CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE SURVEY: 2008–2009

VOLUME ONE

(Attachment to City Centre Heritage Development Plan Amendment – March 2012)

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with

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**Heritage Assessment Reports: Recommended Local
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CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE SURVEY 2008–2009

INTRODUCTION

- **Background**

The present heritage survey of the City of Adelaide is the fourth to be undertaken that focuses on South Adelaide's built heritage. Those undertaken previously include:

Donovan, Marsden and Stark, 'City of Adelaide Heritage Study', 1980–1982;

A review of the Register of the City of Adelaide Heritage Items, Sumerling and Taylor, 'City of Adelaide Heritage Study', October 1990, that proposed that 59 places be entered in the Register of State Heritage Items; and

McDougall & Vines, 'City of Adelaide: Townscape Assessment', July 1992.

Council approved the brief for the present study at its meeting on 29 January 2008: the scope was extended by Council's decision on 19 May 2008.

- **Objectives**

    In accordance with terms of the Project Brief:

    The primary objective of the City Heritage Survey is to provide assessment of unlisted buildings against the local heritage criteria in Section 23(4) of the *Development Act 1993* together with accurate descriptions and other information for the purposes of incorporating additional Local Heritage Places within the proposed DPAs. [Development Plan Amendments]

- **Methodology**
  - **Guiding philosophy**

The consultants' approach to the heritage survey and recommendations flowing from it have been based on principles that flow from an understanding of The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 (The Burra Charter). The Burra Charter is essentially concerned with conservation and management of places of cultural heritage value and standards of practice for decision-makers. The preamble to the Charter says of places of heritage value that they:

    … enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences. They are historical records, that are important as tangible expressions of Australian identity and experience. Places of cultural significance reflect the diversity of our communities, telling us about who we are and the past that has formed us and the Australian landscape. They are irreplaceable and precious …

    These places of cultural significance must be conserved for present and future generations.

    The Burra Charter advocates a cautious approach to change: do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but

> otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance
> is retained. [Preamble to the Burra Charter]

The assessment of heritage value of places within the city of Adelaide has been based on the Australia ICOMOS 'Guidelines to the Burra Charter: cultural significance', that were adopted by Australia ICOMOS on 14 April 1984 and revised on 23 April 1988 and 26 November 1999.

Though grounded on particular philosophies, it must be emphasised that the present study is a heritage survey, with planning related matters flowing from it to be addressed separately through the proposed Development Plan Amendment process. In accordance with the Australia ICOMOS Guidelines to the Burra Charter:

> The assessment of cultural significance and the preparation of a statement do not involve or take account of such issues as the necessity for conservation action, legal constraints, possible uses, structural stability or costs and returns. These issues will be dealt with in the development of a conservation policy.

The management of places considered of heritage value is a separate issue.

The consultants have focused only on the need to determine whether or not individual places meet criteria for listing as Local Heritage Places under terms of the Development Act (1993), section 23(4) in order to satisfy legislative requirements for amendments to the Development Plan. Consequently, places have been assessed on their own merits with no consideration given to broader planning issues.

The consultants would also point out that the purpose of the current survey differs from the 1993 survey that was primarily concerned with townscape context of city buildings and was concluded prior to assent being given to the Development Plan (1993) with its list of criteria under Section 23(4). Consequently, differing assessments and recommendations concerning particular places do not invalidate either survey.

The consultants also believe there is a need to stress that places identified in this heritage survey — with six exceptions — have not been considered under the more rigorous criteria for consideration as a State Heritage Place under the Heritage Places Act (1993), Section 16. The exceptions have been identified as places that might be entered in the State Heritage list and have been given this extra consideration.

For consideration for listing under terms of the Development Act (1993): Section 23(4) places must be deemed to meet at least one of the following criteria:

- (a) it displays historical, economical or social themes that are of importance to the local area; or
- (b) it represents customs or ways of life that are characteristic of the local area; or
- (c) it has played an important part in the lives of local residents; or
- (d) it displays aesthetic merit, design characteristics or construction techniques of significance to the local area; or
- (e) it is associated with a notable local personality or event; or
- (f) it is a notable landmark in the area.

One interpretation of the criteria under the Development Act is that any place by the very fact that it continues to exist has been subject to many influences over a considerable period and therefore satisfies criterion (a) at least, namely, that 'it displays historical, economical or social themes that are of importance to the local area'. Then again, what is considered to be important to a local area is subject to wide interpretation.

Even places extensively altered can satisfy criterion (a) because the nature and need for alterations reflects changing 'historical, economical and social themes' of the area. And it must be said that all places of any age have undergone some physical change, not least because of the need to introduce modern services to satisfy changing community, health and safety standards. For this reason, the consultants have discounted — though not overlooked — the impact of alterations to ground-floor shop fronts in the city centre. Such alterations are evident even in the world's most historic city centres and are necessary to maintain economic viability for these premises.

Although just about any place can be considered to be of some local heritage value, it is important that places recommended for local heritage listing have some special features that distinguish them from others. Consequently, the consultants have sought to highlight these special features. In addition to those criteria listed in the Development Act, special features might include:

- the early age of construction of a place, or the simple fact that it is dateable and therefore tells a story;
- its high physical integrity of fabric, form and scale;
- the retention of original use, or a closely allied use;
- the quality of its construction and detailing, even though this might not be sufficient to qualify under criterion (d);
- its construction of bluestone that indicates a relatively early construction date;
- it reflects contemporary tastes in a particular manner;
- it may be an example of a good solution to a design problem, say location on a corner site addressing two streets;
- it may reflect an important development of a specific construction technique;
- it may have been designed by a well-known architect or constructed by a major builder;
- it might be an example of a place of which there are now few other examples in the city.

It is not sufficient for listing that a place simply looks 'nice'. Nor is it necessary that it be 'old'.

The original appearance or the physical integrity of a place — particularly a commercial building — is not a dominant consideration in the assessment of heritage value. Indeed, successive physical changes to a place may enhance its value because they 'display historical, economical or social themes'. They certainly reflect the continuing social value of a place. This may be particularly appropriate for, say, the property at 113 Pirie Street. Building of additional floors to a simple warehouse reflects changed social and economic conditions.

Nevertheless, many classes of places — particularly dwellings —have a particular heritage value because of the degree to which they retain their original integrity. In large part this relates to the form, the intactness of

original fabric and appearance of a place because there may be little to distinguish such places from others of their type. In this instance the Burra Charter dictum is important, namely that physical changes be sufficient 'to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise as little as possible so that … cultural significance is retained.'

A corollary of this is the Burra Charter principle that change to the fabric of a building should be reversible — the more easily reversible the better. Again this implies minimum change to building fabric, form and scale.

Strictly speaking, all items, no matter to what extent they have been altered, can be restored to their original appearance, or one that is appropriate, if this is desirable and sufficient evidence remains — but at a financial cost. So 'reversibility' of itself is not a key criterion in assessing heritage value. In some cases, however, extensive restorations, with or without guidance of physical or archival evidence, may be simply conjectural and mean that an early place retains little original fabric and effectively becomes a replica or an entirely new building. The Burra Charter provides guidance here also, when it indicates that 'changes to a *place* should not distort the physical or other evidence it provides, nor be based on conjecture'.

Then again, restoration of a building to an original appearance may not be warranted, or even desirable. The preservation of utility and economic viability of a place is the best guarantee of its preservation. In many instances the adaptation of a building to a new use enhances its heritage significance: in other instances changes may have been made for structural rather than cosmetic reasons and could not easily be reversed.

The consultants, in accordance with the philosophy of the Burra Charter, believe that heritage value concerns the whole of a place, that any building is an envelope containing a collection of spaces defined and delineated by fabric and structural elements. This principle of respect for original fabric is fundamental to the assessments made. An associated issue is that interiors should generally reflect exteriors as far as the arrangement of internal spaces and external windows and doors are concerned. Chesser House at 91–99 Grenfell Street is not considered a Local Heritage Place in accordance with these principles though retention of portion of the original façade may add to, or help preserve the character of the street.

The determination of the heritage value of a place has not been based upon future use or potential economic value. Issues concerning the continued development of a place of local heritage and the extent that alterations might be made — even to its structure — to ensure its continued utility, are planning matters associated with the ongoing management of the place in accordance with policies outlined in the Development Plan, rather than the assessment of its heritage value.

Heritage value is concerned with more than the physical appearance of a place. The consultants have been concerned to establish historical and other associations wherever possible. This becomes difficult, particularly with the many anonymous older dwellings that exist in parts of the city. In this instance the heritage value has been largely assessed on the extent to which these items are rare examples of such places (such as older warehouses), those that are old (evident in their bluestone construction) or others that reflect their original appearance and the extent to which they retain original fabric.

Similar examples of dwellings of particular styles may be found in great numbers in surrounding suburbs, but this is not to diminish their heritage value in the capital, which was once predominantly a residential area where people lived close to their work places, whether businessmen in grand dwellings in the southeast or workers in small cottages elsewhere. The consultants have been particularly concerned to recognise the heritage value of dwellings that reflect the early residential nature of the city and believe that those built prior to World War I certainly do so, particularly rows of attached cottages that are less common beyond the city.

Although the assessment of places has been made in accordance with established principles, it remains a matter of judgment whether or not particular places are of sufficient heritage value to be considered places of Local Heritage value. There can be little doubt about many items that clearly meet the criteria, but there may be debate about those at the margin. This is particularly so in this third heritage survey after most of what might be called 'gems' have already been identified and listed.

There might be different opinions about the heritage value of some items near the margin, or indeed, where the threshold for heritage listing should but this does not compromise the validity of the recommendations made concerning those buildings that the consultants believe meet the criteria outlined in the Development Act (1993): Section 23(4), all of which are considered places of local heritage value.

The consultants have sought to undertake a comprehensive survey of the city. This is at least the third major heritage survey, with all or most places of high heritage value having already been identified. Even so, because of the anonymous and common nature of many places not yet included on heritage lists, the consultants cannot guarantee that every Local Heritage place has even now been identified, unless they make a blanket recommendation that all existing places, say, those built prior to World War II, should be automatically considered Local Heritage places.

But even implementation of such a recommendation would not guarantee absolute certainty. No heritage list can be considered static and final. Continued development within the city will provide 'new' heritage places that reflect continuing 'historical, economical or social themes that are of importance to the local area'. The continued demolition of older city fabric will enhance the heritage value of much of what remains and that might be considered of minimal heritage value currently. Some new places might be identified for future listing because of their innovative design and construction in accordance with new developments in architecture and the employment of non-traditional building materials. Other places might be considered of heritage value because of their social significance flowing from events yet to take place.

• **Priorities**

The consultants' first priority under terms of the original project brief was to re-assess places considered during a previous heritage survey to which objections to listing had been received and which, as a consequence, had not been included on the Council's Local Heritage List. It should be noted

that these places had been assessed for their townscape contribution rather than heritage value under the criteria of the Development Act.

The second priority was to identify additional places of heritage value that might be added to the city's Local Heritage List.

The consultants were also directed to identify potential heritage places within the Central Business Area and surrounding Mixed Use Zones first of all, and then those within the Mainstreet (Hutt) and Residential Zones. The construction of the report reflects this approach to the project.

The identification of places to be assessed was undertaken by means of historical research and actually walking about the city.

- **Historical Research**

The historical research was required to indicate places of potential heritage value that might not be evident from their physical appearance. It was also necessary to provide documentation of identified places. The historical research continued throughout the course of the survey.

The bulk of the research included previous heritage surveys and the resources of the Adelaide City Archives and State Library of South Australia. The consultants were concerned to locate archival photographs and illustrations of identified places in addition to finding background information on them.

- **Fieldwork**

Each consultant was engaged in fieldwork, with each focusing on a part of the City. One of the team took all photographs which meant that all identified places were physically visited by at least two team members. The whole of the team visited particular areas, most notably Rundle Mall, Rundle Street and Hindley Street.

