



**A HOUSE FOR THE GOVERNOR:
Settlement Theory, the South Australian Experiment, and the search for the first
Government House.**

VOLUME I

By

Gordon Copland, BA (Hons) (Grad Dip Ed)

Department of Archaeology
Faculty of Education, Humanities, Law and Theology
Flinders University of South Australia

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

May 2006



Plate 1 - Kingston Wing, Government House, Adelaide (view to the west) (G Copland 2000)

CONTENTS – VOLUME I

	Page
Plates & Tables	5
Abstract	6
Declaration	8
Acknowledgements	8
INTRODUCTION	10
Research Aims	10
Study Areas and Case Studies	11
Chapter Overview	11
CHAPTER 1 METHOD SETTLED UPON	15
1.0 General Methods	15
1.1 Methodology in Specific Chapters	18
1.1.1 Settlement (Chapter Two)	19
1.1.2 Settlement Theory (Chapter Three)	19
1.1.3 Wakefield’s Theory (Chapter Four)	20
1.1.4 Settling for South Australia (Chapter Five)	20
1.1.5 Settling Down (Chapter Six)	20
1.1.6 A House for the Governor (Chapter Seven)	21
1.1.7 Pictorial Essay (Volume II)	28
1.3 Conclusion	29
CHAPTER 2 SETTLEMENT	30
2.0 The Meaning and Limits of ‘Settlement’	30
2.1 Settlement Language	31
2.2 Defining Settlement	32
2.2.1 Mobility	32
2.2.2 Sedentism and Settlement	35
2.3 Settlement Diagnostic Index	39
2.3.1 Individuals and Groups	39
2.3.2 Size and Construction of Groups	40
2.3.3 Purpose, Intent, Necessity and Duration	41
2.3.4 Sustainability of the Natural Landscape	44
2.3.5 Group Dynamics	45
2.3.6 Success or Failure – Chronology	46
2.3.7 Proposed Diagnostic Index of Settlement	49
2.4 Settlement Terminology	50
2.5 Diagnostic Index of Settlement and Terminology	52
2.5.1 Individuals and Groups - Size and Construction of Groups	52
2.5.2 Purpose, Intent, Necessity, and Duration	57
2.5.3 Sustainability of the Natural Landscape	61
2.5.4 Group Dynamics	62
2.5.5 Success or Failure – Chronology	62
2.6 Settlement and this Thesis	63
2.6.1 Settlement	63
2.6.2 Rationale or Aim of Settlement	67
2.6.3 Transition to and Beyond Settlement	70
2.6.3.1 Transition	70
2.6.3.2 Core/Periphery	71

2.6.3.3	Colonization	72
2.6.3.4	Archaeological Settlement Indicators	74
2.6.3.5	Beyond Settlement	76
CHAPTER 3 SETTLEMENT THEORY		77
3.0	The Parameters of Settlement Theory.	77
3.1	Diagnostic Index of Settlement	79
3.2	Transience, Human Deviation and the Physical Environment.	83
3.2.1	Transience.	83
3.2.2	Human Deviation	91
3.2.3	Physical Environment	107
3.3	Implementation of Theory	114
3.4	Stages, Phases and Linear Development	122
3.5	Disciplinary Categorisation (Discipline Focused Variables)	133
3.6	Settlement Theory Conclusion	144
CHAPTER 4 EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD A Practical Theory		159
CHAPTER 5 SETTLING FOR SOUTH AUSTRALIA		187
5.0	The Case Study and Limitations	187
5.1	Chronological Background Leading to 1836 Settlement	189
5.2	The Bill and Acts	195
5.3	Colonization Commission	199
5.4	Appointments	204
5.5	Indigenous Connection	206
5.6	The Practical Implementation of Theory	216
5.7	The End of the Experiment and Settlement Process	233
5.8	Success or Failure	244
CHAPTER 6 SETTLING DOWN Adelaide, the Site, Design, and the Domain		251
6.0	Parameters of the Case Study	251
6.1	A Capital Experiment	253
6.2	The Design	261
6.3	The Domain	265
CHAPTER 7 A HOUSE FOR THE GOVERNOR		277
7.0	Dwellings	277
7.1	Archaeological Evidence	280
7.2	A House for the Governor	280
7.2.1	1836 – 1837 - <i>HMS BUFFALO</i>	283
7.2.2	The House that Never Was	294
7.3	Government Hut	315
7.3.1	Who Built the Hut?	315
7.3.2	Construction	318
7.3.3	Uses and Furniture	322
7.3.4	The Destruction	327
7.3.5	The Archaeological Search for the Hut	330
7.3.6	Search Results	335

