

## APPENDIX 5 History

# The Mount Lofty Ranges Cultural Landscape National Heritage Listing Nomination: History of the Mount Lofty Ranges

Prepared by Susan Marsden, October 2016

## Indigenous history and traditions (re: criteria (a) and (i))

Prior to European settlement four Indigenous groups inhabited the Mount Lofty Ranges. The central ranges were inhabited by the Peramangk, their country stretching from the later-named Barossa Valley and Mannum in the north to Myponga in the south. To the west, the Kurna occupied the Adelaide plains and coast south to Cape Jervis and north to Port Broughton. East of the Ranges the Ngarrindjeri occupied the southern Fleurieu Peninsula, the Murray valley and Lakes, and south along the Coorong, while Ngadjuri country stretches through the northern Mount Lofty Ranges to the Flinders Ranges and surrounding alluvial fans that form the north-western boundary.<sup>1</sup>

Aboriginal life centred on rivers and creeks draining from the Ranges. Before 1836, these were permanent except in dry years. Campsites were on the high banks or near springs and permanent water-holes. These include the Torrens, Sturt and Onkaparinga Rivers, Yankalilla, Bungala and other small creeks, as well as the Currency, Finnis, Angas and Bremer creeks that flow east to the River Murray.<sup>2</sup>

The Kurna ranged between the coastal plains, where the climate was more congenial, and the Ranges, where they hunted possums in the wet sclerophyll forests.<sup>3</sup> The Ranges were 'an important social and cultural barrier between the Ngarrindjeri and the Kurna, although parts were occupied by the Peramangk people.'<sup>4</sup>

The Peramangk occupied an area well-endowed with resources: food, water, firewood, raw materials such as stone, timber and resins for tool manufacture; bark for huts, shields and canoes; pigments for painting; and furred animals for rugs. During winter they constructed huts of branches, bark, grass and leaves, often built around the hollow side of old red gums.

The landscape embodies the creation mythology of the Kurna and Peramangk People, the anthropological and historical context of their traditional lifeways and colonial and post-colonial experiences, and a rich archaeological record of thousands of years of habitation. Evidence of Peramangk occupation is found in tree scars, rock art, middens, ochre quarries, and settlement and ceremonial sites within the Ranges.<sup>5</sup>

The Kurna name for the Ranges is *Yurabilla* (or *Eurabilla* or *Juredla*). Yurabilla was an ancestral being, a giant who came from the east to attack the people of the Adelaide Plains. He was slain by *Nganno*, and his body forms the Ranges. Mounts Lofty and Bonython form his head. The place known as Uraidla is *Yurre-dla*, place of the ear, while the ridge of hills behind it is *Piko-dla*, place of the eyebrow, which became Piccadilly. *Ngurramuka*, 'the brain', became Gumeracha. The peninsula on the coast below is *Moddla-ngga*, place of the nose. The Sturt River is the *Warripara*, the 'throat river', from the sound of the whistling gully winds that issue from it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> N.B. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1974; cited in N. Draper 'Notes on Aboriginal Cultural Heritage of the Mt Lofty Ranges', background material from Neale Draper and Australian Cultural Heritage Management (ACHM) for the Mt Lofty Ranges World Heritage Bid, 2015; and A. Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*, Adelaide, Scenic Solutions, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Draper, 'Notes on Aboriginal Cultural Heritage of the Mt Lofty Ranges'; Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>3</sup> Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, 1976, in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>5</sup> R. Coles and R. Hunter, *The Ochre Warriors: Peramangk Culture and Rock Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges*, Adelaide, Axiom, 2010; C.R. Twidale, M. Tyler and B.P. Webb, *Natural History of the Adelaide Region*, Royal Society of South Australia, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> N.B. Tindale, 'Notes and drafts for a proposed gazetteer of Aboriginal place names in the South East of South Australia', South Australian Museum Archives; C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann, *Outlines of a Grammar:*

The Yurridla Aboriginal Trail in Cleland Conservation Park provides an Indigenous perspective on the Dreamtime stories of the Ranges. The Tjilbruke Dreaming records the creation of freshwater springs along the coast. Carrying the body of his nephew for burial, Tjilbruke stopped and wept at seven sites between Tulukdangga (Kingston Park) and Kongaratingga (Rapid Bay). The other five sites are Karildilla (Hallett Cove), Tainbarangga (Pt Noalunga), Karkunga, Wirrawarrangga (Port Willunga) and Ngaltinga (Aldinga).<sup>7</sup>

The Ranges straddle the boundaries of the territories of the Kurna, Peramangk, Ngarrindjeri and Ngadjuri peoples, and were a significant place of traditional routes, ochre trade, ceremonial sites, conflict and co-operation before and after colonisation.<sup>8</sup> These groups remain closely linked to their ancestral lands and significant features, and their involvement in research to record and celebrate this heritage is ongoing, and is of vital importance to Kurna and Peramangk cultural identity.

There were many continuities between the Indigenous life of the Ranges and European settlement that have left their mark. Aboriginal people used fire to promote regrowth and attract wildlife during the drier summer months, causing consternation amongst the early settlers. Matthew Flinders reported seeing fires in the area and one colonist on a ship was startled at night to see 'the grand and fearful sight' of a bushfire across the face of the Mount Lofty Ranges.<sup>9</sup> The eastern half of the Ranges have scattered trees; partly the result of fire as well as the declining rainfall from west to east.<sup>10</sup> This long-established use of fire was the main cause of the 'parkland' with the rich, grassed pastures much admired and soon exploited by the British and German settlers. Many of the colonial and present roads along the river valleys and over the steep escarpments follow old Aboriginal foot tracks.<sup>11</sup>

As the Ranges and the adjacent coastal land and plains were the focus of the first formal British settlement, the region was a major contact site. Written and oral records attest to continuing associations with the region by the Ngarrindjeri and the Kurna people. A large body of colonial artworks, particularly by George French Angas, are studies of individuals and groups and their activities, and their contact with the Europeans, including as hosts, guides and labourers.<sup>12</sup>

Settlement in the Ranges and in Adelaide drew Indigenous people from afar through other people's lands. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, oral history interviews record the employment of Ngarrindjeri people on farms on the Fleurieu Peninsula and regular visits by fishing boats owned by Kurna descendants living on Yorke Peninsula, as well as the revival of formal Kurna associations with that region by such figures as Georgina Williams.<sup>13</sup>

Many place names are derived from Indigenous words. They include the Kurna-derived names of the Onkaparinga River and the Noarlunga region, town names including Aldinga, Willunga, Gumeracha, Uraidla, Myponga and Yankalilla, and early property names such as 'Daringa'. Aboriginal place names retained in the Barossa include Nuritootpa, Moculta, Moorooroo and Tanunda. This naming reflects the values and activities of the formative period of colonisation, the respect of the founders of South Australia for Aboriginal rights, the early phase of colonial settlement in the Ranges when contact

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*Vocabulary and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia, Spoken by the Natives in and for Some Distance Around Adelaide*, Adelaide, 1840; Coles and Hunter, *The Ochre Warriors*; Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*.

<sup>7</sup> S. Marsden, 'Wonderful histories: the City of Onkaparinga', in G. Trott, S. Marsden and L. Campbell, *McLaren Vale: Trott's View*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> See map of 'Kurna territory and neighbouring languages', in R. Amery, *Warraparna Kurna! Reclaiming an Australian Language*, University of Adelaide Press, 2016, p. xxvii, [www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/kurna/kurna-ebook.pdf](http://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/kurna/kurna-ebook.pdf), (accessed August 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Whitelock, 1985, cited in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>10</sup> Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>11</sup> Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>12</sup> G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 1*, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1847; G. F. Angas, *South Australia Illustrated*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1847, (digitised, with list of views at: [www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/South-Australia-Illustrated/South-Australia-Illustrated-by-George-French-Angus-London-1847](http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/South-Australia-Illustrated/South-Australia-Illustrated-by-George-French-Angus-London-1847)).

<sup>13</sup> T. Owen and D. Cowie (eds), *Stories from Kurna*, Redfern, GML Heritage, 2015: interviews recorded with Georgina Williams (2014) and Bert Thorpe (2010).

between peoples was frequent, and the enduring nature of many early farm properties and rural localities. Kurna words, phrases and grammar collected and published by the German missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840, 1857) have been crucial to the renaissance of the Kurna language since 1990, and of the Kurna community overall.<sup>14</sup> Teichelmann completed preparation of his Kurna vocabulary (1857) while living at and ministering to the German Lutheran settlement of Salem.<sup>15</sup>

The idealists who planned South Australia intended that Christian civilisation would benefit all people and that the Aboriginal people would be treated more humanely than they had been in other British colonies. This was enshrined in the Letters Patent establishing the Province of South Australia where King William IV of England proclaimed:

*PROVIDED ALWAYS that nothing in those our Letters Patent contained shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any Aboriginal Natives of the said Province to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own Persons or in the Persons of their Descendants of any Land therein now actually occupied or enjoyed by such Natives.*<sup>16</sup>

The British founders made some provision for Indigenous title, as evident in the numerous sections of land in the Ranges surveyed and reserved for Indigenous owners. However, by the mid-nineteenth century the Indigenous people were dispossessed. Most of the reserves are well-known sites, but were later used for other purposes or sold. They include the reserve allocated to Kudnarto and her European husband and their family at Skillogolee near Clare.<sup>17</sup>

The continuity of the Indigenous cultural traditions of the Mount Lofty Ranges is linked both to the unique beginnings of South Australia as a commercial rather than convict colony, together with the pre-existing disposition of the associated Aboriginal tribes as diplomats and negotiators within Aboriginal Australia. The Kurna, Peramangk, Ngarrindjeri and Ngadjuri people participated in the separate ceremonial cycles and traditional trade routes of these different cultural groupings in southern and central Australia, and brought them together in large gatherings. These were held on the Murray and along the Adelaide coastline, where there were sufficient food supplies. Ceremonial progressions of local tribes and visitors crossed the Ranges. Because of this, the Dreaming tracks that chart the journey of the Creation Ancestors of people of the Murray Darling Basin, the Western Desert and the Flinders Ranges all incorporate the Mount Lofty Ranges, in addition to the creation mythology of the local tribes.

The conservation parks in the Ranges preserve not only significant remnants of pre-settlement flora and fauna, but also relics of Indigenous and colonial European use. For example, Scott Creek Conservation Park has 'dense stringybark forests, steep sloped valleys and seasonally flowing creeks', while the 'ruins of Almanda Mine are reminders of the area's silver and copper mining past [1850s]'. The park is 'an important link in the vegetation corridors of the hills and was once part of a major travelling route for the Peramangk Peoples'.<sup>18</sup>

Bushfire is another continuity between Indigenous and European life in the Ranges. The firing of forests and grasslands by Australia's Indigenous people in 'firestick farming' has a long history here and elsewhere in Australia.<sup>19</sup> George Fife Angas observed in the dense stringybark forests of the Ranges,

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<sup>14</sup> C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann, *Outlines of a Grammar: Vocabulary and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia, Spoken by the Natives in and for Some Distance Around Adelaide*, Adelaide, 1840; C.G. Teichelmann, *Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect*, Adelaide, 1857.

<sup>15</sup> Amery, *Warraparna Kurna*, pp. xi, xxii, 70.

<sup>16</sup> T. Griffin and M. McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, Adelaide, SA Government Printing Division, 1986; S. Berg (ed.), *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, p. viii.

<sup>17</sup> For details of location and history, see R. J. Noye, *Clare: a District History*, Adelaide, Investigator Press, pp. 220-221.

<sup>18</sup> National Parks South Australia, *Scott Creek Conservation Park*, [website], [www.environment.sa.gov.au/parks/Find\\_a\\_Park/Browse\\_by\\_region/Adelaide\\_Hills/scott-creek-conservation-park](http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/parks/Find_a_Park/Browse_by_region/Adelaide_Hills/scott-creek-conservation-park), (accessed 22 July 2016).

<sup>19</sup> See B. Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, Crows Nest, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 2011.

