

**BETTER HERITAGE INFORMATION
SUMMARY OF STATE HERITAGE PLACE
Gawler Chambers**



Gawler Chambers, SHP 13104, 2024.

Source: Google Street View.

ENTRY IN THE REGISTER

Description or notes with respect to a place entered in the South Australian Heritage Register in accordance with either the *South Australian Heritage Act 1978* or the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

The South Australian Heritage Council may correct errors or inaccuracies in the Entry in the Register in accordance with s21 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

NAME: Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

ADDRESS: 188 North Terrace, Adelaide

CT 5819/263 F216839 A95

Hundred of Adelaide

CONFIRMED IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE REGISTER:

4 November 1991

COMMENTARY ON THE LISTING

Additional information provided as a part of the content of the South Australian Heritage Register in accordance with s14(6) of the *Heritage Places Act 1993* 'hold information in association with the Register'.

KNOWN AS: Gawler Chambers [including the façade that projects into the North Terrace road reserve]

ADDRESS: Karna Country

STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Gawler Chambers, erected in 1913-1914, has a special association with the South Australian Company, which was instrumental in the foundation of South Australia. The South Australian Company was created by George Fife Angas to purchase enough land for the Crown to authorise colonisation, an action which subsequently led it to become the colony's largest landholder. It also went on to provide vital infrastructure and establish key industries in the colony. Gawler Chambers was bespoke designed by George Klewitz Soward as the South Australian Company's new Adelaide Office. It was built on the site it had occupied since 1842 and was the centre of the Company's operations in South Australia until 1945.

INDICATIVE CRITERIA (under section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*)

(g) it has special association with the life or work of a person or organisation or an event of historical importance

Gawler Chambers has a special association with the South Australian Company. Established in late 1835, the South Australian Company was instrumental in the foundation of the Province of South Australia as a British colonial settlement. The Crown's *South Australia Act 1834* required £35,000 worth of land to be sold before it would authorise colonisation. Responding to poor sales that jeopardised colonisation, George Fife Angas founded the South Australian Company to purchase enough land to meet the quota and in turn enable the foundation of South Australia. In addition to being South Australia's largest landholder, the Company subsequently went on to become the 'economic backbone of the province' responsible for establishing major infrastructure and key industries, as well as helping to keep the economy afloat during early periods of turbulence.

The Company established their Adelaide office in a school building on Town Acre 19 on the corner of North Terrace and Gawler Place in 1842. By the late nineteenth century, the old school building had fallen into disrepair and the Company looked to rebuild. The new building, named Gawler Chambers, was bespoke designed for the Company by architect George Klewitz Soward of firm English and Soward and served as its headquarters from 1913 until 1945. The building was also erected to maximise the commercial value of the site by providing lettable commercial space. The Company setup its office on the first floor and the remainder of the space was rented out to commercial tenants, including medical professionals and the government.

The South Australian Company retained ownership of Gawler Chambers until 1945, only a few years before it was formally wound up. Its sale ended the Company's continuous ownership and use of the site as its Adelaide office since 1842. Gawler Chambers therefore has a special association with the South Australian Company operating as the centre of its operations in South Australia.

SITE PLAN

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Gawler Chambers, 188 North Terrace, Adelaide; CT 5819/263 F216839 A95, Hundred of Adelaide, including façade that projects into the North Terrace road reserve.*

Elements of heritage significance include:

- Gawler Chambers office building,
- Original fixtures and fittings.

Elements not considered to contribute to significance of place include:

- Non-original fixtures and fittings.

N ↑

LEGEND

 Parcel boundaries (Indicates extent of Listing)

 Outline of Elements of Significance for State Heritage Place

*Red outline is indicative of elements of significance, noting imperfect alignment of aerial imagery with parcel cadastre. The State Heritage Place includes façade that projects into the North Terrace road reserve.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Gawler Chambers is a rectangular five-storey office building with a semi-basement. The building has a reinforced concrete frame and red-brick exterior featuring substantial concrete and masonry detailing. Its style is eclectic but best characterised as Federation Free Classical with Federation Gothic and Federation Warehouse elements. The building was erected in three stages: the tower and eastern half (c.1913); the western half (c.1914) and the fifth floor (1945). Features of the building include:

