another imperative of Rehabilitate or Revolt. Horton's plan of "Pauper Emigration" never really established itself, though some elements can be seen in action in New South Wales in the late 1830s. The problem with the plan seemed to be that the Government funding was underwritten by the value of the land to be worked by the "Pauper" and was thus dependant on the venture being a success.

Hence Wakefield's ideas, in particular that emigration to be funded by the sale of the land, offered a reasonable alternative. Moreover the failure of the first free (non-convict) settlement in Australia in 1829, using free land grants on the Swan River, Western Australia (Dutton 1960:147), further supported Wakefield's system of emigration connected to land sales. So began the moves towards the South Australian Experiment and in the process we can see the tensions develop between the theory and practical implementation. It was in the midst of the theoretical steps that practical issues took shape and the National Colonization Society (NCS) was formed 1830, with Horton, Torrens, and J S Mill, whose *Principles* of *The National Colonization Society* (London 1830) were similar to Wakefield's theory (Main 1986:1 & 4).

> The essential difference between the promoters of South Australia and the Colonial Office officials in the years between 1830 and 1834 was that the promoters wished to manage the colony free from the control or interference of the government; the Colonial Office, on the other hand ... would not approve any scheme which would establish a republic (Main 1986:1).

This being said, Main suggests that in the 1830s the Colonial office encouraged the founding of a 'systematic' colony (Main 1986:23), which would seem quite advantageous for the Colonial Office because private entrepreneurs were doing the thinking, organising, and, possibly, funding the process. Political expediency may also be the reason the Colonial Office did not simply implement the idea themselves. Operating in this manner the Colonial Office would appear to have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Either way, with the abolition of land grants in Australian colonies in 1831(Main 1986:24), and an Emigration Committee being formed (Price 1924:13), the ramifications for political control and the economic success of future settlements was altered.

Also in 1831 The South Australian Land Company submitted a *Proposal to His Majesty's Government for Founding a Colony on the Southern Coast of Australia*, which was supported by Whig MP William Whitmore which almost succeeded (Main 1986:5). This was to be "in a spot now absolutely desert and removed from any settlement ..." and "the *basis* of colonization being waste land ..." (South Australian Land Company 1832:3 & 4). Of course it was neither 'desert', removed from settlement other than that occupied by Europeans, or 'waste land'. The principles for the disposal of this land was that it would be available to anyone willing and able to cultivate and immigration would be restricted to required labour needs with regards to cultivation. Among other things, the Company also set an escalating land sale price over subsequent years (South Australian Land Company 1832:4-8). A difference can be noted here between this and Wakefield's theory which made no provision for the use of the land,

other than his expectation that people would do so. Also the land price increases were not included. The cost of government would be paid by the Company to a limited amount and be a debit of the Colony (South Australian Land Company 1832:15). A Governor would be the supreme undivided power nominated and removed by the Company with the Crown having only the power of veto (South Australian Land Company 1832:17). There were to be some restrictions to this power. For example, liberty of the press, descent of property, and the law was to be administered by Magistrates or Justices chosen by inhabitants. Also the trade was to be free, defence maintained by local militia, and once the male adult population reached 10,000 a Legislative Assembly would be elected by adult males.

In a way it could be suggested the theory set a political limit on the settlement process as suggested by the diagnostic index of settlement. The Company would also supply teachers, a Circulating Library, and not involve itself in religious issues (South Australian Land Company 1832:18-20). This of course put all the land, and governing control, in hands of Company, "… largely for the financial benefit of the promoters" (Price 1924:16). James Stephen, of the Colonial Office, noted that as such it gave the company, and ultimately the elected assembly, "Sovereignty over a Territory exceeding in extent the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal" with no compensation to Crown (Main 1986:5-6). This early plan certainly shows a divergence from usual settlement practices, and also from the various theories that promote one factor or another for settlement, by clearly suggesting a process with specific political, economic, social, and to some degree the physical environmental overtones from the start. There was perhaps even some attempt to curtail transient behaviour through commitment to land usage. However, little attention seemed to be paid to the human factor by assuming that people

would go along with the process and that there would be benefits for both the people, and the country they were leaving.

Subsequently, in 1832, Wakefield put up a *Plan of a Company to be Established for the Purpose of Founding a Colony in Southern Australia* similar to the earlier Company, in which he notes that the only objections by the Government were, the Company's power to choose the Governor and that a settlement of only 5,000 people was required before being granted a Legislative Assembly. The latter was changed to 10,000, and deemed of little importance by Wakefield, but he states that, "... the Company's success, and that of the Colony, depend so much on the conduct of the Governor, that it is intended to make further representations to the Government on this point" (1832:6). Here we see the determination to wrest power from the Government, though ostensibly to put an end to 'jobbing', and perhaps have some control over possible deviation by the Governor. Wakefield's concerns could well also be seen to reflect a possible understanding of the transient nature of the position of Governor, and possibly a Governor's lack of commitment to the theoretical ideology, although Wakefield does not come out and state this openly. Major Bacon put forward a rival plan which was rejected, so he joined Torrens & Gouger in this new company plan put up by South Australian Society (Main 1986:5).

The following year, 1833, Gouger formed a new group with a new prospectus, called the South Australian Association. There was a great deal of support for this group, possibly due to Sturt's report of fertile land in the same year, possibly giving rise to the Fertile Land Theory, and the publication of Wakefield's *England and America*, which elaborated on what had become a theory of 'systematic colonization' (Main 1986:5-6). Members included G. Puleet Scrope, Charles Buller, George Grote, and William

Whitmore with 14 of the 24 provisional committee being in the House of Commons (Main 1986:6-7). In 1834 the South Australian Association put out its views in *South Australia; Outline of the Plan of a Proposed Colony to be Founded on the South Coast of Australia,* with the intention of "... converting a desert into the abode of civilized society" (South Australian Association 1834:3). The latter may be what the South Australian Land Company had meant by the word 'desert' and even some suggestion, or recognition, that the land was occupied by an albeit uncivilised, or rather non-European, society. The new paper talks of the usual land sales to defray costs of surveys and immigration, but for the first time there is a statement of "no children" (South Australian Association 1834:7; Main 1986:7). An interesting addition considering the connection of children, or at least the ability to procreate, to the suggestion of the intention of permanence, but this may well have been a simple attempt at avoiding complications of catering for children could involve. A Corporation of Trustees was to have the authority to administer laws and regulation similar to colonies in North America (South Australian Association 1834:8), and hold that authority until the Colony could repay any costs incurred (South Australian Association 1834:8-9). The intention is clearly based on the Wakefield Theory because it contained the statement that the Colony,

> will be the first colony founded by Englishmen, in a genial climate, free from the evils of slave or convict system, and at the same time provide with the requisite amount of labour: it will be the first instance for many years of a colony in which the Governor does not possess the power of withholding from the settlers lands best adapted for settlement, bestowing them upon persons who have neither the means nor the wish to bring them to cultivation. It will be the first colony in which provision is made for the due appropriation of land in exact proportion to the increase of the number of colonists, and their means of employing it: and, in short, it will be the first colony ever established with any intelligent perception of the ends of Colonization, and the means to be employed for their attainment (South Australian Association 1834:17).

In this statement there are signs of sociological considerations, a clear expression of the change from the current random nature the settlement process and the implication that settlement comes to an end. The latter certainly focuses on a specific process –

settlement - as opposed to ongoing occupation and general theory which attempts to cover human behaviour in many or all circumstances.

John Shaw Lefevre, then Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, met Gouger in January 1834 and a meeting of a deputation of the Association was arranged with Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary. Once again there was an objection to the powers of the Trustees suggesting the Colony would be a Republic and independent of the mother country. However, a compromise was reached when the Trustees would be Commissioners and therefore servants of the Government. Once again perhaps an attempt to curtail deviation. Lord Stanley also insisted on the provision for colonial government, some funding from the land fund for education and religious instruction, and that the government of the colony was to be by the Crown until it was able to govern itself (Main 1986:7-8). Perhaps this was a reluctant attempt to consider the human factor by trying to limit deviation through government control and education. The paradox is the requirement for sufficient control to practically implement a theory that was trying to undermine controls already in place.

5.2 The Bill and Acts

Over the years the intended outcome of all these Associations, Societies, and Companies was to have a Bill enacted in Parliament, yet why was an Act necessary? After all, this would be the only colony founded in such a manner (Howell 1986:26; Main 1986:1). William Wolryche Whitmore erroneously suggested that this had occurred in many other instances, but "in founding all other colonial dependencies, British governments has followed the precedent set in 1497-98 when Henry VII had issued Letters Patent authorising the colonization of Newfoundland" (Howell 1986:26). The real point was that protection was required by the investors in the scheme. Major Bacon had lobbied

the Colonial Office for the charter because investors were unwilling to input money until a charter was granted. Perhaps it could also be suggested that the intention was to be able to place some control on possible variables unaccounted for in the theory. It should be noted that Whitmore's was not the only misinformation promulgated in 1831. Bacon had published, in the *Spectator*, that the government had sanctioned a charter, but no such assurance had been given at that time (Main 1986:5). Consequently, at least in these instances, people deviated from telling the truth in an attempt to sway opinion and ultimately achieve their ends.

The legislative protection also extended to "encroachments on the royal prerogative" (Howell 1986:27) in wanting to make appointments, control land, and reduce government involvement. The Crown was seen to be acting on behalf of the entire British community particularly as the King would act on advice of ministers and was also answerable to the true sovereign, the Parliament. To take over these duties was a departure "from the fundamental constitutional principles [which] could only be sanctioned by a statute enacted by the imperial Parliament" (Howell 1986:27). On 4 July 1834, during the progress of the Bill, Stephen wrote to Whitmore, lamenting that,

> it would be vain to indulge the expectation that any simple Statute would finally adjust on a permanent basis, a Scheme like that present, for which the Colonial history of England affords no precedent. (CO 13/2 1834:216; Main 1986:12).

Another major concern was that by creating one territory out of another, nominally South Australia from New South Wales, meant that Constitutionally the new colony existed under the laws of the mother colony, as occurred with Van Diemen's Land in 1825, Victoria in 1851, and Queensland 1859. To avoid convict settlement laws, and also limit laws to those enacted in Britain up to 1829, Daniel Wakefield (Edward Gibbon's brother) drafted for the South Australian Association a Bill where the first clause and others avoids this (Howell 1986:29). This is certainly a deviation from the

norm, but perhaps a necessary to avoid possible deviations from the theory.

Fortuitously Earl Grey's ministries had a general policy to employ Parliament instead of

the prerogative (Howell 1986:30) and the proposed changes fell in line with such

thinking. Perhaps one could say that the flocculant of population changes and timing,

coagulated the political and economic environment into the whole of the new legislation

and colony. Of course Marx reduces the process to purely economics terms saying that,

> the system of production at its origin attempted to manufacture capitalists
> artificially in the mother-country, so Wakefield's colonisation theory, which
> England tried for a time to enforce by Acts of Parliament, attempted to effect the
> manufacture of wage-workers in the Colonies. This he calls "systematic
> colonisation" (Marx 1954:717).

The final Act is different from the Bill (Howell 1986:30). The Draft Bill was submitted

for general approval on 15 April 1834 (Main 1986:8), but did not get passed until 14

August 1834 after "the Commons [had] agreed to all of the forty-two amendments the

Lords had made to the Bill" (Howell 1986:48). This many amendments must have

impacted on the theory though Torrens states that the Bill had "passed through the

House of Lords under the shield of the Duke of Wellington ..." (Torrens 1835:viii),

suggesting not only Wellington's support, but perhaps the integrity of the Bill was

maintain. However, Price suggests that Wellington was not interested in colonisation

because it reduced the numbers available for defence purposes (1929:141). Wellington

himself had said that the Bill was "speculation which called for serious consideration",

which seems less than supportive, but somehow he was lobbied and converted (Price

1924:22; Howell 1986:43). A niece of Rowland Hill, Secretary to the Board of the

Colonization Commissioners, suggests the simple answer was that,

> the Duke of Wellington's objection was found to hinge upon the fact that no
> provision had been made for religious teaching. This was met, therefore, by
> trusting in a clause providing for the appointment of a chaplain (Watts
> 1890:148).

Throughout the four month process of passing the Bill "... no member of either House

thought to ask what would be the impact on the Aborigines" (Howell 1986:35). Hence

neither the theory or the Bill considered this, or people on Kangaroo Island, as a variable. Also there was a suggestion of restricting the experiment to a trial area of 6-10,000 square miles. After which, if it worked, to extend this, but through lobbying the suggestion failed. Perhaps here is some consideration of physical environment, or perhaps the dimensions of the land involved raised normative cultural concerns. Either way, South Australia became one province (Howell 1986:40-41). Different results on the issues of the Aboriginal population, or the physical environment issue, could have changed the settlement process dramatically as, no doubt, did the forty two amendments. The theory had definitely been impinged upon by the political system, and by those that were involved, and thus it deviated through the various requirements and rationales for the changes. Therefore it could well be stated that such a process supports the argument against stages, in particular a linear process, other than in a very general, and hardly useful, way by condensing the process to the fact that the parliament debated the Bill.

In the end the *South Australia Act of 1834* represented a compromise of novel principles and official requirements (Main 1986:1). Some authors have pointed to the preamble (Main 1986:8; Price 1924:23), in which all land is designated as 'waste and unoccupied', as the legal annexation and appropriation of the land under the banner of *terra nullius* which avoided consideration of any possible inhabitants. However, as Howell suggests, "... the first rule of statutory interpretation has always been that 'the preamble is not part of the Act' " (Howell 1986:42), and therefore, as will be seen later, one must look more to those who arrived rather than legislation in Britain, even though perhaps tacitly implied, for the appropriation of land. Perhaps an effect of human deviation is to suggest legal approval of something that was illegal, but alternatively perhaps such behaviour was becoming normative when considering land clearances and a previous experience in the Americas.

The first challenge to this Act came in 1834 emanating from the lack of consideration of the variable of current occupation. This occurred when Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had played a major role in the successful campaign to abolish colonial slavery, turned his attention to the treatment of 'natives' in British colonies. As a result a Select Committee was convened in 1835 to inquire into conditions and protection of rights of indigenous populations. This led to a Colonial Office letter of instructions on 16 December 1835 to only alienate land in South Australia that was not occupied by natives. Colonel Torrens assured Lord Glenelg that the Aboriginal popluation would not be dispossessed without purchasing the land and Brown, later the Emigration Agent, wrote to Buxton stating the intended establishment of a society for the protection of Aborigines in the colony. However, at the same time the "... Commissioners met to affirm that all lands in the colony were to be open for public sale" (Main 1986:11). Another paradox which may well have been able to be dealt with by the theory in the first place, in the practical development of the Act and the actions of those who participated in the practical implementation of these practical components of theory.

5.3 Colonization Commission

As a result of the Act a Board of the Colonization Commissioners was set up in May 1835 with Torrens as Chairman (Main 1986:10). Sir Charles Napier was approached to be Governor by the Commission, although the Colonial Office had been considering Sir John Franklin (Napier 1835:iii; Dutton 1960:149; Main 1986:10). Why Napier was accepted instead of Franklin is not known. However, it does demonstrate the power of the Commissioners over the Colonial Office. Napier provides us with his contemporary views of his actions in refusing the position of Governor and of the proposed settlement (Napier 1835), which shows that the enacting of the Bill did not finalise the development of the practical implementation from the theory. Napier, unlike Wakefield

or the promoters (Price 1924:27), had colonial experience and put forward practical ideas, particularly his requests for permission to draw on the Treasury and to take troops (Dutton 1960:149). The money was to employ people and for unforeseen events, because as Napier states these needs "... arise in the execution of all experiments; and the plan of this colony *is* an experiment" (1835:x). Here we see someone, if not Wakefield or the promoters of the theory, attempting to provide for variables which would have strengthened the theory. Furthermore, Napier points out that "all other settlements were retarded in their progress by wars" (Napier 1835:xxi) and in Australia there had been a need at the Swan River settlement for 600 troops, as well as troops being sent to Brisbane Waters and Van Diemen's Land (Napier 1835:xxviii & xxx). The request for 200 troops was made on the basis that "the colony will be a small army – without discipline, suffering, more or less, from privations, and with plenty of liquor" (Napier 1835:x & xi). Thus considering, albeit not very broadly, possible deviations by the settlers. Napier's reasons for the refusal of the position of Governor were the lack of financial support from the Government and inability to take troops. Rowland Hill, Secretary to the Board, replied on behalf of the Commissioners that,

> The most flourishing British colonies, in the North Americas, were founded without pecuniary aid from the mother country and without the aid of military force, though planted in to the immediate neighbourhood of war-like indian nations (CO 13/3 1835:54; Napier 1835:xv).

Napier pedantically, but accurately, suggests that as money was being raised by public subscription then the scheme of 'self-supporting principle' must actually be the ' loan-supporting principle' (Napier 1835:xix). He also rightly points out that the American colonies "... only flourished after many years of suffering ..." (Napier 1835: xxiii). His suggestions went unheeded in the first instance, but can be seen to eventually be accounted for in the later South Australian Governorship of Gawler.

Napier's practical experience is expressed further in terms of suggesting a "POLL-TAX" to cover governing costs, laws to be based on the ''*Code Civile*" of Napoleon, practical issues of outfitting and the passage to South Australia, costings, and what to expect upon landing in the initial years of settlement (Napier 1835:54-93). Issues that were left out of the theory thus adding to the number of variables that could impact upon it. Napier also put forward an alternate settlement plan to use the 'waste land' in Ireland (Napier 1835:2-7) to create employment, which came to be known as "Home Colonisation", and also include waste land in the whole of the United Kingdom. Torrens argued that such a scheme would fail on economic grounds (Torrens 1835:249-259). So far the research has not shown any serious attempt to put this idea into practice, but future satellite suburbs and industrial estates could well be seen as promoting this theory. Perhaps the reason for not taking up this option at the time was that the waste land in Britain was seen to be owned by someone, more probably than not those pushing for colonial expansion, whereas overseas the land was for the taking. However, it was Napier's refusal of the post which altered the first steps towards settlement and it seems evident, from his writings, that he may well have dealt better with many of the practicalities.

Plate 7 Captain John Hindmarsh (F Hindmarsh 1995:168)

In the end it was Captain John Hindmarsh who took up the position of Governor. This had resulted from delivering a letter to Napier, from Colonel Light whom Hindmarsh had been with in Egypt, and discovering that Napier had given up the position. A year later, in 1836, Hindmarsh requested that Lord Grey provide an amount of money to carry on Government of South Australia, similar to that requested by Napier, and a "means by which a future supply can be obtained when that is exhausted" (CO 13/4 1836:82).

Plate 8 Lady Susanna Hindmarsh (F Hindmarsh 1995:149

James Stephen recommend this for unavoidable expenses of the Colony equal to that given to Captain Stirling in Western Australia (CO 13/4 1836:82). Subsequently Lord Glenelg wrote that £1000 was supplied to Hindmarsh for current expenses and £1000 authorised to Mr Gilles "the Treasurer of your Government to be disposed of by him (under your direction if necessary) for the Public service of the Colony" (CO 13/4 1836:83).

By December 1835 a request was made to the Colonial Secretary for sixty marines (CO 13/3 1835:137) outfitted, from the Ordnance Office, with "arms, ammunition, tents, pioneer's tools and sundry other minor articles for the protection of the first detachment

of emigrants …" and paid for by the Colonisation Commissioners (CO 13/3 1835:141). So in part, Napier's requests had been addressed and the theory adjusted to deal with these practical considerations. Eventually Hindmarsh kept the Marines in South Australia, having given up the *Buffalo* (CO 13/9 1837:13-23), and only sent them back on the *HMS Alligator* in July 1838 (CO 326/238 1838:180-187). He paid them out of his own money (CO 13/11 1838:183) and offered his regrets for having acted contrary to orders by landing them in the first place (CO 326/238 1838:2662). However, the use of these Marines fulfilled the role of a policing facility in the new colony and Hindmarsh's deviation from his orders and the theory, which seemed to expected the new settlement to be somehow suddenly free from any of the societal ills taking place in any other place in the world, corrected the oversight.

However it was the split in power between the Governor and the Commissioners that eventually led to much of the early difficulties for the Colony. The issue of control and the dividing of power is articulated later in a letter from Torrens to Grey stating,

> … instead of a central and single, there is a divided authority, the governing functions being exercised by one class of persons and the Colonization functions by another. Under this arrangement the danger to be guarded against is a clashing of interests, arising from the persons entrusted with the Colonization meddling with the Government and from the persons entrusted with the Government interfering with the Colonization … (CO 13/3 1835:161-170).

Certainly another indication of trying to control the variable of human deviation and perhaps polarising group intent. As Napier states, he was surprised to find "... while fancying myself a *governor*, discover that I was only a *football*!" (1835:xxi), and he was "... convinced that no man can well govern any country from a distance; and that colonies should be independent" (Napier 1835:54). Whether or not these statements were due to his treatment by the Commissioners or the division of power, he expresses the view held by many at the time that,

opposite to the opinion that emigration is necessary to England, I look upon this colony merely as a matter of private, and bold speculation … without being of much advantage to the country, (except as a model for the curtailment of colonial expenditure) ... (Napier 1835:vi).

Within the issue of who was to be Governor and what their powers would be, we can see an attempt to include in the theory some controls on the variable of humans exercising power, but it seems that this only served to create further tension in the process and more variables, based on those who were to actually participate in the practical part of the experiment, and what powers they had.

5.4 Appointments

With the Act and the Board in place the appointments of the people who were central to the success or failure of the venture the South Australian Experiment began. Hindmarsh's appointment, as Governor, is more fully discussed later in the next chapter. However, the early identification of a potential problem, of divided control in the colony is seen in the recommendation, with Hindmarsh's approval, of Colonel Light as Colonial Commissioner. The basis of Light's appointment was that he had worked with Hindmarsh in Egypt and "there would be a need for cordial relations for the success of the colony" (CO 13/3 1835:62–63; Dutton 1960:152-153). It is questionable their relations, in Egypt, were in fact cordial considering the different positions of power they had both held. The intention was to also have Light as head of the Surveying Department, perhaps as a cost saving exercise, but with the realisation that the surveying would demand absence in the field the two positions were separated. Instead "Mr James Hurtle Fisher, Solicitor, York Buildings, Kew Road" was recommended for the position of Colonial Commissioner and Registrar (CO 13/3 1835:149), and Light for the position of Surveyor General. Whether without this separation of duties the eventual tension in the division of power between the Governor and the Resident Commissioner, Hindmarsh and Fisher, would have been forestalled will never be known, but the later

troubles between Light and Hindmarsh suggest that perhaps this made little difference.

Following is a schedule of the other proposed appointments,

Office	Officer	Salary
Governor	Captain Hindmarsh RN With an allowance of £500 for outfit	£800
Colonial Commissioner and Registrar	James Hurtle Fisher Esq	£400
Colonial Secretary	Robert Gouger Esq	£400
Judge	Henry Walter Park Esq	£500
Advocate General and Crown Solicitor	Charles Mann	£300
Naval Officer and Harbour Master	Captain Lipson RN	£200
Governor's Secretary and Clerk of the Council		£200
Collector of Revenue and Accountant General	The Colonial Treasurer	See schedule B
Auditor General	The Commissioner of Immigration	See Schedule B
Schedule B		
Office	**Officer**	**Salary**
Colonial Treasurer	Osmond Gilles Esq	£300
Commissioner of Immigration	John Brown Esq	£250
Surveyors		
1st Officer	Colonel Light (Expected shortly to return to England)	£400
2nd Officer	G S Kingston Esq	£200
Other surveyors	Messrs Finniss, O'Brien, Jacobs, Symonds, Neale and another not yet appointed £100 each	£600
	Two inferior assistants at £50 each will probably be required	£100
Colonial Surgeon	John Heape Esq	£100
Storekeeper to act under the Colonial Commissioner		£100
Clerk to D:		£50

Table 1 Schedule of Official Appointments in South Australia (CO 13/3 1835:153)

Dutton (1960) provides small insights into the character of some of these people. Of the senior Commissioner Fisher and Governor Hindmarsh, Dutton quotes Judge Jeffcott as saying Fisher was,

> a wily attorney, the very worst class of person that could have been selected for the office; who, by dint of writing and special pleading and splitting hairs upon every insignificant point, wished to put the Governor, a bluff straightforward but not very prudent sailor, into false position. (Dutton 1960:154).

Dutton goes on to suggest that Gouger favoured civil and religious freedom, Gilles had republican opinions, Brown was a "Dissenter", and Mann was a mildly radical lawyer who later married Brown's sister. Further, Kingston held radical political views, Finniss was modest amiable, Jacobs was just a lad, and Jeffcott had killed a doctor in a duel and was hopelessly in debt offering "... admirable qualifications for a Judge, (Dutton 1960:154-155). George Stevenson, who became the Governor's Secretary is described as a Whig newspaper journalist, Samuel Stephens is said to have been refused a position

as surveyor, but as he was related to George Fife Angus became the South Australian Company's first Colonial Manager, and John Morphett did not get a position, but was involved through his commercial interests (Dutton 1960:155–156). Price has stated that Judge Jeffcott was the only Colonial Office appointment (1924:31), and at this point it is unclear what happened to the intended Judge, Park, but the appointments were only recommendations from the Board to the Colonial Office so one could argue they appointed them all. Either way,

> the promoters of the colony, naturally enough, were greatly excited at the way in which the offices were awarded, sometimes going to 'friends', as well as to those who were the choice of the Colonial Office (Main 1986:10 - 11).

So much for an end to 'jobbing'. These appointments highlight the possible extrapolation of the number of variables that could affect the experiment based on the human factor, in that the variables are compounded by the variations of each persons characters, intentions, backgrounds, and the actions they would or could take. Even at this point it would seem difficult to contain the transition from theory to practical implementation in any scientific manner because the variables are too great, and there is no control in place against which to test the outcomes. One could suggest that the later settlement in New Zealand, again under Wakefield's theory, could be used as a control, as he tightened some of the practical issues, but again all conditions were not the same in New Zealand, so it would be probably no more than a comparative exercise of similarities and differences that do not necessarily assist us here.

5.5 Indigenous Connection

In the same way that one must acknowledge the Kaurna people when one is working on Kaurna land, one must also include the Indigenous connection to the South Australian Experiment, particularly as the theory rested upon the sale of land – Kaurna land. Although this is not an in depth look at Indigenous occupation, one of the arguments

presented here is about being inclusive and considering interdisciplinary associations, and therefore it would be remiss not to mention the Indigenous people of South Australia. Of course the major issue is that Wakefield's theory did not take into consideration that the land was occupied and took little notice of the implications for either the European settler or indeed the Indigenous occupants themselves. It would appear that any consideration was pure rhetoric. The land was 'waste and unoccupied'. The question is in whose view was this the case? Certainly not that of the Indigenous population whose existence was acknowledged as early as 1802 when Flinders and Baudin charted the coast, but whose written accounts give little or no detail of the people themselves (South Australian Land Company 1832:23 & 25; South Australian Association 1834:19, 25 – 27, 44, 59 & 63). From interviews taken from later visitors there is a little more information regarding the people in what would become South Australia, the evidence given was,

> **1819** - George Sutherland - "Q. What is the appearance of the natives on the main? A. They are larger and better looking than those in the neighbourhood of Sydney and I should think better fed" (South Australian Association 1834:57),

> **1832** - Frederick Hamborg - Port Lincoln - "Q. Did you see any natives? A. Yes, they were very numerous and peaceful, they assisted us in carrying water to the ship and in other matters. For a little tobacco and with kind treatment I am convinced they would work well." in 1831 Government took white people off Kangaroo Island none there now (South Australian Association 1834:70-71).

It is interesting to note the information was available to those connected with the experiment as well as the comment that they might be a labour force. Perhaps the lack of consideration was the norm as these people were not defined as 'civilised white'.

The consensus appears to be that there were no Indigenous inhabitants of Kangaroo Island (South Australian Land Company 1832:28, South Australian Association 1834:29 & 41). There were whalers, sealers and runaway convicts who apparently took native women with them either from Tasmania or the mainland (South Australian Association 1834:51; Copland 2002), but Frederick Hamborg's evidence of his visit in 1832

suggests that the Government, presumably from New South Wales, took all the white people off the Island in 1831 (South Australian Association 1834:70-71). It is interesting to note that in Wakefield's theory, or the many reports to create companies to implement the theory, no real discussion appears regarding what to do about the inhabitants of the land to be sold (South Australian Land Company 1832; Wakefield 1832 etc.). In addition "the Commissioners and the Colonial Office were both thoroughly idealistic about the aborigines ..." (Dutton 1960:163), or perhaps dismissive for their own purposes.

As the Bill became an Act, similar to earlier writings, "... no member of either House thought to ask what would be the impact on the Aborigines when all the land in the new colony was handed over to the proposed Commissioners for sale" (Howell 1986:35). At Hindmarsh's gubernatorial congratulatory dinner in 1835, Hindmarsh suggested that South Australia be made a temperance society "... to prevent the aborigines from imbibing ..." (Mann 1962:16), possibly a result of negative outcomes in other colonies, but this failed to gain support. Also even though a Mr. Higgins, the Secretary of the Society for the Protection and Benefit of the Aborigines of the British Colonies (Mann 1962:17), was present there was still no clear message regarding consequences of annexation of the land. In the same year Napier is more articulate, but by the time of the writing of his book he had already given up the post of Governor, and so was quite free to express any views he wished to without having to act upon them. Of the question of land he talks of "robbing", "depriving", "settlers have invaded", and "unjust invasion" (Napier 1835:102, 211 & 213), while pointing out that Parliament,

> ... passed an act to seize, by force, a territory in Australia, as large as France and Spain; and call this territory "*uninhabited*", when it is well known to be *inhabited!* So that one of the last acts of this parliament was publicly to tell a lie; and to deprive an inoffensive race of people of their property, without giving them the slightest remuneration – so much for parliamentary TRUTH and JUSTICE! (Napier 1835:213 – Napier's emphasis).

Similarly Napier mentions taking their food, while shooting them to 'protect our own', and "torture them for diversion; and finally, we say, that they are incapable of civilization ..." (Napier 1835:96). He quite rightly acknowledges that these things would happen, but suggests that there should not be a 'monopoly of justice" (Napier 1835:96), and perhaps then one could "diminish the injustice" by teaching them "our own accomplishments" (1835:102). While to say 'civilise' sounds as idealistic as any other comment, he draws the distinction between the idea of 'civilising' and providing/teaching day to day survival techniques as required in a European world (1835:103). This certainly is different compared to the simple necessity to wear clothes and be a Christian. One wonders whether his resignation and the publication of his book had any effect on the sudden flurry of official, albeit hollow, comment in 1835 regarding the Indigenous occupants. Nevertheless Systematic Colonisation was treating the land as unoccupied therefore could never have successfully operated unless it was tested in such an unoccupied place.

The Official response to this appears in documentation regarding the proposed new colony under the title "Protection of the Colony", with the following statement that,

> the natives of Australia are feeble, and when treated with kindness, they have proved an inoffensive people. Pains will be taken to establish a friendly intercourse with them, and the laws of the Colony will require that they should be treated in every respect as fellow-men (CO 13/3 1835:7 point 23).

Later, upon European settlement, without rights and being disposed of land and livelihood, hardly seems to have met these requirements. Hill mentions the importance of measures to protect the aborigines in the proposed new Colony. However, there were no specifics reference mentioned, except that they would have "peaceful enjoyment of their rights as men, and that every facility may be afforded for the spread of civilisation amongst them, and for their voluntary reception of moral and religious instruction" (CO 13/3 1835:68-69). This vague rhetoric had caused some concern particularly for Lord

Glenelg, who, from numerous documents available appears to have tried to clarify what was meant by these statements and to have had a genuine concern for the Indigenous inhabitants. This was demonstrated when, in 1835, Glenelg refused a request to transport, under the care of George Augustus Robinson, the remaining Indigenous people of Van Diemen's Land, who had been moved to Flinders Island, to the proposed settlement of South Australia. His reasoning was that the intertribal contact could be dangerous for them, and yet at the same time, due to their terrible conditions, he sated "… they should not be left to perish" (CO 352/28 1835:132–142). Why he was not able to force his will on the treatment of the Indigenous inhabitants of South Australia is unknown. One suggestion could be that it was never going to be possible or that altruism gave way to the economic needs of the new colony and the experiment. For instance, if the theory and the experiment was based on selling land, then Britain had to be in possession of the land to do so, and there was never any accounting for any cost of this land in the equation. Consequently from the start it seems that there was never going to be an alternative to just taking it.

In December 1835 Torrens was forced to be more specific and wrote,

> The Commissioners proposed to themselves in conformity, with Lord Glenelg's humane instructions, to submit a plan by which, in the New province, the instructions of the House of Commons might be carried into practical effect; and though this plan is not at present sufficiently matured to lay before Lord Glenelg, yet the Commissioners request to be allowed to allude to the leading objects which it is intended that it shall embrace. It is proposed, first, that in every district in which Natives may be found the whole of the wild animals shall be declared native property, and shall be legally protected as such, treaties or agreements being entered into with the Natives, to the effect, that if they will not destroy the sheep of the settlers, the settlers will not destroy their kangaroos; Secondly, that in those districts in which the settlers, by occupying waste lands in the neighbourhood of native tribes, may drive away the wild animals which supplied subsistence to the Natives, there shall be established depots of provisions at which the Natives may be certain of obtaining a sufficient supply of food, not gratuitously, but in exchange for such a moderate portion of work as may reconcile them to labour for the sake of its reward, and thus gradually lead to the formation of habits of industry. Thirdly, that in all the principal settlements, dispensaries shall be established where the Natives may receive

under the numerous diseases to which they are subject, the medical relief which they are desirous to obtain. Fourthly, that every inducement in the way of kindness and reward shall be held out to the Natives in order to prevail upon them to send their children to schools, in which they may be taught the useful mechanical arts, and acquire religious and moral instructions (CO 13/3 1835:169).

Although the quote is long it is worthwhile to see it in its entirety to see the essence of the attitudes and thinking of those involved. The obvious problem is recognising the relationship to, and ownership of, native animals, but not the relationship with the land upon which both animals and the Indigenous depend. Also, the already less than fair recompense for the loss of food supplies. That is, while restitution would be made it would come at a price, which was their labour. This suggests a clear value judgement of labour in the European sense. The devastating consequences for the Indigenous inhabitants is disregarded by Torrens' pious statement that in "South Australia the natives will receive their first impression from the example of a virtuous population and will be drawn by conciliation and kindness within the pale of Christian civilisation" (CO 13/3 1835:170). The cultural norms of the day would have seen this statement as a very positive one, but, today in hindsight and with a different cultural norms, most would be incensed at the 'example' being set.

On arrival in 1836 Light was told that wild animals belonged to the Indigenous inhabitants and had to be purchased (Dutton 1960:163), but once again any real understanding of the situation is missing. In particular, what was he going to use to purchase the animals, who was going supply this exchange in funds or goods, and what, if anything, did the inhabitants want from the Europeans that they had done without for thousands of years? As we now know, the land was in fact all owned and used to different degrees by the Indigenous inhabitants and it is questionable that there was sufficient food sources to share with the colonists. The Commissioners stated position

was to protect, civilise, and to provide legal redress for the Indigenous inhabitants (CO 13/4 1836:173-182),

> to guard them against personal outrage and violence; to protect them in their undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to the soil, where ever such right may be found to exist, … [with regards] … cession of lands … that payment subsistence shall be supplied to them from some other source … [and provided with] civilization ... [and for] … voluntary receipt of Christian religion (CO 13/4 1836:528)

James Main wonders why the Colonial Office accepted this and suggests that they had the notion that there was no claim to uncultivated land, or they were beguiled by the good intentions of Commissioners on welfare of Aboriginals (1986:12). Torrens stated to a Parliamentary Committee that he doubted the Aborigines had any land 'in possession or enjoyment' (Main 1986:12), which perhaps suggests normative cultural beliefs of the day, or that these good intentions were superseded by the economic imperatives. Yet at the same time Lord Glenelg approved in Letters Patent for the rights of Aboriginal Natives (Howell 1986:41). Hindmarsh had this Patent, but did not use it and there appears to be no documents to even suggest that he tried. Considering his attempts to exert his powers regarding the site of Adelaide, and inconsequential issues regarding his personal status etc., one can only assume that his thinking was in a similar vein to that of the Commissioners. Particularly since at one time he, along with fellow officers, had purchased a boy slave on the east coast of Africa in 1812 whom they had entered on the manifest as crew members (Hindmarsh 1995:68). It is not clear whether this entry was an attempt to either have him work his passage, or as a way to release him from slavery. What happened to this boy is unknown. It is interesting that he had also the power to naturalise aliens (CO 13/4 1836:79) which he used for some German migrants, but never thought to use with the Aboriginals, particularly as it would have been a way to ensure their rights under British law and exercise his power at the same time.

'Jobbing' appears not to be left out of this area either as Fisher put forward Dr Wright, who had been "dismissed for official misconduct from Bethelem Hospital" (CO 13/7 1837:32) for appointment as Aboriginal Protector in 1837. There is a suggestion in the records (CO 325/28 1835:132–142; CO 13/6 1837:53) of the appointment of Augustus Robinson as Protector, which would have been at least someone who had previously dealt, albeit with tragic consequences, with the Indigenous population in Australia. The interim Protector was Hindmarsh's Private Secretary who resigned as he was unpopular because he was "strongly opposed to the site fixed for the Town of Adelaide" (CO 13/6 1837:128). Although it is not established, the belief is that the reason he was against the site was not because of his association with Hindmarsh, but rather that the area was very important to the Indigenous inhabitants. The conflicting interests of Wakefield's theory on land sales, the contact between different societies, and the concern being voiced regarding the welfare of the Indigenous inhabitants, would have made the position of Aboriginal Protector a contentious one.

Upon arrival, Hindmarsh states, "my preconceived notions were quite opposed to fact as regards these People, they being as good looking Blacks as ever I saw, and much more apt and intelligent than any account of the New Hollanders I had read lead me to expect" (CO 13/6 1837: 3-6). A statement that reflects not only the misunderstanding of the Indigenous population in South Australia, but also in other previously settled parts and hints at the notion, that for some continues today, that all Aboriginals are stereotypically and generically one people. In the first year of the settlement George Stevenson notes that the "Rapid Valley Natives were Friendly", the 'natives' are "far superior to the African negroes", apart from colour, they resemble "some tribes of the North American Indians", they are "personally far more cleanly than any Indian I ever met with", and they exhibit no signs to pilfer or steal (CO 13/6 1837:53–55). In the end we know that

these changes in attitude failed to avoid the collision of cultures and dispossession of the land. Late in 1838 the Acting Governor, making another attempt to have this variable addressed within the practical response to the theory, wrote

> I must not, however, permit the occasion to pass of expressing the anxious desire, which many Colonists in common with myself entertain, that some definitive arrangements should be made for the permanent support of this innocent race of Beings, whose future means of existence is in trust seriously threatened by the tide of Emigration so extensively setting into this Province (CO 13/11 Stephen 1838:333).

Once again this was to no avail, but it is interesting to note that the sentiments being espoused at the outset of the new settlement were contrary to the actions being taken. It is here, that we can see the need for interdisciplinary considerations, particularly taking into account archaeological evidence and a longer period of historical time, as particular documentary evidence in the early years, in isolation, would suggest a beneficial relationship. This issue is also a deterrent for the use of linear progression. For instance, for the original Indigenous occupation the European settlement was a major interruption and no linear process could be assumed in the settlement process because the interaction between this particular indigenous society is not directly comparable, other than in a very general sense, with any other indigenous society.

Naturalisation of the Indigenous population would have been the easiest route to take, but this does not seem to have been a consideration. Instead, a long and laborious path was embarked upon in which the Indigenous population was starting from a position of non-citizen. The issues involved are numerous and cover all areas of life and are particularly highlighted by one minor instance in the scheme of things, major also in other implications, with the request for an opinion to legalise evidence provided by Aborigines in legal matters (CO 13/10 1838:159). Within these processes and that process of settlement there was an exchange of information that may not necessarily be

considered acculturation, but can be seen as an exchange of information across a frontier, that frontier being a cultural one.

It is common knowledge that many of the natural resources in the Colony were accessed through contact with the Indigenous population and similarly many of the roads followed their established paths. The benefits obtained by one group often lead to the loss of another as discussed in Wallerstein's theory (1984:9). For instance, in Australia, the burning of the land by the Indigenous occupants created the open areas for pastoral practices, practices Wakefield's theory was against, and the knowledge passed on regarding how to use the wood from the Stringybark Gum tree (Davidson 1981:82), both of which were to European benefit and in consequence to the detriment of the Indigenous population. The Indigenous population gained far less than they lost and it is hard to determine any gain when the loss of land and resources were so great. There has been a number of research projects at Flinders University that have looked at the recycling of glass into tools by the Indigenous inhabitants of South Australia and there are numerous early reports of the acquisition of the English language. However, neither of which seem to offer reasonable compensation for the losses. Several Europeans, in keeping with the age of Enlightenment, learned the local languages and there were "three copies of Local Aboriginal language prepared by the Chief Clerk of the Colonial Storekeeper - copies sent to Geographical Society, SA Commissioners and one to library" (CO 13/14 1839:265). Many used Aboriginal words to name their houses, such as,

- John White, Fulham, 'Weetunga' meaning 'plenty of water' (Gunton 1983:137-138),
- Dr Wyatt, Burnside, 'Kurralta' meaning 'on the hill' (Gunton 1983:71 - 72),
- Herbert Bristow Hughes, Rocky River, 'Booyoolee' 'boiling up of the smoke cloud' or 'good grazing ground for game' (Gunton 1983:8),
- George Charles Hawker, Clare, 'Bungaree', 'name for a hut or tent" (Gunton 1983:21 - 22), and

it was also noted that the Torrens River was named Yatala by the Indigenous people (Stephens 1839:105). Some were even sensitive to Indigenous cultural practices. One surgeon is noted as saying, "they have another singular practice; but it belongs to their medical gentlemen, I do not know whether we may intrude upon their secrets" (Leigh 1839:160). A broader perspective of the relations between Europeans and Aborigines can be seen in the 1921 Adelaide University thesis, "The Relations Between the Settlers and Aborigines in South Australia 1836 – 1860", by Kathleen Hassell, which was published by the Libraries Board of South Australia in 1966. The sensitivities, by some, to the plight of the Indigenous population is indicative of many of the attitudes relating to the overall theory and its practical application. There seemed to be an intention to be open to new ideas and to challenge many of the established ideals, beliefs, or normative behaviour. It is possibly within these intentions and changes that the greatest tensions arose because not all of those involved appeared prepared to go as far as some, and some wanted to go much farther than perhaps the normative cultural processes of the day could sustain. However, even when these failed, as has been seen in many other instances where radical change failed, the elements of change altered the direction of society, and left an indelible fingerprint on the new settlement.

5.6 The Practical Implementation of Theory

From the following, which is largely a chronology of events that took place, there is a sense of the decidedly political focus of the theory both in relation to governmental and individual politics. Obviously there are also economic ramifications, which are not discussed in any great detail, but it would seem that the focus on politics and economics in the theory, with the missing ingredient of allowing for the multitude of possible human deviations affected the social aspects of the settlement process. Bearing this in mind the theory had been devised, the practical organisations were in place, the Bill was

enacted, appointments had been made, and the preparations for departure were under-way. The ship the *HMS Buffalo*, had been "placed in a 'state of ordinary' at Portsmouth" in March 1835 (ADM 134/20A:2702). It replaced the *Arrogant* in April the same year (ADM 134/20A:930 & 931), and was then commissioned to take the Governor and some of the settlers to South Australia.

The problem of the division of power, which had been seen fifty years earlier in Penang (Dutton 1960:16), came to the fore even at departure. Stuck in St Helens due to bad weather, Hindmarsh wrote to Grey complaining of the Admiralty order (no. 1303 SA, CO 13/5:19) which was based on Hill's suggestion that, to avoid delay, Hindmarsh should not stop at the Cape of Good Hope, unless the health of the crew or passengers required it. Hindmarsh pointed out that it was the Commissioners that had delayed the commissioning of the Buffalo and he was "most anxious to reach my Government", but that "I should not have required the suggestion of Mr Rowland Hill to induce me to fulfil so obvious a duty" (CO 13/4 1836:142). A note on the back of this letter, presumably by James Stephen, mentions Hindmarsh's 'rank' and 'due' and a possible reply being,

> that his Lordship [Grey] does not consider them entitled in any form of correspondence to address instructions or admonitions to an Officer bearing H. M. Commission as Governor of a British Colony (CO 13/4 1836:148-158),

and suggests that such communications go through Secretary of State, which is confirmed in the actual reply (CO 13/4 1836:154). Hindmarsh got under way from St Helens at 5 am on 3rd of August 1836 (CO 13/4 1836:164) and arrived at Rio de Janeiro on 4th of October 1836. He wrote of the absolute necessity of calling at Rio for water and provisions rather than at the Cape, because of possible delays approaching or leaving Cape at that time of year (CO 13/4 1836:166). A note on the back of this letter mentions that the difficulty was foreseen in London, but 'Founders' regarded it as

unworthy of notice, and the "experiment must I take it for granted be made on their own principles". Disregarding such possibilities and lines of command would seem to be creating obvious problems in the operations of the theory from the very beginning. The *Buffalo* took 148 days to reach South Australia, only a day longer than "her 1833 voyage to Sydney, and exactly the same as her final voyage from Quebec to Hobart" (Sexton 1984:76), which suggests that the often debated delay in stopping at Rio had little or no effect in the long run.