It must be pointed out that the consultants were instructed not to contact owners nor seek to examine the interiors of buildings, unless these buildings were accessible to the public. Even then, inspections were limited to public areas.

- **Assessment**

All team-members were involved in the assessment process.

- **Project team**

The City of Adelaide Heritage survey has been a team effort. Those comprising the team were:

> Lothar Brasse, Architect;
> Carol Cosgrove, Historian;
> June Donovan, Historian;
> Peter Donovan, Historian;
> Bridget Jolley (Dr), Historian;
> Susan Marsden (Dr), Historian.

- **Acknowledgements**

The issue of teamwork extended beyond the team undertaking the heritage survey. Invaluable assistance was provided by staff of the Adelaide City Council's City and Park Lands Planning Department, most particularly:

> David Bailey, Manager
> Carolyn Wigg, Senior Heritage officer
> John Greenshields, Senior Heritage Officer
> Liz Caris, Heritage Officer
> Meagan Cox, Heritage Officer

The team would also like to acknowledge staff of the Adelaide City Archives, particularly:

> Anna Prencipe
> Michial Farrow

Staff of the Department for Transport, Energy and Infrastructure, Land Services Group, Land Titles Office, and General Registry Office, Adelaide, also provided great assistance, most notably:

> Mick Sincock.

RECOMMENDATIONS

**Please Note: The following recommendations are those of the consultants and do not reflect determinations of Adelaide City Council nor its administration.**

- ### Places considered to meet criteria of the Development Act

Those places identified by lists provided below and the collection of data sheets in separate volumes should be included on the City of Adelaide Local Heritage List.

- ### ▇▇▇▇ places warrant nomination for entry to the State Heritage List

The places are:

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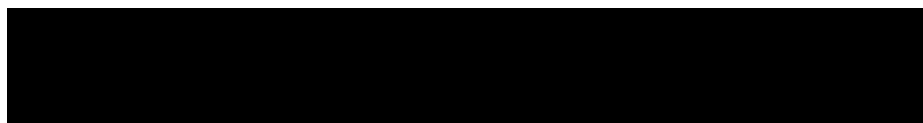
These places have been separately assessed under Section 16 of the Heritage Places Act 1993. Data sheets are found in Volume 4.

- ### Formation of heritage policy areas

Particular areas that include a concentration of places of heritage value should be considered for inclusion as heritage policy areas under the City of Adelaide Development Plan. These areas are:

- Hindley Street between King William Street and Morphett Street.
- Rundle Mall between King William Street and Pulteney Street.
- Rundle Street between Pulteney Street and East Terrace.

The proclamation of heritage policy areas would facilitate management of the places of heritage value in accordance with the wish of the Council to reinforce the special and unique character of Adelaide.

- ### Provision of site histories

Council should consider the documentation of the site histories of all buildings within the proposed heritage policy areas to assist with the management of these places. Much of the historical documentation has already been provided by the succession of heritage surveys. This information needs to be consolidated and extended where necessary.

- ### Dissemination of historical information

The succession of heritage surveys has succeeded in gathering a wealth of information about the built heritage of the City of Adelaide. Much of this was published in the Marsden, S, Stark, P, and Sumerling, P (eds), *Heritage of*

the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide Adelaide City Council, Adelaide 1990 (2nd ed 1996). However, a great deal of additional information has been gathered in association with lesser buildings, much of it in the form of research notes. Other information has been gathered about many builders who helped shape the city.

This information should be collated and maintained in one place. It might form the basis of publications that help explain the development of the city and assist with the management of identified places of heritage value.

Research notes from the survey should be deposited in the City of Adelaide Archives.

• **Release of survey**

There needs to be an information program to accompany the publication of the survey that explains implications for owners of heritage places.

During the course of their fieldwork the consultants have seen examples of good building and development practices that have retained building essentials while enhancing their economic value. Such examples should be publicised to highlight the notion that heritage conservation need not stifle development.

• **Consideration of objections to listing**

The consultants were instructed not to contact owners nor seek to examine the interiors of buildings, if these were not commonly accessed by the public.
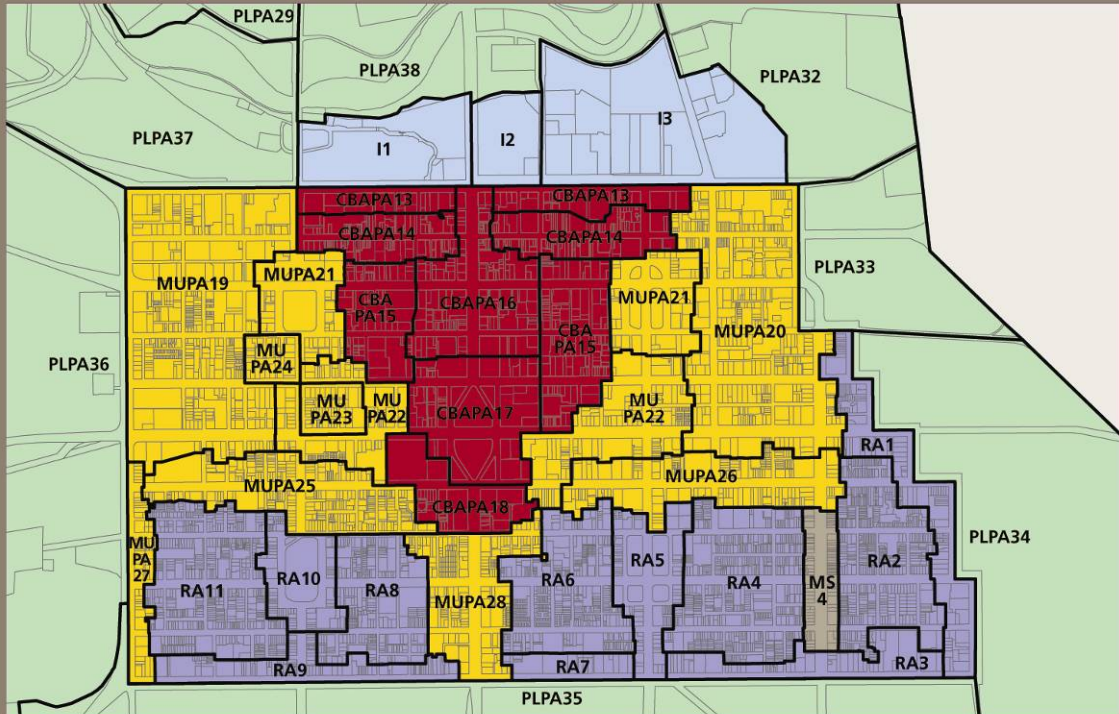
This put limitations on the assessments.

The consultants recommend that the opportunity be taken to examine interiors if objections to listing are received by Council.

• **Distribution of plaques**

The Council should encourage people with places included on the Local Heritage list to display plaques recognising this, in accordance with the practice following earlier surveys.

Development Plan Zones – South Adelaide

PLPA29
PLPA38
PLPA32
PLPA37
I1
I2
I3
CBAPA13
CBAPA13
CBAPA14
CBAPA14
PLPA33
MUPA19
MUPA21
CBA PA15
CBAPA16
MUPA21
PLPA36
MU PA24
CBA PA15
MUPA20
MU PA23
MU PA22
CBAPA17
MU PA22
RA1
MUPA25
MUPA26
MUPA28
CBAPA18
MU PA27
RA11
RA10
RA8
RA6
RA5
RA4
MS 4
RA2
PLPA34
RA9
RA7
RA3
PLPA35

Central Business Area Zone

CBAPA 13   North Terrace Policy Area
CBAPA 14   Hindley Street and Rundle Mall Policy Area
CBAPA 15   Eastern and Western Core Policy Area
CBAPA 16   King William Street North Policy Area
CBAPA 17   Victoria Square Policy Area
CBAPA 18   Courts and Market Policy Area

Mixed Use Zone

MUPA 19   West End Policy Area
MUPA 20   East End Policy Area
MUPA 21   Light Square and Hindmarsh Square Policy Area
MUPA 22   Grote and Wakefield Streets Policy Area
MUPA 23   Bus Station Policy Area
MUPA 24   Balfours Policy Area
MUPA 25   Gouger Street Policy Area
MUPA 26   Angas Street Policy Area
MUPA 27   West Terrace Policy Area
MUPA 28   King William Street South Policy Area

Institutional Zone

I1   Institutional (Riverbank) Zone
I2   Institutional (Government House) Zone
I3   Institutional (University/Hospital) Zone

Mainstreet Zone

MS4   Mainstreet (Hutt) Zone

Residential Zone

RA 1   Residential (East Terrace) Zone
RA 2   Residential (St John's) Zone
RA 3   Residential (Waverly) Zone
RA 4   Residential (Hurtle East) Zone
RA 5   Residential (Hurtle Square) Zone
RA 6   Residential (Hurtle West) Zone
RA 7   Residential (Central South Terrace) Zone
RA 8   Residential (Whitmore East) Zone
RA 9   Residential (Trades Hall) Zone
RA 10   Residential (Whitmore Square) Zone
RA 11   Residential (Whitmore West) Zone

Park Lands Zone

PLPA 32   Botanic Park Policy Area
PLPA 33   Rundle and Rymill Park Policy Area
PLPA 34   Eastern Park Lands Policy Area
PLPA 35   Southern Park Lands Policy Area
PLPA 36   Western Park Lands Policy Area
PLPA 37   River Torrens West Policy Area
PLPA 38   Adelaide Oval Policy Area

ADELAIDE CITY COUNCIL

OVERVIEW HISTORY (HISTORICAL BACKGROUND)

Adelaide City Council Heritage survey 2008-2009: Historical Context

Introduction

This overview is based largely on McDougall & Vines, *The City of Adelaide: A Thematic History* prepared by Patricia Sumerling and Katrina McDougall for Adelaide City Council (2006).[1] That report provides the main contextual history that is paraphrased and adapted here, and the 2006 report also develops a list of historic themes and sub-themes. The following overview adopts those historical themes, with some changes reflecting findings of the present heritage survey. The themes also link to Australia's national historic thematic framework. The present history focuses on the 1870s-1940s because the majority of buildings recommended for local heritage listing in this survey were built during those years.

The historic themes relate to the City of Adelaide as a whole, but this history focuses on southern Adelaide, the subject of the present study. The following historical context is in four parts:

1. List of historic themes
2. Overview history of the whole study area set out under the main themes;
3. Historical context for the Development Plan Zones within the survey area: central business district - *Central Business Area (CBA) and Mixed Use (MU) Zones*
4. Historical context for the South East and South West quarters - *Mainstreet (Hutt) and Residential Zones.*

These histories analyse the development of those areas. The emphasis is on creation of the built environment and surviving historical elements. The themes have served as a guide for the continued identification and assessment of the city's heritage assets, as intended in the McDougall & Vines report.[2]

HISTORIC THEMES

The following historic themes have been adapted from the McDougall & Vines (2006):

1.0   THE ADELAIDE ENVIRONMENT
1.1   The Site of the City and its Planning
1.2   The Effects of Geology and Topography

2.0   PEOPLING A CAPITAL CITY
2.1   Aborigines: Tradition and Displacement
2.3   Immigration
2.4   City Dwellers: Householders, Boarders and Tenants
2.5   City Dwellers: City, state and business leaders

3.0   DEVELOPING A CITY ECONOMY
3.1   Economic Cycles

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[1] Statistics and other unreferenced information referred to in this historical overview are from that report.
[2] Note: the Historic themes set out in the McDougall & Vines report (see contents page) have been adapted with some additions of sub-themes and changes to their numbering.