- Recessed walls between middle, eastern and western ends of northern elevation,
- Curved parapets surmounting eastern and western ends of northern elevation,
- Balconies at the third and fourth levels of northern, eastern and western elevations, the latter with red-brick arches, keystones and hood mouldings,
- Stucco cornices, vents and window sills on the northern, eastern and western elevations,
- Sash windows on the northern, eastern and western elevations,
- String courses on northern, eastern and western elevations,
- Basement windows at street level with red-brick lintels in diagonal V-shaped pattern,
- Side-entrance with panelled double door and panelled fanlight on eastern elevation,
- Curved and pointed entablature above windows along the fourth level of the eastern and western elevations,
- Concealed M-shaped hipped roof along the x-axis and mixed roof along the y-axis of the central bay, both clad with sheet metal.

Tower

- Dominant central tower bay with a granite plinth with stone surrounds, castellated parapet, red-brick and decorative rendered concrete cornice, flutes(non-original), hood moulding (render non-original) and keystone (render non-original).
- Main entrance featuring arched hood moulding with prominent keystone, 'Gawler Chambers' signage, marble steps and a double wooden door with multi-paned glazing to upper door,

Fifth floor

- Curved red-brick parapets at eastern and western ends of northern elevation,
- Red-brick fascias and dentils on northern, eastern and westerns elevations
- String courses,
- Sash windows.

Elements of Significance:

Elements of heritage significance include:

- Gawler Chambers office building,
- Original fixtures and fittings.

Elements not considered to contribute to significance of place include:

- Non-original fixtures and fittings.

HISTORY OF THE PLACE

History of the Place

Establishment of the Colony/Province of SA

Edward Gibbon Wakefield's 1829 'systematic colonization' scheme inspired the plan for establishing South Australia as a Province of Britain. Wakefield's 'Proposal for Colonising Australasia' was a response to the perceived ills of penal settlement, including the use of associated captive convict labour, and unregulated settlement. His proposal also sought to create conditions for economic and social stability by balancing supplies of land, capital and labour.¹ Controlled settlement and the sale of land was to be central to the success of the project. A minimum land price would be fixed, and the rate of alienation of land and settlement controlled by systematic surveys. This would in theory prevent the disabling financial consequences of dispersed and uncontrolled land grabbing which had occurred in other colonies.²

Supporters of a new colony based on Wakefield's 'system' initially lobbied the British Government in 1831 as the South Australian Land Company. When this approach failed the South Australian Association was formed in 1833 and in 1834 the British Parliament assented the *South Australian Colonization Act*.³ This Act enabled the colony to proceed, and the South Australian Colonization Commission was established as a new governing body for the province, with control to be shared with the British Colonial Office.

The Act specified that the new province could proceed only after a surety had been raised and £35,000 worth of land sold. Wakefield's scheme was adopted in both the *Outline of the Plan of a Proposed Colony* by the South Australian Association and the *First Annual Report* of the Colonization Commissioners to guide the foundation and settlement of the colony. South Australia would also be established with the ideals of 'civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions'.⁴ However, this did not necessarily extend beyond European understandings of religion and culture.

South Australian Company

The South Australian Company (the Company) was founded on 9 October 1835 by George Fife Angas largely as a joint-stock venture. The formation of the Company assisted in ensuring that £35,000 worth of land was sold, which one of the Act's major preconditions for colonisation.

With land priced at 20 shillings per acre, sales initially struggled to meet this quota. Acknowledging that lax sales placed colonisation at risk, the Commission approved Angas' proposal to form a joint-stock company that would purchase large amounts of land at 12 shillings per acre.⁵ Angas, himself a commissioner, subsequently bought much of this land and then transferred it to the South Australian Company. With the assistance of other stockholders, the company purchased more than 13,000 acres,

making it the largest landholder in the new colony.⁶ Importantly, its purchases were enough to meet the quota, thus enabling colonisation to occur.⁷

In January 1836, the South Australian Company sent four ships to South Australia, preceding the launch of the Commission's official fleet by about a month. The Company's ships first arrived at Kangaroo Island in July, where it established a short-lived settlement at Reeves Point (SHP 10980) before relocating to the mainland.⁸

After Governor John Hindmarsh's proclamation of South Australia on 28 January 1836, the Company quickly went on to become the new colony's economic and infrastructural lynchpin. As Robert Thornton highlights:

By building roads and bridges, erecting mills, wharfs and warehouses, establishing a local whaling, fishing and ship-building industry, as well as promoting mineral exploration, the Company increasingly came to be identified as "the real backbone" and "provider of the colony".⁹

The Company also established South Australia's first bank, helped keep the colony afloat during economic turbulence and built the road between Adelaide and Port Adelaide.¹⁰ Despite the extent of its activities, the Company's directorship remained based in London.