It was on arrival, in South Australia at Holdfast Bay on the 27th of December 1836, that the scene was set for the troubles to follow. Hindmarsh's first letter back to Britain mentions that Light was on a spot selected for the Capital about six miles north east of Holdfast Bay and on the left bank of a river. The intended Harbour was six miles away on the right side of river, which he mentions Fisher thought an advantage but does not state why. He does state though that "[I] however entertain quite a different opinion" (CO 13/6 1837:3-6). The seven months the letter took to reach Britain can be seen as a factor in the problem of governing from a distance. However, it was this differing opinion and others, more often than not, emanating from the division of powers, that is often cited as the reason for the settlement's delayed progress from the outset (Rose 1940, vol. II:354; Main 1986:12; Price 1924:25 & 240; Richards 1986:9; Radbone and Robbins 1986:449). This was a conflict between the Governor (Hindmarsh) and the Resident Commissioner (Fisher), founded through ill-defined powers (Main 1986:13), and, possibly, different prospective outcomes and personalities. The latter can be seen throughout their various problems, some large some small, but unfortunately it developed into conflict with others and factional split in the colony. This can perhaps be seen as based in the number of human deviations that can occur and not necessarily be accounted for.

The Hindmarsh/Fisher conflict ranged from the site of the capital supported by Fisher (CO 13/6 1837:5-6) to the use of windows and doors by Hindmarsh in his Government Hut which had been earmarked for Government House (CO 13/6 1837:147). Reaching a point at which, while living in close proximity to each other on the shores of Holdfast Bay, Fisher requested that all business between them be put in writing before he would respond (CO 13/6 1837:11-14). This has obvious benefits in terms of documenting events in governing the colony, but it also suggests the trivial use of power. In the incident concerning the windows Gouger, who was in dispute with Hindmarsh later, supported Hindmarsh (CO 13/6 1837:148). There was a further clash with Fisher who enlisted Light's help to refuse an addition to the Government Domain. Light's own disputes are covered later. moreover, Fisher pointed out that the land was intended for public access and stated he "need offer no apology to your Excellency for adopting the course I have" (CO 13/6 1837:149-150). While Dutton (1960) often refers to Hindmarsh's high-handedness, mostly in reference to the positioning of Adelaide, clearly Fisher could equally be accused of this. For example, he gave permission to the South Australian Company to establish a Whaling Station at Encounter Bay, let the 'sub-manager' Stephens name it Rosetta Harbour, and did not inform either the Governor or the Colonial Government (CO 13/6 1837:282). For Hindmarsh's part, the constant desire to relocate the designated site of the Capital caused many conflicts. Fisher suggests all but a half-dozen colonists were satisfied with the site chosen and Hindmarsh had made himself unpopular particularly with "those who best understand the principles upon which the Colony is founded" (CO 13/8 1837:394). Fittingly Lord Glenelg has been quoted as saying "the power of the law is unavoidably feeble when opposed by the predominant inclinations of any large body of people" (Richards 1986:8), which supports the proposition of people deviating from the legislative path and the possible consequential alterations to the law, and group intention. While

Hindmarsh's reasons against the site seem to be because of the distance from the Harbour and that most cities at the time were located on harbours, it may well have been an attempt to exercise his power in a similar way to those who had fought for particular control before they left Britain. Relations did not improve (no. 54, CO 326/237 1838:760; CO 326/237 1838:1352-1355 no 86; CO 326/237 1838:2158; no. 93; CO 326/237 1838:2382; etc.), and Main suggests that "Hindmarsh, for his part, never appreciated the independent authority bestowed by the Act upon the Commissioners", while Fisher, Gouger, and others tried to reduce his power (1986:13). Perhaps this power had already been severely curtailed in Britain and Hindmarsh was trying to wrest some of it back. Either way such machinations did not make for an easy transition from theory to practical implementation.

In the colony the Government was the Governor (Hindmarsh) and a Council of the Chief Justice (Jeffcott), Colonial Secretary (Gouger), Advocate General (Mann), and Resident Commissioner (Fisher) and it had Executive, Legislative, and taxing powers. The Resident Commissioner also had the power to survey land, sell the land, and use the funds for emigration (Munyard 1986:52) which along with his role on Council would appear to make him much more powerful than the Governor at the outset. The testing of the powers came to a head with the Governor attempting to suspend appointed Commissioners and his legal ability to do so (CO 326/238 1838:1735, 1736). Fisher's view was "… that the Governor is a mere ministerial or managerial officer …" (CO 13/8 1837: 407-408), while Hindmarsh, having been told this by the Council, did not believe it and asked for clarification of "… what amounts to this that His Majesty has retained no right whatsoever …" (CO 13/7 1837:29). Somehow Hindmarsh had not understood that one of the underlying tenets of the theory was to change the power structure. Hindmarsh's answer came in the form of his recall in February (CO 326/237 1838:2636;

CO 13/11 1838:65-142), but even so Fisher only managed to hang on to his position until April when he was removed from office (CO 326/238 1838:734). Clearly both were unaware of these events until some months later and it was the combining of their positions, Governor and Resident Commissioner, that began to erode this division of power. However, in the early days it was not only the conflict between these two personalities that created problems.

Gouger's earlier support of Hindmarsh slipped away and was replaced with the petty bickering that had occurred between Fisher and Hindmarsh. Examples are where, Gouger, the Colonial Secretary, wanted copies of all despatches Hindmarsh received, but Hindmarsh only wanted to show him what he thought pertinent (CO 13/7 1837:65), and also when Gouger proceeded to Council business without the Governor (CO 326/237 1838:231). However, it was a fist-fight between Gouger and Gilles, the Colonial Treasurer, that lead to Gouger's suspension on 19 August 1837 (CO 326/237 1838:232; CO 13/7 1837:232; CO 326/238 1838:239, 240, 241, 664, 1168, 1157 & 1660). More damming though was Gouger's omission of the royal arms on the Acts of Council which Hindmarsh saw as an act of republicanism (Main 1986:13; CO 13/10 1838:168–169). Next to go was Charles Mann, the Advocate General, also relating to republicanism (no. 40, CO 326/237 1838:236; CO 326/238 1838: 1115, 1552–4, 1669; SA no. 93, CO 13/11 1838:23 24/2382). A month later it was the turn of John Brown, the Emigration Agent, to be suspended (no. 43, CO 326/237 1838:456) for disobedience (SAA GRG 24/326, 13 September 1837). Hindmarsh replaced Brown with Young Bingham Hutchinson who accepted the position "to give my support to Your Excellency's Government (menaced as it was and is by the insidious designs of an unprincipled faction)" (CO 13/10 1838:89-99). Neither Fisher nor Brown believed Hindmarsh had the power to suspend him (SAA GRG 24/346; SAA GRG 24/347). It

was recommended in Britain that Brown be reinstated (CO/12 1838:105–106; CO 326/238:734) as he did not appear to be involved with the questions being asked about the misappropriation of the Emigration funds. The other major role in South Australia, that of Surveyor General which was held by Colonial William Light, was also affected and Light was eventually replaced by George Strickland Kingston (Steuart 1901:118-119).

Perhaps any such experiments, like Systematic Colonisation, or similar theories, are always bound to fail because of the inability to control the human factor, let alone the physical environmental variables. Perhaps also, if such experiments are attempted, it is even then only in hindsight that we can make any sense of the process. It would seem already that the human reactions to the situations presented prevent any possibility of the process being linear in political, economic or social generalisations, such as attaining political control or standard, economic viability or social egalitarianism. However, it is the focus on the issue of politics that is the base of the problem in South Australia. Political in the human sense in the division between the theorists and promoters of the scheme who wanted a new political system and the people involved, from the Governor to the emigrant, who perhaps had different views. In the end it was the strictly political problem that was addressed. Torrens put it in terms of the solution to "the serious injury inflicted on the Colony by the disunion and contentions arising out of divided authority …", in which a way had to be found "on the means of removing an evil which, if suffered to continue, is calculated to impede if not altogether destroy the rising prosperity of the new Settlement" (CO 13/8 1837:427-430). As will be seen later this simplistic solution denied the importance of other issues, such as a lack of complete planing and forethought in the practical implementation of the theory, inability to be assured of like minded people and the lack of consideration of the physical environment.

One of Torrens' suggestions to deal with the similar situation of divided power in Britain was to suggest the Colonization Commissioners would have the same relationship to the Colonial Office as the East India Company to the Board of Control, and would instruct the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (CO 13/8 1837:427-430; CO 326/238 1838:125). Glenelg agreed and a letter from the South Australian Colonial Office in April went on to suggest that the positions of Governor and Resident Commission be joined (CO 13/12 1838:62-63). On 21 April 1838 Glenelg's agreement (CO 13/12 1838) ended the long fought battle to separate the powers between the Government of the Colony and those administering the settlement. However, the remnants of the intention of gaining independent control can be seen later in the development and move towards responsible government.

Amendments to the Act were put forward to clearly make South Australia into a British Province (CO 326/238 1838:696) and in May 1838 recommendations that, on the union of the offices, the Governor's powers would increase and include the clear ability to suspend Colonial Officers by Order in Council (CO 326/238 1838:735, 936 & 1853). These powers were not given to Hindmarsh, who was recalled, but rather to the new Governor, Lieutenant Colonel George Gawler. Hence part of the practical implementation of the theory had been altered and rather than testing this with the protagonists of the day, which would have been perhaps a better approach if the experiment was to be truly tested, a new Governor was put in place. Hence, we will never know if the correction to the process would have worked under Hindmarsh. Fisher, the other agent provocateur, was also effected, as the suggestion was to remove his control of the finances and expenditure of the Colony (CO 13/12 1838:92–93). This followed a rash of accusations and counter accusations between Fisher and Hindmarsh and it was left to Gawler,

> ... to institute an investigation into the charges preferred by Captain Hindmarsh against Mr Fisher for corrupt practices in the disposal of the public Stores … [and] alleged private sale of colonial property … (CO 13/12 1838:93-95).

One example mentioned, was that Fisher brought in Timor ponies for sale in the Colony and charged the Commissioners for the expenses (CO 13/12 1838:93-95). It is interesting to note that north of Thebarton Race Course "towards Thebarton Oval, was a summer course used for racing Timor ponies" (Gunton 1983:56), which certainly points to human deviation from the directions planned for the expenses. The ponies can probably be seen as part of an economic process and the beginnings of interregional trade. Opportunism, rather than linear economic or political progress, seems to be the factor here and one which cannot be left out of the considerations. There were difficulties encountered in finding all the letters of complaint, by Fisher against Hindmarsh, because once the offices of Governor and Resident Commissioner were joined the letters were deemed unnecessary by Glenelg and therefore Stephen wrote a note that, "this being so these papers may be put by" (CO 13/12 1838:305). As such these particular letters may not exist, at least in London, any longer.

The 1838 amending Act 1 & 2 Victoria, c.60, finally, and legislatively, combined the powers of Governor and Resident Commissioner (Munyard 1986:55) which had been a major issue of tension, However, it should be remembered that this tension had been purposefully included to attempt a new political process and one wonders if it was not a forerunner to the division of powers in the eventual federation of the Australian States in 1901. Particularly as many South Australians played a part in the conventions leading to Federation and went on to serve in the first Australian Parliament.

In the settlement process Mann, Gouger, and Fisher had used the Executive Council to frustrate the Governor and they had a powerful influence in London resulting in the

Colonial Office's recall of Hindmarsh (Main 1986:14-15). On 27 September 1837, Hutt, possibly John Hutt who later became a Governor of Western Australia, applied for the position of Governor as he expected it to be vacant in the near future (CO 13/9 1837:291), but Glenelg stated in October that "there exists no intention of recalling Capt. Hindmarsh …" (CO 13/9 1837:203). By December there was a recommendation put forward to recall the Governor and to appoint someone who "understands the principles upon which the Colony is founded and can perceive the importance of co[-]operating with the Commissioners in carrying these principles into effect …" (CO 13/8 1837:433–450). Here we can see the understanding for the need to reduce the human variable and not simply by amalgamating the positions of Governor and Resident Commissioner. In a note to Grey, from an unknown author, the question of the recall was considered to be a very strong step and it raised the question of it ever happening before, with the point added that,

> whether under the very peculiar circumstances of South Australia it may not be right to defer to the judgement of the Commissioners on this question is as it seems to me the real matter for consideration (Second Annual Report, CO 13/8 1837:521).

This statement cuts to the very core of the question in relation to the power of the government and the question of the erosion of this power, as well as suggesting a continuation of the experiment with the same people, but altering the circumstances.

Hutt was put forward as Governor in December (CO 13/9 1837:110) and on 29 December 1837 Captain Sir William George Parker applied mentioning his father, Vice Admiral Sir William Parker (CO 13/9 1837:257). In July Hindmarsh acknowledged receipt of Glenelg's despatch of 21 February 1838 recalling him (CO 13/11 1838:65–142), but it was not until March that Torrens submitted a successor (CO 326/238 1838:570). On 14 April 1838 the announcement of the appointment of Gawler was made (CO 326/238 1838:670). This of course was before Hindmarsh even knew he was

recalled. This time delay had obvious ramifications for governing a colony. After all, by the time the information had been exchanged, more often than not actions had been taken, and if indeed there had been any attempt at linear development, this would have been near impossible as events had usually overtaken responses. It is still not clear how Gawler was selected and whether or not at the time of selection he was considered to be a person who 'understood the principles'. Once again as Governor his position in the settlement would be transient through limited appointment and once again this raises the question of whether this made a difference.

On his departure Hindmarsh appointed George Stephen to administer the colony (CO 13/11 1838:186) and on 18 July 1838 Stephen, the Acting Governor, wrote to confirm Hindmarsh's departure for Britain on the *Alligator* alluding to the continuing political rift in the Colony,

> I have the pleasure to add, that the Government Officers and nearly all the influential Colonists (among whom were many who had opposed themselves to Governor Hindmarsh) attended at Government House upon the occasion, as a mark of respect to His late Majesty's Commission. But I have to record with regret that the following Officers, who had notice of the ceremony, were not present: The Resident Commissioner, Colonial Surgeon and Surveyor General (CO 13/11 1838:204-206).

Later Hindmarsh was given the gubernatorial position on Heligoland in which he served from 1840 to 1857 (AO 19/8/4), which tends to suggest that, although things did not always run smoothly even there, his actions in South Australia were forgiven and perhaps considered peculiar to the circumstances of the experiment. One of those not present at Hindmarsh's farewell from South Australia was the Surveyor General, Colonel William Julian Light, who also had his battles with Governor Hindmarsh. Both being practical men may well account for their need to defend their own positions rather than reach a compromise for the sake of the theoretical experiment. As Pike states of Hindmarsh "it took time to reveal that he was in fact a complete stranger to systematic

colonisation and civil liberty, preferring orders to principles, like the sailor he was"
(1967:104). It is worthwhile specifically examining Light, his background, and the
development of Adelaide as a material outcome, to demonstrate interactive effect of
individuals on the process.

Plate 9 Self-Portrait of Colonel William Light (Dutton 1960)

Light was born in Penang and died in Adelaide. Dutton suggests this "unites two eras of
overseas expansion, two types of colonialism" (Dutton 1960:xv). While Dutton has a
point, clearly there is a difference between the random individualism of Light's father,
Francis, the European founder of the Penang settlement, and Wakefield's theory of

Systematic Colonisation, there also is some question as to whether Penang was a settlement process at the time or simply a trading post.

In 1834 he was married to Mary Bennet, but they eventually separated. Later, Lady Franklin while staying at Government House in South Australia in 1840, was to note in her diary that "... Col. Light kept a mistress here …" (Dutton 1960:271). This was referring to Maria Gandy from Twyford who, along with Light, went in the *Rapid* to South Australia in 1836 where they lived together in a wood and reed hut (Dutton 1960:130, 217-218). Hindmarsh and Light had been in Egypt together (Dutton 1960:134) and whether the antagonism that later developed between began there or later, with the appointment of Hindmarsh as Governor instead of Light, or simply because of Hindmarsh's possible disapproval of Light's marital status, is unknown and pure speculation. However, this antagonism became evident from almost the moment of Hindmarsh's arrival, manifesting itself materially in the issue of the positioning of the Capital which is discussed in detail in the next Chapter. The positioning of the Capital was as much about Hindmarsh, Fisher, and Light trying to exert power as any other issue, but finally a meeting was held by the Colonists to decide the issue and the Adelaide site won, with a vote of 201 to 138 (CO 13/6 1837:38). This strongly suggests rule by popular vote, which is an interesting development for its time, and one that would well fit the intentions of Fisher, Light,Wakefield and the promoters in London, if not that of Hindmarsh or the British Government.

Hindmarsh mistakenly thought, that apart from the surveys and disposal of land, "all other powers rested in His Majesty's prerogative and the right of Government as generally exercised in the Colonies …", and laments that the town was fixed due to commercial interests (CO 13/6 1837:130-141). The major challenge was to 'the

prerogative' and the whole venture was most certainly a commercial interest which makes one think about Hindmarsh's capabilities. Clearly if one wants to consider a more complicated plan then it would be easy to accept that Hindmarsh may well have been put forward for the position, by the Commissioners in London, for this very reason. Yet it also seems plausible that Lord Glenelg and the Colonial Office would have seen through any veiled attempt to suggest an ineffectual candidate, particularly being aware that their control would be delayed by distance and communication. Throughout the debate regarding the site for the Capital there were complaints against Light as the Surveyor General (CO 326/237 1838:1254) and the survey team regarding the speed at which the surveying was being done. Of course one cannot buy or move onto pre-purchased land if it is not surveyed. Therefore a delay was encountered which no doubt affected any notions of self sufficiency in the theory. The issue of power is seen again when William Jacob, of the survey team, noted in his journal that Hindmarsh "... would show that he is differing from the Surveyor General for no earthly reason except finding that he has far less power than he hoped for" (Dutton 1960:217). Price suggests that Light did the best he could in the circumstances (1924:61 & 68) and Dutton, as dramatic as ever, suggests that for Light "the clamouring emigrants and the ignorant, despotic Governor were converging on him while delay was piling on delay" (Dutton 1960:191) due to the "… pitiful lack of equipment and manpower" (Dutton 1960:17). In an attempt to speed up the land survey, and therefore the sale of land, the Commissioners asked Light to "... effect a "running Survey" of one hundred and fifty square miles in three months' time" and if he refused, which he did, then George Strickland Kingston was to take over (Steuart 1901:118-119). The need is understandable as the theory rested on land sales to pay for emigration, but the problem may well have been a non-issue had the survey taken place before the arrival of the emigrants, which appears to have been one of the major over-sights in the implementation of the theory, the outcome

being there was no land to be taken up by the capitalist and hence no employment for the labourer.

We do not know what Wakefield specifically meant in terms of spatial distance, for his "doctrine of concentration" (Price 1924:84), but it seems that some people, whether out of desire or necessity, moved across the land at a fast pace occupying land 50 kilometres, or more, from the site of the Capital. With the intention of concentrating the population, the theory had included, and succeeded in, stopping of granting of land. However, only surveying, allowing land sales within close proximity, and some ability to restrain the settlers could have maintained this intention. The Commissioners either did not support this part of the theory or chose to deviate from it for financial reasons as they ordered 'running surveys' of one hundred and fifty square miles (Steuart 1901:118-119) to provide surveyed land for sale large distances from the Capital. Considering these issues and that, through pressure from influential settlers, special surveys of outlying regions were taking place the 'concentration of population' could not succeed in the implementation of the experiment. Similarly, Wakefield's desire for large holdings gave way to small holdings as there was nothing to stop it from doing so and the physical environment and settlers desires took precedent. Moreover, the physical environment and lack of prior knowledge of it could not, at the time, sustain the notion of an agricultural settlement. In early 1837 Dr Charles George Everard built a house on the corner of Morphett Street and Light Square, in Adelaide, and his son William successfully grew the first wheat there, even though fellow settlers,

> jeered, for at the time it was a common sight to see rusty ploughs half buried in the sand at Glenelg, because pioneers were told on arrival that it was impossible to grow wheat in South Australia (Gunton 1983:5 - 6).

How anyone knew wheat could not be grown without trying, who promulgated this fallacy, or what product the agrarian settlement was to be based on, is a mystery.

However, one can see the waste of resources through ignorance of conditions and the practical inability for this part of the theory to succeed.

In 1835, it was John Morphett who said, at the celebratory dinner for Hindmarsh becoming Governor, that it was,

> by no means necessary that I should leave my native country; it is very likely that all those gentlemen who intend to establish themselves on the southern shores of Australia might succeed in England; but I am certain that we shall all prosper more in the new province (Mann 1962:12).

This statement, it would tend to dispute the belief that people would only be coming to the colony if they were not successful in their own country. It is perhaps here we also see a divergence from many of the theories that support this view, or at least have the view of people mainly migrating to distance themselves from unfavourable political, economic, or social conditions. Perhaps it is the area of added value, or increased potential, in such an emigration that is not generally considered, but is equally valid.

For many, the business side of the venture appears to have worked quite well including obtaining the first silver-lead in 1841 from 'Woodley' (Gunton 1983:145-146), the development and production of many well known wines, and Bickford's soft drinks which are still available in Australia today. Such people left their political, social and economic mark on the settlement, the material culture of their buildings, and their names that appear throughout the history of South Australia and this thesis. Many are commemorated in place, street and square names, along with some of the occupations they performed, such as G D Sismey's mills in Mill Street in Adelaide (Gunton 1983:31).

These people were perhaps the 'better class' of people Wakefield was intending to populate the new settlement. However, the only control put in place to ensure this

standard was in maintaining the principle that the Colony would be convict free. While this succeeded, as convict transportation did not occur, the theory had not accounted for transgressions within the Colony. For example, on 15 January 1837 the *Buffalo* took on a number of colonial prisoners and James Gordon was the first convict transported from the settlement to New South Wales (Sexton 1984:81-83). Moreover, it did not take the settlers long to realise that this was not a permanent solution. The original principle was really about the transportation of convicts from Britain to the Colony, and consequently a temporary gaol was constructed which was replaced by a solid stone structure in the 1840s and South Australia was no longer 'convict free'. Gawler mentions the first gaol stating,

> the present building is the most deplorable contrivance for confinement that can be imagined. Since I arrived in the Colony six prisoners have escaped from it, the others have only been kept in by Police sentries (CO 13/16 1840:325).

However, the old Gaol was quite close to Government House while the new one was some distance away, and one wonders if the move was in part due to the issue of proximity. Either way the settlers accepted the need to deal with their own convicts and eventually repeated actions taken in Britain by using the *Rosario* as a 'hulk' for boys in 1874 (CO 514/1 1873–86).

Eventually Hindmarsh was replaced by Gawler, who in turn replaced Light with Kingston, and the tensions in the colony continued and intentionally, or otherwise. Overall the transient nature of the time the Governors spent in colonial affairs must surely have played a part in the settlement process. The problem is whether the outcome would have been different had these people continued with their involvement, or what differences there would have been had their position not been temporary. The contention remains that different results would be obtained if such connections were not transitory and this must only rest on assumptions of normative cultural responses to

permanent, as opposed to transitory, residence. For instance in the case of Governor Hindmarsh, while his intentions would not be to have the experiment fail, he had a career to consider, after a limited tenure as Governor. Therefore his attempts to retain political power for the Crown may well have undermined the experiment. Had he been staying in the Colony he may have acted in the same manner or been more supportive of the attempts to change the political system because this may have benefited him directly. This does tend to suggest a very utilitarian perspective, which seems to be the perspective most were operating from, but with a collective desire for a permanent settlement.

Due to personal tensions, mostly related to the division of power, the settlement process was altered and in view of the complex nature of human relationships, it is perhaps understandable that theorists revert to a sterile interpretation of politics and economics, supposedly devoid of human interaction, to examine, explain, and theorise about settlement. However, as the discipline of archaeology is based on human activity there is not the same luxury, therefore it would seem that we must account for these actions by some method and the method presented here of examining, and presenting, the documentary evidence available and the material outcomes offer greater insight.

5.7 The End of the Experiment and Settlement Process.

"In the sphere of economics the colonization claims attention as a novel and scientific plan ..." (Price 1924:1), and although the scientific nature of the plan could be called into question it did present a change in the usual practices. One of the novel outcomes of encouraging capitalists to invest in the experiment was that the Colonial Commissioners, realising the low salaries paid to officials and disregarding the possibility of a conflict of interest,

deemed expedient at a time when the Treasurer and other officers were the principal capitalists in the settlement to tolerate as a temporary arrangement the conjunction of mercantile pursuits with official duties (Dutton 1960:153).

In a way this probably added to the problem of a lack of land use, and the promotion of speculation, because the settlers had other occupations, which in fact was one of Wakefield's complaints about the North American process of settlement where people did not confine themselves to one pursuit (Wakefield 1834:28-29). In South Australia "even the Governor had a pecuniary interest in the colony" (Dutton 1960:153). For instance, Hindmarsh bought property at Walkerville for 12 shillings per acre, sold it in 1838 for £8 per acre, some blocks being resold in the same year for £25-50 which by 1839 went for £100, and reached £120 in 1840 prior to depression of 1841 (Gunton 1983:113-114) which also demonstrates the effect of speculation. Of course the sale may have been a necessity for Hindmarsh rather than the result of speculation as he was transient, and had been recalled. The problem of speculation ate away at one of the foundations of the theory since, while it met the needs of selling land to pay for emigration, there was no work on arrival for the emigrants because the land was not being used. At the same time 'self supporting' clearly became more like the simplistic original theory of supporting emigration alone and not supporting either infrastructure or the basic economic needs of the Colony in trade or even sustenance.

Yet, still early in the process, Governor Gawler arrived, on the Pestonjee, Bomanhee [*Peronjee Bomanjee*] 12 October 1838 (CO 386/1 1838:19), seemingly with a lack of understanding of what had happened in Hindmarsh's governorship or the economic processes involved and states that, "I beg the Commissioners to be assured that I do not forget the self-supporting principles of the Colony, and that I will use my utmost endeavours to carry them out" (CO 386/1 1838:29 30). However, the Audit of the

Colony in 1840 (CO 13/12 1838:152–162) discusses the economic problems itemised by

Gawler as follows:

- Public Offices without systems, few records of past proceedings, public accounts, and issue of stores,
- Delay in Survey of lands, disordered state of department,
- Backward state of Agriculture,
- Landing Places very indifferent, ruinous expense of transport from them to Adelaide,
- Outstanding claims in the Colony of £6,321.4.2,
- Number of public servants and wages, too low,
- Want of new Public Buildings,
- Gaol too small and very insecure – therefore need to increase Police Force,
- Want of a proper Government House & Offices,
- Revenue inadequate to meet expenditure, and
- Taxes must be gradually increased (CO 13/14 1839:3–16).

Along with the economic problems, the personality problems Hindmarsh suffered did

not seem to go away and the next letters, until March, are about the Mann, Fisher and

Gouger cases. By 6 August things do not appear much better with Dispatch no. 13

being reminiscent of the Hindmarsh days suggesting Wyatt as unfit for Office of

Protector of Aborigines, the removal of Brown, the removal of Cotter as Colonial

Surgeon, the reinstatement of Gouger, and imputations against George Stephen of

private misconduct. However, Gawler was in a stronger position with his combined role

of Governor and Resident Commissioner, which removed Fisher from the equation, but

it is suggested that this "also allowed Gawler a much greater, if more dangerous, liberty

to undertake public expenditure" (Main 1986:14-15).

As usual the request for money from the British Government in case of emergency was

sought before Gawler's departure (CO 13/11 1838:361) but again there were no

assurances, other than in cases of emergency he could draw Bills on the Treasury (CO

326/238 1838:1140). Therefore, his process of using Bills and creating employment

does not appear an unusual step. Clearly, in the knowledge the Colony could not

support the costs may well have been Gawler's way of forcing the issue with the British

Government, particularly as he knew that he was unable to draw on the Commissioners for a police force, and that the drawing of Bills on the Commissioners would be dishonoured (CO 13/16 1840:285–290). Security and funding appear to be the two issues each gubernatorial candidate asked for, but failed to achieve. Gawler did get the opening he needed with the Commissioners stating that he must seek their sanction before committing funds unless in an emergency (Main 1986:14–15), which of course, with the time delay in getting approval, and the economic situation of the Colony, allowed Gawler to commence expenditure before sanction was received. Also using the following figures Gawler would be able to justify the expenditure on the basis of population growth and geographic annexation.

Year	Land Sales	No. of Emigrants
1837	3,711 acres	1,098
1838	48,040 acres	2,697
1839	170,841 acres	4,490

Table 2 1837–1839, Ratio of Land Sales to Number of Emigrants (Main 1986:14–15)

In the end Gawler, said of his discussions with Stephen in Britain, about calling on the Treasury to bail out the Colony, that he did not remember that these had had "a great effect on his decision to sacrifice the system rather than the colony". Stephens response to this was that he usually said,

> that it was a project founded in total ignorance of the real business of Colonial Government, and what was worse, of ignorance taking the airs of philosophy and provided with a few current phrases which were made to answer the purpose of argument, and to stand in place of it (Gawler & Stephen cited in Main 1986:17-18).

It is questionable that anyone was truly committed to the theory other than Wakefield or rather they were more committed to their own agendas or the circumstances which arose. The practical experiment thus began to be demolished as the economic pressures built.

On 18 December 1839 the South Australian Commission was abolished in favour of three Commissioners, Colonel Torrens, T F Elliott, E F Villiers, to superintend land sales in the colonies and emigration throughout the Empire (Main 1986:18; Rose 1940 vol. II:354). Gawler's Commission was revoked on 14 December 1840 (CO 381/6 1840:114; Main 1986:20) and George Grey was Commissioned as the new Governor (CO 381/6 1840:111-121). Gawler was still debating his case in 1857 (CO 331/3 1857). The subsequent inquiry into the economic state of the Colony highlighted confusion among the Commissioners and,

> Wakefield in his evidence, skilfully sought to dissociate himself from the founders of South Australia and to insist that his theories of colonization had been in no way tried in the new settlement ... and he denied that the 'self-supporting principle' was his own ..." (Main 1986:21).

Ultimately, £155,000 was made available for Bills and expenses (Main 1986:22), and so one could clearly state that 'self sufficiency' was at an end, if it ever really was an intention in the first place. The income from the sale of land was still to be used for emigration therefore "at least, one element of the South Australian Scheme was salvaged ..." (Main 1986:23).

With Grey's appointment came the ability to use troops as a Police Force, which reduced Colonial costs (Radbone and Robbins 1986:451), something the two previous Governors had fought for, and failed to gain. Price suggests that it is impossible to see how Gawler could have avoided the financial crisis that befell the Colony (1924:242) but one could possibly argue that the creation of government works and spending to increase employment, was similar to the only economic policy that was successful in the world depression of the 1930s. Why it did not work for Gawler could possibly be because there was not the ultimate financial support, by the British Government, underpinning the process. The Colony's administration was certainly improved and "it was the scale of Gawler's achievements that made the subsequent ruthless restrictions

imposed by Governor Grey possible" (Radbone and Robbins 1986:450). It was through Gawler's expenditure that any pretence of the theory being self-supporting dissipated (Price 1924:243). However, there was a natural flow-on from his policies where, sufficient land had been surveyed to cater for the immediate future, essential public works had been completed, a reduction of economic activity reduced the Customs Department, and a similar downturn in immigration reduced the Emigration Department, so one wonders, if Gawler had been allowed to remain, whether he could have survived the crisis. However, with his recall, and replacement with a new Governor, another variable was added to the experiment that in the end makes the testing of its effectiveness almost impossible.

Economics and politics played a major role in the general failure of a self-supported, self-funded, and self-governed settlement, as much as the human factor which had not been accounted for, and all of which certainly produced a non-linear settlement process. Specifics of the sale of land to fund emigration, the cessation of free land grants, and the avoidance of transported convicts succeed, but the transient nature of the main protagonists, by their removal from office, if not the Colony itself in all cases, no doubt set precedents which would have had their effect on the cognitive actions of incoming administrators. Governor Grey staffed the administration from outside the Colony thus removing incompetent settlers in favour of experienced professionals (Radbone and Robbins 1986:451), which was far more sensible in the long run, but distanced the settlers from active participation in the settlement process. The colonists viewed this change with "ideological distaste" and this became an "alien imposition and (under subsequent governors) a vehicle for patronage" (Radbone and Robbins 1986:451), and thus 'jobbing' continued to operate and 'self-governing' deminished.

The end of the experiment came with the Act of 1842 which repealed the 1834 and 1838 Acts and vested in the Crown the authority for appointments to the Legislative Council (Munyard 1986:56–58). However, remnants remained with the Waste Lands Act of 1842 designating half of the money raised from the sale of land to go towards emigration (Munyard 1986:60) and this finally dealt with the vagaries of self-sufficiency and issues not accounted for in the theory, as the other half was allocated to Colonial Administration. Official sanction was given to what was actually happening, in that Gawler was deviating from the theory by allocating the surplus from land sales to meet Bills, to pay for emigration and other costs (Main 1986:19). Although elements of the theory continued to operate, from this point to the granting of Responsible Government in 1856, to all intent and purposes this ends the discussion on the practical application of the Systematic Colonisation Theory. The settlement process is deemed to have changed substantially, but, using the 1856 measure of political control as a benchmark, the process had not become ongoing occupation at this point. Rather the guidelines had changed as a result of the tight economic measures put in place by Governor Grey. With the discovery of copper in 1845, an economic benchmark was reached and "Grey proudly informed the Colonial Office that for the first time in the history of the colony the revenue exceeded expenditure" (Munyard 1986:60). Self-supporting only after the political part of the theory failed. Perhaps the thinking was just too advanced for the time of the experiment.

The physical environment had proven to be difficult and different from the settlers previous experience and Price suggests that the "fertile island" theory had dissolved (Price 1924:245). However, politics and economics affected this area also with the repeal of the British Corn Laws in 1845 and "the opening up of a great overseas market removed the last remaining restriction on the staple industry of the Wakefield

agricultural colony ..." (Price 1924:245). Thus something of a benchmark in terms of the physical environment was reached, particularly with the eventual success of the agrarian intention of the theory. Once again perhaps timing played a part.

Socially, the founders had compromised on religious freedom from the beginning by allowing the Governor to be empowered in appointing a Colonial Chaplain out of the colonial revenue. Lieutenant-Colonel Robe, Governor Grey's successor, appropriated funds for distribution amongst various denominations and, although this payment "contravened the voluntary principle, [it] conformed with the ideal of religious freedom and tolerance" (Munyard 1986:60). The practical processes put in place in the experiment meant that the governing of the Colony was centralised and in catering for the issue of being self-supporting a natural development occurred. This development was that the government took on a wide range of responsibilities for the care and welfare of the population. It could be argued that this resulted in the attitudes of both freedom to control one's own colonial affairs and a central responsibility (Hirst 1973:128-129) for the welfare of the population. Hospitals, Destitute and Lunatic Asylums, the Police Force, employment, and relief where there is no employment, are all such areas which trace their beginnings to the original theory and the attempt to gain greater control over the settlement's destiny.

The research has also found a more specific social condition in that many of the people involved in the experiment were connected in one way or anther. The suggestion is that this assisted the development and support of the theory, and the experiment, through like minded people associating, while at the same time perhaps causing tensions and frictions based on personal interaction. For example: the connection between Sir John Franklin and the eventual choice of Hindmarsh for Governor was that they both had

been on the *Bellerophon* which fired the first shot at Trafalgar when the then Midshipman, and the future Artic explorer, John Franklin, wrote down Nelson's famous signal that "England Expects that Every Man will do his duty" (Hindmarsh 1995:40). Also, 19 year old Matthew Flinders, who eventually charted the unknown South Australian coastline with his nephew Franklin, had served with Hindmarsh on the *Bellerophon* in 1793 (Hindmarsh 1995:12). Later, Franklin, on his way to take up the post of Governor of Van Diemen's Land, brought the escaping Judge Jeffcott to South Australia. Another of the coincidences, which one begins to think are more than coincidences as they occur so often, is that when Hindmarsh was serving on the *Nisus* in 1810 so too was surgeon James Prior, who had been present at the surrender of Heligoland. Also on the *Nisus* at the time was Midshipman Arthur Wakefield, Edward Gibbon's brother, who later founded Nelson in the Wakefield settlement of New Zealand and who was killed by Maoris in 1843 at Wairau (Hindmarsh 1995:48).

Another of the many interconnected relationships between people involved in the South Australian Experiment is William Light's casual meeting with George and William Napier on 14 March 1811, in the Peninsular War. He provided them with rations, which they believed saved their lives (Dutton 1960:50). It seems likely that it was this chance encounter which eventually led to Light's marriage to Mary Bennet, a daughter of the Duke of Richmond. Mary's sister Caroline had married Henry Napier, the brother of George and William, who, along with Charles and Richard, were the sons of the Duke of Richmond's sister Sarah and the Honourable George Napier (Dutton 1960:50-51, 98-101). Charles Napier was also the same person who was eventually asked to be the first Governor of South Australia and suggested Light as a replacement when he refused the post. Light's actions were well thought of in the War and he was attached to Lord Lynedoch's staff who won a victory at Barrosa in southern Spain. These names,

although misspelled, Lyndoch and Barossa, were later to be commemorated in South Australia (Dutton 1960:58).

Further more, as Captain, Light took the *Nile*, a new paddle-steamer, to Egypt for Mohamed Ali (Dutton 1960:134) with Hindmarsh as a passenger. Hindmarsh who was going to Egypt also to join Ali's navy and it was there that they encountered Lady Jane Franklin (Hindmarsh 1995:78) whose life, along with her husband's, also intertwines with the story of South Australia. She and Hindmarsh often communicated and she was staying at Government House, with Governor gawler, when the first Government house burnt down. It should also be noted that J. Stephen of the Colonial Office, in Britain, appears to be a "near relative" (Note on CO 13/11 Gawler 1838:387–389) of G. Stephen who became Acting Governor of the Colony and are therefore easily confused. However, this perhaps also suggests that 'jobbing' did not stop and is another of the many coincidences and connections of people as seen throughout the founding of the Colony.

One of the most intricate and interconnected stories of early settlers is that of 'Benacre' at Glen Osmond. The estate was first owned by Mr G F Shipster and then by explorer Robert Cock, after whom 'Cox's Creek' was named, the latter of whom had arrived on the *Buffalo* in 1836. 'Benacre' was built in 1844 when the property was owned by William Bickford, who arrived in 1838 with Arthur Hardy on the *Platina,* and was subsequently purchased by Thomas Bewes Strangways, the Colonial Secretary in 1827, who also arrived on the *Buffalo*. Later in 1913 the house was purchased by the Honourable John Lewis who, born at Brighton in South Australia in 1842, was the son of James Lewis who assisted in the survey of Adelaide and also went with Sturt to the interior in 1844-45 (Gunton 1983:15-16). Such connections possibly laid the foundation

for a normative practice of close personal interrelations in South Australia, which can still be seen today, and developed relationships between like minded people assisting group intent and the collective impetus to settle.

As early as 1849 there was a Report on, among other things, extension of representative institutions and there "was also the first suggestion of a federal body of government" (Munyard 1986:63). Direct representation in the colonial outcomes were new innovations which is attributable to the theory and desire for control. Therefore while these things did not happen instantly upon arrival they slowly formed part of the Colonies political psyche and the Enabling Act 5 August 1850 allowed for these privileges formed in this early period (Munyard 1986:64). This process probably also prepared the way for the change to constitutional government in the form of Responsible Government, with elections being held in 1851 for the Legislative Council (Munyard 1986:67) and the Constitution Bill gaining assent on 24 June 1856 which provided a bicameral parliament, extension of the voting franchise, and vote by ballot (Munyard 1986:72–73). Therefore "with the opening of the first Parliament on April 1857, the colonists at last assumed the responsibility for the government of their colony" (Munyard 1986:73) bringing with it the prerogative powers (Howell cited in Danvers 1986:72) so dearly sought by the original planners.

At this time the process of settlement is deemed to have ended. It became continuing occupation and ongoing development. Of course for individuals and groups there would be, and still are, people migrating to South Australia for a variety of reasons. These are not considered here as they form part of a similar, but different process than, either the original experiment of Systematic Colonisation or the settlement process. Hirst suggests, settlement like colonisation does not appear to end, it just changes both with

the social attitudes of the day and the academic consideration of the process (Hirst 1973), but I would argue that the change in settlement is that in fact the process ends and ongoing settlement continues.

5.8 Success or Failure

As has been seen there were various points at which the theory failed during its practical application. These mainly appear to emanate from the inability to maintain the rigour required of a scientific experiment in not considering all the possible variables at the theory development stage, and the inability to control variables and evaluate the experiment sufficiently to maintain standard procedures within the process. One wonders if any of these are truly possible in such a broad experiment as settlement or when using humans as 'guineapigs'. People generally have the ability to deviate from expected actions and outcomes and therefore in any experiment involving them it is near impossible to account for the numerous probabilities exponentially compounded by both the complexities of the individual and human interaction. This is a central issue to the argument in this thesis, along with the transient behaviour of many of the individuals within the experiment which means in itself that every time those acting or interacting within the experiment changed, or the mix changed with each new influx of emigrants, so too did the experiment change.

It could be suggested that some measure of control may have been maintained if it had been possible to force people to remain in the colony, had large numbers arrived at one time and no further emigration been allowed, or people were allowed to continue in their position even after things appeared to go wrong. However, the experiment itself was not being controlled by one stable body or person which further compounds the problem, if any of these controls were possible in the first place. Further, it does not seem possible

to have a valid control in place to test the experiment which makes one wonder if it could be deemed to be a 'scientific experiment' in the strict sense of the term. It is the latter that is probably the crux of the matter, in that the experiment is best understood as an attempt to test a new theory in a wide-ranging way, allowing all the random factors impinging upon it to find their own course and examine the results.

One can easily come to the conclusion that the underlying research aim, of a better colonising process, was in fact an aim to gain political independence from a central body of government and economic advantage, and therefore deductions of success or failure would be quite different if measured in these terms. The question is also that if either one of these aims were being used as a conduit for settlement then it suggests that the theory is thus inevitably flawed as it is not sufficiently clear in its intent to either function practically or be tested. In one way this raises one of the other central arguments of this thesis, where disciplinary focus, such as from a strictly political or economic position, could also tend to bias the result as being a success or failure. Thus the suggestion has been, and one that would seem to work best in this example of an experiment in settlement theory, to have an interdisciplinary approach and evaluate the pros and cons of each particularised discipline as it effects the whole. Where there may have been some successes, and some failures, from a political stand point this may well be balanced out by different successes or failures from an economic, social or environmental standpoint. Thus the overall theory, or its practical implementation, did not necessarily succeed or fail. Moreover, gains in knowledge are inevitable and valuable.

While it seems obvious that all components interact with each other it also seems obvious that a specific and detailed analysis of individual components is like taking a

statement out of context. There is, however, value in strict disciplinary examination as it focuses on particular issues in more detail and attention thus can be given to the complexities and epistemology within a particular academic discipline. However, this should always be ameliorated with the limitations such specification brings and/or have some attempt to place it in the greater context of the holistic whole. Even if this overview is not the focus of the deliberations it would al least be a bridge to allow other disciplines to draw on the information, connect it to their own discipline, and begin the process of acknowledging the interconnected nature of the components, and perhaps allow for a greater understanding of the overall process.

In Wakefield's theory the interconnection is clearly seen as are the successes and failures. Accepting some of the obvious problems involved with the practical implementation of any theory, particularly the general lack of providing a specific blue print, the major point politically appears to have been an attempt to have the least amount of interference from the British Government which resulted in the division of authority (Rose 1940, vol. II:354) between the Governor and the Commissioners. This created its own problems, but it could be said that the precedents set by the system shaped the political nature of the Colony based on the direct involvement by the settlers, the responsibilities taken on by the scheme, and the "… liberal inheritance bestowed by the founding fathers" (Hirst 1973:45-46). Popular opinion was taken into account from the start and the vagaries of political and economic responsibility for infrastructure meant that the settler was also somewhat franchised from the beginning, and guaranteed an income and social maintenance. The results for the former can be seen in the Colony having the first municipality within five years of its European settlement (Robbins 1986: 394) and,

> by establishing full manhood suffrage in 1855 - 56, then by admitting women to
> the suffrage for municipal and district councils in 1861, and next by

enfranchising women in 1894 … the colony became one of few places in world which permitted women to vote – and to do so on equal terms with men – under the Constitution Amendment Act of 1894 … legislation, without British precedent, [which] developed out of the distinctive South Australian society (Jones 1986:415).

Jones does point out that,

from the time of settlement, women's position in South Australian society differed under the law from that of men – subordinate legal category in marriage & custody of children, could not be jurors or justices of the peace, or exercise a vote ... they had no executive, administrative or judicial responsibilities; their involvement in South Australian politics mainly consisted of necessary domestic support for the men who actively participated. This was a position common then to all western democracies (198:414).

However, the oxymoron aside of a 'democracy' that fails to consider 50% of its population, the 'domestic support' is not to be undervalued as seen in the extremely astute political, economic and social deliberations and advice, and support, provided to these men as seen in the letters and diaries of the women involved. The responsibilities taken on by the scheme to assist the migrants translated into the care of the sick and destitute, employment schemes, burial of paupers (Hirst 1973:126), police and law enforcement (Hirst 1973:128-129), and can also be seen in the support and responsibility for Hospitals, Asylums, related Boards, and even Migrant Hostels which may have developed from the original Emigration Depots which house the new arrivals. The connected responsibility extended into roads, education (Hirst 1973:129 & 13) and religion, the latter being seen from the beginning with the financial support from the scheme for a Colonial Chaplain.

The economic connection is not difficult to trace in that taxation was minimised because the sale of the land provided the income to provide these services. Attaining responsible government in 1856 is seen as a turning point from settlement processes to on-going settlement as "the colonial legislature was given full control of Crown lands, and one of the first Acts of the first parliament abolished the immigration fund and directed all

proceeds of land sales into general revenue" (Hirst 1973:144). Therefore Wakefield's sale of land provision perhaps still exists in some form even to this day through government funded emigration and as such must be considered something of a success. The earlier problems emanated from the fact that the land had not being surveyed before settlers arrived which led to land speculation (Price 1924:239) as a major activity rather than the proposed agricultural pursuits. This in turn affected food production and the question of employment which was a main feature of the theory. Without doubt this affected social interaction and therefore Wakefield's attempt to create a work force failed, but his idea of creating a capitalist middle class succeeded even if it was not through capitalist emigration or paced by constant employment.