CITY OF ADELAIDE HERITAGE SURVEY 2008–2009

3.1.1   Early Development Patterns
3.1.2   Recession
3.1.3   Discovery of Copper
3.1.4   Discovery of Gold in Victoria
3.1.5   Farming Boom
3.1.6   Mid-1880s Recession
3.1.7   Effects of Interstate Mining Ventures
3.1.8   New Technology and City Development
3.1.9   Post World War Two Development
3.1.10 Modernism

3.2   Utilising Natural Resources
3.2.1   Timber
3.2.2   Limestone
3.2.3   Clay Bricks
3.2.4   Water

3.3   Financing Adelaide
3.3.1   Land Speculation
3.3.2   Banking
3.3.3   Non-banking Financial Institutions
3.3.4   Stock and Station Companies
3.3.6   Company Headquarters

3.4   Manufacturing
3.4.1   Milling
3.4.2   Foundries and Ironworks
3.4.3   Factories
3.4.4   Coachbuilders
3.4.5   Breweries and Drink Manufacturers

3.5   Commercial, Marketing & Retail
3.5.1   A City of Pubs
3.5.2   Retail and Wholesale Industry
3.5.3   Department Stores
3.5.4   Small Retail Establishments

3.6   Professional Services
3.6.1   Surveyors, Engineers and Architects
3.6.2   Hospitals and the Medical Profession
3.6.3   Lawyers and the Legal Profession
3.6.4   Teaching

3.7   Working Men and Women
3.7.1   Public Servants
3.7.2   Factory Workers
3.7.3   Office Workers
3.7.4   Small Contractors
3.7.5   Domestic Service
3.7.6   Dealing with Unemployment and Homelessness

4.0   BUILDING ADELAIDE
4.1   Development of City Services
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4.1.2   Public Health
4.1.3   Public Transport
4.1.4   Private transport
4.1.5   Horse Drawn Tramway System
4.1.6   Electric Tramway System
4.1.7   Street Lighting

4.2   City Planning
4.2.1   Building Regulations
4.2.2   Health Regulations for Housing

4.2.3   Town Planning

4.3   Development of the Building Industry, Architecture and Construction
4.3.1   Architects and Builders
4.3.2   Twentieth Century Architects
4.3.3   Non-traditional Building Materials

4.4   Residential Development, Building Types and Living Conditions
4.4.1   Subdivision and Residential Development
4.4.2   Other Forms of Accommodation
4.4.3   Post War Housing Shortage
4.4.4   Philanthropic Housing

4.5   Building Styles in Adelaide
4.5.1   Early Victorian Houses/Commercial (1840s to 1860s)
4.5.2   Victorian Houses/Commercial Styles (1870s to 1890s)
4.5.3   Edwardian House/Commercial Styles (1900 to 1920s)
4.5.4   Inter War Residential Housing/Commercial Styles (1920s to 1942)
4.5.5   Post War Housing/Commercial Styles (1945 to 1970)
4.5.6   Modern Housing/Commercial Styles (1970 to present)
4.5.7   Residential revival

4.6   Heritage and Building Conservation

4.7   Memorable Development Eras

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5.1.2   Civic Consciousness
5.1.3   City Improvements and City Planning

5.2   State Government
5.2.1   Creating State Government Institutions and Facilities
5.2.2   Law and Police
5.2.3   Health and Social Welfare

5.3   Federal Government

5.4   Government Employment and the Public Service

6.0   DEVELOPING ADELAIDE'S SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE
6.1   Living and Dying in Adelaide
6.1.1   Births
6.1.2   Playgrounds
6.1.3   Death, Dying and Notable Funerals
6.1.4   Remembering the Fallen

6.2   Recreation and Entertainment
6.2.1   Theatres
6.2.2   Cinemas
6.2.3   Hotels, Bars and Wine shops
6.2.4   Cafes and Restaurants
6.2.5   Sport
6.2.6   Other Amusements

6.3   Worship
6.3.1   Places of worship/Churches
6.3.2   Church schools
6.3.1   Other Religious Activities

SUMMARY HISTORY

1.0   The Adelaide environment

The city of Adelaide was founded as the main settlement and administrative centre for the occupation of a vast southern Australian hinterland by free British settlers. South Australia was a planned colony, facilitated by legislation in London in 1834 and based on the prior sale of land to fund emigration of businessmen and a free workforce, who quickly formed the early business, working and residential population of the new colonial capital. Town acres in the intended capital, as well as country sections of 80 acres, were sold in London even before the site of the capital had been determined.

One of the most distinctive aspects of Adelaide's landscape is the city's plan (entered on the National Heritage List in 2008). Surveyor-general William Light and his team selected the site and commenced survey in 1837, laying out a model city in a spacious and regular form, in two sections north and south of the River Torrens. The plan created a town subdivided into town acres with public squares and thoroughfares, surrounded by parklands. The southern section (subject of the present study), extended one mile (1.6 kilometres) in each direction, comprised 700 town acres, and was essentially a 'walking city'.[3] Light's town acres have remained a defining feature of the city's morphology as well as his layout of streets, squares and Park Lands. The numbered town acres were separated by major thoroughfares between every two rows of acres. Apart from roads along Park Land frontages, only four roads ran vertically through the town. As town acres were sold and subdivided narrower streets were created, usually at first as private roads. The only major change to Light's road pattern involved extending King William Street north and south through the Park Lands, and widening and extending Frome (formerly Ackland and Tavistock) Street in the 1960s.

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[3] Michael Williams, 'The historical foundations of the South Australian urban system' in CA Forster & RJ Stimson, *Urban South Australia: Selected Readings*, 1977, p. 4.
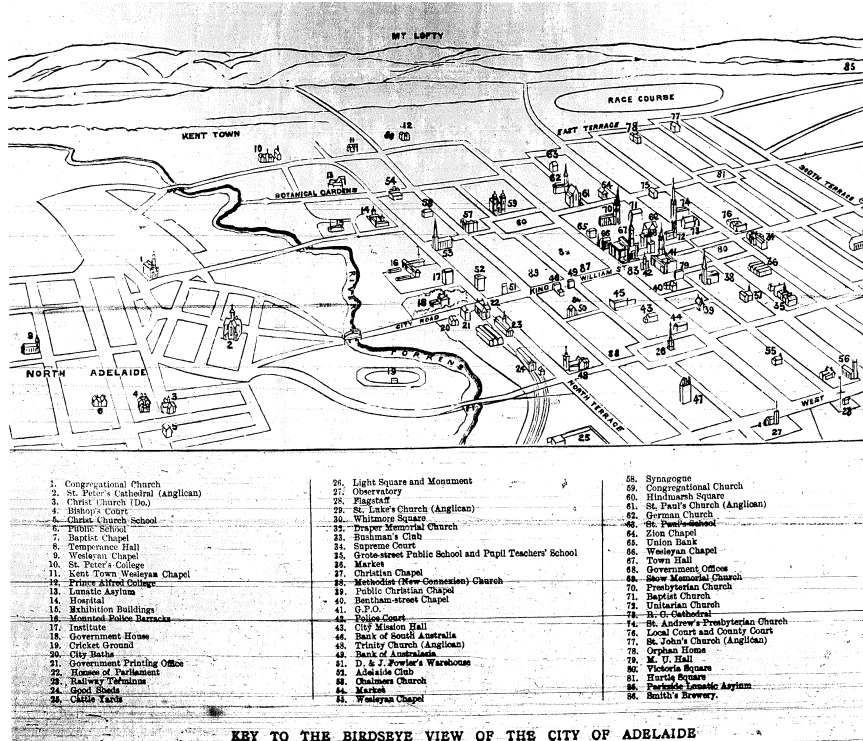
Illustration from *Pictorial Australian*, October 1880

Geology, topography and climate strongly influenced the city's character. The topography influenced the location of Adelaide and placement of the plan within its physical setting. The River Torrens runs from east to west, and the land tilts gently westwards. The geology of the Torrens Valley also determined the immediately available building stones for early construction. More than 80 per cent of Adelaide is located on a bed of limestone, which was quarried for use in early buildings, walling, stabling and outhouses. Excavation of stone, removal of trees for fuel, and activities such as brick making and lime burning were soon forbidden on the Park Lands, and building materials were brought from further afield.

Early settlement concentrated on parts of the city close to the River Torrens and relatively easy access to a water supply, while businesses preferred to be located close to the main access points to and from the city, across the river to Port Adelaide.

2.0 Peopling a capital city

The new settlers soon displaced the original inhabitants, the Kaurna Aboriginal peoples, although the latter's descendants returned to live in the city after the 1940s. The city's built character reflects the settler mainly British origins. Adelaide was central to the Wakefield Scheme of 'systematic colonisation', as funds required to ship settlers and officials to the colony were raised by the sale of lands. Between 1836 and 1857 some 73,363 people received free or partially paid passages through this system. After taking work in and near Adelaide, many city labourers soon saved enough to acquire their own properties, ensuring the ongoing subdivision of town acres into smaller allotments. Wealthier immigrants, including land agents, bought and soon subdivided their town acres into smaller parcels of land.

Adelaide's population is characterised by different groups, who generally arrived at different periods. After the first period of predominantly English settlement these

periods were characterised by 1840's Irish immigration, 1850's mining boom and religious refugees, 1870's Chinese and German female servants migration, early 1900's Middle Eastern migration, and then in the 1920s Greeks, 1930s Germans, 1940s and 1950s Greeks, Poles, Italians and other Europeans. Official abolition of the White Australia Policy in the 1970s encouraged migration from South East Asia and China. Each particular ethnic group has had an effect on Adelaide's development and the character of its buildings.

The largest impact of new migrant settlers occurred from the late 1940s after World War II, when large numbers of southern European immigrants transformed the city's social life and acquired for residential use many of old cottages and terraces. Greeks formed the largest group. From early 1920s the small Greek community, settled around the western end of Franklin Street where land was cheap, built a church and bought nearby properties. The local Greek population numbered 703 in 1954, and had a notable impact, opening 'continental delis' and cafes, and building the Greek Orthodox Church in Franklin Street. Many invested in city property, particularly in Hindley Street and the South West quarter. Hooker's Building on the corner of Hindley and Morphett streets was associated with a variety of nationalities from the time of its construction in the early 1880s including Chinese, and later, Italians. The Marina Pizza Bar, Adelaide's first, was opened there in the early 1960s.

Social, cultural, retail and business premises, churches, clubs and halls also reflect the composition of Adelaide's population over time, as well as its rise and decline. The residential population rose from 8,480 in 1840 to a peak of 43,133 in 1914. The population began a slow but inexorable decline, aided by development of new suburbs beyond Adelaide during the 20th century, and as factories, workshops and offices replaced dwellings. The 1930s Depression hastened the decline. Many displaced during the Depression returned to share the city's dwindling residential stock during World War II – including Aboriginal people – but postwar housing policies encouraging new suburban building prompted the most precipitous decline with the population halving over 20 years, from 35,032 in 1948 to 17,000 in 1968. The exodus was slowed only by incoming Greek, Polish and Italian migrants.

3.0 Developing a city economy

Adelaide's economy reflected the boom and bust cycle that characterised the State as a whole. The city's first growth phase followed discovery of copper in the 1840s, and from the 1850s entered a period of sustained growth with expansion of farming and pastoralism. The most intense period of prosperity from 1865 to 1984 was reflected in construction of city buildings. Pastoralism, agriculture and mining industries were financed from city institutions. There were six banks operating by 1868.[4] Others were formed in the 1870s and 1880s, though several collapsed during the recession after 1886. An impressive array of banks and office buildings from this period survives – many of them built as companies' national' or State headquarters – dating from the 1870s and 1880s, and again in the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s. From the 1960s many businesses and banks were amalgamated or taken over, and few new headquarters were constructed in Adelaide.

Small businesses predominated in the city. Shops, stores and warehouses were scattered around the city with Rundle, Hindley, Hutt, and Gouger Streets developing as the main retail areas. Hotels were spread throughout the city: Adelaide's grid plan was ideal for corner-located hotels. Gilbert Street Hotel (88–90 Gilbert Street) has a typical chamfered corner with its main entry addressing two streets. The hotel

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[4] They were the Bank of SA, Bank of Australasia, Union, National, English & Scottish, and Adelaide Bank. *Advertiser* 17 March 1868, p. 2.