Beginning in the 1860s, the company's influence and economic status in South Australia began to shift. While still wealthy, it began divesting several of its interests, including in 'whaling, shipbuilding and banking', as well as its mining and pastoral operations.¹¹ By the mid-1870s, the company ceased acquiring large tracts of land and in the 1890s commenced selling much of its holdings. By this point, the Company's primary focus was 'property, property management and agriculture'.¹²

In 1917, the government declared it would compulsorily acquire the private wharves at Port Adelaide. Given that wharf ownership was one of the company's remaining major interests, in 1920 it made the decision to begin winding up its operations. This process took several years, eventually concluding in March 1949.¹³

Kaurna Miyurna

The Adelaide Plains within which the City of Adelaide is situated are the traditional lands of the Kaurna People. Prior to settlement, the area was an open grassy plain with patches of trees and shrubs, the result of skilful land management conducted over hundreds of generations.¹⁴ Tarntanya / Adelaide is the heart of Kaurna country and is home of Red Kangaroo cultural knowledge.¹⁵ Around 300 Kaurna People resided in the area, living close to the Karrawirra Parri / River Torrens. Karrawirra Parri / River Torrens is sacred to the Kaurna people being associated with both creation and the afterlife, the former being an embodiment of Yura the rainbow serpent and the later as a mirror of the Milky Way known as Wodliparri (river of huts).¹⁶ Karrawirra Parri was an important resource area and camping place, providing water, fish and other

foods.¹⁷ It was also a place for gatherings between Kaurna people and those from the surrounding areas.¹⁸

After the survey of 1837, the colonial settlement of Adelaide began in earnest and the Kaurna became increasingly dispossessed. As colonial development progressed active relocation of Aboriginal people away from Adelaide in the latter half of the nineteenth century became government policy. Despite this Kaurna have retained an ongoing connection to country and culture.¹⁹ Records suggest that Kaurna people began returning to Adelaide in significant numbers from the 1950s and since then have been engaged in a process of reasserting their ongoing relationship with and on country and 'reclaiming their cultural and linguistic heritage'.²⁰

Origins of Gawler Chambers

In early 1837, the South Australian Company selected Town Acre 19 in Adelaide as one of its preliminary land orders.²¹ The Company went on to build Stephen's Place and erected 'several houses, offices, shops etc.' on Acres 18, 19, 44 and 45. By June 1839, the Company was generating around £1,110 in annual rental income from these developments.²²

The north-eastern section of Town Acre 19 was allocated to the South Australian School Society, a philanthropic organisation.²³ In 1839, construction of a school building commenced, but it remained unfinished when the Society ran into financial difficulties in 1841. The Company then took over and completed the building, where it subsequently setup its Adelaide office in 1842.²⁴

The Company's Adelaide office continued to operate from the building until the early 1900s, by which time its condition had deteriorated.²⁵ The Company was hesitant to construct new premises unless further value could be realised through lettable space.²⁶ It appears the Company was inspired by the construction of Ruthven Mansions on Pulteney Street and sought to build its own version of a large residential building on North Terrace, a location it believed to be an 'infinitely better situation than Mr. Smith's Pulteney Street property'.²⁷ On 12 September 1911, the Company approved construction of a new building and sometime thereafter commissioned an architect to prepare drawings, likely George Klewitz Soward of the architectural firm English and Soward.²⁸

The plan appears to have been to sell the property on Town Acre 19 and develop the new building elsewhere on North Terrace.²⁹ However, the property failed to sell, and in mid-1912 the Company instead decided to redevelop it, possibly still intending to sell it once complete.³⁰ On 16 November 1912, English and Soward called for tenders to build 'consulting rooms and offices', indicating that the Company was now seeking

commercial rather than residential tenancies.³¹ Builder W. H. Lamerton's tender of £12,904 was accepted.³²



South Australian Company premises on North Terrace, c.1909.

