

HERITAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

ADDRESS: Park Lands, Adelaide, South Australia

APPROACH

DASH Architects was engaged by the State Heritage Unit of the Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources (DEWNR) to undertake a Heritage Assessment of the 'Adelaide Park Lands and City Squares' for the consideration of the South Australian Heritage Council. Two nominations were received for the Adelaide Park Lands and City Squares in 2009:

- 'Adelaide Park Lands and City Squares'; and
- 'Adelaide Park Lands, City Squares and Gardens'.

This Heritage Assessment (report) has considered to the two State heritage nominations, as well as the 2008 National Heritage Listing for the 'Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout'.

There are many individual places that have already been identified as being of State Heritage significance in their own right within the study area of this report. The scope of this assessment is not to review these, encompass them in a single listing or identify potential additional places. Rather, the scope of this assessment is to consider the nominations 'as a whole of place', rather than a collection of elements.

The Authors of this report have determined that it is not possible to consider the potential heritage significance of the Adelaide Park Lands and Squares without considering their historical and physical context within both Edward Wakefield's theories for the colonial settlement of the State of South Australia, and Colonel William Light's subsequent plan for its capital. For this reason, this Heritage Assessment has been extended beyond the nominations to consider the potential heritage significance of the City Layout, as represented in Light's 1837 plan. Accordingly, this report considers whether the 'Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout' should be considered as a State Heritage Place under the *Heritage Places Act 1993* (SA) or as a State Heritage Area under the *Development Act 1993* (SA).

This nomination does not seek to present a comprehensive history of the Adelaide city plan and its Park Lands, as a great deal has already been written about the topic, and it is not necessary to repeat its details here. The sources used in this report are listed in the bibliography, but they only represent a sample of the available works on the topic. David Jones' monumental *Adelaide Park Lands and Squares Cultural Landscape Assessment Study* (2007), Jim Daly's *Decisions and Disasters* (1987) and Patricia Sumerling's *Adelaide Park Lands: a Social History* (2011) have been particularly useful in preparing this history.

For the most part, published works were accessed in the State Library of South Australia or the Flinders University Library. The wealth of information available in secondary sources means that primary sources have not been researched extensively. Material in the collections of State Records of SA and the Adelaide City Archives has been used to add further detail. Some images used throughout the report may have minimal cropping.

It is acknowledged that the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout embodies thousands of 'hidden histories' and personal stories. It is neither possible nor practical for this Heritage Assessment to include and consider all of these. Such attributes do, however, collectively contribute towards to the social and cultural significance of the place.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This Heritage Assessment makes the following recommendations:

- the 'Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout' is considered to be of State significance under criteria (a), (b), (d), (e), (f) and (g);
- the 'Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout' is considered for listing as a State Heritage Place under the Heritage Places Act; and
- the preparation of an Archaeological Assessment may assist in the ongoing management of the place.

EXCLUSIONS

The report does not assess Aboriginal heritage values of the place, which are covered under separate legislation. The historical overview in this report includes acknowledgement of the traditional custodians of the Adelaide region and Aboriginal occupation in the Park Lands.

AUTHORSHIP

This report was prepared by Jason Schulz and Deborah Lindsay of DASH Architects and historian Peter Bell.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- Staff of the State Library of South Australia and the Flinders University library.

HISTORY

The Beginnings

Governor Arthur Philip claimed the land where the City of Adelaide is situated for the British Crown at the foundation of New South Wales in 1788, although no European had ever seen it. The coastal plain on the east side of Gulf St Vincent is crossed by a number of rivers flowing out of the Adelaide Hills, and the valley of the Torrens was chosen as the site of Adelaide. The Adelaide plain is formed of the river's alluvial deposits, and is nearly level, with a gentle slope from the hills to the sea. The site of the City of Adelaide was scattered with eucalyptus and native grasses (Long 2003). While the city was being surveyed and before the impact of settlement, an early visitor noted (Kraehenbuehl 1996:76):

The River Torrens as I first saw it in the winter of 1837 was very pretty and picturesque, high and steep banks on either side, closely covered with beautiful shrubs of all sorts; splendid gum trees were growing on the banks, and in the streams ... small fish were plentiful, and that strange creature the platypus was occasionally seen on its banks. But some stupid people cut away the shrubs and trees that still held the banks together. Consequently, the soft alluvial soil fell away, and the river became broad and shallow and very ugly.

The Park Lands in 1839 were described as "thickly covered with wattles, bright and fragrant with blossom, and with magnificent gum trees" (Kraehenbuehl 1996:78).

Kaurna People

Today the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide Plain call themselves *Kaurna* – pronounced Garna. Most early Europeans simply referred to Aboriginal people by the nearest European place name, so early written descriptions of the local people just called them the Adelaide Tribe, as opposed to the Murray Tribe or the Encounter Bay Tribe. Missionaries and others who studied Aboriginal languages more closely, recorded the name *Cowandilla* for the local people in the nineteenth century. Another version of this name, *Kouandilla*, suggests that the words *Kaurna* and *Cowandilla* may in fact be more closely related than they appear at first glance, perhaps variants of one word (Hemming 1990:128-29). It was not until the early twentieth century that the word *Kaurna* first appeared in writing to mean the clan who had lived in the immediate vicinity of metropolitan Adelaide.

Around 1972, Robert Edwards of the South Australian Museum published a booklet called *The Kaurna People of the Adelaide Plains*, which helped to establish the name in the public mind, and two years later Norman Tindale's monumental work *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* published a map showing Kaurna land extending from Cape Jervis in the south to the River Broughton in the north (Tindale 1974). Since the 1970s there has been general use of the name Kaurna in the Adelaide area. The Kaurna Plains Aboriginal School opened in 1986, and the name is now universally accepted as the traditional name for the indigenous people of what is now metropolitan Adelaide.

We do not know how long the Kaurna people occupied the land, however it is likely to have been for thousands of years. Sites on Kangaroo Island have been carbon dated to 21,000 years ago. Undoubtedly the River Torrens was an important resource, providing the most reliable water supply on the Adelaide plains. Throughout Australia, river estuaries usually supported a fairly large population, and we can assume that the abundant marine and bird life of the lower Torrens wetlands and the Port River would have been a valuable asset to the Kaurna people. The locality lacked a convenient and reliable supply of surface fresh water. It would have been a difficult place to live in summer, and there was probably a cyclical – perhaps annual – pattern of migration between the estuary and the hills. The Adelaide plains offered a range of environments to the Kaurna people, extending from the coast across the plains to the foothills of the ranges, offering different foods and water sources at different times of the year. Most likely the waterholes of the Torrens played a part in those movements (Ellis 1976).

The landscape that Europeans occupied in 1836 had already undergone considerable modification by human hands. The Adelaide Plains and Hills were a mosaic of open grassy spaces interspersed with mature forest, which several early observers recognised as land that had been managed or gardened, one describing it as "not unlike an English park". Only in recent years has the extent to which Aboriginal people shaped the Australian landscape with a sophisticated and ancient regime of fire management been recognised (Gammage 2011:41-43).

There was an initiative in the central Park Lands which brought together European and Kaurna people for a time. An area known as the Native Location or Aborigines Location was set aside on the north side of the River Torrens. It can be seen in Kingston's 1842 map of Adelaide, but was never a Government Reserve (Lees 1948). A Lutheran mission was established there by two German missionaries, Clamor Schürmann and Christian Teichelmann, who were on site from about 1838 to 1842. They wrote a vocabulary which is the basis for most of what is known about the Kaurna language. There were up to ten buildings on the site, including a school. Some were described as built of pise or brick, but they were relatively ephemeral, referred to as huts or sheds. The terms pise and brick probably both meant adobe (i.e. mud bricks).

These initiatives faded out and the site appears to have been abandoned in the mid-1840s. There is no reference to buildings on the site after 1848, and it disappeared from the list of government establishments in 1849. Governor Gawler's administration did not support the

Native Location, nor did the following governors Grey and Robe. They enforced the vagrancy laws to move on Indigenous people camped in the area, and the buildings were probably systematically demolished to discourage Aboriginal occupation. There was later a military camp on the site for a time (Foster 1990:11-33). Today, the area north of the river shown on Kingston's 1842 map coincides roughly with the southern half of the North Adelaide golf course, established in 1904. Many tonnes of fill have been brought in, and the land has been heavily landscaped. Archaeologists from the State Heritage Branch investigated the site in the 1980s, and they concluded that any artefacts or building remains are likely to have been destroyed or buried (Foster 1990).

South Australian colonists insisted on imposing English to the exclusion of all other languages. The Kurna language soon ceased to have value and is said to have last been spoken on a daily basis as early as the 1860s. A few Kurna names were recorded on early maps, however none of these were high profile streets or places. An example is Pinky Flat, which was part of a Kurna camping group before European settlement and a place where bilbies, also known as 'pinkies' by Aboriginals, were common (City of Adelaide 2017c; Sumerling 2011:214).

The Kurna vocabulary recorded in the 1840s has been put to modern use, and there has also been recent reconstruction of some placenames in the Kurna language. The River Torrens is variously identified as *Karrawirraparri* (red gum river) or *Tandanjapari* (red kangaroo river) (Hemming 1998:18; Amery 1997:1). One traditional name has been identified within the Adelaide Botanic Garden: 'the waterhole in the botanical gardens' was identified as *Kainka Wirra* (eucalypt forest) by Amelia Taylor in the 1930s and said to be of special significance to her father (Hemming 1998:19; Amery 1997:2). The present lake on First Creek in Adelaide Botanic Garden is known to have been constructed in about 1857 at an early stage of the garden's development, but it may have been an enlargement of an existing waterhole. Some Aboriginal people were still living a semi-traditional lifestyle in the parklands in the 1850s. The general area of the Adelaide Botanic Garden and Botanic Park is said to have been 'the site of camps, 'corroborees', ceremonies, burials and other activities', and one dead hollow red gum has been identified as an Aboriginal shelter (Hemming 1998:21). Alexander Murray depicted Indigenous people camped near the bridge over the Torrens in 1842 (Edwards 1972?) (Figure 1) and Eugene von Guérard sketched an Aboriginal encampment, believed to have been in the vicinity of Botanic Park in the 1850s (Sumerling 2010:142).

Traditional camping grounds also extended along the north side of the river over Pinky Flat and the site of Adelaide Oval (Sumerling 2010:214).

It was customary for the Indigenous community to participate in the celebration of the Queen's Birthday, to be given a feast and issued with rations and clothing (*SA Register* 23 May 1840:4):

the Aborigines will be assembled by the Protector and the German Missionaries, near the S.E. angle of the Government House grounds. The native children will sing a hymn in their own language, spell, read, and repeat the numerals. The ten commandments will be read, in the native language, to the whole of the aborigines, by one of the Missionaries. The natives will then dine on roast beef and pudding, and be supplied with rice, sugar, tea, and clothing.

The Queen's Birthday distribution and feast continued for at least ten years (*Adelaide Times* 23 July 1850, p. 4), but was then discouraged. The annual gatherings attracted large groups of Indigenous people who camped in the Adelaide Park Lands, and there was unruly behaviour and sometimes fights between rival groups. The government response was to limit the Queen's Birthday distributions in Adelaide, and move them outside to the recipients' home districts, removing the incentive to travel (Gara 2016:157).



Figure 1 – Indigenous encampment near the first bridge over the Torrens, 1842 by Alexander Murray

[Source: Sketch in Edwards 1972?]

The Indigenous people involved in these events were not all Kaurna. Some of the problems arose from the fact that there were also people from the River Murray and Encounter Bay camped in the Park Lands (Foster 1990:31). On the other hand, Kaurna people discouraged by their treatment in Adelaide were also engaged in a slow exodus over several decades, some moving to Point McLeay (Raukkan) on Lake Alexandrina, Poonindie near Port Lincoln, or Point Pearce (Bookooyanna) on the Yorke Peninsula (Hemming 1990:133; Gara 1990:75; 2016:157). Other Indigenous groups formed communities in places near Adelaide, like Clarendon, Willunga, McLaren Vale and Morphett Vale, some of which were ration stations (Gara 1990:72; 2016:157).

In 1879 a commentator on the Indigenous people of South Australia wrote that the Kaurna people (who he called the Adelaide tribe) were "extinct" (Gara 1990:64). He was quite wrong, but the comment probably tells us that in their dispersed state, the Kaurna were no longer conspicuous to many of the people of Adelaide. However, they never disappeared entirely. Organised corroborees as a form of public entertainment continued occasionally into the 1860s, and in 1874 the authorities once again found it necessary to use the vagrancy legislation to arrest Indigenous people camped in the Park Lands (Gara 2016:158).

Indigenous people became 'visible' on special occasions. In 1885 a grand corroboree was held in the grounds of the Exhibition Building in front of 20,000 spectators. This was followed by two football matches between Indigenous and European players (Gara 2016: 159-160; *Australasian Sketcher* 29 June 1885:98). Two more performances were held during the 1887 Jubilee International Exhibition. Held within and near the main Exhibition Building, these were a mixture of traditional dancing, a cricket match, spear-throwing displays, religious and patriotic concerts and a mock battle. The Indigenous people participating were mostly from outside Adelaide, and they lived in a temporary camp within the exhibition grounds, which the public were invited to visit for sixpence (Gara 2016:161-164).

These events of the 1880s were to prove exceptional, not the forerunner of greater acceptance of Kaurna people in the Park Lands. In the early twentieth century, the *Aborigines Act* 1911 gave the Chief Protector power to prohibit Indigenous people from entering certain areas. In 1912 the police removed all Indigenous campers from the Park Lands under threat of imprisonment. Now Kaurna people became truly "invisible" to Adelaide city dwellers, but they still existed (Gara 2016:166).

Racial attitudes changed slowly. It was not until the 1960s that significant numbers of Indigenous people began to move back into the city, and Kaurna people re-established their relationship with the Park Lands (Hemming 1990:134; Gara 2016:168-169). In the modern era, Indigenous people camping in the Park Lands are again tolerated as they were before 1911. That relationship was given official recognition by Adelaide City Council in 2001 when twenty-three individual parks within the Park Lands - most of them previously only identified by numbers - were given Kaurna names (Sumerling 2010:164). In the 182 years since Europeans arrived in Adelaide, Indigenous people have at times been welcomed and celebrated, included in ceremonies, regarded with curiosity as exotic or vilified as heathens, sometimes ignored, sometimes persecuted, banned from entry and arrested. However, through all these mixed experiences, they have never lost their links with the land.

Adelaide

The establishment of South Australia arose from a scheme of 'systematic colonization' first drawn up by reforming theorist Edward Wakefield in 1829 in his anonymous book *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonising Australasia* (Pike 1957:74-83). His ideas came from a number of places, such as reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Bentham argued for greater social responsibility and he did not support colonisation until a few years before his death.

Wakefield believed the existing Australian colonies had failed, because of incompetent government control, their military character, gender imbalance and dependence on cheap convict labour. He envisaged a more rational economic scheme in which a new province in southern Australia would be settled, with land sold at a high price to wealthy investors, and the money used to provide assisted passage to the deserving working class to provide a workforce. His vision has been summed up as offering 'solid opportunity and a civilising mission' (Pike 1957:74).

Wakefield had a high public profile, offering a broad theoretical vision gleaned from a number of sources, though he never provided details, and avoided the political lobbying that his followers initiated. He was difficult to work with, 'though his colleagues respected his genius without question, they found him by turns machivellian, satanic and sulky, all of which prevented them from taking him to their hearts' (Pike 1957:75). While admiring Wakefield's role in creating this utopian society in the antipodes, we should not forget that it was always at heart a highly commercial enterprise, intended to make profits from the sale of Crown land to customers.

The scheme would be centralised and regulated by controlling the sale of surveyed land, thus urban design and the survey process were central to the success of the project. Wakefield's theories attracted support, and the South Australian Association was formed to promote the scheme, which they did after some years of political persuasion. In 1834 the British Parliament passed the *South Australian Act*, enabling the process to begin (Pike 1957:75). Once the legislation was in place, Wakefield had little further association with South Australian settlement, and he never visited the colony.

The new province required a capital city to be laid out on an unknown site in a largely unknown part of the Australian continent. The task of finding that site and laying out the city was given to the Surveyor-General, William Light. Virtually the only thing that could be decided with certainty beforehand in London was the city's name: Adelaide, after the Queen Consort, formerly the Princess Adelheid of Saxe-Meiningen.