*... massive trunks blackened by the tremendous fires that sweep through these forests, and continue to roll along, day and night, for many miles, in one continuous chain of fire. These conflagrations usually take place during the dry heats of summer; and frequently at night, the hills, when viewed from Adelaide, present a singular and almost terrific appearance: being covered with long streaks of flame, so that one might fancy them a range of volcanoes.*<sup>20</sup>

European settlement, combining dense native vegetation with intensely cultivated farms and many individual dwellings, towns and suburbs, increased the risks from bushfire. There were devastating fires in 1939, 1955, 1957 and 1980, 1983 and 1993.<sup>21</sup> The ruins of the governor's summer residence at Marble Hill mark the effects of the 1955 'Black Sunday' fire from which the governor's family barely escaped with their lives.<sup>22</sup>

#### **British settlers and systematic colonisation (re Criterion (a))**

The Mount Lofty Ranges as a cultural landscape is also a tangible expression of 'systematic colonisation'. Systematic colonisation reflected the impact of both reformers and commercial interests in Britain in an expanding British Empire. Systematic colonisation involved assisted emigration, detailed formal surveying of town and country landholdings ahead of sale, and free settlement. This was a radical shift in British colonial policy, as elements of systematic colonisation were also adopted in the older Australian colonies, in New Zealand and elsewhere, and its adoption also marked a turning point in Australia's history from convict-based to free settlement.<sup>23</sup> South Australia was the first place in Australia, and the world, to fully apply the principles of systematic colonisation, which were subsequently applied elsewhere in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and other regions of the New World.<sup>24</sup>

*I do not claim that the world system which was developed during the nineteenth century has been conspicuously successful in ensuring human progress and happiness; but I am at least sure that Australia and New Zealand have made a better start in social organization than Cuba or Paraguay, and that they owe that better start to the fact that Wakefield and his followers forced the British Government in the critical years of 1830 to 1845 to awake from its absence of mind.*<sup>25</sup>

South Australia was Australia's first enduring free colony, founded by the proponents of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's model of systematic colonisation. Previous colonisation in Australia was characterised by enforced labour and unregulated land acquisition, while the model of systematic colonisation was based on the assisted migration of free settlers, prescribing the composition of the population according to age and gender, fixing a minimum price on land sales, the detailed surveying of town and country landholdings ahead of sale, and containing urban and rural settlement within surveyed districts. Unlike the earlier Australian colonial settlements, South Australia was to be established under a scheme of orderly colonisation that would absorb Britain's poor and establish a stable British society in new country. 'Transport of convicts was to be excluded, while more intensive forms of farming would be encouraged rather than pastoral activities.'<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> D.S. Jones, *Designed Landscapes of South Australia: Theoretical Frameworks for Designed Landscapes in Australia: South Australian Report*, School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design, the University of Adelaide, 1997, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, pp. 64-65; A. Painter, *20 February 1980 Ash Wednesday Bushfires*, Professional Historians Association, SA 175, [website], [www.sahistorians.org.au/175/chronology/february/20-february-1980-ash-wednesday-bushfires.shtml](http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/chronology/february/20-february-1980-ash-wednesday-bushfires.shtml), (accessed July 2016); South Australian Country Fire Service, *Bushfire History*, [website], [www.cfs.sa.gov.au/site/about/history/bushfire\\_history.jsp](http://www.cfs.sa.gov.au/site/about/history/bushfire_history.jsp), (accessed July 2016).

<sup>23</sup> R.C. Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-42): The Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, p. 322.

<sup>24</sup> There are many relevant references, including R. Aldrich and K. McKenzie (eds), *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, Oxford, Routledge, 2014, p. 95.

<sup>25</sup> Graham Wallas, Fabian and co-founder of the London School of Economics, quoted in Mills, *The Colonization of Australia*.

<sup>26</sup> J. Porter (former Surveyor-General), 'South Australia's Shining Light', *History Workshop - Australia's Greatest Surveyors-General, FIG Congress, Sydney, 11-16 April 2010*, (online),

There is extensive documentation of systematic colonisation and the founding of South Australia. The colony was founded on 'a set of instructions' from the Colonization Commission in London in which the principles of systematic colonisation were embedded. Under the terms of the British government's *South Australian Act 1834*, drafted largely by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and his supporters, the colony was to be self-funding from the sale of land. The Act created the Colonization Commission, which was appointed in 1835. The commission was created as a commercial venture to raise funds for emigrants through land sales. It aimed to implement the principles of systematic colonisation that was informed by some of the greatest minds of 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain, including Wakefield, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, Colonel Robert Torrens and members of the British-based National Colonization Society. The last chapter in Karl Marx's *Capital* critically examines Wakefield's theory, using its discoveries about the relationship between labour and capital to underpin Marx's own theories.<sup>27</sup> According to Mill, Wakefield's system aimed for the long-term sustainability and resilience of the South Australian colony, rather than the short-term profit of its founders.<sup>28</sup>

The Colonization Commission was charged with selling £35,000 of land in the proposed colony; but had to lower the price as there were insufficient buyers at a time when free grants were being offered in the established colony of New South Wales. The scheme might have collapsed, as had two earlier attempts to promote the establishment of a Wakefield colony on Australia's southern coast, but it was retrieved by George Fife Angas, who offered 12 rather than 20 shillings an acre for any unsold land, and pooled his purchases with other buyers to form a joint stock company, the South Australian Company. This was established to buy land in the colony, build and lease wharfs and other buildings, cultivate the land and lay out farms 'letting the same to industrious tenants on lease with the right of purchase'. The Company's purchases and subsequent activities in South Australia were crucial to the colony's survival, as the Commissioners' funds were soon depleted, and its officials and those of the British government were vehemently divided. The South Australian Company undertook much of the essential development work, building roads, bridges, wharves, stores and flour mills, imported sheep and cattle and promoted mineral discovery and mining. Those activities soon had an impact on the Mount Lofty Ranges. By attracting wide publicity in Britain, the Company attracted rich families to South Australia as well as tradesmen; and its tenancy plans attracted many farmers and agricultural labourers.<sup>29</sup>

Systematic and formal colonisation of South Australia began in 1836, and within four years settlements had been established in the Mount Lofty Ranges at Crafers, Mount Barker, Hahndorf, Strathalbyn, Meadows, in the Barossa Valley, and along the coast at Yankalilla, Normanville, Second Valley and Encounter Bay.

Britain and the Australian colonies entered a period of financial depression in the late 1830s. Land sales dwindled and migration stopped. In 1842 the British government abolished the Colonization Commission, paid their debts, and placed South Australia under the direct control of the Colonial Office. Following the discovery of copper at Kapunda in 1842, copper exports and good wheat harvests ensured the emergence of South Australia from its financial straits into prosperity.

### *Exploration*

'Mount Lofty' was one of the major features of the southern Australian coastline named during the first detailed exploration by the British. On 27 March 1802, Matthew Flinders, sailing off the south coast, sighted Mount Lofty. In 1831 during a subsequent maritime exploration Captain Collett Barker and two associates disembarked and made the first European ascent of Mount Lofty.

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[fig.net/resources/proceedings/fig\\_proceedings/fig2010/papers/hws03/hws03\\_porter\\_4719.pdf](http://fig.net/resources/proceedings/fig_proceedings/fig2010/papers/hws03/hws03_porter_4719.pdf), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>27</sup> K. Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1*, Penguin Books, 2004 [1867], Chapter 33: 'The Modern Theory of Colonisation – E.G. Wakefield'; H. McQueen, *Marx Myths & Legends: Reading the 'Unreadable' Marx*, [website], [marxmyths.org/index.php](http://marxmyths.org/index.php), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>28</sup> J.S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1891, Book V Chapter XI.

<sup>29</sup> State Library of South Australia, *South Australian History: South Australian Company* [website], 2016, [guides.slsa.sa.gov.au/c.php?g=410270&p=2794886](http://guides.slsa.sa.gov.au/c.php?g=410270&p=2794886), (accessed 23 January 2017).

The new British colony was established in central southern Australia in response to information from the formal exploration of the Australian coast and the main inland river, named the River Murray by its English explorer Charles Sturt. In 1802 as Flinders mapped the Australian coast, he named many features including Mount Lofty, Encounter Bay, Cape Jervis and Rapid Bay. He described the coast as 'high, rocky and much cut by gullies or ravines; a short, scrubby brush wood covers the seaward side, and the stone appears to be slaty'.<sup>30</sup>

Two weeks later, the French explorer Nicolas Baudin viewed the area also from the sea and named Fleurieu Peninsula and gave French names to other features. Baudin's description of the area north of Cape Jervis was the first in a continuing set of descriptions of the region's qualities, many still evident and enjoyed. Baudin observed 'very few trees, but ... several rather picturesque views'. He did not find any shelter for ships but for one bay 'the shores of which seemed to be of very white sand. In other bays the coast rose sheer from the water'. After sailing past 'the range of mountains that lies along this coast, we sighted some very low land which began at the tip of a point sloping gently down to the sea'. From the top of Gulf St Vincent (named by Flinders, which Baudin named Golfe Josephine after Napoleon's wife, he wrote: 'We could now see both sides of the gulf ... The two coasts differ greatly from each other; the starboard coast ... is formed by a range of high mountains with little vegetation, whereas the one opposite is flat'.<sup>31</sup>

In 1830, during his expedition down the River Murray, Charles Sturt commented favourably on the agricultural potential of the hills to the west. His favourable report later influenced the British decision to establish the Colony of South Australia. Sturt also became directly involved in the formal surveying of the new colony when he moved there from NSW in 1839, carried out surveying for the South Australian Company and followed William Light as Surveyor-General.<sup>32</sup>

Another maritime as well as land explorer and surveyor was Colonel William Light, who arrived on Australia's southern coast in August 1836 under instructions from the Colonization Commissioners.<sup>33</sup>

### Survey

*The survey system, besides being the conscious embodiment of and vehicle for the implementation of the ideals of the new society, also had a definite geographical expression. On the face of the land there was imposed a deliberately created design; an intricate pattern of roads, fences, paddocks, towns, and eventually farm boundaries and administrative areas, which formed the framework for all subsequent geographical activity... The fact that nearly all the answers to the patterns can be found heightens the interest, for this places one aspect of the South Australian landscape in a unique position compared with others of comparable size in the world.*<sup>34</sup>

One of the tenets of the Wakefield scheme that guided the founding of the colony was that no land should be given away. All land was to be the property of the Crown, and must be surveyed and sold systematically or leased for pastoral use. The funds raised would pay for the passage of selected settlers, favouring farming families. Surveys should always precede sales. Systematic survey also fitted in with another Wakefieldian ideal - the orderly progression of settlement. All of those elements were associated with the colonial development of the Ranges.

The Commissioners appointed William Light as South Australia's founding Surveyor-General. As their instructions made clear, 'the practical responsibility for bringing success to the ideals of the Wakefield system of colonization lay entirely in Light's hands, as the line of progress from land sales to

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<sup>30</sup> Flinders, quoted in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>31</sup> Baudin, quoted in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>32</sup> Flinders Ranges Research, *Captain Charles Sturt*, [website], [www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/sturt.htm](http://www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/sturt.htm), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>33</sup> The 'William Light Collection' is inscribed on the Australian Memory of the World Register. This comprises Light's correspondence, notebooks, diaries, writings, watercolours, sketchbooks, plans and maps, 1809-1841, 'the only surviving papers of an official relating to the first survey work in the colony of South Australia'. See Australian Memory of the World Program, *William Light Collection*, [website], 2008, [www.amw.org.au/register/listings/william-light-collection](http://www.amw.org.au/register/listings/william-light-collection), (accessed 23 January 2017).

<sup>34</sup> M. Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: a Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*, London, Academic Press, 1974, 65-67.

settlement could not be completed until the land had been surveyed'.<sup>35</sup> Light was captain of the survey vessel *Rapid* and was charged with examining the central coastline, selecting the site and setting out the capital city, and subdividing the adjacent rural land. Light removed his survey party from its first landing on Kangaroo Island to their first site on the mainland at Rapid Bay (named for his survey ship). He was impressed with the country, as he was a year later when he led an expedition north to part of the Mount Lofty Ranges. There, he named the main features Lynedoch (now Lyndoch) Vale and the Barrosa Ranges (now Barossa Ranges and Barossa Valley). The tree in the sketch drawn by Light is still alive.<sup>36</sup>

Light's survey of the city of Adelaide was completed by March 1837, and was followed by the other imperative of South Australian colonisation, the survey of country districts. An essential part of that work was Light's exploration south and north of Adelaide. Light resigned in mid-1838, but established a private surveying firm with a colleague (Finniss) and completed surveys of Lyndoch Valley and Gawler.<sup>37</sup>

The establishment of a formal system of survey enabled rapid settlement of the land and certainty of title. The survey system and associated containment of settlement was the chief means by which the Wakefieldian ideals of the colony's promoters were perpetuated. Formal survey of 'Crown lands' was thus fundamental to the founding and early settlement of South Australia, and to the ensuing close settlement by a principally agrarian population - both elements in accordance with Wakefield principles. Many sites in the Ranges were strongly associated with those elements of systematic colonisation.

Formal survey of South Australia's country districts proceeded from 1837 within a framework of 'Preliminary Districts' and 'Special Surveys' south of Adelaide down the coast of the Fleurieu Peninsula, east into the Ranges and north. Formal surveys along the coast were completed by 1839. The strong appeal of this region with its high rainfall and fertile valley floors and proximity to the Adelaide market meant that from the start there was a succession of both formal survey and informal settlement. The coastal end of the Mount Lofty Ranges (including all of the Fleurieu Peninsula) was surveyed in 'Preliminary Districts' whilst almost all of the Special Surveys focused on the remaining area of the Ranges and nearby with some few on rivers beyond the region.<sup>38</sup>

The Wakefield system involved the prior sale of colonial land in Britain. Many investors, including many original settlers in the Ranges, took ship with their land orders, families, servants (the regulations allowed purchasers to transport servants and labourers in proportion to the purchase sum) and essential supplies including tents and portable houses. For example, Captain Francis Davison, who held a purchased land order, took up land near Mount Barker in 1840. His farmhouse 'Blakiston' at Blakiston incorporates two portable Manning houses shipped out in 1839 by Davison and his family. The house and farm are depicted in S.T. Gill's watercolour, 'Captain Davison's house, "Blakiston", near Mount Barker, 1848' (AGSA). The painting is exemplary as an illustration of the aims, achievements and appeal of systematic colonisation in the Mount Lofty Ranges. The use of manufactured portable buildings such as the 'Manning House' has been described as 'system building meets systematic colonisation'.<sup>39</sup>

The main units of survey were 'Town Acres' within the City of Adelaide and country sections of 80 acres intended to encourage the small farmer. The 80 acre module for dividing rural land was recommended in proposals for the new colony by Wakefield in 1832, and was inextricably linked to systematic colonisation. Farm-labourers would have to work for several years to save the purchase price of £80, so ensuring a constant supply of labour for established farmers and those who could afford to buy and lease land from the outset. This helped to establish a hierarchical society of capitalist farmers employing labourers or leasing to tenants who worked hard to buy their own land.