Source: SLISA B21007/2

Construction commenced sometime thereafter, and the building was erected in two stages. The central 'tower' and eastern side was completed in November 1913.³³ Around this time, the building was named Gawler Chambers and the Company's Adelaide office moved into the first floor.³⁴ The western side was finished in March 1914.³⁵



Eastern side of Gawler Chambers prior to erection of western side, c.1913.

Source: SLISA B7789

When completed, Gawler Chambers was a 4-storey office block with semi-basement and featured a central tower rising to a 5th storey. It was constructed with a reinforced concrete frame and red-brick exterior cladding with concrete, granite and stone detailing. It had an electric lift (since removed) and some of the interior cedar elements were reused from the Company's original building.³⁶ Gawler Chambers was overall well received by the press, which described it as a 'modern' and 'important' building.³⁷



Completed Gawler Chambers, c.1914

Source: SLISA B9505

Subsequent History

As intended, Gawler Chambers was occupied by professionals, including medical doctors and dentists, though its first major tenant was the Railways Department, which occupied rooms on the 3rd and 4th floors. Various other individuals and businesses also rented rooms.³⁸

In 1935, the 5th floor was added to increase the building's lettable space.³⁹ Curiously, this alteration was made around the time when the South Australian Company's operations were handed to Elders Executors Trustee Agency Ltd., which was tasked with handling and liquidating assets.⁴⁰ On 28 September 1945, the South Australian Company sold Gawler Chambers to the Adelaide Development Company, which has owned the building since.⁴¹

Several alterations to Gawler Chambers have been made over the decades, most notably during the 1960s when the balconies were removed, and the fluting was added to the central tower for further decoration.⁴² Since the 1980s, Gawler Chambers' heritage status and legal history has been complex ultimately spurring reform of the state's heritage legislation in the early 1990s.⁴³ In that time, multiple proposals to redevelop the site have been made, though none eventuated.⁴⁴ The building has been vacant for several years and was offered for sale in 2025.⁴⁵ In 2026, Gawler Chambers was transferred to new owners.



The 5th floor extension of Gawler Chambers under construction, 1935.

Source: SLISA B6774

Aboriginal Cultural Considerations

The *Heritage Places Act 1993* makes provision for the identification, recording and conservation of places and objects of non-Aboriginal heritage significance. The protection and preservation of Aboriginal heritage is provided for under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988*. Contact the Aboriginal Heritage Unit for listings.

CHRONOLOGY

Year Event

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1834 | 15 August: The <i>South Australia Act 1834</i> is assented in Britain. |
| 1835 | 9 October: the South Australian Company is formed in London as a commercial enterprise. |
| 1836 | January: the South Australian Company sends four ships to South Australia.
February: the Colonization Commission begins sending ships to South Australia. |

July: the South Australian Company arrives at Kangaroo Island and establishes a settlement at Reeves Point (SHP 19080).

26 December: Governor John Hindmarsh proclaims South Australia as a British province.

- 1837 The South Australian Company selects Town Acre 19 as one of its preselected land orders.**
- 1839 Construction commences on a building for the South Australian School Society on Town Acre 19.**
- 1842 The South Australian Company takes over the building commenced for the South Australian School Society, where it establishes its Adelaide office.**
- 1911 12 September: the South Australian Company's London-based board authorises the construction of a new building to replace the building occupied by the Adelaide-based office.**
The Company commissions George Klewitz Soward of architectural firm English and Soward to design its new building.
- 1912 16 November: tenders are called to construct the new building, now intended to provide lettable commercial space, especially for medical professionals. W. H. Lamerton's tender of £12,904 is accepted and construction commences thereafter.**
- 1913 The eastern half and central tower bay are completed late in the year. The building is named Gawler Chambers and the South Australian Company's Adelaide offices moves into rooms on the first floor.**
- 1914 March: the western half of Gawler Chambers is built, completing the building's construction.**
- 1935 A major 5th floor extension is added to Gawler Chambers.**
The South Australian Company's operations are handed to Elders Executors Trustee Agency Ltd., which was tasked with handling and liquidating assets.
- 1945 28 September: Gawler Chambers is sold to the Adelaide Development Company.**
- 1949 17 March: The South Australian Company is completely wound up and ceases to exist.**
- 1960s Alterations are made to Gawler Chambers, including the removal of the balconies on 3rd and 4th floors and the addition of rendered concrete detailing to the northern (front) elevation.**
- 1991 4 November: Gawler Chambers is confirmed as a State Heritage Place.**
- 2013 Heritage SA approves Development Application 020/7/11-V1 to redevelop Gawler Chambers to include a 15-storey office tower.**

- 2022 The development approval for the 15 storey tower lapses.
- 2025 August/September: Gawler Chambers is listed for sale.
- 2026 Gawler Chambers is purchased by 188 North Terrace Pty Ltd and is managed by Peregrine Property.