Potential Sources for the Adelaide Plan

Modern commentators have discussed a number of potential sources or 'precepts' (Cheesman 1986:81) for the elements of Light's Adelaide plan. One potential source was Pietro Cataneo's work *I Quattro Primi Libri di Architettura*, published in 1554 (Tokushige 2016:1). In it, Cataneo proposed a number of layouts for fortified cities, generally incorporating a grid plan of streets within a variety of geometric outlines, incorporating regularly-spaced rectangular squares or piazzas (Figure 2).

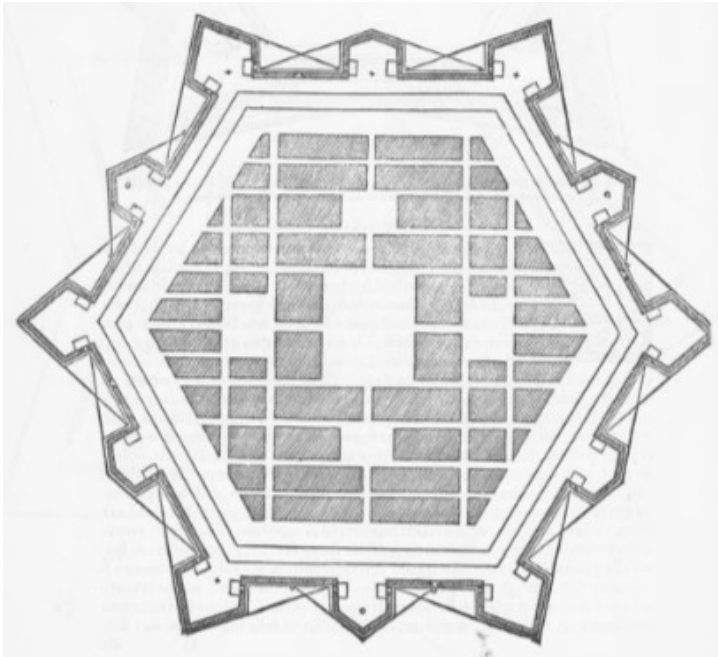


Figure 2 – City plan by Cataneo, 1554

[Source: Tokushige 2016:61]

Cataneo's plans, and those of other Renaissance theorists, have frequently been drawn into modern discussion of the origins of Light's plan (Johnson and Langmead 1986; Cheesman 1986:49-53; Bove 2004b:5).

Light was specifically instructed to make himself acquainted with colonial precedents in Australia, America and Canada (Elder 1984:127). The English-speaking colonies of North America certainly provided some interesting precedents for the Adelaide plan. New Haven, Connecticut, was one of the first, laid out in 1638 as a grid of nine squares of subdivisions around a central square of open space – a larger and more orderly village green (Cheesman 1986:68). Much later, in 1811, Manhattan was laid out around Central Park, then only a fraction of the size it is today.

The plan of Philadelphia, drawn in 1682, appears to have been the clearest precedent in Light's mind as he laid out the squares. Surveyor Thomas Holme laid Philadelphia out as a neat rectangle with a grid plan (Cheesman 1986:69-71). Symmetrically spaced within the plan are five squares, one at the centre, and one centrally placed in each of the four surrounding quadrants (Figure 3). Holme went even further and devised individual plans for each of the five squares, with distinctive patterns of pathways and tree plantings (Figure 4).

In 1733 the plan of Savannah, Georgia went to even greater lengths, with 28 squares arranged in rows, but it lacks the tidiness and simplicity of Philadelphia. There were other precedents: Granville Sharp's 'ideal township' of 1794, Allen Gardiner's 'ideal town' of 1830 (Williams 1974:392-394), and Robert Owen's industrial villages from 1817 onward (Cheesman 1986:85-87).

One plan that has attracted much attention is the plan of Torento [sic, now Toronto] in Canada, drawn by Captain Mann of the Royal Engineers in 1788 (Figure 5). For those studying the influences on the Adelaide plan, the Toronto plan is interesting for several reasons. It shows the city centre as a square urban subdivision, and within it are five squares, one at the centre, and the other four symmetrically surrounding it. The placing of the squares is neater and restrained than Philadelphia's. Even more interesting, the city centre is entirely surrounded by a 'Government Park', outside which are suburban subdivisions.

Here we see elements which clearly resemble those adopted in Adelaide fifty years later. However, despite its theoretical interest, we cannot place too much emphasis on the Toronto precedent, for the simple reason that, unlike Philadelphia's plan, it was never implemented. The cost of the scheme deterred the colonial government, and the site of Mann's planned parklands is 'occupied by a few cemeteries and industrial concerns' (Williams 1974:394; Cheesman 1986:80-81).

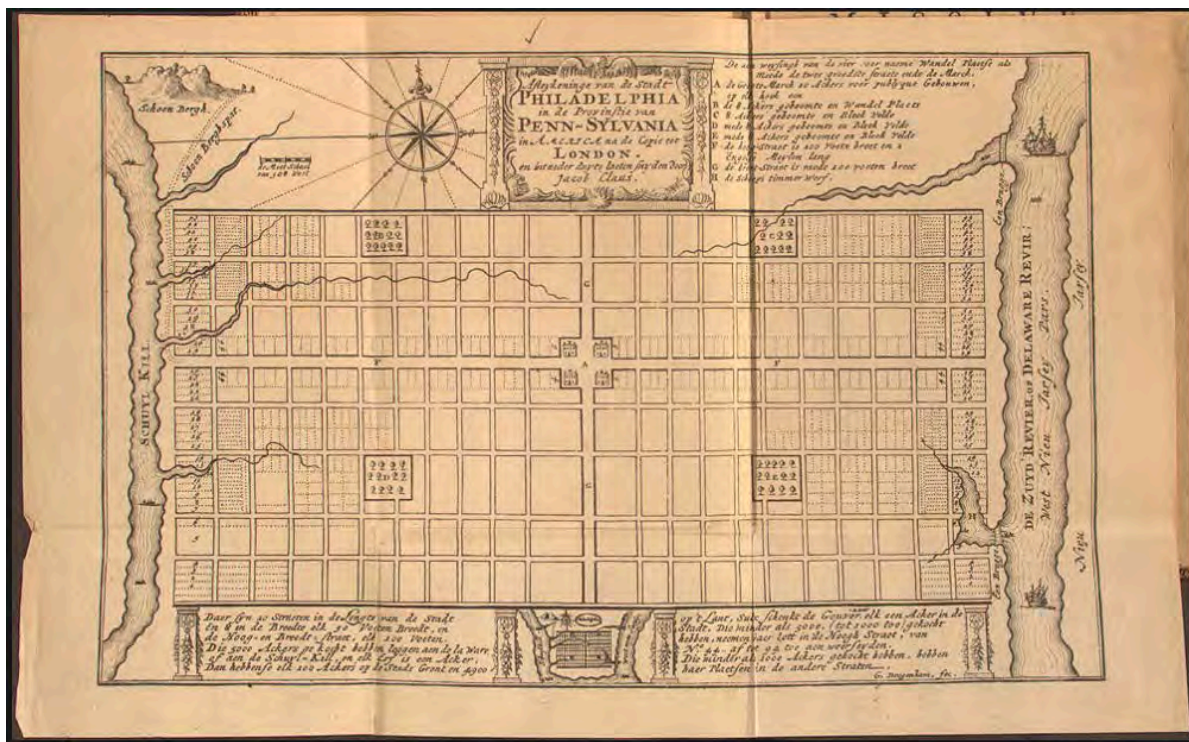


Figure 3 – 1682 Plan of Philadelphia
 [Source: Library of Congress in Open River 2017]



Figure 4 – 1682 Plan of Washington Square, Philadelphia
 [Source: The Cultural Landscape Foundation 2017a]

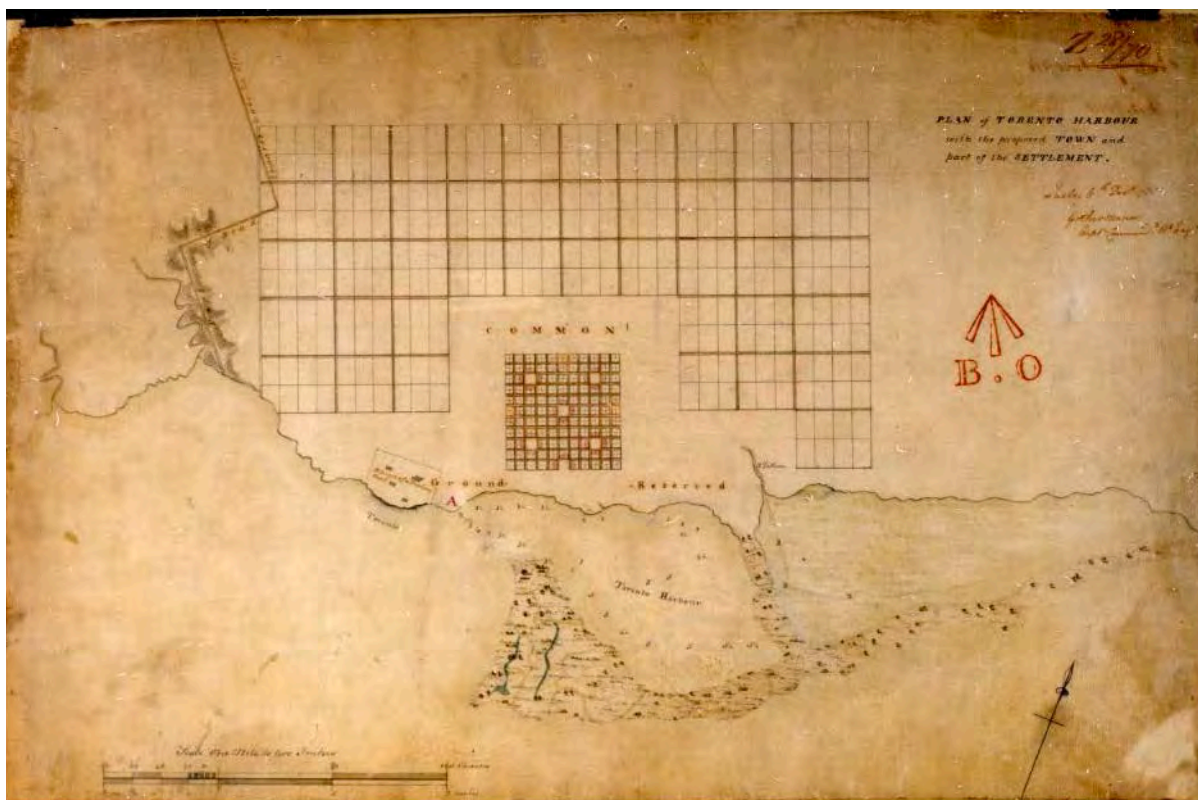


Figure 5 – Mann's plan of Toronto, 1788

[Source: Ng 2017]

William Light

When he commenced the survey for the city of Adelaide in 1836, William Light was 50 years old and had served as a Midshipman in the Royal Navy and an officer in the British Army. Born in Malaya of part-English, part-Portuguese, part-Malay descent, he spent several years living in the Mediterranean. He had served on Wellington's staff in the Napoleonic Wars, and later commanded troops in the Spanish and Egyptian armies. He is usually given the title Colonel, which was his rank in the Egyptian army, but his British rank was more junior. He was a Brevet Major, that is, a substantive Captain acting in the rank of Major. He was recommended by a military colleague to be the first Governor of South Australia, but Commander John Hindmarsh had applied and already been accepted. Light was instead appointed Surveyor-General of the new colony (Mayo 1937; Dutton 1960; Elder 1984).

Light's time in South Australia was to be brief. He was dead less than three years after he arrived. He spent some of that time in maritime and overland exploration, and he planned the town of Gawler and a few suburban subdivisions. His principal achievement was the plan for the city of Adelaide, completed in 1837, with its distinctive parklands and squares (Dutton 1960) (Figure 8).

Light's task was spelled out for him in regulations (June 1835) and instructions (March 1836) from the Colonization Commissioners. He was to choose the site for the first town of the colony, near a 'commodious harbour'. He was given advice on laying out the town: "You will make the streets of ample width, and arrange them with reference to the convenience of the inhabitants and the beauty and salubrity of the town; and you will make the necessary reserves for squares, public walks and quays." He was instructed to make himself acquainted with new town precedents in America and Canada and consider potential impacts of temperature, prevailing winds and rainfall (Elder 1984:127; Cheesman 1986:101-102).

Light divided the city into two distinctive areas, which straddled the River Torrens. The land was then divided into 1042 town acres: 700 in South Adelaide and 342 in North Adelaide.

Light then subdivided the land beyond the Park Lands into blocks. To be commercially successful settlement needed to be contained to avoid speculative land sales, and it needed to be designed and planned to attract free settlers and to provide them with security of land tenure. The South Australian Colonization Commissioners in the United Kingdom offered potential purchasers one acre in the future capital plus 80 country acres. Many of the acres were sold before settlers arrived in 1836 (Dutton 1960).

Unfortunately, much of what we should know about Light's work on the Adelaide plan has been lost. In January 1839, only months before Light's death, his hut in the Park Lands near the intersection of North Terrace and West Terrace burnt down. The fire destroyed most of Light's possessions, including his private journals, survey plans and professional papers (Elder 1967:117). We can only speculate on what was lost that day. Whether Light had written down the reasons why he designed the city and its parklands as he did, whether he recorded the historical influences that shaped his plan for Adelaide, what books and survey plans and draft sketches were amongst his papers, whether he knew of the plans for Philadelphia and Toronto, we can never know. A man whose plan for Adelaide influences urban design to the present day, and whom some regard as a town planning genius, is in many respects an enigma, his influences, motivations and aspirations largely mysterious.

Intended Use for the Park Lands

The Park Lands never had a single use, either in theory or in practice. No-one at the time ever defined in writing the intended uses for the land. The only official guidance was the locations of government institutions suggested in Light's 1837 plan. In practice, a great many functions have been located there over the 180 years since the land was surveyed: from a rifle range to a floating dance palace, an astronomical observatory to an explosives magazine, and innumerable cricket pitches and garbage dumps.

There has been conflict between recreational and institutional uses of the Adelaide Park Lands since the mid-nineteenth century. The expressions Light used to describe the land were 'Park Lands' (he also wrote 'Parklands' on at least one occasion), or 'Park Grounds'. It is common today to assume that meant land for public use, for amenity, relaxation and recreation, however, in the nineteenth century the word park had a number of meanings, and some of them had nothing to do with public use. Donald Johnson has pointed out that even as late as Light's time, in England one meaning of 'park' was an enclosed area of land held by a royal grant. It was usually not open to the public, but used exclusively by the monarch or the nobility (Johnson 2013:15-16).

In describing the layout of the three rectangles of North Adelaide, Johnson says that "Clearly the river and its banks and small glens were meant to be natural parks and walks and recreation for city people" (Johnson 2013:104). No one said so at the time however. The rivers and their banks at Gawler were left as open space by Light, just as were the banks of the Torrens.

Light never clearly spelled out the intended function of the Park Lands, although others later spoke for him. Nearly 40 years after Light's death, his assistant George Kingston wrote a letter to the press in which he said Light had described the land as: "parks, to be reserved from sale, and dedicated as Park Lands for the use and recreation of the citizens" (*Express & Telegraph* 14 November 1877:3). These words have been widely quoted since, and frequently attributed to Light, but they do not appear anywhere in his own papers. If Light really said that, it is interesting to speculate what he meant by 'use': clearly not the same thing as 'recreation'.

In Light's 1837 plan, he seems to have envisaged a division between government and community uses. He marked out nine areas of the parklands for government purposes, identifying sites in the Park Lands and Squares for Government House, a cemetery, military barracks, church (presumably the Anglican cathedral), store house, school, hospital and market. Obviously numerous roads crossed the parklands, and three bridges over the

Torrens were indicated on Light's plan. Soon afterwards the Native Location, a Botanic Garden (not the present one), an Astronomical Observatory and an Immigration Barracks would be added.

Given Light's military background, his use of the word 'park' may have implied a place for grazing animals and parking wagons and guns, rather than a place of public amenity. (This meaning is retained in our modern word carpark.) The Third Edition of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* has six meanings for the word 'park', most of which are nothing to do with public recreation. The fifth is:

5. *Mil*, etc. The space occupied by the artillery, wagons, beasts, stores, etc. in an encampment; these objects themselves collectively; a complete set of artillery, of tools etc. 1683; also, a place where motor (and other) vehicles may be left 1925.