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<sup>35</sup> G. Dutton, *Founder of a City: The Life of Colonel William Light*, Sydney, Halstead Press, 1960, p. 161.

<sup>36</sup> 'Lyndoch celebrates 175 years', *Barossa Herald*, 19 December 2012 (includes image of Light's sketch and photo of the tree), [www.barossaheald.com.au/story/1193317/lyndoch-celebrates-175-years/-slide=1](http://www.barossaheald.com.au/story/1193317/lyndoch-celebrates-175-years/-slide=1), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>37</sup> Flinders Ranges Research, *Colonel William Light*, [website], [www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/collight.htm](http://www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/collight.htm), (accessed July 22 2016).

<sup>38</sup> See also Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> P. Stark, 'The Portable Cottages of Henry Manning: System Building Meets Systematic Colonisation', presentation at Historical Society of SA meeting, Burnside, 1 April 2016.

This arrangement was most widespread and successful in the Mount Lofty Ranges, and was 'a result ... in marked contrast with the systems prevailing elsewhere in Australia'.<sup>40</sup>

*The original Wakefieldian ideal of a self-supporting society of agriculturalists on freehold farms, worked by a sturdy middle-class yeomanry, was all but achieved in those early years. The newly domesticated landscape of the coastal plains and basins and of the eastern slopes of the Mount Lofty Ranges, south to Encounter Bay, was subdivided in 80-acre sections, nearly every section a property in itself, with its house and barn. It was the cause of some pride and sober self-congratulation, for the South Australian pioneer was well aware of the solid success he made of his colonization venture, which was in marked contrast to the beginnings of other colonies.*<sup>41</sup>

Even in this region, 80 acre farms were barely viable, and certainly not in the drier areas of the Ranges where the land was overexploited, sapping the soil's fertility. Settlers soon extended their farms by purchase or lease. By the 1860s the government had accepted that wheat growing required larger farms, and under the *Strangways Act 1869* sections of up to 320 acres replaced the old 80 acre section.<sup>42</sup>

Special Surveys, while not unique to South Australia, were crucial to the success of the free province of South Australia, as the purchasers acted quickly to realise a profit by constructing pastoral buildings, subdividing sections for lease or purchase by small farmers, and as town lots. This was the origin of many of the farm districts and small towns in this region. Within the first ten years of the colony most of the Mount Lofty Ranges region was subject to both forms of survey.

#### *Special surveys*

*The survey was a crucial component of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's scheme for the orderly settlement of South Australia, which required that land could not be purchased before survey, and must be surveyed in contiguous areas. At times, exceptions did occur, as in the Special Surveys that allowed an individual or small group to pay the survey costs of a large block of land outside the surveyed districts, and to have first choice of blocks within that survey. Wealthier citizens used this system to gain access to choice lands. No Special Surveys were carried out after 1846, the British government taking the view that all sales of Crown land should be fully open to the public.*<sup>43</sup>

While the well-watered and fertile hills and valleys of the Ranges proved the best opportunity for realising Wakefieldian ideals, the region also reveals evidence of the modifications made to the theoretical principles even before the first ships departed for South Australia. Too few British capitalists were prepared to buy expensive land in an untried colony. Three important changes were made: the minimum price of country land was temporarily lowered (and the South Australian Company helped save the scheme with large purchases); rather than concentrating land sales around the capital, the first surveys were carried out over a huge area within the 'Preliminary Districts' that extended from Adelaide southwards along the coast and foothills to Cape Jervis. The third modification had a major impact on most of the remainder of the Mount Lofty Ranges and that was the system of 'Special Surveys'.<sup>44</sup>

Special Surveys represented the adaption of the Wakefieldian principles of systematic colonisation to market reality. George Fife Angas and his co-directors in the South Australian Company gained approval for Special Surveys which allowed purchasers on payment of £4000 to request a survey of 15,000 acres in areas of their choosing outside the Preliminary Districts. The survey would be divided into 80 acre sections and the purchasers had the right to select any 4,000 acres in a compact block. They selected well-watered land mostly in the Mount Lofty Ranges and the mid-north.

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<sup>40</sup> M. Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: a Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*, London, Academic Press, 1974, pp. 98-99.

<sup>41</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, p. 29

<sup>42</sup> State Records of South Australia, *Hundreds and Townships of South Australia*, [website], [archives.sa.gov.au/old-site/exhibits/saonmap/surveyor/townships.html?friendly=print](http://archives.sa.gov.au/old-site/exhibits/saonmap/surveyor/townships.html?friendly=print), (accessed July 2016).

<sup>43</sup> F.J. Williams, 'Surveys', in W. Prest, K. Round & C. Fort (eds), *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, p. 11.

Settlements in the Onkaparinga Valley and the Barossa Valley represent an adaption of the survey system into the Special Surveys. Of the 33 Special Surveys (1839-40) in South Australia, all but five involved the Mount Lofty Ranges or its foothills. Most were selected within the first year (1839), and the first was claimed in the Mount Barker district by William Dutton, Duncan McFarlane and Captain Finnis. Six were claimed in the Meadows and Strathalbyn districts, and most of the remaining Special Surveys, apart from those in the mid-north, 'formed one huge block of country in the hills to the north of Mount Barker, and all were claimed by the South Australian Company'.<sup>45</sup>

The Special Survey system ensured that investors could access large-scale holdings and develop them.<sup>46</sup> While they were criticised for getting the best land, and the Special Surveys were soon brought to an end (in New South Wales as well as in South Australia), they did expedite the colonisation of South Australia and the spread of cultivation and settlement, above all in the Mount Lofty Ranges. The Special Surveys and Preliminary districts A-F are inextricably part of the experiment aimed at capitalists of modest means.

The aim of setting a high price for land was intended not only to raise money to transport workers but also to keep them at work with the incentive of saving for their own land. The effectiveness of this element of systematic colonisation varied, but the Mount Lofty Ranges illustrates its enduring impact, as many of its landscapes were wrought by tenant farmers labouring towards purchase of their own farms, such as the Germans on Angas land in the Barossa, tenant farmers and miners of the South Australian Company, and market gardeners in areas such as the headwaters of Brownhill Creek.

Under systematic colonisation, the recruitment of British and German settlers and their assisted passage brought people of a diversity of origins, ages and a nearly equal number of men and women to South Australia. The built heritage of the Mount Lofty Ranges includes a wide variety of building styles that reflect the diversity of cultural backgrounds. Buildings ranged in type from single-width longhouses from south-west England, to symmetrical Georgian cottages, and to Scottish crofts and Prussian farmhouses.

Their builders adapted to the new environment by using region's many types of building stone, as well as native timbers (notably, stringybark and red gum), pug and clay, adding to the wide diversity of fabric displayed in the range of cultural traditions, stemming from colonists who came as part of the Wakefield system of settlement.

Evidence of continuing formal surveys to establish small farms was also apparent in the region through provision of workingmen's blocks promoted by the South Australian MP George Cotton, who 'believed in the supreme importance of putting people on the land. In this way the state could best discharge its obligation to provide all citizens with a comfortable life. This philosophy had a wide appeal in Cotton's day and has become settled policy since.'<sup>47</sup>

#### **British, German and Polish settlement (re: *Criterion (b)*)**

European settlement in South Australia, and particularly in the Mount Lofty Ranges, was far more culturally varied than elsewhere in Australia until the 1850s goldrushes brought an inrush from around the world to Victoria and New South Wales. This distinctive cultural history is evident in the enduring patterns of farm and town development, social forms and traditions of contemporaneous British, German, Wendish and Polish settlement.

Germans and Poles were the first significant groups of non-British European settlers in Australia, ethnic Germans formed by far the largest group to emigrate to South Australia from the Prussian provinces, but smaller numbers of Poles as well as another Slavic group, the Sorbs or Wends, were included. They lived in the German settlements in the Mount Lofty Ranges and Poles later formed their own Catholic

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<sup>45</sup> S. Marsden, 'Mount Lofty Ranges, Fleurieu Peninsula and Eastern Plain', in J. Walker (ed.), *South Australia's Heritage*, Adelaide, State Heritage Branch, Dept. of Environment and Planning, 1986, p. 106.

<sup>46</sup> A.J. Herraman, *The People of Mount Barker. A Demographic Study of European Settlement on the Eastern Side of the Mount Lofty Ranges, 1830 to 1890*, PhD Thesis, Flinders University, 2010 (and Herraman, summary, email 6 June 2016).

<sup>47</sup> J.B. Hirst, 'Cotton, George Witherage (1821–1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cotton-george-witherage-3269/text4953](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cotton-george-witherage-3269/text4953), (accessed 29 August 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1969).

community of Polish Hill River.<sup>48</sup> The Germans, Poles and Wends established their principal early settlements in the Adelaide Hills, Barossa and Clare Valley districts of the Mount Lofty Ranges. German and Polish immigrants first arrived in 1838 and throughout the 1840s, settling at Mount Barker, Hahndorf, Grunthal (now Verdun), Lobethal ('Valley of Praise'), Blumberg (now Birdwood), Lyndoch and throughout the Barossa Valley. The layouts, houses and working farm buildings in these settlements incorporate features of traditional German towns and buildings, and the towns are oriented to churches and schools as in the villages of origin in Prussia.<sup>49</sup>

The distinctive plans of the small rural settlements formed by German religious refugees in the 1840s reflected typical Prussian *hufendorf* and *strassendorf* spatial layouts. They are evident in Hahndorf, Lobethal, Birdwood (Blumberg), Langmeil (in Tanunda) and Bethany.<sup>50</sup> They were uniquely unlike the 'colonial gridiron' that prevailed in other town layouts throughout Australia.<sup>51</sup>

As well as establishing distinctive settlements exhibiting characteristic layouts and architecture, the German colonists formed a regional culture with its own language, Lutheran faith, customs and cuisine. This was a process of gradual adaption as Prussian cultural traditions blended with British and local influences to produce unique vernacular forms. A dialect of German became 'Barossa Deutsche', Prussian furniture traditions changed into a distinctive Barossa Biedmeier style, early European architectural styles absorbed Australian vernacular forms and elements, and traditional foods took in British and other influences.<sup>52</sup>

The pattern of settlement in the Barossa reflected the ideals and social structure of the early colonial period, with the valley floor settled mainly by congregations of German-speaking settlers (initially, tenants) and their descendants, and the best land for grazing sheep in the hills taken up by rich English pastoralists such as John Howard Angas and their descendants and successors.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Polish Hill River*

Part of the land at Hill River near Clare was selected in a Special Survey in the 1840s and was run as a pastoral station. Hill River Station was later renowned under C.B. Fisher and John Howard Angas as a stud, shearing up to 50,000 sheep, and farming vast acreages of wheat. In the 1850s the southern section was divided and sold to small farmers, Irish, English and Polish. This was the origin of the settlement near Sevenhill now officially known as Polish Hill River.

Polish Hill River was the second overseas Polish settlement in the world, established in 1857 soon after the first, in Texas (1854), and was the only settlement of its kind in Australia. The Polish colonists formed this Polish-speaking settlement that centred on their own church and school, St Stanislaus Kostka (1871), the first Polish Church in Australia, served by the first Polish priest Father Leon Rogalski for about 40 years.<sup>54</sup>

Australia's first Polish priest, the Jesuit Father Leon Rogalski, who arrived in 1870, wrote to his superiors in 1871 about his work in South Australia: starting the Polish mission in Australia, the Polish colonies and religious life. He wrote that most of the Polish settlers arrived in several groups between

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<sup>48</sup> See Susan Marsden and Edward Dudzinski (curators), *The First Wave*, Exhibition, Polish Hill River Church Museum, opened 27 August 2016; L. Paszkowski, 'Poles' in J. Jupp, ed., *The Australian people: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation*, North Ryde, Angus and Robertson, 1988; and A. Maksymowicz, *Prussian Past - Polish Present*, Adelaide, SA Genealogy and Heraldry Society and Friends of Lutheran Archives, Adelaide, 2014

<sup>49</sup> There is a substantial literature on this topic, including G. Young 'Early German settlements in South Australia', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, vol. 3, 1985, pp. 43-55; D.A. Schubert, *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, 1985; I. Harmstorf and M.J. Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press, 1985; and N. Ioannou, *Barossa journeys: into a valley of tradition*, Adelaide, Paringa Press, 1997.