There were also resulting ramifications for the physical environment which had not been considered in the theory. To simply base the theory on agricultural production without knowing what the environmental conditions were, or could sustain, certainly seems foolhardy. The consequential change to pastoral pursuits, various successes and failures in testing different botanic material, such as vines, olives, figs, cork oaks, in trying to find a staple product, all exploited the natural resources and therefore affected the physical environment. In itself this does not mean the theory was a failure, but rather that there was a problem in the rigidity of the premise and lack of research in formulating the theory. Even so, to some degree, there were benefits from the deviations of these human activities which were taken in the attempt to make a success of their lives, if not the experiment itself, in that the colony survived, wool and minerals became the first exports, squatters and colonists alike explored the country, and the foundation for the financially successful wine industry was laid down.

Practical implementation had begun and the myriad of details for which theory tends to provide sweeping statements, such as systematic colonisation, sale of land to provide for emigration, less government intervention, creation of a pool of labour equal to the needs of working the land, selected emigration, self-supporting, and reduction of pauperism in the mother country, had to be translated into specific and clear action. As a process it failed to take into account the possibility of human deviation, did not fully consider social/cultural aspects, and was unprepared concerning the physical environment. Perhaps these were because of the difficulty in practical implementation and/or perhaps it was because of thinking only in terms of the disciplines of politics and economics.

However, like any test of a theory, the point is to evaluate what is happening and move on, but the difficulty with an experiment such as Wakefield's is that you can not just stop and start again when there is humans involvement. The settlement will either be a success, eventually develop into a workable proposition, or fail. There was no contingency plan for failure, but there were review processes in Britain, and what occurred was a move back to similar standards that had operated in other colonies with elements of the new scheme. While it could be said that there were stages put in place from the outset, such as reaching a certain number of people before self-government was to be allowed, it can easily be seen that the process became completely random and to suggest stages of development only serves to ignore the variety of factors that do not comply with Stage Theory. Overall, even if not all of Wakefield's theory is seen as successful, perhaps there is greater value in the conditions created by it in that,

> South Australia may not be the best known social laboratory in the making of modern communities; yet it has recurrently espoused political ideas, economic policies and social ideals which have led it beyond the prevailing orthodoxies" (Richards 1986:2).

The value of the interdisciplinary debate suggesting a need to be across various disciplines can be seen in the struggle between Hindmarsh and Light. As Price points

out, this struggle is important for 'historical geography' (1924: 67), while the whole experiment is a "novel and scientific plan" for economics (1924:1), and the maps are useful for archaeologists and historians. It is quite impossible to separate the tensions created by the division of power from the economic success of the colony, or the affect on the social and physical environment, and as such supports the contention of inclusion of interdisciplinary considerations. Having seen the theory develop, and the experiment take practical shape, the following Chapter considers the next step, in the progression of general theory - to specific theory - to practical application, being the possible affect on the material culture outcomes - in this case the Capital, Adelaide, and a dwelling, the Governor's House.

CHAPTER 6

SETTLING DOWN

Adelaide, the Site, Design, and the Domain

6.0   Parameters of the Case Study

In this thesis there are two case studies and two scales used. In the previous Chapter the case study of the European settlement of South Australia considered the broader scale of settlement and settlement theory. In this Chapter the case study of Adelaide, the site, design, and the Domain and in the following Chapter the settler's dwellings, in particular the Governor's residence, considers the more specific scale of material outcome.   Moreover, both scales raise possible implications for archaeological investigations.   The broader scale suggests the need for the diagnostic index of settlement to set the parameters of settlement and ensuing discussions, and the value of setting the parameters of, and defining, Settlement Theory. The specific scale in this Chapter, and the next, provides the opportunity to analyse written records to examine material culture to determine the effects of implementing a theory and ephemeral issues of politics, economics, and social behaviour, and possibly the implications for the interpretation of artifacts. Where the material culture is available, as with the Capital, this analysis also allows us to consider discrepancies between written evidence and the material outcome. Where the material culture is not available, as with the first land based Government House in the next Chapter, the analysis of the written record may also assists in locating material culture and dealing with situations where no material culture exists.

Within the following discussion there is particular regard paid to self-supporting, self-funding, self-government, recruiting particular settlers without convicts, and being based

on large scale agriculture. The Governor plays a prominent role throughout these discussions because he was a key figure in the South Australian Experiment for both the designers of the theory and the experiment, and the practical implementation process. The timeframe in this part is contained to the period considered to be settlement between 1836 and 1857.

In keeping with this thesis it is important to establish if the South Australian Experiment fits the proposed diagnostic index of settlement and as follows demonstrates, it can clearly be seen as settlement.

- **Individuals and Groups**
  Is there present more than one person, in fact a mix of people, and a social connection between those people?
    o Yes
- **Size and Construction of Groups**
  Are there a number of both sexes present who are sexually mature and/or with children who could in time reach this stage?
    o Yes
- **Purpose, Intent, Necessity & Duration**
  Have the people been at the place for a common purpose, longer than required to satisfy basic daily needs, and with an intention to remain indefinitely?
    o Yes
- **Group Dynamics**
  Is there a collective impetus to create a settlement, a general permissible freedom to settle, however that is established, no matter how individuals viewed the final product in terms of their personal purposes, intentions, and commitment?
    o Yes
- **Success or Failure - Chronology**
  Have the terminus points of a settlement, based on the limits and conditions ascribed to it, been met?
    o Yes

Also there is the question if the theory being applied, Systematic Colonisation Theory, fits the proposed definition of a settlement theory, and considering the following it does.

Settlement Theory is a theory that tries to explain and/or encompass the human process, or a particular component of general human activity associated with the process, generically called 'settlement' - where 'settlement' meets the conditions of the diagnostic index of settlement.

Therefore the impact of this theory on settlement can be examined to allow conclusions to be drawn about the issues of transient behaviour, deviation and the physical

environment, as well as Stage Theory, the practical implementation of the theory, and the effect on material culture.

6.1   A Capital Experiment

A site for the Capital had to be decided upon before the surveying of land. This would impact on being self-supporting. The land surveyed for use would also impact and be affected by the intention to be self-governing because the power struggle to maintain the ideals of the theory followed through to the site selection, buildings, and the status of the Governor.
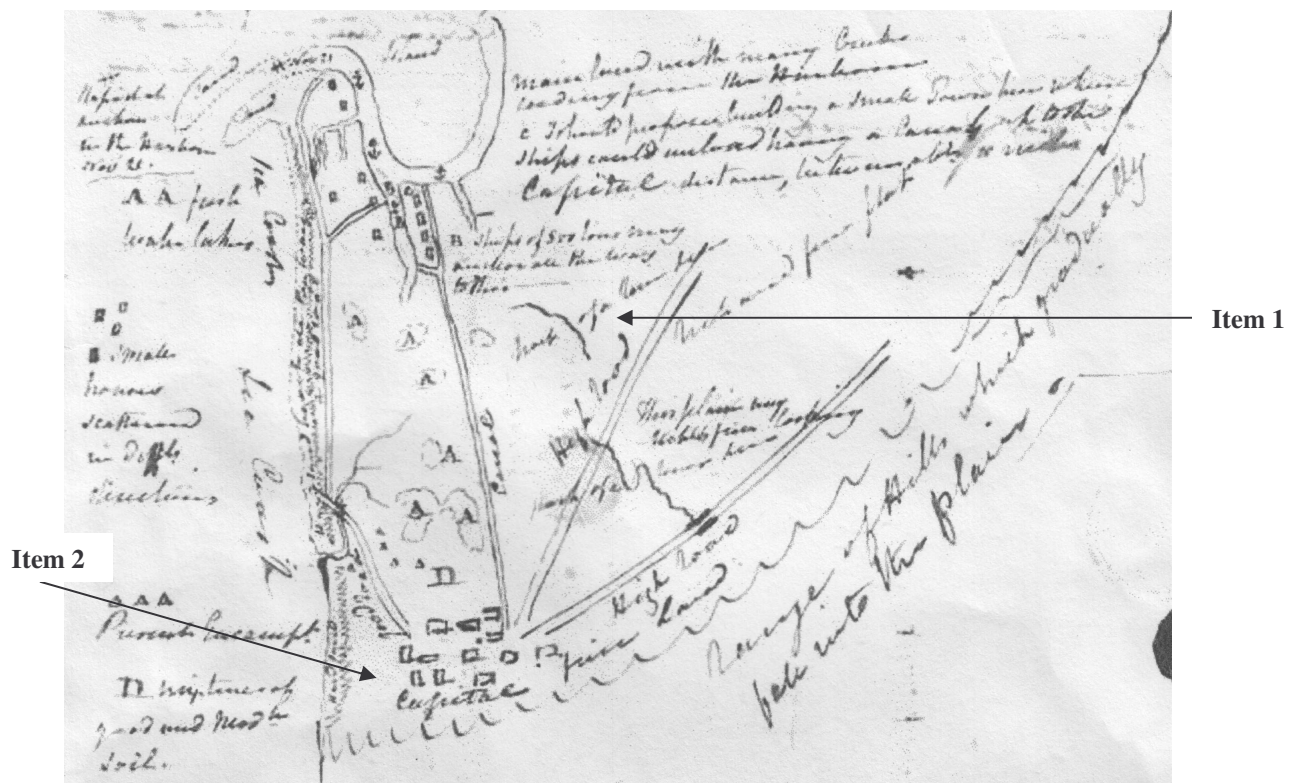
Plate 10 Sketch of a Proposed Site for Adelaide (Light 1836)

A recent newspaper article told of the purchase of Colonel Light's letters that contained a sketch of what appears to be the first proposed site for Adelaide (Advertiser 14 May 2005:19) (Plate 10). Comparing the landscape in the sketch to Light's map (Plate 11) shows it is a fairly accurate depiction of the region, but the writing on the sketch was difficult to read. Hence it was not until the letter arrived back in South Australia, and

was on display at The State Library, that further investigation could take place. The State Library web site suggests that this "letter confirms that by this stage [22/11/1836] he [Light] fully intended the settlement to be located in the general area where Adelaide now stands" (State Library of South Australia 2006). However, the position of Item 1, "Part of a River --------" (Plate 10), suggests that this is the Torrens River upon which the site for Adelaide was finally fixed. The river is shown as not fully charted, probably due to the time of year and lack of water in the river. The actual site of Adelaide, on this sketch, is possibly at the point where the 'High Road' crosses the river or slightly below at the exaggerated bend in the river. Also, Item 2, "Capital", can be seen as the site in Light's other map (Plate 12) noted as '**G**', and described as "another Considerable Town might be formed at '**G'** in a fine dry situation and fresh water to be had by wells". It would seem that Light originally planned Adelaide in the south west part of the Adelaide Plains in the vicinity of the current Marion Council (Plate 4), but changed his mind between 22 November 1836 and the Governors arrival on 26 December, moving the proposed site to its current position (Plate 3). With the power gained by the Commissioners, as part of the theoretical support of self-government and cognisant of the need to be self-supporting, we can see the effect on the practical implementation from the outset when the Commissioners require that Light's practical search for a Capital site should take into account that the site should have;

1st. A commodious harbour, safe and accessible at all seasons of the year.
2nd. A considerable tract of fertile land immediately adjoining.
3rd. An abundant supply of fresh water.
4th. Facilities for internal communication.
5th. Facilities for communication with other ports.
6th. Distance from the limits of the colony, as a means of avoiding interference from without in the principle of colonization.
7th. The neighbourhood of extensive sheep-walks.
The above of primary importance, the following of secondary value:
8th. A supply of building materials, as timber, stone, or brick, earth and lime.
9th. Facilities for drainage, and
10th. Coal.
(Dutton 1960:162).

Such a shopping list would appear to be no small task. However, these requirements highlight the capitalistic intentions of the theory and, considering the 6th requirement, the intention of a close community to maintain control and the integrity of the experiment supporting, what Price describes as, "... Wakefield's doctrine of concentration ..." (1924:84).
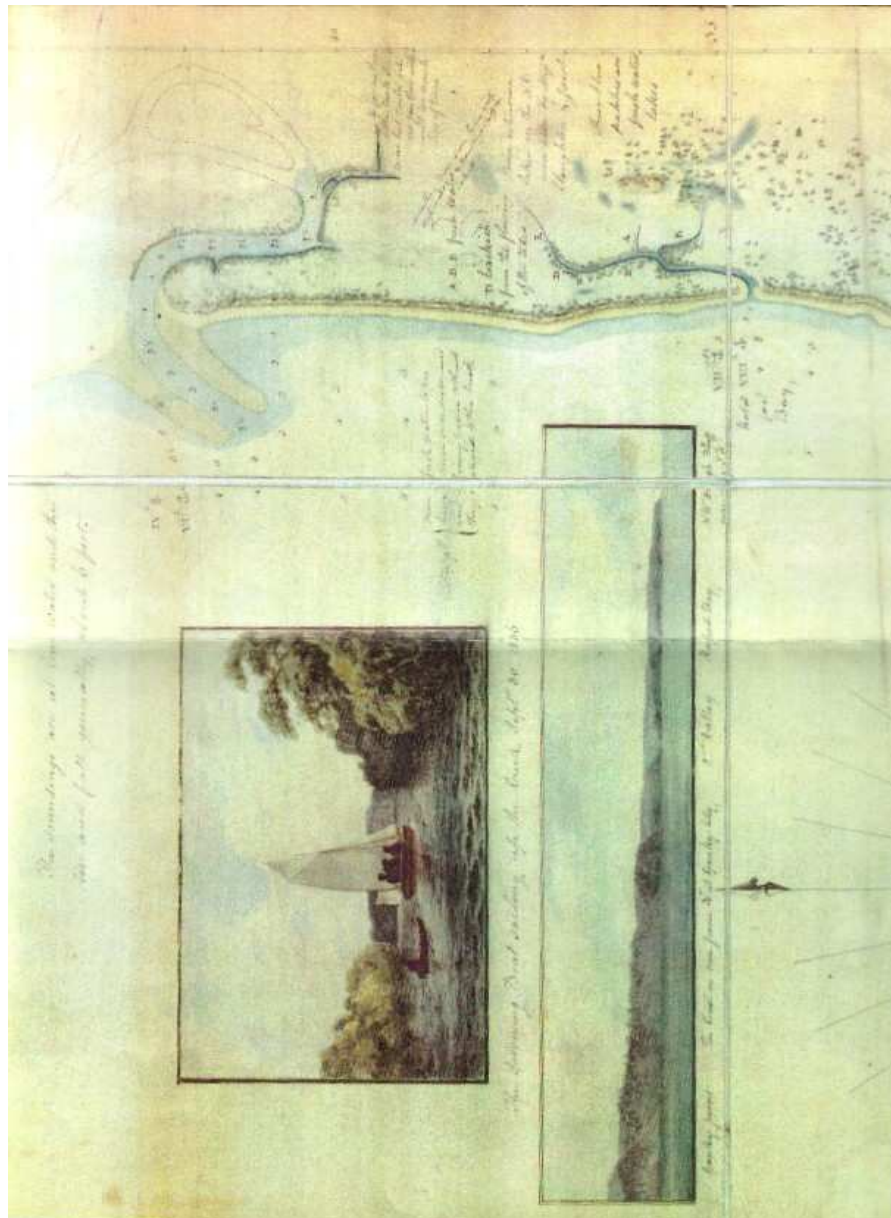
Plate 11 Watercolour Map of the South Australian Coast by William Light (PRO, 3/11/1836, CO 700 SOUTH AUSTRALIA1/1)
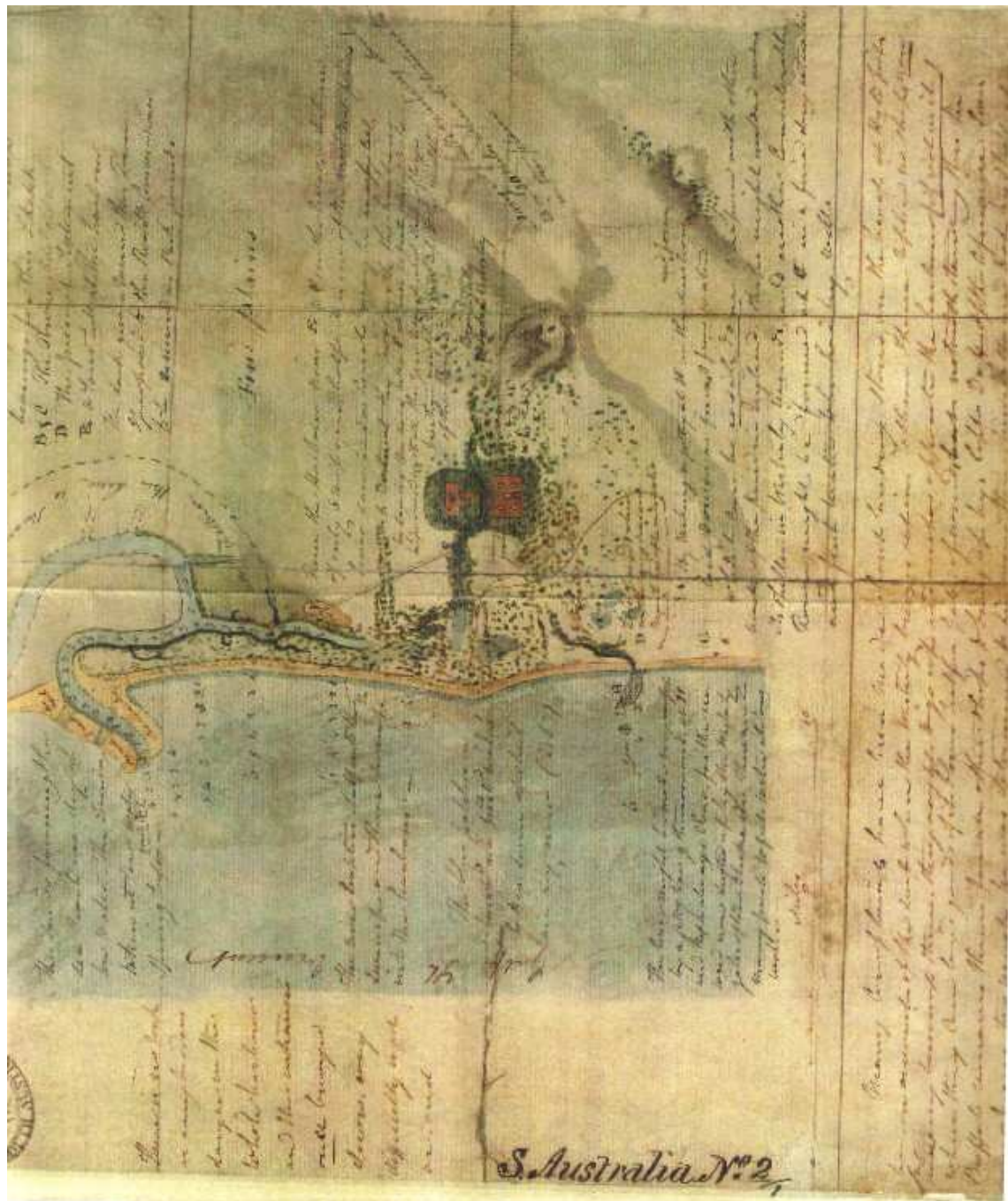
Plate 12 Watercolour Plan of Adelaide, South Australia by William Light (PRO, c1837, CO 700 SOUTH AUSTRALIA2/1)

Hindmarsh appears to have been operating under the belief that the Capital would not be selected until he arrived. Before departing from Britain he even managed to pre-empt Light and the Commissioners by gaining permission from King William to name the city 'Adelaide' (CO 13/4 1836:114). There is much contention about who was to select the site, but it would seem logical that the Resident Surveyor, Light, would select a site, possibly with the Governor's approval, because the Governor was not a surveyor and the Commissioners requirements for a site were sent to Light. On Light's map (Plate 12) the *Buffalo* is mentioned, which means Hindmarsh had arrived by the time the drawing was completed, but sadly it does not help in the debate regarding the date of the decision to place Adelaide at this site. It would seem that "on the 18th of December [1836] [Light] decided on the site of the capital where Adelaide now stands ..." (Steuart 1901:91) and on Hindmarsh's arrival, Lipson, "... presented a letter from Colonel Light to the Governor, giving information that the most suitable site for the new capital was, in his opinion, on the east of Gulf St. Vincent" (Steuart 1901:94). Light does point out that he chose a site but, with the Governor,

> walked together to look at it ... [and] … at the Governor's suggestion I consented to remove the Town about 2 miles lower down the river ... afterwards I found the winter torrents overflowed the banks considerably. I therefore returned to the site first selected and some few days afterwards I had the satisfaction to hear His Excellency approve of it in the highest terms (CO 13/6 1837:43).

Was this another ploy to get his own way and demean the Governor's power and status? One wonders how Light knew about 'winter torrents' considering the letter was written at the height of summer (February 1837), but perhaps he recognised the signs of erosion such torrents could cause. Hindmarsh has added notes to this letter and in note 5 suggests that he advised that land be surveyed near the harbour, which he states Light agreed to, but to which Fisher refused (CO 13/6 1837:43) which demonstrates how the power struggle, created through the division of power to support a change in political processes, effected the material shape of the settlement.

The distance from the harbour (CO 13/6 1837:31) always appeared to be a major point for Hindmarsh and may well have been simply due to his connection to the sea, or a misunderstanding of what was originally meant by an accessible harbour. Accessible would not tend to automatically suggest in the immediate vicinity. When one reads Lights own views on the subject are,

> the result of my own observations which in comparison with all other parts I have seen of this coast, one superior, the soil so good, the plains in the immediate neighbourhood so extensive and the presence of a plentiful supply of water all the year round, the probability also of one of the plains extending as far as the Murray River, or very near to it, which from the termination of the mountains in the plains at the great distance they do I have every reason to expect, the excellent sheep walks in the neighbourhood and the easy communication with the Harbour over a dead flat of about six miles and also the beauty of the country. These objects in my mind could admit of no doubt of its capabilities for a Capital (CO 13/6 1837: 41).

When one compares this to the requirements set out by the Commissioners, the choice of site seems to be a reasonable one. Hindmarsh's corresponding note was that while the reasons were good they "will never render the land at Adelaide of anything like equal value to the land at Port Adelaide" (Note 2, CO 3/6 1837:41). A point made by Wakefield in 1832 when stating that, "had Guelph [an inland town] been situated on a large river, lake or sea, well placed for trade, and possessed of a good harbour, the value of its town lots would of course have been very much greater" (Wakefield 1832:13). Light's compromise, in 1837, was in suggesting that the river from Adelaide to the port "can be made navigable ..." to which Hindmarsh replied that the banks were deep enough, but rather than a river it was a series of pools and the cost would be too high (Note 3, CO 13/6 1837:41). Sometime later Hindmarsh points out that while the river was 60 – 70 yards wide, it was frequently less than six inches deep and "Ladies even being in the usual habit of stepping over it …" (CO 13/10 1838:12).

At one point there was a circular printed which was against the Adelaide site, but Hindmarsh claimed no knowledge of this (CO 13/6 1837: 30-36). However, Light

steadfastly maintained the principle reason for not selecting the Harbour as the site of the Capital was the lack of fresh water available (CO 13/6 1837:42). A meeting was held by the Colonists to decide the issue and Light's selection won, with a vote of 201 to 138 (CO 13/6 1837:38). With this very republican process the positioning of Adelaide demonstrated the effect of the theory, particularly in the area of self-government and a changed political process. Hence particular material would be deposited in one particular location rather than another. Yet, in acknowledging his recall, Hindmarsh postscripts that he had signatures for support from nineteen twentieths of "Resident Landowners and by nearly all the respectable settlers" (10 July 1838, CO 13/11 1838:68–142). His interpretation of who was 'respectable' is not clear, but in reality events had overtaken him and he was on his way out of the Colony. To clarify the particular issue of the site of the city in "their first report the Commissioners emphasized once again that they had completely repudiated earlier notions that the Governor was to have any influence on the choice of site ..." (Dutton 1960:163), and Hindmarsh for his part appeared to be adjusting somewhat to the result when he wrote to Glenelg that "the draw back that Adelaide suffers from is its distance from the Harbour or Glenelg Roads, is almost compensated by its superior advantages in point of situation …" (CO 13/7 1837:292).

Dutton suggests, quite dramatically, that,

> ... by November the moon of Hindmarsh's madness had once more risen, and the bluff, simple sailor was to make his last, and most strenuous attempt to shatter the colony. No doubt, of course, it was no moon at all, but an evil genius called Stevenson (Dutton 1960:233).

This attempt on the part of Hindmarsh, whether to 'shatter the colony', exercise his power again to have a port city, or simply, as he owned a prominent piece of associated land, was to extol the virtues of establishing the Capital at Encounter Bay (CO 13/7 1837:415). Raising the issue again in January 1838 he suggests that Lights choice was a

site "for this Town that never can be for any length of time the Capital of this colony, Nature declares against it and no earthly power can bolster it up to a higher rank than that of a pretty country village…" (CO 13/10 1838:11). This attempt also failed and the South Australian Colonization Office wrote to James Stephen, of the Colonial Office, with the pragmatic view that,

> if it should prove that a mistake has been made in selecting the situation for the metropolis of the province, that mistake cannot now be rectified. Though a commercial town should grow up at Encounter Bay as much superior to Adelaide as New York is to Washington, Adelaide must nevertheless continue to be the seat of the local Government (CO 13/12 1838:238).

Even though one can suggest the theory directly effected the material outcome one cannot underestimate the effect of the individual on the shape of the settlement. Light, like Wakefield's undaunted belief in his own theory, believed in his decisions which is shown by his statement in the Preface to his *Brief Journal* that,

> the reasons that led me to fix Adelaide where it is I do not expect to be generally understood or calmly judged of at the present. My enemies, however, by disputing their validity in every particular, have done me the good service of fixing the whole of the responsibility upon me. I am perfectly willing to bear it; and I leave it to posterity, and not to them, to decide whether I am entitled to praise or to blame (Light cited in Dutton 1960:288).

Confirming the ongoing personal inter-play, Light mentions that on Gawler's arrival,

> he said he would ask me to resume my former station as Surveyor-General, but that an unfortunate expression I had made against Mr Rowland Hill in one of my letters prevented his doing so. I replied it was not my wish to return (Dutton 1960:271).

While we do not know what slight Light caused Hill, it was Gawler who, on 10 October 1839, wrote to the Secretary of State, Constantine, Marquess of Normanby, to advise of Light's death at 'Theberton' in South Australia (CO 13/14 1839:285), and that he understood "... the wisdom of his [Light's] general choice with regard to the site of the early capital" (Price 1924:68). The site of the Capital was as controversial as the theory behind the settlement and is inter-woven into the practical implementation of the theory highlighting the associated power struggles. The need to be self-supporting was also

affected by having close proximity to fertile land and water, and therefore the opportunity to support an agrarian based settlement.

6.2 The Design

Fletcher states,

> The space of the settlement is a visual context in which the members of a community learn what their kind of space is like without being aware that they are doing so (Fletcher 1995:47). [Moreover,] the arrangement of structures also defines our perceptions of the private and public spatial domains in houses and residential districts (Fletcher 1995:134).

The space and arrangement of the City of Adelaide has raised questions over the years which have not been satisfactorily answered. There is even a play, by Chris Winzar, in which two QCs represent Light and Kingston and debate who is responsible for the design. The information in this chapter will be incorporated in the 2006 presentation and this author, who has no doubt it was Light's design, will be involved in restructuring the 2007 event. The plan is important because the division of land has a direct impact on the actions of the settlers and therefore the settlement process. In particular the attempt to set a price for the land, and the lack of control to have the land worked, lead to speculation instead of the proposed agricultural pursuits. The loss in a fire of much of Light's original documents, which may or may not have provided a rational explanation for the decisions he made, adds to the mystery.

The Domain (Notch)
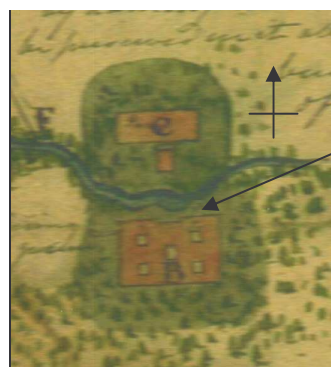
Plate 13 Adelaide – Enlarged section Plate 12   **Plate 14** Adelaide/Reduction of Plate 73:Vol II
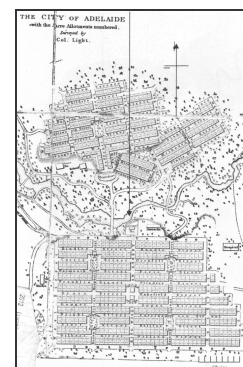
The initial layout of the settlement can be seen in Plates 12, 13, and 14. Some say the design resembles the Roman plan of Turin, original plan of Philadelphia or street layout in Sicily (Price 1924:109). For others there is no resemblance to Turin or Sicily and that
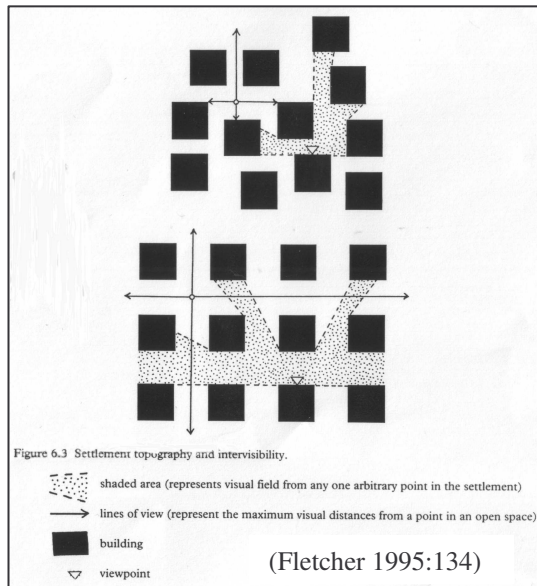
Light hated the narrow streets of the latter (Dutton 1960:214-215). Moreover, "a more reasonable theory is that put forward by Mr Gavin Walkley, that Light was influenced by the old Roman camp plan" (Dutton 1960:214-215). A broader theory is that the City was, or rather became, "like the Italian cities [city-states] … the centre not only of the province's commerce, but of its landed

Figure 6.3 Settlement topography and intervisibility.

shaded area (represents visual field from any one arbitrary point in the settlement)

lines of view (represent the maximum visual distances from a point in an open space)

building

viewpoint

(Fletcher 1995:134)

wealth as well" or a Greek city-state with "... the gathering of country people in Adelaide and the face-to-face encounters between governors and governed …" (Hirst 1973:217). Fletcher's "Settlement topography and intervisibility" (1995:134), or even his "Schematic view of constraints on intervisibility" (1995:4-5), may well suggest that the layout simply provided the best option for visibility. There is an attempt here to imbue the debate with attitudes of diffusionist theory, rather than allowing for a new idea to be formed, and of normative theory whereby Light's cognitive processes would have been affected by his background knowledge and cultural norms of the day. A simple answer, often the best kind, which takes into account local conditions is seen in the following paragraph,

> The main part of the city was on more or less flat ground, suitable for a regular plan; where the contours of the ground called for flexibility, as in East Terrace or North Adelaide, Light shifted the angles of his streets accordingly. The city presented its north-west corner to traffic from the port, which could flow into North or West Terrace and from them into the centre of the city ... Since the plan allowed for eleven streets of varying widths running east-west, and only six running north-west, it is clear that Light intended the city to be protected from the north and accessible from the west, a sensible arrangement since traffic could

be expected from the west from the port, and dust storms and fierce winds from the north (Dutton 1960:213 - 214).

These views would account for Light's deviation from any past rigid rules by considering the physical environment and also support Fletcher's consideration of human decision making in the material construction of the residential space. Perhaps, in the past, writers were not yet prepared to add the environment into the interdisciplinary factors.

New settlers living in close proximity to each other have always provided some measure of protection or comfort in an alien environment. Even in a well known environment congregation occurs within city walls which often act as an effective barrier from danger and for military purposes. (See Fletcher's diagram). It has been suggested that this is part of the reason for the parklands surrounding Adelaide (Hirst 1973:218; Price 1924:109). Light does not mentioned the defence aspect in his surviving documents, although Price suggests the parklands may also have been to keep utilities at a distance (1924:109). Fletcher calls this "the segregation of industrial districts" (1995:134) and also suggest that "large open areas" could diminish noise (1995:135). There was nothing in the instructions about a border of parklands, but they may also have been for health reasons (Dutton 1960:162 & 215) which was a growing consideration in the mid 1800s. Catherine Helen Spence suggests that it is "to Col. Light, who laid out the city so well, we owe the many open spaces and squares; but he did not originate the ideas of the parklands" (Quoted in Dutton 1960:215). Unfortunately she does not say who she thinks had the idea. Watts suggests in 1890 that, "Adelaide owes its park lands to a suggestion of Mr M. D. Hill, whose brother Sir Rowland Hill was Secretary to the original South Australian Commissioners …" (1890:148), but she fails to enlighten us further. Light himself is relatively silent on the issue, but does state, on his map (Plate 12), that the "dark green around the Town proposed by the Residt Commissioner to be

reserved as Park grounds" (CO 700 SOUTHAUSTRAIA2/1). These parklands have however survived, in the most part, and as they have been included in Light's plans from the beginning it would seem reasonable to accredit him with their existence and later planners to their erosion. Overall the design itself tells us little about the effect of the theoretical on the practical other than the City was planned rather than developing randomly and perhaps demonstrates theoretical ideas Light may have had.

The self-funding process had begun before departure by selling land to fund emigration. Practically this meant selling land sight-unseen before the survey to fund the transportation of the surveyors and the land purchasers. For example, Kingston had purchased one of the first 437 lots for £81 and drew the 305th while he was still in Britain, selecting Lot 322 in Grote Street (AO 19/9/4:1-10; Langmead 1983:266). The Colonial Government was to purchase land for government buildings and gardens, rather than simply acquire them, but not roads, footpaths, walkways or squares (CO 13/4 1836:369). Hence, it is hardly surprising that Fisher and Hindmarsh clashed over the reservation of land for public buildings (no. 78, CO 326/237 1838:1349 & 1351). The Parklands provided the opportunity for many to build temporary accommodation while awaiting the land to be surveyed. Light himself was one of those who took advantage of using this land opposite the current Newmarket Hotel, as did John Adams who,

> was one of a party of five emigrants who pitched their first tent on 3 January 1837, and in a about week had their encampment pegged out on the rise opposite the present Adelaide Gaol (Sexton 1984:80).

This land used was close to the river, and not part of the blocks surveyed for the Town.

The design of Adelaide also caused some deviation in that instead of using the wide streets for business premises, as was intended, the narrow streets of Hindley and Rundle were used as they were closest to the river and the trade routes to the coast (Dutton

1960:214). This deviation from Light's plan may also be because these streets were next to, and parallel with, the most popular residential street, North Terrace, housing the wealthy and the Governor. Conversely, the popularity and status of North Terrace may well have developed due to the relative proximity to these businesses, or alternatively in its own way due to the locality of the seat of power and like Princes Street, in Edinburgh, it was built on only one side. Yet another answer could be that most people started colonial life near the area because of the access to the River Torrens and its resources. These were then the first streets inhabited and thus new migrants settled within close proximity, as most humans tend to do at least initially, and therefore such deviations would actually be formed out of normative cultural behaviour. Which raises the question whether, like Wakefield, Light was not cognitive of normative behaviour, disregarded it, or was in fact trying to manipulate the settlement process by having people conform to his view of what should occur. Normative thinking today would suggest that one would not expect agricultural pursuits to take place in the Capital. However, in 1837 Dr Charles George Everard's son successfully grew the first wheat at a site in the centre of Adelaide.

6.3   The Domain

It was hoped that the Light map (Plate 12) would provide further insight into the location of the first Government House, but as can be seen it is too general. There are two small buildings marked between the '**B'** part of the town and the river to the north which is much the same place Government House and the Barracks are shown in later maps (Plate 63). This reinforced the belief that the general site for the Government Domain and House were established from the very beginning of the settlement experiment. From this rough watercolour, and the maps in the Pictorial Essay later, we can see little overall change in the Domain's position, but rather a refining of both the

detail and accuracy as time elapsed. Not only this but we can also see from the first map (Plate 63) the thought process regarding priorities regarding buildings such as Government House, Barracks, School Houses, Stores and Markets. Interestingly there is no Gaol, Hospital, or Destitute Asylum accounted for. This may well be directly related to the theory of the experiment itself in that there were not going to be convicts and those that came would be economically catered for through the growth of capitalism, or at the worst from the fund from the sale of the land. The position of the town itself was debated, but there never seems to have been any argument regarding the position of the Government Domain. Small issues regarding parts of the Domain and the size and usage are mentioned in the records, but it is interesting that it was placed at the centre of the northern edge of Adelaide rather than the elevated, and slightly, distant North Adelaide. On high ground it would have had a commanding view of the city while still being in easy reach of economic, political and social activity. In fact many of those who succeeded early in the colony did take up blocks in this exalted position. One wonders if there was a connection to the republican views shared by many of the colonists, including Light, whereby the Governor's residence would be on the same level as the rest of society as was being attempted with regards to containing his power and status.

The survey of the town sections, which began on 11 January 1837 and finished on 10 March (Hindmarsh F. 1995:114), had allocated ten acres for the site of the Government Domain (Parliamentary Debate South Australia (PDSA) 1877:1532; Steuart 1901:107–108; Price 1924:107) which can be seen on maps in the Pictorial Essay (Plates 61-68). The Colonial Secretary wrote to the Resident Commissioner on 6 February, and 13 March 1837, to purchase these grounds (SAA Newscuttings 131; SAR 17 August 1927; Borrow 1982:12) and Hindmarsh was expected to purchase land for Government buildings, and was funded to do so (CO 13/4 1836:88; CO 13/4 1836:369; CO 13/5

1836:132). However, the only record located so far of purchase of this land is one stating "regarding land purchased for public use not having been paid for and note of hand for £2,300" (CO 13/21 1842:37-41). So much for the sale of land to fund emigration. From the maps it will also be seen that the location of the Domain, opposite Town Acres 15–19 on Light's map (Plate 61) was moved in Kingston's map of c1842 (Plate66) and it was stated in Parliament in 1877 that,

> Sir George Kingston, in his letter to the papers, pointed out that upon the original plan the Domain originally dedicated for Government House was due north of King William Street … [and] ... For the convenience of the Survey Dept and the Government the Domain was afterwards shifted eastwards (PDSA 1877:1532).

This may have also been due to the possible foresight of extending King William Street, or a survey error. For instance, the survey statement by Acting Governor George Stephen, Hindmarsh's temporary successor, suggests that the surveys were possibly inaccurate on the generous side and upon investigation these showed an error of up to twenty acres (CO 13/11 1838:274 & 293), and as such would change the settlement pattern, or material outcome, to the same degree.

One assumes that the Domain would have still contained the area upon which Government Hut was situated as both it and the building Kingston built are shown in Davenport's drawing (Plate 90). Kingston's map does not show roads crossing to North Adelaide that are depicted in many drawings and alluded to in many written accounts, nor does he position Government Hut on the site. Therefore one could assume then that the positioning, within the Domain, of some of the buildings, on various maps are merely representational drawings rather than accurate descriptions. This issue was raised with the Lands Titles Office during another project and it was stated that surveyors are mostly interested in the accurate boundaries of the land and not necessarily the contents (Copland 2000:24). The Land Titles Office search found that there is not a specific reference given to the location of the Hut although Robert

Gouger's description of the building is documented (Land Titles Office Book vol 41, folio 14).

There are some general descriptions of the Domain such as it "encompassed Elder Park and extended from the station to Kintore Avenue. King William Street then finished at North Terrace" (Collins 1996), which do not particularly provide assistance. Alterations or proposed changes to the Domain over the years have further complicated the positioning of the site, but do give some insights into its scope and dimensions on the landscape. An early power struggle between Hindmarsh and Fisher reveals Hindmarsh's desire to extend the Domain to the River Torrens and Fisher, purportedly with Light's agreement, refused the sale (SAA GRG 24/1/61B; CO 13/6 1837: 149–150; CO 13/11 1838:104–105). This confirms that a space existed between the Domain and the Torrens and alludes to the purchase of the Domain, yet adds to the dilemma when Hindmarsh states the portion required was "a small angle or nook of ground" (CO 13/11 1838:104–105). The latter of course provides no dimensions and may well be being understated by Hindmarsh for effect.

However, with this disagreement in mind it is assumed that while not gaining any ground it would have been unlikely Hindmarsh would have given any away. Therefore the Government Hut would have stood in the Government Domain, albeit at the very northern precinct of it. This view is supported by the drawings of the Hut by Gill (Plate 137), Mary Hindmarsh (Plate 131), and others showing its proximity to the Torrens, which is north of the Domain.

By taking into account the drawings of the north western ground at the front of the Hut (Plate 135), the distance from the western perimeter in the J. Neil and the George

Hamilton drawings of 'Eyre's Departure' (Plates 138 & 141), the McLeod drawing of the fenced north west portion of the domain (Plate 136), and the fences and quarry in the Davenport landscape, it would appear the Hut was set further back, in a southerly direction from the Torrens, than the perspective's of the earliest paintings would suggest. The banks of the River Torrens have of course altered over time and there are several images provided to obtain an impression of the various alterations and surrounding landscape (Plates 106-130). It is known that in 1841 Governor Grey had the embankment dug which traverses east/west behind the northern boundary of Government Domain (PDSA 1877:1563). Again it would seem unlikely that he would have reduced the size of the Domain, therefore it is assumed that this embankment is in fact the original northern boundary. It is at the base of this embankment that a train line once ran (Plate 73 & 74) and the associated tunnel (Plate 100) under King William Road, leading to the Railway station in the west, was originally used for horse access to grazing areas near the Torrens. A train and the embankment can be seen in Plate 74 which is described as being on "Land North of Government Domain" (SAA GRG 23/1/1902/863). The funding for the public works by Grey was a departure from the original intentions of Wakefield. Sale of land was to fund emigration and Grey split the fund, where one part was for emigration and the other functioned virtually as government revenue (Collier 1909:23). This finally catered for a shortfall in the practical implementation of the theory.

The southern and eastern boundaries are relatively unaltered since the original allotment. There were adjustments to widen North Terrace in 1855 (SAA Indexes:906) and by 6.7 metres in 1874 (Walkley1988:4). On the eastern boundary the removal of a portion of the south east corner occurred to accommodate a War Memorial, with the inclusion of a small section at the north east corner at the same time. The first Council Chamber was

built outside Government Domain to the west of the western boundary, and a road which cuts past this Chamber can be seen on the map of 1851 (Plate 68). This road can also be seen prior to the Chamber's construction in the drawing of 'Eyres' Departure' of 1840 (Plate 138). The latter also shows a quarry in the north west boundary of the Domain and may well be where the embankment is at present, and the reason for creating the embankment in the first place. In 1852 there was a proposal to build a roadway to North Adelaide in line with King William Street, which would cut off a portion of the Domain, and create a new western boundary (Price 1924:108; South Australian Parliamentary Papers (SAPP) 1853:3). "The work of making the road was put in hand in 1854, and the stone abutments were completed by end of 1855", apparently on a site "near the Company's Old Mill" (Worsnop 1878:128) which should not be confused with the City Mill (Plate 15).

The SA Company's Mill on the Torrens   The City Mill
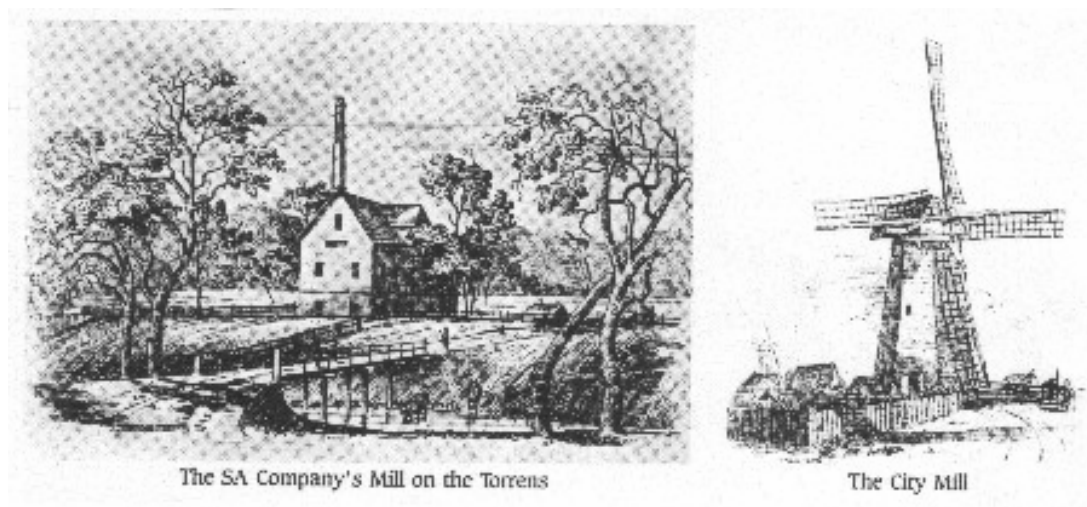
Plate 15 SA Company Mill and The City Mill (Manning 1985:54)

It was at this time the first of several suggestions over the ensuing years, which are

Plate 16 Bridge Plaque (G Copland 2000)

elaborated upon later, were made to move Government House to a different location (Young to Colonial Secretary, 26 January 1854, cited in Danvers Report 1986:203). The extension required that a bridge be built over the Torrens to the east of the ford, and bridge, that had been used prior to that time. The original bridge, 'near the Company's Old Mill' (Plate 15), was some 1650 feet west of the new site and had been built in 1839 by Alfred Hardy who at one time had lived at Government Farm which later became another summer Government House. This bridge was twice washed away in floods (Plate 15) and the records mention various details including a visit by the Governor in 1846 to examine work being done on it where it was called the 'City Bridge' (SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 16, 17 April 1846). The new bridge linking North Adelaide was to cost £1854.5.0 (SAA GRG 38/7/3, no. 12/54, 10 January 1854) and the total project cost £4551 (SAA GRG 38/21/1 1854:196). One comment states that "the site of the bridge is the boundary lines between the Government Reserve on the South side and the Park lands on the North side ..." (SAA GRG 38/7/3, no. 18/54, 14 January 1854). It is presumed that 'Government Reserve' does not mean 'Government Domain' since we have already seen that Hindmarsh could not acquire the land between the Domain and the River Torrens. Tenders for King William Street, to pass through the Domain, were called for in July 1855 and it was completed October 1856 (Jensen & Jensen 1980:242). The City Bridge road was widened in 1873/1874 (Winsnop 1878:364) taking a further twenty feet off the western boundary (Jensen & Jensen 1980:443) which, along with the original road, may well have removed any trace of Government Hut if it had been in that vicinity. The proximity to King William Road is suggested by Borrow when he mentions stables

being erected c1846 which "fronted King William Road, almost on the site of Old Government House" (1982:21). Of course this is once again conjecture as the road was not in existence at that time.