While this meaning of the word may sit uncomfortably in a contemporary context, it must nonetheless be acknowledged. Likewise, we must also acknowledge that Light, as a career military officer, would have been familiar with this meaning of the word. Further, it should also be noted that Light set aside nine areas of the parklands for explicit government uses, and that from very early in settlement a large area of parkland was being used to graze government horses. By 1840 West Terrace Cemetery was in use, and Government House, the military barracks and Adelaide Gaol were all under construction. Within the next few years the Native Location, Botanic Garden, Astronomical Observatory and Immigration Barracks would all occupy space in the Park Lands, without any conspicuous public controversy.

To understand why these issues were not controversial at the time, we need to envisage the Adelaide landscape as it looked in 1837 (Figure 6). Decisions about future land uses were being made in a landscape which all looked the same. The Park Lands, the urban land inside them and the suburban land outside them were all covered in open grassland alternating with native scrub. Whereas today we see a sharp urban boundary where the buildings stop and the trees begin, in the early years of settlement that boundary existed only as surveyors' pegs and a line on a paper plan. Further, Adelaide began with a small population, and there was plenty of land for all purposes.

Another reason why the early spread of Park Lands encroachments caused limited controversy could have been due to their role in containing the commercial value of the surveyed acre allotments from speculative land sales. These encroaching uses were not considered a threat to such commercial values, but rather seen to support them (Cheesman 1986:94).

It wasn't long, however, before pressure for land began to manifest itself in controversies over land uses. It was only in the early 1850s that the recreational values of the parklands began to be widely recognised, and some areas were fenced, and gardeners appointed to maintain them. This phase marked a clearly identifiable evolution in community attitudes towards, and the cultural importance of, the Adelaide Park Lands that has continued throughout the history of the City and State.

The Park Lands remained Crown land until 16 April 1839, when purchased by Governor George Gawler to forestall private landholders. The purchase was never completed, and while most of the land has been under the care and management of the Adelaide Corporation since 1849, its legal tenure was long in question (Worsnop 1885).



Figure 6 – William Light's impression of the settlement of Adelaide in 1837

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. PRG280/1/43/242]

Physical Change and Development

In Adelaide's early years, physical development of the Park Lands was not given a high priority among the many other things that had to be done. There were a few incidents that set the pattern for future developments. From earliest settlement, squatters had taken up land along the banks of the Torrens for activity such as brick-making and lime burning, and some of these encroached on the Park Lands. On 14 May 1838, Governor Hindmarsh gave them notice to leave. The brickmakers resisted, claiming there was no suitable brick clay anywhere else, but a public enquiry found there was abundant good quality clay on the western floodplain. Within a year most of the squatters had shifted their industries down the river, although there were still one brickworks in the Park Lands as late as 1844 (Ioannou 1986:8-9).

We might give Hindmarsh credit for setting a precedent for protecting the Park Lands from encroachment by private developers, but almost certainly his motives were less noble. He had recently surveyed the private Village of Hindmarsh adjacent to the west Park Lands (in breach of the Wakefield principle of concentration of settlement), and even at the time it was rumoured that his ejection of the brickmakers was intended to create customers for his land (Ioannou 1986:8-9; Parsons 1974:4). At the same time the West Terrace Cemetery and Native Location were in use, and government horses and other animals were grazing on the land. No-one objected to these public uses, but private occupation was to be prevented.

One physical impact which began to transform the appearance of the Park Lands very quickly was cutting down trees for firewood. As the settlement grew, demand for domestic firewood increased rapidly, and industries such as brick-making and lime burning had a large appetite for fuel. Even after they shifted to the suburbs, firewood cutters continued to harvest the Park Lands without restriction. In the next few decades, virtually all native trees in the Park Lands were cut down. Townsend Duryea took a series of panoramic photographs of the city in 1865 that show sheep grazing in large areas of grassland almost entirely bare of trees (Figure 7).

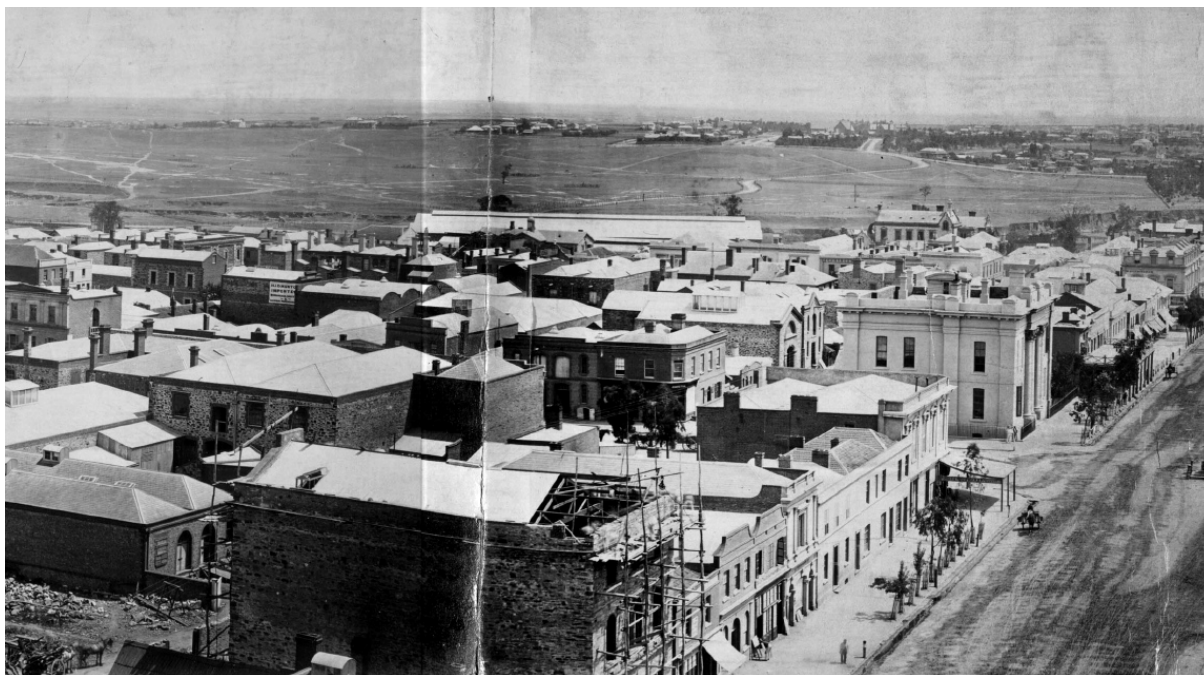


Figure 7 – Duryea's 1865 photograph looking north-west along King William Street

[Source: State Library of South Australia, B5099]

Some of these early uses persisted for a long time. Government-sanctioned limestone and sandstone quarries opened along both banks of the Torrens, and supplied city builders for decades. The Torrens Parade Ground is the floor of an early quarry. Horseracing events were held in the east Park Lands from 1845. Extensive areas of the Park Lands were used to dump street sweepings and other rubbish, including animal carcasses and butchers' waste, until the early twentieth century. Commencing in the 1850s, farmers could pay the Corporation a rental fee to graze animals in the Park Lands. The practice was discontinued for sheep and cattle in 1972, but there are still a small number of horses grazing in part of the north Park Lands today (Sumerling 2011:217).

Modifications to Light's Plan

The plan of the City of Adelaide that Light drew in 1837 was essentially the end of his contribution (Figure 8). The outer perimeter of the Park Lands was defined in 1838, with his approval, but he made no further contribution to the plan's development. The details of the city plan continued to evolve for decades and are still evolving today.

The early changes were made to tidy up some deficiencies in Light's plan. Although the 1838 surveys show he envisaged the city would become the centrepiece of a large metropolitan area, he gave little thought to the traffic connections that a large population would require. The obstacle of Government House blocking the main northern street was moved aside, and road connections between the city, North Adelaide and the suburbs were strengthened. The evolution of street connections, tramways, railways and bridges would continue for decades, every addition taking up space and redefining the division of the Park Lands into segments.

Another deficiency of Light's 1837 plan was its lack of north-south streets. While between North and South terraces there were nine east-west streets, arranged in a hierarchy of one-chain and two-chain widths, in the much longer distance between West and East terraces there were only four north-south streets, Morphett, King William, Pulteney and Hutt, spaced about 400m apart. As with most aspects of his plan, Light was silent about the reason. This lack was mostly attended to by the private landholders who subdivided their Town Acres for resale, in the process creating narrow north-south private roads - little more than laneways - running between the major east-west streets. There was no administrative control over these developments on freehold land. This created numerous ad hoc and untidy intrusions into the

classical orderly grid of Light's 1837 plan. The Kingston map of Adelaide shows this process already underway in 1842, as landholders made their own arrangements for connecting streets (Figure 9).



Figure 8 – William Light's 1837 survey of Adelaide
[Source: Second Report on Colonization of South Australia, House of Commons, 1837]



Figure 9 – Portion of Kingston's 1842 survey of Adelaide

[Source: Adelaide City Archives]

Revisions to the plan continued into the twentieth century and accelerated in the second half of the century. Nobody was quite sure how to use the squares, and their plans were perpetually being re-designed. The population of the city peaked at nearly 40,000 during the First World War, then began to fall steadily as new subdivisions and shopping centres in the suburbs attracted residents, dropping sharply in the 1950s. In 1960, the city's population was below 30,000, and in that decade, it plunged to below 15,000, roughly what it had been in the 1850s (Linn 2006:206-217) (Figure 10).

The merchants and landlords on Adelaide City Council panicked as they watched the city die. The 1960s saw a wave of measures to draw population back into the centre, and in the great age of the motor car, most of these measures took the form of facilitating traffic movement, an aspect of city planning that Light had not foreseen. West Terrace was widened, a new major north-south connector, Frome Street, was created (although its full extension was never completed, creating an odd scenario for the Adelaide grid layout where a key roadway stops mid plan). East Terrace was also linked directly to Grenfell Street by a new loop intruding into the Park Lands. Sporting facilities and the Swimming Centre appeared. The layouts of the squares were streamlined to take more cars, and high-rise car parks proliferated throughout the city. There were significant impacts on the squares and parts of the Park Lands as these measures were carried through (Linn 2006:206-217).



Figure 10 – City of Adelaide Population 1840-2010

[Source: Wikipedia Commons]

Beginnings of Management

Early management of the Park Lands was hindered because no-one knew who was responsible. Attempts at forming a local government corporation in 1840 and 1849 were short-lived. In 1849 the City Commission took over management of the Park Lands, establishing the precedent that they were under local government control. When a stable Adelaide Corporation was formed in 1852, one of its first acts was to appoint a Park Lands Ranger. Fencing of Park Lands perimeters and city squares began in 1850, for the first time giving them visible boundaries, and was completed in 1880 (Sumerling 2011:173 and 217).

Almost simultaneously George Francis was appointed the first Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden in 1855, and its development began. The Gardens officially opened to the public on 4 October 1855 (Minutes of Adelaide Botanic Garden, October 1855; Aitken *et al* 2006:22). Various structures have been built in the Gardens, including the Palm House (SAHR # 10850) in 1877 and Museum of Economic Botany (SAHR # 10642) in 1881 (Aitken *et al* 2006:33-34).

William Light, in creating the Park Lands, had given no indication to how he envisaged they were to be landscaped. His 1837 plan (Figure 8) shows the Park Lands randomly speckled with trees, but this appears to be a sketch of what he found there at the time rather than guidance for future management. Francis had strong ideas about promoting civic amenity through urban gardens, and during his tenure from 1855 to 1865 he co-operated with the Corporation by planning formal gardens in Brougham Place, Palmer Place and Victoria Square, and provided plants from the Botanic Garden nurseries for the first tree plantings in the Park Lands and in urban streets (Jones 2007:37) (Figure 48).

In 1861 William O'Brien was appointed the first City Gardener, and he implemented Francis' recommendations along with modifications of his own. In his twelve years in the role, with the cooperation of the Botanic Garden, O'Brien carried out an impressive campaign of tree plantings in the squares and parklands, a mixture of northern hemisphere exotics, natives and Pacific Island species, creating avenues of trees along major roads. The large Moreton Bay figs and *Araucaria* trees in the city squares date from this period of planting (Jones 2007:38-39).

The early 1850s established a number of precedents: that the Adelaide Corporation had the primary responsibility for managing the Park Lands; that the land would be fenced and physically defined; and that gardens and avenues would be planted to improve amenity and encourage public recreation (Jones 2007:38-39). These precedents created broad policies which have continued with some adjustments to the present day.

During this early period, controversy over development arose when a grandstand was built at the racecourse (1855), now Victoria Park. Figure 11 shows several grandstands at Victoria Park in the 1890s. The issue was not the activity of horseracing, but the erection of a permanent structure. The contentious issues and public debate associated with infrastructure in the Park Lands continues to the present (Help Save the Adelaide Parklands 2017). The Victoria Park Grandstand was constructed in 1882 (SAHR # 13661).



Figure 11 – Crowds at Victoria Park Racecourse, c.1890s

[Source: Adelaide City Archives, Image No. HP0096]

Other permanent structures included spectator stands on the north side of the River Torrens by the SA Cricket Association. In 1872 Adelaide Oval was established, showing a commitment to use the Park Lands for recreational purposes. Later the George Giffen (1882, 1889, 1929), Sir Edwin Smith (1929) and Mostyn Evan (1929) Grandstands were built at Adelaide Oval (Marsden et al 1990:242-243).

Improvements in the Park Lands in 1856 included fencing the parklands and squares. New north-south roadways were added between North and South Adelaide and the neighbouring urban areas, which were not provided for in Light's plan. In 1877 the City Bridge was opened over the Torrens (Marsden et al 1990:241-242).

A Variety of Uses

The legacy of Francis and O'Brien was carried on for the remainder of the nineteenth century by their successors, Richard Schomburgk, director of the Botanic Garden 1865-1891, and William Pengilly, City Gardener 1867-1883. The emphasis was on formal plantings and civic amenity. Under Schomburgk, North Terrace was planted to become an avenue of trees, whereas photographs from the 1860s showed it bare and dusty. He planted 9,000 trees in Botanic Park, with avenues framing vistas to distant buildings (Jones 2007:40). Figures 12, 13 and, 14 show different perspectives of the Park Lands and Squares and their extent of development during the 1870s-1880s.

In 1880 the Conservator of Forests, John Ednie Brown, was commissioned by the Corporation to produce a 'System of Planting' for the Park Lands. Rather than Schomburgk's long vistas, he proposed dividing the Park Lands into discrete segments by enclosing areas of open space with a perimeter of trees, with further internal clumps of trees breaking up the open areas (Jones 2007:42). The general principle of open spaces defined by treed perimeters informs park management practices to the present.



Figure 12 – Cattle grazing in east Park Lands; paddocks lined with trees and fences, c.1873
[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B3744, Adelaide Views Collection]



Figure 13 – View looking north across Torrens, c.1880s (Adelaide Oval grandstand top right)
[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B3742, Sweet Collection]



Figure 14 – Looking south from Post Office Tower in Victoria Square, 1887

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B63015/1, Album Collection]

The first Adelaide Hospital opened in the eastern Park Lands in 1845, and the much larger Adelaide Lunatic Asylum beside it in 1852 (Figure 15). Both have been demolished, and their sites are now within the Botanic Garden. The Hospital began moving to its present site in the angle of North Terrace and Frome Road in 1855. Like most institutional buildings in the Park Lands, no boundary had ever been drawn for their use or containment, they were simply erected on the abundant land which was regarded as – among other things – a reserve for government purposes. While there were no adjacent buildings, there was no need for a boundary. It was the act of surveying the new Botanic Garden which defined the land available to the Asylum and the Hospital for the first time (Daly 1987:25). The *Adelaide Park Lands Act 1878* defined the land parcels throughout the Park Lands.

A Police Barracks was built off North Terrace in 1851 and an Armoury was added in 1854. Another Barracks to house Imperial troops was built in 1859, and later incorporated into the Destitute Asylum, which opened in the 1860s. When the Port Adelaide railway opened in 1856, the site chosen for the terminus was on North Terrace west of the Assembly chamber. The station buildings stretched as far as Morphett Street, and grew over the decades as sixteen lines of track, goods sheds, carriage sheds and engineering workshops were added up until the 1890s. The Salisbury, Glenelg and Holdfast Bay railways were built through the Park Lands, along with numerous tramlines. The Holdfast Bay line later branched off to Noarlunga, Belair and ultimately Melbourne, making it and the North Terrace railway yards very busy indeed. At the turn of the twentieth century, the South Australian Railways took up the largest single institutional area within the Park Lands (Figure 16) (Map: City of Adelaide and Parklands, 1895, Adelaide City Archives).