(originally the Shoemakers' Arms Inn) has existed on this corner since 1848. About 234 public houses were licensed between 1837 and 2005 with the largest number trading between 1886 and 1905.[5]

The South Australian Chamber of Manufacturers was formed in 1869 reflecting the focus of manufacturing in the city. Adelaide remained a major manufacturing centre until the 1950s, although relatively few early factory buildings or warehouses survive. Thirteen significant foundries operated to the north of Wakefield Street between 1842 and 1951, but nothing remains of them. Most early factories were small workshops, often operating alongside cottages, with detrimental effect on their residents. Adelaide City Council made persistent efforts to oust noxious industries such as Burford's Soap and Candle Factory.

Many colonial industries were connected with horse transport: wheelwrights, blacksmiths, saddlers and coach builders. This led to many coach builders becoming involved in the motor industry with the advent of motor vehicles in the early 1900s. New showrooms displayed imported British and American cars while local companies built car bodies for imported chassis. Many motoring outlets developed in the West End between Gouger and Waymouth Streets near Duncan & Fraser's business. Most colonial factories were small and labour intensive, but the 1920s witnessed a rapid growth of heavy industry and factory size, exemplified by new Holden's Motor Body works in King William Street.

Adelaide was a place of complex economic activities. Concentrations of shops and nearby dwellings effectively created distinct villages within the city. Buildings used for public administration, retail, wholesale, manufacturing and recreation were surpassed in numbers by houses, while city residents' numbers continued to increase until the early 1900s. The occupations of cottage owners and renters identified in this survey reflected the diversity of inner-city working life during the city's first century. Wakefield's 'systematic colonisation' had achieved its main purpose of reproducing Britain's stratified society with a 'gentleman' class of capitalists, and a 'lower' class of artisans and labourers. These distinctions were reflected in the range of city dwellings as well as in the jobs carried out by their owners and occupiers.

Men worked as mechanics, building labourers and tradesmen, as factory hands, and in public employment as railway workers, council gangers and policemen. Single women took up positions as teachers, servants, dressmakers, shop assistants, publicans, telephonists and nurses. Women also found employment in the growing number of factories, where, like men, they endured the current working conditions. Other sought alternative employment. Light Square and the northwest corner were well known as haunts of prostitutes between the 1840s and the 1900s: many worked from city hotels. The Colonel Light Hotel had a notorious reputation and Samuel Boddington, publican from 1867 to 1888, owned a row of cottages nearby in Phillips Street, which the *Observer* claimed were 'leased out at a high rent to women of ill fame.'[6] By the 1920s prostitution was concentrated in the south-western corner, particularly in Sturt Street. It was a well known practice for brothels to operate behind the facades of small cool drink shops.

The prosperous 1870s and 1880s ensured incomes for growing numbers of professional men including architects, some of them attracted from eastern colonies, such as Lloyd Taylor and Michael Egan. Several modern prominent architectural firms trace their origins to these years, such as Woods Bagot, Jackman Parken

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[5] JL Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia*, 1999, p. 666.
[6] *Observer* 25 January 1879.

Evans and F Kenneth Milne. There were expanding opportunities for other professionals with the city population soaring in the 1880s. Many fine city residences included doctor's rooms, such as 'Church House' (*61-63 Flinders Street*) owned by the Trustees of the nearby Baptist Church, and leased soon after completion to Dr Richard Sanders Rogers when he set up in practice in Adelaide: he lived there from the 1890s until the 1920s. Dr Rogers had a remarkable career, and pioneered the use of X-rays and hypnotism in medicine in South Australia from the 1890s. City doctors also consulted at a growing number of private hospitals that numbered 10 by 1932. Still operating is the Wakefield Street Private Hospital (established in 1883), as well as the Presbyterian Assembly's St Andrew's Hospital in South Terrace incorporating the mansion known as Waverley.

Housing construction and a myriad of home-based businesses, as well as the daily work of city dwellers formed a major part of Adelaide's economy. Speculative building of small dwellings was a practice followed by many 19th century settlers, often themselves builders or tradesmen. Business premises were often combined with residences, as illustrated by several surviving shop-and-residences and a terrace of originally five buildings fronting Wright Street west of Russell Street, built as a speculative venture for Thomas Maslin, a prominent colonial settler and farmer.

Wealthy individuals and organisations provided many mortgages before the building boom of the 1870s and the growth of the banking industry. They invested in city land for resale or rent following subdivision, as well as dealt in suburban and rural land. The founding South Australian Company had purchased many town acres at the outset of South Australia's foundation, helping to establish the colony. Speculators who bought and subdivided town acres set their stamp on the city's ensuing development and character, in particular those like the South Australian Company and WH Gray, who further realised land value by building or rebuilding homes, shops and offices for sale or lease. The Company began to realise its city assets from mid-century by subdivision and sale, building construction, and leasing premises. The Company erected substantial commercial buildings in the central city, but also built modest single and attached dwellings in surrounding areas (such as 25 and 27-29 Worsnop Avenue). Cottages in McLaren Street (named for the Company's manager) were built when the South Australian Company sold parts of Town Acre 514, originally granted to the Company in 1837. In 1870, the *Register* noted that, in the south-eastern portion of the city, the company had released allotments for sale, leading to 'the erection of numerous cottages, many if not most of which have been built and are owned by the occupants'.[7] Ten of the city's 25 largest landholders were original purchasers of town acres by century's end, and included the South Australian Company, Joseph Montefiore, and William Henry Gray.[8]

Adelaide's population rose from 23,229 in 1866 to 38,479 in 1881. Housing construction doubled in one year alone (1875-1876). There were 5,747 city dwellings, 971 shops and warehouses in 1876. The population increase supported, indeed required, construction of the first tramways in 1878 with upper North Adelaide and the south-eastern corner becoming accessible to commuters, and encouraging additional home-building in these areas.

Transport was fundamental to Adelaide's development. Light's plan of Adelaide made provision for few roads leading to and from the city, and the earliest led west and north-west to shipping moored at Glenelg and Port Adelaide. Several transport routes soon radiated out to new towns and suburbs with passenger services

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[7] *Register* 1 January 1870.
[8] ACC *Annual Report*, 1899-1900, p. 35.

provided by coaching companies such as Hill & Co and Rounsevells. Their premises and many stables, saddlers, blacksmiths and wheelwrights were established in the city. Hotels were also actively involved in transport and were required to provide stables for patrons. The first steam railway opened to Port Adelaide in 1856 although bullock and horse drawn wagons continued as the main form of goods transportation along Port Road. There was no other public transport from the city to the suburbs until 1878. This lack partly explains the delayed development of the south-western and south-eastern corners of the city. The advent of the horse tram system was beneficial to businesses and residents positioned close to tram routes. By 1912 electrified trams had been in operation for three years, but 500 horses still plied the city streets daily.[9] But horse traffic was competing with motor vehicles, numbers of which reached 200 in the city by 1906.[10] Electrified trams remained a feature of Adelaide's streets until 1958, when all but the line to Glenelg were removed.

Most residents in the nineteenth century lived in small one-storey attached, row, or single cottages, but two storey terraces were added as land prices rose. Recession after 1882 slowed dwelling construction, but by 1895, the population of 40,167 was living in 7,900 homes. This was at a time when council's efforts to improve public health involved declaring many dwellings as unfit for living, with the result that many of the oldest small houses were demolished.[11]

Drought in the 1880s brought rural collapse and economic downturn, followed by a general depression in the 1890s. Unemployment and poor pay forced city dwellers to rent 'slum' dwellings or descend into homelessness. A Destitute Board, established in 1849 to care for the dependent poor, provided rations from the Kintore Avenue Destitute Asylum. Religious and other philanthropic organisations also provided relief. The Salvation Army which started in Adelaide in 1880 became the main refuge for homeless men, but there were also private benefactors whose donations and bequests funded the construction of rental cottages.

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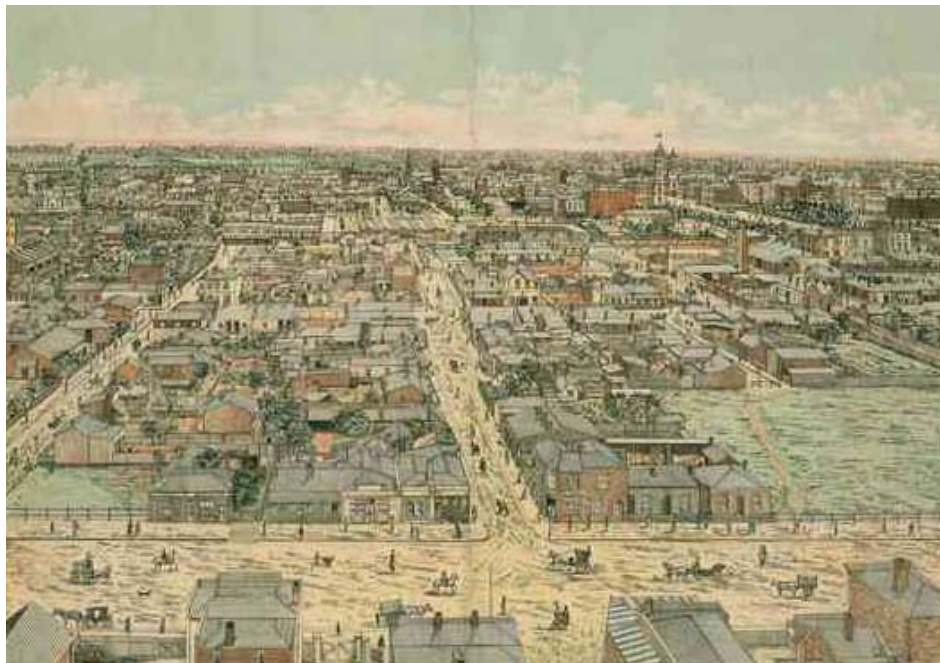
[9] P Morton, *After Light*, p. 210.
[10] P Morton, *After Light*, p. 231.
[11] Ian White, 'The Adelaide City Council and public health: 1873-1900', MA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1999, p. 128 (footnote).

View of Adelaide from Sturt Street to north, 1888: B286, (SLSA).

The colonial government assumed control over Adelaide's water supply from the council in 1856 from the council, and built a reservoir on the upper reaches of the Torrens at Thorndon Park in 1858. This greatly improved living conditions in the city. City Engineer Charles W Smith undertook a survey of city development in late 1878 (the Smith Survey) in preparation for laying deep drainage pipes to carry off sewage. The engineering work was completed in 1885. The introduction of a high pressure water supply and of deep drainage were important inducements for people to move into the city, and also greatly improved public health, housing standards and amenities. Changes to the Council's building regulations in 1881 and 1924 also had a marked effect on construction, and on improving building standards.[12]
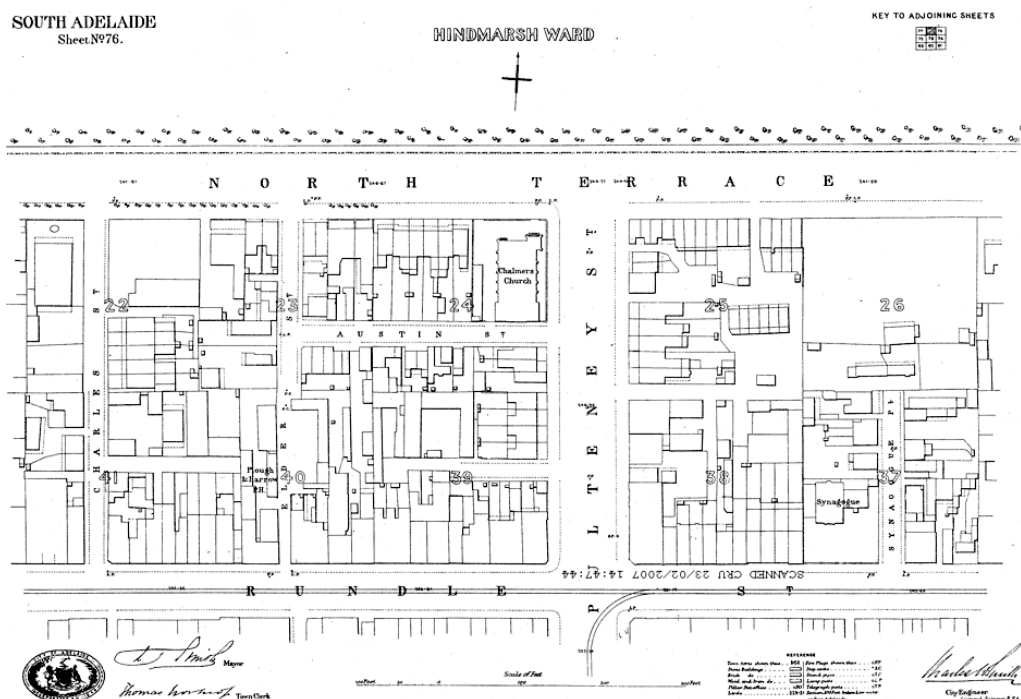
A page from the Smith Survey, 1880, showing building development at that time.