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Books and Chapters

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- Lockwood, Christine. 'Early Encounters on the Adelaide Plains and Encounter Bay' in Peggy Brock and Tom Gara (eds), *Colonialism and its Aftermath*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2017: pp.65-81.
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- Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957.

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- Thornton, Robert. 'The South Australian Company: History and Archives'. *Archives and Manuscripts* 15:2 (1987), pp.119-126.

Reports and Theses

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- 'Gawler Chambers', Assessment Summary Sheet 1/1, No. 3/0202, City of Adelaide Heritage Study, City of Adelaide, 1983.
- Parkes, Laurie, Brasse, and Lothar, for State Heritage Branch. 'History and Sources', *Register Nomination Report: Gawler Chambers, 6628-13104*. Adelaide: self-published, 1985.
- Laurence, Sarah, and Samuels, Brian, for Heritage South Australia. 'Assessment of the heritage Status of Gawler Chambers, 188 North Terrace, Adelaide, Against the Current Statutory Listing Criteria', *SAHC Agenda Item 5.1.2*. Adelaide: unpublished, 2007.

Newspapers

- The Critic*.
- Adelaide Chronicle*.

Archival

SLSA Business Records Group (BRG)

BHI Summary of State Heritage Place: 13104
 Confirmed in the South Australian Heritage Register on 4 November 1991
 Draft BHI SSHP for Consultation 6 August 2026 to 6 November 2026

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Business Records of the South Australian Company, BRG 42

Certificates of Title

Certificate of Title Vol. 1503, Folio 14.

Certificate of Title 5819, Folio 263.

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<https://www.indailysa.com.au/news/archive/2022/10/27/times-up-decade-old-gawler-chambers-tower-bid-expires>, accessed 7 October 2025.

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<https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/kaurna-people>, accessed 7 October 2025.

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SITE DETAILS

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide

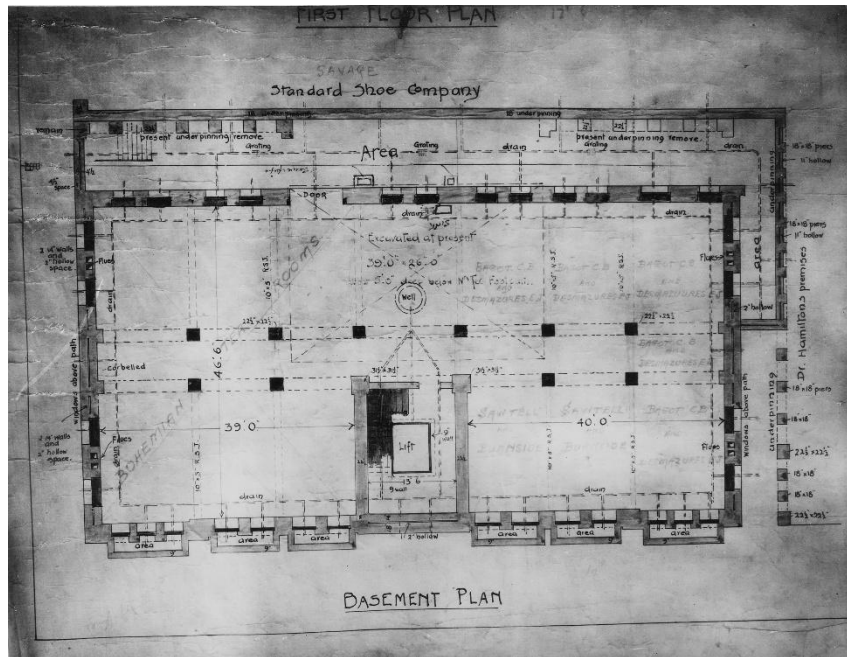
DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	Five-storey office building with central castellated tower, featuring a reinforced concrete frame, red brick exterior cladding and granite and stone detailing to tower entrance.		
HISTORIC THEME/S	4. Building Settlements, Towns and Cities 4.1 Planning the settlement of South Australia 4.7 Marking significant phases in development of SA's settlements, towns and cities (including key town planning initiatives and architectural styles) 5. Developing South Australia's economies 5.1 Developing South Australia's economy		
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:	1913-1914		
REGISTER STATUS:	Nomination: 26 February 1985 Provisional Entry: 15 August 1991 Confirmation: 4 November 1991		
CURRENT USE:	Vacant, c.2004 - Present		
PREVIOUS USE(S):	Office space, c.1913 – c.2004 South Australian Company Headquarters, c.1913 - 1945		
ARCHITECT:	George Klewitz Soward of English and Soward, c.1912		
BUILDER:	W. H. Lamerton, 1913-1914		
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	City of Adelaide		
LOCATION:	Address:	188 North Terrace Adelaide 5000	
LAND DESCRIPTION:	Title	CT 5819/263 F216839 A95	
	Reference:		
	Hundred:	Adelaide	