As has been seen there are some questions as to the exact boundaries of the Domain, hence the question of the location of the site of the Hut within this area is further exacerbated. Using the Pictorial Essay one can see the reference points which have been mentioned when the site of the Hut is discussed by various authors. An early colonist James Hawker wrote, in *Early Experiences in South Australia* (1899), that the,

> … Government Residence was then located near about where the Governor's Offices are in the present Government House, and from it the ground sloped gradually down to the flat, where the Rotunda now stands, by the Torrens (Hawker cited in Borrow 1982:6–7).

In 1922 an article appeared suggesting that the Hut site was "that at present occupied by the Cheer-up Hut, and the ground sloped gradually down to the flat where the Rotunda now stands by the Torrens" (SAA Newscuttings 19 October 1922). The latter may well have been taken from the earlier, and 'Governor's Offices' may well have been mistaken for the Government Printer's Office which did at one time stand near where the Cheer up Hut (Plates 119-122) stood. The Rotunda (Plates 115,117,118 & 123) mentioned was built after 1881 and stands in the area which was probably originally part of the Governor's Garden (Morten 1996:151) as shown in Kingston's map (Plates 66 & 67). This was north west of the Domain and can be seen in Mrs. McLeod's picture (Plate 136). The current Governor's Offices are at the extreme west of the current building (Plate 190) and, considering the drawing of both the current building and the Hut (Plate 138) it would appear to be unlikely that Hawker's statement refers to these. Rather he is probably referring to the old offices, removed c1863, on the north east corner of the second Government House, which is now often referred to as the Kingston Wing. The proximity of these offices is suggested by a witness to the burning of the Hut

where it is mentioned that if the wind had shifted " the surrounding out-offices must have been destroyed" (SAR 16 January 1841). Young places the Hut 'near' the Bank of New South Wales, and the new Government House 'about' where the Barracks were (Cited in Borrow 1982:15). However, Government House and the Barracks are depicted on Light's maps (Plates 62-65) the latter being outside the Domain, but the statement is not overly surprising as it is doubtful people of the day knew the exact boundaries of the Domain. Of course the word 'near', which appears in many of these descriptions including "near where the present stables are situated" (Gill 1909:173), could mean anything as does 'close to' which Hailes used in the 1800s referring to the spatial relationship between the Hut and the current Government House (1998:19). The latter statement was repeated in Parliament in 1927 (PDSA 1927:766). Mrs Chambers noted that on arrival with her family she lived "on the banks of the Torrens, not far from where Trinity Church now stands, and also not far from Government House" and that they "could see the Governor going in and out from [their] door" (Cited in Brown 1936:19).

A similar example to this is where Gunton states that James Francis Cudmore arrived in the colony in October 1837 and "... built a pise house of mud, wattle sticks, and rushes from the banks of the River Torrens and the location was on the site of the present Government House" (Gunton 1983:89-90). Unfortunately Gunton does not reveal where this information came from and it appears to be incorrect as James Francis Cudmore was born on 11 October 1837 en route to South Australia (Jensen & Jensen 1980:807) and it is doubtful anyone would have been allowed to build on the Domain. Gunton may well have meant James' father, Daniel, whose tent Borrow suggests is perhaps the one shown in Berkeley's drawing (Plate 135), which places it in the Governor's Garden which was separate from the Domain. Either way the use of the Government Hut as a landmark was quite common, but of little help in locating it.

Walkley suggests that the site of the Hut was between the present Railway Station and the Torrens (1988:2), which again would seem to only account for the Garden area. Similarly in the Mortlock Library Notes it is written that "this crude little structure was situated a little to the north of the present Railway Station, close to the Cheer Up Hut" (1952:321). The 'Cheer Up Hut' (Plates 119-122) appears to have been behind the 'Sound Shell" (Plate 123) and 88 yards west from King William Road, in the area that is now the Festival Centre (Plates 125) (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990:241). Still not terribly accurate, and if this was the case, the site has long gone through various building activities in the area over the ensuing years. It has also been suggested that the Hut was built on present site of Railway Station (Collins1996; Fischer 1989:22), but this can clearly be discounted as being too close to North Terrace and too far west of the Domains boundary.

The quarries in the area were considered as good possible reference points, but once again the use of the word 'near' reduces the accuracy. Three quarries can be seen in Davenports drawing (Plate 90) one of which is enlarged in the Pictorial Essay from a drawing in which both Government Houses are shown (Plate 140). Price suggests that, "fair sandstone was quarried near the present Government House and Railway Station" (1924:112) which does not assist as all three could well be termed as being in this location. Possibly he is referring to the one for which there are a number of references, that was immediately behind the Council Chambers. These Chambers still stand, abutting North Terrace to the south, the Railway Station to the west and New Parliament House to the east (SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 315, 2 August 1848; SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 411, 1 January 1849; SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 412, 1 February 1849) (Plate 71).

While all those mentioned to date have been suggesting the building was to the west of the present House a book on colonial architecture in South Australia erroneously suggests it is to the east and south east (Jensen & Jensen 1980:12 & 578). Governor Hindmarsh is also of little help, as can be seen when he is discussing the width of the River Torrens, mentioning that its banks are sixty to seventy yards wide, yet "at the foot of the hill on which Government Hut stands it is frequently less than half that number of inches …" (CO 13/10 1838:12). However, this statement in conjunction with Somerville's 1952 un-referenced note that the Hut, "facing the River Torrens, was situated on the same rise, but further to the westward of the present government house" (MLSA Notes 1952:321), and the geological data that the three quarries were situated "on the present site of the Adelaide Railway Station, the Festival Centre, and the Torrens Parade Ground" (Selby 1984:104), provides perhaps the best geographic logistics, which are supported by the drawing of both houses (Plate 138) and the map depicting both houses (Plate 64). The quarry behind the Railway Station is clearly defined in the 1854 map (Plate 71), pretty well matching the one in the Davenport drawing (Plate 90), and shows the road from the drawing of Eyre's departure, suggesting that the quarry would not have been developed further to the north east but rather the south west. It is important to note that these quarries were in existence at the same time as the Government Hut and therefore these locations must be ruled out as possible sites for that building. Also that the first Gaol and other early buildings were actually demolished in the quarrying process (Hawker cited in Borrow 1982:11).

Light's maps, which have been reproduced in many books such as Stephens (1839:101-102), sometimes depict contours of the River Torrens and its banks (Plate 63) as in the attachment to the Second Report on Colonisation of South Australia. These maps, and a number of more modern drawings and photographs of the River, are included in the

Pictorial Essay in an attempt to try to place Hindmarsh's words, early drawings of the Hut, and these contours, but these proved equally inconclusive regarding the situation of the building. Considering the River and its position lead to noting references concerning the fencing of the Domain as a possible clue to the Hut site, but these too were not specific in dimensions (SAA GRG 24/337, Tender 11 September 1837; SAA GRG 24/338a, Tender 11 September 1837; SAA GRG 24/341, SAA GRG 24/347; SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 26, 18 June 184; and PDSA 1927:767). These references did mention costs and those involved, such as David McLaren and George Wills and Co, which may be useful if records relating to these people are located. Maps and pictures after 1857 are included to take note of changes to the landscape in considering the location of Government Hut. The search for the Hut is in the next Chapter. It has been shown that the theory did have an effect on the material culture in the shape of the site and design of the Capital, and possibly the positioning of the Domain. The next Chapter considers an even more specific examination through dwellings, in particular the Governor's home, to consider the effects at this scale.

Chapter 7

A HOUSE FOR THE GOVERNOR

7.0   Dwellings

In this Chapter the settler's dwellings, in particular the Governor's residence, considers the more specific scale of material outcome. The search for material culture, discussed here with the aid of the Pictorial Essay (Volume II.), is an integral part of the exercise to test the suggestions put forward in this thesis. At present we have to rely solely on the written record which, although it can not be fully corroborated, is powerful enough to stand alone. In considering settler's dwellings the focus is on the first land based Government House (Government Hut), the building and alteration to the second Government House, and other residences of the Governor. The period is extended beyond 1857, the designated end of settlement, to take into account alterations to the material culture and the landscape to be able to consider the consequential effects on the location of Government Hut.

One of the issues that will be shown here is that a building, site position, artefact, or a title of office, does not necessarily denote status and status does not necessarily denote power. Fletcher suggests that "the material messages carried by the buildings and the contents of a settlement act as a perceptual template … The material is the template" (Fletcher 1995:47). The message here was that the Hut was low status. These issues are important to archaeological deductive processes as in the past we have seen many leaps of thought imbuing particular structures with central places in power and status simply due to their size, position, design, and use of materials. Similarly with artefacts, whether a building or other material culture, we have seen the most unsophisticated article used along side an extremely technical tool and common resources beside rare material. Economics play a part in the dwellings of the settlers as does the struggle for

power and status (self-supporting etc.) and the issues regarding practical implementation of a theory. Whether labourer, doctor, or Governor, their dwellings were initially temporary therefore could not, even if located, demonstrate status or power without the written record to support the suggestion.

There appeared to be no directive in the Experiment Australia relating to people erecting shelters either before, or after, the land was surveyed. Due to local conditions and the construction materials used fire was a constant problem. However, it was not until 1858 that the first Building Act was passed to control the 'type and standard' of buildings in the city (Selby 1984:105). This is an issue that one would have thought, with all the inclusion of new political, economic and social theory, that Wakefield would have taken into consideration. Particularly new ideas regarding health and habitation requirements as the theory was intended to be practically implemented, but perhaps this did not occur as these issues really only came into prominence some twenty years afterwards.

Once the Town blocks were made available people built on them as did the Governor. For instance John Adams and his party's "construction, dubbed 'Buffalo Row', consisted of about sixteen feet square, built of saplings, and with the sides and roof thatched with reeds" (Sexton 1984:80). Other examples are William Finlayson who "... built a two-roomed cottage of wood and mud, made with wetted earth and beaten into a frame" (Gunton 1983:62) at the current site of the Department store David Jones in Rundle Street; Robert Forsyth Macgeorge "brought with him a wooden 'prefab'... which was erected in Hindley Street …" (Gunton 1983:129 - 130); and Dr Nash's "first home was a small brick and wood house which had been built in Grenfell Street just east of Hindmarsh Square …" (Gunton 1983:67). Dr Everard lived at Holdfast Bay in tents with his family, but by the end of December 1836 "they were comfortably established in

a wooden hut" (Gunton 1983:5-6). A further description of early housing can be seen in Stephens account (1839:108-110), but it would seem that, for the most part, local resources such as native pines, River Torrens reeds and gravel, limestone, and calcrete were used for building and the local calcrete was also burned for mortar lime (Selby 1984:102). To a degree one could say that this affected settlement because people would want to locate near the source of these materials. On the other hand using such material was opportunistic and an indicator of the temporary nature of the dwelling. not the settlement. Had a survey, or indeed any local knowledge been obtained prior to departure, then some consideration could have been made regarding the possible outcomes regarding building.

Building in the districts outside the Town precincts tended to come a little later, but it is not surprising to find that mansions built on these outlying properties belonged to the earliest settlers. Especially those who figured prominently in the experiment in South Australia. People such as;

- the Colonial Treasurer Osmond Gilles, who built 'Woodley' at Glen Osmond in 1844,
- John Hallett and 'Woodfore House' at Magill,
- 'Stonyfell' at Stonyfell was purchased in 1858 by Henry Clark Grandson of Rowland Hill,
- Town Surveyor and later Surveyor-General Alfred Hardy built 'Claremont' at Glen Osmond,
- Alfred's brother Arthur built 'Birksgate' at Glen Osmond, and
- while 'Cummins' at Morphettville was designed by Kingston and built for Sir John Morphett who had arrived on the *Cygnet* 6 September 1836, later marrying Elizabeth Fisher the daughter of the Resident Commissioner James Hurtle Fisher (Gunton 1983:145-146, 141-142, 107-108, 29, 17–18, and 39–40).

The latter demonstrates once again the interconnected nature of South Australia and the success of promoting capitalism.

7.1   Archaeological Evidence

Analysis of the written record may assist in locating the material to be able to evaluate it against the documentary evidence. The written record supplies the only record where there is no material culture available. The search for the Hut demonstrates that the written record is not always useful in locating sites and the archaeological search served only to suggest locations where the Hut may not be.

The relatively rustic Government Hut is an example of how misleading the archaeological record could be if this was located without written documentation confirming its place as the abode of one of the leading protagonists in the South Australian Experiment. The fact the Hut has not been located enhances the beneficial value of written documents as a connected artefact, in itself being material culture, as it assists in building the archaeological record no less than a discarded pot. Allison points out that "archaeologists do not dig up households" (1998:16) and often rely on ethnography and written text to consider internal dynamics, but these should be a guide along with archaeological results to determine the use of space (1998:16–17). Without this written knowledge, and outside living memory, there would be an extremely good chance that knowledge of the Hut's existence would cease to exist.

7.2   A House for the Governor

As all parts of the transportable building, which was to be Government House, had not arrived one of many deviations occurred with the Governor organising the building of the first land based Government House in the colony, which became commonly known as 'Government Hut'. A similar process occurred slightly earlier in Western Australia, but that dwelling was called a *cottage ornée* which sounds decidedly better than 'Hut'. The search for Government Hut became a major focus of this thesis for several reasons.

Firstly, there was the fact that the building's existence had almost been forgotten and there appeared to be few references to it. Secondly, as there was no obvious site, or remains, the necessary research process offered the opportunity to locate it. Thirdly, examining the original processes of positioning, and building the building, would allow for the consideration of the issues and tensions in setting up the settlement experiment and the related questions of status and power regarding the Governor. Lastly, if the site could be located a range of possibilities presented themselves including in depth landscape analysis in relation to the positioning of the building, verification of construction processes and dimensions, clarification of the uses of different parts of the building by the Governor, his family, entourage, and subsequent uses, and perhaps even remnants of the lost documents along with other artefacts in the destruction of the building by fire.

The connection between documentary evidence and artefact is mentioned by Mulvaney when he writes about Sydney, New South Wales, stating,

> as the documents make plain, Government House had few friends even amongst the later of the nine governors who lived in it. They preferred the Gothic pile which became government house after 1845, because it corresponded better with their perception of their prestige and power" (Mulvaney 1985:1).

The corollary to Adelaide, in South Australia, is much the same. Using a South Australian context one could slightly alter these words and say,

> 'as the documents make plain and also the nomenclature, Government Hut had few friends even the first Governor disliked living in it and none of the subsequent thirty one governors ever did. They preferred the Palladian-Georgian classic (Danvers Report 1986:26) which became Government House after 1840, because it corresponded better with their, and the public's, perception of their prestige and power'.

The latter can be seen when the second Governor's wife, Maria Gawler, wrote of the tendering process for a new Government House, mentioning what she saw as the high

costs "... for merely a pretty-looking, comfortable house, and one, as many of the friends of the Government ... observe, not at all suited for a Governor's house" (cited in Brown 1936:36). Weight is added to these views by subsequent Governors enlarging the new 1840s residence which stands today nine times the area of the original. Moreover several Governors even found the need to either appropriate or build other residences as summer residences. Statements of prestige and power, as expressed in buildings, are not particularly new, but in many cases there have been functions designated to buildings due to their size and construction without the benefit of contemporary writing and grounded in the normative belief that these attributes are the physical expression of prestige and power. With substantial contemporary information available we have the opportunity to re-examine these attributes and the buildings in relation to the landscape and the settlement process. From the two colonies mentioned above we can already see a pattern forming, a pattern in the process of settlement where shelter, ere be it for the Governor or the shepherd, is as an important factor as resources of food and water, in using, adapting or altering the newly settled environment.

This study has been restricted to South Australia during a particular period, 1836-1856, although the following list notes all residences used by the Governors and cases of major renovation since arrival to present day, those in bold are the developments dealt with in this paper. The list is in the order of year, houses/extensive renovations, Governors in office at the time, and the period the Governors resided at Government House in Adelaide. (nb this may not necessarily be their exact term in office as this date can vary based on whether one takes the start as the date of arrival or Letters Patent being granted and the end being their departure or Letters Patent being granted to their successor.)

Year	Location	Governor	Term of Office	Mths
1836	*HMS Buffalo*	**Captain John Hindmarsh R.N., KH**	**28 Dec 1836 - 16 July 1838**	**19**
1837	**Government Hut Built.**	**Captain John Hindmarsh R.N., KH**	**28 Dec 1836 - 16 July 1838**	**19**
1839	**Government House (GH), North Terrace, Built.**	**Lt. Col. George Gawler KH**	**17 Oct 1838 - 15 May 1841**	**31**
1842	**Government Cottage, Glenelg, Built.**	**Captain, Sir George Grey Esq.**	**15 May 1841 – 25 Oct 1845**	**53**
c1846	**Governors Hunting Lodge, Wellington, Built.**	**Lt. Col. Frederick Holt Robe**	**25 Oct 1845 – 2 Aug 1848**	**34**
1855	**GH Extension.**	**Sir Richard G. MacDonnell C.B**	**8 Jun 1855 - 4 Mar 1862**	**81**
1860	Old Government House, Belair, Built.	Sir Richard G. MacDonnell C.B.	8 Jun 1855 - 4 Mar 1862	81
1863	GH Extension.	Sir Dominick Daly	4 Mar 1862 - 19 Feb 1868	71
1869	GH Extension.	Rt. Hon. Sir James Fergusson Bart.	16 Feb 1869 - 18 Apr 1873	50
1872	GH Extension.	Rt. Hon. Sir James Fergusson Bart.	16 Feb 1869 - 18 Apr 1873	50
1875	GH Extension.	Sir Anthony Musgrave K.C.M.G.	9 Jun 1873 - 29 Jan 1877	44
1878	GH Extension.	Lt. Gen. Sir Wm. Jervois G.C.M.G., C.B	2 Oct 1877 -9 Jan 1883	63
1878	Government House, Marble Hill, Built	Lt Gen Sir Wm. Jervois G.C.M.G., C.B.	2 Oct 1877 - 9 Jan 1883	63
1901	Extension.	Rt. Hon. Hallam, Lord Tennyson K.C.M.G.	10 Apr 1899-17.7.1902	39

Table 3 Governor's Residences and Governors Responsible

7.2.1   1836 – 1837 - *HMS BUFFALO*

Captain John Hindmarsh R.N., KH, Governor 28 Dec 1836 - 16 July 1838.

A definition of a residence is the "act or fact of abiding or dwelling in a place for some time" (Neilson, Knott & Carhart 1948:vol. II, 2119), and as the trip from Britain to South Australia took approximately five months (Plate 17, Page 284), one could begin with the time Governor Hindmarsh and his family spent on board the *HMS Buffalo* when considering Government Houses. However, it must be remembered that his position at that time was 'Captain' not 'Governor' therefore this period has not been included here. It was only upon his arrival at Holdfast Bay, on 27 December 1836, that Hindmarsh assume the full responsibilities of Governor of the new colony. Hence it is from here the issue of 'a house for the Governor' begins and the first Government House under the 'systematic colonisation' scheme was in fact the *Buffalo*. Although Allison suggests that "a 'household' is defined as: the people living in a house; the maintenance of that establishment; and all the goods and furniture found in it" (1998:16) it is doubtful that the word 'house' was meant as a restriction on other types of dwellings.

Chart showing the 'Track of His Majesty's Storeship Buffalo …' in 1836, drawn by Y.B. Hutchinson and traced by his son in 1896.

Plate 17 1836 Voyage of the *HMS Buffalo* (Sexton 1984:8)

Hindmarsh points out, while waiting for his transportable house to arrive, he was "obliged to reside on board the *Buffalo*" (SAA GRG 2/5, no. 13, 6 April 1837). Beginning here, albeit briefly, with a ship for a house is not unusual. The Lieutenant-Governor of Western Australia, Captain James Stirling RN, lived on the H.M.S. *Challenger* and the hulk of the *Marquis of Anglesea* in 1829 (Uren 1948:113 & 241-243) and many people over time have considered a vessel a home. Similarly in South Australia the Governor and his family remained on board the ship in which they arrived "in what was yet for some time Government House" (Sexton 1984:81). They lived on board until 24 April 1837 while the Government Hut was being built (Hindmarsh to Glenelg, SAA GRG 2/5, 30 May 1837; SAA Newscuttings 131, South Australian Register (SAR) 17 August 1927; Mortlock Library South Australia (MLSA) Notes 1952:321). The reason the Governor, along with others, stayed on board were probably two fold. Firstly the prefabricated transportable Government House was to arrive on a later ship (SAA GRG 48/1, 23 August 1836) and secondly because of the insect problem ashore (Borrow 1982:10). The former is a similar example to the land survey not being completed before the colonists arrived and therefore also a problem in the practical implementation of the theory and of the idea of self-supporting. While the insect problem may have been the reason a tent was not used, or the fact that the Governor appears not to have had one. Sexton does mention that in April "… Hindmarsh quitted the ship for his temporary residence at Glenelg and thence to Adelaide a few days later" (Sexton 1984:81). It is unclear what this temporary residence was, presumably a tent, and perhaps Mr Gouger's Tent as seen on the next page.

From a Sketch.   MR. GOUGER'S TENT AND HUT 1.

Plate 18 Mr Gouger's Tent and Hut at Holdfast Bay (Hodder 1898:202; Jensen & Jensen 1980:2)

Information regarding the conditions and the day to day activities on the ship have not been located so far. However, we do know that, similar to the *Marquis of Anglesea* in Western Australia (Uren 1949:113), from 15 January 1837 those on board the *Buffalo* included colonial prisoners (Sexton 1984:81). Colonial prisoners do not detract from the intention to be convict free as this applied to transportation of convicts, but there was no consideration given to 'self-grown' convicts within the theory. One could suggest that residing on the vessel was a factor of human ingenuity and definitely deviation from the norm. This action had not been intended, as a house was to be sent, and while one could in hindsight, and without the benefit of the documentary evidence, create stages in living arrangements, such as ship to tent to house, the problem is that knowing the action was unintended suggests that any stage or linear progression argument would be unsustainable.

The ship itself was originally named the *Hindostan* and launched on 4 January 1813 from Calcutta (Sexton 1984:11) and the life and death of this vessel is well documented in Sexton's book *H.M.S Buffalo* (1984). Plate 19 below is a depiction of the *Buffalo* in 1836 by a passenger Y. B. Hutchinson (Sexton 1984:79), while Plates 20 and 21 are by Robert Sexton (1984) and include the inner structure and refit of 28 July 1836.

Drawing of H.M.S.Buffalo by Y.B. Hutchinson decorating the title page of his journal.
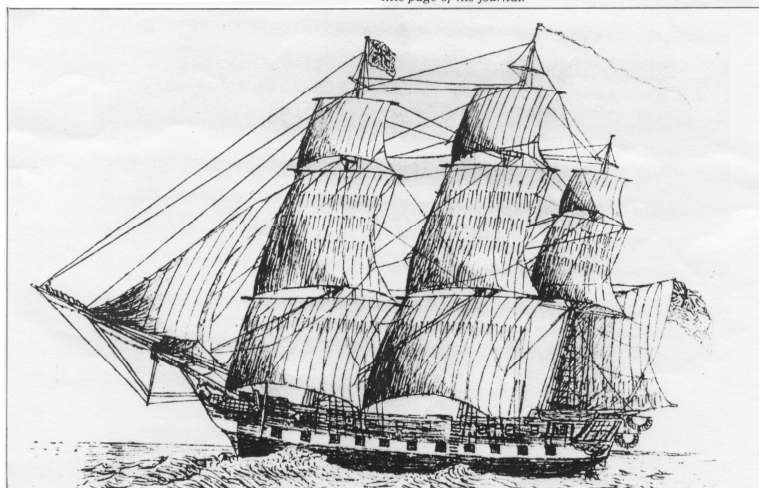
Plate 19 H.M.S. *Buffalo* 1836 (Sexton 1984:17)
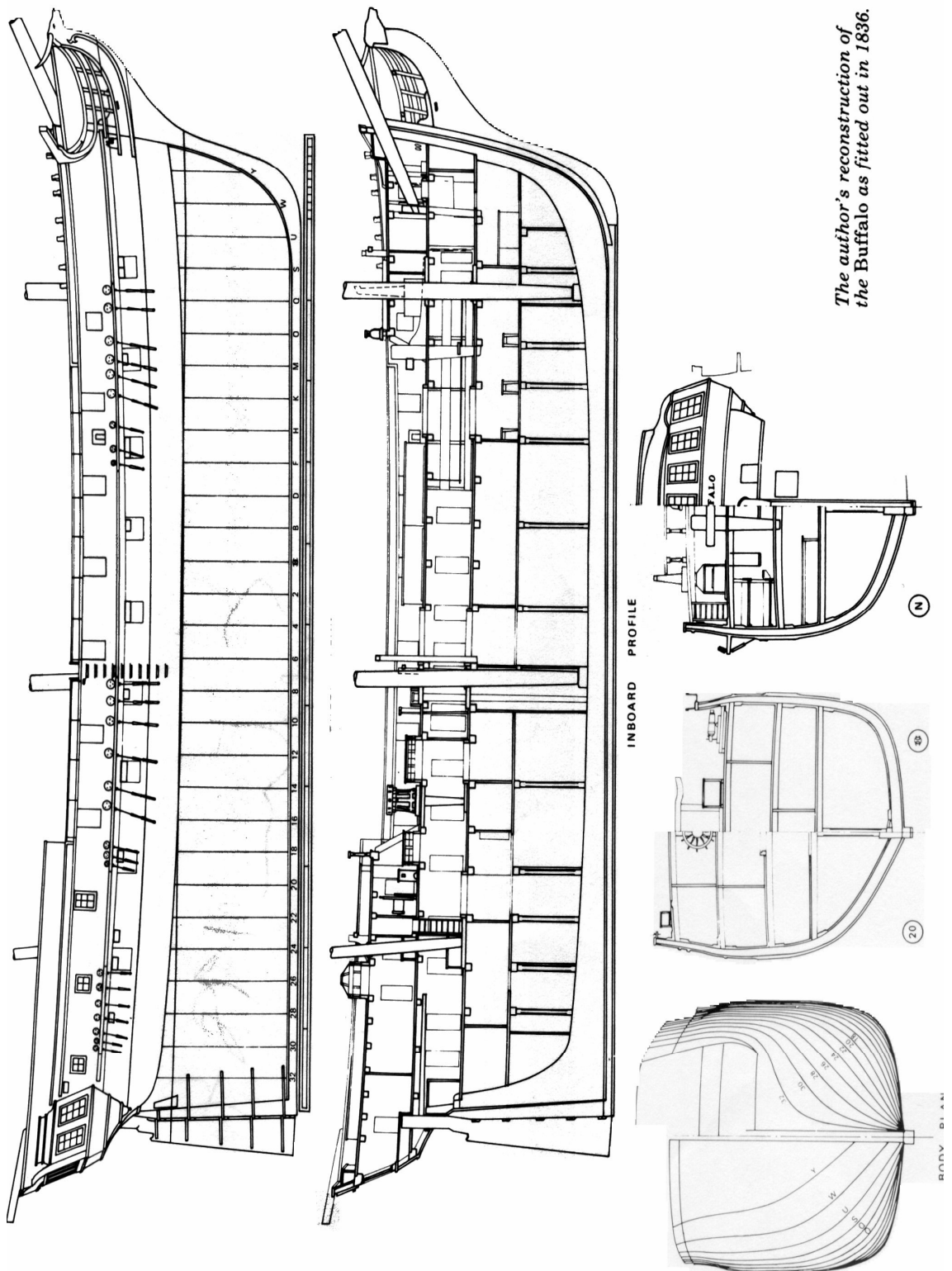
The author's reconstruction of the Buffalo as fitted out in 1836.

INBOARD PROFILE

Plate 20 Reconstructed plan of H.M.S. *Buffalo* 1836 (Sexton 1984:174)
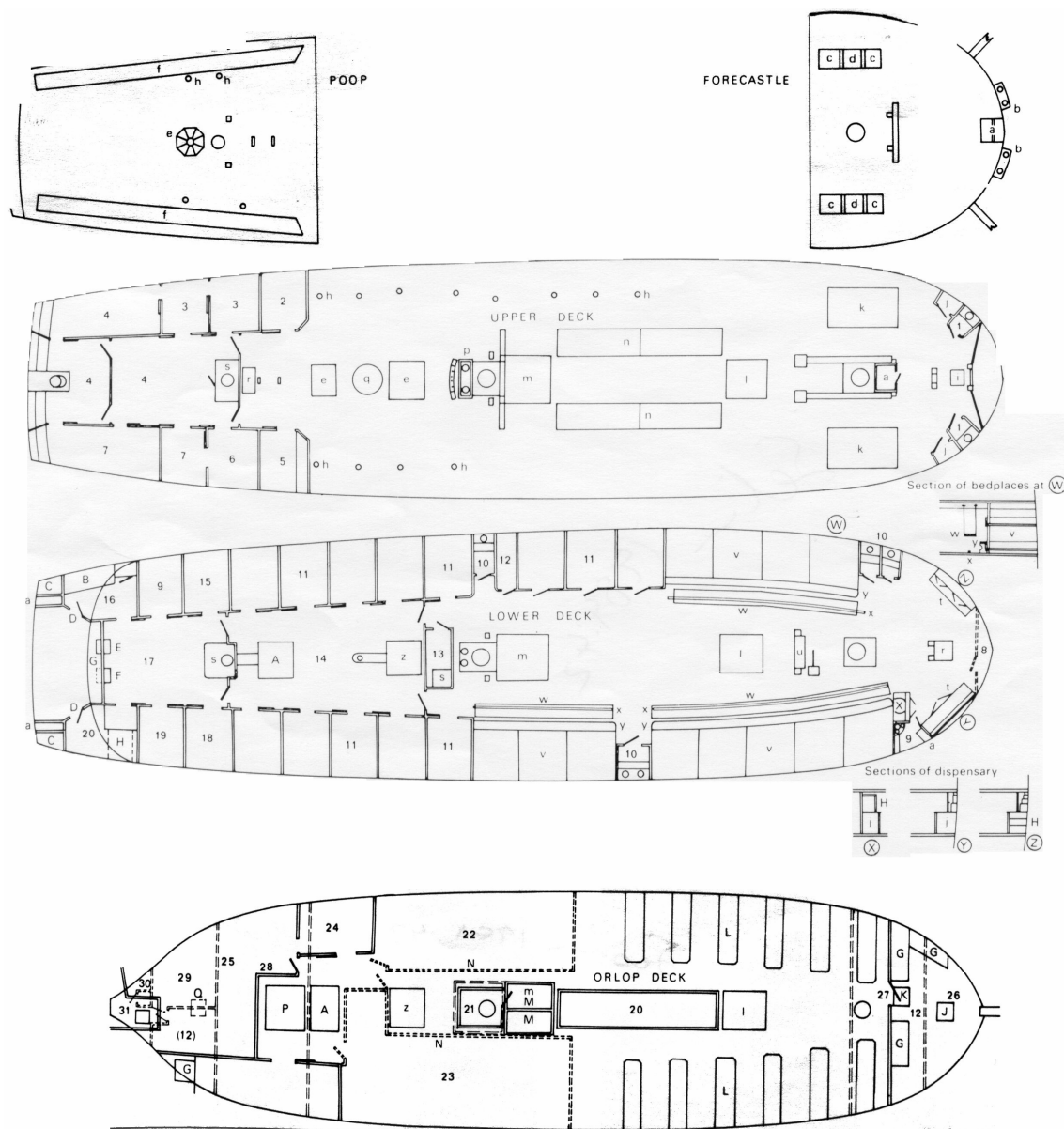
Redrawn from plans of the Buffalo's Decks as fitted: Portsmouth Yard 28 July 1836.

Forecastle: a lockers; b pumps; c grating; d funnel
Poor: e skylight; f fowl coops; g signal lockers and fowl coops; h Preston's Patent Illuminators.
Upper deck: a locker; e skylight; h Preston's Patent Illuminators; I scuttle; j cupboard; k recess in deck for galley; l fore hatch; m main hatch; n pigsty; p Massie's pumps; q capstan; r ladderway; s sideboard; 1 roundhouse; 2 master; 3 captain's family; 4 captain; 5 captain's steward; 6 captain; 7 Resident Commissioner of the Colony.
Lower deck: a locker; j cupboard; l fore hatch; m main hatch; r ladderway; s sideboard; t dispensary; u armourer's bench; v double sleeping places for emigrant labourers; w hanging table, x foot cant; y seat; z after hatch

A hatch; B bedplace; C shelves; D sash; E scuttle caulked in; F scuttle to magazine; G binds; H drawers; 8 marine slop room, with lattice bulkhead; 9 surgeon; 10 water closet; 11 double sleeping cabins for emigrants; 12 storeroom; 13 pantry; 14 mess place for settlers; 15 third 2nd master; 16 senior 2nd master; 17 gunroom; 18 clerk; second 2nd master; 20 gunroom storeroom.
Orlop deck: l fore hatch; m main hatch; z after hatch; A hatch; G bins; J scuttle to gunner's stores; K scuttle to coals; L mess tables; M chain cable locker' N temporary batten bulkhead; P spirit room hatch; Q scuttle in magazine flat; 12 storeroom; 20 sailroom; 21 well; 22 emigrant's luggage; 23 Captain's and emigrant's luggage; 24 Purser's steward; 25 'Bread room – stored in bulk'.
Hold: (12) storeroom; 26 gunner's store' 27 coal hole; 28 spirit room; 29 magazine; 30 light room; 31 magazine passage

Plate 21 Redrawn plans of H.M.S. *Buffalo's* decks as fitted 1836 (Sexton 1984: 42 & 43)

The *Buffalo* had had the poop cabins modified for the voyage to Australia for the Governor on the port side, and the Resident Commissioner on the starboard side, and "each set of cabins not only had its own water closet in the adjacent quarter gallery, but received light from both stern windows and glazed gunports" (Sexton 1984:43-44 & 55). Perhaps this can be seen as the first effects on the surroundings of the two senior positions in the colony, but of course Hindmarsh, being Captain of the ship, outranked Fisher in this instance which may well have added to the tensions seen in the last chapters. The water closets were fitted earlier in 1833.
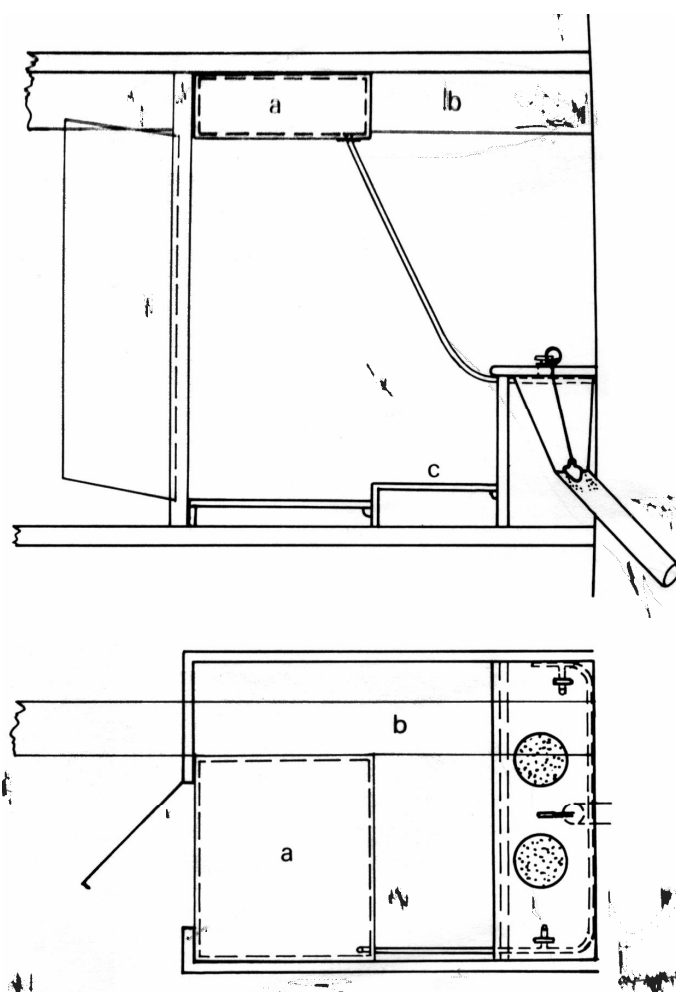
Double water closet, as fitted to the Buffalo *in 1833. A pipe leading down from the cistern and fitted with two turncocks could discharge water into either side of the cabinet. A handle connected to the sealing plug was pulled up to release the contents of the cabinet into the waste-water pipe.*
a cistern fitted up between the beams; b upper deck beam; c 'The flat not fastened'.

Plate 22 Water closet fitted to H.M.S. *Buffalo* 1833 (Sexton 1984:83)

Apart from the 'windows' and 'glazed gunports', deck lights above the cabins, called 'Preston's Patent Illuminators', were installed increasing the light available (Sexton 1984:44). This innovation in the building practices is interesting as it is specifically for the comfort of people rather than for a military or economic need. Perhaps as such this could be seen as the beginning of the adaptation to the passenger and cruise ships of later years. Once again not necessarily a linear progressive process, but one of a myriad of random events. The *Buffalo*, apart from being transportable material culture, has several connections to South Australia. Firstly, it has been suggested the crew built the first Government Hut. Secondly, it had carried Sir Richard Spencer, whose daughter Eliza Lucy later married Captain George Grey the third Governor of South Australia, and his family to Albany Western Australia. Thirdly, it was wrecked (Plate 23, Page 292) in July 1840 in New Zealand (Plate 24, Page 293) the second settlement experiment by Wakefield where he, his son, and his brother as well as the *Buffalo* were buried. New Zealand was also the colony where Captain George Grey, a Governor of South Australia, served twice as Governor (Sexton 1984:28).

The *Buffalo* brought Hindmarsh's family, animals, personal property and the plan for the transportable building that was to be Government House. Thus, not only did it house the Governor, but it also affected the material culture in the new settlement by transporting much of it to Australia and therefore must be placed, and included, within the context of the archaeology of South Australia. The transportable building mentioned was to be on another ship. There is little more to be said regarding the residence onboard other than such accommodation was not intended and highlights the lack of consideration of human needs in the implementation of the theory.
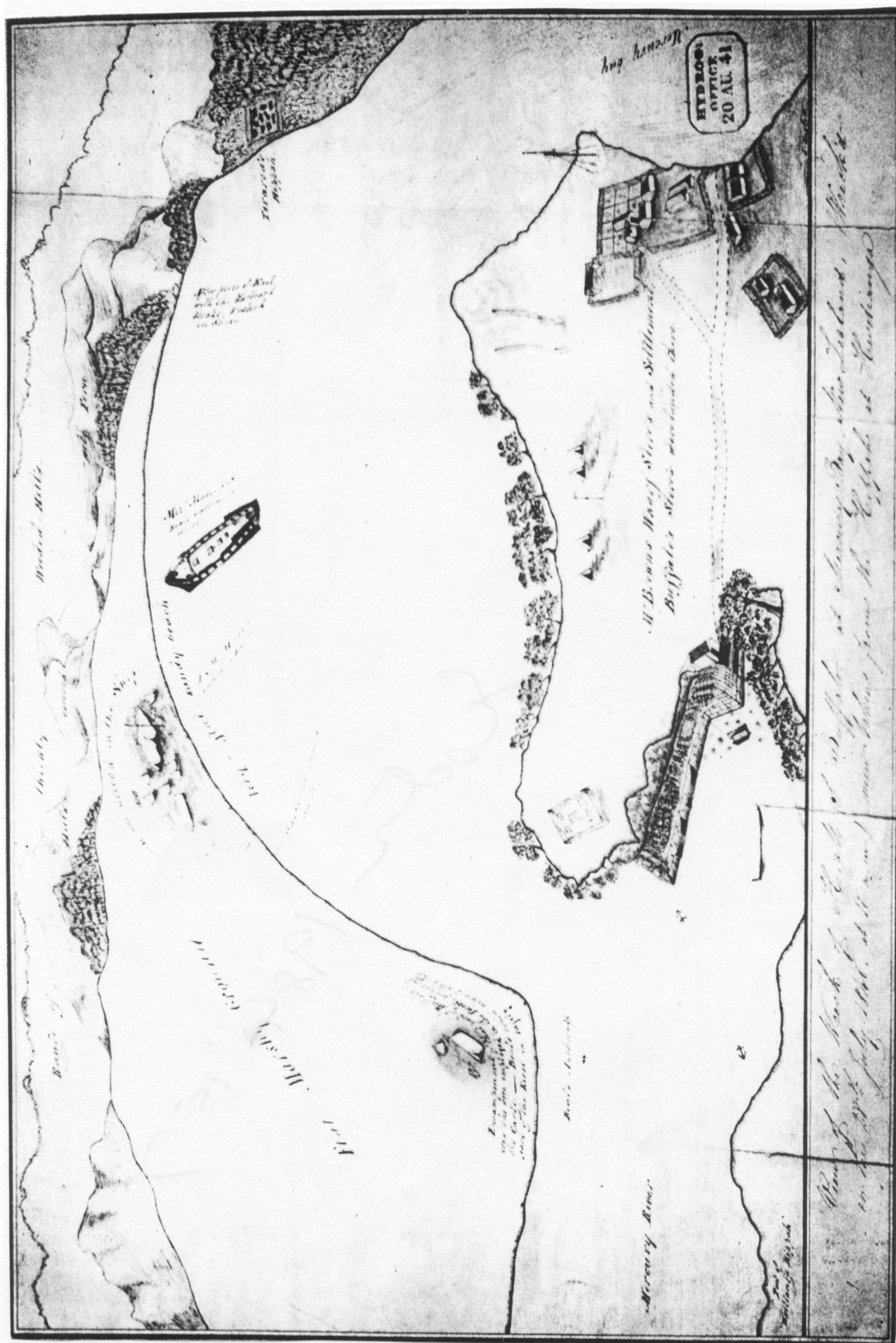
Plate 23 Site in New Zealand of the Wreck of *HMS. Buffalo* (Sexton 1984:57)

Plate 24 New Zealand – Mercury Bay (The Reader's Digest Great World Atlas 1974:43)

7.2.2   The House that Never Was

By researching material for information regarding the first land-based Government House it was discovered that it was intended to be a transportable building brought from Britain. With this discovery it was thought that associated accounts could perhaps assist in being able to predetermine what material culture was to be found at the Government House site, and perhaps details of sizes and dimensions of the building, fittings and fixtures. Unfortunately, having examined each of these entries it was found that they did not contain a breakdown of information and the building never arrived in time. However, through the search it become obvious that the War Office, Treasury, Admiralty, Ordinance, and official letters often repeated the information suggesting a process of notification, and accounting, across the various departments to keep everyone informed. This provided an insight into administrative processes of the day which proved useful during the rest of the research.

The search for detailed information began encouragingly enough with the location of a letter stating,

> enclose[d is] a rough estimate obtained by the Colonization Commission for materials necessary to be taken out to Australia for the construction of Government House and for a few other absolutely necessary buildings …
> (CO 13/4 1836:44).

This letter went on to state "as per plan and elevation" (CO 13/4 1836:48), but there was no plan or elevation was present in this document. The accompanying letter, from Lord Glenelg's Secretary to A G Spearman at Downing Street, interestingly states " buildings which will be required immediately on his arrival in Western Australia …" (CO 13/4 1836:48), rather than 'South Australia', and therefore it is hardly surprising with this kind of error that the buildings arrived well after the settlers and with pieces missing. It was stated that the estimates by Hindmarsh were,

not so framed as to enable them to give any specific sanction for the amount … but in order to prevent any delay … my Lords will not object to any requisite authority being given to the Commissioners to procure such materials … (CO 13/5 1836:81; T 28/59 1836:108).

The actual amount "for materials to build the Governor's House and Public Offices and Stores for furnishing the same and for general purposes [was] £1195.4.0" (AO 3/205 1836:8 & 28/59 1836:70) and for "iron and other buildings and building materials for the Colony [was] £1558.0.4" (AO 3/205 1836:13). The search for a list of the furnishings fared no better beginning with a reply to a "letter of the 17th inst. Enclosing a Statement of the Furniture which will be required for the Public Rooms of the Government House in South Australia" (CO 13/5 1836:106), which once again contained no enclosure. Other accounts and letters relating to the furniture (T 28/59 1836:129; T 28/59 1836:291; CO 13/5 1836:151) proved to be of no help either but the cost was stated to be £631 3s 10d (CO 13/5 1836:155).

Individual accounts are a little more detailed and provide the names of the people paid for work done. However, the 'Manning' company, so often referred to as the builder of transportable homes of the day, and linked to the South Australian transportable Government House, is not mentioned. It is possible that this was a brand or company name in common use as a euphemism for such buildings, and/or the payment was in fact made to a representative of that company. "Manning's" may well have beeen similar to using generic names such as, 'Biro' for ball-point pens, 'Hoover' for vacuum cleaners, the typically Australian 'Hills' for a clothes hoist, or 'Victor' for a lawn mower.