The city modernized with the introduction of gas and electricity, the use of reinforced concrete and mass-produced bricks. Increasingly strict regulations contributed to the erection of substantial industrial buildings that replaced early workshops and many old houses. The amount of vacant land in the city reduced to only 7 per cent.[13]

Modest economic revival in the early 1900s was followed by a boom in the mid-1920s which transformed many colonial commercial streetscapes and introduced the first 'skyscrapers'. Development halted after 1929, although some prominent public buildings were erected. Industrial and commercial building resumed in the mid-1930s. Trade (and motor car purchases) had picked up to such an extent that established firms such as Motors Limited built additional premises in the city. This firm constructed a substantial showroom and offices with an Art Deco/Moderne façade, in 1938-9 (45–53 Gilbert Street). This improvement in the city economy was again halted by the outbreak of World War II in 1939. Under the *National Security Act 1942* a federal embargo prevented private building works until the mid-1950s. The lifting of restrictions encouraged the greatest speculative boom in the city since

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[12] See also Peter Morton, *After Light*, pp. 182-5.
[13] ACC *Annual Report*, 1895-96, p 59.

the 1880s, introducing modernist buildings but also destroying many architecturally significant buildings of former periods.

4.0   Building Adelaide

The designs of Adelaide's earliest major buildings were dominated by immigrant British architects and engineers including CE Frome, George Hamilton, George Kingston, William Lambeth and William Weir, who designed public buildings, churches and large private dwellings. Many building contractors set up offices and yards in the city.

The contractor and builder Charles Farr, who arrived in South Australia in 1839 built a two-storey shop and attached residence at 185-187 Sturt Street. By 1859 his firm employed 70 men, working from an area of two acres extending from Franklin to Grote Streets.[14] At this time Farr carried out work on the Savings Bank, the new Registry Office, and additions to the mansions of Sir Henry Ayers and John Morphett. Other work included construction of the Harris Scarfe building in Gawler Place (1864) and extensions (1870); shops at 12 Rundle Mall (1868); Buck's Head Hotel (1869); warehouses in Grenfell and Rundle Streets (1870); re-building of King's Head Hotel, King William Street (1875) and Waymouth Chambers (1876). Most colonial cottages were built by an army of unknown builders or handymen, some of their names only coming to light during the course of this heritage survey. By 1855 building workers formed 'the single largest group of workers other than farmers and domestics'.[15]

Some builders became well-known architects, such as Thomas English, who designed more hotels in Adelaide than any other architect. English was also Mayor of Adelaide in the 1860s and colonial commissioner of works. His son went into partnership with Rowland Rees and later George Klewitz Soward. The South Australian Institute of Architects was formed in 1886, and by 1888-89 a bill was introduced to parliament for the registration of architects. Prominent buildings constructed before the 1870's boom, were generally designed by local architects, but after this date some materials and designs came from interstate. At the close of the 19th century a new generation of local architects took up the challenge of 'modernity' presented by the use of new technology and materials with high rise construction and use of reinforced concrete. By the early 1900s the profession included Philip Claridge, Eric H McMichael and Frank Kenneth Milne, and in the interwar period architects such as G Lawson, JD Cheesman, JC Irwin and Dean Berry became prominent.[16]

Building materials were obtained from within the Adelaide square mile for several years before they were brought from elsewhere. Soil and pebbles and straw were mixed to create pise used in many early structures, mainly outhouses, stables and walls. Many early buildings were constructed of timber or had shingle roofs, but timber construction was forbidden under the *Building Act* of 1858, that accounted for a predominant use of brick and stone. Corrugated galvanised iron became the nearly universal roofing material. Limestone (calcrete) underlying the town was quarried on the site of private dwellings, and later on the Park Lands by the City Council.

Although locally made bricks and Park Lands limestone were used in many early city buildings. Sandstone, often called freestone, was also used from the 1840s and

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[14] *Observer*, 12 November1859, p. 7a.
[15] M Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, p. 406.
[16] M Page, *Sculptors in Space: South Australian Architects 1836-198*, p. 140.

'bluestone' from the 1850s, with supplies from accessible deposits in nearby foothills of the Mount Lofty Ranges. 'Bluestone', a term used for a range of hard rocks (siltstone and shale) unique to South Australia and adjoining areas was widely used from the 1850s. Bluestone's superior hardness to limestone made it suitable for external load-bearing walls, although increasing cost later limited its use to front walls of houses. Architect Thomas English introduced the use of ashlar freestone in 1869, and builders emulated use of this 'rubble ashlar freestone', the refuse of the freestone quarries. Portland cement also replaced stucco.[17] From the early 1900s, stones came from further afield such as Murray Bridge, and by the late 1930s from Waikerie; and some stone was imported from interstate.

Bluestone has become Adelaide's most distinctive building feature, with more than one-third of heritage-listed buildings in 2006 being of 19th century bluestone. After the 1880s the rising costs of dressed stone and the reducing cost of bricks brought a revival of all-brick construction, even in prominent government, religious and commercial buildings.

Brick warehouses remain a feature of inner city lanes and many turn-of-century cottages were built in brick. The South Australian Company made the colony's first clay bricks on the Park Lands, and from the late 1830s inner suburban brickworks supplied loads of bricks providing competition that drove down prices. Typical city construction incorporated both bluestone and brick until mass-production further lowered brick prices and brick building predominated in the 1890s.[18] Some buildings incorporated many materials, for example, a two-storey dwelling at 182 Wright Street was evidently built in stages and shows of the use of different stone. The ground floor walling is of ballast stones with bluestone side walls; the first floor features random sandstone with brick sides. Quoins are rendered, and the roof is of corrugated iron with a brick chimney.

North side of Waymouth Street, c.1896: B3354, *(SLSA).*

There occurred a substantial increase in residential and commercial building between 1870 and 1880. Adelaide's visual character changed from small town to that of a developed city with an Italianate flavour, of stone and stucco dwellings with

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[17] *Register* 1 January 1870, p. 3.
[18] Stefan Pikusa, *The Adelaide house 1836 to 1901*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, p. 59.

decorative cast iron used in verandahs and fencing. Most buildings were below four storeys in height and it was not until the early 20th century that higher development became possible with new building materials and the use of electric elevators.

City residential development and building types include a great variety of homes, hotels and boarding-houses from humble two and three roomed brick, limestone, timber or pise structures to mansions, some occupying an entire town acre. Subdivision of town acres from the mid 1850s transformed the south-western corner into an area with narrow streets of small workers' cottages. The average family size was seven before 1900, meaning the number of people living within an acre was often well over 50. Many detached, semi-detached or row cottages lined narrow streets, lanes and cul-de-sacs. Examples include those in the vicinity of Harriett Street, and the cottages in laneways on the northern side of Halifax Street between Hurtle Square and King William Street.

The city population more than doubled, from 18,000 to 38,000, resulting in much infilling, and soaring land prices made meant two storey terrace housing made good sense. In 1900 there were more than 100 row houses in the city, but very few survive. Some 1890's examples are those at the western end of Wright Street. Rising city land prices, the impact of the *Building Act* of 1881, followed by depression abruptly slowed and eventually ended large-scale construction of workers' dwellings in the city, although improved houses replaced some earlier buildings.

Alternative forms of accommodation also became more common, with hostel and boarding houses proliferating, with many large houses being converted into flats or hostels. These were regulated from 1877 to prevent overcrowding. However, migrant influx following World War II exacerbated a severe housing shortage and, by 1953 there were 356 city lodging houses, including several former single houses and shop/residences identified in this heritage study. By 1998 there were 49 lodging houses, many of them in historic buildings, including backpacker hostels, student accommodation and emergency housing.

The housing styles evident in the city remaining building stock illustrate changing fashion, new techniques and materials as well as periods of economic growth. Early Victorian Houses (1840s to 1860s) were typically small, low scale and simple in form. They were constructed of rubble walling of limestone and bluestone, or of locally fired bricks.

Victorian Houses (1870s to 1890s) date from the period of most extensive residential development in Adelaide, when a wide range of masonry houses was constructed in bluestone, limestone or sandstone, often with side and rear walls of brick or rubble and with window and door surrounds highlighted with moulded render or brick dressings. Detailing was derived from 'classical' Italianate sources, but the forms were varied, and included single and two-storeys, single fronted, symmetrically fronted, and asymmetrically fronted houses, some with bay fronts. Most had verandahs with cast iron or timber posts and cast iron brackets and frieze decoration.

Edwardian House Styles (1900 to 1920s) These reflected new architectural designs current in Britain, Europe and North America, and adopted more picturesque approaches to roof forms and elevations. Styles included Queen Anne, Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau. Walling was of ashlar stone with brick dressings or moulded render, 'rock face' sandstone (or freestone), or face brick walling with decorative brick detailing. A fine example is the Queen Anne style sandstone and brick villa

built at 346-348 South Terrace for CD Whiting, a commercial traveller, in 1897-98 (now part of St Andrew's Hospital).

Inter-War Residential Housing Styles (1920s to 1942), and Post War Housing Styles (since 1945) included the bungalow (based on the Californian version) and Tudor Revival styles. Bungalows incorporated a broad spreading roof and verandah with masonry columns supporting verandahs. Although common in the suburbs very few such houses of these styles were built in the city. Housing development ceased in Adelaide between 1942 to 1953 because of Commonwealth restrictions and materials shortages caused by World War II. Far more houses were demolished than built after the war until the 1970s and later.

Light's plan of straight wide streets, square acre lots and expansive Park Lands remained intact, but until the first *Building Act* of 1857, which banned timber buildings and roofs, property owners could build what and how they liked. Consequently, there are very few surviving timber shingle roofs or timber buildings in the city. The lack of building controls, meant it was not unusual for more than 16 lots to be subdivided from one town acre. This lack of effective control, even after the 1857 Building Act, saw many basic cottages crammed into narrow streets, later described as slums. Attempts to introduce additional building regulations finally succeeded with the *Building Act* of 1881, adopted by Council in 1882. This required planning permission for all city buildings, and in regulating buildings and dealing with party walls, required lodgment of plans with the Council for new buildings and alterations to existing buildings. Restrictions for better building practices coincided with the increasing demand for city land, and rising prices, bringing a sharp decline in the construction of new worker dwellings.