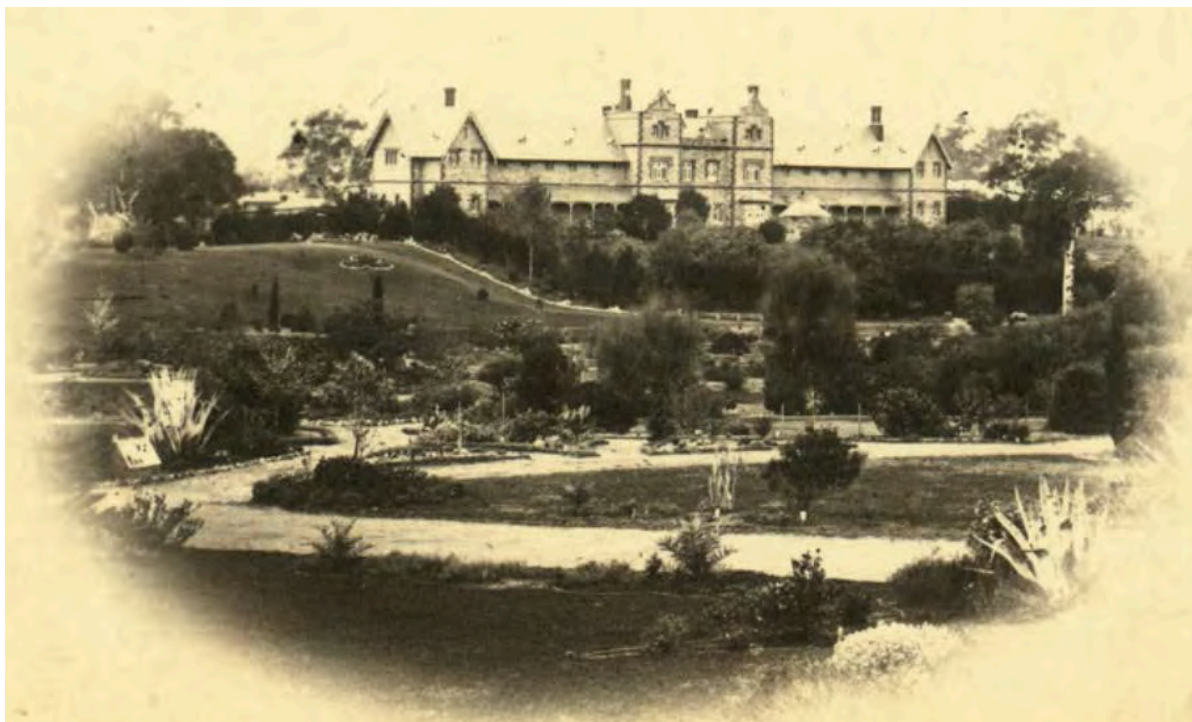


Figure 15 – Adelaide Lunatic Asylum and Adelaide Botanic Garden (foreground), c.1860
[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B2773, Adelaide Views Collection]



Figure 16 – Partially dried-up River Torrens, looking south-east towards Railway Yards (foreground) and Adelaide Hills (background), c.1865
[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B6562, Adelaide Views Collection]

An Institute was built on the north side of North Terrace in 1860, which with the later Museum and State Library buildings of the 1870s, the University Building (now Mitchell Building) in 1882, and Elder Conservatorium and the Art Gallery in 1900, created what is commonly known as the 'cultural precinct' for the city (Marsden et al 1990:245-272).

The uses of the Park Lands were many and varied: an Astronomical Observatory and a Slaughter House were both in use in the west Park Lands in the 1860s (Figure 17); a Rifle

Range in the south Park Lands (Sumerling 2011:151-152); the Adelaide Oval was in use by 1871; and the Adelaide Zoological Gardens were carved out of Botanic Park in 1883 (Marsden et al 1990:278-279).



Figure 17 – Slaughter House in the Park Lands, c. 1914 [now demolished]

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B260, Adelaide Views Collection]

A dramatic improvement to the Park Lands' civic amenity came in July 1881 when the Adelaide Weir, in the new material of reinforced concrete, was opened by Governor Sir William Jervois and the Torrens Lake was formed (Figure 18). Earlier the same year Adelaide's underground sewerage system was sufficiently advanced for sewage to be diverted from the Torrens to the new treatment depot at Islington. Until the *Adelaide Sewers and Waterworks Act 1878*, sewage drained directly into the Park Lands, which were described in 1872 as a "receptacle for all kinds of filth" (Sumerling 2011:177).

Prior to the weir the River Torrens dried up in summer. Improvement works included building up soil in Elder Park and landscaping the embankments. Botanic Park was landscaped into an 'English' park with a carriage drive connecting Frome Road, Hackney Road and Victoria Drive (Marsden et al 1990:31).

The Torrens Lake and the sewers between them went a long way to transforming the River Torrens from an embarrassing seasonal chain of smelly mudholes into a very attractive civic asset. A sewerage maintenance depot was built in the west Park Lands beside Port Road. In response to the lake the first rowing clubs were formed (the oldest, Adelaide University Rowing Club, in August 1881 just a month after the lake opened), and there are now fourteen boathouses around the Torrens Lake. The Corporation began to landscape public areas such as Elder Park, with its rotunda donated by Sir Thomas Elder in 1882 (Figure 19) (Marsden et al 1990:240-241).



Figure 18 – Weir over River Torrens, c.1870s

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. PIC/8510/66, Sweet Collection]



Figure 19 – Elder Park and Rotunda, c.1882 [looking north along King William Road]

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B3124, Adelaide Views Collection]

What had started as a few government activities scattered across Light's 1837 plan had grown enormously. By 1900 more than a mile of Park Lands along North Terrace from beyond West Terrace to beyond East Terrace was occupied by some form of government institution: railyards, parliament, the governor's residence, housing for the destitute, the cultural precinct, police barracks, the university, exhibition grounds, hospital, botanic garden and asylum. Some of them extended north all the way to the River Torrens (Figure 20).

Since the 1850s the tension between institutional uses and public open space had flickered sporadically. The ever-growing needs of an expanding city were placing greater pressure on development within the Park Lands. Conversely, population growth was placing similarly greater importance on the recreational values that Park Lands they afforded the surrounding

population. As an expression of the rising level of concern, the Park Lands Preservation League was established in 1903 to oppose further alienation of parkland. This pattern of City growth and increased recreational importance forms the basis for of an evolving community attitude to the Park Lands, and their associated cultural importance, which has continued unabated. It also forms the basis of perennial controversy, as the needs of a growing city are often found to be at odds with the growing cultural values of its Park Lands (Sumerling 2011).



Figure 20 – River Torrens, looking south-west towards newly opened public library from a point a little west of the Albert Bridge, 1884

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B10708, Adelaide Views Collection]

Twentieth Century

The Corporation's longest-serving City Gardener was August Pelzer (1899-1932) who in his long tenure probably had more influence than any other individual on the design and execution of the Park Lands as we see them today. German-born and professionally qualified in horticulture, Pelzer had extensive experience in Germany and England before arriving in Adelaide in 1886. He had further years of experience in local gardens and nurseries before taking on the role of managing the parklands and squares (Jones 2007:49-51).

Pelzer was not impressed with everything he saw. He believed parts of the Park Lands were "ugly and neglected", and he thought there were too many gum trees. He removed large numbers of them, mostly replacing them with deciduous exotics. However, he was impressed by Brown's 1880 'System of Planting', which he adapted in his own way to bring order and system by creating areas of open space defined by perimeters of trees (Jones 2007:49-51).

Figure 21 shows the part of the Park Lands in 1920. Figure 22 shows Pennington Garden in 1936 with its landscaped gardens and meandering paths. Figure 51 is a plan of the Park Lands in 1917.

Much of Pelzer's term coincided with numerous terms as Lord Mayor by Charles Glover. A dynamic and very wealthy businessman, Glover backed Pelzer's projects and was responsible, among many other things, for having the three Glover playgrounds in the Park Lands created, two of them at his own expense (Jones 2007:45-52).



Figure 21 – Part of the Park Lands, 1920

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. PRG280/1/19/19, Searcy Collection]



Figure 22 – Overhead view of St Peter's Cathedral and Pennington Garden, 1936

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B64029, Acre 704 Collection]

In the first decade of the twentieth century animals were still grazing in the Park Lands (Figure 23). Figure 50 shows the extent of depasturing land in 1895. Around 1910 the sheep and cattle markets opposite the Newmarket Hotel in the Park Lands were removed to Gepps Cross and a city refuse destructor was built to incinerate rubbish instead of dumping it in the Park Lands (Marsden, Stark and Sumerling 1990:39).

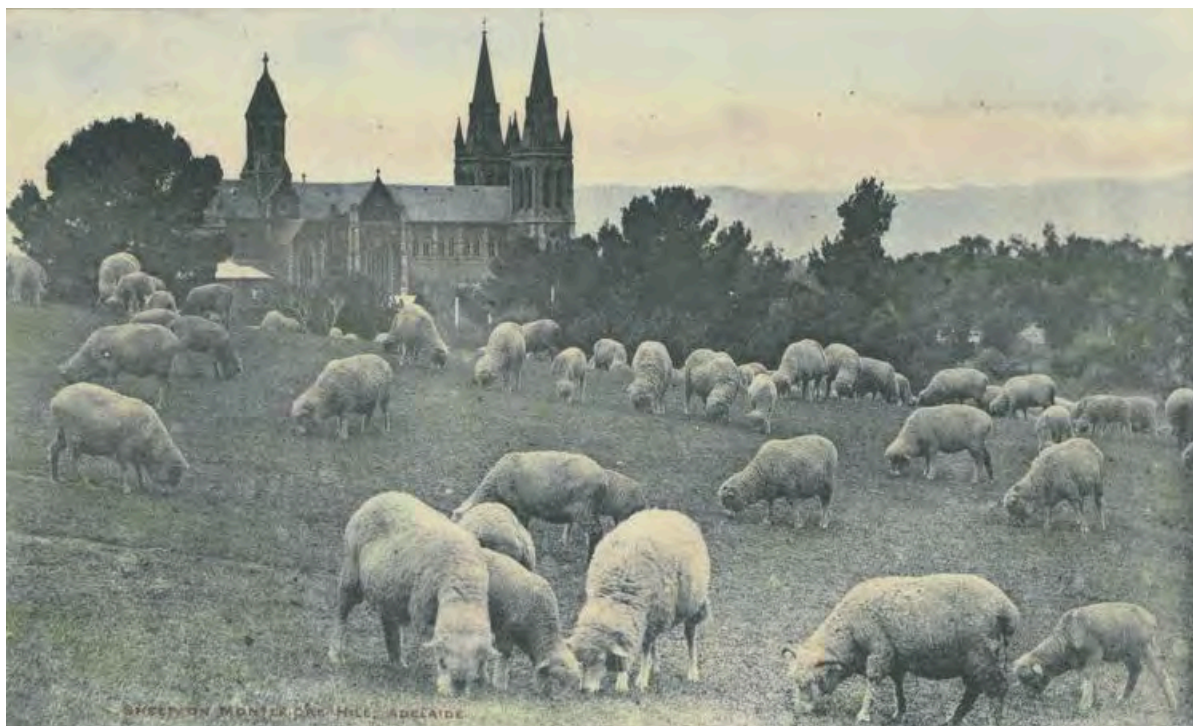


Figure 23 – Sheep grazing on Montefiore Hill, c.1905

[Source: Adelaide City Archives, Image No. HP0364]

The squares were altered to allow for transport purposes in the early twentieth century. Currie Street was opened through Light Square in 1910, followed by roads through Hindmarsh Square in 1914 and Hurtle Square in 1924 (review of plans from various periods). Figure 24 shows Hindmarsh Square in 1940 and Figure 25 shows Victoria Square in the 1950s.

The Cheer-Up Hut was a wartime institution established in 1915 between the Railway Station and the River Torrens. Housed in a remarkably ugly building (ironically), it was intended to provide sober and respectable forms of recreation to travelling servicemen, and distract them from the other forms otherwise available in the West End. It remained in use after the war as a hostel and club for ex-servicemen, and was revived during the Second World War. After that war, it became the Elder Park Migrant Hostel until it was demolished in 1970 to form part of the site for the Festival Centre (Sumerling 2011:223-224).

The floating *Palais de Danse* nearby was a remarkable vessel, a two-storey timber fantasy dance hall in Moorish architectural style, which was moored in the Torrens off Elder Park in 1924. It had a much shorter but eventful life, being washed ashore, grounded or sunk on several occasions, and in 1929 it was demolished, its timbers severely rotted (Sumerling 2011:58-61).

The Wattle League began in 1909 as an Australian women's nationalist movement, and was undertaking plantings of wattles and other trees in the Park Lands by 1914. (Interestingly the form that Australian nationalism took at the time was expressed by planting both wattles and English oaks.) During the war, the League changed its emphasis to patriotically supporting the troops overseas. In September 1915, while the fighting at Gallipoli was still going on, the Dardanelles Memorial was built in the south Park Lands. It was one of the first monuments to the Gallipoli campaign anywhere in the world. The 1920s saw a new element introduced

into garden design by the movement to commemorate the dead of the Great War, and war memorial plantings, usually of avenues of trees, occurred in the Park Lands, as throughout Australia (Jones 2007:46).



Figure 24 – Hindmarsh Square, 1940

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B26308, Adelaide Views Collection]



Figure 25 – Victoria Square, c. 1950s

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B63137]

From the 1850s to the 1920s, all these efforts had been planned and overseen by a City Gardener with their own City Gardens Department, reporting directly to the Town Clerk and the Council. This began to change in 1926 when the administrative structure of the Corporation changed, and the City Gardener was subordinated to the City Engineers

Department. Gardening initiatives in the Park Lands were subject to additional layers of not-necessarily-sympathetic administrative scrutiny (Linn 2006: 214-217; Sumerling 2011:223).

Figure 26 shows the River Torrens with gentle sloping, tree-lined banks in 1940.



Figure 26 – River Torrens and Elder Park, 1940 [looking south towards city]

[Source: State Library of South Australia, Image No. B70747, Rose Series Postcards]

These changes coincided with the rise of William Veale, who became Deputy City Engineer in 1926, rose to City Engineer in 1929, and was promoted to Town Clerk in 1947, remaining in the post until 1965. Veale was an enthusiastic amateur gardener but had no professional qualification or experience in the field. In 1957, he went on a study tour of parks, gardens and leisure facilities in America, Canada, the United Kingdom and Europe. He was a formidably efficient administrator and skilled in the arts of bureaucracy, but unfortunately is remembered as authoritarian, blunt and bad-tempered to everyone around him. He liked to drive around the city to check what his subordinates were up to. Veale played a major role in everything that happened in the Park Lands, and it is likely that he recreated some of what he saw on his overseas travels in the Park Lands (Linn 2006:214-217; Sumerling 2011:223).

Veale had a large influence on the Park Lands' design in the mid-twentieth century. He achieved a great deal, probably playing a bigger role in terms of areas of formal plantings established under his regime than predecessors like Schomburgk, Brown or Pelzer. Veale oversaw the creation of many of the popular formally-planned areas that exist today: Bonython Park, Rymill Gardens, Grundy Gardens, Light's Vision and the removal of Colonel Light's statue there from Victoria Square in 1938, and perhaps most notably Veale Gardens, designed by City Gardener Stanley Orchard and constructed during the early 1960s to lay out an extensive formal garden in the long-neglected south Park Lands. Veale's term from the 1920s to the mid-1960s was the last period in which a single individual can be identified as the driving force behind coordinated garden development in the Park Lands (Jones 2007:56-57).

Formal landscaping included reshaping the land, new trees and other plantings, statues and new water bodies, such as the lake in Rymill Park. A rose garden was added on the corner of Dequetteville Terrace and Bartels Road, based on Queen Mary Gardens at Regent Park in London with semi-circular beds and a large Moreton Bay Fig Tree. The design of Veale Gardens included hundreds of tons of soil, which was transported from the lake site in Rymill Park. Veale Gardens had formal and sunken gardens, grottos, rockeries, a floral clock, waterfalls and other water features, a conservatory, statues, roses and winding paths (Figure

27). The development of Bonython Park included shallow lakes, lawns, picnic grounds, gardens, steep banks to the river and sporting fields (Sumerling 2011:226-243).