The following tables show all the data found:

Tapprell	Cabinet maker	£22.3.6	A/c 51	18/4/1836
Tapprell	Furniture for House	£114.1.6	A/c 77	23/4/1836
Walker	Iron Buildings (Section 113)	£338.15.0	A/c 113,A/c 251, W/t 48	25/7/1836
Haynes	Work Governor's House	£298.19.4	A/c 138, W/t 54	12/8/1836
Palmer	Glass &c for "	£33.7.7	A/c 155	10/9/1836
Marroitt	Cooking Apparatus "	£31.6.0	A/c 183	19/10/1836
Edgington	Tents for Emigrants	£135.11.6	A/c 292	21/10/1836

Table 4 Businesses, Stores, Costs and Account Numbers 1836 (1835 to 1840, AO 19/9/4, 1836**:**1 – 14)

Brocklebank &Co	Timber			11/2/1837
Roberts	Correcting Specf. of Govt. House	£4.4.0	A/c 29	11/2/1837
Taprell	Furniture for offices in Colony	£59.14.0	A/c 63	13/5/1837
Good	Water Closet for Govt. House	£21.0.0	A/c 30	17/6/1837
Mill	Capt. Duff whale boat complete	£30.0.0	A/c 102, W/t 23	12/8/1837
Taprell	Drawing boards for surveyors			

Table 5 Businesses, Stores, Costs and Account Numbers 1837 (1835 to 1840, AO 19/9/4, 1837**:**1 – 5)

Shipping manifests which may have helped itemise these objects were not located so we are left only with total costs such as, in the January 1837 "Return on all the Expenditure", by Joseph Jackson Accountant, which shows "Timber and other Building materials for the Governors House &c in the Colony £1786.1.8" (CO 13/8 1837:33-35), and in December that same year where the "Payments - For material to build in the Colony the Governors house & Public Offices & Stores for furnishing the same, & for general purposes [had risen to] £4626.0.2" (CO 13/8 1837:490).

In the early dispatches there are some references to the timber and other artefacts, such as building materials for Government House and public offices that were to be on the *Cygnet* along with four iron buildings, but as the despatch shows the words 'carried on' was crossed out and replaced with 'left out of' (SAA GRG 48/1, 30 April 1836 & 29 June). After being 'left off' these materials were to be forwarded 'shortly' on the *Tam O'Shanter* and the rest on the *William Hut* a month later (SAA GRG 48/1, 18 July 1836). However, due to a mistake by the Broker and Timber Merchant only the items on the *Tam O'Shanter* & *Africaine* were sent and the rest of the needs for the early stages of erection were then to go on the *Coromandel* by leaving off the Emigration Depot building, and the interior and ceilings would be dispatched in October (SAA GRG 48/1, 23 August 1836). This of course tells us that the 'Emigration Depot' was a transportable, the Governor and emigrants would arrive well before their

accommodation, and economic (capitalistic) motives, which were at the centre of the theory, outweighed even basic needs. The despatch bearing these details also casually mentions that the dimensions of the materials had changed from the specifications taken by the *Buffalo,* stating that, since "alterations are in excess no inconvenience except perhaps difficulty in identifying the different pieces [and] obviate by enclosing inventory of timbers from specification & amended description". This appeared to Rowland Hill to work out well as the excess would replace other timber ordered. Sadly he adds a 'PS' stating that he had left off the 'inventory' as it could not be determined what the *Coromandel* could carry (SAA GRG 48/1, 23 August 1836). Therefore the Governor had the plans, these had been altered, a new plan had been drawn up but was not to be sent, and some different lengths of timber would arrive at some time. Hardly encouraging news in a distant new colony and this was compounded by Hill's next despatch informing Hindmarsh and Fisher that the "*Coromandel* was overloaded by private concerns, Emigrants Cottages were finished in time but could not be sent out complete, and the remaining parts of 35 cottages & 4 detached kitchens would be on the next vessel" (SAA GRG 48/1, 30 August 1836). No doubt they were cheered by Hill's stated confident opinion that all the timbers for the Governor's house would arrive before the next vessel had been dispatched. As will be seen later this house was never built, thus the 'house that never was', but some part or parts of it may have been used in construction of the Hut and the Kingston Wing of the current Government House and therefore may still exist.

The building materials mentioned here generally refer to prefabricated buildings which is an adaptation of the nomadic processes of transporting accommodation and perhaps something of the softening of the, so say, rugged settler carving out their abode from available materials with less industrialised tools in a new settlement. Both Walker and

Edgington mentioned in Talde 4 are discussed more fully in Herbert's book concerning building prefabrication (1978) which are commonly termed 'transportables'. The phenomena of pre-made housing is comprehensively covered by Herbert (1978, 1984) internationally, and in Australia by Bell (1984) and Lewis (1985). The South Australian connection to this form of housing is linked to the proposed Government House and the extensive use of these houses in the colony. The Australian overall connection to this form of dwelling began early with Captain Arthur Phillip being credited with bringing with him what has been termed the "Governor's Portable House" in 1788, a prefabricated hospital, storehouse and cottages arriving in 1790, and prefabricated buildings being manufactured for export from New South Wales in 1804 (Herbert 1978:5-6). General use by settlers began in the 1820s in the Cape Province (Herbert 1978:6; 1984:12) and perhaps can be seen as a precursor to the current build-a-kit housing and furnishings as extrapolated in Herbert's book *The Dream of the Factory–Made House* (1984). Advertisements for various types of transportable housing can be seen in the following.

Plate 25 Advertisement for Transportable Homes c1839 (Stephens 1839:231 - 232).

Plate 26 Top - Peter Thompson Transportable, Bottom – Manning Transportable (Jensen & Jensen 1980:9)

Plate 27 1838 Advertisement for Peter Thompson Emigrants' Houses (Herbert 1978:Fig 2.6)

Plate 28 John Manning, Portable Colonial Cottage, c1833 (Herbert 1984:15)

The most commonly mentioned house in various writings, in use in South Australia in the 1830s, is the "Portable Colonial Cottage" by Manning of London (Plate 28). These ranged in size from nine by six feet to thirty six by twelve feet (Langmead 1983:265). Kingston eventually built a transportable home (Langmead 1983:266) as did Watts (Watts 1890:75), Judge Cooper (Hawker 1899:43 & Capper 1839:12), and many others (Jameson 1842:12; Gunton 1983:13-14, 97-98, 129-130; Manning 1985:27), including one (Plate 202) at Government Farm, Belair, (Statement of Land for 1840, District B, CO 13/21 1840:268–289). This was a common approach to accommodation needs, but many settlers had fewer economic resources and, therefore, used the local materials for construction. Even the Surveyor General, Light, and Maria Gandy, "were living at this time in a temporary wood and reed hut, while around them the officers and colonists were erecting anything from tents to prefabricated houses" (Dutton 1960:217-218). The general perception would be that Col. Light would have been relatively well off and, due to his position/status, living at least as well as those around him, but this does not seem to be the case. Economics, health and available time probably played major roles in Light's living conditions and confirms the point made earlier that examination of only

the archaeological record can perhaps provide erroneous relationships to power, wealth and status. Fletcher suggests,

> We should not expect to find a predominance of buildings made of reeds, light timber or flimsy screening materials during a transition [to sedintation]. The proposition needs further empirical refinement, for instance on whether and to what degree wattle and daub walls of varying thickness would be adequate in these circumstances. The form of the buildings also requires attention (Fletcher 1995:135).

However, we can obviously see a 'predominance' of such buildings in the beginning of a settlement which does not represent a temporary nature or stage of occupation. The idea of temporary accommodation is also unsupported by the Friends Meeting House, at 40 Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide, which was shipped out by John Barton Hack in February 1840 (Morgan & Gilbert 1969:100–101), as it is an existing example of a prefabricated transportable (Plates 30-32). Next to this building, at 42 to 44 Pennington Terrace, is 'Walkley Cottage', Plate 33, is another prefabricated building from the same period, but it cannot be seen as it is encased inside the current brick structure. It appears from the records that the only buildings supplied in South Australia, by the Commissioners, were for Government House and public buildings, while the settlers were to be supplied with large tents.

Generally shelter became the boats the settlers came on, huts of local materials, tents, and transportable homes in the initial stages. There was a shortage of transportable homes along with the expected number of tents, due to human error and business dealings taking priority over obvious basic necessities. For instance, John White had chartered more than half of one of the first vessels to arrive, the *Tam O'Shanter*, and had other cases on the *Coromandel* and *William Chesser* of building supplies and implements (Gunton 1983:137–138). Also, "... the "Africaine" and "Tam O'Shanter", part of the colonial fleet, were largely loaded with wooden buildings (Price 1924:38) including Reverend Howard's Parsonage and Finniss' house (Borrow 1982:15).

Unfortunately much was lost or damaged on arrival. Once again human initiative, or deviation, took over using the local resources to meet the needs of shelter.

Wakefield's land pricing policy and inability to force production, the delay in surveys, and the colonist's lack of knowledge of the local environment all contributed to a period of land speculation rather than agricultural production. In turn this countered Wakefield's plan for land holders to have a system of viable, or rather profitable, low employee wages and a wage earning work force. Land owning replaced wage earning and the price of labour and land increased. Also the type of migrants, based on the theory and practical implications had its effect since agricultural labourers were a focus as were both major and minor entrepreneurs. The result was a lack of skills, such as building prefabricated houses locally, and/or sufficient funds to bring your transportable with you, particularly as the costs of the housing may well have been offset by the passage fare being paid. Of course there is the distinction that Bell makes between transportable and prefabricated (1984:68) which may account for the lack of this industry in that one could simply build on one's own house without the need of either prefabrication or transportation. However, this does not account for the possible need for such a product in the country regions, while delays in country surveys may be a contributing factor. Overall there appears to be a time lag between importing prefabricated transportable buildings in the early 1800s and the growth and use of this industry in the 1900s.

There is not a statistical count of the use of such buildings in South Australia and it may not be possible to obtain an accurate picture due to the lack of records. Moreover, the written material may well be biased since, those records available in the most part, were written by the same people who could afford to purchase these buildings, and therefore

not a cross section of society. It can be seen that from the earliest days these buildings

were closely associated with the experiment, particularly as the Commissioners sent out

thirty five double cottages (Capper 1837:66).
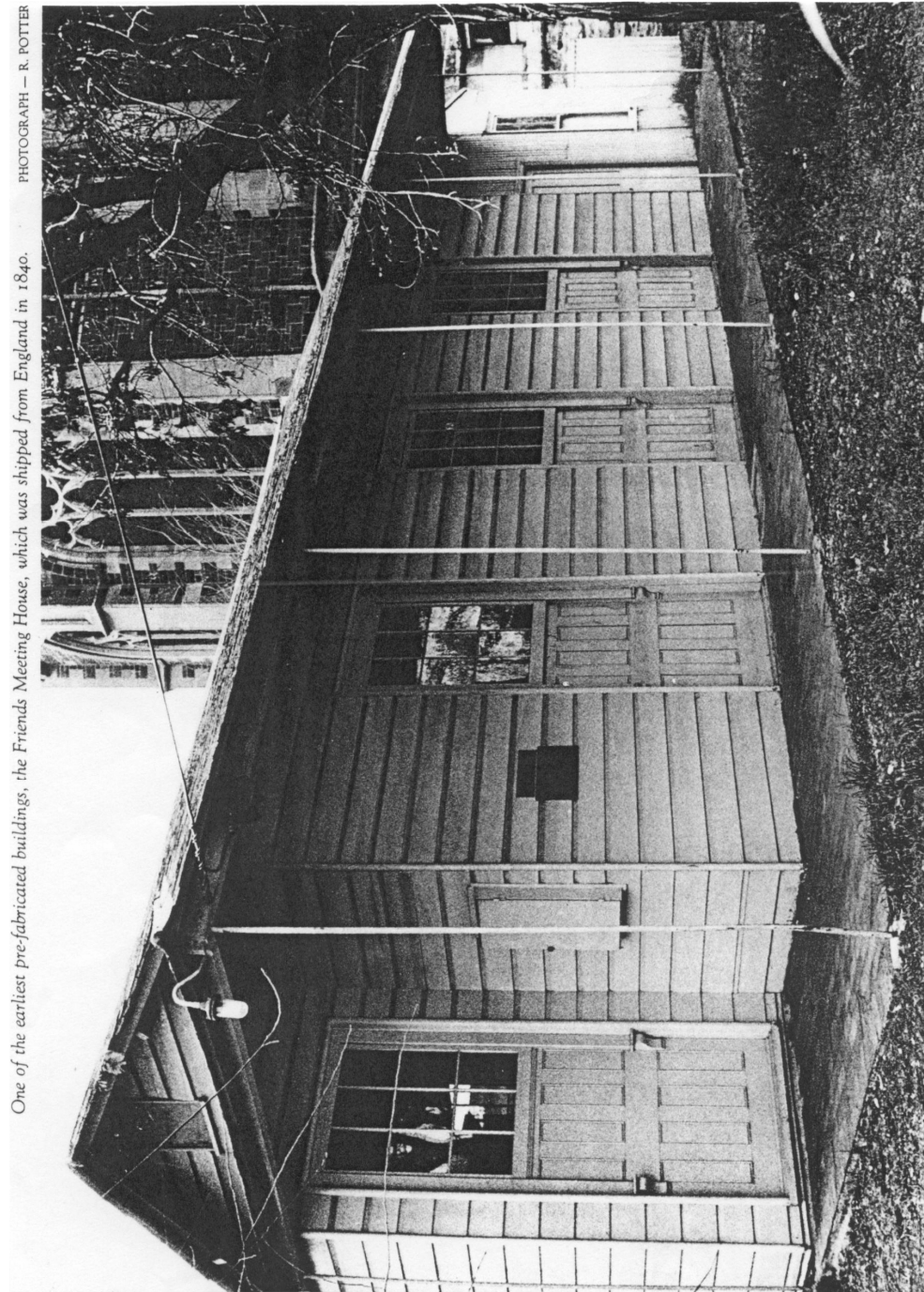
Plate 29 Friends Meeting House (Thiele 1982)
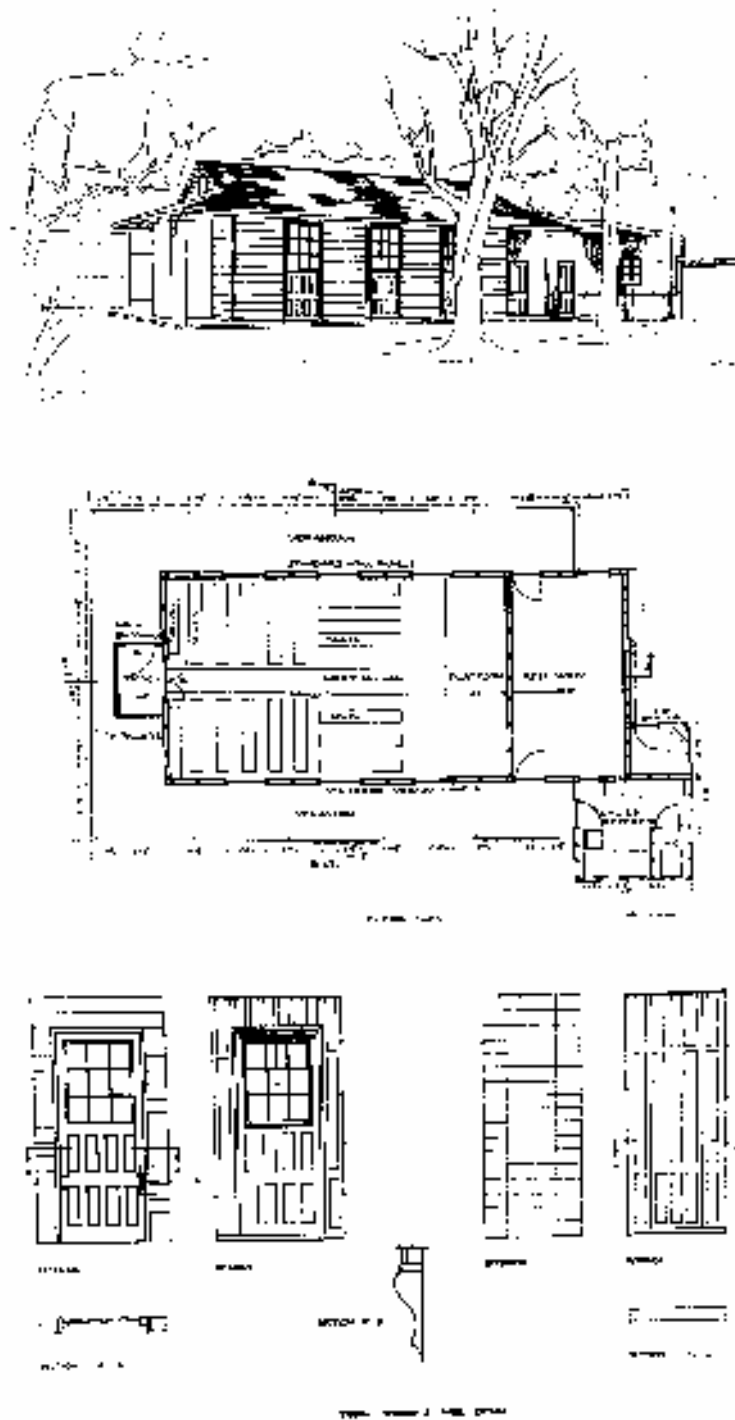
Figure 2.8. Meeting house, Society of Friends, Adelaide, Australia. 1839. Top, general view; *Middle*, plan; *Bottom*, window details. Laikve, "Report on the Meeting House of the Society of Friends." (School of Architecture, University of Adelaide)

Plate 30 Plan of Friends Meeting House (Herbert 1974:Fig 2.8)

Plate 31 Rear view of Friend's Meeting House (view to the north) (G Copland, 2001)

Plate 32 Front view of Friend's Meeting House (view to the south) (G Copland, 2001)

WALKLEY COTTAGE

The original house erected on this site in 1839 was a
prefabricated timber dwelling made by Henry Manning
of High Holborn, London. Brought out to the colony
by Henry Watson, brother-in-law of the prominent
South Australian colonist John Barton Hack, it soon
proved unsuitable for the climate, and was encased
by Watson with a brick veneer in late 1840.
Parts of the original Manning house still
remain within the present structure.

Plate 33 Plaque at Walkley Cottage, Pennington Tce, North Adelaide (G Copland 2001)

Plate 34 Walkley Cottage Pennington Tce, North Adelaide (view to the north) (G Copland 2001)

Perhaps the question is why the Governor's house was not among the many being brought in the first ships and the answer may be in part shown in the Cargo list (Capper 1837:64–65), when one notes that over half the ships were run by private interests suggesting a place of privilege for economic considerations and the Governor was not privileged. Alternatively it may have been that specific specifications delayed the completion of the transportable since Langmead suggests, when attempting to estimate the dimensions of the structure, that "it may be reasonably expected that the general quality of a Government House might exceed that of a settlers cottage" and the inclusion of a water closet, mentioned in the accounts above, was "an indicator of the quality of life [the house] was intended to provide …" (1983:317-318). It is hard to assess such leaps to allocate status when, as lamented by Hindmarsh, most of the Commissioners and settlers were housed before the Governor (CO 13 /6 1837:135). The result appears to be a clear sign that the theory, based on usurping power, worked diminishing the Governor's status and affected the material outcome.

Jameson provides another slant on the colonist's lack of local environmental knowledge when he points out that there were problems with this type of housing as, due to the climate and use of unseasoned timbers, they were bulky and subject to shrinkage (1842:12). However, this may not have always been the case as some of the weatherboards of John White's house are "still standing up to the Australian climate after 143 years" (Gunton 1983:137-138) and the Friends House in North Adelaide looked as good as new in 2002 (Plates 30-32). Langmead supports the poor material argument, but adds "bad workmanship, mismanagement, and to some extent accidents" as well as "careless storage" on arrival, were contributing factors to the buildings not being suitable (1983:321). Jameson's view may well have been tempered by a nostalgic view of the past which is shown when he quotes a colonist as saying "… there is more

pleasure in making our own comforts than in buying them ready made, as seems to be the fashion here" (Jameson 1842:13). This statement may well be alluding to the changing economic times, the beginnings of the consumer society, the loss of the skills knowledge base through dislocation from family and land, or the beginnings of industrialisation. Jameson does confirm the scarcity and cost of building materials and suggests that the housing built locally reflected this in the size and shape (1842:16 & 69). Standing next to each other could be found a "… blue and white painted wooden cottage brought out from England, with Venetian blinds, and perchance a brass knocker, and the mud-walled edifice, less elegant, but not less comfortable …" (1842:16–17). This statement is a reflection of both economics and attitudes of the time, and colony, and is particularly poignant when considered along with the comment that, those who built in brick and stone, "heedless of expense, [were] resolved to possess that essential of English comfort, a good house, whatsoever might be the fate of the colony" (Jameson 1842:17). This statement suggests the use of transportables may be a reflection of the possible transient nature of the colony, and/or colonist, and raises the question of commitment to settle permanently, but it also indicates the financial capacity to build in a more solid manner, and that comfort may take precedence over economic consideration.

The other form of transportable dwellings used were tents, and the cost to the Commissioners of these is listed in Table 5. Many colonists have been noted as living in tents, such as Young Bingham Hutchison a passenger on the *Buffalo* (Jennings 1991:6), Mrs Thomas who writes of putting up a two roomed tent 16 November 1836 (Brown et al 1936:16), and Fidelia S. T. Hill a passenger on the *Buffalo* who was the first woman in Australia to have a book of verse published in 1840 and wrote,

> Our tent was pitched upon the sloping bank
> Of the stream Torrens, in whose lucid wave

> Dipp'd flow'ring shrubs – the sweet mimosa there
> Wav'd its rich blossoms to the perfumed breeze.
> This, this methought shall be my happy home!
> Here may I dwell, and by experience prove
> That tents, with love, yield more substantial bliss
> Than Palaces, without it, can bestow (Cited in Brown et al 1936:67).

However, as the Governor and his family were to have a transportable house, this form of shelter is not discussed in any detail here, but a photograph of such a tent (Plate 35, Page 311) is provided to give a general appreciation of such accommodation. This picture appears to be similar to drawings of tents in South Australia including those of Gouger (Plate 18, Page 286) and Gawler (Plate36, Page 312).

A family housed in framed tents on the Strand, Townsville, in the 1860s. (Townsville City Library)
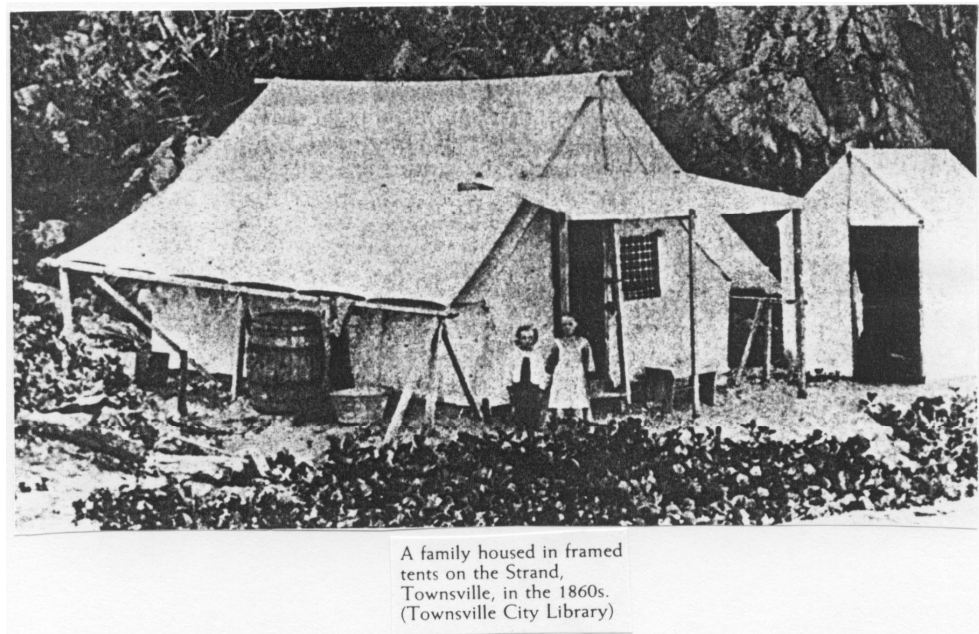
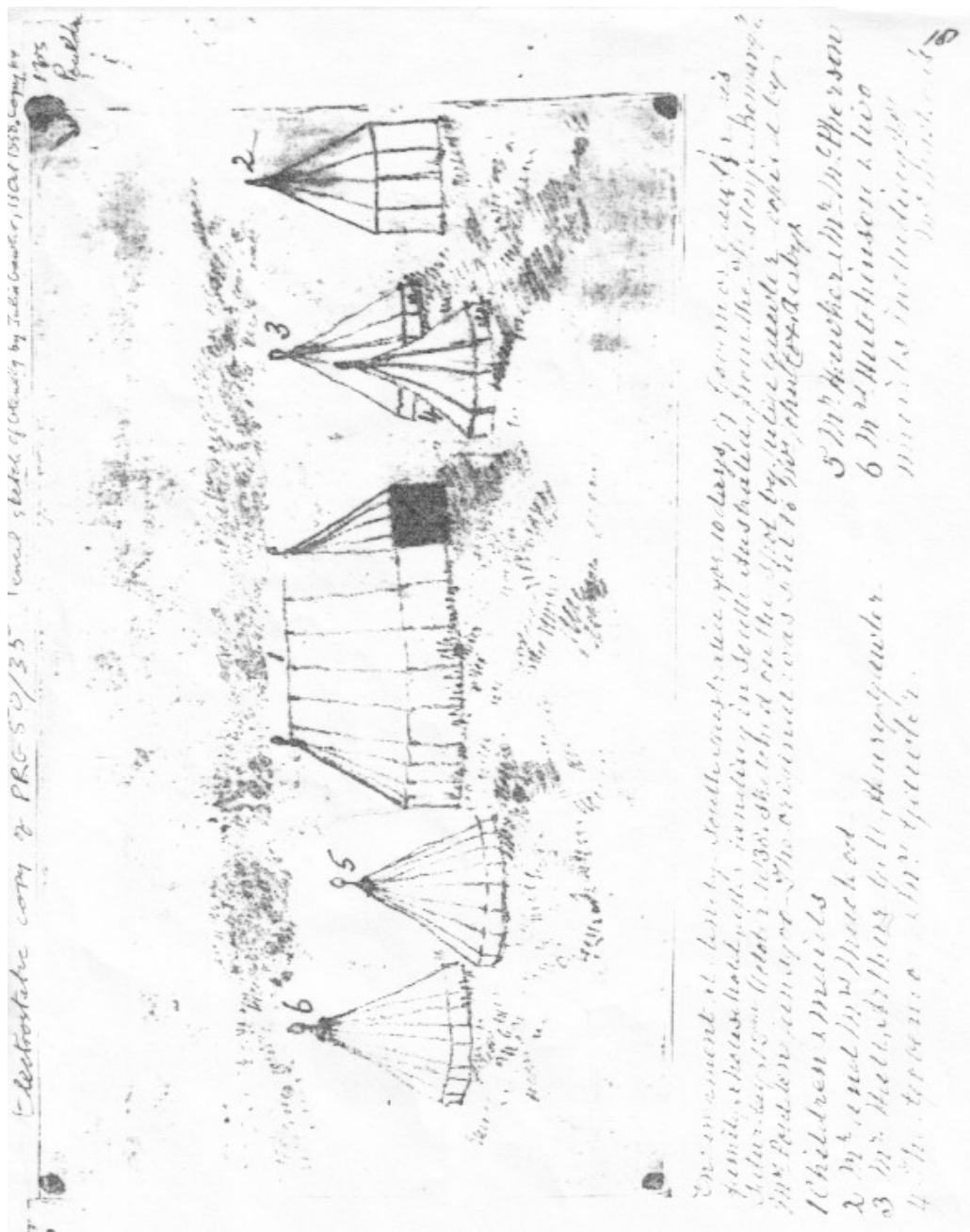**Plate 35** Framed Tent (Bell 1984:103)

Plate 36 Governor Gawler's Tents at Glenelg (MLSA PRG 50/35)

As for the transportable Government House, there was delays and alterations to the materials being sent and instructions were issued "that large portions of the Government offices were to be constructed of native timber" (Price 1924:113). In his answer to charges Hindmarsh included affidavits from people who cut pine trees for Fisher (CO 13/11 1838:143-176), the very person who complained of Hindmarsh doing the same thing. Moreover, the cutting of trees was only necessary in the first place due to a mix-up of the shipment of buildings and the instructions that Government Offices were to be built using native timber (Price 1924:113). Note the need for available building timber in the Commissioner's list of site requirements. This act of resourcefulness in a new environment, or deviation from the expected, was in this instance used as a political tool to undermine the power of the Governor. Having built temporary residences. The confusion emanating from this problem lead to the building of Government Hut of native pines and added to the tensions between Fisher and Hindmarsh. Borrow suggests John White was to supply the timber for this transportable and O'Brien, presumably Edward, drew the plan for the Government House (1982:12), but the accounts, in Tables 4 & 5 do not mention either people. Borrow also suggests some drawings of a proposed window (1982:12) exist, but Langmead states that no drawings for the house survive and he even goes on to debate the part played by O'Brien in the drawing of these plans (1983:317 & 334). However, it can be safely assumed that it was not a 'Manning Cottage' even though F. Hindmarsh does mention his forebear, Governor Hindmarsh, purchased one (1995:116) citing Capper (1837:16) in which no mention was found by this author. However, there was a Manning advertisement in Capper (1839) which mentions Governor Hindmarsh. In this advertisement it is not clear whether Hindmarsh purchased a cottage or just received letters about the purchase of such cottages. Herbert also suggests the Government Hut was a timber house citing a similar Manning advertisement run in the South Australian Register 1 January 1840 (1978:13). However,

it would seem that these citations were simply a confusion between the intended transportable house, the advertisement of Manning Houses being used in the state, and the temporary, and rustic nature of the Government Hut when is was finally built. The design of the Manning House (Plate 28) may well have contributed to the final outcome of Government Hut and has been used in the reconstruction of the possible shape of the building shown in the following pages. There is also a mention of one being built on Government Farm, which eventually contained the new Government House Summer Residence with an indoor pool in 1859. This is outside the period being discussed, but it demonstrates both the increased fortunes of the State, following the end of settlement, and the changing social customs (Plates 203-205).

We have seen in the Table 5 the seemingly innocuous notation of "Correcting specification of Governors house £4.4.0" (AO 3/205 1837:20) which actually refers to the fact that the Governor arrived with a plan, the building did not get onto the ship for transportation, the dimensions were changed in the meantime, and therefore a new plan had to be drawn up to cater for the change in dimensions. Langmead suggests much of this was due to Rowland Hill contracting out the work to the cheapest tenders and that Roberts, who was paid for the re-drawn plans, ended up not supplying any of the parts (1983:318). Hill's letter to Fisher on 23 August 1836 regarding the changes provides a clear insight into the lack of understanding of the difficulties in a new colony and the difficulties not only containing the variables in such an experiment but of implementing a theory. These problems seem to arise due to the stress on the political and economic outcomes without due consideration of the social and environmental impact. One of the other major points of this letter is that Fisher obviously knew that pines could be used and therefore the aggravation and complaints regarding the cutting of the pines can be clearly cited as being used simply as a tactic for attacking the Governor to perhaps

further the republican cause. The saga of this unfortunate house continued during the building of a residence for the first Governor and then again at the construction of a residence for the second Governor.

7.3   Government Hut

Having considered the possible site, and position of the Government Hut, it also seemed appropriate to consider those that built it, and the building itself, as a possible means of determining its location, design, and the materials of which it was constructed. Allison states,

> investigation of structural remains may lead to an understanding of cultural patterning of space but does not, necessarily, lead to an understanding of the perceptions of those who built the buildings, still less to an understanding of the behaviour of those who inhabited them (1998:17),

which is a little further than this stage of this current research has reached. However, it does set out the goals of considering the space once located, at least establishing who built the dwelling to perhaps lead to new areas of document research, and in conjunction with written accounts perhaps gain some understanding of those that lived in and used the building. The first and last of these must be put aside till later as logically the building had to first be located before it was examined and therefore the next stage of the research was to establish the builders and what was known of the building.

7.3.1   Who Built the Hut?

The general consensus seems to be that sailors from the *Buffalo* built the building. Some say simply 'sailors' (Dutton 1960:221; CO 13/11 1838:98–104; Steuart 1901:109-110; CO 13/8 1837:441–442; Sexton 1984:81; Collins 1996) others restrict this to 'Marines' and 'Crew' (PDSA 1927:766; MLSA Notes 1952:321; Hindmarsh F. 1995:116) but of course crew, sailors and marines may have been interchangeable. Hindmarsh mentions using the same carpenter, from the *Buffalo*, who built Fisher's and

Light's residences (CO 13/11 1838:101-102) and Borrow states that "… work by the ship's carpenters from H.M.S. *Buffalo* ceased, for want of nails" (Borrow 1982:13). The latter is supported by the Colonial Secretary's letter of 28 March 1837 requesting nails and pickaxes that were required by the carpenters from the *Buffalo* who were building the Hut (SAA Newscuttings 131, SAR 17 August 1927). The transcribed Admiralty Establishment of *His Majesty's Ship Buffalo* (CO 13/3 1835:192) lists a carpenter and eight carpenters mates but does not provide the names while Sexton's list (1984:169) of the company lists the names but not the duties performed. We know that seamen John Hall died 30 August 1836 of consumption (Sexton 1984:59 & 169) and on 16 Sept 1836 John Storey fell overboard and was lost (Sexton 1984:62 & 169). Other than these changes the crew appeared to remain unchanged.

John Hill, an able seaman on the Buffalo who left the ship in South Australia. Redrawn from a photograph showing him in Royal Naval uniform. The ribbon on his hat carries the inscription 'Her Majesty's Ship Buffalo'.

Plate 37 Able Seaman Hill (Sexton 1984:54)

We also know that on 1 February 1837 "a work party was sent up to Adelaide under the superintendence of Second Master Mr Phillips to erect a house for the Governor ..." (Sexton 1984:81; Borrow 1982:13) and Able Seaman John Hill, left, was one of the people who worked on the Hut, so obviously not all, if any, were 'Marines'. With this lack of clarity regarding who built the house it seemed worth while considering that it may well have been passengers.

The list of passengers at Spithead (CO 13/4 1836:133-139) shows likely candidates in;

- Carpenters, Robert Cock (passenger no. 51), Thomas Wickens (no. 131), and George Wells (no. 143),
- Cabinet Maker, James Bennet (no. 59),
- Wood Turner, Edward Thomas Stebbing (no. 140),
- Woodmen, Samuel Chapman (no. 145), Robert Fox (no. 149), and John Chapman (no. 150), and
- Foreman in Timber, Henry Hewitt (no. 154).

There also is an additional list of passengers from St Helen's none of which were wood workers (CO 13/4 1836:145). Alterations along the way were that; Edward Bull, who came aboard at St Helen's, was discharged for refusing medication for constipation (CO 13/4 1836:160), a baby was born to Robert and Sophia Walker 29 November 1836 (Sexton 1984:73), and a child died at Rio de Janeiro. None of this altered the availability of woodworkers.

It would appear from various letters that the initial land surveys in South Australia finished, and work began on the Governor's house, in February or March 1837 and the Governor moved into his Hut 24 April (CO 13/6 1837: 135; MLSA Notes 1952:321). In a letter from Brown to Fisher on 8 March 1837 it is stated that, "by direction of the Governor, that rations may be issued to 5 men employed in assisting to build the Government hut" (SAA GRG 24/1/96). The following accounts, by Hindmarsh, for work on or at the house show;

Parr (HT), Atwell (Jas), Marshall (Geo), Curran (Owen), Golding (Tho), and
Bond (Philip)   (SAA GRG 24/172a, 11 April 1837).
Curran, Marshall, Atwell, Bond, and
Hallamby   (SAA GRG 24/172a, 18 April 1837).
Hallamby   (SAA GRG 24/172a. 27April 1837).
Atwell, Marshall, Bond, Reed   (SAA GRG 24/172a, 29 April 1837).
Names as above plus May and Gorman   (SAA GRG 24/172a, 6 May 1837).
Geo Rex, Hill, Reed, Marshall   (SAA GRG 24/187a, 10 June 1837).
Rex, Hill, Reed, Marshall   (SAA GRG 24/187a, 17 June 1837).
John Hill and Edw Reed, Geo Rex   (SAA GRG 24/228a, 8 July 1837).
Geo Rex, John Hill, [?] Reed   (SAA GRG 24/237a, July 1837).
Hill, Rex, Reed   (SAA GRG 24/260a, 29 July 1837).

All notes are signed by J. Hindmarsh and written on scrappy bits of paper which confirms the shortage of some supplies in the colony and it is possible that the month of May has been mistaken, by this author, for a name of a workman. The following is a comparable alphabetical list compiled from the notes from the South Australian Archives with corresponding occupations on the *Buffalo* from Sexton (1984:189–171);

Atwell (Jas)	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Bond (Philip)	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Curran (Owen)	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Golding (Tho)	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Gorman	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Hallamby	Samuel Humbey listed as being on Buffalo
Hill John	listed as Seaman
Marshall (Geo)	James Marshall listed as Seaman & a Marshall on the Cygnet
May	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Parr (HT)	Thomas Pain listed by Sexton as a Marine (1984:169)
Reed Edw	not listed as being on the Buffalo
Rex Geo	George Rix listed as a Seaman

As few appear to be either crew or passengers of the *Buffalo* perhaps they were from other ships and of course these payments lists may not have been all the payments made. The Purser's account of sailors employed ashore between January and May 1837 only mentions, Geo Rix, John Hill, Wm Parr and Jas Marshall (SAA GRG 24/90/373, 29 May 1837). Oddly the Purser was still paying people for work up to July, but this could be for other activities or finishing touches after moving into the Hut in April. Certainly the account showing that there was money owed to the Governor for monies paid to labourers employed in 'building' the Government Hut (SAA GRG 24/172a/3, June 1837), suggests some, if not all, were employed in the construction. There still appears to be some questions yet to be answered on who actually, and specifically, built the Hut and if these can be confirmed then a further search for diaries, letters, etc. can be undertaken relating to these people, in the search for site and construction details.

7.3.2   Construction

The next step was to gather details of the building itself to perhaps again assist in establishing its location. Also this was to establish the materials used, the dimensions of the building, and the uses of the space, in preparation for a time when it may actually be located. Bell states,

a dwelling place is for most people throughout history the largest, most expensive, durable, and demanding artefact in their possession; its location, scale, form, materials, and details are determined by the occupant's and builder's way of life in the broadest sense (1984:20).

While this is fundamentally true, it omits the important aspects that available resources, the natural environment, and landscape also determine many of these points. One could argue that the 'way of life' includes settling in a new colony and therefore these other determinants are covered, but their impact can be so great that such an argument fails to justify their omission or specific reference.

Having looked at location we have seen that, as the building was for the Governor, its location was quite different from that of the other settlers' dwellings by being placed in the parkland belt that surrounded the Town Acres. As to the scale, form and details it would seem that there was little difference to other buildings of local materials other than it seemed to be of a lesser standard (Stephens 1839:110). This could be due to the observations of the day which were made by people who perhaps expected a more imposing edifice to proclaim the power and status of the supposed leading citizen of the Colony. Alternatively we can see that it was perhaps a true reflection of the fact that Hindmarsh did not have the power both he and the general public expected. One presumes that the crew were used to build the Hut because the emigrants were busy building their own dwellings and the consequences seem certainly to reflect the 'way of life' of the builders, if not that of the Governor. As Sexton writes,

the building of Government House was not one of the sailors' greatest achievements … the architect was a sailor, and the workmen employed were the seamen of the *Buffalo*, who, thinking they could "rig up a house" as well as a top-mast, would not allow any interference in their arrangements (1984:81).

The results were that fireplaces and a chimney were apparently forgotten and had to be added later (Borrow 1982:4) and the building required repairing as early as 1839 (5 January 1839 AO 19/9/4). Also the acquisition of some materials used, such as local

pines and a shipment of windows and doors, which is discussed later, caused further dissension between the Governor and the Resident Commissioner and may well have been used simply as opportunities to diminish the power and status of the Governor. The 'way of life' aside it may be more appropriate to consider that the resources, natural environment, landscape, and time constraints were more of a determinant than the activities of the builders and occupants.

GOVERNMENT HUT c1836
Reconstruction
Scale: 1cm : 4 ft
G. Copland 2006 ©
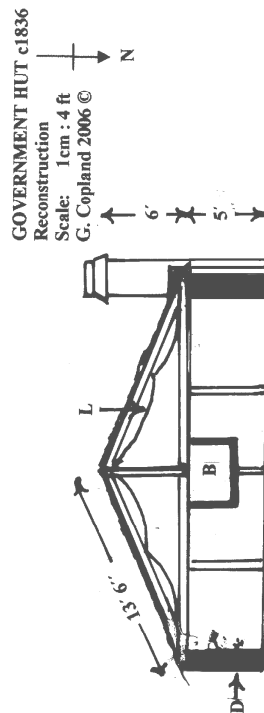
A. Native pine used for rafters (Borrow 1982:13).

B. Native pine used sills and lower joints (Hill to Fisher, SAA GRG 48/1, 13 August 1836, Langmead 1983:319–320)

C. "... constructed of mud, put between laths, supported on uprights of native wood ..." (Gouger Cited in Sexton 1984:81; Steuart 1901:109–110; Stephens 1839:110; Hawker cited in Dutton 1960:270; Young cited in Borrow 1982:15; Hailes 1998:20; PDSA 1927:766–767).

D. A strong sapling gum-tree, which had been pollarded, served in one corner of the room as a support for the end of one of the side beams, and we had frequently to cut back shoots which grew out from the tree (Hawker Cited in Borrow 1982:10).

E1. Windows used which had been sent out for the use in the transportable Government House (Fisher to Colonial Secretary, SAA GRG 24/1/71, 30 March 1837; CO 13/6 1837:147-148). Window frames had initials on them showing them to be the missing property of Mann and Morphett (Dutton 1960:221; F. Hindmarsh 1995:117). Glass - "8 panes in each of two windows each pane 17" and 3/? in length and 11 inches and ¾ in breadth" (Fisher to Colonial Secretary, SAA GRG 24/1/29, 3 April 1837).

E2. Glass "4 panes of glass 17 in. by ½, 4 [panes] 12 in. by 8 4/5 to finish the glass of Government Hut" (Hindmarsh, SAA GRG 24/269a, 2 August 1837; SAA GRG 24/271a, 3 August 1837).

E3. "... no fastenings for doors and windows nor bricks ..." (Hindmarsh, SAA GRG 24/2/14a, 27 July 1837).

F. Thatched with reeds (Gouger cited in Stephens 1839:110 and Sexton 1984:81; Maria Gawler in Brown 1936:29; Watts 1890:75–76, Hawker cited in Dutton 1960:270; Steuart 1901:109-110; PDSA 1927:766–767). "Robert Lock/Cook and William Ferguson agree to deliver reeds for Government hut of average size 1503 £75.3. from 29 March 1837 to 12 May 1837" (SAA GRG 24/1/63a, 17 March 1837). The "modern" shingles roof was imported from Van Diemen's Land (PDSA 1927:766–767). Still thatched in 1838 (Maria Gawler cited in Brown1936:29 & Kerr 1978:103).

G. The floors were of wooden planks (PDSA 1927:766–767). A note signed 'JH', presumably by John Hindmarsh, states, "Wanted for Gov' Hut 16 ft deals cut into 3 boards for temporary flooring. 8 wanted immediately. Floor boards for the above 50 lbs, nails 25 lbs, 40 pens. The two latter wanted for immediate use" (SAA GRG 24/1/1z, 1837). 3 boards @ 16 ft. = 6 boards at 8 ft totalling 48 boards which would fit the two offices (24 boards each @ 6 ins. wide i.e. 8 ft.x12 ft

H. 50 feet by 27 feet (Borrow 1982:13) and one storey (PDSA 1927:766–767). Three rooms (Gouger Cited in Sexton 1984:81; Steuart 1901:109–110; Stephens 1839:110).

I. "some little offices on one side" (Gouger Cited in Sexton 1984:81; Steuart 1901:109–110; Stephens 1839:110). Two rooms were used for offices (MLSA Notes 1952:321; Hawker in Borrow 1982:6 & 11). Two small rooms on the left were appropriated by the Governor for his offices, the inner room for himself, and the outer one for Hr. Hall, his Private Secretary, and myself as assistant the latter was also used as a waiting room. (Hawker Cited in Borrow 1982:10)
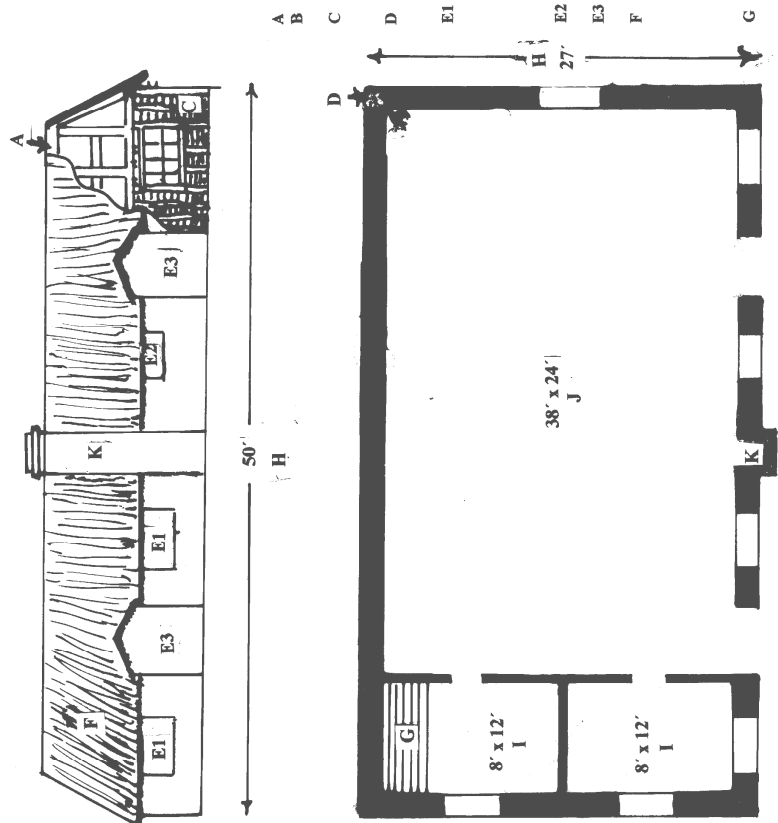
J. A third as drawing room, dinner parties, levees, musical evenings, and daily dining (MLSA Notes 1952:32); Hawker in Borrow 1982:6 & 11). "a long rectangle, divided off into a large reception room with adjoining smaller rooms ... "(PDSA 1927:766–767).