<sup>50</sup> G. Young, et al., *Hahndorf*, Vol. 1, Survey for Australian Heritage Commission, Adelaide, Techsearch, 1981, pp. 31-35 and 64-65; G. Young et al., *Lobethal (Valley of praise): A Report of a Joint Research Project*, Adelaide, South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> R. Freestone, *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage* (based on *Urban and Town Planning Thematic Heritage Study*), Collingwood, CSIRO Publishing, 2010, p. 109, 110.

<sup>52</sup> Ioannou, *Barossa journeys*, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Harmstorf and Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, pp. 14-19

<sup>54</sup> Marsden and Dudzinski, 'First wave' exhibition, Polish Hill River Church Museum, 2016.

1853 and 1858 (the largest group arrived in 1856), mostly from the Prussian Polish diocese of Poznan (Posen). He identified the main Polish settlements in Australia, all of them in South Australia (and most of them at that time within the Mount Lofty Ranges). They were Sevenhill (Siebenhugel), Clare, Penwortham, and Emu Flat 'where Poles, Germans and Irish people lived in harmony', with significant numbers of Poles in Hill River (Polish Hill River) and Farrell's Flat in the Clare Valley, and in Tanunda, Grunberg, Light's Pass and Lyndoch in the Barossa, where most of the settlers, including the Poles, were Lutheran. In another letter he referred to two 'Polish colonies' in South Australia, at Hill River and at Tanunda, where the Poles were 'Germanised' and mostly Protestant, having being 'already infected with Lutheranism at home [in Poznan]' before settling in the Barossa 'twenty years ago'.<sup>55</sup>

As he wrote in 1892,

*The present number of Poles, most of whom came from the Duchy of Poznan, considerably exceeds the number of emigrants of other nationalities, that is the Irish, English and Germans who settled down in the parish of Sevenhill ... In Hillriver, with a population of 300 to 400, Poles have their own little church dedicated to St Stanislaw, with a beautiful missionary cross, a reading room and a Polish-English school ... Four to five times a week I myself teach the catechism, biblical stories, prayers, religious songs as well as reading and writing in Polish in the Hill River school.*<sup>56</sup>

#### **Founding utopian principles - religious freedom (re: *Criterion* (b))**

A key theme of Douglas Pike's classic history *A Paradise of Dissent* is South Australia's role as the first colony in the British Empire to separate church and state.<sup>57</sup> Religious independence was a key concern following the rise of Dissenters in Britain in the 1820s and the passage of the *Reform Act* in 1832. Those promoters of South Australia who were Dissenters such as George Fife Angas, and radical Anglicans, envisaged the colony as fulfilling a distinctive purpose as a place of civil and religious liberty. The British founders made South Australia the first colony to be founded on the voluntary principle that allowed freedom of religious worship, allowing all denominations to be equal.<sup>58</sup>

The colony developed as Australia's 'paradise of dissent', which was made evident in the cultural landscape of the Mount Lofty Ranges. These values were expressed in the religious foundation of several of the region's towns and settlements, in the survival and denominational diversity of many early church buildings and cemeteries, and their central placement; and in unique church precincts and structures that were the first of their kind in Australia.

Freedom of religious worship attracted the first groups of German, Austrian and Polish Lutherans, Jesuits and Catholics to South Australia. Migration for religious reasons is unusual in Australia's cultural history, and the associated features of those religious migrations are strongest in the Mount Lofty Ranges. Escape from religious persecution and freedom to practise their own customs was the main motivation for the 'Old Lutheran' German and Polish immigrants of 1838-1840, the Austrian Catholic Jesuits of 1848, and Polish Catholics of the 1840s and 1850s.

Later migrations of those groups to South Australia and elsewhere in Australia were prompted mainly by economic factors. Two European Christian movements were founded in Australia by religious settlers in the Mount Lofty Ranges - Lutheranism (at Hahndorf and Lobethal) and Jesuit Catholicism (at Sevenhill). The German, Wendish and Polish settlements were focused on religious buildings including churches, church schools and seminaries that included the first of their kind in Australia - the Lutheran seminary at Lobethal, the Jesuit seminary at Sevenhill, and the Polish church and school at Polish Hill River.

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<sup>55</sup> Leon Rogalski, letter 30 January 1871, and letter published at the time of his death in 1906 (held in archives in Krakow), in Maksymowicz, *Prussian past - Polish present*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>56</sup> Leon Rogalski's letter 12 March 1892, in Maksymowicz, *Prussian past - Polish present*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>57</sup> D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*, Melbourne University Press, 1967.

<sup>58</sup> D. Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1986, p. 3.

*The Sevenhill college, or St. Aloysius college, is a fine building ... It is the most renowned educational establishment (out of Adelaide) in the colony. This college is the only Roman Catholic educational establishment in the colony, and has pupils from nearly all the other colonies in Australia. Extensive grounds are attached to the college, and there is a fine large garden and a well-kept and productive vineyard; also play and recreation grounds ... A Roman Catholic church ... St. Aloysius church, is in course of erection, and will be when completed one of the finest and largest out of Adelaide ... Besides the secular education which is imparted without distinction of creeds, the establishment is particularly intended for the training of such young gentlemen as are desirous of qualifying themselves for priesthood in the Roman Catholic church ... It is under the charge of the Rev. J. Polk, S. J., and of the fathers of the society of Jesus.*<sup>59</sup>

Places strongly associated with religious freedom also included Scottish Presbyterian religious infrastructure in Strathalbyn; the Valley of the Chapels between Mount Barker and Kanmantoo and Callington reflecting religious diversity - Methodists, Bible Christians, Unitarians, Roman Catholics; Unitarians at Shady Grove; and Quakers in Mount Barker and Echunga. Some of South Australia's earliest colonial church buildings were built in the region, such as the Lutheran churches at Hahndorf and Lobethal (the oldest Lutheran church in Australia), and the Anglican church at Blakiston, which appears much as depicted by S.T. Gill, *St James' Anglican Church, Blakiston, 1848* (AGSA). Many of the churches formed a major feature of the cultural landscape, in particular the Lutheran churches in the Barossa Valley.

#### **A productive rural landscape (re: Criterion (d))**

The existence of these hills and valleys was considered highly significant to the future European settlement of southern Australia long before the colony was established, and were from the outset of formal settlement crucial to its survival and development. In 1830, from his vantage point on the River Murray during his exploration of the river, Charles Sturt commented favourably on the agricultural potential of the hills to the west.<sup>60</sup>

When Light landed in 1836 at Rapid Bay he considered this a possible site for the capital and was convinced of the country's fertility and suitability for settlement.<sup>61</sup> He wrote on 8 September that they 'came to anchor in ten fathoms, a beautiful little valley in view ... I went on shore, and was enchanted with the appearance of the whole. A fine stream of fresh water ran through the middle of the valley into the sea, and the soil was rich beyond my expectations'. Later in September he visited the site of Yankalilla and wrote, 'walked up the valley; running in a south-easterly direction, between very high hills, I was enchanted with this spot, it put me in mind of some of the orchards in Devonshire, and I found it plentifully supplied with freshwater'.<sup>62</sup>

Light's understanding of the dry Mediterranean climate meant that he was influenced by the need for natural rainfall. He wrote of his preference for the east coast of Gulf St Vincent because 'all the vapours from the prevalent south westerly winds would rest on the [Mount Lofty] mountains here, and that we should, if we locate this side of the gulf, be never in dread of those droughts so often experienced on the eastern coast of Australia'.<sup>63</sup>

Despite its many flaws and failures, the emphasis of systematic colonisation on establishing family farms and a pattern of rural villages was most fully realised in the Mount Lofty Ranges. From the early colonial years an evolving rural landscape included grain crops (wheat and barley), grapes, vegetables, apples, pears, cherries, almonds, olives and strawberries, pasture for dairy and beef cattle and wool and meat-producing sheep, and exotic and native forestry timber plantations.

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<sup>59</sup> R.P. Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, Adelaide, Bailliere, 1866, p. 205.

<sup>60</sup> Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>61</sup> Dutton, *Founder of a city*, pp. 172-174.

<sup>62</sup> Light, in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>63</sup> William Light (1836), quoted in M. Shanahan, D. Jones and S. Hughes, 'A History of Water in the City', in C. Daniels (ed.), *Adelaide: Water of a City*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 2010, p. 158.

The connection between the resource-rich Ranges and the nearby capital and port of a free, commercial colony encouraged and fostered the early development of major primary industries, notably timber-felling, gardening, wheat-growing and related flour-milling, viticulture and winemaking, and mining and smelting. A uniquely close relationship developed between the capital city and its environmentally rich rural hinterland. This early and enduring relationship was manifest in the variety of significant forms of primary production and natural landscapes, an admixture of farms and flourmills, gardens, orchards and coldstores, vineyards and wineries, mines and quarries, country towns, ports and jetties, reservoirs, native and introduced forests, and conservation and recreation areas.

The high rainfall and the attractive Ranges were highly regarded and their resources were exploited by the colonists from the first days of their arrival. Formal records, illustrations and reminiscences abound of hunting parties in the Hills, of timber-getting and shingle-splitting, and the opening of farms, mines and sheep runs. South Australia rapidly became the leading Australian producer of two of Australia's most important primary products, wheat and minerals, both produced mainly in and near the Mount Lofty Ranges.

Many colonists, including governors, searched for good pastoral and agricultural land and routes along the coast and through the Ranges. In 1837, Hutchinson and Strangways crossed the Ranges to Encounter Bay, searching for suitable routes. Cocks and others crossed to the River Bremer and followed it down to Lake Alexandrina. These and other explorations confirmed the favourable impressions of the agricultural potential of the Mount Lofty Ranges. In 1839, John Hill was the first European to explore the mid-north, and found the Clare Valley within the traditional lands of the Ngadjuri people.

'The direction of movement from the Adelaide nucleus was twofold: first there was a thrust southwards into the coastal plains and basins of Noarlunga and Willunga, and secondly a move across to the eastern side of the Mount Lofty Ranges.'<sup>64</sup> (Both areas lie with the Ranges cultural landscape.) The region's topography and other natural features influenced the location of its varied land-uses. Early farms and townships were located near the coast and in the broader valleys where agriculture was possible. Settlement was also focused on the gentler eastern slopes of the Ranges and on transport routes, including landing places along the coast. In contrast, the steep and forested central ranges and their western escarpment and the dense scrub, such as in the Mount Compass district, discouraged closer settlement, in some places until the 1880s and 1890s. Early settlements were established at Mount Barker, Gawler, Pewsey Vale, Yankalilla and Willunga.

The country to the south-east of Adelaide, sloping from the Ranges to the sea at Gulf St Vincent, was a beautiful, well-watered landscape that impressed many early visitors. These were the first areas to be surveyed and settled outside the vicinity of Adelaide, and they were densely populated in agricultural terms by as early as the 1840s.

*The region of McLaren Vale was surveyed by John McLaren in 1838, after initial early explorations to discover a suitable route to Encounter Bay. The first to settle there were the families of William Colton and Charles Hewitt, Devonshire immigrants who established their farms Daringa and Oxenberry, and by the accounts of their success encouraged more people to the district. Within months, they and like-minded settlers were clearing scrub and timber and creating farms modelled on their English experience.<sup>65</sup>*

In an agricultural evolution followed by local variations elsewhere in the Ranges cultural landscape, wheat, barley and sheep grazing were succeeded by wattle bark stripping, almonds, orchards and vineyards, and then back to grazing and cereal-growing (barley), together with the associated farmhouses, mills, tanneries and wineries. From the 1850s the region developed as one of the state's major wine areas, followed (later) by the Barossa.

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<sup>64</sup> Williams, *The making of the South Australian landscape*, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> City of Onkaparinga, *McLaren Vale: European History and Heritage*, [website], [onkaparingacity.com/onka/discover/history\\_heritage/history\\_of\\_onkaparinga/suburb\\_profiles/history\\_profile\\_mclaren\\_vale.jsp](http://onkaparingacity.com/onka/discover/history_heritage/history_of_onkaparinga/suburb_profiles/history_profile_mclaren_vale.jsp), (accessed August 2016).