The *Building Act* of 1923 was framed to meet modern methods of construction and new building materials such as reinforced concrete and had a sound basis in engineering. By then poorly-built structures erected before 1881 were causing concern, and the Great Depression exacerbated poor living conditions. The Building Act Inquiry of 1937-1940 inspected 7,716 houses in Adelaide and North Adelaide, and deemed 39 per cent to be 'substandard'. A critical shortage of accommodation during and after the World War II meant relatively few of those houses were demolished, but rents were controlled by the South Australian Housing Trust, established in 1936. City property continued to age and decline in standard, but it continued to attract tenants and owners with small budgets until the early 1980s. Gentrification from the early 1970s eliminated low cost housing, except for the involvement of the Housing Trust which for the first time began to buy and restore old houses in the city as well as building new flats and terrace housing.

Successive periods of recession and war during the 20th century meant building booms within the city were short-lived and enabled much built heritage of the mid-late 19th century to survive until the 1960s. By then a National Trust had been formed (1955) which recognised as an urgent task identification of city buildings of historic importance threatened by new development. No State mechanism of heritage protection was established until 1978, when the city council also began to act to preserve its heritage stock. The ensuing period from 1970s until late 1990s was a high point for preservation of the city's built heritage when it was recognised as a valuable economic inducement for tourism and residential amenity. Former Premier Don Dunstan wrote in 1996, of 'the efforts made by many to ensure a harmonious congruity of streetscape, to ensure that modern developments do not lessen the appeal of Australia's most gracious city'.[19] But the boom/bust cycle

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[19] D Dunstan, in Queale and Di Lernia, *Adelaide's architecture and art*,1996, p. vii.

continued and the early 21st century has seen much of the city transformed by new building.

Planning in the city to 1966 was largely through negative controls under a patchwork of legislation, including the Building, Health and Local Government Acts.[20] South Australia had been the first State to prepare planning legislation, but the *Town Planning and Development Act* of 1920 had little effect in the built-up city centre. The city passed its first zoning by-laws in 1940, leaving few residential zones intact except on East and South terraces and in North Adelaide. The State's *Metropolitan Development Plan* of 1962 also encouraged the encroachment of industry into residential areas. The council needed new plans to reverse the exodus of residents. It undertook a land use survey in 1965, and the newly formed City of Adelaide Development Commission was 'instrumental in reversing the trend of commercial intrusion into residential areas, restriction of demolition of houses for car parks and retarding deterioration of residential environment.'[21] By 1970 it was noted that the city's population had dropped, on average, by 900 people a year since 1947, and 200 dwellings per year had been demolished or vacated for other uses.

The new council elected in 1971 embarked on the task of revitalising the city. It formed the City of Adelaide Development Committee in 1972, 'to retain the City's character and restore its residential population… Essentially, the Council became a housing developer in order to show private developers that there could be profit in this kind of work – Angas Court was the first step'.[22] There were also incentives to encourage buyers of old properties, that encouraged residential revival but also rising prices. Interim Development Control was imposed to prohibit unwise demolition, and action ensued to restore living areas in eastern Adelaide.

The Council contracted Urban Systems Corporation led by George Clarke, to develop a new City of Adelaide Plan (1974), adopted in 1976. This was only the second master plan in the city's history.[23] Adelaide became one of very few capital cities in the western world to have its own planning legislation and the first to introduce a flexible approach to development control. The city comprised 'a series of districts of different purposes and characters'.[24] The *Plan* set out a 'Desired Future Character' for each precinct, and was revised each five years. By 1991 the number of dwellings was 5,587. In 1994 it was stated that 'one half of the city dwelling stock has been constructed since 1965', while 'a quarter … dates from 1870-1880, at which time a large proportion of the dwellings were detached'.[25] State and Council efforts to increase the city's population slowed but did not quickly reverse the population decline, which dipped from 15,800 in 1970 to 12,893 in 1998-99, when attention returned to promotion of new office development.

The City of Adelaide Plan proposed a register of places of environmental significance and following passage of the South Australian *Heritage Act* in 1978, the City Council engaged Peter Donovan, Susan Marsden and Paul Stark to carry out the first formal a heritage study of the city. In 1987, 419 historic buildings (of 7,500 in the city) were gazetted as protected heritage places in 1987 as part of the City of Adelaide Plan 1986-91.[26] However, most of these were buildings of State and even national significance, and it was another decade before the City Council reviewed

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[20] JF Madigan, *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p65.
[21] J F Madigan *City of Adelaide: zoning within the city 1940-67*, p79.
[22] Linn, pp. 248-249.
[23] S Marsden, P Stark, P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, p. 45.
[24] ACC *Annual Report*, 1976-77.
[25] *City of Adelaide - Social Profile*, 1994, p 26.
[26] S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, 1990, pp. 45-46.

heritage and embarked upon the identification and protection of the remaining historical buildings in Adelaide and North Adelaide, with the final review being the present of 2008-2009.

5.0   Government

Three tiers of government have strongly influenced Adelaide's development: colonial (from 1901, State) government, local government and (from 1901) the Commonwealth government. The first municipality (the first in Australia) functioned only from 1840-1843, and council work was confined to Hindley and Rundle streets, and undertaken largely by prison labour. James Hurtle Fisher was the first Mayor, and George Strickland Kingston was the first Town Surveyor who produced a map giving location, size and construction of all buildings. This 'Kingston Map' of 1842 has become a valuable research tool. A City Commission functioned in 1849-53, and administered Adelaide's first, largely ineffective, Building Act of 1849. Finally a revived city council was established in 1852 with Fisher returning as Mayor.
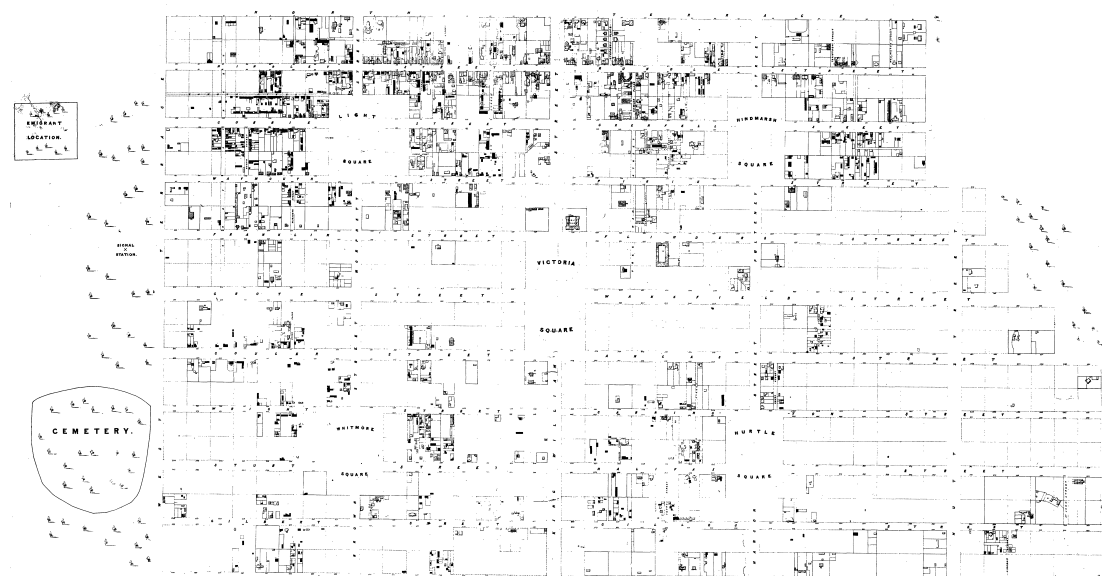
Part of the 'Kingston Map' of 1842 showing contemporary development in South Adelaide.

The council's relationship with the colonial government is described as 'a grudging tolerance, breaking out occasionally into active resentment whenever the council felt its rights were being infringed'.[27] However, many of the city's most prominent, heritage-listed buildings were built by government. Fewer places of local heritage significance were built but the city's character overall was strongly influenced by Commonwealth and State governments, and the immigration programs they fostered. The State's influence also included its role in the economy (and city development), planning and heritage protection, functions such as providing piped water and public transport, and the employment of many city workers.

South Australia established the first professional police force in Australia in 1838 but policing in the city was not free. Theatres and other organisations needing crowd control paid a fee for the presence of constables, and the corporation also had to pay a police moiety to the government from 1861-1938, equal to the cost of ten constables working in the city. As revealed in this heritage study, many constables lived in city cottages, sometimes forming small enclaves.

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[27] P Morton, *After Light*, p. 10.

City housing was most directly affected by the actions of a later State agency, the South Australian Housing Trust, established in 1936 to provide low-cost rental housing for workers. Although the Trust did not build in the city until the 1970s, its rent control function from the 1940s helped to retain many of the old, low-cost private homes. From 1973 the South Australian Housing Trust became involved in the City Council's efforts to attract population back into the city, buying and renovating old houses and increasing the range of tenants they housed. The scheme was the first of its kind among Australian housing authorities. Such rental property included row housing and boarding houses. Several places identified in this heritage study were bought and renovated by the Trust, for example attached cottages at 16–18 Allen Place. In 1974 the City of Adelaide Development Committee refused approval to demolish the century-old residences, then used as a boarding house and dwelling. In the previous year the Housing Trust began to buy established city houses to rent to low income families and welfare organisations, and the purchase and renovation of these three dwellings was part of this scheme. The Trust also built new rental blocks, and by 1996 owned 20.2 per cent of the housing stock in the city. The number of Trust homes in the city rose from 540 in 1993 to 592 in 1996.

The City of Adelaide covers the smallest area of any municipality (except Walkerville), but is the State's wealthiest and most powerful. However, it houses only 30 per cent of the population of 1915 and is 5,000 fewer than the population of 18,259 in 1855. Most of the council's 19th century functions and powers have been retained and expanded. From the 1850s the council was better able to manage rates, roads and rubbish. Macadamising of streets began, and a Building Act was introduced, aimed at fire control by forbidding timber construction. Licensing and other fees formed a large part of revenue, including fees for grazing and sport on the Park Lands, and for licensed taxis, buses, dogs, milk suppliers, butchers, horse and carriage bazaars, lodging houses, restaurants and fish shops, maternity hospitals, theatres, hotels, and from the 1950s, car parking. Regulations accompanied the licences with consequent impact on city activities and buildings. The *Health Act* of 1873 and related Acts aimed at improving public health also had significant effect.

Another major corporation enterprise was the City Market (now Central Market), established in 1869 on four town acres, which remains the city's second major retail area. The council came to own many other sites and property. By the 1960s the Council was expanding its interest in planning and development, as the metropolitan population expanded and traffic pressures demanded new measures.

6.0   Developing Adelaide's social and cultural life

The development of social and cultural life in Adelaide has resulted in a diversity of buildings, including a range of housing, hotels, schools and churches, institutional buildings and other meeting places. The 1870s and 1880s was an important period for religious building and private philanthropy that complemented basic social welfare facilities provided by the government, and many large buildings remain from this period, particularly churches. Juxtaposition of large mansions and small houses was a distinguishing feature of Adelaide's residential areas, illustrating the mixed social life and economic strata of the 19th century. There were huge differences in the quality of life of different city dwellers. Despite Adelaide's well planned environment, and benign climate mortality rates were far higher than the rest of the colony.[28] One quarter of all deaths between 1875 and 1900 were those of infants.

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[28] T Stevenson, 'Light and Living Conditions: Mortality in Nineteenth Century Adelaide, *Proceedings of the ANZAAS Congress*, 1979, pp. 129-137.

Deaths caused by water-borne diseases declined with the introduction of public health measures that included deep drainage and sewerage systems. Other causes of death were less pervasive but had more visible impact on the city. There were many serious fires, including several at Burford's factories. Another substantial relic of factory fires is the red brick factory building at 153-167 Wakefield Street, dating from 1925, and gutted by fire in 1972, leaving only the masonry walls, including the façade.