7.4	Present Government House, North Terrace, Adelaide	337
7.4.1	The Proposal for a New Government House and the Question of Status	338
7.5	The Second House (Kingston Wing)	341
7.5.1	Major Additions	351
7.5.2	Decorations and Repairs	356
7.5.3	Furniture	357
7.5.4	Artefacts	361
7.5.5	External Landscape	367
7.5.6	The Human Element	386
7.6	Other Residences	391
	CONCLUSION	394
	Research Design Deviation	394
	Overall Outcomes/Analysis	394
	Future Research	405
	End or Beginning	407
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	409

CONTENTS – VOLUME II

Plates

Appendices

PICTORIAL ESSAY (PE)

PE.0 An Artefact Catalogue in Pictorial Form

PE.1 Maps of Adelaide

PE.2 Landscapes of Adelaide

PE.3 The River Torrens and Surrounds

PE.4 Government Hut and Domain Boundaries

PE.5 Kingston Wing and Current Government House

APPENDIX

PLATES & TABLES –VOLUME I

Plate Number	Description	Page
001	Kingston Wing, Government House, Adelaide	Title
002	Government House, Adelaide, Southern Façade	10
003	Map of South Australia Insert Australia	12
004	Adelaide and Suburbs Showing Governor's Residences	13
005	Portrait of a Young Edward Gibbon Wakefield	158
006	Portrait of an Older Edward Gibbon Wakefield	186
007	Captain John Hindmarsh	202
008	Lady Susana Hindmarsh	202
009	Self Portrait of Colonel William Light	227
010	Sketch of a Proposed Site for Adelaide	253
011	1836 Watercolour Map of the Coast of South Australia	255
012	1837 Watercolour Plan of Adelaide, South Australia	256
013	Adelaide – Enlarged Section of Plate 12	261
014	Adelaide – Reduction of Plate 63 Vol. II	261
015	SA Company Mill and the City Mill	270
016	Plaque on King William Street Bridge	271
017	1836 Voyage of the <i>HMS Buffalo</i>	284
018	Mr Gouger's Tent and Hut at Holdfast Bay	286
019	<i>HMS Buffalo</i> 1836	287
020	Reconstructed plan of H.M.S. <i>Buffalo</i> 1836	288
021	Redrawn plans of H.M.S. <i>Buffalo's</i> decks as fitted 1836	289
022	Water closet fitted to H.M.S. <i>Buffalo</i> 1833	290
023	Site in New Zealand of the Wreck of <i>HMS. Buffalo</i>	292
024	New Zealand – Mercury Bay	293
025	Advertisement for Transportable Homes c1839	294
026	Peter Thompson & Manning Transportables	300
027	1838 - Peter Thompson Emigrants' Houses	301
028	John Manning, Portable Colonial Cottage, c1833	302
029	Friends Meeting House	305
030	Plan of Friends Meeting House	306
031	Rear view of Friend's Meeting House (view to the north)	307
032	Front view of Friend's Meeting House (view to the south)	307
033	Plaque at Walkley Cottage, North Adelaide	308
034	Walkley Cottage, North Adelaide (view to the north)	308
035	Framed Tent	311
036	Governor Gawler's Tents at Glenelg	312
037	Able Seaman Hill	316
038	Reconstructed Drawing of Government Hut	321
039	Sofa possibly from the <i>Buffalo</i>	325
040	Map of Ground Penetrating Radar Survey Lines	331
041	Start of Survey Line GH1	332
042	Survey Line GH1, (view to the south)	332
043	Survey Line GH1, (view to the north)	332
044	Survey Line GH2, (view to the east)	333
045	Survey Line GH 2, (view to the north)	333
046	Survey Line GH3 (view to the south east)	334
047	Survey Line GH 3 (view to the north)	334
048	Distribution of Hallett Cove Sandstone Beneath Adelaide	335
049	Geological Section Across Adelaide Looking West	336

050	Deputy Ranger's Lodge in Green Park by the Adams'	346
051	Halnaker Lodge, Brixton, England, Architect Unknown	347
052	Kingston Wing Drawing from 1842 Map	348
053	Kingston Wing in 2000	348
054	Elevation of Ceramic Pot from Government House	364
055	Rim of Ceramic Pot from Government House	364
056	Elevation of Copper Jelly Mould	365
057	Plan of Copper Jelly Mould	365
058	Hallmark of Copper Jelly Mould	366
059	Flagstaff at Glenelg 1837	376
060	The Hindmarsh Grave, Hove, UK	388