The region's pre-eminence in supplying wheat and flour, and later rural produce, to the other Australian colonies was greatly helped by its proximity to shipping. Produce was hauled by road to Adelaide or shipped from points such as Port Noarlunga and Aldinga. Willunga had the advantage of the nearby port facilities to ship slate to Melbourne and other growing cities, as well wheat and flour and later, wine and almonds. Willunga became one of the world's largest almond growing districts.<sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile, in the Ranges, settlement of the Mount Barker area began in 1837, attracted by the 'European' parklike landscape. Charles Sturt noted that: 'In many places ... the trees are so sparingly, and I had almost said judiciously, distributed as to resemble the park lands attached to a gentleman's residence in England, and it only wants the edifice to complete the comparison'.<sup>67</sup> Hahndorf was established on the Mount Barker Special Survey, and in 1840 the *Adelaide Chronicle* reported, that it was 'becoming a very respectable looking village', with 54 resident families cultivating gardens, plots of wheat and owning milk cows.<sup>68</sup> '[W]omen and girls carrying baskets of vegetables and dairy products on their backs or on yokes' walked the rough track to hawk their produce in Adelaide, 35 kilometres away. The surveyor F.R. Nixon produced a map in 1841 showing the women's track from Hahndorf to Adelaide, and this was used by the National Trust to establish the 'Pioneer Women's Trail' in 1980, which remains a very popular walking track between Adelaide and the Hills.<sup>69</sup>

Much effort was spent in the early years felling trees and opening up the forests in the eastern Ranges for grazing and cropping. The Crafers area was known as 'Stringy Bark Forest', the wood from which was used in housing and fencing. The steep slopes of this area were named the Tiers, and the timber getters (and sometime cattle thieves) were known as the Tiersmen. The first Hills hotel was the Sawyers' Arms (now Crafers Inn) licensed in 1839, on the steep bullock track used mainly by the Tiersmen, and soon gained a notorious reputation. Governor Gawler made 'an ill-advised attempt to quell the Tiersmen' in the first survey of 1838 but, as the area was considered of little use than for timber, large tracts of the Tiers were not mapped until the late 1840s and early 1850s.

Land survey and sales brought permanent settlement - as had been intended by systematic colonisation - and the Tiersmen who stayed were joined by more sedate settlers, 'given to long hours at the cultivation of small tracts of soil', and by capitalists who built sawmills, flour mills and mining infrastructure. Roads, towns, hotels, churches and schools soon followed.<sup>70</sup>

#### *A dense pattern of country towns*

Most of the villages and towns built in the Mount Lofty Ranges were private ventures in keeping with Wakefieldian principles and the commercial aims of the early settlers. Apart from Adelaide, all towns in South Australia were formed privately until 1846 when the government began surveying country towns. However, towns could not be developed on unsurveyed land. Consequently, many were laid out in the Special Surveys, and formal plans for towns such as Angaston were registered with the government. Some 45 new towns were surveyed outside the Adelaide region between 1836 and 1849.<sup>71</sup> The majority were in the Ranges and nearby districts. They included Hahndorf, Mount Barker, Balhannah, Willunga and Strathalbyn (all formed in 1839), Oakbank (1840), Macclesfield (1841), Yankalilla, Lobethal and Bethany (all in 1842), Langmeil/Tanunda (1843), Clarendon (1846), Blumberg (Birdwood) (1848), and Littlehampton and Echunga (both in 1849).

The southern districts remained essentially rural, with small service towns, until the 1960s when suburban subdivision along the coast began following the establishment of an oil refinery. The townships of Morphett Vale, Noarlunga, Aldinga (originally Dowingsville), Bellevue and McLaren Vale (originally Gloucester) were all established by the 1840s with their complement of public and commercial buildings, the most prominent of them the early flour mills. 'A flour mill became more

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<sup>66</sup> Fleurieu Food, *Place*, [website], [www.fleurieufood.com.au/place/](http://www.fleurieufood.com.au/place/), (accessed September 2016).

<sup>67</sup> Sturt, in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>68</sup> *Adelaide Chronicle*, 26 August 1840, quoted in M. Dunstan, *Willunga: Town and District 1837-1900*, Adelaide, Lynton Publications, 1977, p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> Government of South Australia, *Pioneer Women's Trail*, (brochure), Adelaide, 2007.

<sup>70</sup> R. Martin, *Under Mount Lofty: A History of the Stirling District in South Australia*, District Council of Stirling, 1987, p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> R. Cheesman, *Patterns in Perpetuity: New Towns, Adelaide, South Australia: A Study of Adaptive Planning Process*, Adelaide, Thornton House, 1986, p. 120.

than just a building. It was a symbol of permanence, a bricks and mortar expression of faith in the future of a district.<sup>72</sup>

Mount Torrens (SHA) (1852), which retains the built character of its heyday as a rural centre in the 1850s and 1860s, was typical of those early townships, serving a local copper mine and the traffic between the mine and the River Murray, wheat-growing (with a flour mill), wattle-bark stripping, and dairying. Sites such as hotels and showgrounds mark long-established town functions as rural centres; for example, at Mount Barker – a town largely transformed by recent suburban development – where the first agricultural show was held in 1847.<sup>73</sup> Nearly 100 hotels were licensed in the Ranges between 1839 and 1938, and of 158 South Australian hotels that still trade and which were licensed before 1855, 25 of them are in the Adelaide Hills.<sup>74</sup>

The density of town development in the Ranges cultural landscape is demonstrated by their number and longevity: there are today more than 125 towns in the Mount Lofty Ranges, and many of them date from the colonial period.<sup>75</sup>

#### *Grain production and pastoralism*

Sheep pasturing and wheat-growing were the principal rural pursuits in the early colonial period in the region. 'Overlanders' drove sheep and cattle from New South Wales in 1838-39 for the Adelaide market and for pastoral investors, depasturing them in the well-watered Ranges. Some of the overlanders took up land in the Ranges along their stock route. One of them was Charles Sturt's brother Evelyn Pitfield Shirley Sturt, who resigned his post as a commissioner of Crown lands in New South Wales in 1839 to overland sheep and cattle to Adelaide. He then occupied country to graze stock at Willunga in the Mount Lofty Ranges before moving to Mount Gambier and then Melbourne.<sup>76</sup>

The grassy 'park-like' nature of much of the region was a great inducement to squatters, purchasers of Special Surveys and pastoral lease-holders to pasture stock there. Enormous pastoral runs centred on substantial homestead complexes were established in the northern part of the Mount Lofty Ranges, such as the Dutton property 'Anlaby' near Kapunda and Hill River Station.

Settlement of the Mount Lofty Ranges contributed to the early establishment of South Australia as the nation's breadbasket, soon overtaking Tasmania (then Van Diemen's Land). By 1843 the wheat crop – most of it grown on the Adelaide Plains and in the Ranges and on the Fleurieu Peninsula – was beginning to exceed the capacity of the free colonial labour force to harvest it. In response, two men are noted for inventing and manufacturing a harvesting machine, widely known as the Ridley stripper. One of them was John Wrathall Bull, a wheat farmer in the Mount Lofty Ranges.

Bull, who arrived in South Australia 1838, settled with his family on a wheat property near Mount Barker. His farming experience provided the inspiration for inventing a mechanical reaper. The harvesting machine was exhibited with others in 1843. Bull claimed that John Ridley appropriated the credit for an invention that has been widely acknowledged for its role in promoting the wheat economy of South Australia.<sup>77</sup> Bull's biographer concludes that 'It would appear to be undoubted that Ridley

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<sup>72</sup> D. Towler, *A Fortunate Locality: a History of Noarlunga and District*, Peacock Publications, 1986, p. 83.

<sup>73</sup> *Our Hills History – Mount Barker* (1951) [website], [localwiki.org/adelaide-hills/Our\\_Hills\\_History\\_-\\_Mount\\_Barker](http://localwiki.org/adelaide-hills/Our_Hills_History_-_Mount_Barker), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>74</sup> P. Sumerling, 'Hotels in the Adelaide Hills: Patterns of Development', 2006 public lecture; and R. Martin, 'Arthur Hardy of Mount Lofty House', [www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/arthur-hardy-of-mount-lofty-house-2.doc](http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/arthur-hardy-of-mount-lofty-house-2.doc), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>75</sup> Numbers and origins compiled from many local histories, maps, local history websites and Wikipedia, including *List of towns in the Adelaide Hills*, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_towns\\_in\\_the\\_Adelaide\\_Hills](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_towns_in_the_Adelaide_Hills), (accessed January 2017).

<sup>76</sup> A. Gross, 'Sturt, Evelyn Pitfield Shirley (1816–1885)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sturt-evelyn-pitfield-shirley-4663/text7709](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sturt-evelyn-pitfield-shirley-4663/text7709), (accessed 22 July 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1976).

<sup>77</sup> J.W. Bull, *Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia*, Adelaide, printed at the Advertiser, Chronicle and Express Offices, 1878.

built the first machine [manufactured and widely sold] and that Bull originated the stripping principle which was the operative factor in its success'.<sup>78</sup>

By the 1850s areas such as the Fleurieu Peninsula seemed to have 'limitless possibilities' with high stock density, productive crops and developing towns. The 'elements of governmental order were in place' with public buildings and infrastructure, including roads and jetties, and settlers were rebuilding the temporary dwellings of their first years in stone and brick as an expression of their prosperity.

*Amidst all these signs of success, those first directors of the South Australian Company, and the theorists who fashioned South Australian colonisation, might well have felt that their visions of ... cleared, ploughed and planted land, and villages and towns had been more than fulfilled.*<sup>79</sup>

The 1850s goldrush in eastern Australia increased the demand for South Australian meat and wheat, and farmers in the Mount Lofty Ranges region prospered. By 1856 (when the colony was granted self-government) South Australia had entered a period of agricultural expansion that continued for more than 20 years. The province was already Australia's principal producer of wheat, most of it grown by small farmers working their own freehold blocks.

Mechanical strippers worked best on flat land, and after the soils in the Ranges became exhausted, cereal growing was moved to the plains, including the area between Strathalbyn and Milang. The abandonment of the early German Lutheran village of Salem in that district is evidence of the changing nature of farming in the region, due as well to 'the pressure of large farm economics', from small-scale wheat farming by numerous families to broad-scale agriculture.<sup>80</sup> The many small farmhouses and farm ruins throughout the region attest to the great wheat drive from the 1860s out of the older settled districts to the new agricultural frontiers of South Australia.

In the northern part of the region, the *Northern Argus* reported in 1893,

*Some years ago the country known as the head of Hill River ... was chiefly occupied by Polish farmers. These men did herculean work, clearing their holdings of much of the heavy timber, and utilising the land by cereal culture. Owing to the uneven nature of the country it was not well adapted for profitable wheat growing, and one after another sold out and went to fresh fields.*

Agriculture in the Range cultural landscape followed three main phases, starting with the early colonial period when a great variety of rural activities was established, including mining and timber-getting, with wool and wheat predominating as export industries. The second main phase was a period of expansion and diversification, creating a nationally renowned agricultural region by the 1960s. The productivity of pasture and cereal crops was boosted in the national 'sub and super' boom in the 1950s based on the use of 'sub', the subterranean clover discovered and developed by Howard near Mount Barker, and superphosphate. Mixed farming predominated, with sheep, cattle, poultry, and horses, wheat, brewing barley, almonds, orchards and forests and market gardens. The early vineyards grew to form the basis of a thriving wine industry. Large-scale planting in the 1890s also included forestry at Kuitpo.

'A tapestry of cultivation spread over the hills, plains and valleys.' Around Willunga was 'the largest almond growing district south of the equator, producing big exports, supplying fresh food to metropolitan Adelaide, and drawing visitors to admire late winter's almond blossoms. From the 1960s and 1970s agriculture entered a third phase. Vineyards expanded in the Adelaide Hills and Eden Valley, while the area of crops and orchards fell, especially in the south as housing estates replaced farms.

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<sup>78</sup> H.J. Finnis, 'Bull, John Wrathall (1804–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bull-john-wrathall-1845/text2135](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bull-john-wrathall-1845/text2135), (accessed 22 July 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1966); H. J. Finnis, 'Ridley, John (1806–1887)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ridley-john-2590/text3553](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ridley-john-2590/text3553), (accessed 22 July 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1967).

<sup>79</sup> J.C. Dallwitz, *Heritage Survey of the Fleurieu Peninsula*, Adelaide, South Australian Dept. of Environment and Planning, 1988, np [p. 28].

<sup>80</sup> Dallwitz, *Heritage Survey of the Fleurieu Peninsula*, np [p 19, see footnote 31].

However, production became more varied with plant nurseries, olive trees and vines, 'reflecting the growing popularity of boutique regional and organic foods. Today, viticulture, horticulture, forestry, cropping and grazing contribute to large-scale primary production and overseas exports. A growing confidence in the quality of local produce has seen the rise of farmers' markets and festivals which celebrate the diverse range of fine local foods'.<sup>81</sup>

### *Mixed farming*

In keeping with Wakefield principles, successive British colonial and South Australian governments made efforts throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to foster family farm production and to break up the pastoral estates into small farms, and the mixed-farm (crops and stock) production that had characterised most farms since first settlement came to predominate in the region.

From the 1860s and 1870s farms in the Ranges and foothills turned increasingly to raising sheep and cattle for wool, meat and dairy products, orchards, vines and market gardens. Adaptation and innovation also influenced the evolving land-use patterns of the region. The advent of refrigeration in 1879 allowed meat to be exported to England. Subterranean clover was discovered near Mount Barker in 1889 and its widespread sowing together with the use of superphosphate restored productive pastures. Following World War Two, the discovery and rectification of trace element deficiencies in the soil of the upland lateritic plateau south of the Inman Valley led to widespread clearance of the native vegetation and the establishment of new pastures.