PHOTOS

Gawler Chambers

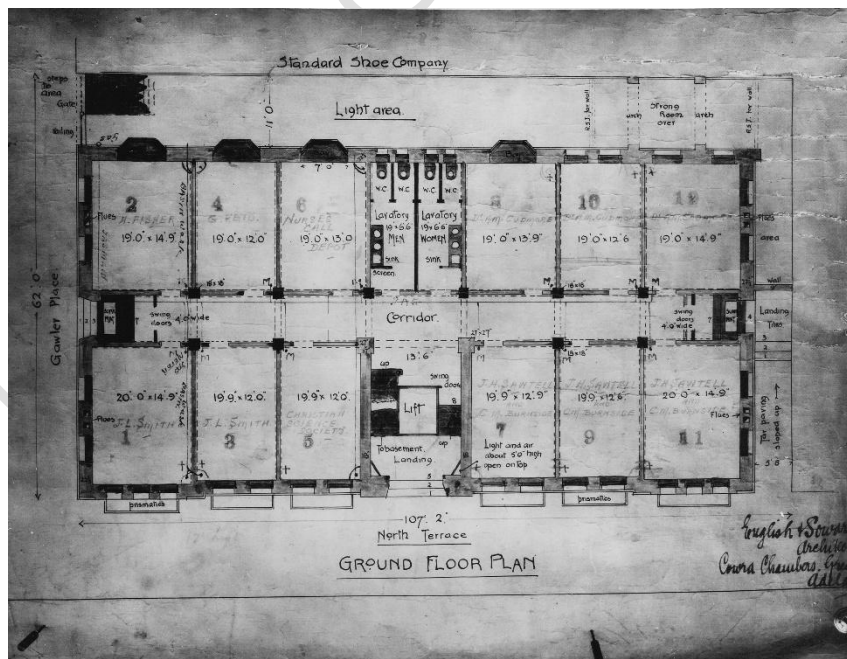
PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Basement plan, c.1912