K. a single fire-place and chimney has been put down close to the front door ... (Gouger Cited in Sexton 1984:81; Steuart 1901:109–110; Stephens 1839:110).

L. Ceiling of calico (Hawker Cited in Borrow 1982:10; Borrow 1982:13)

Plate 38 Reconstructed drawing of Government Hut (G.Copland 2006)

7.3.3 Uses and Furniture

Initially the bulk of the European material culture was introduced to South Australia as a result of the theory and experiment. What was used, what was not, and what was altered or invented to meet needs can be traced to those foundations. So from the very outset the theory and experiment had a major impact on the material culture in South Australia. While the Governor, Commissioners and Surveyors were going about the business of formally establishing the colony they, along with the larger group of settlers, began the day to day activities which of course is part of settlement and creation of the archaeological record. Food and shelter would always seem to be the priority, but this was also an economic venture and therefore business was high on the agenda through the use of British capital, involvement of capitalists, and the intent to be self-supporting. While food seemed to be in abundance there was the practical issues of catching, butchering, and preparing different food sources quite apart from the fact these resources actually belonged to someone else, the Indigenous population. Normative cultural processes were activated and parrot pies and kangaroo stew simply took the place of pigeon and mutton, albeit with possible variations, or deviations, in the butchering and cooking processes. These possibly altered processes cannot be attributed directly to the theory other than the theory was the reason the settlers were at the site and loose links to self-supporting. Production or husbandry of staples would take time particularly with different soils, local vegetation, and a Mediterranean climate with which most settlers were unfamiliar. This raises the issue of the theories lack of consideration of the physical environment. At one point there had even been a call for emigrants who were knowledgeable about South Australian land and natives, but of course none existed (Dutton 1960:160). No doubt like everything else there would have been trial and error which would fit the model of Birmingham and Jeans.

> In archaeology, notions that the built structure provides the main key to comprehending the activities carried out therein and that the artefacts deposited in them are manufactured and traded objects, rather than used or functional objects, still persist (Allison 1998:17).

While this statement may well be true the notion presented is also perhaps, in part, justified by the work presented here. The building must be first located, the structure and space determined, before one could even begin to consider the artefacts within. It would seem appropriate to start with the macro before considering the micro. While it is accepted that, in conjunction with artefacts within, one can better refine one's deductions regarding usage, the structure will, more often then not, remain the 'main key' since it tends to make up the greatest proportion of artefacts and relates to the broader landscape. A vessel can contain a variety of liquids, solids and/or gases any of which, at any point in time, and could determine the uses of the vessels. However, it is still a vessel that requires primary consideration regarding attributes, function, and style. It is agreed that the artefacts within a building can provide a better understanding of the use of internal space, are not only 'manufactured and traded objects', and have been often disregarded where their existence does not match the usual, traditional, stated, or conceptual use of the space.

Clearly there were artefacts in the building from personal items to those required in day to day activities of the Governor, his family, staff, and the colonists. Clothing can be seen in various portraits and we know that funds were expended on the following;

Tapprell	Cabinet maker	£22.3.6	A/c 51	18/4/1836
Tapprell	Furniture for House	£114.1.6	A/c 77	23/4/1836
Marroitt	Cooking Apparatus	£31.6.0	A/c 183	19/10/1836
Taprell	Furniture for offices in Colony	£59.14.0	A/c 63	13/5/1837
Good	Water Closet for Govt. House	£21.0.0	A/c 30	17/6/1837

Table 6 Artefacts Brought to South Australia (1835 to 1840, AO 19/9/4, 1836**:**1–14; 1835 to 1840, AO 19/9/4, 1837**:**1–5)

The 'furniture' is mentioned in conjunction with a list of the same in a number of letters (CO 13/4 1836:72; T 28/59 1836:129; T 28/59 1836:291), but the lists mentioned were not found attached to any of these. Governor Hindmarsh notes the arrival of furniture on 2 July 1837 (SAA GRG 24/2/14a), but one presumes he had some articles in use prior to this date, particularly as Sexton states, "… it was mid-march before the Vice-Regal furniture was sent ashore" (Sexton 1984:81). The arrival of the furniture provided another opportunity for conflict between Hindmarsh and Fisher, as Fisher refused the use of the Commission's bullock wagons to transport the Governor's Furniture to Adelaide (Hindmarsh F. 1995:116). Luckily in April of 1837 (Hindmarsh to Glenelg, SAA GRG 2/5, vol. 5, 30 May 1837) the "*H.M.S. Victor* was at anchor in Holdfast Bay, and some of her sailors under the command of Midshipman Mervyn Mundy carried the [Broadwood grand] piano up at a quick trot to Government Hut" (Hindmarsh F. 1995:117). This can possibly be seen as a demonstration of status (Lane and Serle 1990:64; Staniforth 2000:2) particularly as the next Governor's wife, Maria Gawler, also brought a piano (Kerr 1978:103). However, we do not know how many pianos were brought, so these may be a necessary item for entertainment and not a status symbol. We do know light brought one and it is believed to be still in existence in the Thebarton Council building (pers. com. Chris Winzar Director of the Light Commemorative Play 2006). A later document in 1840 states that the account for the furniture was still outstanding as was the bill for the stores supplied to the *Buffalo* (CO 13/19 1840:vol. 4). Unfortunately from this information we only know there was furniture, a piano, cooking apparatus, and a water closet, which hardly provides sufficient information to draw any meaningful conclusions regarding the use of space, but does suggest items of status.

An inventory of the furniture in the current House in 1985 suggests that there are five

pieces of furniture which are probably part of the first consignment;

Item No	Page No	Date	Description
001	110	?	English mahogany double sofa. (Plate 39 below)
062	140	?	Rosewood double ended sofa with lotus carving on arms.
068	143	c1840	Circular rosewood dinning table (5' diameter), octagonal pedestal, triangle platform base with three bun feet.
093	156	1790-1810	Semi-circular mahogany sideboard, Sheraton legs, original brass handles with loin heads.
106	162	1840s	Rosewood dinning chair, square back, central rail, turned front legs, Regency characteristics.

Table 7 Furniture Possibly Part of the First Consignment (Danvers Report 1986).

The difficulty, as this report points out (Danvers Report 1986:105), when looking at

original furniture lists is the nomenclature, which can be seen in the 23 May 1841 list

(Co 13/21 1842:263-265). The items on this list could well be represented on the above

Table or purchased at some later date. The following Plate shows a Sofa currently in the

House that may well be the one listed above and also on the 1841 list. Whether this

came from the *Buffalo* or not is not clear.

Plate 39 Sofa currently in Government House possibly from the *Buffalo* (Palmer 2000:7) - Item 001 (Danvers Report 1986:110)

We do know that the Governor, his wife, three daughters, son and his sister lived at the Hut (Hindmarsh F. 1995:116) hence they would have required something to sleep on, eat off and with, etc. This can be extrapolated out considering the Council met there (Borrow 1982:13) and dinners and Balls were held in the Ballroom (Dutton 1960:221; Bull cited in Borrow 1982:4–6), which was probably so called at times simply as it was the largest room that could be used for a variety of events. How the space was used, even for day to day activities is unknown, or if anyone else lived there with them, though one would presume there would be little room for guests let alone the family of seven. Bull mentions that at a Ball "there were few servants" (Bull cited in Borrow 1982:6), but we do know that Hindmarsh's sister, Ann, who many authors simply refer to his maidservant (Borrow 1982:13; Langmead 1983:321; Danvers Report 1986:1), "acted as cook and maidservant" (Hindmarsh F. 1995:116). As Hindmarsh mentions a 'female servant' and not his sister directly (Hindmarsh cited in Danvers Report 1986:2), one wonders if in fact there was also a female servant and/or whether or not this was in fact his sister. G. F. Angus sent out a servant girl for Hindmarsh (Hindmarsh F 1995:116) and also Seaman Hill who had helped build the Hut remained in the Colony taking charge of the Governor's Garden (Borrow 1982:12). It is not known if these people ever resided at the Hut.

Unlike Government House in New South Wales, only two Governors resided in South Australia's first residence and it is perhaps doubtful that the second Governor actually resided in it. This doubt is raised as his wife, Maria Gawler, states somewhat confusingly in 1838, "We are still living in tents and marquees" and also in the same letter "Our present thatched mud cottage is very pleasantly situated fronting the River Torrens" (Cited in Brown 1936:29 & Kerr 1978:103). Charlotte Sturt states in April 1839, " only think of His Excellency and Mrs. Gawler sleeping in tents ..." (Cited in

Brown 1936:31) which tends to support that they were living in tents, which is the stated case elsewhere (MLSA Notes 1952:321; Collins 1996). Hawker, who arrived on the same ship as Gawler, states that, "Mrs. Gawler and her daughters and servants had proceeded us by some days, and taken up their abode in the Government Residence, some extra accommodation having been erected" (Cited in Borrow 1982:10). The Colonial Secretary wrote on 26 September that Mrs Hindmarsh and her daughters had left the Hut (SAA Newscuttings 131, SAR 17 August 1927), which was prior to the arrival of Governor Gawler, his wife, seven children, his mother-in-law [actually his mother] (MLSA PRG 50), a Private Secretary, a tutor, governess and servants (Dutton 1960:270). With an entourage of this size it would seem more plausible that they all remained in tents. This does not mean they did not use the Hut since it is reported that two rooms were used for offices and a third as Mrs Gawler's drawing room, for dinner parties and musical evenings (MLSA Notes 1952:321), levees (Hawker in Borrow 1982:6 & 11), and for daily dining. Apparently they even had room for the McLeods to pitch their tents nearby and eat with them (Hawker cited in Borrow 1982:10). Due to the Hut's limitations a new house was built and the Hut became an office for the Governor's Private Secretary (PDSA 1927:767) until it was destroyed by fire in 1841.

7.3.4 The Destruction

The fire on 12 January 1841 (Gouger & O'Halloran to Colonial Secretary, SAA GRG 24/1/1841/11a, 13 January 1841; PDSA 1927:767), as well as destroying the four year old building also destroyed many of South Australia's early records. A full eyewitness account can be seen in Hailes who states, "the building was no loss, but unfortunately official documents contained in adjoining offices were consumed" (1998:20–22). What is meant by 'adjoining offices' is unclear, but may relate to the Gouger comment of "little offices" (Gouger cited in Sexton 1984:81). This of course is a question which

could be answered archaeologically, perhaps determining whether or not it was one building as Gawler seems to suggest (Minutes of Executive and Legislative Council, 29 October 1838 SAA 193). It should also be noted that Steuart mistakenly includes the burning of the Hut in the fire of 22 January 1839 which destroyed the Survey Office (1901:129). Gawler confirms the date stating,

> …. that on the 12th instant the old Government Cottage, in which my office and that of my private secretary was consumed by fire. The only articles of importance saved were a few scarcely legible letter books; excepting these the whole of the records and correspondence of these offices were consumed … (C0 13/20 1841:60).

An article in the South Australian Register states the loss included personal papers of the Governor (SAR 16 January 1841:2F), while Hailes mentions that his "impression at the time was that these official statistics had from time to time been accumulated in the old office and never removed". He goes on to say that it was in the press that the documents had been moved to the Hut to make room for Lady Franklin who was staying at Government House while arranging for a memorial at Port Lincoln "of her husband's arrival there with Flinders in November, 1802" (Hailes 1998:21; Franklin John 1947:39–40; PDSA 1927:767). The press article mentioned, also states that it was 'reckless' to remove the documents from an expensive stone building to a fire hazard (SAR 23 January 1841). The idea of a conspiracy is never far away from the minds of many and a letter by John Fogg Taylor suggests that it was convenient that the records were lost due to what was happening economically in the colony (pers. com. June Edwards State Library South Australia May 2002 re: MLSA D 7310). Perhaps the fact that the original tenders for the expensive new House no longer exist (Langmead 1983:329) could add weight to this theory, as they may well have been among the documents conveniently lost during the fire.

Researching the fire for details of the Hut suggested the arsonist probably was Huntley

McPherson (Hailes 1998:21-22; Gouger & O'Halloran to Colonial secretary, SAA GRG

24/1/1841/11a, 13 January 1841; SAR 16 January 1841:2F, 23 January 1841; MLSA

Notes 1952:321). Possibly the McPherson that is:

- mentioned on the drawing of Governor Gawler's the tents (MLSA Notes PRG 50/35),
- shown in the seating plans for dinner parties at Government House (SAA GRG, June 1840, 2/45/30 & 31),
- was part of Lights funeral procession (Steuart 1901:132),
- brought Julia Gawler a kangaroo (Julia Gawler Cited in Brown 1936:37),
- brought cattle from New South Wales in 1839 and travelled with Bonney to Port Phillip in 1840 (Jensen & Jensen 1980:36-37; SAA Newscuttings 131; SAR 3 July 1841 & 17 August 1927), and
- left on the Lord Glenelg for London (SAA Newscuttings 131. SAR 10 July 1841 & 17 August 1927).

Unfortunately, Lady Franklin did not mention the incident or McPherson in her diaries

(NLA MS 114/Folder 9, pers. com. National Library 2002). Many other details were

obtained regarding this man and the event but do not help us here.

However, the fire also raised questions of the need for a fire fighting force, rather than

relying on Police who were "totally ineffectual" and who had preferred to use the fire-

engine rather than pushing in the walls, which may have extinguished the fire (SAR 16

January 1841:2F). The number of settlers abodes burning down till that time seems not

to have been as important as the Government Hut. Not having a fire fighting force is yet

another practicality overlooked in the practical conversion of the theory. Due to the

obvious intensity of the heat of the fire it was hoped that the hard clay floor would have

been baked and that there may be some remnants of the structure. Hence negotiations

were undertaken in 2000 with the Governor Sir Eric Neal, who is currently Chancellor

at Flinders University, and he graciously agreed to photography and survey work to be

undertaken in his official, and yet also private, residence of Government House on

North Terrace, Adelaide.

7.3.5 The Archaeological Search for the Hut

Having gained the approval of the Governor, Sir Eric Neal, and working out the details with his staff, the field work went ahead in February 2001. The area examined was the lawn area in the north west corner of the Domain which is shown along with the survey lines in Plates 40-47. The lengthy discussion earlier, regarding the desktop search for the location of Government Hut, provides the rationale for searching in this area. Basically the most important data was the Kingston Map, the drawing of both houses, the positioning of the three quarries around the Domain, and the north boundary with its embankment. While information located does suggest the removal of the debris of the Hut it was still considered possible that the earthen floor, if not some of the debris, could have survived. If nothing else the area chosen could be ruled out and the search focus moved elsewhere. The work was carried out by Paula Hahesy, a postgraduate student with Earth Sciences of Flinders, and myself.

The Map (Plate 40) and Plates 41-47 show the area surveyed and the distances involved. This decision was based on the dimensions of the Hut and the restriction that to travel further east would have intruded on the area of Peppertree Cottage which is occupied by the Governor's Private Secretary. At some later date it may be worthwhile examining the whole area and considering the possibility that the Hut is actually under the aforementioned cottage.
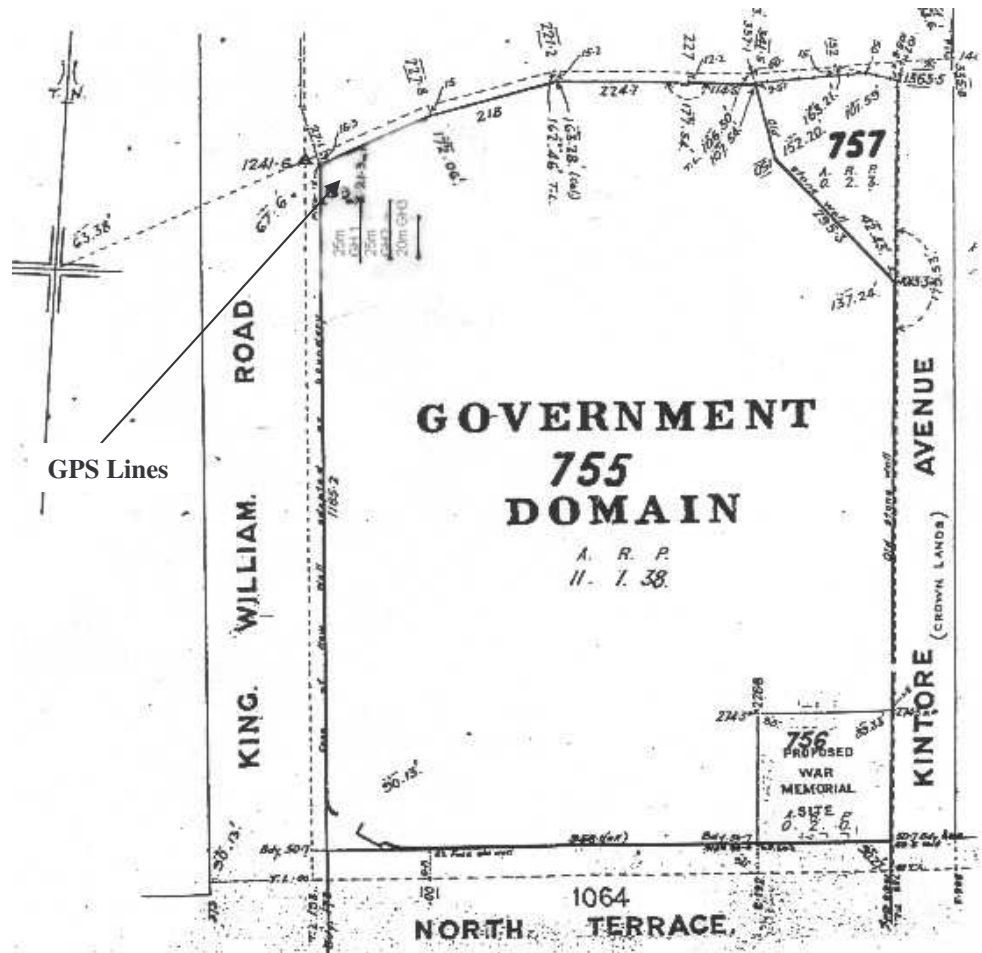
Plate 40 Map of Ground Penetrating Rader Survey Lines GH1, GH2, GH3. (Hnd. Adelaide 1928:22)

Plate 41 Start of Survey Line GH1 (see map above) (G Copland 16/2/01)

Plate 42 Survey Line GH1, (view to the south)

Plate 43 Survey Line GH1, (view to the north)

Plate 44 Survey Line GH2 (view to the east), Peppertree Cottage on right (G Copland 16/2/01)

Plate 45 Survey Line GH 2, (view to the north) (G Copland 16/2/01)

Plate 46 Survey Line GH3 (view to the south east), Peppertree cottage on left (G Copland 16/2/01)

Plate 47 Survey Line GH 3 (view to the north) (G Copland 16/2/01)

It is easy to suggest that the Hut was where Peppertree Cottage is currently situated particularly when examining the aerial photograph, obtained from the City Council in 2000 (Plate 81). Starting with this photo facing a northerly direction, and then rotating it counter-clockwise approximately 20° appears to suggest the approximate position from which the drawing of both houses (Plate 138) was drawn. Testing this theory may prove to be difficult as the building is occupied.
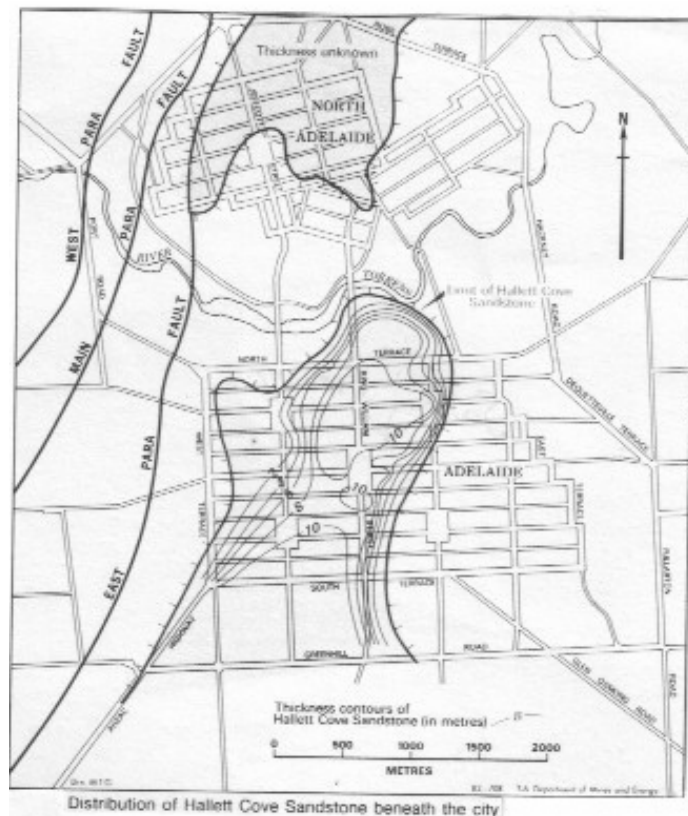
Plate 48 Distribution of Hallett Cove Sandstone Beneath Adelaide (Selby 1984:96)

7.3.6   Search Results

Radar readings were taken and recorded every 10cm along the 20– 25m survey lines. The data was down-loaded into a computer disc and taken to Adelaide University to examine and from the images it was determined that there was no definitive structure in the area. Neither the Hut or any other building structure or material was seen. There are some questions arising from the effect of metal and water in the area both above ground and in the geological structure(Plates 48-49).
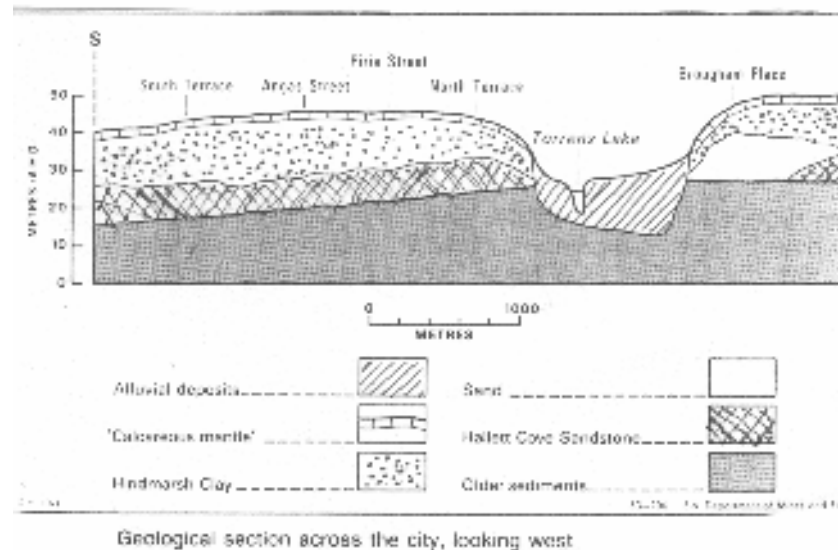
Plate 49 Geological Section Across Adelaide Looking West (Selby 1984:93)

It appears that the equipment is hyper-sensitive to these two factors and could well have thrown out the readings. Consequently because of the lack of hard data, the limited search area, and limitations of the equipment itself it would be well worth considering re-examining the area again at some later date and perhaps with different equipment. Taking core samples and examining the current flower borders, that surround the grassed area, may prove useful in further eliminating possible locations. Of course one can not dismiss the fact that there may be no remnants of the structure, or at least none that could be identified using GPR, or that the Hut may never have been in this area in the first place. The former point may be well the case having found documents asking in 1844,

> if his Excellency has any objections to the removal from the site of the old Government House of a quantity of stone and rubbish for the repairs of the foundation of the Bridge over the Torrens,

and the reply that,

> his Excellency has no objections to the removal of the stone and rubbish from the site of the old Government House for the purpose of repairing the foundation of the Bridge over the Torrens (Surveyor General to Colonial Secretary, SAA GRG 24/6/1076, 20 September 1844; Mundy to Colonial Engineer, SAA GRG 24/4/H205: no. 1396, 20 September 1844).

It would be doubtful that anything that ended up in the Torrens would have survived due to the flooding process, the various dredging, and structural changes to the banks and the building of the bridge itself. However, parts of the Hut may form part of the foundations of the bridge and therefore, as with any recycled material culture, may not be entirely lost. Further developments in technology may assist the process of finding the Hut, but for the present the site location of the first Government House is still debatable.

While there are several references to the political and social activities, and the occasional mention of domestic activity, regarding the Hut, it is difficult without the building to advance to the next stage of discussion regarding the people who inhabited, or visited, it and their actual use of the space by considering the material culture. Consequently this has been left to another time when hopefully such a discussion could be put in context with the archaeological findings of the Hut. However, it could be said that using the documentary evidence presented here we have quite a substantial picture of the structure, its construction, and its uses which must stand alone until the Hut is located, much like an archaeological discovery that is not accounted for in the available written material, and neither case is lesser or greater than the other. This line of argument certainly seems to support the value of the use of both documentary and archaeological evidence, where they are available, and the tentative acceptance of either where they exist on their own.

7.4 Present Government House, North Terrace, Adelaide

Lt Col George Gawler KH, Governor 17 Oct 1838 - 15 May 1841.

Fortunately the second House, now called the Kingston Wing, is still in use as an integral part of the current Government House and so its construction and the changes

over time are fairly well documented. As the Danvers Report points out "the fabric of the building itself, although secondary in importance to the social history, has its own cultural significance" (Danvers Report 1986:75). Hence we can see the political, social, economic, and domestic influences on the building as an artefact, and the additions and renovations, up to the present day, provides similar information.

7.4.1 The Proposal for a New Government House and the Question of Status

It has been suggested that the building of a new Government House, along with other public works, was part of Governor Gawler's solution to the 1841 depression (Kerr 1978:126), or simply that it was to provide work for the colonists (Webb 1936:76). As such these suggestions directly link the structure to the political and economic climate. However, as Langmead points out Gawler had proposed the building of a new house only a fortnight after he arrived in 1838 (1983:283) and therefore it is unlikely he was fully cognisant of the economic value of such a venture and certainly would have been unable to foretell the upcoming depression. The Audit of 1840 suggests the Colony's financial problems were due to obvious expenses not catered for in the new settlement system, and which "to a certain extent may be said of the expenses incurred in a house for the Governor" (CO 13/12 1838:156). [It should be noted that somehow this 1840 Audit was filed in the earlier 1838 document book.] The overall problem seems to have been that the expense of the House, and other costs of running government, would have been required at one point or another, but the system was not prepared for these costs. However, nor were those who were maintaining the accounts or running the government and therefore this can be seen as an implementation problem. The Danvers Report suggests that Gawler had decided that "a house befitting a Governor was going to be built" (1986:2). Langmead supports this view of personal and selfish motives (1983:238), suggesting that Gawler referred to the designer as being Edward O'Brien,

and that there was not to be a major departure from the originally proposed timber building, in an "attempt to minimize, in the eyes of his masters, his extravagance in building a house for himself" (Langmead 1983:316-317). Although noting the size of Gawler's household it would seem obvious something had to be done to get them out of the tents and the Government Hut, as well as perhaps creating a status symbol and employment. Gawler himself states his, "own household and office accommodations are of the most straitened and inconvenient description" (CO 13/14 1839:12).

The machinations regarding the intention of building of this House are covered in Chapter XI by Langmead (1983:316–348) and it is interesting to note that the leading colonists of the day were invited to comment on the proposal (Langmead 1983:325). Once again this alludes to a process of governing by popular consensus, but perhaps these are only in cases of non-essential issues such as the site for Adelaide or a new Government House. However, it is not clear that there was unanimous agreement to build, or what would have happened if there had not been. It would appear that seeking public opinion was an attempt on Gawler's part to deflect the responsibility for committing the colony to the expense, but also represents something of a democratic approach to government. The *Register* newspaper suggested there was no problem with the Governor being 'respectably lodge', but took issue with the processes (Langmead 1983:328). Borrow suggests that there was "the need for a residence more suitable for the representative of the Crown in a new and rising colony" (1982:12) and it appears that even those not prepared to commit themselves to the outlay costs agreed with this sentiment. Those opposed were reported as stating that "… the existing one being a disgrace and injury to the City of Adelaide" (McLaren and Morphett quoted by G. M. Stephens in Danvers Report 1986:4). Particularly considering the general public's derisive view of the Hut and its limitations where the Gawlers frequently had to

entertain at 'Ilfracome', a house at Burnside, as they were unable to entertain a large number of guests where they were (Gunton 1983:67).

During the tendering process the Governor's wife, Maria Gawler, provides her opinion (cited in Brown 1936:36) suggesting others saw a Governor's house as a status symbol, but did not specifically include herself in this group. The Governor stated his views writing,

> since my arrival in this Colony two subjects involving considerable extraordinary expenditure have been primarily forced upon my attention the necessity of erecting a Government House and public Offices. The accommodations and condition of my present habitation are truly miserable. On these grounds I request the Commissioners to read the minutes of Council of 29th October 1838" … From private conversations, I have reason to believe that the Colonists in general are desirous that a Government House and public offices should be built, and that it would be considered highly disadvantageous if they were built on temporary plans with temporary materials. To me personally, it was a matter of indifference whether the buildings were of a temporary or permanent character but for the Colony, it is, I conceive very important that large sums should not be expended in edifices, which would soon require to be replaced.

Also while apparently Gawler would have liked to submit this for the approval of the Commissioners he continues stating,

> … it is truly impossible in cases like those at issue, to delay for a twelve month without a decided course. I have therefore with the consent of the Council decided on proceeding with about two thirds of the building fully required for a Government House, and with about one half of that fully necessary for public offices. I have also ordered to be omitted several appendages to the Government House such as verandah, or screens for the windows, which, though they are in this climate almost essential to reasonable comfort, may be dispensed with. I am not aware of a single arrangement in any of the buildings which has not been limited by the strictest reasonable economy (CO 13/16 1840:320 – 322).

This cleverly worded letter focuses the issues on lack of convenience, the need, Council support and economy, while at the same time mentioning his 'indifference', while knowing full well the temporary building was no longer viable. The process also tested his ability to make a decision without prior approval. The suggestion could also be made that he saw the problems of suggesting transient behaviour in the temporary nature

of the buildings, perhaps seeing that this could lead to a lack of ongoing confidence and commitment to the new colony.   While the Governor may be transient the building would signify permanence and stability. The local response was the necessity for a permanent house (John Gliddon Acting Secretary, MLSA PRG 48/1:347) and from overseas the Commissioners agreed "… that the buildings should be of a permanent instead of temporary character" (Cited in Langmead 1983:331). Other issues appeared to fall by the way in favour, perhaps, of the opportunity to solidify and physically state the permanent nature of the colony. It would seem that status may certainly have been an issue, for both the Governor and the colonists, but there were other equally valid reasons to build a new residence. This view can be supported by the building of the new Government House in Sydney in 1845, about which Mulvaney writes that the New South Wales Governors considered the new building "corresponded better with their perceptions of their prestige and power". Yet he also points out that it was considered that the old building was an 'incongruous mass', the repair costs would be high, and redevelopment of the area could be advantaged by its removal (1985:1-2). Sadly the loss of historical and archaeological data in re-building was not a consideration, though, in fairness, one could say that little has changed in many instances in Australia today.

7.5   The Second House (Kingston Wing)

In South Australia the second land-based Government House survives as a part of the current House and the alterations and additions over the years have been, on the whole, in keeping with the original style and symmetry. It was in December 1838 when Gawler asked Kingston and Thomas Gilbert to examine plans and the materials for the timber house designed in 1835 (Langmead 1983:283). As seen earlier it was not until Government Hut was under construction that the timber for the intended prefabricated building arrived. The bulk of the materials remained at the government stores at Port

Adelaide. By 1838 it was found to be mostly rotting on the beach (Langmead 1983:322), some parts had been used in the construction of the Hut, some misplaced and some simply acquired by others (Borrow 1982:16). Once it was decided to use stone for the new building the remnants of the old timber building was auctioned off raising only about £70, but some of the materials were used in the construction of the new house (Langmead 1983:331). So perhaps it has not been lost altogether. The debate, about whether George Strickland Kingston or Edward O'Brien were the designer of Government House, is confusing particularly as many authors do not pursue the argument in any great detail but rather make simple statements like;

- "a plan had been obtained from an English architect, Edward O'Brien, but this was amended by George Strickland Kingston …" (Walkley 1988:2),

- "the architect was George Kingston …" (Fischer 1989:22),

- "O'Brien is thought to have designed Government House in conjunction with Kingston" (Jensen & Jensen 1980:263), or

- "[the House was] built (under the superintendence of G. S. Kingston) …." (MLSA Notes 1952:321).

Since Langmead develops the argument very well in his Chapter XI (1983:316–348) it is not repeated here, other than to say Langmead's argument is most persuasive that it was in fact Kingston's design.

Tenders were sought on 29 November 1838 and 1, 8 and 15 December 1838 (South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register 1988) and construction started in March 1839 (Langmead 1983:288). The successful tenderer was East and Breeze (Langmead 1983:329) who commenced the building, but they appeared to be suffering financial difficulty by early 1840 when they asked for a financial advance (Charles Sturt to Kingston, SAA GRG 35/230:166, 18 April 1840). The company was dissolved transferring work to Borrow and Goodiar who completed the House in September 1840 (Langmead 1983:332). Langmead suggests that the change over may have been a

liquidity problem due to large wage bills (1983:332) but it may well be due to delays in payment by the Government. The latter can be seen in a question by Kingston of bill, for £844.15.2 for East and Breeze, as late as September of 1840 (Kingston to Sturt, SAA GRG 35/230:235, 22 September 1840). This could be further supported by the 'Miscellaneous disbursements' which "Paid various parties on account of their contracts for erecting a Government House £8778.7.0" in 1841 (1st January to 16th October 1841 AO 3/205), and the fact that Borrow and Goodiar's claims were not fully settled by 1856 (Langmead 1983:333; Gunton 1983:107-108). Once again the economics of the day played a part in the material construction of the building.

The specifics of the building itself are that;

> the walls were of marine limestone, from the quarry immediately north of the Domain … with brick quoins … [and] … the roof with three hipped structures covered in slates, which drained into box gutters behind the continuous parapet wall … (Langmead 1983:338).

Others suggest that the stone came from the Government Quarry, behind what is now Old Parliament House (Stretton 1988:17), but it may well have come from any one, or all, of the three nearby quarries shown in the drawing by Davenport (Plate 90). Shortly after construction, the roof and gutters began to leak (Langmead 1983:338) and the roofing problem appears not to have been easily fixed as there is reference to extensive repairs in 1848 (SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 266, 27 March 1848). As such this could be an indicator of the lack of available skills in the new colony, economic restrictions on materials used, or lack of suitable materials. All of these suggestions physically tie, once again, the material culture to the political and economic climate of the experiment. We are fortunate enough to have plans, quotes, etc., to enable us to view some changes over time to the allocated space, if not necessarily the uses of that space. However, even with these we must be on guard for human deviation, as plans are often changed in the processes of building, changes not noted on the paperwork, or lost one way or another.

The Danvers Report provides copies of the plans available (1983:52–70) which have been combined by Borrow (1982:9) (Plate 154) to show the whole structure and different periods of construction. When examining these plans it should be remembered that the earliest plans are reconstructions, some as late as 1946, since the originals no longer exist, and therefore are based on the outcomes rather than the possible intentions.

Langmead, discussing the earliest plans, suggests that there were five ground floor rooms and seven on the first floor (1983:339) (Plate 152). Many authors state the same, which may well have come from a letter by the Governor's second son, nineteen year old John Cox Gawler, when he wrote about the new house to his Grandmother on 17 Match 1839, saying that the House,

> will have five rooms below, besides the kitchen apartments, and seven above. Papa says when the Colony is rich enough he shall have the other wing built, and they say that the house is to be roofed in at the end of three months (Cited in Kerr 1978:110).

Here we have an example of the impact children can have on a site, or rather in this case the possible reconstruction of a site plan, if in fact his letter has been used in this way. Langmead suggests that downstairs, on either side of a large hall, were two reception rooms, one possibly a drawing room which had access into a dinning room and the other a library, and one small room the function of which is unknown, and a staircase (1983:339). This would appear to be only four rooms unless Langmead considered the 'large hall' as a room. The Mortlock Library Archive Notes, from the 1933 plan, mentions the five separate spaces and includes the hall as one of them, and gives the other room the name 'cloak room' (MLSA Notes 1952:321). The Danvers Report Plan of the Ground Floor (Plate 153) shows a section at the western end of the proposed building that is not accounted for in the plan presented by Langmead (Plate 152). The Danvers Report does not expand specifically on the construction of the House but does suggest the ground floor consisted of a drawing room, boudoir, east hall, morning room,

cloakroom, and toilet (Danvers Report 1986:6). The latter is still in use today as a Powder Room and the additional western section contains two toilets. On the first floor Langmead suggests there were three bedrooms, with fireplaces and dressing rooms, and the other small room was probably a morning room, rather than bedroom, as it had no fireplace and the last room was possibly a water closet (1983:339). The Danvers Report's interpretation is that there were three bedrooms, a dressing room, and two smaller rooms for servants (Danvers Report 1986:6). Internal walls on the first floor (Plate 153) appear to have been constructed of wattle and daub which was discovered during repairs after the 1954 earthquake. It is suggested that they were added after major construction work to create extra accommodation for servants that were "not thought of in the original plan" (Danvers Report 1986:30). This might be human deviation to meet needs or it may have been intentional to avoid further load-bearing walls on the ground floor. The kitchen is believed to have been built at the same time in a separate building which included a suite of offices. This building was to the north of the main building but was demolished in the 1863 and 1869 additions (Danvers Report 1986:6 & 8). Walkley states that building the office apart from the main building followed the custom of the day, and that they "were built on an east west axis approximately 9 metres to the north of the house" (Walkley 1988:2). This of course would mean that the Hut was further to the north of these which is confirmed in the picture showing these buildings and both the Hut and the House (Plates 138 & 141). It would stand to reason that, as well as being inside the Domain, the Hut would not be that much further away from the new building to allow easy access. The close proximity of the two buildings is indicated when a Colonist returning home late one night, missed the 'guiding light' at Government House, and fell into "the excavation made for the cellar and foundations of the new Government House, which were sunk about 6 ft".

Upon getting out, when the sun came up, he "had to pass the front of Government House [Hut] to get to [his] tent" (Hawker 1899:13).

This seemingly trivial piece of information provides details regarding this 'cellar' and the depth of the foundations not mentioned elsewhere,. The cellars that this author has personally been through, in 1971, which are under the 1869 extensions, are also not mentioned specifically. The Danvers Reports talks of cellars but provides no specifics of their location. Why this should be the case is not clear since cellars were an integral part of the life of a building, catering for a variety of forms of storage and infrastructure support areas such as heating, pipes and later wiring, and were often the foundations of the upper structure itself. Perhaps these, like the fixtures and fittings in the interior, of which there is also little information, were too prosaic, personal or fundamental to provide details. We do know that the interiors accounted for 30% of the extra cost (Langmead 1983:341) of the House. Some of the fittings may still exist and could be those mentioned in the Danvers Report as being deeply moulded cornices and elegant mouldings on the architraves and skirting (Danvers Report 1986:29).
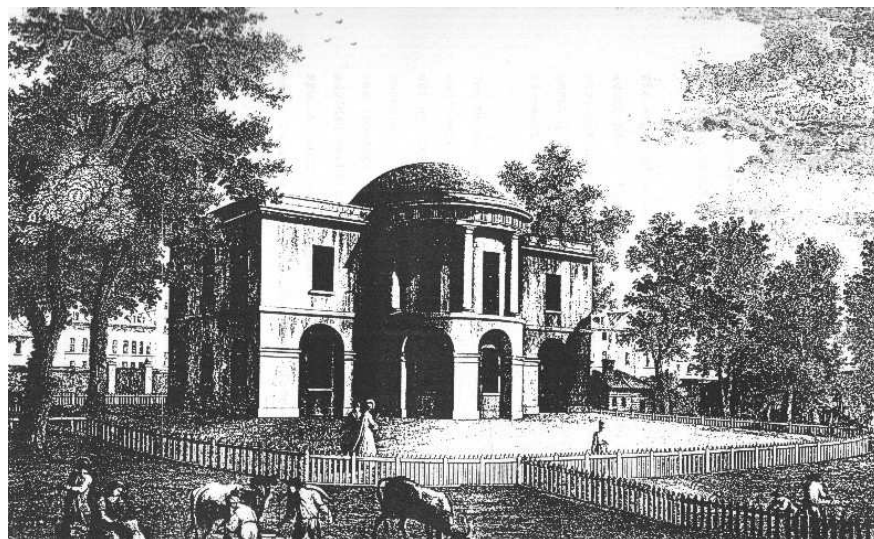
Plate 50 Deputy Ranger's Lodge in Green Park by Robert and Hames Adams (Davenport Report 1986:27)

Stylistically, while not Gothic, the main sections have been referred to as Regency or classically Georgian affected by "... the spread of Palladian ideals ..." and influenced by

British architect Inigo Jones and Robert Adams (Danvers Report 1986:26-28), as demonstrated by the Plate above. It had been described, even before completion, that aesthetically it would be "one of the best buildings of the kind in the Southern Hemisphere – quite a palace" (*South Australian* cited in Langmead 1983:333). Many new arrivals stated similar feelings right up to the present day. As it stands at present, the original wing with all the additions (Plate 188) alight the imagination and represent a past period of colonial grandeur and domination. However, it has also been suggested that the Kingston Wing with its curved portico was a style change which marked the houses of the colonial rich while heralding the end of colonialism (Langmead 1983:338). It is of course hard to separate transported ideology, whether architecturally inspired or not, from adaptation, conversion, and development of ideology within a new settlement.

Halnaker Lodge, Brixton, England (late 18th Century)
Architect unknown.

(From S. C. Ramsey, *Small houses of the late Georgian period* (New York: Helburn. 1919).)

Plate 51 Halnaker Lodge, Brixton, England, Architect Unknown (Langmead 1983:X1.4)

The pictures above, of similar designs in Britain, show a definite structural relationship, but perhaps they were built in that style for different reasons and to make quite different political, economic, or cultural statements.

Plate 52 Kingston Wing drawing from 1842 Map (G Strickland Kingston)

In Colonial South Australia of the 1840s it would appear the building made quite a cultural impact as Governor Gawler suggests stating that, "I believe the influence it has had on the private building is most beneficial to the Province. Large, handsome, permanent private houses and stores have been built in considerable numbers" (Gawler cited in Langmead 1983:342), and this can be seen in the last Chapter which mentions a number of large homes built at that time.

Plate 53 Kingston Wing 2000 (G Copland 2000)

Perhaps it could be argued that the Governor did effect the changing landscape, but it may well be because of increased prosperity of the colonists at that time. Yet living in the House may well have been a different proposition altogether, particularly since Lady Franklin points out, while staying there not long after completion, that "Government House is full of bugs and the air is Dust" (NLA MS 114; Dutton 1960:271).

The use of the internal space can not always be determined by the name of the room on the plans or by the standard belief in the use of rooms commonly called one name or another, such as drawing room, or library. People can and will alter the intended plans to meet their immediate needs which can be seen at the House when it was stated that,

> the office of His Excellency the Lt. Governor is proposed to be transferred to a new room ... as part of the original design of Govt. House to which is attached a waiting room and communication with the existing portions of that building (SAA GRG 38/7/2 1851:103).

Also one must consider that the names given to rooms, ostensibly designating their uses, have changed over time and that specific spaces often related to the gender of the user. For instance, it has been said that a Drawing Room was originally called the 'Withdrawing room' in the Middle Ages as it was "a room to which women withdrew, leaving the men in the Dining Hall" (Walkley 1988:5). We are all aware that many and varied activities can take place in such rooms, particularly if they are occupied by a family who are both private and public people and whose home is also of multiple usage. A drawing room could have been used for formal meetings, social and family gatherings where proprietary ownership was perhaps given to the ladies of the house who may have used this space to recover from the rigours of family and public life as well as to deal with financial and other family affairs. Similarly the library could well have been a male bastion for government affairs, camaraderie, and also an escape from family affairs as well as a symbol of power. The power would not have been restricted to government or business meetings, and applied to many besides the Governor, but perhaps extended to within the household as a particular in the use of this space to verbally chastise staff, and family members, or inflict corporal punishment on erring offspring. Many of these activities are ephemeral and transitory leaving little to no material culture in their wake, no longer recognised, altered or simply removed with the departure of the people using them. Allison's article, which re-examines the artefacts located in different rooms of a Roman Villa, certainly highlights the problems of

assuming usage simply by the name of the spaces (1998). The typical naming of the Government House rooms (Plates 154 & 155), without other data or critical analysis, instantly suggests particular activities in particular spaces.