Farming and the marketing of produce have been encouraged by the development of new forms of organic farming (well represented in the region) and farmers' markets. Residents in Adelaide, the Barossa, Mount Barker and McLaren Vale played an influential role in developing the national farmers market movement (particularly based on the Willunga model of a community membership base) which helped connect city residents with nearby food sources. This in turn is shaping the cultural landscape and encouraging a new generation of farmers to grow innovative and diverse produce.

Roads were slow to develop and were hazardous. The colony's first highway, the Great Eastern Road, was completed in 1845, rose steeply through Glen Osmond, and was 'complete with toll-house and a string of hotels at frequent intervals along its tortuous route'.<sup>82</sup> Port Elliot was linked to Adelaide in 1847 and Victor Harbor via the Inman Valley and Yankalilla in 1853 and later, in 1860, to Adelaide via Bull Creek and Blackwood. At first the journey to Victor Harbor took three days by bullock dray, but Cobb & Co coaches shortened this to less than eight hours in 1867. The first railways were constructed in the 1850s, enabling produce to be taken quickly to markets.

### *Mines*

*The last of the Australian colonies to be settled, South Australia produced the first metal mine. This riddle can be easily explained. Metal deposits were close to the main port of Adelaide and so were soon seen and easily developed. Amongst the settlers of that paradise of civil and religious freedom were miners from Cornwall, then the world's centre of metal mining, who knew minerals and how to work them. Above all, the new colony in 1841 was depressed ... Therefore [there was a] strong incentive to mine the silver-lead which had previously been ignored.*<sup>83</sup>

The first metals mined in Australia were silver and lead at Glen Osmond in the Mount Lofty Ranges in 1841, described in Blainey's *The rush that never ended*, as the 'cradle of metal mining'.<sup>84</sup> This mine was followed soon after in the 1840s by copper, not only at the major mines of Burra and Kapunda, both near the Mount Lofty Ranges, but also at mines within them, notably copper, and silver and lead mined at Kanmantoo and Callington documented in the Mount Barker Special Mineral Survey of 1845.<sup>85</sup> An incentive to investors searching for minerals and developing mines was the fact that, under the

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<sup>81</sup> S. Marsden, in G. Trott, S. Marsden and L. Campbell, *McLaren Vale: Trott's View*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>82</sup> S. Marsden, in J. Walker (ed.), *South Australia's Heritage*, 1986, p. 106.

<sup>83</sup> G. Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1993, p. 106.

<sup>84</sup> Blainey, p. 107.

<sup>85</sup> J.K. Chilman, *Silver and a Trace of Gold: A History of the Aclare Mine*, Adelaide, Department of Mines and Energy, 1982, pp. 2-9.

titles system then in use, purchase of land entitled rights to all the minerals under the land. Special Surveys enabled such purchases beyond the limits of other surveys, and so several early mines were opened on them, including a Special Survey aimed at minerals purchased by the South Australian Company which established the Aclare Mine in the Kanmantoo district.<sup>86</sup>

The decade of mining fervour in South Australia during the 1840s is widely acknowledged as Australia's first minerals boom. 'The young colony was quick to start exporting agricultural products but by 1850 exports of copper and lead from South Australia earned more than Australia's exports of wool and wheat.'<sup>87</sup>

Several quarrying and mining sites are some of the oldest in continuous use in Australia. The Hills Face stone quarries and slate quarries at Willunga and Mintaro have been in use since the 1840s. There are also relict mining landscapes, including silver and lead, copper and gold mining, reflecting the characteristics of periods of mining, and mining methods, dating from the 1840s, the earliest era of metals mining in Australia, through the nineteenth century.

The long use of stone and slate from these and other quarries brought not only economic prosperity locally and to the colony, but was a major element in the region's distinctive built environment. A wide variety of buildings was constructed of local limestone, sandstone, talcstone, 'bluestone' (schist) slate, ironstone, marble and granite, as well as locally made bricks. Slate was used uniquely in many structures at the slate mining towns of Willunga and Mintaro, and for similar purposes elsewhere, including as headstones in the region's many cemeteries.

*Slate has given Mintaro a unique and charming appearance as this stone has been used in every possible way. It was used for fencing, paving, roof tiles, floors, hearths, tables, work benches, sills, kerbs, steps, tombstones, blackboards, slates, troughs, vats, pavements, fermenting tanks, cricket pitches, posts and pillars. Even sidewalks in Adelaide and Melbourne were made from slate.*<sup>88</sup>

#### *Horticulture and viticulture*

A wide variety of fruit and vegetable crops were grown, but wine grapes, apples, pears and cherries were of major importance. The significant primary industries of viticulture, winemaking and horticulture date from Australia's early colonial period. The Ranges (including the Barossa Valley) were developed for viticulture and horticulture from the time the first surveys and subdivisions were made available (1838-40). Large-scale, commercial production was well developed by the 1860s. Many plantings were subsistence in nature, that is, to provide food for the family or local townships. Evidence survives of those early plantings, including old vines and shelter trees.

The productivity of the region was recognised by the early settlers and its potential to create income for South Australia was used to advantage. South Australia's earliest record of vine planting was in 1836 by John Barton Hack in North Adelaide, who pulled up and replanted the vines in 1840 in a new vineyard at Echunga Springs near Mount Barker. Hack sent a case of wine to Queen Victoria in 1843. Other hills vineyards followed, and between 1840 and 1900 a total of 225 grape growers practised viticulture and winemaking in the central Mount Lofty Ranges.

The history of viticulture and winemaking in the Barossa dates from 1840, and the Barossa is now widely acknowledged as one of the leading wine regions nationally and internationally. Viticulture and winemaking in the Clare Valley was introduced by Jesuit priests who brought vine cuttings from the Rhine Valley to South Australia in 1848, planting them and establishing a winery at their religious settlement of Sevenhill in 1851.

German settlers were crucial to the creation of the wine industry, as advisors, scientists, growers and winery workers. August Fiedler planted a vineyard to 72 varieties to see which would perform best in this new area. Apart from some notable exceptions, such as the Seppelts, Germans did not control the

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<sup>86</sup> Chilman, pp. 2-7, and passim.

<sup>87</sup> Australasian Mining History Association, *Mining History*, [website], [www.mininghistory.asn.au/mining-history/](http://www.mininghistory.asn.au/mining-history/), (accessed July 2016).

<sup>88</sup> Dallwitz, *Heritage Survey of the Fleurieu Peninsula*; Flinders Ranges Research, *Mintaro*, [website], [www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/mintaro.htm](http://www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/mintaro.htm), (accessed July 2016).

great commercial wineries as they lacked the money. The Germans grew the grapes and supplied much of the technical expertise. The money for building the wineries came from well-to-do English settlers.

German families did establish smaller wineries that went on to have international significance, such as Hoffmann's (now Peter Lehmann wines) and Henschke. Another early German settler was Carl August Sobels who had extensive winemaking experience in France and Germany. He became an important figure in the wine industry as he made wine for the larger growers and promoted the importance of 'beverage wines' rather than fortified styles. Whilst the export trade to Great Britain (and elsewhere) mainly required fortified wines, since the 1960s 'beverage wines' have given the region's winemakers their international reputation.

The establishment of a course in viticulture and oenology at Roseworthy Agricultural College in 1892 gave the region's winemakers a respected name in the international wine market. This pre-eminence in winemaking continued to grow after the Diploma in Oenology course was introduced in 1936. By 1901, South Australia was the largest producer of wine grapes and wine in Australia, and the Barossa was the most significant viticultural region in the state. Two of the nation's largest and most highly innovative wine companies are located in the region: B. Seppelt & Sons Ltd in the Barossa and Thomas Hardy & Sons Ltd at McLaren Vale. These companies are leaders in developing winemaking procedures and their success is, in part, due to the winemakers they brought to Australia from France and Germany.

Many properties in the central Ranges reverted to mixed farming and horticulture when British markets failed. In the 1970s a new group in the wine industry, including Brian Croser and Michael Hill Smith, led a revival, recognising the cool climate characteristics of the region.

Men such as Samuel Davenport and John Morphett, who had experience of agriculture in the Mediterranean, oversaw the development of the fruit-growing industries. The region began to export fresh fruit apples and pears from the 1890s. The fruit industry was given a boost in 1934 when the first co-operative coldstores were developed at Lenswood. The cherry industry took a lead in developing new cherry varieties suited to Australian conditions. This began with the breeding trials by W.J. Bishop in the 1930s. This scientific or investigative approach to primary production was also reflected in the establishment of experimental orchards at Mylor, Blackwood and Lenswood.

### *Industry*

Agricultural processing industries and rural-based manufacturing industries were established in the Mount Lofty Ranges and along the coast as soon as the land was made available. They reflected the early date and extent of pastoral and agricultural production, combined with proximity both to the Adelaide market and to shipping serving intercolonial and overseas markets. Produce and processed products were carted to Port Adelaide, and later to jetties and landing sites built for the purpose in the 1850s along the coast. Many substantial flour mill buildings attest to the productivity of the region's early wheat growing phase. They included windmills and watermills.

One of Colonel Light's surveyors, F.R. Nixon, built a stone windmill on a rise near Mount Barker in 1843. This was the first substantial flour mill in South Australia. (It ceased milling in 1864 when the grinding stones were taken to Wittwer's Mill in Hahndorf.<sup>89</sup> The 1860 Bridgewater Mill featured two sources of power: a water wheel and a steam engine. These complexes were turned to other industrial uses once wheat farming declined - in particular, grinding locally harvested wattle bark for the tanning industry, such as Wittwer's Mill at Hahndorf (now a restaurant).<sup>90</sup>

One of the largest of the rural-based manufacturing industries was the Onkaparinga Woollen Mill at Lobethal. Wineries were some of the largest and best-known industrial complexes in the region. Seppeltsfield was described in 1903 as the 'show place of the State', unequalled in Australia and unsurpassed anywhere in the world.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Australian Heritage Database: *Place Details: Nixons Mill, Mount Barker Rd, Totness, Mount Barker, SA, Australia*, [website], [dmzapp17p.ris.environment.gov.au/ahpi/action/search/heritage-search/record/RNE7539](http://dmzapp17p.ris.environment.gov.au/ahpi/action/search/heritage-search/record/RNE7539), (accessed July 2016).

<sup>90</sup> L. Wade and A.L. Fox, *Hahndorf Sketchbook*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1976, p 11.

<sup>91</sup> E. Whittington, *The South Australian Vintage 1903*, W. K. Thomas & Company.

### *Water supply*

The Mount Lofty Ranges has a significantly higher rainfall and cooler temperatures than the surrounding plains to the east and west. Locating a reliable supply of water was Light's main criterion for siting the colony's capital, and so he selected a coastal site near the Ranges fed by the river named the Torrens. The main river systems of the Adelaide region: the Gawler, Little Para, Torrens and Onkaparinga Rivers, and many creeks, rise in the Ranges and cross the Adelaide Plains. Light suggested that the proper management of these natural water courses with dams would ensure a good supply for the Adelaide Plains. From the foundation of the city, the Torrens was Adelaide's principal source of water. Major reservoirs constructed in the cultural landscape include the Mount Bold Reservoir in the 1930s and the Kangaroo Creek Reservoir in the 1960s.

### **A place esteemed for its aesthetic value (re *Criterion (e)*)**

*As early as 1836, Colonel William Light, Surveyor-General ... referred to these ranges as "those enchanted hills" and during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the residents of the Adelaide plains sought refuge from the summer heat in the cool valleys. The earliest reserves and National Pleasure Resorts were located on the western face of the ranges.*<sup>92</sup>

These hills and valleys are valued for their economic and aesthetic attributes: their natural environment, for recreation and as an escape from summer's heat on the plains. The Mount Lofty Ranges are easily reached from the Adelaide Plains and the landscape plays an important symbolic and practical role in the lives of Indigenous and European people both living in the Ranges and in Adelaide.

The Indigenous and settlement cultures of the Ranges were enriched by the celebration of the landscape in traditional dreaming cycles, and through artistic representations. The prominence of the Ranges, their cool and wet climate compared to the adjoining dry plains, their proximity to South Australia's capital, and the publicity attending this colonial experiment meant that the region was and is one of the most highly regarded and most frequently depicted places in Australian history.

The beauty and diversity of the pre-colonial landscape inspired artists from the earliest period of exploration and settlement of southern Australia.<sup>93</sup> They included the early colonial artists Colonel William Light, J.M. Skipper, S.T. Gill, George French Angas, Martha Berkeley, John Crossland, H.J. Johnstone, Eugene von Guerard and J.M. Skipper.<sup>94</sup>

A variety of sources, including written accounts dating from before 1836, other literature, artworks and photographs attest to the attractions of the Mount Lofty Ranges landscape. Detailed (and commonly admiring) travellers' descriptions of the Mount Lofty Ranges cultural landscape abound, dating from 1802 when the region was recorded and its features named by maritime explorers, Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin. Detailed descriptions were published by many later authors including Angas (1847), 'Old Colonist' (1850-51) and Hallack (1892).<sup>95</sup> Angas gave descriptions in *Savage*

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<sup>92</sup> P.A. Smith and F.D. Pate, 'The Adelaide Hills Face Zone, 1836-1936: a Significant Cultural Landscape', in P.A. Smith, F.D. Pate, R. Martin (eds), *Valleys of Stone: The Archaeology and History of Adelaide's Hill Face*, Belair, Kopi Books, 2006, p 1. [PDF of Preface and contents at: [www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology\\_files/research/HFZCHP/PDF/VoS\\_Prelims.pdf](http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology_files/research/HFZCHP/PDF/VoS_Prelims.pdf)].