Immigrants from Britain, Ireland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Afghanistan or China reproduced their own cultural traditions, though recreation was limited by long hours of work and household and family duties. Churches and hotels both provided a continuing focus for social and recreational activity, from the earliest colonial period, as reflected in the early date of sections of many surviving buildings. Despite South Australia's fluctuating fortunes, the hotel industry thrived from the earliest days of settlement. Hotels were rarely larger than eight or nine rooms before the 1860s, but many were enlarged during the late 19th century boom. Men's societies and clubs met regularly at hotels until 1916 with the introduction of six o'clock closing. Many hotels also had their own sporting clubs and publicans often organised outdoor events. In 1918 there were 59 hotels in the West End, and 48 in the East End.

The numbers of church buildings and hotels, like restaurants, theatres and cinemas, waxed and waned with economic change and the rise and fall of the city's population. After World War II small theatres opened in former shops and dwellings for an increasing number of amateur and professional theatre groups. Several movie cinemas were built, mainly around Hindley Street, including two *art deco* cinemas in Hindley Street the Metro Cinema, and West's Cinema **(**91–93 Hindley Street), both built in 1939.

South Australia's founders set great store by 'civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions'. When Mark Twain visited in 1895, he reiterated the popular description of Adelaide as 'the city of churches', writing, 'how healthy the religious atmosphere is. Anything can live in it. Agnostics, Atheists, Freethinkers, Infidels, Mormons, Pagans, Indefinites: they are all there. And all the big sects … can do more than merely live in it: they can spread, flourish, prosper'.[29]

Duryea's photographic panorama of 1865 reveals many church spires and extent of church building, indicating that many religious groups had built their own places of worship and also replaced earlier versions with larger and more elaborate structures. By 1900, there were 33 city churches and chapels, as well as church halls, schools and charitable premises, six churches were Methodist, five Anglican and two Roman Catholic. There were five substantial churches along Flinders Street alone.

A host of small churches was lost from the early 1900s, following unification of Methodist Church branches in 1900, amalgamation of the Presbyterian, Methodists and Congregational churches in 1978 to form the Uniting Church, and because of the general decline of city congregations. However, new church buildings were constructed, often serving metropolitan congregations and providing State-wide services. The brick St Johns Spiritual Church hall (271-273 Carrington Street) was built in 1924, and a brick and freestone Christadelphian Temple (105-109 Halifax Street) in 1927. In post-war Adelaide, despite an even more rapidly declining population, new buildings included the replacement Maughan Church on the corner of Franklin and Pitt streets. The Methodist Maughan Church built in 1864 was demolished and replaced, with Rev Erwin Vogt announcing in 1963 the intention to stay in the city centre rather than follow the population to the suburbs. He described

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[29] Mark Twain, *Mark Twain in Australia and New Zealand*, 1973, pp. 182-83.

the city as the centre of government, education, commerce and mass communication, and many people in the city were served by this church.

> They live in houses, apartments and in lonely rooms. They board in hotels and hostels. They are nurses and students, caretakers…landlords and executives and labourers. Many are New Australians and many are aged. …the off-beat generation come to congregate night after night. There are shopkeepers living in the city; prostitutes have their rooms in the city; there are little children.[30]

The church and mission headquarters included space for the new radio station to house 5KA and the network's administrative offices (5KA-5AU-5RM.[31] The new Maughan Church opened in 1965 to a fanfare of Salvation Army trumpets, the combined voices of three choirs and 2,000 worshippers. The colourful procession included South Australia's Governor and 30 robed clergymen of all major denominations, both Catholic and Protestant. 'Erwin Vogt's planning of the week-end was as bold and adventurous as his conviction and concept of the church and its associated buildings – the functional multi-purpose Mission House and the modern 5KA Radio City'. The service was 'shared with a host of 5KA listeners…It was a great event in the life of the State as well as of the Church'.[32]

Many surviving church buildings have retained their external form and have been turned to other uses retaining the physical association of the buildings with their traditional local communities. Church-based and other associations have also continued to thrive. Many shop buildings, halls, dwellings and purpose-built club rooms are associated with one of many hundreds of associations established since European settlement. They included learned and art societies such as the Literary and Scientific Association, the South Australian Society of Arts and the School of Design, the Royal Society and the Adelaide Philosophical Society.

Clubs and associations were often formed simply for migrants who came from a particular British county, such as Cornwall, Devon, or Yorkshire, as well as Scotland and Ireland, or national clubs formed by migrants from Austria, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, France, Greece, Poland and Lithuania. Many of their members met initially in hotels or private homes. One of the earliest clubs was the German Club formed in 1854 in the north east part of Adelaide between Rundle Street East and Wakefield Street where many German migrants lived until the early 20th century.

Philanthropic associations were also established from the earliest days of settlement the earliest, the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society (1849). Philanthropic associations helped to house the poor. They built Cottage Homes (1872), and Adelaide Workmen's Homes Trust (1896). The Girls Friendly Society was introduced into South Australia by Governor Jervois' wife and daughters in 1879, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was established in 1886. A generation later, Katholoki Anastasas, who ran a kefenio with her husband in Hindley Street, became a founder of Greek Women's Society associated with the Greek Orthodox church.[33] Many organisations were formed for mutual aid such as the Freemasons' Grand Lodge which is South Australia's oldest organisation, consecrated under the Grand Lodge of England in 1834. The Freemasons Lodge, at 254-260 North Terrace, was built in 1927, and the organisation reached peak membership in the late 1950s.

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[30] *Transmission*, vol 1, no 13, July 1962, p. 1.
[31] *Transmission,* vol 2, no 2, March 1963, pp. 1, 6.
[32] *Transmission,* vol 4, no 1, March 1966, p. 4.
[33] Georgia Xenophou, *Greek women in South Australian society 1923-1993*, Greek Women's Society of S.A., 1994, pp. 1, 109.

The 'Grand villa' at 103-105 South Terrace was built in 1885 as the residence for Matthew Madge, a typical Adelaide philanthropist and lodge member. Madge owned a prosperous bakery and confectionery and several other shops in Grote Street, and served as a City Councillor in 1870–78. Madge continued his involvement in a wide range of philanthropic and religious organisations after retiring. They included the Benevolent and Strangers' Friendly Society, Royal Institution for the Blind, Rechabite Order, Order of Foresters and the Point McLeay Aboriginal Mission. Money raised from a pamphlet describing an overseas trip helped to establish the Draper Memorial Lecture Hall, and he spent 25 years as Superintendent of the Halifax Street Methodist Mission Sunday School.

Another 1880's grand residence at 284-296 South Terrace became Torrens House after being acquired by the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association (MBHA) in 1938. The Association was founded by Dr Helen Mayo and Harriet Stirling as the Adelaide School for Mothers in 1909. Torrens House was a mothercraft training school and served the MBHA network of 103 centres throughout South Australia. MBHA headquarters were in Wright Street, and later in North Terrace, before moving into the extended building on South Terrace.

Public buildings along North Terrace epitomise the development of the arts and sciences in Adelaide. Many of their visitors, researchers and members of artistic, literary, and scientific bodies lived and worked nearby in the city. The expansion of exploration, scientific discovery and applied science during the 19th century aroused an avid interest in the local population. 'The enthusiasm of amateur naturalists and artists to record, collect or capture on canvas South Australia's astonishing flora, fauna and ethnography, coupled with nineteenth-century notions of self-help and self-improvement, found expression in movements to establish institutes for the study of natural science, literature and art.'[34]

Dr Rogers, who consulted from his home at 'Church House' (61-63 Flinders Street), was also a president of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery, of the Royal Society of South Australia, and of the South Australian Literary Society. He began to study Australasian orchids in the 1890s and over the next 30 years, while living in Flinders Street, became a world authority, identifying and describing more than 85 species. Jean Scott Rogers accompanied her husband on far flung exploratory field trips, and worked with him to construct a herbarium at their Flinders Street home. There they kept dried orchid specimens numbering 5,200 one of the largest private collections in Australia.[35]

The tradition of active involvement in the arts and sciences by city residents and businesspeople continued with the founding in 1960 of the first Adelaide Festival of Arts which was the catalyst for the growth of many performing, visual, musical and literary arts activities in the city and beyond.

7.0   Educating

Early schools in the city were the responsibility of churches and individual settlers teaching in their own homes. Single or widowed women operated dame schools and advertised in the newspapers. The 1851 *Education Act* abolished state aid to church schools but some early city church schools continued, such as St Mary's Dominican

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[34] Geoff Speirs, 'Museums', in *Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, pp. 369-371.
[35] Joyce Gibberd, 'Rogers, Richard Sanders (1861 - 1942)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 11, Melbourne University Press, 1988, p. 443.

School which remains on the site of the Poor School established by the Sisters of St Joseph in 1869. Another private city school that continues is Pulteney Grammar School which moved to its South Terrace site in the 1920s, after being located for a time in Flinders Street.

The first major government school was the 'Model School' built in Grote Street in 1874. The 1875 *Education Act* introduced compulsory primary education and other government schools were built to cater for the large numbers of children living in the city. Sturt Street School was completed in 1883. A two storey brick school was built in Currie Street in 1893 to accommodate the big population of children in the northern part of the West End, and Gilles Street School was opened in 1900. *The Technical Education of Apprentices Act, 1917* made it a duty of apprentices to attend technical schools, and the State's Adelaide Woodwork School opened in the following year in the building at 102-106 Gilbert Street.

Other significant educational facilities were developed within the city including the South Australian Institute, the Museum and the Library, all of them constructed on North Terrace. The University of Adelaide developed from the 1870s and the School of Mines (now the University of South Australia), was established, also on North Terrace, in 1888.

From the late 19th century, specialist education institutions provided for other groups, including kindergartens for young children, special schools for the 'blind, deaf and dumb', and central and technical schools for working class children. Franklin Street kindergarten started in 1906, adjacent to one of the most densely populated locations in the city. A parallel education system also developed from the mid-19th century that included libraries, institutions and museums, most evident in the buildings housing the State Library, Museum and the Art Gallery along North Terrace.

PRECINCT HISTORIES

Central Business Area (CBA) *and* Mixed Use (MU) Zones

The central business area is Adelaide's commercial heart, and its most historic area. From the time the city was first surveyed in 1837, commerce, culture and public administration – together with much of the original settler population –concentrated here, close to the River Torrens, and the road to Port Adelaide. Kingston's map of 1842 records high density construction on town acres in the city's north western quarter but many other acres were vacant or had very little development. The area to the east of Gawler Place, while densely packed, retains numerous old buildings, reinforcing the character of early city subdivision. The narrow side streets, Coromandel Place, French Street and Chesser Street, are shown very early in the city's history on the Kingston Map of 1842. Older buildings in this precinct reflect early warehouse activity in the central city, and are characterised by brick and masonry walling, usually of two to four storeys, and alignment to the boundary.[36]

An 1851 report described the city 'as a large place and not yet one quarter built upon. Building plots are for sale in all directions except in the main streets'.[37] The 1840s recession and high prices within the 'square mile' had encouraged many

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[36] Donovan, Marsden, Stark Report, 1982, p. 34.
[37] *Adelaide Times*, 7 June 1851 p. 6g.

small purchasers to buy and build instead across the Park Lands forming the inner suburbs of Thebarton, Kensington, Hindmarsh and Brompton.