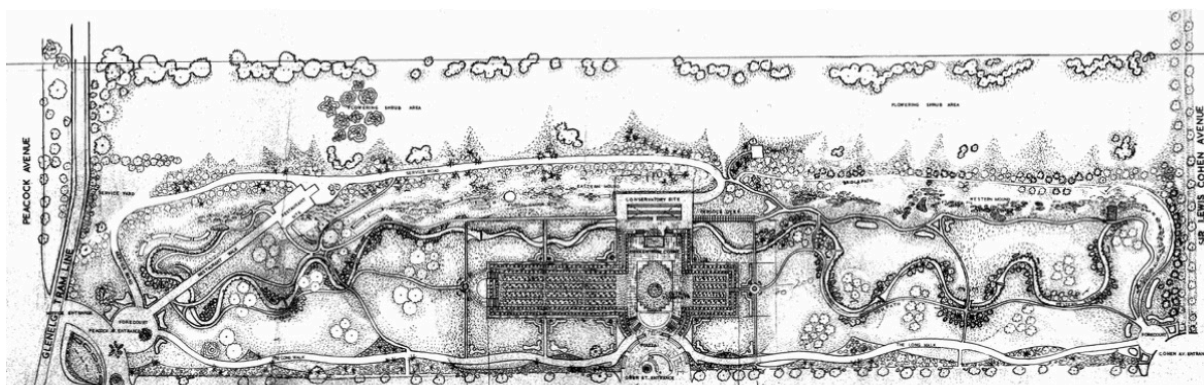


Figure 27 – Original plan of Veale Gardens, c.1959

[Source: ACC Archives in Jones 2007:57]

Besides the landscaping and planting projects, the provision of transport and sporting infrastructure by state and local governments, and the organised spectacles such as military exercises, circuses and balloon flights, the Park Lands always had a social and cultural life that arose spontaneously from people's daily activities and went mostly unrecorded. We have seen that the population of the City of Adelaide peaked at around 40,000 in the early twentieth century, and all of these people lived within a few hundred metres walking distance of Park Lands. Probably nearly as many people lived in the immediately surrounding suburbs, from Mile End round through Brompton, Prospect, Walkerville, Kent Town, Rose Park and Unley to Keswick. They constituted a population in the tens of thousands who found the Park Lands accessible and convenient for a great variety of activities: walking to work, exercising, picnicking, parties, horse-riding, weddings, boating, swimming, playing sport and flying model aeroplanes. The wooded Park Lands also provided many places where people could be unobserved, and social activity there has always included a darker underbelly of drinking, gambling, sexual vice, crime and violence (Sumerling 2011). This great range of informal activity leaves little physical trace.

During the vigorous period of garden development, institutional uses of the Park Lands were evolving. This new generation of functional developments generally did not involve expansion into new areas, but the replacement of old functions as they declined. The railway yards had grown into an enormous complex occupying nearly half the space between North Terrace and the river. From 1883 activities such as the maintenance and repair workshops began to move to suburban Islington, freeing up much of this space for other uses (*South Australian Register* 25 February 1892:6). The Mounted Police Barracks were built in former railway land on Port Road in 1917 (Marsden *et al* 1990:235-236).

At the opposite end of North Terrace, the Asylum had moved to the suburbs and its extensive gardens, stretching up Hackney Road to the river, became vacant. The Botanic Garden coveted this land, but the Metropolitan Tramways Trust moved faster. When the tramways were electrified in 1908 the land became Adelaide's principal Tram Depot, covered by 24 tram-line tracks, shelter sheds, workshops and administrative offices in the new Goodman Building (Marsden *et al* 1990:280).

The government put pressure on the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society to move its annual show to Wayville to free up land for the expansion of the University of Adelaide. The move was supposed to happen by 1915 but difficult negotiations and the First World War intervened. The first show opened in Wayville in 1925, and the Jubilee Exhibition Building and oval were taken over by the university. Bonython Hall was built on North Terrace in 1936. The Exhibition Building remained in use as administrative offices and an examination venue until it was demolished in 1962. Most of the nineteenth century showgrounds now form the university's North Terrace campus (Garnaut *et al* 2016).

A new Railway Station was built in 1928, and the new Parliament House opened in 1939. The Asylum was finally demolished in 1937 and the land was absorbed by the Botanic Garden. During the Second World War, air raid shelter trenches criss-crossed the east Parklands, and an anti-aircraft battery occupied Victoria Park racecourse (Bell *et al* 2016 vol. 1:5-6; 48-50; Sumerling 2011:156-158).

Modern Times

The long hiatus of the Depression and the Second World War meant that the pace of change in the Park Lands slowed from the 1930s to the 1950s. During the 1950s, animal grazing in the Park Lands was wound down, and the stock fences were removed for the first time in a hundred years. Adelaide High School opened on West Terrace in 1951, and the Adelaide Swimming Centre in the north Park Lands in 1969. These were the last permanent major intrusions into what had previously been open space. Veale Gardens was the major development of the 1960s. Then between 1969 and 1974 the Government Printer's Office and the City Baths on King William Road were demolished, and the Festival Centre was built on their sites and part of the former railyards. From the 1980s the pace of development accelerated, although the pattern remained re-utilisation of land being relinquished by another user, rather than intrusion into green space (Linn 2006:178-217).

By the 1980s there was a move away from creating formal gardens and planting exotics. Instead the emphasis turned to re-instatement of native vegetation. Director of Parks Andrew Taylor, "sought to replant parts of the Park Lands with native and indigenous grasses, shrubs and trees; a philosophical agenda that continues to today" (Jones 2007:58). However, a gift from Adelaide's Japanese sister city of Himeji simultaneously led to the creation of the most formal landscape of all; the Himeji Garden, created by a team of Japanese landscape gardeners between 1982 and 1989 (Sumerling 2011: 249-255).

The dwindling of the railyards continued. In 1984 long-distance passenger trains and goods marshalling were moved from Adelaide to Keswick Station in the west Park Lands, freeing up an even larger area of land along North Terrace. It didn't remain vacant for long. In the late 1980s the Adelaide Station Environs Redevelopment project (ASER) brought unprecedented land uses; the Hyatt Hotel and Convention Centre were built on former railway land, straddling the remaining passenger tracks. The 1928 Railway Station was refitted as the Adelaide Casino (now Skycity). What was unprecedented was that the Hyatt Hotel, Convention Centre and Casino were granted long-term leases, the first major and overt commercial activities tolerated in the original footprint of the Park Lands. There have now been three even-larger Convention Centres and other commercial uses in the former railyards. The new Royal Adelaide Hospital has recently opened on former railway land at the western end of North Terrace, while the universities have also expanded their educational and research facilities nearby (Mosler 2006).

At the other end of North Terrace, transport activities were also winding up. The Adelaide electric tramway network lasted exactly fifty years. The tramlines through the streets were wound up in 1953, and (except for the Glenelg tram, which had its own transport corridor) the last tram ran in 1958. The MTT became the State Transport Authority (STA), and the Park Lands depot was partly demolished and used to park the bus fleet for the next 40 years. A new Bicentennial Tropical Conservatory opened to the public in November 1989, squeezed in between the Botanic Garden and the bus depot. It was not until 1992 that the buses departed, but the State Government held off definitive plans over the future of the land for years. It did, however, make a commitment that the Goodman Building and one remnant of the Car Depot would be retained amid new developments on the site. In 1998, it was finally resolved that in a double shift the Botanic Garden administration and Herbarium would move to the vacated STA buildings, and the National Wine Centre would be built on the site thus made vacant. Plans for the new complex were completed in 1998, the Botanic Garden occupied the STA complex in 1999, and the National Wine Centre opened in 2001 nearby (Aitken *et al* 2006:51-53,58-59).

This was the most radical change to the Botanic Garden's public face since its inception in 1855. The Garden achieved its greatest increase in land area – even larger than the acquisition of the Asylum site in 1937 – as the STA site was vacated and subsequently incorporated into the garden. The entire western side of Hackney Road from Botanic Road nearly as far north as the River Torrens was part of the Garden. Ever since 1855 the Garden had always been thought of as facing North Terrace; now it faced Hackney Road. Its administrative and scientific buildings had been discreetly screened from the street by trees, buildings and the Asylum wall; now they were on public view.

Amidst these dramatic developments, a new Adelaide Park Lands Preservation Association (the fourth) was formed in 1987 to oppose further intrusion (The Adelaide Parklands Art Prize 2017). In recent decades, the Grand Prix and Clipsal 500 car races have again led to controversy over permanent infrastructure in the east Park Lands. In 2005 parliament passed the *Adelaide Park Lands Act* which recognises and limits commercial uses for the land. It is administered by the Adelaide Park Lands Authority with joint state and city representation, but land uses in the Park Lands remain controversial.

David Jones (2007:34) credits Light's plan for Adelaide as having powerful symbolic value, as a new plan created for the new settlement at the heart of the new settlement theories of the South Australian experiment:

The role of this Plan is as a significant symbolic expression of the spirit of the new colony and the essence of the Wakefieldian vision upon which it was based. The Plan is a significant spatial design, in terms of its town planning legacy, but also the role it played and continues to play in articulating a design and planning character for the City as well as numerous other settlements throughout South Australia that reside within versions of the same plan model. Thus, there is symbology value with the Plan associated with the origins of the settlement, value in its contribution to town planning and settlement theory both in South Australia and internationally, and aesthetic and spiritual value to the City that it encircles and symbolises.

The Deputy Mayor Lewis Cohen's quote from 1910 is relevant today (Adelaide City Council 1977:25 in Marsden, Stark and Sumerling 1990:46):

...the parks are the pride and glory of this City – the best and greatest asset it has, or ever can have. To every generation they are becoming more valuable. Let us, therefore, keep them inviolate; keep them intact; keep them sacred from the hands of the despoiler.

Chronology

Year	Event
1829	Edward Wakefield publishes <i>Sketch of a Proposal for Colonising Australasia</i>
1834	Government established in South Australia under the <i>South Australian Colonization Act 1834</i> (UK)
1835	South Australian Company formed
1836	First European settlers arrived in Adelaide
	Administration of South Australia commenced under Governor Hindmarsh
1837	Colonel William Light completed survey of City of Adelaide
	Immigration Depot in use in Park Lands
	Native Location established
	West Terrace Cemetery in use
	First survey plan of Adelaide published in London

Year	Event
1838	Park Lands boundaries defined by suburban surveys
	Squatters evicted from Park Lands
1839	Death of William Light
	Arrowsmith plan of Adelaide published
	Park Lands purchased by government
1840	Adelaide City Council created (short-lived)
1841	First section of Adelaide Gaol was built
1845	Adelaide Hospital built in Park Lands
1849	Permanent Adelaide City Council created
	Council took over management of Park Lands
1852	Adelaide Corporation was formed, and the first Park Lands Ranger was appointed
	Adelaide Lunatic Asylum built in Park Lands
1855	Adelaide Botanic Garden established on present site
	Grandstand built at Victoria Park racecourse
1856	Improvements in the Parklands and Squares included fencing and planting
	Adelaide Railway Station built in north Park Lands
1859	Exhibition Building and showground built off Frome Road
1860	Rifle range in south Park Lands
1861	William O'Brien appointed first City Gardener
1865	Richard Schomburgk, Director of Botanic Garden, commenced extensive tree plantings
	Duryea panorama depicted Park Lands
1866	Botanic Park created
1871	Adelaide Oval opened
1880	John Ednie Brown's 'System of Planting' adopted
	City Council formally given care and management of Park Lands
1881	Torrens Weir completed, creating Torrens Lake
	Sewage diverted from Torrens to Islington treatment works
	First rowing clubs formed
1882	Adelaide University moved to North Terrace
	Elder Rotunda built
	Zoo excised from Botanic Garden land
1899	August Pelzer becomes City Gardener
1903	First Park Lands Preservation Society formed
1908	Metropolitan Tramways Trust Tram Depot and Goodman Building erected
1917	Thebarton Police Barracks built in north-west Park Lands
1918	First Glover children's playground opened
1925	Royal Show moved from Park Lands to Wayville, university took over grounds
1938	Former Hospital and Lunatic Asylum buildings demolished
	Light's Vision built Montefiore Hill
1947	William Veale appointed Town Clerk
1951	Adelaide High School opened on West Terrace
1966	Veale Gardens completed

Year	Event
1969	Adelaide Aquatic Centre opened in north Park Lands
1972	Last livestock grazed in Park Lands
1973	Festival Centre opened
1984	Most rail services except local passenger trains moved to Keswick
1980s	Indigenous plantings in Park Lands commenced
1985-1895	Adelaide Grand Prix held, partly in east Park Lands
1985-1988	ASER development on North Terrace
1987	Fourth Adelaide Park Lands Preservation Association formed
1989	Bicentennial Conservatory opened
	Himeji Garden opened in south Park Lands
1992	State Transport Authority vacated the Hackney Road depot
1997	Botanic Garden acquired former STA land and buildings
2005	Adelaide Park Lands Authority formed under the <i>Adelaide Park Lands Act 2005</i>
2008	Park Lands and City Plan entered on the National Heritage List

DESCRIPTION

The inner perimeter of the Park Lands was shown on Light's 1837 plan (Figure 8), defined by the terraces, which is the name Light gave to the streets defining the outlines of the rectangular surveyed urban areas. (With one exception, oddly: Mackinnon Parade at North Adelaide.) However, the outer perimeter was not defined, simply suggested by a vague curving dotted line. It was only with the commencement of the suburban surveys in 1838 that the Park Lands were given a sharp outer edge. The Park Lands perimeter thus became defined by the space left between the city's urban survey and the suburban surveys. The Park Lands plan is depicted in its entirety in the Arrowsmith plan of 1839 showing the layout of suburban Adelaide (Figure 45). The plan of the whole city departs from the symmetrical precision of some of its parts. Because of Light's responses to local topography, its outline forms what might be described as a geometrically-drawn pear shape, flattened on its western side.

The topography of the Park Lands is simple, mostly flat, with irregularly shaped slight elevations on the plain which Light utilised as his urban subdivisions. The most prominent feature is the shallow valley of the River Torrens, which runs from east to west across the middle of the plan and was used by Light to demarcate the city proper from the dormitory suburb of North Adelaide.

Today large areas of the Park Lands are built up, especially in the zone between North Terrace and the River Torrens (Figure 52). The last major intrusions into Park Lands open space were the construction of Adelaide High School, completed in 1951, and the Adelaide Swimming Centre (now Aquatic Centre), opened in 1969. However, there have been extensive new developments on land relinquished by older uses, such as the railway yards and the tram depot. These areas of intensive institutional use are specifically excluded from the Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout National Heritage Place (Figure 53). However, they lie within the Park Lands as defined in Light's surveys of 1837 and 1838.

Since 1837 the Park Lands have had many uses and have been impacted by human activities in many ways. At the time of European settlement, the land was described and depicted as being grassland with a sparse cover of trees, grouped into associations depending on soils and availability of water, including areas of Gray Box, River Red Gum and Mallee. The natural environment was altered very quickly. The first major impact was

felling trees, principally for domestic and industrial firewood, but also for building materials and to clear land for grazing. Mid-nineteenth century settlers thought it was right and natural to clear native vegetation and replace it with familiar European species.

When sheep and cattle grazing commenced in the Park Lands, exotic pasture grasses were planted, which provided more nutritious feed, and out-competed the native grasses. After 180 years, very little indigenous vegetation survives anywhere in the Park Lands: a few trees in West Terrace cemetery and the Botanic Garden, and some small patches of native grasses and orchids (Long 2003). Identifying which examples date back prior to European settlement has been complicated since the 1980s by campaigns to revegetate the Park Lands, so that patches of indigenous species of trees, shrubs and grasses have been increasing in numbers for thirty years.

Modern transport has re-shaped the Park Lands. While Light's 1837 plan showed some roadways (intended and indicative), the Park Lands today are divided into segments by approximately 30 roadways and railways which cross them. These segments have mostly been named and recognised as individual parks, and their structure forms the basis for modern park management. In addition, there are many more pedestrian and cycle paths within most of the parks. Despite the many institutional intrusions, the largest single land use in the Park Lands is still open space, mostly grassland with tree plantings. In many places, the trees are planted as a perimeter around a park, the resulting avenue reinforcing the adjacent roadway in defining the space. In the nineteenth century, the tree plantings were predominantly of exotics, although some monumental indigenous trees such as *Araucaria* and *Ficus* species were included. In more recent decades, the tendency has been to plant natives.