<sup>93</sup> See J. Hylton, (ed.), *South Australia Illustrated: Colonial Painting in the Land of Promise*, Adelaide, Art Gallery of South Australia, 2012. This emphasises how South Australia's distinctive colonisation history made an important contribution to Australia's artistic heritage, particularly in the pre-goldrush period. The book includes many paintings of Mount Lofty Ranges landscapes, people, flora and fauna, and social interactions by artists including Angas, Gill, Ashton, von Guerard, Light, White, Heysen, Reynolds, Gouldsmith, Johnstone, Turner and Schramm.

<sup>94</sup> All of those artists have entries in the ADB. Gill's significance in Australian art history is also made evident in a myriad of reproductions of his artworks, many books, and in the 2016 major exhibition of more than 200 of his works at the National Library of Australia, titled *Australian Sketchbook: The art of S.T. Gill* (see [www.nla.gov.au/exhibitions/australian-sketchbook](http://www.nla.gov.au/exhibitions/australian-sketchbook)) (accessed January 2017).

<sup>95</sup> Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*; ; 'Old Colonist', Sketches, published in *South Australian Register*, 1851, published as a book and the sites re-visited in E.M. Yelland, (ed.), *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia 1850-51*, Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1970; E.H. Hallack, *Our Townships, Farms, and Homesteads: Southern Districts of South Australia: Comprising a Series of 25 Articles Written for the S.A. Register*

*Life and Scenes* of many parts of the region, and the 'stupendous and magnificent scene' viewed from the summit of Mount Lofty. He wrote that the 'Mount Barker district is rich and beautiful'; south of Noarlunga, he found 'the scenery in every direction is peculiarly charming. Morphett Vale, the Willunga hills, and the plain of Aldinga, with Mount Terrible beyond, present scenes of unequalled beauty'. In the Barossa (where his own family held much of the land) more open land afforded 'splendid runs' for hundreds of thousands of sheep ... The country around Lynedock Valley and the Barossa range ... consists of well-watered valleys and gently swelling hills, covered with good grass'.<sup>96</sup>

Hallack's tour of the Hills gives a detailed account of the landscape near the end of the colonial period, taking in its history and recent changes it vividly conveys its beauty, utility and variety. For example, his description of the environs of Mount Barker:

*The drives which can be taken from the township are various and beautiful ... After passing ... along an old district road ... Opposite are the splendid flats contiguous to the Mount Barker Creek. On these are situated the old homestead of the late Mr. Friend Cleggett, with its accompanying orchard, and ... the old stockyards ... Then the place where some of the world-famed wheat was grown on Bald Hills by Mr. Bell is seen, and above it is a healthy looking wattle plantation ... and further on the marble flux quarries ... On the road opposite a pool supplied by one of the "springs" is used as a watering-place for travellers' horses, and on towards the Mount ... is seen the old homestead of another of the district's former "wheat kings" ... Close by is a State school, and what may be called emblems of the prosperity of the past in the shape of two old ruined Chapels [Mount Barker Springs Primitive Methodist Chapel and School] ... Upwards on the slopes of the Mount [are] ... used for grazing purposes. Higher still is Judge Boucaut's, situated on the south east fall of the Mount, containing splendid soil, with small plantations of fruit and forest-trees, vines, &c.*<sup>97</sup>

In 1897 the American writer Mark Twain recorded on his tour of Australia:

*Approaching Adelaide we dismounted from the train ... and were driven in an open carriage over the hills and along their slopes to the city. It was an excursion of an hour or two, and the charm of it could not be overstated, I think. The road wound around gaps and gorges, and offered all varieties of scenery and prospect - mountains, crags, country homes, gardens, forests - color, color everywhere, and the air fine and fresh, the skies blue, and not a shred of cloud to mar the downpour of the brilliant sunshine. And finally the mountain gateway opened, and the immense plain lay spread out below and stretching away into dim distances on every hand, soft and delicate and dainty and beautiful. On its near edge reposed the city.*<sup>98</sup>

In the early colonial period perhaps the most common depiction of the emerging city of Adelaide included the backdrop of the Tiers by artists such as Light, Frome and Berkeley.<sup>99</sup>

The early colonial artworks also functioned as a necessary part of systematic colonisation as advertisements for the new province. These images held out a promise of a prosperous rural life for British emigrants in an Arcadian setting both exotic and familiar, combining Indigenous Australians and native trees, green hills and farms. G.F. Angas made that connection overt in publishing his illustrated *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (1847). S.T. Gill was commissioned to sketch and paint many of the developing pastoral, agricultural scenes and townscapes; for example, by the Angas family, as recorded by John Howard Angas in his diary in 1844.<sup>100</sup> Later, Sir Hans Heysen, in depicting

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*and Adelaide Observer*, Adelaide, 1892; and E.H. Hallack, *Toilers of the Hills*, introduced and edited by G.C. Bishop, Norton Summit, District Council of East Torrens, 1987.

<sup>96</sup> Angas, quoted in Lothian, *Mt Lofty Ranges Landscape Quality Assessment Project*.

<sup>97</sup> Hallack, *Our Townships, Farms and Homesteads*.

<sup>98</sup> M. Twain, *The Wayward Tourist: Mark Twain's Adventures in Australia*, Extracts from Twain's *Following the Equator* (1897), Melbourne, Melbourne University Publishing, 2006, p. 78.

<sup>99</sup> See Smith, Pate and Martin, (eds), *Valleys of stone*, p. 1: Martha Berkeley, *North Terrace, View Taken Looking East*, 1839, watercolour (AGSA).

<sup>100</sup> SLSA, PRG 175 *Angas Family papers*, 1/39: 'Diary of John Howard Angas 1843-63', entries for 29, 30 October and 1 November 1844. Gill's Angaston and Tanunda Creek are two of several paintings that were the result. Gill's

the natural and cultural environment of the Mount Lofty Ranges, 'forged a distinctive and highly influential vision of the Australian landscape'.<sup>101</sup>

#### *Gardens and designed landscapes*

The nineteenth-century interest in gardening was reflected in many Hills gardens, drawing on the reach of the British Empire and a well-established network of exchange between collectors, scientists, nurseries and botanic gardens. Many notable gardens were established at pastoral homesteads such as 'Anlaby' (SHR) and 'Lindsay Park', as domestic gardens, as extensive ornamental and scientific gardens embellishing 'summer' homes and hills properties.<sup>102</sup>

Significant collections of trees and shrubs from around the world were assembled in gardens at places such as Stirling, Upper Sturt, Aldgate and Norton Summit. These 'Hills gardens' were able to grow plants such as camelias, azaleas and hydrangeas in profusion because of compatible soil and rainfall. This clustering of gardens exemplifies the advent of Adelaide Hills summer houses for the newly wealthy. 'Forest Lodge' (State Heritage Register) at Aldgate, for example, is described as 'an extensive Victorian era property comprising a "hill station" residence and intricate parterred garden within a pinetum ... the largest conifer collection in South Australia, and one of the largest and most mature in Australia.'<sup>103</sup>

#### *Conservation and recreation*

This is one of Australia's long-established holiday and touring destinations. The whole region, lying close to Adelaide, with its scenic natural and cultural attractions, drew prominent figures such as the governors and their families, and wealthy visitors to summer homes at the top of the Ranges and along the coast. The Hills, the Barossa and the south coast had become a popular tourist destination by the 1890s, and the number of visitors grew from the 1920s as motor cars began to shorten travelling times.

Until well within living memory, the main highway through the Ranges was converted once a year into a one-way route for thousands of drivers travelling to or from Adelaide at Easter for the Great Eastern Steeplechase at the Oakbank horse races. Section 4017 at Oakbank has been used continuously as a racecourse since around 1867, and the Oakbank Racing Club was formed in 1875.<sup>104</sup> The Oakbank Easter Racing Carnival is now in its 140<sup>th</sup> year.

The popularity of the Ranges and coast fed early efforts to preserve the natural features of the region. Successive generations of South Australians acted to protect the natural and cultivated landscapes. Belair National Park, or 'National Park', (State Heritage Area) was established in 1891 as South Australia's first national park, the second in Australia after Royal National Park NSW (1879), and the world's 10<sup>th</sup> oldest national park. It was created on land set aside in the 1840s as the Government Farm and became the first summer residence of the South Australian Governor, built in 1859.<sup>105</sup>

Many other conservation parks were established in the Ranges and now total over 6,000 hectares, including Morialta, Cleland, Para Wirra and Deep Creek. In the 1980s large parks established by the State Planning Authority as identified in the 1962 Metropolitan Adelaide Development Plan were added.

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painting of Angaston was reproduced without attribution by J. H. Angas' brother George Fife Angas as *Angaston, evening* in Hylton, *South Australia Illustrated*.

<sup>101</sup> National Gallery of Victoria, caption for Heysen's *Midsummer morning*, Luminous: Australian Watercolours 1900-2000 exhibition, Melbourne, June 2016.

<sup>102</sup> R.O. Beames and J.A.E. Whitehill, *Some Historic Gardens in South Australia*, National Trust of South Australia, 1981, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> D. Jones, 'Forest Lodge Heritage Survey', 2008 (Report assessed by Register Committee for SA Heritage Council); D. Jones, 'Conifer charisma', *Australian Garden History [AGH]*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2006, pp. 8-13.

<sup>104</sup> G. Young (ed.), *Onkaparinga Heritage: Historical Studies of the Onkaparinga District Council*, South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, pp. 238-239.

<sup>105</sup> South Australia Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources, *Belair National Park state heritage area*, [website], [www.environment.sa.gov.au/our-places/Heritage/Visiting\\_heritage\\_places/State\\_heritage\\_areas/Belair\\_National\\_Park](http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/our-places/Heritage/Visiting_heritage_places/State_heritage_areas/Belair_National_Park), (accessed August 2016).

They formed the basis of the second-generation ring of parklands around Adelaide which became the Metropolitan Open Space System.<sup>106</sup>

Public and scientific esteem for the Ranges was reflected both in planning policy and by continuing conservationist action. Sir Mark Oliphant, Governor of South Australia, conservationist Warren Bonython and town planner Stuart Hart are among the planners, activists and prominent citizens who advocated for and implemented protection of the Ranges. Hart was responsible for setting up recreational parks as precursors to the Hills Face Zone and Metropolitan Open Space System. In the 1980s Bonython helped to establish the Heysen Trail, a walking trail that traverses the length of the Ranges to the Flinders Ranges.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, the Mount Lofty Ranges Association was active in promoting conservation.<sup>107</sup> The State Planning Authority conducted a study of the Mount Lofty Ranges in 1972-3 and recommended that 'The protection of natural beauty should be the overriding policy governing all decisions relating to the development and use of land in the Mount Lofty Ranges'. The study concluded that the Ranges were 'one of South Australia's greatest natural assets and their beauty must be preserved. However, the Ranges are a valuable source of food, timber and minerals, they are a major source of water and they provide outlets for recreation and places for people to live. All these activities must be accommodated'. (SPA, Report, 1974)

Local government also became active in conservation and sustainability, working with landowners, farmers and local groups; for example, the City of Onkaparinga, which covers 518 square kilometres of this landscape. This is bisected by the state's second largest river, the Onkaparinga, flowing from the Ranges west to the Gulf St Vincent coast at Port Noarlunga.

*The Mount Lofty Ranges define the southern boundary, forming an impressive escarpment near Sellicks Beach. As the ranges curve around to the north, their foothills roughly delineate the eastern boundary. The northern boundary is defined in part by the Sturt and the Field Rivers.*

*Protecting these natural assets during a period of urbanisation and environmental decline has been a central role for the Onkaparinga Council ... The new council [formed from amalgamations in 1997] adopted the United Nations' Local Agenda 21 as a framework for sustainable local development to provide community grants, and support Landcare and Bushcare, recycling and the reduction of greenhouse gases. Wetlands, such as the Washpool at Sellicks Beach and those on the Sturt River and Willunga Creek, are being restored. The scope of activities broadened over the decade: coastal management plans were prepared, and areas revegetated. Rural landowners and the Onkaparinga Catchment Water Management Board worked together to improve the environment, and an integrated environmental management plan was completed for the whole City.<sup>108</sup>*

### Significant groups and individuals (re: *Criterion (h)*)

There were many significant groups and individuals who had strong associations with the Ranges as their main place of residence, sojourn or work. They included Australia's first wave of German and Polish settlers, influential European colonists, including John Barton Hack, George Fife Angas, Johann Menge, August Kavel, and John Wrathall Bull, eminent Australians such as John Baker, two family members both named Thomas Playford and both premiers and hills orchardists, Amos William Howard, a pasture improvement pioneer, and the artists Hans and Nora Heysen, writers including Colin Thiele, and viticulturists and winemakers including Thomas Hardy, Benno Seppelt and Brian Croser.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> A. Lothian & M. Pichard, 'A Second Generation Parkland System for Adelaide', *Australian Parks and Recreation*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1984, pp. 13-17.