The case of Government House poses particular problems in this area as occupancy was generally of fairly limited duration and included the Vice-Regal family, servants, guests who lived there and those who visited, plus it has been altered considerably over the years. Also with continuous occupancy, and no *terminus ante quem/post quem,* there is not a point when artefacts relating to the daily use of the space remain in situ. Many associated activities, and changes to these, may well have occurred prior to the destruction, and a site excavated may well be seen as simply a photograph of the point of destruction/desertion, and not provide a holistic perspective of the changing use of the space over time. Similarly to rely on diaries, official documents, drawings, photographs and written work is equally as insufficient as any excavation may be. Much of the day to day activity is lost, perhaps due to the sensitive nature of the positions the residents held, as many of these activities would not have been referred to for a variety of reasons. Such reasons could range from the fact that information could fall into the wrong hands politically, or socially, and therefore details are scarce and inconclusive; or what appears to be a stereotype of diary and writing style of the period; to perhaps simply that these were common everyday events and the building, and surrounds, were so familiar that they were not mentioned as is seen in the *Diary of a Lady's Maid* (Vellacott 1995:229). There is information available through various documents, but this author, having been a staff member himself in 1971, knows the cardinal rule of privacy was drummed into one from setting foot in the House and therefore holds out little hope for the full details of day to day life to ever come to light. A prime example of this is the manuscript by Mr Veniard, Butler at Government House from 1953–1977, where there are useful glimpses

into the activities of the staff and residents and highlights the fact that the House was a focal node politically and socially for South Australia. Moreover, the restraints of loyalty and privacy, while both commendable qualities, fails to provide the full details of day to day life (MLSA D 6859). Plus it is doubtful that the kind of detail being sought by archaeologists and historians would have been of any great interest to the general public for whom it was written, perhaps other than the possibility of finding scandal and intrigue.

There is also censorship to consider in that much that did go on never came to light. For instance, there was a case, in the 1960s, which went to the Australian High Court, considered a case between an ex-cook and the Governor regarding wages "but the case was never heard, the Government must have settled out of court, to avoid undue publicity at Government House" (Veniard 1986:132). Mr Veniard does provide useful insights into the uses of certain rooms, but it should be remembered that these are in very recent times and, while the activities may well be of a similar nature, the alterations and additions to the House were such that these rooms either did not exist in earlier times, or have now been altered to fulfil other functions and needs. Perhaps it is simply the situation that we must be clear about the fact that we are not providing the sum and total of human activity in a space, as many archaeologists propound and the public greedily cling to, but rather a glimpse of it which requires constant research to add to and support the conclusions. This clearly supports the argument for a need to be inclusive of all disciplines and all, and any, relevant data.

7.5.1   Major Additions

Major additions to the original House, now the Kingston Wing, are indicative of developmental change in the Colony, the changing society and the particular needs of

the running of the establishment. While the uses of the original space changed, and the landscape of the Domain altered, new spaces were created with, once again, particular purposes and activities in mind. These too have been changed and renovated over time with regard to the needs and the changing technology. For the purposes of this thesis there has been a distinction made between major additions, renovations, decoration and repairs. The reasons behind this distinction are that it would seem that from major additions one gains a sense of the broader questions of the changing landscape; from renovations a view of the internal dynamics which include the advent of technological advances and cultural developments; and from the decoration and repairs both a decidedly personal input into the building and a reflection of changing style as well as an insight into the longevity of the workmanship and possibly environmental effects that affect a building.

As mentioned, the Borrow's plan (1982:9), with the respective key (Plate 154), shows the relevant years changes occurred. This plan, in turn, can be matched with the drawings and photographs in the Pictorial Essay to see the corresponding elevations of the different sections to examine both perspectives. The first building, the Kingston Wing, has remained, and been added to, and the surrounding landscape of the Domain has altered in size with various structures being placed on it, and removed, over time. The outbuildings and various other structures are dealt with later, but the offices and kitchens, while physically not attached in the first instance, have been considered for this thesis to be an integral part of the main building complex. The following is a table of the years that major alterations occurred, the corresponding Governors in Office at the time and the duration, in months, of their tenure. The dates included extend outside the period of settlement to assist in seeing what has changed from the required period to see what might be left.

Year	Governor	Term of Office	Months
1845	Lt Col. Frederick Holt Robe	15 May 1841 – 5 Oct 1845	53
1853	Sir Henry E. F. Young	2 Aug 1848 – 20 Dec 1854	77
1855	Sir Richard G. MacDonnell CB	8 Jun 1855 - 4 Mar 1862	81
1863	Sir Dominick Daly	4 Mar 1862 - 19 Feb 1868	71
1869	Rt Hon Sir James Fergusson Bart.	16 Feb 1869 - 18 Apr 1873	50
1872	Rt Hon Sir James Fergusson Bart	16 Feb 1869 - 18 Apr 1873	50
1875	Sir Anthony Musgrave KCMG	9 Jun 1873 - 29 Jan 1877	44
1878	Lt Gen Sir Wm F. D. Jervois GCMG, CB	2 Oct 1877 -9 Jan 1883	63
1901	Rt Hon Hallam, Lord Tennyson KCMG	10 Apr 1899-17.7.1902	39

Table 8 Building Additions and Alterations to Government House, Adelaide

There were minor changes prior to 1855 but, perhaps due to the high cost of the original building in Gawler's time, there were no major additions other than to the grounds which included a guard room and flagpole (Walkley 1988:2). There were additions to the Offices in December 1846 (Danvers Report 1986:9) which appear to be merely the raising of the walls to match the rest of the building (SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 72, 8 December 1846). In 1847 there was a request for an "estimate for a verandah and room for cleaning knives at the rear of the Offices [at] Government House" (SAA GRG 38/7/1, no. 212, 13 October 1847), but if this did happen, or the exact location, is unclear. There is a note that the knife room was demolished in 1869 additions (Danvers Report 1986:14), but this may not be the same knife room mentioned earlier since the additions at that time were extending the Servant's Quarters to the west and would not have affected the area that had once been the 'Offices'. Also in 1847 there was the addition of a "hot bath, steam bath, shower bath and other modifications associated with bathroom and W. Cs" and in 1848 a servant's W.C was added (Danvers Report 1986:23). These additions were during the term of Governor Robe, who was a bachelor, and would tend to suggest that he was one of the 'modern' people who believed in the relationship between cleanliness and health. However, it could also simply relate to the fact that Archbishop Short and his large family and staff resided at the House and the change to the ablutions was to accommodate the increased numbers of people living there.

The 1855 major additions were to be "tailored to fit a foundation laid before November 1853" (Langmead 1983:342). The timing coincides with a stable economy (Fischer 1989:22) and economic factors, such as the discovery of copper and the flow-on effect of the discovery of gold in Victoria, are suggested as reasons for building at that time (Walkley 1988:4; Danvers Report 1986:12). Obviously finances would always have been an issue as it was estimated in November 1853 that it would cost £8000 to complete Government House (Jensen & Jensen 1980:114). The enlargements were to included a levee-ballroom 45 feet (ft.) by 20 ft., a dining and supper room 40 ft. by 20 ft., public entrance, reception room and additional bedroom on the upper story. It was decided to further increase the Ballroom by 20 ft. and erect a music gallery which increased the estimate to £9000. Economic rationalism played its part even in those days as £2000 which was set aside for the Debtors Asylum was withheld, and instead it was decided to use the Lunatic Asylum for the Debtors as soon as Lunatics were moved elsewhere (SAPP 1853:6; SAPP 1857-58, vol. 1; PDSA 1858:216). By 26 January 1854 there were plans to extend King William Street and a suggestion to move Government House to north of the River Torrens, due to this encroachment onto the Domain, and also there was a suggestion that the foundations already laid for the enlargement had become 'insecure' (Young to Colonial Secretary cited in Danvers Report 1986:203). The Governor at the time, Sir Henry Fox Young, objected to alterations suggesting " a new Government House be built nearer to the Torrens" (Walkley 1988:4) and so far the plans for these original foundations have not been located.

Young's suggestion and Fox's objections were disregarded and the tender for the major addition, designed by E. A. Hamilton, in similar style to the Kingston Wing (Danvers Report 1986:30), was accepted from English & Brown on 27 April 1855 (SAA GRG 38/7/4 1855:171, 296 & 304; Danvers Report 1986:10). The stone came from the

Government Quarry near "Eastern North Road [in the] vicinity of parade grounds" (Danvers Report 1986:13) and the finished building contained, on the ground floor, a small drawing room, the main south Entrance Hall, the Adelaide Room, the Ballroom, the State Dinning Room, and the Portico, and, on the second floor, three bedrooms and bathroom/w.c. (Walkley 1988:4; Danvers Report 1986:10-11). On completion of the building Miss M. S. Short's view, in January of 1856, was that it was a "handsome building" (Cited in Brown 1936:52), which captures the general consensus of the time and in fact the view that has been expressed by many ever since. The original House, the Kingston Wing, appears to have had an affect on the local community with the building of grander dwellings, as mentioned earlier being suggested by Gawler, and so too perhaps did the new extension which is referred to as the Hamilton Wing. Austral House on North Terrace can possibly be seen as an example of this as, in 1859, Sir Henry Ayers, who had purchased the house in 1857, "had a large ballroom built on the eastern side" (Gunton 1983:10). Of course it may not have been a case of following the archetype, but rather normative cultural behaviour for any prosperous person. At this point the main body of the House was in place and while some additions occurred the focus of additions in later years was to cater for the infrastructure of the running of the House.

The additions to the main building over the years have maintained a certain constancy of style while the Servant's Quarters, also built in various stages, seem to have had "little regard for symmetry and balance" with the rest of the building. Also, compared with the Kingston and Hamilton Wings, the detailing in the Servant Quarters "is austere and basic" (Danvers Report 1986:34). The division between the attitude that the House was the Governor's home as well as place of work did not seem to translate in the same way for the staff for whom it was also a home and place of work. Nor do these buildings

bear the names of the architects, but rather their function. This would seem to be definitely an indicator of status both from the external structure and internal decorations. All these changes to the building over time clearly show one cannot be too complacent about the use of a particular space as it could well be constantly altered.

7.5.2 Decorations and Repairs

The decorations and repairs can be seen as equally important in the life of the House particularly as the Danvers Report puts it, "modernisation of the wings was a necessary form of change" (Danvers Report 1986:v). Many Governor's wives and female staff also put their personal stamp on the periods in which they resided in the House, not only the ephemeral political, social, economic and domestic activities but also the material culture in the building and decoration. Particularly, as "stairs, doors, architraves, skirtings and other architectural trim, mirrors and chandeliers are all important elements in the remaining fabric of the building interior" (Danvers Report 1986:76), so too one could include decor and, although not necessarily part of the fabric of the building, internal furnishings were part of the fabric of life.

As mentioned earlier, repairs such as the roof repairs in 1843 (Danvers Report 1986:23) only two years after construction, and again in 1848 (SAA GRG 38/7/1 1848:336), infer either the lack of skilled builders, cost saving measures in the original construction, or lack of suitable materials. This may also point to a lack of understanding of the environmental damage that could occur, much like the salt damp problems over the years. Generally the repairs carried out are not listed, but are simply shown as approved expenditure (SAA GRG 38/21/1 1853:173 & 174) and therefore do not tell us much other than one would expect general repairs would be required after ten years. Similarly the list of expenditure, which was tabled in Parliament in 1858 and covered the years

1850 to 1858 (SAPP 1857–58: vol. 1, no. 55), provides little information other than costs and also includes both the building of additions as well as repairs. There is one note of a specific item in 1854 and that is the repairs to the cistern and downpipes (SAA GRG 38/7/5 1857:41/45). Details regarding decorating the interior are also sadly lacking without which, and also a thorough examination of the interior, it is not possible to have a reasonable discussion of changing styles and tastes. There is mention of painting and decorating in 1858, but once again without any details. Two points, which were made in questions raised in Parliament about these costs worth mentioning specifically are, that the plans for the rooms had been sent 'home', which presumably meant Britain, and the wallpaper came from England (PDSA 1858:215 & 217). Thus even after twenty two years they still referred to Britain as 'home' and they were still importing particular items out of necessity or preference.

7.5.3 Furniture

Apart from the building, outbuildings, and all that is in the Domain being material culture, there is the portable artefacts to consider. These by the very definition of 'portable' are harder to deal with. The number of artefacts surviving from the House or too small to develop any worthwhile argument regarding their use as household goods, or make any comments about them beyond their intrinsic structure and the economic relationship with those around them. There are several issues regarding the furniture, and like the repairs to the House, there are some general details regarding costs without specifics of what was purchased. There is also mention of shipping furniture without specifics, or knowledge, of what arrived safely or not. Where the furniture did arrive there is no mention of what has been broken or discarded over time, or what was removed with the end of the term of Office of the incumbent. Some general costs are:

Date	Supplier	Goods	Cost	Documents
5/1/1839	Tapprell	Furniture	£5.17	A/c 15
10/3/1830	Tapprell Holland & Son	Furniture	£28.19	A/c 52, W/t 241
15/6/1840	H. M. Paymaster General	Furniture	£631.3.10	A/c 134, W/t 251

Table 9 Furniture Suppliers and Costs (AO 19/9/4 1835–1840)

The figure of £631.3.10 is also mentioned in other documents (CO 13/17 1840:83; AO 3/205 1840) without details of the individual items. This furniture was to be on the *Coromandel* but is not mentioned in the letter listing the cargo (SAA GRG 48/1, 23 August 1836). Also there is no guarantee, due to the confusion mentioned earlier regarding goods shipped, that it did in fact get loaded. £1,900 of furniture was purchased in 1858 and the amount shipped from Britain did arrive (PDSA 1858:215), but again this is not itemised. The political and economic relationship to furniture and decorating etc. can clearly be seen when the Treasurer of the day stated to Parliament that, of the costs, " ... considerably more than half was actually spent in the colony. The cost of moving the furniture, and fixing the decorations, and of papering, had been actually spent in the colony". Also, the Government "... could not altogether subscribe to the doctrine that money should be spent in the colony when the articles could be got elsewhere at a cheaper rate" (PDSA 1858:216). Obviously the 'tariff' ideology had not raised its head by this time. The Colony was obviously beginning to look to its own interests while still not being totally self sufficient in some areas, such as shown when it was pointed out that articles such as "mirrors and curtains" could not be obtained in the Colony. The cost in the end came to £3000 to furnish Government House (PDSA 1858:216) which raised questions about the original costing and raised the comment that "had they consulted a colonial cabinet-maker, he could have told them within a few shillings what it would have cost" (PDSA 1858:216). The suggestion of the lack of skills level in the Colony and issue of status is also raised with the statement that "… a *carte blanche* had been sent to some illustrious house in the cabinet line, and general instructions given to suit the furniture to the room considering it was to be occupied by

Her Majesty's representative" (PDSA 1858:216). Earlier, in 1846, Britain appeared to consider economic advantages over self interest when a request was made for an inventory of furniture at Government House and suggesting "repairs and possible purchase from NSW with greater advantage than in Britain" (CO 395/5 1846:250).

The most comprehensive list of furniture located was compiled in 1841 (SAA GRG 24/1/229a, 23 May 1841; CO 13/21 1842:263–265). On examining this list one can see the same problem mentioned earlier regarding the changing terminology pertaining to the use of rooms. As stated in the Danvers Report, in particular the 'Survey of Furniture', "the descriptions are usually brief and the nomenclature used sometimes at variance with modern usage" and the Report provides an example of whether a 'Couch' is the same as a 'settee' or 'sofa' (1986:105). An example from the 1841 list is 'Pier Glasses', which one could assume were to correct impaired vision, are in fact long thin mirrors "designed to fit on the pier or wall space between windows" (Neilson, Knott & Carhart 1948:vol. II, 1859). Deetz makes a point of being familiar with terms of the period one is looking at, particularly noting a 'looking glass' was a seventeenth century name for a 'chamber pot' (1977:10). Another problem with the 1841 list is that it does not state which items were brought by previous Governors, Hindmarsh and Gawler, or what they took away with them, or indeed what the then current Governor, Grey, brought and intended to take. There is the occasional item mentioned in letters, often ones of particular interest to the owners, such as the 'Pehanner' piano arriving safely, as mentioned by Maria Gawler (Kerr 1978:103). What became of this piano is unknown. In a guide to Government House Walkley mentions important pieces to be viewed and the rooms they were in but, only six years later, there is no guarantee they are still in those positions now. The Danvers Report provides an account of articles which may have been part of known inventories, for 1836, 1848, and 1868 (1986:107), and

photographs of many of the important pieces (1986:110-181). This Report includes not only items that are valuable antiques, or brought from overseas, but also includes representations of functional requirements and important examples of local workmanship, such as those by Rundle (Danvers Report 1986:105). It is interesting to note the cultural change from using individual artisans to purchasing from department stores, such as "John Martins". Also this report states, "the conservation policy recognises the duality of use of the building which should be recognised as a State building and as a comfortable and practical residence for residing Governors" (Danvers Report 1986:82), thus highlighting the particular uses of Government House as an issue to be considered, an issue which can easily be forgotten when determining the use of space and allotting function in archaeological reports. Similarly regarding the furniture, "as this is a 'working' house, a home, and not a gallery, due regard should be paid to the functional suitability of the additions" (Danvers Report 1986:109). Consequently, should there ever be an in-depth study of the furnishings of the House, due regard should be paid to the fact that not all items will be related to status and, much like the 'stone tool-kit' debate, there will be common unsophisticated items in situ with rare technically advanced items. This statement does not detract from the fact that the furniture, domestic appliances and utensils are as much a part of the status of the House as the building they support. Relatively recent statements like, "the Royal Suite and in particular Her Royal Highness's bedroom require refurnishing with furniture befitting the status of the occupants" (Danvers Report 1986:88), suggest views on status have not changed altogether. However, there is also the issue of perspective to be considered as such views may only be the views of the people, wanting to grant status upon those who occupy this space, for their own needs, regarding something different, special, or ceremonial, in comparison to their own lives. Much like in the poorest times and poorest places people will invest willingly, as much as when being coerced, unequal

proportions of revenue into churches or palaces. In the case of this House the suite mentioned may well have been sufficiently different from Buckingham Palace, also a working home, for the Butler to note, "I remember that Her Majesty on her first visit in 1954, said she liked the house because it had the atmosphere of a family home" (Veniard 1986:157). To all intent and purposes to Her Majesty the surroundings were probably less austere than those she usually frequented and conversely it would seem to the majority of citizens, who visit the House, to be symbolising wealth and power in comparison to where they usually frequented. Status, like anything else, would seen to be determined by the position the society, or the viewer themselves, places the viewer and would seem to be best determined with regard to the conditions and standards that apply to the majority of people in that society at the time. Further, for any meaningful discussion, 'status' should be broken down and defined to clarify what any writer is actually referring to. Power, privilege and wealth, individually or in combination, can represent status as can intellect, education, or spirituality. In the case of Government House, and its furnishings, it would seem that 'status' should fall into the category of 'privilege and wealth', and perhaps even deference for the Head of State which may not symbolise power in the sense of any real ability to achieve certain ends. Hence, while the statement, that "internally the cultural significance of the building lies in the furniture, particularly the very early rosewood items" (Danvers Report 1986:76), has some merit, it does not necessarily allude to status. Perhaps it should also be expanded to include the ephemeral events that occurred internally and the people who participated in these events.

7.5.4 Artifacts

Of the excavation of the Government House site at Port Macquarie in NSW Anne Bickford states the artefacts "give us an insight into the daily life of those who lived and

worked at Government House" and specific artefacts "can be used to talk about other aspects of life in Government House such as the pastimes of the Commandant's wife and children" (Bickford 2001:3). These incisive statements are indicative of the role and epistemology of archaeology today where the written record and the material culture are brought together to try to make a composite whole of the events and activities at a site. This also assists in recording the previously unrecorded and assessment of possible biased or misinformation. This thesis reiterates the value of the primary source, the written record, while at the same time suggesting that there is still much to learn from those, apparently privileged, in that record.

Household items, such as china, pots and pans, cutlery, and tools etc., are basically modern in Government House today. Therefore all the goods from the past have either been removed, sold, discarded, or destroyed. Some may still be in existence in this country, overseas or in rubbish dumps within the grounds or elsewhere in South Australia. Lists of such goods which arrived on the *Cygnet, William Hut, and Coromandel* in 1836 (SAA GRG 48/1, 30 April, 23 & 30 August 1836) do not assist as it is not clear what actually found its way to Government Hut. Overall there does not seem to have been the same accumulation of goods, as in the Stately Homes in Britain, in South Australia's Government House or indeed in any in Australia. As Mr Veniard states "… there is little silver of value in the Government houses" (1986:103). This could be a reflection of Mr Veniard's past experience of grand homes, but also could well be because the Governors brought there own goods and consequently removed them. For instance, it is stated that, "Sir James Ferguson had all his own household silver and linen, as well as a dessert service" (Mrs Allen cited in Brown 1936:56). It is somewhat surprising that there are not lists of bequested items, such as silver objects etc., appear not to have been made but perhaps once again these may well have been

made to particular Governors, and not the House itself, and so have departed with that Governor. Items disposed of in rubbish dumps in the grounds have not come to light because: either no such dumps exist; pipe excavation etc. has not disturbed such dumps in existence; or there has been no importance placed on items discovered. There is a suggestion that such dumping of rubbish within the grounds did occur as flagstones, mentioned earlier, removed to dig trenches for plumbing or electrical work in 1971, while this author was living at Government House, exposed several artefacts, two of which were retrieved from the rubbish to be disposed of at that time.

These flagstones were in the cellar created in 1869 and raises the questions whether the cellar was used as a store room and items were left when the flagstones were laid, the items were intentionally disposed of, or the cellar cut through an earlier rubbish dump. Photographs of the two rescued items, a ceramic pot and copper jelly mould, are in the following pages. The ceramic pot was probably a condiment holder as it is glazed on the inside and possibly once contained pickles, jam, or potted meat. It is in good condition so the reason for disposal is unclear unless either it had once had a lid which was damaged or it was the equivalent of today's disposable packaging. There are no makers marks visible but there are clear circular grooves on the base suggesting it was turned rather than hand built. The two little handles would appear to be more for decoration than functional use as they are so small, but they may also have been used to thread something through them to enable the pot to be hung. The only other decoration is a thin line around the body and quite near the rim. There are some small inclusions in the fabric which would suggest that it was not of the highest quality, but also not the roughest either. Dating it by itself would be quite difficult as it is a functional object that could have been used at any time over a two hundred year period. Suffice to say it is likely that it would not have arrived prior to 1836 and it was in situ in 1971. This is

quite a range and highlights the problem that, in dealing with what is classified as historical archaeology, one is required to reach a more accurate date, or at least one with a very short range compared to the pluses or minuses in other archaeological categories.

Plate 54 Elevation of Ceramic Pot from Government House (G Copland 2000)

Plate 55 Rim of Ceramic Pot from Government House (G Copland 2000)

The other article salvaged, a copper jelly mould, appeared to be easier to date and thus, by relative dating, ascribe a similar date to the pot as it was in association with the mould. Of course this process has flaws as the area of discovery could have been disturbed, mixing earlier and later depositions, and without the benefit of an archaeological excavation or examination of the trench from which these articles were removed it is impossible to be more specific. Future opportunities to excavate the area

using proper methods may still provide some information as the trench did not disturb the whole area. It proved to be almost as difficult to find information about the mould as the pot. It is quite ornate and immediately suggests the Georgian, or perhaps even more so, the Victorian era of culinary extravagance. Mrs Beeton's cook book from the mid 1800s shows examples of confectionery from similar moulds (1902:241). Constructed of metal alloy with an outer covering of copper with a hallmark pressed into it. The mark appears to be a Union Jack over an orb, above the number 54 (Plate Below). There is a solder repair at one end and the copper is quite worn. It still functions so presumably it was replaced because of the repair or it went out of style. Photographs below were sent to the Victoria and Albert Museum to help identify this mould as there are few reference available for such equipment and one is left to scanning newspaper advertisements to the try to match pictures with the object.

Plate 56 Elevation of Copper Jelly Mould (G Copland 2000)
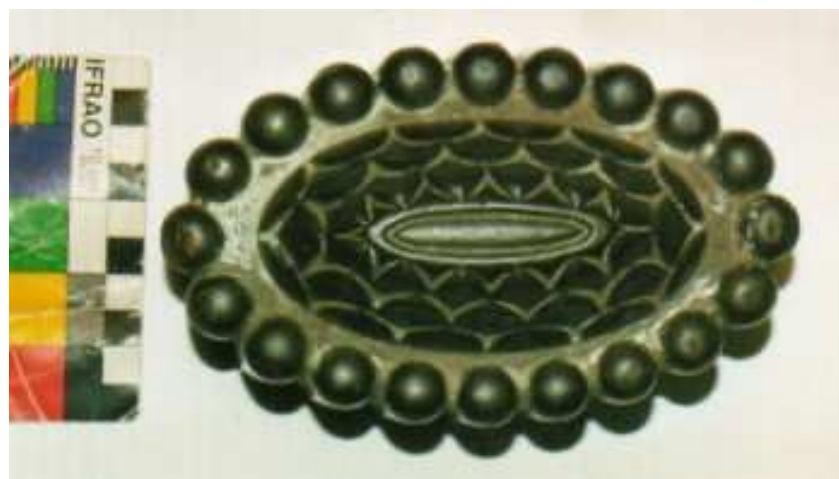
Plate 57 Plan of Copper Jelly Mould (G Copland 2000)

The Museum in turn forwarded the information to the Royal Pavilion Brighton which is housing their collection of Victorian cookware. The curator, at the Pavilion, then provided a contact, Ivan Day, who was able to state that the mark shows that the mould was "retailed by a very important braziery wholesalers based in London called Benham and Sons" (pers. com. March 2002). He points out that the cross, which was thought to be the Union Jack, is the Cross of St Paul and the company operated from c1828 in Wigmore Street, later becoming known as Benham and Froud which traded until 1930. Among their clients were Queen Victoria and the Duke of Wellington and therefore Day states that he would not be surprised that this mould was found at Government House. Although he has a copy of the utensils of Herbert Benham, the last of the family to run the business in the 1900s, the '54' mould was not listed.

Plate 58 Hallmark of Copper Jelly Mould (G Copland 2000)

It would appear that it is,

> difficult to date the mould as the designs were continuously produced throughout the life of the company … but it has all the attributes of moulds popular from the 1860s onwards – a fluted skirt with a nice overlapping leaf or artichoke–like design on top – however it could be 20 years + or – from that date" (pers. com. Day 2002).

Therefore at present it is not possible to be more accurate but the connection to the 1869 cellar may one day assist if further excavation work is attempted. There is also a need to alert those currently responsible for maintenance work at Government House to be aware of possible useful information to be unearthed during repair work. To this end a letter has been forwarded to the Minister responsible proposing a watching programme to be undertaken not only for Government House, but also for the entire central business

district as it was the major settlement area after arrival in 1836. These items, along with a copy of this thesis, will be offered to the government to be housed in Government House and may create more interest in locating, keeping and displaying such material culture from the Domain.

As to the mould itself it is hard to tell whether it was only used as a jelly mould and not as a toy by one of the children etc. or why it was disposed of. This object highlights not only the technology required to make the product, the material the product is made of, and the status and cost of the object, but also the fact that it was transported twelve and a half thousand miles. This raises questions of trade, commerce, and local economic conditions, but these are not expanded upon here. Suffice to say that this particular style was in vogue in the culinary field requiring not only functionality but also aesthetic results converting the simple, and often inexpensive, products of water, gelatine, colours and flavours, into a higher status work of art. As such it tells us something about the idea of creating a device to convert inexpensive products into articles which appear expensive. Whether this is a clever economic ploy or simply making the ordinary appear to be special is debatable, but the latter would seem to be more the case, where art or style has often been used to convert the mundane into the divine.

7.5.5   External Landscape

Moving from the internal use of space to the external landscape it would appear to be logical to start with the Domain itself. The dates considered extend beyond 1857 to consider changes and damage to the landscape. Alterations to the Domain have been mentioned already where the creation and changes to the bordering roads encroached on the dimensions of the space allocated and also that the location on the earliest maps was altered, on paper c1841, to correct deficiencies in the original plotting. It is doubtful

that the physical location actually changed. It would appear that presently the total area of grounds is 5.6 hectares (Walkley 1988:13) [13.8 acres], or approx 12 acres (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990:254). Therefore the earlier statement of 10 acres being originally allocated is either a general one, the survey was inaccurate, or some ground was included over time. Additions to the dimensions of the Domain have not been found to be mentioned in any documents so perhaps the increase in size could simply be accounted for in the change of position and more accurate survey at a later date. Either way as the dimensions do not appear to be greatly reduced perhaps there is then still a good chance the location of the Hut is within the Domain.

As early as November 1840 there was the possibility that the new Government House would cease to be just that. Governor Grey wrote to Lord Russell, before even leaving Brighton, complaining of the costs of upkeep of a house of such a "large scale", and suggesting he be able to use it for some other "public object", or have an increase in salary (CO 13/16 1840:398). The opinion at the time was that there would be no salary increase (CO 13/16 1840:402) and that Lord Russell should decide in view of, the plans of the House which were sent from the Colony,

> whether it will be desirably that the governor should retain it as his residence. Should the decision of his Lordship be in the negative, it might perhaps, be expedient to dispose of the house to the corporation of Adelaide for a court house or town hall, should it be suitable for that purpose. It is not impossible that the corporation might offer such a price as would cover the expense of the erection of the house (CO 13/16 1840:406).

In the end Grey got the increase in salary to £1000.

So the Domain was saved and changes to the boundaries finally came to an end with the 1927 Government House Domain Dedication Act, seen at Appendix 19, which protected the Domain from annihilation or further erosion. Prior to this act being passed a final piece of the Domain was removed to build a War Memorial (PDSA 1927:766–768, 806–

807, 854, and assent 999) (Plate 80). The reasons for the Bill to protect the Domain are so that it would be "dedicated and reserved for all time" (PDSA 1927:766), its 'historical significance' and 'historical value' (PDSA 1927:767), and no other State had its original house (PDSA 1927:767). Of course with the latter neither did South Australia. The cadastral maps (CAD) in Vol. II (Plate 82) show the current boundaries and survey reference points as at January 2001.

Such boundaries, while not a novel concept to the European settlers, were new to the Indigenous population and the natural environment itself. This is not to say that the Indigenous population did not have division of ownership or use of land between different groups but rather that these oral laws and customs were complex relationships between people and the environment instead of physically placed barriers and documented property deeds. Many have shown the linguistic and custom differences between Indigenous groups as the division of land across the landscape, and the current research by James Knight, of Flinders University, is showing how complex and easily misunderstood such divisions are. For the settlers in 1836 they simply followed their normative behaviour of erecting physical barriers to claim ownership and were quite unprepared to comprehend the Indigenous perspective. The fencing of the Domain is an example of this process which of course helped define the area known as the Domain for the local European community but it has also been suggested many times that the original intent was to preclude the Indigenous population from the property. Hence the first of the structures on the landscape, after Government Hut and Government House, was a railed fence which is noted by Maria Gawler as being constructed in December 1838 (Kerr 1978:103). The Davenport drawing of c1842 (Plate 90) shows the railing fence as does the drawings of Eyre's departure in 1840 (Plate 138-141). In 1848 permission was sought to make bricks on the left bank of the Torrens, near the Gaol, for

the Outer Wall of the Domain (SAA GRG 38/7/1 1848:247, 14 January 1848) and a gate

was added in the same year, which raised the economic issue of the state of the Colony

with concerns regarding honouring the Bills being issued (Frome to Lieutenant

Governor, SAA GRG 38/7/1 1848:385/6, 16 November 1848). The wall was built

around the Domain in 1849/50 at a cost of £791 (Danvers Report 1986:23 & 37; Borrow

1982:21; Jensen & Jensen 1980:112). Ensuing years saw many other fences being built

or walls being altered such as;

1854 - an iron fence being constructed (South Australian Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings, 1st Session 1855-56, vol. 2; SAA GRG 38/7/3, 12 July 1854),

1867 - the southern wall being built in 1867 of random rubble and Glen Osmond stone, for 330 feet from the south east corner, but this end was demolished in 1920s for the War Memorial construction (Danvers Report 1986:38 - 39),

1871 - a wall being constructed on the north side of the Government Domain (Jensen & Jensen 1980:449) which can be seen in 1927 Maps (Plates 79 & 80),

1873 - a new west wall was built and tenders, for gates and piers outside the Domain, were invited (Jensen & Jensen 1980:449). After the construction the "lamps and irons were rehung to the newly constructed piers" (Danvers Report 1986:43),

1922 - the western wall was rebuilt as retaining wall (Danvers Report 1986:39) and replaced by timber fence which in turn was replaced by steel 1988 (Walkley 1988:12) and resulted in the demolition of several out buildings (Danvers Report 1986:20),

1937 - the northern boundary brick wall was built at a cost of £1454 and a request was made to use returned soldiers (Danvers Report 1986:38) which echoes the use of excess labour a hundred years earlier employed the build the embankment outside the northern boundary, and

1938 - the boundary wall forming Kintore Avenue was replaced by present brick wall (Walkley 1988:12).

Once again most of these are outside the timeframe being considered but are mentioned

for the sake of noting change to the site and possible alteration of the original record.

All these efforts were little to do with security, but more to do with separating the space

from the rest of the surrounding settlement and claiming property rights. Within these

walls the landscape was altered in many ways by the usual process whereby humans try

to control or alter the natural environment to suit their own needs. As can be seen from

the Pictorial Essay the garden is probably the most comprehensive of these. Most of the

photographs and drawings depict a view to the north, probably to capture the front of the

House. This of course means we have little visual record of the rear of the grounds

where most of the outbuildings, which are mentioned later, would have been. These images show some garden layout, early development over time of gardens, outbuildings, fencing of the Domain, and the surrounding landscape, while the current Plates (182-199) show the present state of the grounds and its contents. "While there is a good deal of documentation on the house, there is virtually no mention of the garden in official records" (Walkley 1988:11) and in private documents it would seem, in some cases, the garden referred to is the Governor's Garden (Plates 66 & 67), which was adjacent to the Torrens River and separate from the Domain. In 1839 Kingston supervised the work on a gardener's cottage at Government House (Langmead 1983:291), which was probably in the Governor's Garden and possibly depicted in the drawing by Mrs McLeod (Plate 136). Whether this is the one mentioned by Langmead as being constructed at the same time as the House, in 1839, is unclear but it was roofed by John White, while the account was from Kingston in March 1840 for approximately £217, and was about one thousand square feet in area (Langmead 1983:331). When this garden ceased to be used by the Governor is not clear, but it ceases to appear on maps after Kingston's map of c1841.

Walkley suggests that the area around the Hut was known as the vegetable garden and there was an associated gardener's cottage (Walkley 1988:12), which may well be a different cottage to that mentioned previously. The first general comment on the immediate landscape comes from John Cox Gawler, the second son of Governor Gawler, in a letter to his aunt on 28 July 1840, saying, "Papa is having the ground about our House look very neat and pretty" (Kerr 1978:123). More detail is provided by a request for reimbursement for the costs of plants sent to the next Governor, Governor Grey, when it is stated that the,

> estimate value of fruit trees, plants, and vegetables now in the two Gardens at Government House amounting to the sum of £110–14-6. I would request you to

be good enough, in presenting these accounts to the Governor, to acquaint his Excellency that all these plants here be procured and placed in the ground at the expense of Colonel Gawler, by whom also the Gardeners wages and the time of labourers to prepare the garden in the reception of seed and to keep them in their present order has been defrayed. The settlement of the expense of labour is included in two accounts enclosed.

Written on the inside of this letter is the comment, "Will you mention to Mr Hall that the Banana Trees are too expensive an article that if any one else would purchase them, I would rather not take them – The other articles I shall be very glad to have", and it is signed G Grey January 22 1841 (George Hall to Colonial Secretary, SAA GRG 24/1/227/1841, 20 May 1841). The mention of two gardens presumably refers to the one in the Domain near the House and the one near the River Torrens, which is now Elder Park. There must have been a number of plants to amount to this value and it is interesting to note the exchange in itself, with Gawler requesting payment knowing full well he could not take these with him. Perhaps it was connected to the animosity created over the loss of his position. Similarly we get a glimpse of the economic rationale of Grey regarding the Banana Trees, perhaps a sign of things that were to come in his tightening of the fiscal controls on the Colony. For instance, he cut wages thus angering the working class and also reduced the expenditure of Government House angering the office-holders (Collier 1009:22).

While there does not appear to be a list of these plants, three years later there is a letter from William Haynes recommending Robert Lucas, who had experience in "the largest Nursery in Wiltshire, England" and "having heard Mr Johnson is about to leave Government Gardens", making a "request he occupy the house on the Torrens vacated by Johnson" (SAA GRG 24/1/159, 28 February 1844). Once again presumably reference to the Gardener's Cottage in the Governor's Garden. The appointment appears to have occurred as there is a recorded list of plants etc. in the ground in October 1844 (SAA GRG 24/1/164/1844, 3 October 1844) which seems to be

something of a 'hand over' and is signed by John Johnston with a mark made by Robert

Lucas. There are no Banana Trees mentioned so presumably Grey did not relent on not

taking them. In the remarks there is the interesting note that,

> No notice is taken in the List of Forest Trees, ornamental plants, or Bulbous
> roots as well as that portion of the uper Grounds adjoining the Well of Water
> which contains a few Trees cuttings and other plants – presuming His Excellency
> makes a reserve of them for the use of their Pleasure Grounds or his pleasure
> (SAA GRG 24/1/164/1844, 3 October 1844).

This tends to suggest that the gardener's duties were limited to those required to supply

the Governor with food products. Hindmarsh's sailor gardener, Seaman John Hill who

helped build the Hut, is mentioned by Borrow as possibly being the gardener in the

picture by Gill c1845 (Plate 160) when an attempt was being made to establish the

gardens (1982:20) but it is hard to see any resemblance to Hill's picture on page 279.

Whether he takes this view due to the similarity of dress to that of a sailor is not known

but the drawing could well be of Johnston or Lucas. In 1849 "George Francis replanted

the garden" (Borrow 1982:21) and the now mature Peppercorns, Moreton Bay Figs,

Willows and Olive trees are part of a basic design created before the construction of

Hamilton wing of 1855 (Danvers Report 1986:48). While generally it appears that

before 1856 "the area was arid" (Danvers Report 1986:78) £200 was spent on plants in

1855 (Walkley 1988:12). There is a map in the Danvers Report (1986:208) which

provides something of a garden design in 1854 but unfortunately it did not copy well so

cannot be provided here. Walkley states that a 1867 photograph shows un-touched bush

and dovecote in north east corner (Walkley 1988:12). However, the 1867 photograph

(Plate 171), showing a dovecote does not give a clear view of the area mentioned, so it

is assumed Walkley had access to a different photograph. Plate 165 shows a 'candle

pine' as does the photo from 1860 (Plate 166) , but the other shrubs appear to have

grown very fast or the lithograph is artistic licence.

Until 1975 the grounds were in the care of the Colonial (Walkley 1988:12-13). C1869 "it was said that the gardens around the demesne were very neglected although Dr Schomburgk did as well as could be expected on a small vote" (Jensen & Jensen 1980:354). Walkley states that another source suggests "the grounds at the front of the house in 1871 were in much the same state as in 1845, but by 1878 the gum trees had been taken out and the grounds laid out on the present lines" (Walkley 1988:12). Unfortunately he provides no citation for this source. The lithograph of 1876 (Plate 100) shows mature trees on the southern boundary, yet the photograph of 1871 (Plate 176) shows them to be quite small. Perhaps this is artistic licence once again. The pictures of Government House in the Pictorial Essay provides an opportunity to see the changing gardens and the growth of the trees. There are detailed maps of the gardens at the front, south side of the House, in 1926 (Plates 77 & 78) but further work would be required to attest to the accuracy of these plans. Other photographs in 1937 and 1938, not presented here, apparently show the northern part of the grounds to have native vegetation and iron shed, wheelbarrows, and covered with small gums, respectively (Walkley 1988:12). Also, according to Walkley, there appear to be no other photographs to the north of house, but that this area is known to have been "totally unkempt, and included the horse paddock, horse sand bath, watering trough and piles of manure, presumably because of their proximity to the site of the previously demolished stables" (1988:12). In 1975 the Botanic Gardens assumed control of gardens and now lawn covers most of north area and a remaining water trough is now used to grow water lilies (Walkley 1988:12). A typical recycling and incorporation of existing, but outdated, constructions. Many other structures have probably come and gone without reference in the documents. The changes to the garden landscape have been many, but the attitudes and tastes reflected in these gardens prevail, particularly shown when it is stated that the gardens "… reflect a stately colonial lifestyle befitting of the British

monarch's representative overseas" and, that they are now "like an English country estate" (Danvers Report 1986:75 & 78). The 1926 plan gives us perhaps the best description of the gardens at that time and includes the types of some of the trees. The 1931 photograph (Plate 102), c1960s photograph (Plate 103), and recent aerial photograph (Plate 104), provide some detail of both the earlier complex style and the new open simpler style. The photographs taken by this author in 1971 and 2000 (Plates 183, 184,186,187 &191) how the wide expanse of lawned areas which not only allow for easy maintenance, but also create an atmosphere of tranquillity and spaciousness in the midst of a capital city. Once again creating a special place and separating the area from the usual life of the everyday citizen.

Another structure that has not come to light is the Brewery, the only reference to which is in Walkley, with no citation, when he states "… the Governor's brewery, believed to be the first in the colony, has gone" (1988:12). Another structure worth examining is the first well, or wells, on the Domain. The locations of any wells are unknown at present. Finding them may add to the knowledge relating to early construction practices and perhaps they may have been used as a receptacle for rubbish once they were no longer functional or required and therefore could provide an insight into day to day domestic activities at the House. Tenders were gazetted for a Government House well "four feet in diameter clear of brickwork" on 13 November 1838 (South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register 1988:189) and the Governor's wife, Maria Gawler, mentions a well being dug in December 1838 (Cited in Kerr 1978:103) hence we can be fairly certain this took place. Walkley adds that it was to have 10 feet of water in it (1988:11) but the tender notice mentioned, does not mention this requirement. Langmead states Kingston supervised the construction of wells at Government House (Langmead 1983:288 & 291), which not unrealistically suggests there were more than

one. Once again the geographical illustration on pages 304 and 305 provided some idea of the kind of geological structures that would be needed to be penetrated to be able to sink such wells.

There were several structures in the Domain, some of which still exist, which relate to the daily activities of the occupants and whose locations are not a mystery. For instance the Flagstaff which represents the status of the building as a Vice-Regal residence and doubled in the early years as a signal regarding arrival of ships, is clearly seen in early drawings and photographs, and is similar to the first Flagstaff at Glenelg.
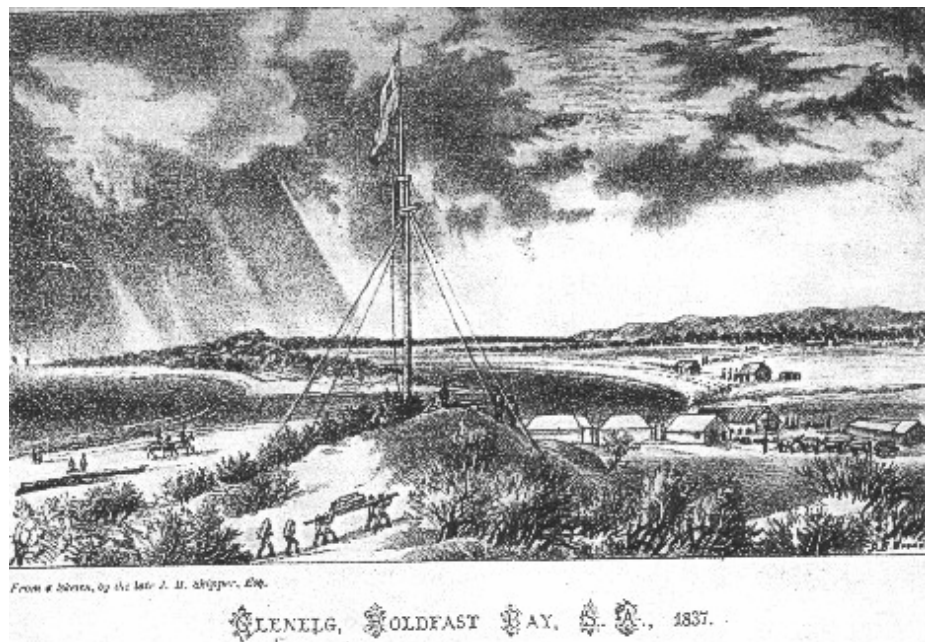
Plate 59 Flagstaff at Glenelg 1837 (Loyau 1885:Frontispiece)

The position of the Government House Flagstaff altered in c1842 from its close proximity to Government Hut in 1840 (Plate 141) to a new position (Plate 158) at which remained until the early twentieth century. This is shown in many illustrations starting with Kingston's map of c1841 (Plates 66 & 67) and Davenport's drawing c1842 (Plate 90) up to the 1926 plan (Plates 77 & 78). Flags are now flown from the roof of the House (Plate 188). It is presumably from the earlier flagstaff that in November 1841 that one William Longman fell while employed at Government House, spent six months in hospital, was "discharged without receiving any benefit from the treatment adopted",

and ended up living in Alberton "in a state of stricken destitution" (N. Corrie, SAA GRG 24/1/375, 2 July 1841). What became of the destitute Mr Longman is not known. The Flagstaff however, was replaced during Governor Robe's term of office in c1847 (Walkley 1988:2) and soon after, in June 1850, it was once again in a state of decay (SAA GRG 38/7/2 1850:52). Whether it was white ants or simply the weather that was brining down the pole is also unclear, but it is known that it was two parliamentarians that hauled down flag in 1900 (MLSA Notes 1952:321).