The character of these open space areas varies with the form of the tree plantings. In some places, particularly in the south Park Lands, the planting is extremely informal, with avenues along perimeters and cycle paths, and the spaces in between these left as grassland. These are areas intensively used by schools and sporting organisations. Some areas in the north and west Park Lands were planted as olive orchards from as early as the 1850s. Then there are the institutions which consist of large open areas, West Terrace Cemetery, Victoria Park racecourse, the Botanic Garden and Botanic Park. Much of the public open space has been shaped in semi-formal ways: Elder Park, Bonython Park and Rymill Park. Finally, there are the highly formal plantings, notably Veale Gardens and the Himeji Garden.

Nowhere are the Park Lands entirely clear of buildings and structures. There are buildings of all sorts scattered at intervals throughout the publicly accessible land: maintenance sheds, public toilets, club houses, sporting pavilions and grandstands, gas and water supply infrastructure, boat sheds, memorials and statues. The more prosaic working structures are often concealed in a grove of trees or behind a screen of bushes.

The squares have their own character. Essentially, they are little parks, mostly grassland, with large shady trees and some formal garden beds. Several of them have a central focal point, such as William Light's grave in Light Square and Queen Victoria's statue in Victoria Square. Each square has a distinctive street network: Whitmore and Wellington squares simply have perimeter roads; Hindmarsh and Hurtle squares both have roads crossing in them, but Hurtle also has a full perimeter road system; while Hindmarsh has only pedestrian access in its northern half. Light Square has perimeter roads and an east-west road, and its northern sector is semi-circular, not rectangular like all the others. Victoria Square has its perimeter road laid out in a lozenge shape, with an east-west road across its centre. Each square is criss-crossed by pedestrian paths through its grassland.

Historically, the squares have had many layouts, shaped by 180 years of constant change. Nearly every plan in the Adelaide City Archives shows a different layout in the squares. In the Kingston map of 1842 all the squares are shown completely blank (Figure 46). In an 1865 plan they are densely planted with rows of trees, and each half of Victoria Square has

a curved square of pathways (Figure 48). At times King William Street has continued north-south through Victoria Square, at other times not. An 1871 plan shows the squares with rustic meandering pathways, their plans all different. By 1880 there is a completely different complex of geometric pathways in Victoria Square, and each of the smaller squares has its own layout. An 1876 aerial engraving shows the squares with formal path and garden arrangements, again all different, and by the time of a similar 1892 engraving, they have all changed again. The internal arrangements of the squares have been the most fluid element of the Adelaide city plan.

Light's plan

The 1837 plan of Adelaide is distinctive (Figure 8). While some of its elements are reflected in other city plans, the combination and integrity today found in Adelaide's is unique; there is no other city in the world like it. These features include:

1 Simple Geometry

The basic geometric element of the Adelaide plan is the rectangle. Its surveyed building areas have no circles or other curves, no other polygons, such as triangles or octagons. The largest block of allotments is usually referred to as the 'city square mile', but in fact it is neither square nor a mile. It is a rectangle much longer from east to west than it is north to south, by a ratio of about 3:4. The north-south distance is a little less than a mile, east-west is considerably longer than a mile.

The overall city urban area is composed of four large rectangles and numerous smaller ones. Their sides are not all parallel; the three rectangles which make up North Adelaide are turned at angles in response to their topographical setting, forming two triangles of parkland between them. The road network connecting the rectangles forms more triangles in the parkland. The romantic suggestion has been made that the dominant rectangular plan is inspired by a Roman army camp, or *castra*, but the form has so many historical precedents that it is probably simplest to regard it as a universal motif of town planning.

2 Grid Plan Streets

Within the surveyed building areas, the streets are arranged in a strict rectangular grid. There are no diagonals within the surveyed rectangles. There is nothing innovative about the grid plan; it has been in use since classical times. The ancient Greeks used it for the port of Piraeus and their colonial cities such as Siracusa and Alexandria, the Romans spread it throughout Europe. Within the Adelaide grid, there is a logical hierarchy of major and minor thoroughfares, wide streets and narrow streets.

The street hierarchy in Light's 1837 plan retains high integrity today; nine east-west streets between North and South terraces, one-chain and two-chain widths; and four north-south streets in the much longer distance between West and East terraces, Morphett, King William, Pulteney and Hutt, spaced about 400m apart. In North Adelaide, there were five east-west streets between Mills and Lefevre, one east-west street between Palmer and Robert, and three east-west street between Brougham and Mann; and three north-south streets between Barton and Strangways/Palmer/Brougham, and one north-south street between Kingston and Mackinnon.

This original layout remains readily discernible despite subsequent roads through the Park Lands and Squares, and laneways through the city's land parcels, for improved connectivity and transportation.

3 Symmetry

The city 'square mile' has a clearly-defined north-south central axis along King William Street, which serves as an armature supporting the rest of the structure. The symmetry is not obsessive; it loosens on the eastern perimeter of the square mile, which is extended to accommodate more town acres. It breaks down even further in North Adelaide, but the largest rectangle there also has its structure defined by the central axis of Jeffcott Street.

The dominance of King William and Jeffcott streets is reinforced by squares of public open space midway along their length.

These attributes of orderliness, spaciousness and logical structure seem to be clearly intended to make a statement that Adelaide was a consciously-planned city, deliberately designed to be different from the other major settlements of Australia. The older cities of Sydney (1788), Hobart (1803), Brisbane (1824), Perth (1829) and Melbourne (1835) all began with a small area of rectangular grid planned streets which still form their central cores today, but around that they developed untidy, makeshift plans, intended to accommodate a small short-term settlement of soldiers and convicts. There was no vision of how they might develop as large free settlements in the future, and no provision for significant areas of open space.

Adelaide on the other hand was designed as a large city from the outset. And it was not just large; it was also gracious, orderly and attractive. It sacrificed large amounts of what could have been commercially valuable land to provide amenity for its residents. It was a visual embodiment of the 'systematic colonization' that was at the heart of Wakefield's plan for South Australia. No other major planned city existed in Australia until Canberra, designed in 1912 and built in the following decades. The 80-year time gap between Adelaide and Canberra shows how far ahead of its time Light's plan was (Marsden 2000).

4 Response to Topography

There is circumstantial evidence that a draft plan for the City of Adelaide arrived from London in 1836, presumably with Light, but no copy of it survives today. No-one connected with the settlement of South Australia had ever set foot on the Adelaide Plain, so the plan could not take into account the topography to which it would be applied. In 1831 Captain Collett Barker had climbed Mount Lofty and saw water glittering in an inlet, but died soon after and his written report was third-hand (Dutton 1960:175). In 1834 Captain John Hart sailed up the Gulf and later claimed to have walked over the site of Adelaide, but left no description of it (Bride 1969:53). In the same year Captain John Jones saw "a beautiful harbour" and reported "the country ... was very fine, the soil rich and black, the grass very high and thick, and the country abounding in kangaroos and emues [sic]" (Napier 1969:251).

Light most likely brought with him a 'notional plan' for a city, a template that could be laid over whatever the land held. The plan was probably just the 'square mile' with its five squares. Light did not simply trace this plan onto the land. He began with it as an outline, but adapted it to the land as his survey progressed.

His responses to the topography took several forms: (a) incorporating the valley of the Torrens into the plan as the gap between Adelaide and North Adelaide, (b) arranging the three rectangles of North Adelaide to conform to the slopes of the land and the north bank of the Torrens, departing from symmetry and parallel rectangles in the process, (c) recognising Montefiore Hill as the starting point of the Jeffcott Street axis, (d) positioning the western side of the square mile along a natural crest commanding a view of the western plain and (e) allowing the eastern side to depart from a symmetrical plan where the topography provided level space, to maximise saleable allotments.

5 Functional Divisions

The division of Adelaide into two city urban surveys north and south of the river valley and defined by the parklands greenbelt gives the city its distinctive form. While Light did not explicitly state what the two divisions of the city were to be used for, he provided a number of hints. All of the government functions and churches on Light's 1837 plan are within or around the southern urban area, the square mile. There are none indicated within the northern urban survey. From this we can infer that Light envisaged the commercial and administrative functions of the city would be within the square mile, and indeed within the northern half of it, and North Adelaide would be predominantly residential: a dormitory suburb.

6 Internal Open Spaces

Within the urban surveys, the plan provided six squares, or public open spaces, surrounded by building allotments. Here there is no innovation either. The medieval village green is an obvious ancestor. Throughout Europe, the English square, French place, Spanish plaza, Italian piazza or German platz provides a public open space in the midst of a built-up area. Traditionally, it might be centred on a well or fountain, or in front of a palace or cathedral. It is a space for communal activities, such as markets, religious festivals, military parades, political demonstrations. European cities usually had disordered plans of medieval origin, and the squares were dotted around irregularly. Italian Renaissance architects drew designs for ideal cities with grand plazas, but nobody was going to demolish Florence or Rome, for instance, to build them.

After the great fire of London in 1666, authorities recognised an opportunity to rebuild as a geometrical city with squares at its major intersections. A plan was drawn, but there were no powers or money to enforce it, and the rebuilt city was just as untidy as the old one. The impulse to add internal open spaces to cities persisted in Britain into the nineteenth century: the Circus in Bath (1754-1768, Piccadilly Circus in London (1819) and Edinburgh New Town (1767-1850) (Figure 28) were examples, demonstrating that recent and contemporary precedents were familiar when the Adelaide plan was being drawn.

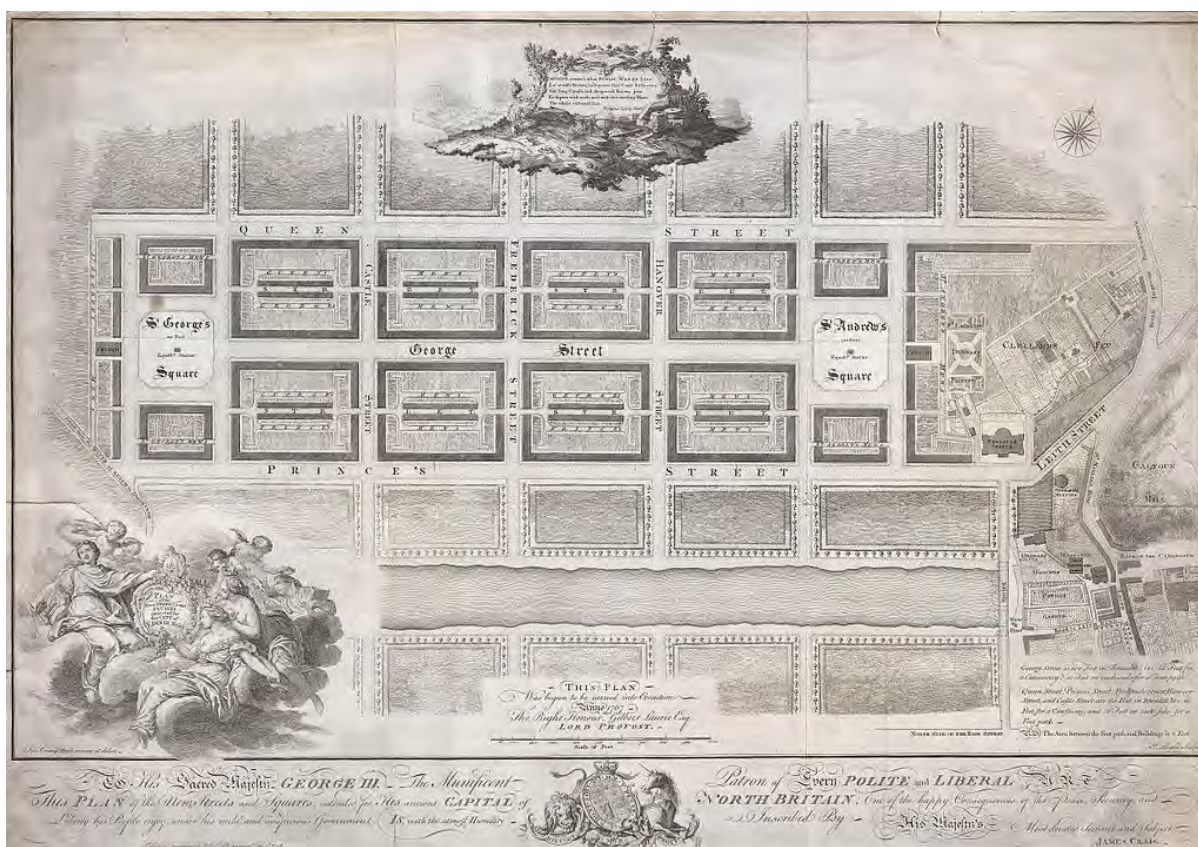


Figure 28 – Plan of Edinburgh New Town, 1768

[Source: Geographicus 2018]

It was the colonial era that provided opportunities for planners to design cities on greenfield sites. Commencing in the sixteenth century, European colonial powers began planning geometrically laid-out cities with public squares for the New World. The Spanish laid down a series of rules for the design of colonial cities, in the Laws of the Indies. Among many other things, they stipulated that a colonial city should have a geometrical grid plan with a main thoroughfare, and be centred on a main square (Hutchings 2006). We should recall that William Light spent many of his early years in Spain. Both Catania and Palermo in Sicily have been suggested as models for the pattern of major streets crossing in squares, and churches in large public spaces (Mayo 1937:125; Daly 1987:13). Light was familiar with Catania and had published several sketches of the city.

The plan of Philadelphia, drawn in 1682, appears to be the clearest precedent in Light's mind as he laid out the squares (Figure 3 and 4). Philadelphia was laid out as a neat rectangle with a grid plan. Symmetrically spaced within the plan are five squares, one at the centre, and one centrally placed in each of the four surrounding quadrants. The integrity of Philadelphia's town plan has been affected by the diagonal 1917 Benjamin Franklin Parkway in the north-west corner of the city grid and by bordering expressways (The Cultural Landscape Foundation 2017b).

We can conclude that William Light must have known the plan of Philadelphia; the resemblance between its layout and that of the City of Adelaide is too close to be coincidental. It may well have been the basis for a draft plan that was drawn in London for Adelaide. However, it would over-simplify things to say that Light based his plan for Adelaide on that of Philadelphia. It would be more accurate to say that part of Light's plan for Adelaide – what we now call the city square mile – was drawn with knowledge of the plan of Philadelphia in mind.

A further possible influence on thinking in Adelaide was the schemes of Robert Owen from 1817 onward, for housing the workforce in Scottish factory towns. He provided squares of open space which were specifically for the purpose of gymnastics and healthy exercise. Unlike theorists like Jeremy Bentham, Owen actually put his ideas into practice and built model towns for his workforce.

7 External Open Spaces

Entirely surrounding the surveyed urban areas of Adelaide and North Adelaide, Light laid out a perimeter of open space, eventually varying in width from 600m in the south down to 100m in places at North Adelaide, and totalling about 800ha in area. The 'parkland' forms a greenbelt that is clearly visible when flying into Adelaide or as viewed from Mount Lofty (Figures 30 and 31). The name had taken shape in Light's mind even before he surveyed the place. Describing a very early sketch plan in February 1837 he wrote, the "dark green round the town I proposed to the Resident Commissioner to be reserved as Park Lands" (Elder 1984:34).

London has its Hampstead Heath, Paris its Bois de Boulogne, Berlin its Tiergarten, Rome its Campo Marzio, but all these are parks, not parklands. Theorists such as John Claudius Loudon wrote about belts of parkland around a city in the 1820s, a few proposed plans of Canadian towns, such as that of Toronto in 1788 had a parkland belt (Figure 5), however it was never laid out. Allen Gardiner in 1830 recommended that "a park surround every town, like a belt one mile in width" (Cheesman 1986:90). There is no sign of these ideas in physical form today, except in Adelaide.

Other than Toronto, there appears to be no historical precedent in either ancient or modern times for a major city plan drawn up with a belt of parkland entirely encircling it, separating the city centre from the suburbs. We have no evidence of whether Light knew of these theoretical propositions for town design, but they would surely have been discussed by those involved in the South Australian colonisation project. The perimeter Park Lands are a distinctive feature of the Adelaide city plan.

The first plan of Adelaide clearly shows the Park Lands, 'The City of Adelaide in South Australia', which was drawn in 1837, "Surveyed and Drawn by Colonel Light", and presented to the House of Commons in London in December of that year to accompany the report of the Colonization Commissioners: *Second Report on Colonization of South Australia*.

The 1837 plan shows an undefined outer boundary. It shows the Park Lands without giving them a name, depicted as partly treed and partly open space. Only the inner perimeter along the terraces was sharply defined; the outer perimeter was drawn as a roughly dotted line. It would be defined the following year as the suburban surveys took shape.