<sup>107</sup> The University of Adelaide's Adult Education Department sponsored a number of seminars on the future of the Ranges. See: D. Whitelock, *The Future of the Adelaide Hills*, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1969; D. Whitelock, *The Adelaide Hills: Plans for Preservation*, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1974; and D. Corbett and D. Whitelock, *Aspects of the History and Natural History of the Adelaide hills*, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide, 1977.

<sup>108</sup> S. Marsden, in G. Trott, S. Marsden and L. Campbell, *McLaren Vale: Trott's View*, p. 10.

<sup>109</sup> See entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (online), [adb.anu.edu.au/](http://adb.anu.edu.au/), for all except Croser.

George Fife Angas (1789-1879), a British merchant, banker, South Australian landowner and philanthropist, was a founding Director and Chair of the South Australian Company and a crucial figure in planning for the new colony of South Australia, a major investor in its lands and an energetic settler - particularly in the Mount Lofty Ranges cultural landscape - and the main instigator, supporter and landlord of the first Lutheran German and Polish emigrants.<sup>110</sup> With Angas' encouragement and financial assistance, Pastor August Kavel, a Lutheran Minister, led the first wave of Prussian Lutherans escaping persecution to South Australia in 1838. Angas migrated to South Australia in 1851 and took up residence at Lindsay Park (South Australian Heritage Register) near Angaston, where he made a gracious home, improving the property and building a chapel, roads and bridges, and supporting the development of the town named after him.

*Angas ... made a significant contribution to helping build the colony. He gave generously to the cause and used his business sense and contacts to ensure settlement proceeded. He sent skilled workers and handpicked industries that he thought would help stabilise the colony during the initial years of settlement ... South Australia has its German settlements and cultural areas that are a hallmark of our historical heritage today and we still have a clear separation of religion and state.<sup>111</sup>*

The founders of the colony, who were seeking a source of land workers, were put in touch with Prussian Lutherans wishing to escape religious persecution in Silesia, Brandenburg and Posen in German Prussia. They were given loans as assisted passage by Angas, whose clerk, Charles Flaxman, accompanied the first German immigrants on their voyage.<sup>112</sup> The Germans first settled on Angas' land at Klemzig, before moving to Hahndorf, in the Ranges, and to the Barossa Valley. These remote locations isolated from Adelaide helped the settlers to retain their cultural mores.<sup>113</sup>

German mineralogist, linguist and philosopher Johannes Menge 'was perhaps the most extraordinary character to reside in South Australia during its first 15 years of European settlement'. He was employed by the South Australian Company as Mine and Quarry Agent and Geologist. He resigned to work privately for George Fife Angas and explored most of the Mount Lofty Ranges. His skilled advice encouraged the spread of settlement and prompted an interest in South Australia's mineral wealth, both interests soon realised by the establishment of farms and mines. In 1839 he wrote to Angas that the area was 'the Cream, the whole Cream and nothing but the Cream of South Australia', and well suited to viticulture, and he encouraged Angas to buy 11,200 hectares of land in 'New Silesia' (the Barossa); he helped the first German Lutherans to move there, and between 1840-42 lived locally at a place still identified as 'Menge's Island' on Jacob Creek.<sup>114</sup>

Amos William Howard, a nurseryman near Nairne, discovered locally naturalised plants of an introduced clover, subterranean clover, *Trifolium subterraneum* Linn, and from 1906 publicly extolled its virtues for improving pastures, and grew, collected and sold the seed.

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<sup>110</sup> 'Angas, George Fife (1789–1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angas-george-fife-1707/text1855](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angas-george-fife-1707/text1855), (accessed 28 August 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1966).

<sup>111</sup> A. Brown, *History of George Fife Angas and his Contribution to South Australia*, Archaeology, Flinders University, Report for National Trust of SA, 2013, [www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology\\_files/dig\\_library/directed\\_studies/ARCH8404 Andrew Brown.pdf](http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology_files/dig_library/directed_studies/ARCH8404_Andrew_Brown.pdf), (accessed August 2016), pp. 19-20.

<sup>112</sup> C.H. Bright, *The confidential clerk: a study of Charles Flaxman in South Australia and his relationship with George Fife Angas*, Elizabeth H. Bright, 1983, pp. 24-29.

<sup>113</sup> G.Young, 'Early German settlements in South Australia', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, vol. 3, pp. 43-55

<sup>114</sup> B.O'Neil, *Johannes Menge: More than 'The Father of South Australian Mineralogy'*, Professional Historians SA, SA175, [www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/pha\\_menge-biog.doc](http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/pha_menge-biog.doc), (accessed August 2016); D. Van Abbè, 'Menge, Johann (1788–1852)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/menge-johann-2446/text3263](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/menge-johann-2446/text3263), (accessed 30 August 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1967); Flinders Ranges Research, *Johannes Menge*, [website], [www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/menge.htm](http://www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/menge.htm), (accessed July 2016).

*State agriculture authorities made experimental sowings of the clover before 1920 ... but when superphosphate was advocated for pastures as well as for crops clover sowings responded remarkably, and the formula of 'sub and super' was widely followed ... In ... 1930 it was claimed that annual production of clover seed was responsible for about £50,000 coming into the Mount Barker district. By 1961 some 20 million acres (8.1 million ha) of southern Australia had been sown with subterranean clover.*<sup>115</sup>

The work of Sir Hans Heysen is closely associated with the pastoral landscapes of the Mount Lofty Ranges, their light, their magnificent gum trees, the bucolic European-Australian rural scenes, and the daily lives of German residents in nearby Hahndorf. Heysen was one of Australia's greatest landscape painters, and South Australia's best-known artist. Heysen's biographer documents the strength of the artist's association with the Mount Lofty Ranges and with Hahndorf both before and after he moved there, and his family life and work at their home, 'The Cedars', where his daughter, Nora, grew up and also developed as an artist.<sup>116</sup>

Heysen's biographer, Colin Thiele, was an author and teacher who became renowned nationally and internationally for his children's fiction, with several books set in the Barossa region where he was born in 1920 to a German family. These novels include *Labourers in the vineyard*, *The Sun on the Stubble*, *Uncle Gustav's Ghosts*, *The Shadow on the Hills* and *The Valley Between*, which has also been made into a TV series.<sup>117</sup> Thiele's vivid evocation of the Barossa is evident also in his opening words of the *Barossa Valley sketchbook*:

*The Barossa is not just a place. For over a hundred years it has been much more than that - a way of life, perhaps, an attitude of mind, a quality of spirit. It has been labour and music and church festival and vintage, worship and the ringing of bells ... Out of the past, out of Silesian history, out of Lutheran conviction, it wells and flows over the valley ...*<sup>118</sup>

Thiele added, 'The real pattern of the [Barossa] Valley is the vineyard ... The roots of the wine industry go deep'.<sup>119</sup> Many pioneers and leaders in the Australian wine industry owned or worked vineyards or wineries in the Mount Lofty Ranges (including the Barossa), notably John Barton Hack, Thomas Hardy, John Reynell, Benno Seppelt, George F. Cleland, Samuel Smith, William Jacob, C.A. Sobels, Dr A.C. Kelly, Sir Samuel Davenport, Edward Salter and Brian Croser. The development of a viticultural and oenology course at Roseworthy Agricultural College in 1892 led to a host of prominent Australian winemakers being trained at this college. The region has produced winemakers whose wines and labels are known nationally and internationally, for instance, Henschke, Yalumba, Rockford, d'Arenberg, Gramp's Jacob Creek, Lehmann, Hardys, Burge, Penfolds Grange, and Petaluma.

#### Development pressures and responses

After World War Two (1939-45), industrialisation and rapid population growth in South Australia required pipelines to be constructed through the Ranges, bringing River Murray water to Adelaide. Reservoirs were constructed, the largest being the Mount Bold Reservoir in the 1930s and the Kangaroo Creek Reservoir in the 1960s. High-tension transmission lines were also built through the Ranges and across the Hills Face to convey electricity to areas of demand. Major new quarries were opened into the quartzite and rock of the Hills Face and other localities, presenting their scarred faces to view from the Adelaide Plains. From the 1970s onwards, these quarries were rehabilitated, greatly reducing their visual impact.

In 1955 the state government established a town planning committee to prepare the first plan for metropolitan Adelaide. The committee's *Report on the Metropolitan Area of South Australia* (1962) emphasised the importance of the Ranges in terms of productive agriculture and natural beauty, and 'proposed that the open and rural character of the Mount Lofty Ranges adjoining the metropolitan area

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<sup>115</sup> L.A. Gilbert, 'Howard, Amos William (1848–1930)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, [website], [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howard-amos-william-6741](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howard-amos-william-6741), (accessed 29 October 2016) (published first in hardcopy 1983).

<sup>116</sup> C. Thiele, *Heysen of Hahndorf*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1968.

<sup>117</sup> W. McVitty, 'Small Town Author Took the World by Storm' (Obituary), *The Age*, 14 September 2006.

<sup>118</sup> C. Thiele, *Barossa Valley sketchbook*, Adelaide, Rigby, 1968, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> Thiele, *Barossa Valley sketchbook*, p. 36.

should be retained permanently'.<sup>120</sup> As a result, in 1967 the Adelaide Hills Face Zone gained some protection under the 1962 Metropolitan Development Plan.<sup>121</sup>

Commencing in 1965, the South Eastern Freeway was constructed through the Ranges, extending 74 kilometres to Murray Bridge by 1979. The freeway greatly enhanced the accessibility of the middle Ranges such as the Onkaparinga Valley and the Mount Barker area, leading to increased subdivision pressures on the region.

Pollution of reservoir catchments was identified by the Committee on the Environment in 1972: 'The catchment areas have a significant and growing population and are used for a variety of agricultural and farming purposes which include fruit growing, sheep and cattle grazing, pig and poultry raising, dairying and market gardening'. Controls over land use in the catchments, including the removal of piggeries and dairies, together with subdivision controls and buffer zones around reservoirs were established. The Chain of Ponds township, which was situated near the banks of Millbrook reservoir, was razed and its residents were relocated outside the catchment area.

Comparing the extent of natural vegetation in 1945 with that remaining in the late 1960s, Andrew (2015) found that it had been reduced by over half. A study of woodland birds in the Ranges published in 2011 observed that around 90% of the original woodlands of 'has been cleared, modified or fragmented, most severely in the last 60 years, and affecting the avifauna dependent on native vegetation', and that many bird species are in decline or 'have already disappeared from this modified and naturally isolated woodland island'. The authors concluded that 'The Mount Lofty Ranges can be regarded as a "canary landscape" for temperate woodlands elsewhere in Australia - without immediate action their bird communities are likely to follow the trajectory of the Mount Lofty Ranges avifauna. Alternatively, with extensive habitat restoration and management, we could avoid paying the extinction debt'.<sup>122</sup>

As for rural production, over the past 45 years (the revival started in 1971 with Verrall's vineyard at Houghton) the relative area covered by vineyards has increased significantly although recent evidence indicates a return to other agricultural land uses. There was also substantial encroachment of housing subdivision as metropolitan Adelaide expanded north and south to accommodate a growing population. However, except for Belair, Blackwood and Mount Barker, most of that metropolitan expansion has been contained to the coastal plains.

The Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges Natural Resources Management Plan extols both cultural and natural resources:

*The region is full of wonderful opportunities: we can holiday on the Fleurieu Peninsula, eat pate from the Barossa Valley, drink milk from Parawa, sip a shiraz from McLaren Vale, catch seafood from Gulf St Vincent, feed our children veggies ... The region has abundant and varied natural resources – beaches, forests, rivers, wetlands, plains, mangroves, farms and vineyards. Our wellbeing is dependent on the health and productivity of the landscapes and environment ... They are essential to primary production, but they also house dynamic natural systems that need to be sustained and protected.*<sup>123</sup>

South Australia's founding system of systematic survey and sale of land was also maintained and the principle of concentration was generally adhered to. This has culminated in the establishment of a formal urban growth boundary to contain the growth of metropolitan Adelaide in 2002, Character Preservation legislation introduced to protect McLaren Vale and the Barossa Valley from housing subdivisions in 2011 (*Character Preservation Acts, 2011*) and legislation to protect the Environment and Food Production Areas (EFPAs) surrounding Adelaide in 2016 (*Planning, Infrastructure and Development Act, 2016*).

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<sup>120</sup> South Australia Town Planning Committee, *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide 1962*, Adelaide, Government of South Australia, 1962, p. 279.

<sup>121</sup> Smith and Pate, *Valleys of Stone*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>122</sup> J. Szabo et al., 'Paying the Extinction Debt: Woodland Birds in the Mount Lofty Ranges, South Australia', *Emu*, vol. 111, no. 1, 2011, pp. 59-70 (abstract available from [dx.doi.org/10.1071/MU09114](https://doi.org/10.1071/MU09114)).

<sup>123</sup> Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges National Resources Management Board, *Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges Natural Resources Management Plan*, Government of South Australia (2016).