Closely associated with the Flagstaff is the Sentry Box which is on the boundary at the south west corner of the Domain. Like the Flagstaff it has a dual role. The Sentry Box is both a symbol of the Vice-Regal office held by the occupant of the House and housed the soldiers, now Police, who provide security and protection of the Governor and the property. It would appear Governor Grey was the first Governor to add a Sentry Box (PDSA 1927:767) in the early 1840s. Part of this structure can be seen in Plate 142, and the Sentry walk, along North Terrace, can be seen in Gill's painting of 1845 (Plate 162). It is possible that Grey was forced to add this building due to the animosity of the colonists, which resulted from the strict economies he was placing on the colony (Borrow 1982:20), and led "angry crowds to march to Government House" (Collier 1090:22). This action would tie the material culture to the political and economic climate and also clearly denote the change from the intentions of the original ideals, as Napier gave up the position of Governor due to not getting the military forces he felt were needed, Hindmarsh got around the lack by deviating from the required and keeping the Marines as a force, and Gawler was also denied what Grey was eventually granted. Overall this was probably more of an economic restriction in the first place based on the fact that the theory never allowed for such infrastructure, or the costs of it, and hence the practical implementation process fought against a military or police force. The first

permanent guard house was built 28 February 1855 (Danvers Report 1986:10, 23 & 40) the style of which, as seen in 1868 (Plate 169), did not alter until the 1920s. It would appear that the uniforms did not alter quickly either when one compares the photograph of the uniformed guard in the grounds in 1860 (Plate 166) and the painting of the soldiers in close proximity to the Sentry Box in 1845 (Plate 142).

In October 1873 tenders were sought to rebuild the Guard House (Jensen & Jensen 1980:449; Danvers Report 1986:40) and in 1874 the first guard room was demolished (Walkley 1988:4) and rebuilt, apparently using random rubble from the original building to build the rear sections (Danvers Report 1986:40). The pictures from the 1860s to the 1900s show that the rebuilding did not alter the style and it was not until 1925/6, when King William Street was widened, that the *colonnade loggia* was demolished (Danvers Report 1986:20) and not replaced. The 1926 map (Plate 77) clearly shows the Guard House with the *colonnade loggia* and the intended new alignment for the road, while the footing map of c2000 (Plate 81) show the current structure. In comparison these show that it is still in the same position, roughly the same shape, but of much reduced size. Today it still houses the Police attendants who still perform some security and protection duties but due to changing technology, in particular increases in electronic surveillance, the Guard House is even more symbolic now than functional.

Other changes on the Domain's landscape have also occurred due to the impact of changing technology and it can be seen as a microcosm reflecting the changes in the general society around it. One of the more obvious is the advent of the automobile and the changing needs of infrastructure to support first horses, then cars. Both forms of transport embody a functional necessity and recreational component. These components are difficult to separate as they can occur simultaneously during particular eras, and the

structures and accoutrements involved do not always differ for either activity. Stables in the 1800s could house horses strictly for transport between points or for hunting or racing etc. and garages in the 1900s/2000s cater for cars as a means of required transport or as recreational vehicles. To quantify the difference in uses in either would require a great deal more research so only the physical structures have been considered here and commences with the construction of stables. As seen earlier, Governor Gawler on his arrival complained of the lack of stables so one must assume that from arrival in 1836 until, at least 1839, the horses were simply left in corrals/paddocks and rounded up when required. Obviously stables both simplify this process and provide shelter for the horses. While Borrow suggests that stables were built in 1846 (1982:21) there was a request on 21 February 1845 to purchase 800 feet of Stringy Bark 'Scantling' (6 ft. x 6 ft.) to pave one of the stables rows at Government House (SAA GRG 38/7/1 1845:3), so presumably the stables were in existence at that time if not earlier. In 1846 a carpenter was employed for fittings to Stables and Harness Rooms at Government House and, though not conclusive, there is a suggestion in the same dispatch there were other stables as it states there was to be an "additional £10 over contract £373 for stables attached to Government House for alteration of the gable at the rear (SAA GRG 38/7/1 1846:21). In 1848 estimates for additions to the stables were called for to allow the coachman to live on the premises, noting at the time "the fire place is proposed, not in the Harness Room but in the shed at the back of the building" (SAA GRG 38/7/1 1848:322). Further estimates were received in 1849 from Captain Freeling being "flooring stables estimate and putting up Stables for Government Horses at the Government House £19.7.6" (SAA GRG 38/7/2 1849:14). This suggests additional stables and perhaps "Government Horses" refers to 'horses' that were not specifically used by the Governor, which would mean that the Domain was to be utilised as an integral part of general government installations and perhaps a signal of economic

rationalism at work in the 1840s. Later, in 1859, work was commenced on building the South Australian Institute next to the Government House stables but in that case some people found the use of the Domain 'offensive' (Jensen & Jensen 1980:187-188), much like the attempt to use the area for a new Parliament house in 1875, and the building ceased. Agisting horses would seen to be more acceptable than any permanent alteration to the intended function of the landscape. With regard to the stables there is some confusion with the nomenclature, similar to that mentioned earlier regarding living space and furniture, particularly when reference is made to repairs in 1853 to the coach house (SAPP 1857-58: vol. 1). The question that arises is whether this 'coach house' is the converted stable or a separate construction altogether. Also the number of stables or separately constructed stables that existed is not clear as it is suggested "additional stables were added to Government House in October [1864]" (Jensen & Jensen 1980:267) for which there are specifications and plans (Specification no. 4, 1864, Danvers Report 1986:209). Photographs and drawings tend to miss the side of the Domain that the stables complex was situated but there is an illustration of the buildings in the lithograph of 1876 (Plate 100), and later photographs, which catch a glimpse of a roof line in the left middle distance and a 1926 photograph which may be showing the destruction of these buildings (Plate 149).

Specifications and plans exist for paving the stables in 1876 (no. 234), stables in 1879 (no. 527), and addition of a galvanised iron room for the coachman in 1896 (no. 1881) (Danvers Report 1986:209), but there is no guarantee that these took place. Simply having plans does not mean the construction went ahead. However, there is still in existence an old galvanised shed, painted white, (Plate 195) which the Danvers Report states was "found to be the coachman's hut originally erected alongside the stables in 1896" as confirmed by the photograph B8526 in the Mortlock Library of the demolition

of stables, and showing the coachman's hut (Danvers Report 1986:47) (Plate 149). This photograph was taken by Gordon Walker in 1926 and records the preparation for the widening of King William Street, in particular the demolition of the 1847 stables (Danvers Report 1986:20). What other information was used to come to the conclusion that the shed was the coachman's hut is not known and quite strange as this shed is some distance from the site of the Stables on the Western Boundary. There would have been other structures around the grounds that were associated with the stables or more particularly the horses, such as perhaps a blacksmith, water troughs, railings etc. Much of this peripheral material is neither recorded nor still in existence. There was a hay shed built in 1857, there is still a hitching post embedded into the Moreton Bay Fig in front of the Kingston wing (Danvers Report 1986:44), and as mentioned earlier there is a water trough remaining which is being used to grow water lilies. Other related land uses such as paddocks, horse sand bath and the piles of manure (Walkley 1988:12) have since been covered by rambling lawns. Some of these details may also come to light if a coring survey ever takes place. The stables gave way to the garage as the horse gave way to the automobile and the current garage is adjacent to the 1875 addition to Government House (Plate 196). The north east corner wall of the garage was probably part of the service perimeter area wall built in c1847 (Danvers Report 1986:47) so some things are never lost completely, but rather incorporated or recycled to meet the required needs.

With any forms of transport, foot, horse, or car, access across the terrain is necessary in the form of walk-ways, drives and roads. While these were not available on arrival no doubt, either by constant use or purposeful construction, these were created within a short time to assist the ease of passage. The Pictorial Essay shows, from the earliest times, people accessing different areas in and around the landscape of the Domain and it

is more than likely, as is becoming popular belief, that Indigenous routes were taken in the first instance and probably follow many of them still today. Apart from the pictorial recording of these, many documents mention various methods of travelling between different points. The latter of course causes as many problems as trying to locate the Government Hut, as landmarks were few and far between and those that are mentioned often no longer exist. As can be seen from the various depictions of the grounds of Government House many changes occurred. There is a little more detail available after the additions to the House of 1855. Perhaps due to these, as part of a cause and consequence process, a "new Avenue to Government House" was requested on 14 August 1856 (SAA GRG 38/7/5 1856:365/56) at a cost of £200 (Jensen & Jensen 1980:145). The curved carriage drive was cut in 1867 (Specifications and plans no. 44, Danvers Report 1986:14, 44 & 204) and can be seen, along with other drives and paths, in various illustrations, in particular the garden plans of 1926 (Plates 77 & 78). The transport routes served various purposes from accessing the House to leisurely recreational perambulations and once again highlight the duality of the function of the House and the landscape.

Some of these paths etc. provided access into and out of the grounds, to structures previously mentioned, and to the cottages constructed within the boundaries of the Domain. In themselves they are something of a map of the activities and uses of the landscape and a detailed study of them can sometimes assist in establishing where particular activities took place. Those leading to the cottages also lead us to a change in the economic and domestic structure of the household. With the changing size and fortunes of Government House so too did the domestic organisation change, whereby larger numbers of staff were required. Also the relative value, importance, and consideration of these staff can be seen over time from the move to individual cottages

for the most senior to the current practice today of many of the staff no longer being required to live in the House at all. During these changes the uses of the cottages also have changed. A Gardener's cottage was one of the first staff outbuildings and when the gardens increased in size and complexity then a new, more substantial, Gardener's cottage was built. A Coachman's hut was built and eventually a Chauffer's cottage, while a Butler's cottage and Private Secretary's cottage also eventuated to meet the needs of the day. Some of these changes came from pressures within and others from pressures outside, such as changing values in society regarding servants and their needs. The earliest Gardener's cottage was, as mentioned earlier, probably not on the Domain but rather in the area called the 'Governor's Garden' and depicted by Mrs McLeod c1839. The map, supposedly in July 1838 (Plate 64), shows two buildings on the Domain which could be the Government Hut and the Gardener's cottage, or a mistake which positions Government Hut but erroneously includes earlier map's artistic depictions of the proposed position of Government House, or the map could be of a later date and represent the new House and the Hut. The error seems to be the most likely choice of these and what appears to be a small shed in close proximity to the Flagstaff (Plate 90 & 91) is quite possibly the Gardener's cottage with in the Domain. The 1865-7 drawing by Shaw (Plate 99), showing two outbuildings on what would appear to be the western boundary of the Domain, is probably the stables rather than the Gardener's cottage. The 1876 map (Plate 69) shows one outbuilding in a similar position, on the western boundary adjoining King William Road, towards the north west corner of the Domain, and the aerial view lithograph of the same year appears to show two which would also seem to be the stables (Plate 100). Similarly, the 1910 map (Plate 75) shows two buildings in the same vicinity and one in the vicinity on the 1920 map (Plate 76). Once again this is probably the stables rather than the Gardener's cottage. There is also plan no. 574 of the 1890 Gardener's cottage mentioned by the Danvers Report

(1986:209) but one cannot be positive that this was ever built and the location of this proposed cottage is not mentioned. However, as the Danvers Report mentions that plans in 1954 were drawn up for a 'new gardener's cottage' (1986:44) then it could be accepted that there was one in existence prior to this otherwise the word 'new' is quite redundant. The Report goes on to state that there was also a plan in 1954 for a 'new cottage for chauffer' and "one of these would have been known as Peppertree Cottage but now known as the Administrative offices" (Danvers Report 1986:44). Once again the question is raised whether 'new' means a prior chauffer's cottage was being replaced. If in fact either of these were actually built at that time, neither would have been Peppertree Cottage, as the Butler states that Peppertree Cottage housed some of the Royal staff in March 1954 (Veniard 1986:107) and Walkley suggests it was built in 1948 (1988:4). What probably occurred, considering that;

- the Danvers Report states the most southern house on the eastern boundary was a 'Cottage for the Chauffeur' on plans in 1928 (1986:43 & 209),

- Walkley's statement that the Butler's Cottage was built in 1928 (1988:4),

- the Danvers Report mentioning a 'new cottage for chauffer' in 1954 (Danvers Report 1986:44), and

- the Butler stating he took up residence in his cottage 2 February 1953 and lived there for twenty three years (Veniard 1986:99),

is that the new Butler dispossessed the Chauffer who in turn gained a new cottage. Hopefully, Walkley's other statement that the Chauffer's Cottage was built in 1945 (1988:4) is a misprint of transposed figures, particularly as it cannot be checked as he does not cite the source of the information. Another oddity is that the building footings map of the Domain area (Plate 81), obtained from the City Council in 2000, shows only the two cottages on the eastern boundary while the matching aerial photograph does show the third, Peppertree Cottage (Plate 104). This may well be because it is a wooden structure.

The aerial photographs and lithographs are extremely useful in determining other structures on the Domain's landscape, such as the swimming pool which Walkley states is where the vegetable garden once was (Walkley 1988:12). Tennis courts are noted on the 1926 map (Plate 78), on the eastern side of the Domain opposite the Kingston Wing, while they are then shown on the western side, parallel to King William Street, in later photographs (Plate 125). They no longer exist, but some of the fencing does and where they were can be seen in the aerial photograph and pictures taken by this author (Plates 104 & 42 respectively). Also the fountain in the southern lawn towards North Terrace can be seen on the aerial photograph. The age of the fountain is unknown but thought to be relatively recent (Danvers Report 1986:45), particularly as it does not appear on the 1926 map of the gardens. The 1926 map also shows three lamp posts, one to the south of the Kingston Wing on the driveway, one on the same drive towards the west in line with the western end of the building, which is probably the same one as depicted in the c1861 picture (Plate 167) and also this author's photo in 2000 (Plate 187), and one to the east, near the eastern boundary, on a gravel drive. Recent photographs (Plates 195-199) show the other current outbuildings, such as the Service area with two galvanised sheds and painted glass house, the adjacent modern brick gardener's shed and amenity block, the old service area next to the Garage which incorporates the Gardener's toilet in north west corner of the inner courtyard built 1847 as a servant's water closet, the 1848 adjoining wall of courtyard, two modern sheds, and a very early galvanised iron shed (Danvers Report 1986:45-47). Many of the underground pipes, which also form part of the alterations to the landscape, are not detailed but there are some references, such as a pipe on the mid western boundary is shown on the 1920 map (Plate 76), a main water pipe coming into the Domain just to the east of the Guard Room on the 1926 map (Plate 77), and on plan 45, mentioned in the Danvers Report (1986:209), of the drainage in 1867. There are many more pipes, both for power and water, but as the gardener told

this author, in more cases than not, they are only discovered during gardening work. The aerial photograph (Plate 104) provides the clearest picture of the current outbuildings, garden and general landscape but the whole of the Pictorial Essay allows one to see most of the changes from 1836 to the present. Each and every one of these changes bears some relationship to the activities of the occupants of the Domain and the society surrounding it. At different times it could be quite isolated and insular while at others it was heavily involved in the politics, economics, and society of the day.

7.5.6   The Human Element

The issue of the human element being equally important and inexplicably linked to politics, economics and the natural environment has been clearly evident through the discussion in this Chapter of the buildings on the Domain and alterations to the landscape. Primarily this had eventuated through simple interaction, but also the dual role of the complex as noted by Jensen and Jensen when they state, "during 1855, Government House had been 'enlarged to a mansion, but it was also Government offices' (1980:147) and, of course, in keeping with the changing fortunes of the Colony. Along with the work of the government taking place within the House, areas were set aside for the social aspects of the position, such as the Adelaide room being used for the reception of visitors (Walkley 1988:11) and the Ballroom for the Birthday Dinner of 1856 (PDSA 1927:767). The discussion on the building, additions and renovations etc. provides some insight into the rationale for the changes themselves and the uses of space, but there are other specific activities that are worth mentioning. Events like; "... a grand *Drawing-Room* as well as a Levée being held" by Governor Gawler and his wife on Queen Victoria's birthday (Watts 1890:82-83), archery being conducted in the grounds (Hirst 1973:43), and Legislative Council meetings taking place in one of the sitting rooms from 1837 to 1843 (Peake 1939; Holroyd 1910: 8-9; Danvers Report

1986:71). There was also a stream of guests and visitors who resided at the House along with the Governors who held office (Borrow 1982:14-15; Australian Bureau of Statistics SA 1999:47; The Advertiser 2001:1 & 5). Names already mentioned like Bishop Short, Lady Franklin, Mrs McLeod, Huntly McPherson, and many more including members of the Royal family and the general public. Even Governor Gawler's successor, Governor Grey, was a guest at the House which created some animosity between the two once Grey was appointed to replace Gawler (CO 13/21 1842:206–208 & 219–222). In Lady Franklin's diary of 1841 (NLA MS 114/Folder 9) we get her view of some more private household activities, while the table seating arrangements (SAA GRG, June 1840, 2/45/30; 2/45/31) provide some small insight into the formal activities taking place, and are particularly interesting when examining who was to attend and where they were to sit. Later in 1847 even once the Kingston Wing had been in use for some years we find the bachelor Governor, Robe, once again reduced to residing in a tent on the grounds (Fischer 1989:22), much like his predecessor Gawler, as his guests Archbishop Short, his family and staff were so numerous.

With the comings and goings of various guests it is easy to forget that, over time, it was often also a family home, so its uses included family affairs such as births, deaths, and marriages etc. For example; Lady Fox Young's elder children born there (Webb 1936:77-79) as was Governor Daly's Grandson, Allan Gore Daly, Governor Fergusson's son was born in Adelaide and also Governor Musgrave's sons (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36). Governor's Hindmarsh and Gawler both had daughters married in Adelaide, Governor Macdonnell's sister was married in Trinity Church, while living at Government House, as were Governor Daly's daughter's double wedding (Webb 1936:77-79) and his sons (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36), Governor Buxton's daughter's

wedding (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36), and Governor Georges daughter in 1954 (Veniard 1986:101).

Deaths were equally prolific first with the death of George, son of Governor Grey 25 July 1841 (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36), then Allan Gore Daly the Governors grandson who had been born at the House (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36) followed by Governor Daly himself, Lady Fergusson (Webb 1936:77-79),

Plate 60 The Hindmarsh Grave, Hove UK (G Copland 2001)

Harriet Joyce daughter of Governor Musgrave in 1857 (SAA Newscuttings 1931:36), and in 1971, while this author was a Footman, Governor Harrison died while en route to visit Britain. There has even been a shooting, that of Inspector Pettinger in 1862 (MLSA Notes 1952:321). Many of the gravestones, such as that of the first Governor John Hindmarsh, his wife Susanna and sister Ann, are interesting in their simplicity and similarity and complete the picture of life and death of those associated with the House.

As part of political and economic history, as well as a cultural venue and associated with South Australia's important social events, it has been said of the House that "it mirrored the development of the colony, increasing in size when the colonial purse expanded" (Danvers Report 1986:72 & 74) and the same could be said with the Hamilton Wing being built the year after Responsible Government was granted. In the earliest days it was the centre of the Colonial activities. Eyre's description of his departure from the House on his journey of discovery to Central Australia (Eyre 1845) provides us with an example of many such events and clearly demonstrates the focal point the House had at that time. The first hunt ball had taken place at Government Hut in June 1837 and a

much later newspaper article encapsulates the feeling of the time particularly noting that,

> gentle and generous women, all of those early Governor's wives radiated kindliness in public and private life, showed deep interest in youth and education, fostered philanthropy, and paved the way for invaluable social work that was soon to follow (Danvers Report 1986:74).

Webb provides many other such descriptions of the effects of the early Governor's wives (1936:76–81), whom the American's would call the 'First Lady'. In later years the Tennyson's held literary soirees, the Buxton's had Time and Talent meetings, and Lady Galway set up the House as a Red Cross depot during First World War, once again demonstrating that activities at the House reflected the moments in the life of South Australia. Along with their husbands the Ladies of the House were committed to social change and issues related to health and education, one such example is where Lady Buxton founded the Mother's Union in South Australia (Danvers Report 1986:73–74).

There is also the staff uses of the building, apart from their work, as the House was, as it was for the Governor, their home. They, perhaps more so than the Governor's retinue, were affected by the physical changes to the buildings and grounds since these were part of their tools of trade, or working areas, that were altered. These changes were sometimes for the better, such as in the provision of better accommodation and sanitary facilities, but perhaps also for the worse with increased space and thus increased duties. No doubt they would not have been consulted regarding the efficient uses of that space prior to construction. The lack of consultation has changed as can be seen with the Butler being asked to comment on alteration work in the 1970s, where alterations changed the activities that had once taken place in the various areas and, as mentioned earlier, often these earlier activities would not be seen in the archaeological record unless they were documented somewhere. In this case we have the advantage of the memoirs of the Butler where we can see that what once was used as a shoe polishing

area became the Butler's pantry and kitchen, with completely different activities taking place, and that what was once a kitchen became, among other things, toilets and showers for casual staff (Veniard 1986:138–139). Facilities for casual staff also highlights a change to the employment conditions the of staff, where they had become casual employees rather than live-in, which further adds to the transient nature of those who occupy the space.

Prior to this, even if the Governor changed, there was a good chance the servants remained and therefore increases the difficulty in determining actual usage of space. The lack of associated servant's bedrooms does confirm the social and economic changes. As such this could be compared with the massive increase in domestic staff accommodation created in the mid 1850s. It is also worth noting that the seemingly unrelated styles of fashion, from the required social forms of entertainment and social behaviour to the clothes being worn, would have had a major role to play in the changes to the creation and use of space and the duties of the servants. This has been highlighted recently in a television production entitled 'The Edwardian House', aired August 2002 through the Australian Broadcasting Commission, where in this area, and others, the need for such staff numbers is clearly demonstrated and would have been doubly so in the Victorian era. Hence one can inversely use these alterations to the building and landscape to deduce some of the ephemeral and lost practices of the past. Also, Mr Veniard's information which spans more than twenty years, albeit in recent time, provides an indicator to the volume and diversity of those that visited the House, and those that lodged there, and once again demonstrated the focal nature of the institution of Government House. With regard to its present, and past, effect on the social landscape the effect seems to be clear. With the change to Levee's which "were allowed to lapse in South Australia, during Sir Marks [Oliphant] term of office, in accordance

with the wishes of the Premier of the day" (Veniard 1986:114), one might presume that this indicated a social change of an outmoded ceremony or even possibly a political move to down grade the position in preparation for a possible move towards republicanism.

On a final note of change. During this author's time at the House a new Third Footman was employed who happened to be Indigenous and much interest was taken in what people saw as a new innovation in keeping with access and equity, much in the same way Sir Douglas Nicholls, the first Indigenous person appointed as Governor, was viewed by the community. Yet Maria Gawler mentions in 1841 that a 12 year old Aboriginal girl, Nancy, was living at the House and states "she sleeps in my daughter's room – we treat her as one of the family" (Kerr 1978:126) and it is presumed that this is the same girl mentioned some time later by Governor Grey as a servant at the House (SAA Newscuttings 1931:96). Perhaps innovation really depends on the total societal attitudes and knowledge at a particular point in time. However, while having an Indigenous Footman may have simply been repeating the past, the fact, as the Butler states himself, is that Mr Veniard was possibly the first Butler to an Indigenous person – Governor Nicholls. Of course, for some, it is debatable that anyone having a Butler is progress.

7.6.   Other Residences

The other buildings relating to the Governor are;

- Governor Robe's Sporting lodge built in the mid 1840s. A visitor to the region in 1849 stated that he "... stayed for a few hours near the residence of Mr Mason, the Protector of Aborigines, a splendid situation high above the river and built as a sporting lodge for major Robe …" (Holroyd 1910:8-9),

- Government Cottage, Glenelg, which was built as a Customs House in 1839 and used as a summer residence for the Governor from 1849 to 1859. Almost a

return to where they started. It was finally demolished in 1971(Glenelg City Council 1979:266-267) (Plates 200 &201),

Glenelg Cottage was replaced in 1859 by a new summer residence now called Old Government House.

- Old Government House built in 1859 (Jensen & Jensen 1980:154) at Government Farm, Belair was used as the Governor's summer residence until 1868 (MLSA Notes 1952:321) (Plates 203-205), and has possibly the first indoor pool in South Australia which was built due to the change in regulations prohibiting public bathing,

- Governor Fergusson rented Karratta House at Robe in 1871 and 1872 (District Council of Robe 198524; Jensen & Jensen 1980:509),

- Governor Musgrave during his term of office from 1873 to 1877 preferred to summer at Port Elliot,

- Marble Hill became the official summer residence, instead of Government House Belair (Webb 1936:81) on completion in 1879, during Governor Jervois' term (National Trust of South Australia). It was destroyed by fire 2 January 1955 while the then current Governor, Air Vice-Marshal Sir Robert George, was in residence (Veniard 1986:110 & 113), and lastly

- the summer residence used by Sir Eric Bastyan between 1961 and 1968 was Amookindula at 35 Cornhill Rd, Victor Harbor, which was purchased c1920 and auctioned in 1985.

As can be seen most are outside the period being discussed which tends to suggest that in the period of settlement the focus was on Government House itself. Some mention should be made of the fact that there were a number of buildings that were casually called 'Government House', which actually meant that they were used by government officials and more often than not a 'Government Resident'. For instance there is a letter to the Storekeeper Willunga in 1841 stating that,

the Government House at Willunga is in a very dirty state…[to be]…to be kept in a proper state for the reception of officers…not allow it to be occupied except on the order of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary the Surveyor General of myself (SAA GRG 35/230 1841:299).

Further there is correspondence dated 1 August 1849 from Encounter Bay mentioning that "the foundation of Government House here is fast giving way ..." (SAA GRG 38/7/2 1849:15). Also a house called "Haverdale was built for A. J. Murray as a government residence at Proper Bay in 1853" (Jensen & Jensen 1980:136), and there are

also similar references to Government Residences at Semaphore and Port Adelaide. As stated earlier these would appear to be for government officials not the Governor. One last building worth mentioning briefly is Government House Heligoland (Plate 206), because it was the next posting Captain Hindmarsh received after leaving South Australia. Hindmarsh "was made Governor of strategically important Heligoland (whose rocks harboured no subtle lawyers or colonising theorists), was knighted, and finished up a rear-admiral" (Kerr 1978:96) having served on the Island from 1840 to 1857 (AO 19/8/4). Much of the correspondence from that period seems very familiar with the constant requests for money to repair Government House Heligoland and difficulties with the inhabitants. The seventeen years spent there demonstrates Hindmarsh's abilities to be Governor and, as Kerr alludes to, supports the notion that the theory played a major role in the outcomes in South Australia.

The two buildings within the period, Robe's sporting lodge and Government Cottage, perhaps allude to the status of the Governors involved. However, little can be said regarding these buildings other than there seems to be no relationship to the theory or the experiment. Overall it has been shown that Government Hut and House were directly effected, therefore supporting the initial hypothesis that both the theory and the experiment affected material outcome.

CONCLUSION

Research Design Deviation

Like all humans, as is discussed in this paper, this author has deviated from the original intention in the Research Design for a variety of reasons. Also over time thoughts developed and changed as is to be expected. The new aims certainly took on a more methodological perspective than deductive process based on examination of particular material culture. The thesis is the result of these changes, many of which are discussed in the Introduction, and reflects a changing attitude to issues that became important over the duration of the research.

Outcomes/Analysis

As Cohn (1987) said of his work, which was considering the integration of the disciplines history and archaeology, the question always arises whether or not being schooled in one discipline will always mean that one is biased in their discussion. The attempt has been made to be inclusive, but it is up to the reader to judge how successful this process has been. The research does show that it is possible to be inclusive and that it does not detract from the epistemology of either discipline but rather enhances it. Perhaps it is the archaeologist in the author that feels some loss in not locating the first land based Government House, but this still may occur at some future date. When it does happen then the work presented here will hopefully enhance the deductive outcomes of any archaeological examination. It would seem that it is only when one has the luxury of both, documentary evidence and the archaeological record, that one can fully understand all that has transpired. It has been shown that in certain cases where

documentary evidence is missing then the ephemeral of politics and cognitive responses can only be alluded to, while conversely, where archaeological evidence is not available then the physical responses to the ephemeral intentions are similarly limited. Thus the benefit in both cases would seem to be the interdisciplinary approach which allows the maximisation of the deduced results by using the discourse formulated over the years in each discipline to enhance the analytical conclusion.

The thesis has met the aims by showing the benefits of using an interdisciplinary approach and the benefits of using this methodology as the issues and variables, arising from disciplinary categorisation, can be clearly seen throughout the work. There is the ongoing technical problem of trying to write in a prose style while presenting data in a scientific report style. If nothing else this highlights the basic cross disciplinary nature of archaeology and why in many cases authors separate the data from the prose which can easily lead to the results being seen as not inclusive. It is far simpler to place the prose, in the form of Historical Background for instance, at the beginning, the hard technical data or inductive results in the middle, and the deductive analysis at the end. This thesis has tries to show the alternative, but even in doing so has shown some shortfalls particularly in the case study areas where at times the inclusive or connective process can appear to be something of an after thought. In the end this may be a preference of style rather than an omission, but if this is the case then to avoid unjustified criticism of failure to be inclusive it is perhaps necessary for authors to clearly state up-front their intentions, or remember to draw the two together in the conclusion.

It would appear that the diagnostic index of settlement and the definition of Settlement theory works. It will be now up to others to test this in there own way and establish if in fact they do and are or any value.

In part this thesis has shown the difficulty of practically implementing theory which seems to basically come down to the inability of providing a complete practical plan or blueprint which covers all the variables. The fact that it is a theory perhaps justifies this shortfall, but there has been at least some attempt to provide for practical application. It does seem clear that the use of documentary evidence is vital to the understanding of the cognitive processes that occurred in implementing settlement theory as seen in the Chapters on Wakefield's theory and the South Australian Experiment. As regards the case study of the Governor's residences, in particular the search for the first Government House, it has been demonstrated that the documentary evidence was insufficient to accurately determine the position of Government Hut. However, it does show that this building existed, and we have seen the strong connection to other disciplines in the form of the political, social and natural environmental impacts on the material culture. Moreover, although the archaeological method of GPR has so far failed to establish the existence or location of the Hut, it can be said that as one method did complement the other. Therefore the contention of inclusion, interdisciplinary associations, and the value of the use of individual disciplines within other disciplines is supported. It would also seem that the inaccuracies in both methods arise from human normative processes where for instance: it would seem the location of the Hut was common knowledge and possibly seen as temporary therefore did not require definitive positioning; those involved were too busy simply surviving to be overly concerned about the location; and/or there was a physical lack of anchoring landmarks on the landscape. From an archaeological perspective, but without the benefit of the description of its rustic nature,

it is doubtful that if the building had been located it would have been afforded the status of a Governor's residence. Thus this paper has demonstrated the need to not only be critical of the biases and possible shortfalls in either documents or artifacts, but to also keep an open mind as new information arises and not totally disregard the value of the original information from which it emanated. The research into the available documentary evidence has proven to be a reasonable inductive process within the discipline of archaeology and the data collected has allowed the deductive process to take place.

Volume II, the Pictorial Essay, allows the reader the assess the decisions made by this author in keeping with the belief in critical theory. This said there are obviously some images missing through failure to locate them, the fact that they no longer exist, or a lack on the author's part to cognitively connect descriptions of images to the area of research concerned. The intention of this statement also falls within the area of critical theory in the attempt to be as transparent as possible. This in itself allows for continued research rather than those categorical statements which often suggest an end to questioning and consequential loss of interest. It is also hoped that the methodological approach used and interchanging of the epistemological terminology, such as documentary evidence being described as material culture, and the Pictorial Essay being considered to be an archaeological assemblage, assists breaking down the barriers between the disciplines.

Within the problem of the practical implementation of the theory it has been suggested that the lack of consideration of variables, as mentioned in Chapter Three, is a major limitation in the theoretical process. Both their existence and the problems resulting has been shown clearly throughout this paper. In the instance of deviation, whether directly

related to human actions, random events instigated by humans, or the physical environment, it would seem that the data supports the need for inclusion of this variable in deliberations and that it is sufficient to contribute to, inform the discourse and illuminate the changing patterns, of settlement. The diversity of the possible deviations also suggests that it may be impossible to account for all permutations and in attempting to do so may in itself lose sight of other possibilities. The result then suggests that a clearer approach to which variables are considered, and which are not, would at least provide the reader with the limitations imposed within the theory stated, and therefore a better chance of either. Therefore, better understanding the changing patterns discussed or developing their own. If the theory that we are each unique individuals holds up, then it must be argued that each of us would be unique in our cognitive processes to some degree, and therefore connect and process information in slightly different ways. It is this difference that would seem to be the opportunity to examine data from different and eclectic perspectives which in turn may produce a more holistic picture of human activity over time. The data presented does not appear to have altered the contention that deviation is the essence of change and that the only two proponents or catalysts are people or the natural environment. While this still does not cater for the multitude of variables within these two areas perhaps starting from here a taxonomy of variables may eventually be created. This part of the methodological approach has proven to be enlightening and a challenge in trying to determine human factors from documents and accounts that provide insight into the approaches, rather than the actual actions, to particular circumstances.

One of the most interesting issues to come to light is the inter-connection between many of the main protagonists of the day. Globalisation is seen as a recent invention yet it would appear that the prelude to this occurred well over 100 years ago when sea travel

and commerce reduced the world to a more manageable size and dramatically improved communications. Perhaps then as such it can really be viewed as a relative term connected to the breadth and dimensions of the known world to the people of the day. Throughout the research the number of connections between the people involved suggested that perhaps at some later date it would be worth following up these connections to establish if there is any pattern discernable. Perhaps it is no more than the fact that they are mentioned for doing something and the 'voiceless' are not, and therefore it seems that there are stronger connections between certain people. However, the Navy figures prominently as a connecting force, but once again this may simply be due to the area of research or the lifestyle of the time. One of the most intricate examples is seen with Lady Franklin being connected to South Australian history having met both Light and Hindmarsh in Egypt. Her husband, Sir John Franklin who later became the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, was Flinders' nephew by marriage and sailed with Flinders on the voyage of exploration of Southern Australia as well as earlier both serving at sea with Hindmarsh. Sir John also brought the first appointed Judge to South Australia and died searching for the North West Passage. His lost expedition eventually located by Captain Pullen who had been in South Australia having travelled out with his friend Colonel Light as an Assistant Surveyor (Capper 1837:56). Prior to locating the deceased Sir John, Colonel Pullen had captained the ship upon which Huntly MacPherson departed after being suspected of the arson attack on Government Hut during Lady Franklin's stay at the new Government House. The connections go further, but this would really be a new topic. Suffice to say this demonstrates sufficient connection to consider re-examining the current ideas of globalisation, networking, and disciplinary connections. For instance, the political connection between Marx, Wakefield, and Torrens, and in literature with Governor Hindmarsh being the only officer on deck as the L'Orient went down which inspired the poem by Madam F D

Hemans which begins "The boy stood on the burning deck …". As Yentsch suggests of the Calverts of Maryland, who have not been mentioned to any great degree in British history,

> their generations represent the society in microcosm and once one learns how it operates, more detail on their lives appears. The Calverts who lived in Maryland gain historical dimension by their connections to a range of different and interesting individuals ... (1994:48)

The transient nature of many of these peoples lives and the possible effect on settlement patterns has been discussed in the body of this work and would seem to be a variable certainly worth further consideration. It seems that in using documentary evidence or material culture there may be indicators to either ephemeral effects of transience where no material evidence remains, or effects on the archaeological record where no documentary evidence exists. The South Australian 'small town' character or connectedness, and belief in an income maintenance safety net through the government which emanate from Wakefield's theory, are perhaps examples of the former, while the actual position and layout of Adelaide of the latter. With a better understanding of these indicators it may be possible to use the findings as a methodological template to construct, or at least consider, possible transient migrations in the past rather than only assuming changes are a result of trade or diffusion. Well known examples of this possibility are seen in nicotine and silk being discovered in 5000 year old Egyptian mummies, and the local manufacture of Greek ceramics in Italy rather than being part of a trade process.

The Chapter 'Settling Down' demonstrates quite clearly the changes to the material culture, as does "A House for the Governor', based on political and economic conditions as well as the ephemeral signature of those involved and the physical environment. While there is the possibility of tilting at windmills there is also the possibility of explaining currently unexplained peaks and troughs in various settlement processes, and

may add to the debate on diffusion of ideas and people across a known global landscape. In a more obvious material culture way the documents used for the research can be seen in several ways. Firstly, there is the basic material of paper, quill and ink etc., as equally important as clay tablets, chisels and seals etc., which provides some idea of utensils in use, commerce and industry in the production and trade of these goods, and levels of technological development. Secondly, there are also political issues and social aspects relating to education, style and language. Finally there is the content. An example of the first aspect is the scraps of paper used in 1837 by the first South Australian Governor, Captain John Hindmarsh, which show a lack of available material and is confirmed by a document requesting implements for his dispatches (South Australian Archives (SAA) GRG 24/269a, 2 August 1837). This request also alludes to the second aspect, as there is the suggestion of political problems, since the Governor had to make a formal request for the simple necessities of conducting government business. The final aspect of the content results from the document containing information in much the same way as a decoration on a shard of pottery. Of course, the information it contains is not always accurate and does not always convey the meaning intended, being locked in time and thus based on values beliefs and norms, even nomenclatures that are no longer applicable today. Moreover, being taken out of context, they also can be quite misleading.

The argument against stages or linear progress has been clearly supported by the two case studies. Both in the settlement of South Australia and the building of the Governor's residence has shown the number of people, and random events, that came together to reach the final end. Perhaps it could be said that there were overall patterns, but only when a series of deviations are ignored. It can also be seen that there is a danger in using these stages as a developmental process which can lead to views of

discrimination based on perceptions of progress. While these stages can be a method to chart and explain change there is then the possibility to suggest that where some do not occur, if there is a different progression of change, or where there appears to be no change, then somehow the outcome is deficient. Wakefield's theory did not follow the proposed stages expected when put into practice, but the settlement survived and still exists. The changes of Governors' residences from ship, to tent or hut, to imposing mansion missed the transportable house stage and not all settlers went through this stage either, but we can see the variables that impinged upon the changes. As to no change at all being seen as a lack of development misses the point that there are some changes that are not necessary, or quite simply the people do want to make a particular change, or see no value in doing so. This is not stagnation in all cases, a prime example is the ability to walk upright which is seen as a major progressive stage which, so far, has gone no further. Of course one could argue that various forms of transport is the next stage, but suffice to say there may well be situations that meet the needs of the humans, and therefore do not need to be changed.

The problem of disciplinary categories has been discussed in detail in the body of the text and therefore needs no detailed deliberation here other than to perhaps mention the relationship to the case studies. It would seem that leaving out a factor from the considerations does lead to a less than complete picture of what did, or does, occur but by acknowledging the disregarded factor the reader can be aware of the limitations within the deductions made. It does also seem reasonable that particular disciplines examine in detail particular aspects of human endeavour using their particular epistemology and discourse, but once again it should be made clear that the outcome then does not speak for all disciplines. The idea of using Settlement Theory as an umbrella provides something of an option and supports interdisciplinary relations and

developed connections, discussions, and acceptance of the value of the input would assist in the holistic view of particular circumstances. Both case studies demonstrate the interrelated nature of politics, economics, sociology, and the physical environment and perhaps where one is privileged over another may be because that area appears to be the major contributing factor rather than the only factor.

It would seem in reading the 'A House for the Governor' chapter that the archaeological grounding of this author took over and it could be better integrated into the whole using a broader perspective, but perhaps this is unavoidable in an independent piece of work such as this. Of course had the Hut been located then the discussion could well have been developed further which tends to suggest the need for both documentary evidence and material culture to be present which does in some way support the argument for interdisciplinary relationships. If nothing else the foundations have been laid for such a discussion in the future, should the Hut be located, and suggests revisiting both the documentary evidence and material culture as new data in either form eventuates.

From the theoretical perspective the thesis has shown that material culture and the landscape are affected by theory, practical implementation, the variables discussed, and status and power are not as clearly seen. Moreover, taking either power or status out of context could easily lead to a misinterpretation of what is actually occurring. For instance, the written intentions of considering Indigenous rights and welfare was not translated into actions, and the material outcome of the Hut does not reflect the power and status of the residents as shown in the records. Overall it would seem that the building was a vehicle or tool to perform the duties required of the Office of Governor. Of course it was also a home to the Governor and retinue and did not only act as a professional tool in the process of politics and governing, but also represents an

indicator to economic change, a venue for social change, and a symbol of permanency, confidence in the settlement, and an example for others to follow. In the House there certainly seems to have been a transportation of a variety of cultural ideologies, from architecture to use of space, but there is also an incorporation of physical environmental and changed attitudinal variables. Moreover, it was clearly effected by the theory and resulting personalities involved. As such both the Hut and the House imposed themselves on the creation and development of a new settlement. It is difficult to say how things would have been different had for instance the Domain been enlarged, moved, or abolished, but we can see the part these did play in the political power struggles, physical changes to the landscape, and their development as a focal point of the settlement and life of the colony. It is interesting that the latter appears to have been at the instigation of the settlers rather than emanating solely from the Office of the Governor, particularly as the intention of the proponents of the experiment were trying to wrest power from a central authority in the first place. Perhaps the Office was not as powerful as Westminster, but on the other hand it was more powerful simply because of the isolation and because the people invested the symbol with the responsibility for their welfare. A question not discussed in the paper is why certain Governors, such as Governor Robe, did not change the residences they utilised. This is a question that could be answered in future research and may add further dimension to who actually instigated the changes or lack of changes. In particular in Robe's case as he was a bachelor and therefore there could well be an argument for the changes emanating from the Lady, or family, of the House. Overall, the diagnostic index of settlement appears to function, and could be a useful tool in archaeology, if not all disciplines discussing settlement, to clarify the specific behaviour being discussed. This in itself may lead to a better understanding of settlement. Also, the definition of Settlement Theory works well as a possible umbrella under which to examine various theories relating to settlement.

Finally it would seem to be clearly established that the theory, 'Systematic Colonisation', and the implementation process, 'The South Australian Experiment', definitely affected the material outcome. Further it would seem that a desktop analysis is possible and useful if not infallible.

Future Research

It would seem that as usual trying to answer questions raises more questions and each new research project builds on the foundations of the last hopefully moving towards a more complete picture. Future research then in this case is basically the new questions raised throughout this work. Broad questions such as,

> what the contemporary views on property ownership were in the 1800s to further understand both the physical creation of boundaries and the protection of one's own property while dispossessing others of theirs, or

> why so many of the people involved in this particular settlement process were either somehow related to each other, or at least known to each other, and whether this extends to other such ventures. Whether these relationships were an effect of this expansion process, an effect of a social factor in that these people were somehow privileged in one way or another, or these people were simply of a similar character of being adventurous and/or ambitious?

More specifically, future research could encompass a similar premise to this one and examine the literature and the landscape regarding the settlement of other Australian colonies, and/or the Wakefield settlements of New Zealand compared to South Australia, to test if these findings relate in any way. At the same time, perhaps the theoretical debates on settlement practices and the development of settlement, that appears to have diminished over the last few years, could be re-opened. This thesis certainly continues the debate on linear theories and would appear to be timely in the general political climate in Australia today with questions of republicanism being raised, having seen the end of the first centenary of Federation in Australia, particularly as the expected linear path of separation from the core country did not occur in the last referendum. At the beginning of the "New Millennium" it also seems timely to ask if

we in Australia are in a period of post colonialism or still in a state of colonisation, and what of de-colonisation.

There has been some discussion in this paper of the issues related to privileging one group over another in directing one's own research, but one group almost forgotten in archaeology today seems to be children. There has been an small attempt within this work to take regard of them, however, more needs to be done across the board and to remember to put them in context within the framework of the totality of society. Children, apart from their own actions, often also affect the parents actions therefore they must play an equally important role in the cognitive processes that take place. In particular in new settlements where adults can suffer greater hardships and deprivations than usual and may then be making particular choices, or taking particular actions, in consideration of their or other people's children. Success of settlement rests not only on new and continuous migration, but also on the rearing of another generation and this would appear to be an important area of future research. Linking this with documentary evidence Yentsch states,

> Evidence of social action resides in the ground, but also in a wide variety of cultural texts. These tell of the deeds of people who were centre stage (cf., the Calvert men), or those who were supporting actors (their women and children; the servants; the slaves), and even of those whose activity took place off-stage (butchers, merchants, princes) (1994:294).

Of course the question is debatable as to who exactly is on centre stage and perhaps this is determined by the activity involved. For example, the children may be the central point regarding additional rooms or changes in hygiene and the wives in choices of career, social standing, and support emotionally, financially, or politically. Children and wives could also well be central to the issue of transience in a new settlement, particularly with regard to the Governors of South Australia, as most appear never to have intended to settle permanently in the Colony. However, some of their children did

which raises another variable in the question of their commitment to the Colony. Further work on numbers who left South Australia and the numbers who stayed and why, to try to form an empirical base may assist in a discussion of innate or normative relationships to the settlement processes. Also it may well be possible to use Sir Edric Bastyan, who did remain in South Australia after his term in Office, and Sir Mark Oliphant, who was born in South Australia and also remained after his term in Office, as controls to examine possible differences in approaches to the Office. As part of this, the data collected on the Governors, their families, and retinue could fulfil one of the original intentions of this thesis, to try to establish if there were any identifiable links between their particular lives and the changes that took place, and relate this to the work of Yentsch (1994). Hopefully this could help answer a question, not clarified here, of whether status and ceremony attached to the position was the focus and construct of the Governor or the people he governed, or if it was simply the trappings of a previous settlement and cultural norms.

End or Beginning

A major question is, what of Settlement Theory in the future? The answer may be in the well known phrase - "Space the final frontier" which is used in Star Trek the movie, books, and television series. This is not only reminiscent of the frontier theories discussed earlier, and also sets up another progression towards an end, but it may be the key. The study of space exploration could actually provide us with a useful insight into the settlement process. Space has already been settled in terms of the space stations which are little different than the outposts, and beginnings of settlement we have seen in the past. Therefore we have an opportunity to critically study the beginnings of a settlement process. The possibilities with such a project are endless, but most importantly may provide an insight into the issues of original settlement. If nothing else

such research will tell us more about the process and, to use the vernacular, it will be

research of another frontier across which future theorists will have to navigate.

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