Source: Peregrine Property



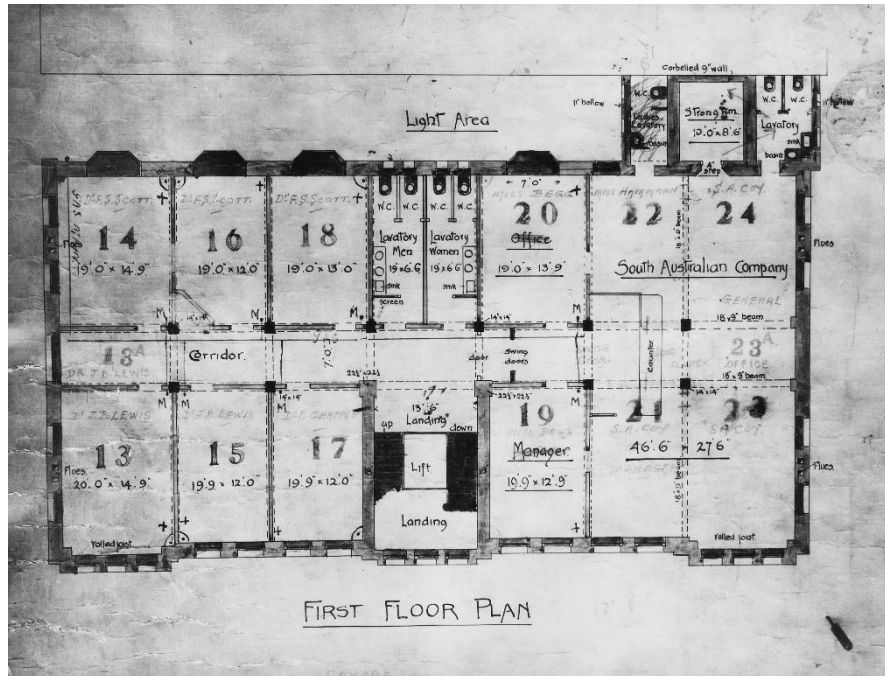
Ground Floor Plan, c.1912

Source: Peregrine Property

Gawler Chambers

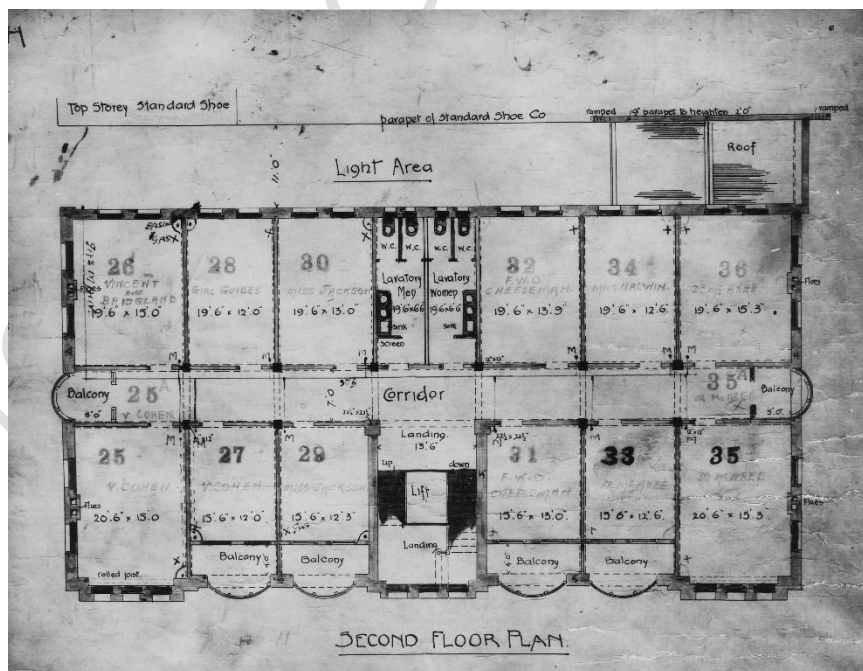
PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



First Floor Plan, c.1912

Source: Peregrine Property



Second Floor Plan, c.1912

Source: Peregrine Property

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Eastern half of Gawler Chambers during construction c.1913

Source: SLA B7788



Gawler Chambers c.1914

Source: SLA B7790

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Gawler Chambers showing the Verco (SHP 13363) and Liberal Club (SHP 13362) buildings to the west, c.1925.

Source: SLSA B 4275



Gawler Chambers, c.1991. Note the 5th floor addition, rendered concrete fluting added to the tower and removal of balconies. All alterations occurred between the 1930s and 1960s.

Source: SLSA B70869/18028

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Northern elevation of Gawler Chambers, c.1990s.

Source: DEW Files



North-west corner of Gawler Chambers, c.1990s.

Source: DEW Files

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Main entrance on northern elevation, 2014.

Source: DEW Files



Stucco detailing, 2014.

Source: DEW Files

Gawler Chambers

PLACE NO.: 13104

188 North Terrace, Adelaide



Stucco detailing, 2014.

Source: DEW Files



Condition of exterior, 2014.

Source: DEW Files

REVISIONS

Date	Changes

¹ Rob Freestone, *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage* (Collingwood: CSIRO, 2010), p.90

² For more see: Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957).

³ Full name is *An Act to empower his Majesty to erect South Australia into a British Province or Provinces and to provide for the Colonization and Government thereof*.

⁴ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1957. p.3.

⁵ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.119.

⁶ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', pp.119-120.

⁷ 'South Australian Company'. SA Memory. State Library of South Australia, 2014.

<https://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1483>, accessed 7 October 2025.

⁸ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.120; 'South Australian Company'. SA Memory.