Copper discoveries, the impact of gold from the Victorian goldfields, and a steady expansion of farming sustained a long period of prosperity, with its most concentrated impact in the central district of the capital. Following the *Building Act* of 1858 many shops, hotels and warehouses were rebuilt as solid masonry structures with highly-ornamented facades. Evidence of this redevelopment of the pioneer city is clear in the Duryea Panorama photographed from the Town Hall tower in 1865. Inland drought brought a pause in city progress during the 1860s, but when abundant agricultural harvests resumed in the 1870s, Adelaide became, for the only time in its history, the growth city of Australia.[38] The bountiful 1870s brought spectacular change in built character, most visibly in the city centre, although many poor old and more recently-built cottages with iron lean-tos and dank yards still crowded the side streets of the city centre. A typical *Register* report in 1880 described 'shanties' off Currie Street.[39]

King William Street has remained, the city's main thoroughfare. The northern end has long been the core and showpiece of South Australia's most prominent financial and public enterprises, and in the words of Council planners, 'is dominated by structures which reflect the individuality of prominent banks, merchant groups, insurance companies and retailers'.[40] Former bank buildings dating from the mid-1860s to the early 1880s stand along King William Street, joined by edifices from the 20th century. Historical scale is maintained by such buildings as the General Post Office, the Town Hall and the former Treasury Buildings. Other buildings such as the heritage-listed Ambassadors Hotel (1880) are also associated with the most architecturally significant period of growth in the city (1865-1884). By the 1880s impressive financial buildings also dignified Grenfell, Currie and Pirie Streets although, as elsewhere in the city the height, scale and elaborateness of buildings diminished the further they were from King William Street. Pirie Street was 'architecturally more distinguished than Grenfell Street', the substantial and handsome office buildings including the South Australia Insurance Co, the Bank of New Zealand, the South Australian Club, and the Queen's exchange. The 19th century buildings on the Corporation's town acre still stand, but as Burden notes, 'With a few exceptions, the entire block bounded by King William, Grenfell and Pirie streets and Gawler Place was razed between 1970 and 1982.[41]

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[38] WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms, p 3.
[39] *Register* 30 July 1880 (supp. p. 2d.).
[40] Department of City Planning, *The City of Adelaide: the Development of its Heritage,* Report, 8 December 1982, p. 24.
[41] Michael Burden, *Lost Adelaide: a photographic record*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1983, p. 114.

King William Street, c.1880: B62414_1_22*, (SLSA).*

King William Street was lined with large financial, commercial and public institutions, though the narrower cross streets remained the retail focus with small shops and hotels. As early as 1841 JF Bennett recorded 200 shops, stores and warehouses, with most concentrated in Hindley, Rundle, Grenfell and Currie Streets. Between 1852 and 1860 much of the retail trade 'flowed eastwards into Rundle Street and its tributary thoroughfares, a feature that has remained ever since.'[42]

Many shops dating from the late 19th century survive beyond the main streets, but in the main retail precincts, such as Rundle Mall, there are predominantly mid-1920s buildings. Evans Building (14 James Place) is a handsome example, designed by architect EH McMichael, and erected during 1921–1922. It replaced old wood and iron buildings, and was set back to improve the eastern alignment of James Place. There were 10 shops on the ground floor and 16 first floor offices.

Rundle Street, c.1911: B8524*, (SLSA).*

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[42] Michael Williams, *The Making of the S A Landscape*, p 413.

Development of department stores played a prominent role in Adelaide's retail history, and more than half a dozen major department stores were built in the central city, most of them in Rundle Street (now Rundle Mall). Harris Scarfe began in 1851 in Grenfell Street and expanded in the 1920s with a new arcade and facade on Rundle and Grenfell Streets, and is now the oldest surviving city department store and building. Department stores found difficulty in competing with suburban shopping centres and declined from the 1960s, but many other old Adelaide shops continued to accommodate changing trends in the small retail sector. Blackeby's Old Sweet Shop (28-30 James Place) is a fine example. An archival photograph shows two-storey Edwardian building as it is now, in 1912, then occupied by RW Swann Insurance and Wiseman Brothers Warehouse. Later tenants included the Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society and Canterbury Books (the Anglican bookshop). Warehouses have also proven to be adaptable buildings. Recent uses of an interwar warehouse at 54-56 Hyde Street illustrate the complex range and variety of city centre functions such flexible and spacious warehouse buildings have accommodated. Council's building approval record for changes of use and minor alterations between 1975 and 1990 reveals the following sequence of uses: secondhand furniture shop; entertainment centre; ballet studio and school; warehouse and shop; restaurant; and entertainment venue.

This central business area was and continues to be the one most visibly defined by economic cycles, which are reflected in the fabric of many longstanding buildings. There is a fine example in the Gawler Place warehouses, built in the 1860s, extended in the 1880s, refaced in the 1920s, and with new shop fronts added in the 1970s.

Activities of the London-based South Australian Company from the late 19th century had a tangible effect on the city as it realised its major assets in the city centre it had had since the foundation by the rebuilding, construction, lease and sale of prominent offices, shops and warehouses. Under the management of WJ Brind the Company sought to profit from boom conditions of the early 1880s by constructing more capacious and elaborate commercial premises in the heart of the city. It built a large terrace of four warehouses on what was then Freeman Street on Town Acre 167 then owned by the Company (108-112 Gawler Place). The warehouses were designed by Grainger, Nash and Worsley, and were completed in 1883. The Company owned all of the buildings numbered 187-237 on the southern side of Rundle Street into the 1920s, leasing them to a variety of businesses. The heritage-listed Malcolm Reid shops were designed by another leading architect, William McMinn. Two other adjoining buildings identified in this study (numbers 211-215 and 217 Rundle Street) were also built for the South Australian Company in the early 1900s.

Older buildings in the East End reflect earlier economic cycles. Development there was dominated from the 1860s until 1989 by the wholesale fruit and vegetable markets, the East End Market and the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange, which had a marked impact on the variety of businesses there. More recently, these buildings, in turn, have provided accommodation firstly for artists and designers who moved in during the 1970s, followed by the present restaurants, boutiques and bars. The exuberantly detailed (and heritage-protected) buildings of the East End Market in Grenfell Street, dating from 1903-4, set the tone for the whole north east section of city, from Rundle to Wakefield Streets, and east of Frome Street.

The locality near the Market was once, as Linn records, 'a hinterland of hotels, shops, offices and houses and a fairly rough and ready society'.[43] The people who lived there worked in or around the great market, in a great variety, 'from respectable traders, to vagrants, to criminals'. Slums clustered off Grenfell Street were 'inhabited by as rough a crowd as you could find. A criminal class mixed day jobs at the market with robbery and gang warfare at night.'[44]

The city's largest German community lived between Grenfell Street and Wakefield Street and between Gawler Place and East Terrace, where they built homes and their own hospital, school, club, shops, churches and bakery. The architect FW Dancker designed the ornate, High Victorian shop and residence at 106-110 Flinders Street as Habich's Bakery, completed in 1884. Carl Juluns Habich had emigrated from Germany to South Australia in 1855 and ran the flourishing bakery there until 1911; the Habich family continuing to own the building until the 1970s.

Another shop/residence at 242-244 Pirie Street was associated with the German brothers August and Carl Feibig during the 1880s. August Feibig was an instrument maker and Carl was a bee-keeper who kept bees on the first floor of the building.

The numbers of Chinese in Adelaide increased from the 1870s, with most living around Hindley and Morphett streets as greengrocers, launderers, importers, carpenters and restaurant owners, forming Adelaide's first Chinatown. Soon after the shops on the southwest corner of Morphett and Hindley streets were constructed in 1880, nearly all were rented by Chinese tenants. There was a resurgence of Chinese as well as South East Asian immigration and many Chinese businesses were established around the Central Market, where part became Adelaide's second 'Chinatown'.

Public buildings were erected in a stately line along North Terrace between the 1850s and 1880s, and the first government schools were built. In the private sector, substantial bank buildings were constructed in King William Street, and by the early 1880s, the business district had been essentially rebuilt. High land values which had created intense pressure to rebuild also prompted the construction of higher buildings of more than three storeys, made accessible by the installation of lifts.[45], Many prominent State and national financial institutions built headquarters along North Terrace, King William and Currie streets from 1910 until 1928 and again from 1935.

The 1890's depression was followed by another long mining based boom from the late 1890s until 1928. The city population peaked in 1914 at a time that also marked the highest point of residential occupation in the central district, where commercial and public buildings were already replacing homes – including fine doctors' homes along North Terrace. The main retail streets continued to be Hindley and Rundle streets, but another important retail area developed west of Victoria Square. The City Market (now Central Market) between Grote and Gouger streets was established by market gardeners in 1869 and officially opened by the City Council in 1870, and soon rivalled Rundle Street as the main shopping area in Adelaide.

The Council refurbished the City Market with a new brick façade in the early 1900s, to take the pressure off Rundle and Hindley Streets. Several other important retail outlets followed, and several hotels were rebuilt. In this locality, most of the turn of

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[43] Rob Linn, *Those Turbulent Years: a History of the City of Adelaide 1929-1979*, Adelaide City Council, 2006, p. 45 (caption).
[44] Linn, p. 44.
[45] WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms' p 5.

century buildings were constructed in red brick, creating a distinctive character. City residents in the southern parts and West End, as well as those from the southern inner suburbs, frequented this market area to do their shopping.

Flinders Street, c.1916: B2222_5*, (SLSA).*

Financial companies built multi-storey office buildings in the city between World War I and 1928. The first of these was Verco Building (1912), designed by the architect Eric H. McMichael. In 1913-14 the South Australian Company built a new red brick office block, known as Gawler Chambers, on the corner of Gawler Place and North Terrace.[46] The T & G Insurance Co built their premises in 1925 the tallest in the city to that time. The Norwich Union built substantial premises in Waymouth Street in 1928, and the Alliance Assurance Company building was constructed in 1927 in Grenfell Street. Important new shops were also built, especially along Rundle and Hindley Streets. Buildings at 73-79 Pirie Street were constructed early in the interwar period as part of the commercial reconstruction of the city centre, and as new industries provided new commercial opportunities, in this instance, rubber manufacture and the rising popularity of motor cars.

Few new worker dwellings were built after the 1890s but some such as residences owned by the estate left by William Henry Gray were replaced. After Gray's death in 1896 his estate managed a rental portfolio much of which was considered by the Council as substandard housing. Between 1897 and 1901 the trustees replaced 61 cottages in the city with 35 improved new dwellings, including the heritage-listed terrace at 134-140 Carrington Street.[47]

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[46] Swanbury Penglase, *Gawler Chambers Conservation Study*, 1995.
[47] Australian Heritage Places Inventory, Terrace houses (134-140 Carrington St, ID no 14452), viewed May 2008, www.heritage.gov.au/ahpi/search.html .

Gouger Street, February 1925: B2446*, (SLSA)*

Some city factories expanded by relocating to the suburbs, but others built new brick premises in town. Shops and offices replaced colonial factories and dwellings on the major streets, but new brick or concrete industrial and commercial buildings dominated side streets and lanes of the central city, as evident in Chesser Street.

The Gerard & Goodman workshop and store (12-18 Synagogue Place) was built to produce goods of the modern age. Alfred Gerard began the engineering business in 1907, which soon became the largest of its kind in South Australia, manufacturing, importing, retailing and repairing a wide range of electrical accessories and operating a photography, radio and 'talkie-movie' department. The popularity of radio and amateur radio operating was at its height. In 1921 the company built a 'commodious' showroom, shops, offices and factory in Synagogue Place extending the building to four floors in the late 1920s, and connecting it to a new shop built in 1937 on the corner of Synagogue Place and Rundle Street. By 1938 the firm owned freehold property with over 35,000 square feet.

Much of the city's social drinking and eating took place in hotels. Consequently, development of restaurants was slow and limited. Hindley Street became the focus of entertainment, where most restaurants were located by the 1880s. By 1935 there were also Italian and Greek cafés, including the Comino Cafe, Constantine's Adelaide Wine Saloon, Condos Brothers' Fish Cafe, Constantinople Cafe, the Continental Delicatessen and the International Café. Their numbers increased in the 1950s and 1960s. The *News* in May 1959 described the 'Changing Face of Hindley Street' referring to 'the street of all nations' where it was possible to 'buy anything from a poached snail to a T-bone steak, from a scooter to a posh car'. Many Hindley Street properties were bought by Italian and Greek immigrant shopkeepers following World War II. They resisted later redevelopment pressures by retaining, though often 'modernising' the many 19th century shop buildings. The tenacity of those immigrant owners meant that this distinctive two storey commercial streetscape in the city centre has survived almost intact into the twenty first century, although reinstatement of longer hotel hours in 1967 saw the demise of many coffee bars.

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