The uses of the Park Lands were also still taking shape. Light's 1837 plan does not simply show trees and grassland; it also allocates places for a number of buildings and structures. These are all government or community facilities, ranging from Government House to the cemetery. No government functions are shown within the surveyed allotments.

The squares and encircling Park Lands of Adelaide cast a long shadow over town planning in South Australia. The speculative townships of Beverley, Brompton and Woodville were surveyed along Port Road in 1849, each with a symmetrical plan and one or more internal parks. In 1864, Surveyor-General George Goyder drew up a standard plan for country towns with a parkland perimeter similar to Adelaide's (Figure 29), and during the great Strangways agricultural expansion of the 1870s, his surveyors dotted the wheat belt with miniature 'Adelaides'. Maitland on the Yorke Peninsula is a particularly fine example (Meinig 1988:173-175; Williams 2007:96-99; Marsden 1991:41).

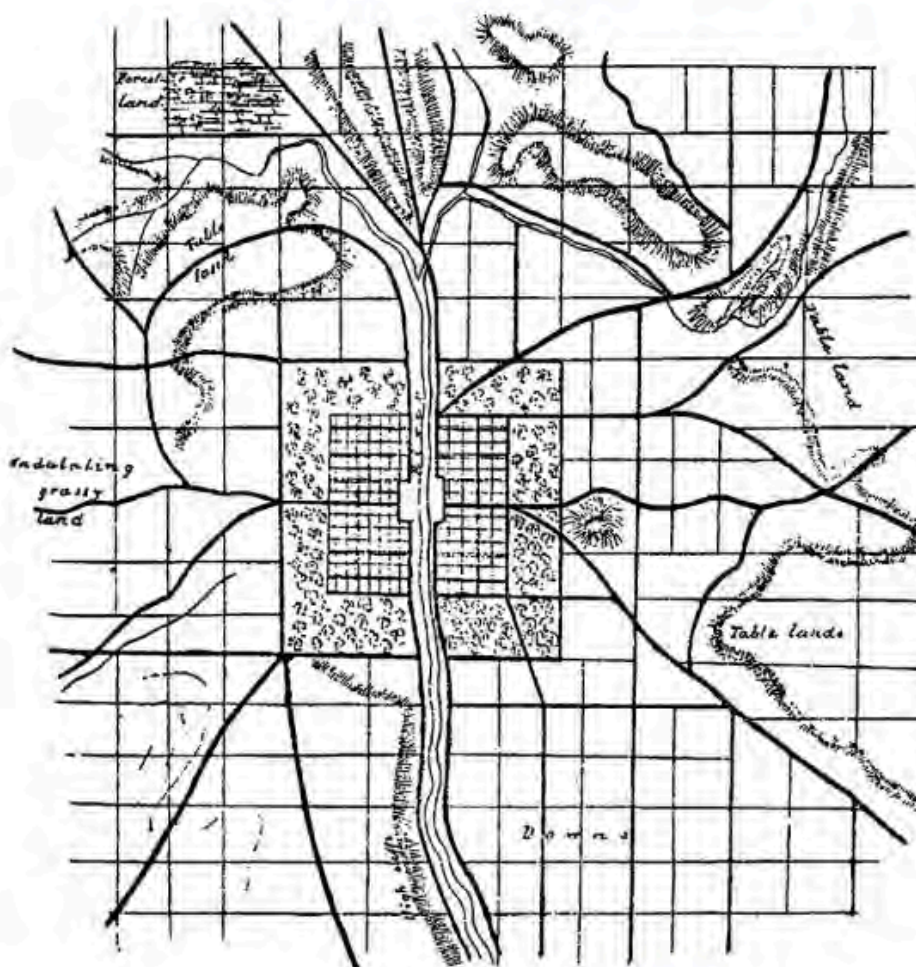


Figure 29 – Goyder's ideal town planning model, 1864

[Source: Amati 2008:112]

The Adelaide Park Lands and Squares are approximately 955 hectares today.¹ The two areas of built form are North Adelaide and Adelaide (originally referred to as South Adelaide). There are 27 parks and 6 squares (Victoria, Light, Hindmarsh, Hurtle, Whitmore and Wellington) that form the Park Lands, as managed by Adelaide City Council (refer to 2010 'Map of Existing Uses in the Park Lands' – Figure 55).

¹ The original Park Lands were approximately 930 hectares. The squares were included as part of the Adelaide Park Lands in 2005.

State Heritage Places

There are over 70 individual State Heritage Places within the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, as illustrated in Figure 57.

Landscape Character

The Park Lands have a diverse landscape character including:

- native grasses;
- grassed areas;
- mature trees;
- formal gardens;
- biodiversity areas;
- olive plantation;
- water bodies; and
- River Torrens.

Reports by Taylor Cullity Lethlean (2011) and Jones (2007) go into detail about the land uses, built form and vegetation species within each of the 27 Parks and 6 Squares, and should be referred to in relation to specific elements and the management of the place.

The landscape character of the Park Lands is illustrated in the photographs at the end of this report (Figures 30-44 and Figure 54). The landscape character provides a diverse setting for the Park Lands, which contrasts with its built form.

The Victorian Landscape Guidelines define three types of landscapes (Heritage Council of Victoria 2015:10-13):

- **designed landscapes** – include trees, avenues, parks, gardens, cemeteries, plazas and other landscapes and may be associated with significant buildings. They are often the work of a particular landscape designer, architect or planner. Most designed landscapes have a high degree of modification from the original natural landscape and landforms; vegetation and drainage systems may all have been changed;
- **organically evolved landscapes** – express the interaction between land use and natural systems over time. Because these landscapes represent the accumulation of layers of change, without any overt comprehensive design intent (although some limited intent may be exercised, such as through planning controls), they are often referred to as ‘vernacular’ landscapes; and
- **associative landscapes** – important to people because of special religious, artistic or social associations and connections; associations may be with intangible aspects of the place, such as the spiritual values it holds for communities, its natural features, or activities that once occurred or continue to occur.

The entire Park Lands is a ‘designed landscape’ following the initial clearing of vegetation and sub-sequent replanting, the landscape has been altered into formal and semi-formal areas (i.e. botanic garden, various parks, squares, sporting facilities, commemorative areas and cemeteries) and less formal, semi-natural areas. The landscape has been significantly altered in some areas (i.e. Bonython Park, Veale Gardens and the River Torrens), such as new fill to form undulating hills, curved banks, excavated water bodies and sunken gardens.

The entire Park Lands is an ‘associative landscape’, as they are important to the community who have cultural connections with the place as a whole, and various components within it.

There are areas of remnant vegetation within the Park Lands that is managed and actively conserved by Adelaide City Council, as well as areas where revegetation programs are undertaken to reinstate some of the ‘lost vegetation of the Adelaide Plains’ (City of Adelaide 2017a). Some areas are listed as threatened ecological communities under the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (Cth), and are managed accordingly.

Built Form

There variety of built form in the Park Lands includes:

- buildings;
- structures;
- memorials and statues;
- signs;
- car parking;
- roads;
- railway; and
- pathways.

Existing infrastructure in the Park Lands includes:

Government House, Adelaide Gaol, West Terrace Cemetery, Old Parliament House, New Parliament House, National War Memorial, South African War Memorial, Institute Building, State Library of South Australia, South Australian Museum, Art Gallery of South Australia, Immigration Museum, Torrens Parade Ground, Adelaide Railway Station, North Adelaide Railway Station, Mile End Railway Station, Victoria Park Racecourse, Adelaide Botanic Garden, Botanic Park, Bicentennial Conservatory, Plant Biodiversity Centre, Adelaide Zoo, Royal Adelaide Hospital, Thebarton Police Barracks, Adelaide High School, University of Adelaide, University of South Australia, Elder Park Rotunda, Adelaide Oval, Memorial Drive Tennis Centre, Adelaide Aquatic Centre, Adelaide Festival Centre, Adelaide Convention Centre, Sky City Casino, Hyatt Hotel, Jolly's Boatshed restaurant, Government Offices, National Wine Centre, International Rose Garden, City of Adelaide Plant Nursery, Light's Vision, Torrens Weir, seven playgrounds, six bridges over the River Torrens, one Powder magazine, two water pumping stations, water tanks, golf course, motor racing infrastructure, numerous roads, four railways, two tramlines, formal gardens and tree plantings, boat sheds, statues, memorials, sporting facilities and public toilets.

Demolished or disused places, including former functions of some existing places, in the Park Lands includes:

Government quarries, South Australian Company's brickworks, Lime kilns, numerous quarries, three Powder magazines, Stock saleyards, Abattoirs, Rubbish dumps, Astronomical Observatory, Signal Station, Immigration Depot, Land and Survey Office, Native Location, Railway yards, Railway workshops, Railway Goods Shed, Railway tunnel under King William Road, Government Printer's Office, Public Baths, Cheer-Up Hut, *Palais de Danse*, North Adelaide Railway Signal Box, Keswick railway station, Military Barracks, Mounted Police Barracks, Armoury, Destitute Asylum, Adelaide Teachers' College, Adelaide Trade School, School of Mines and Industry, First Adelaide Hospital (1845), Adelaide Lunatic Asylum (1852), Medical Officer's Residence, Infectious Diseases Hospital, Consumptive Home, Orphan Asylum, Old Exhibition Building (1859), New Exhibition Building (1887) and Agricultural Showground, Metropolitan Tramways Trust Office, Electric Tram Sheds, Hackney Experimental Orchard, Rifle range, slit trenches, Anti-aircraft battery site (1942) and two tramlines.

Indigenous Cultural Heritage

The Park Lands have a rich cultural heritage and importance to Aboriginal people, which is subject to protection and management under separate legislation, *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988* (SA). Areas of Indigenous Cultural Significance are identified in the *Adelaide City Development Plan*, Map Adel/1 (Overlay 14). In 2001, various parks and places within the Park Lands were assigned a Kurna name. Each place now has a dual name, such as River Torrens / Karrowirra Pari, meaning Redgum Forest River and Victoria Square / Tarntanyangga, meaning Red Kangaroo Dreaming. In 2013, City of Adelaide adopted a new Kurna spelling system and some of the Kurna Park Lands names were updated to reflect this (Sumerling 2011:164; City of Adelaide 2017b).

Uses in the Park Lands

Early leisure and sporting activities in the Park Lands included cricket, croquet and lawn bowls, which established curated courts and fields and associated infrastructure in the early twentieth century, both of which are still undertaken in the south Park Lands. Today, other activities undertaken in the Park Lands include golf, hockey, tennis, netball, basketball, yoga, petanque, cycling, pedal prix, walking, running, soccer, football, swimming, archery, frisbee, model boating and there are several children's playgrounds (many of which are illustrated in Figures 30 to 44 below). Other diverse uses include a dog park and horse agistment. Figure 55 is a map of existing uses in the Park Lands from the Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy.

Historic uses include military training grounds in the northern and southern Park Lands in the 1880s. The diverse spaces and uses in the Park Lands could never have been envisaged by Light or his contemporaries, but rather they have evolved through community needs and careful management.

A large number of events are undertaken in the Park Lands annually, such as Tour Down Under (January), Fringe and Adelaide Festival (February and March), Womad (March), Clipsal 500 (March), Pedal Prix (June and July), Colour Run (September) and Carols by Candlelight (December). Splash Adelaide also brings public spaces to life with events and projects, many of which are undertaken in the Park Lands and Squares.

ASSESSMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Statement of Heritage Significance:

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout are a physical and symbolic representation of Edward Wakefield's ideals and Colonel Light's plan for the settlement of South Australia. The central idea for the new settlement was a balance of capitalistic ideals and social responsibility, based on Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation. The scheme was centralised and regulated to control the sale of surveyed land, whilst creating a city and society to cater for its population's well-being.

Wakefield's and Light's ideals, embodied in the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout remain fundamental to our State identity to this day. Whether we realise it or not – a 'city of churches'; a multicultural society; a conservative social conscious; a city of art, culture and education – can all be traced back to Wakefield's ideals. The values of social inclusion, religious tolerance and self-sustainability have shaped our State identity.

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout is an outstanding representation of a nineteenth century planned colonial settlement. The principle components of Light's 1837 plan are the original layout, width and grid pattern of the city streets; surrounding outer ring of parklands; six internal squares; and the topographical response to terrain. These components remain clearly legible today, and served both the economic and well-being needs of early settlements. The town planning principles for the City of Adelaide went on to form the basis of George Goyder's model layout for government-designed rural towns in South Australia from the 1860s to the 1910s.

The combination of town planning principles with Wakefield's ideals for the City of Adelaide is unique, and demonstrate a high degree of creative achievement and technical accomplishment. The spatial arrangement of the outer ring of parklands surrounding the city forms a greenbelt that stands in contrast to the inner urban built form. This arrangement is a defining aesthetic for Adelaide – either when viewed from flying into Adelaide, from Mount Lofty, or when moving through the outer ring of parklands into the city centre.

Cultural association with Light's plan have evolved to be greater than the sum of its individual parts, and the community has developed a strong cultural and spiritual association with it. Readily accessible to a large portion of the State's population, the Park Lands and Squares have evolved to accommodate a wide range of compatible uses and areas of distinctive landscape character that collectively contribute towards their overall evolving aesthetic, cultural and social value.

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout embody rare qualities of cultural significance to South Australians, relating to the establishment of our settlement, governance by Great Britain and creation of our capital city. It provides a tangible and direct lineage back to the earliest planning and establishment of the settlement of South Australia. While the legibility of other similar planned cities around the world has been diluted or lost, the 'Adelaide plan' has retained remarkable integrity. This integrity is a testament to the place's cultural values, despite the growing and evolving needs of a modernising capital city.

Edward Wakefield, Colonel William Light and the Adelaide City Council all have a special association with the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout. The combination of Wakefield's ideals and Light's plan are intertwined, and as individuals they are both considered to have an immensely important association with the early planning and establishment of the settlement of South Australia. The Adelaide City Council has played a major role in the care, control and management of the Park Lands, shaping its design and ultimately ensuring its overall preservation.

Identification of South Australian Historical Themes:

The following *Draft* South Australian Historical Themes were developed at a workshop of heritage professional in February 2017 using the National Historic Theme Framework, and those relevant to the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout are included.

Draft South Australian Historical Themes

2. Peopling Places and Landscapes	2.2	Exploring, mapping and surveying South Australia
	2.5	Establishing settlement
3. Developing Local, Regional and National Economies	3.2	Constructing capital city economies
	3.7	Altering the environment
4. Building Settlements, Towns and Cities	4.1	Planning urban and rural settlements
7. Governing	7.1	Being governed by Great Britain
	7.3	Establishing Local Government
8. Developing Social and Cultural Life	8.1	Participating in sport and recreation
	8.9	Living in the city and country

Assessment against Criteria (Under Section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*):

Under each of the seven assessment criteria there is a **Guideline** (what to consider), **Assessment** (significance assessment) and **Discussion** (what was considered as part of the assessment). The Statement of Significance for the State Heritage Place has been written with reference to the significance assessment against each of the criterion that the nominated place is considered to fulfil.

(a) it demonstrates important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the State's history.

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should be closely associated with events, developments or cultural phases which have played a significant part in South Australian history. Ideally it should demonstrate those associations in its fabric.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion if they are of a class of things that are commonplace, or frequently replicated across the State, places associated with events of interest only to a small number of people, places associated with developments of little significance, or places only reputed to have been the scene of an event which has left no trace or which lacks substantial evidence.

Assessment

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout is closely associated with the settlement of South Australia, born from a combination of Wakefield's principles and embodied in Light's plan.

The central idea for the new settlement was a balance of capitalistic ideals and social responsibility, based on Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation. The scheme was centralised and regulated to control the sale of surveyed land, whilst creating a city and society to cater for its population's well-being. These ideas, embodied in Light's plan, remain fundamental to our State identity to this day, whether we realise it or not – A "City of Churches"; a multicultural society; a conservative social conscious; a city of art, culture and education – this can all be traced back to Wakefield's ideals.

Light's 1837 plan of 1042 town acres surrounded by an outer ring of parklands, divided by the River Torrens, set around six internal squares and with some designated functional areas, is a physical representation of Wakefield's ideas. Light followed instructions from the Colonization Commissioners and used his skill and knowledge to adapt the plan to local conditions and landforms. These key components of Light's plan are expressed in the form, character and use of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout today.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout is associated with the colonisation of South Australia, an important aspect of the State's early history and the following historical themes:

- exploring, mapping and surveying South Australia (2.2);
- establishing settlement (2.5);
- constructing capital city economies (3.2);
- planning urban and rural settlements (4.1); and
- being governed by Great Britain (7.1).