⁹ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.121.

¹⁰ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.121.

¹¹ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', pp.121-122.

¹² Laurie Parkes and Lothar Brasse for State Heritage Branch, 'History and Sources', *Register Nomination Report: Gawler Chambers, 6628-13104* (Adelaide: self-published, 1985), p.2.

¹³ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.122.

¹⁴ Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien and Mandy Paul, 'Kaurna People,' SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, <https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/kaurna-people>, accessed 5 October 2023.

¹⁵ Christine Lockwood 'Early Encounters on the Adelaide Plains and Encounter Bay' in Peggy Brock and Tom Gara (eds), *Colonialism and its Aftermath* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2017), p.65; Yerloburka O'Brien and Paul, 'Kaurna People'.

¹⁶ Neale Draper, 'Recording traditional Kaurna Cultural Values in Adelaide – the continuity of Aboriginal cultural traditions within an Australian capital city, *Historic Environment*, 27:1 (2015), pp.81-82.

¹⁷ Yerloburka O'Brien and Paul, 'Kaurna People.'

¹⁸ Draper, 'Kaurna Cultural Values', p.81.

¹⁹ Tom Gara 'The Aboriginal Presence in Adelaide, 1860s-1960s: From exclusion to assimilation', in Peggy Brock and Tom Gara (eds), *Colonialism and its Aftermath* (Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2017), pp.95-97.

²⁰ Lockwood, 'Early Encounters', p.81

²¹ David Combe, 'Adelaide Sections – Original Purchasers'. UMap, 2023.

https://umap.openstreetmap.fr/en/map/adelaide-sections-original-purchasers_865054#16/-34.9111/138.5972, accessed 7 October 2025.

²² SLSA BRG 42/17 in Sarah Laurence and Brian Samuels for Heritage South Australia, 'Assessment of the heritage Status of Gawler Chambers, 188 North Terrace, Adelaide, Against the Current Statutory Listing Criteria', *SAHC Agenda Item 5.1.2* (Adelaide: unpublished, 2007), p.2.

²³ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.

²⁴ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.

²⁵ SLSA BRG 42/9 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.

²⁶ SLSA BRG 42/9 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.

²⁷ SLSA BRG 42/9 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.

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- ²⁸ SLSA BRG 42/9 and BRG 42/24 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.
- ²⁹ SLSA BRG 42/9 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.
- ³⁰ Swanbury Penglase *Conservation Management Plan*, 1994 and SLSA BRG 42/24 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.
- ³¹ SLSA BRG 42/24 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.
- ³² SLSA BRG 42/24 in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3.
- ³³ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.
- ³⁴ Swanbury Penglase cited in Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3; Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.
- ³⁵ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.
- ³⁶ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.2.
- ³⁷ 'Modern City Architecture', *Adelaide Chronicle*, 1 January 1916, p.26; 'Adelaide's Important Buildings (No. 2): Gawler Chambers, North Terrace'. *The Critic*, 11 April 1917, p.15.
- ³⁸ Parkes and Brasse, 'History and Sources', p.3.
- ³⁹ Laurence and Samuels, 'Assessment of the heritage Status', p.3; Donovan, Marsden, Stark, 'Gawler Chambers', City of Adelaide Heritage Survey, 1981; 'Gawler Chambers', Assessment Summary Sheet 1/1, No. 3/0202, City of Adelaide Heritage Study, City of Adelaide, 1983.
- ⁴⁰ Thornton, 'The South Australian Company', p.122.
- ⁴¹ Certificate of Title Vol. 1503, Folio 14 Transfer No. 1440201, 28 September 1945; Certificate of Title 5819, Folio 263.
- ⁴² Donovan, Marsden, Stark, 'Gawler Chambers'; 'Gawler Chambers', City of Adelaide Heritage Study.
- ⁴³ See Sharon Mosler, *Heritage Politics in South Australia* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2011), pp.153-156.
- ⁴⁴ For instance, see Thomas Kelsall, 'Time's Up: Decade -old Gawler Chambers Tower Bid Expires', *InDaily*, 27 October 2022.
<https://www.indailysa.com.au/news/archive/2022/10/27/times-up-decade-old-gawler-chambers-tower-bid-expires>, accessed 7 October 2025.
- ⁴⁵ 'Adelaide's Historic Gawler Chambers for sale – Knight Frank', Commo, 2 September 2025.
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