Table Number	Description	Page
01	Schedule of Official Appointments in South Australia	205
02	1837–1839, Ratio of Land Sales to Number of Emigrants	236
03	Governor's Residences and Governors Responsible	283
04	Businesses, Stores, Costs and Account Numbers, 1836	295
05	Businesses, Stores, Costs and Account Numbers, 1837	296
06	Artefacts Brought to South Australia	324
07	Furniture Possibly Part of the First Consignment	325
08	Building Additions and Alterations to Government House	353
09	Furniture Suppliers and Costs	358
10	Full Citation of Documents from the PRO, London	Vol. II

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the human spatial occupational behaviour generically called 'settlement'. Within this process a diagnostic index of settlement is created to assist in analysing, defining, and exploring the parameters of 'Settlement Theory'. There is particular reference to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's Theory of Systematic Colonisation in South Australia, as it is one of the few Settlement Theories actually put into practice. Two case studies are examined to develop a transitional argument that connects theory to material outcome. Firstly, considering the macro implications of theory and material culture by comparing the implementation of Wakefield's theory (The South Australian Experiment) and the site, design, and Government Domain of the Capital (Adelaide). Secondly, by considering the micro effect of the theory on material culture in the form of the Governor's residence between 1836 and 1856, including search for the first Government House (Government Hut), to test the connection at this level.

DECLARATION

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

Gordon Copland

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly I must acknowledge receipt of the Australian Postgraduate Award with Stipend, Flinders University Overseas Travelling Fellowship, Amy Forwood Travelling Award, and BankSA Travelling Award, without which neither the research in Australia or overseas would have been possible. Also without the support of Professor Vincent Megaw of Flinders University, Dr Thomas Stöllner of Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum, and an Australian Research Council's grant I would not have had the marvellous opportunity to participate in two overseas field trips directly related to settlement issues.

There are many people that have provided assistance and support over the duration of this project, but for those not specifically mentioned I would like to offer my appreciation for their support and their academic generosity. Particular acknowledgment must be made of Dr Keryn Walshe for providing the academic and emotional support to continue in postgraduate studies. Mention must also be made of Associate Professor Dr Donald Pate, whose expressed knowledge of theory created the initial interest in the area of theory and who brought both an international and discerning perspective to the work. However, it is due to the patience, proof reading skills, and academic acumen of Dr Heather Burke that this re-written and re-submitted version exists.

Within the project people who must also be acknowledged are: Ms Janet Gunthorpe of the School of Humanities of Flinders University for providing much appreciated administrative support; Ms Penny Stratmann the Official Secretary to the Governor of South Australia and her Secretary Ms Jeanett Cochrane for the necessary liaison to access Government House; and of course the Governor and his wife, Sir Eric and Lady Neal, for allowing me to invade the privacy of their home. Acknowledgment must also be made of many people at Flinders University in particular the Department of Earth Sciences for the use of the Ground Penetrating Radar and Ms Paula Haahesy for assistance in the field, Ms Meg Apsy and the other staff members of the Library, Ms Sarah Morphett and Mr Robert Keane of the Geography Department, and Ms Lis Jansson the Secretary of the Department of Archaeology. With regard to other institutions, mention must be made of the staff at: the South Australian Archives; the Mortlock Library in Adelaide; the Australian National Library in Canberra; the Mitchell Library in Sydney; the Public Records Office and Kings College Library in London; and the South Australian Land Titles Office, especially Mr Mick Sincock.

I would like to also acknowledge Mrs Veniard for providing me with a copy of her late husband's manuscript of his life as a Butler. Also Dr Yvonne Cocrane-Nantes, Dr Michael Sullivan, and Dr Sara Munn of the Politics Department of Flinders University, for their friendship, tutelage, proof reading, mentoring, and supportive badgering to complete. Similar acknowledgment goes to my postgraduate colleagues Mr Neil Davies, Mr Simon Cootes, Dr Michelle Gater, Dr Brenda Glover, Dr James Knight, Dr Dymphna Lonergan, Ms Katherine Henderson, and Mr George Susino, who, along with many others, shared their knowledge, ideas and thoughts on an unparalleled range of subjects and disciplines providing great sounding boards, and inspiration. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, without the support and practical assistance of my family and friends I could not have accomplished anything. Hence it is to Susan, Brooke and Jamie, Andrew, my mother Mrs Anne Holberton, and my mate Robbo that any credit for completing this thesis must go, along with Maria Thompson for taking the trouble to read this paper.