These associations are evident in the overall physical form of the roads, squares and outer ring of parklands that provided a specific number of regular sized allotments for sale that were contained by parklands. The outer ring of parklands and squares also provided spaces for the well-being of its population, although for a variety of reasons this was not enforced until some years after settlement.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (a).

(b) it has rare, uncommon or endangered qualities that are of cultural significance.

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should demonstrate a way of life, social custom, industrial process or land use which is no longer practised, is in danger of being lost, or is of exceptional interest. This encompasses both places which were always rare, and places which have become scarce through subsequent loss or destruction.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion if their rarity is merely local, or if they appear rare only because research has not been done elsewhere, or if their distinguishing characteristics have been degraded or compromised, or if they are at present common and simply believed to be in danger of becoming rare in the future.

Assessment

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout have rare qualities of cultural significance to South Australians, relating to the establishment of our settlement, governance by Great Britain and creation of our capital city. These include: the centralised and regulated scheme in 1834 to control the sale of surveyed land; Light's regulations and instructions from the Colonization Commissioners in 1835-36, which referred to the preferred location, streets of ample width and reserves for squares. William Light used his knowledge of overseas precedents and professional training to combine these directives with the topography of his preferred location into the plan for the city of Adelaide. This plan established two distinct areas with a total of 1042 town acres for sale, surrounded by an outer ring of parklands, divided by the River Torrens, set around six internal squares and with some designated functional areas.

The squares and surrounding park lands were designed with an underlying understanding and commitment to improving the well-being of new settlers, whilst balanced against capitalistic ideals associated the economic and physical containment of land sales. Light

subdivided land beyond the Park Lands into blocks, to ensure the commercial success of land sales and security of land tenure for new settlers.

These physical attributes in the 'Adelaide plan' have a remarkable legibility today, with our well-preserved rectangular street layout, surrounding park lands, internal public squares and contained urban land areas. These features are directly representative of the settlement aspirations, regulations and instructions. The regularised layout of streets reflects the original acre allotment setout and size, while the Park Lands and Squares represent both the economic and physical containment for the purposes of land sale and the well-being of new settlers.

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout provides a tangible and direct lineage back to the earliest planning and establishment of the settlement of South Australia, a point of difference to other major Australian settlements. While the legibility of other similar planned cities around the world has been diluted or lost, the 'Adelaide plan' retains high integrity. This integrity is a testament to the cultural values of the place to South Australians, despite the growing and evolving needs of a modernising capital city.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout have rare qualities of cultural significance that relates to the following historical themes:

- establishing settlement (2.5);
- constructing capital city economies (3.2);
- being governed by Great Britain (7.1).

There are very few tangible examples of these rare qualities of cultural significance that remain today. The Old Gum Tree Site at Glenelg (SHP 10547), which marks the site of the proclamation of the establishment of government in the new colony of South Australia by Governor John Hindmarsh on 28 December 1836, is considered a comparable place that has tangible and a direct lineage back to the earliest planning and establishment of the settlement of South Australia.

The Old Gum Tree was not a planned tree at a planned location for a specific purpose – it was a location where an event relating to our settlement took place. The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, however, was laid out in accordance with the regulations (June 1835) and instructions (March 1836) from the Colonization Commissions to Colonel William Light. Although both places are tangible examples of our early settlement, the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout has a stronger and deliberate association. Further, the above themes are more directly legible in the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout.

Other major Australian settlements, such as Sydney (1788), Hobart (1803), Brisbane (1824), Perth (1829) and Melbourne (1835), began with a small area of rectangular grid planned streets, which still exists today, but around that they developed in an untidy manner. There was no vision of how they may develop into larger settlements, and there was little provision for large areas of open space.

In comparison to international precedents to Light's plan for Adelaide, that of Philadelphia in 1682 by surveyor Thomas Holme has a strong resemblance with a rectangular plan, five city squares and several wide streets, however its legibility has been affected by later development. Similarly, the 1788 plan of Toronto (sic) in Canada has a square plan with five squares, surrounded by a Government Park and beyond which are suburban subdivisions, however it was not implemented as designed due to costs.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (b).

(c) it may yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the State's history, including its natural history.

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should provide, or demonstrate a likelihood of providing, information that will contribute significantly to our knowledge of the past. The information should be inherent in the fabric of the place. The place may be a standing structure, an archaeological deposit or a geological site.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion simply because they are believed to contain archaeological or palaeontological deposits. There must be good reasons to suppose the site is of value for research, and that useful information will emerge. A place that will yield the same information as many other places, or information that could be obtained as readily from documentary sources, may not be eligible.

Assessment

Archaeology

Based upon the heritage assessment undertaken to date, there appear to be areas of archaeological potential within the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout that are likely to yield information that may contribute to an understanding of the State's history.

Since being originally surveyed, there have been a wide variety of uses in the parklands and squares. In the early days of settlement, the outer ring of parklands was used primarily for utilitarian purposes. As the city grew and the population expanded, the use of the Park Lands evolved – many of the early activities were removed from the Park Lands, while other areas were repurposed. The extent to which evidence of these early uses remains in the form of archaeological deposits is unclear, as subsequent change to the landscape and repurposing of areas may impact upon the integrity of such deposits.

The scope of this report is to consider whether or not the place, or parts of the place, warrant further examination for potential designation of archaeological significance. The likelihood of archaeological potential that would contribute towards our understanding of the place as a whole is limited. Any archaeological potential within the proposed listed boundaries is most probably confined to the Park Lands and Squares, and is likely to yield information that will contribute towards a particular aspect of our State's history, rather than the State Heritage place.

The Telegraph Station on the former Adelaide High School site (already recorded) is an example of this. While this site provides information that contributes to an understanding of the State's history, it is not specifically associated with the Park Lands.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (c). Given, however, the archaeological potential for the parklands and squares to contribute towards our understanding of aspects of the State's history (rather than the place as a whole), the preparation of an Archaeological Assessment may assist in the ongoing management of the place.

Remnant Vegetation

There is potential for remnant pre-1836 native vegetation (i.e. trees, grassland) to remain within the Park Lands, as has been investigated in several reports (Kraehenbuehl 1996, Possingham 1998, Long 2003). Such areas are not, however, considered to be intrinsic to the heritage significance of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout as considered by this assessment. This, of course, does not limit the potential to consider remnant vegetation as a separate heritage assessment in its own right, if considered warranted.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (c).

(d) it is an outstanding representative of a particular class of places of cultural significance.

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should be capable of providing understanding of the category of places which it represents. It should be typical of a wider range of such places, and in a good state of integrity, that is, still faithfully presenting its historical message.

Places will not be considered simply because they are members of a class, they must be both notable examples and well-preserved. Places will be excluded if their characteristics do not clearly typify the class, or if they were very like many other places, or if their representative qualities had been degraded or lost. However, places will not be excluded from the Register merely because other similar places are included.

Assessment

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout is an outstanding representation of a nineteenth century planned colonial settlement. Its principle characteristics are its outer ring of parklands; the six internal squares; the layout, width and grid pattern of streets; and the spacious rectangular blocks. This layout served both the economic and well-being needs of early settlements.

The 'Adelaide plan' influenced the layout of rural towns in South Australia from the 1860s. George Goyder used the 1837 Adelaide plan as a model layout for government-designed rural towns in South Australia, until it was challenged by Charles Reade in the 1910s. The 'Adelaide plan' is the exemplar early planned colonial settlement in South Australia.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout are an outstanding representation of the following historical themes:

- Planning urban and rural settlements (4.1).

Although rural South Australian towns were designed under different circumstances and without the same instructions as was provided for Adelaide, the 'Adelaide plan' was used as a model to create an ideal country town, with open spaces, and regular land parcels and streets. Maitland on the Yorke Peninsula is a particularly fine example of the application of planning principles for an ideal country town. The Adelaide plan is the best representation of an early planned colonial settlement in South Australia, and it has a high level of integrity, which has been diluted in the expansion of some rural towns.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (d).

(e) it demonstrates a high degree of creative, aesthetic or technical accomplishment or is an outstanding representative of particular construction techniques or design characteristics.

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should show qualities of innovation or departure, beauty or formal design, or represent a new achievement of its times. Breakthroughs in

technology or new developments in design would qualify, if the place clearly shows them. A high standard of design skill and originality is expected.

Places would not normally be considered under this criterion if their degree of achievement could not be demonstrated, or where their integrity was diminished so that the achievement, while documented, was no longer apparent in the place, or simply because they were the work of a designer who demonstrated innovation elsewhere.

Assessment

Light's 1837 plan of Adelaide is evident in the distinctive form of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout today. The simple geometric layout of the city grid, the hierarchy of wide streets, aspects of symmetry, response to topography, functional divisions, and open spaces are, in themselves, not globally unique, however the combination of these town planning principles combined with Wakefield's ideals found embodied in the Adelaide plan is unique, and they demonstrate a high degree of creative achievement and technical accomplishment.

The Park Lands provide a distinctive character of landscaped areas of differing compatible uses and a diversity of structured and unstructured spaces that sit in contrast to the built form of the city and surrounding suburbs. Their aesthetic qualities have evolved in response to changing social trends and the needs of a growing and modernising city. This evolution is intrinsic to their cultural importance.

The hierarchy of wide streets interspersed with public squares creates a sense of openness and formal order to the city layout. The spatial arrangement of the outer ring of parklands around the city that forms a greenbelt to the inner urban built form, is a defining aesthetic for Adelaide – either when viewed from flying into Adelaide or from Mount Lofty, or when moving through the outer ring of parklands into the city centre.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout demonstrates a high degree of creative achievement, aesthetic and technical accomplishment that relates to the following historical themes:

- exploring, mapping and surveying South Australia (2.2);
- establishing settlement (2.5);
- altering the environment (3.7); and
- planning urban and rural settlements (4.1)

Various factors would have influenced Light's plan for the city of Adelaide, including the instructions from the Colonization Commissions and various city plan precedents that Light may have considered, both within Australia and around the world. The key factor is Light's combination of these influences in his design for the city of Adelaide plan, and its integrity over 175 years later. Various cities around the world have used similar ideal planning principles, such as Toronto and Philadelphia, however they do not have the same combination of features as in Adelaide, nor do they have the same level of integrity today.

During the 1890s the 1837 City of Adelaide plan was further embodied as an 'ideal' town plan as part of the Garden City planning movement by Ebenezer Howard. The 'parklands town' planning principles were not challenged in South Australia until the 1910s by Charles Reade when a wedge of parklands was preferred for new town plans to avoid land locking through an outer ring of parklands.

The acknowledgement over time in the planning history of South Australia, has to an extent, elevated the importance of the 1837 plan, particularly the importance of the outer ring of parklands, which has various uses and structured and unstructured spaces.

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout have macro and micro aesthetic qualities. At a macro level, the ongoing intensification of development within the city and surrounding suburbs has increased the visual prominence of the Park Lands greenbelt. This trend is likely to increase as densification of population continues.

At a micro level, there are a range of aesthetic nuances that remain characteristic of the place. The hierarchy of wide streets interspersed with public squares, aspects of symmetry, response to topography, and functional divisions all create an ordered aesthetic that has remained relatively constant throughout the history of the city.

At this micro level, the aesthetic character of city's squares has changed regularly in response to social trends, however they have retained their open qualities intrinsic to Light's original layout. Generational renewal of the squares in response to changing social trends are intrinsic to their evolving aesthetic qualities and cultural value.

The same is the case for the Park Lands. Early and rapid encroachments of the institutional and government precinct have slowed, and the social values of the Park Lands have increased. At a macro level, the Park Lands (excluding the now alienated land) retain the aesthetic qualities of open space standing in contrast to the increasingly intensive development of the city and surrounding suburbs. This open and contrasting aesthetic showcases the unique Park Lands and is a defining aesthetic for Adelaide.

Like the squares, the Park Lands undergo constant change to their 'micro aesthetic', as preceding generations will seek to tailor their qualities in response to contemporary needs and social trends. They accommodate a wide range of uses compatible with these cultural values and historic pattern of development, including (but not limited to) a historic cemetery, the zoological gardens, the botanic garden, a sporting stadium, formal and informal gardens, bike tracks, sporting fields, and a range of discrete infra-structure to support all of these uses. This wide range of uses has created vastly differing aesthetic qualities between differing sections of the Park Lands. Collectively, however, these uses and aesthetics remain distinctly 'The Adelaide Park Lands'.

It is recommended that the nominated places **fulfils** criterion (e).

(f) it has strong cultural or spiritual association for the community or a group within it.
Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place should be one which the community or a significant cultural group have held in high regard for an extended period. This must be much stronger than people's normal attachment to their surroundings. The association may in some instances be in folklore rather than in reality.

Places will not be considered if their associations are commonplace by nature, or of recent origin, or recognised by a small number of people, or not held very strongly, or held by a group not widely recognised, or cannot be demonstrated satisfactorily to others.

Assessment

The cultural significance of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout has evolved from Wakefield's ideal and Light's plan to hold a greater level of importance to the community today than could have reasonably ever been envisaged.

Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation' has shaped a 'South Australian identity' that remains prevalent in our society to this day. These values include social inclusion, religious tolerance and self-sustainability. The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

embodies these values, and accordingly the community has developed a strong cultural and spiritual association with it.

The cultural significance of the parklands and squares is further reinforced by the collective varied compatible uses: structured sporting and cultural spaces, such as Adelaide Oval, Adelaide Zoo and Adelaide Botanic Garden; notable sporting, music, arts and cultural events; and regular local sporting, leisure and recreational activities. The outer ring of parklands and squares particularly, are large areas of essentially open space, centrally located in Adelaide with good accessibility from the outer suburbs, catering for large cultural and social gatherings. The cultural association with Light's plan has evolved to be greater than the sum of its individual parts.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout has strong cultural or spiritual association for the community that relates to the following historical themes:

- participating in sport and recreation (8.1); and
- living in the city and country (8.9).

The central location of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, key arterial road layout, and moderate overall population results in a city centre that is readily accessible to a large portion of the State's population. This, in conjunction with the flexible open spaces, has resulting in the Park Lands being a venue for a wide range of cultural and community activities, ranging major sporting and music events, to family picnics and leisure past times. The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout embodies thousands of 'hidden histories', personal tales, and cultural associations.

The importance of the Park Lands to the community is demonstrated in the early and ongoing contentious issues and public debate associated with infrastructure in the Park Lands. Various associations have formed to protect the Park Lands, the earliest being the Park Lands Defence Association (1869-87) and there have been various Park Lands preservation associations since 1903.

The cultural importance of the parklands and squares over time is discussed in numerous publications, especially in the cultural landscape study by David Jones (2007) and social history of the Park Lands by Patricia Sumerling (2011). These numerous uses and social values, which have evolved over time, are summarised in the history in this report, and they highlight the social connection and importance of the place to many South Australians.

It is recommended that the nominated places **fulfils** criterion (f).

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

Guideline

In considering this criterion, we have had regard to the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*, that note:

The place must have a close association with a person or group which played a significant part in past events, and that association should be demonstrated in the fabric of the place. The product of a creative person, or the workplace of a person whose contribution was in industry, would be more closely associated with the person's work than would his or her home. Most people are associated with many places in their lifetime, and it must be demonstrated why one place is more significant than others.

Places will not generally be considered under this criterion if they have only brief, incidental or distant association, or if they are associated with persons or groups of little significance, or if they are associated with an event which has left no trace, or if a similar association could be claimed for many places, or if the

association cannot be demonstrated. Generally, the home or the grave of a notable person will not be entered in the Register unless it has some distinctive attribute, or there is no other physical evidence of the person's life or career in existence.

Assessment

Author and colonial promoter Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Surveyor-General Colonel William Light and the Adelaide City Council all have a special association with the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, from its original vision and planning, to its ongoing development and management.

Wakefield's ideal and principles for establishing the colony of South Australia in the early 1830s focused on economic and social foundations to be balanced with physical or spatial planning – it was a deliberate commercial enterprise for free settlers. Wakefield's ideals were influenced from various sources, including social attitudes at the time, religious tolerance and sustainability.

Whilst Light's time in South Australia was brief, his impact on shaping the design of the city centre, and notably the Park Lands, through his 1837 plan is a legacy for the City of Adelaide. As the city has evolved, Light's plan is discernible with an outer ring of parklands, six squares and the primary form of the city grid of North Adelaide and Adelaide.

The combination of Wakefield's ideals and Light's plan are intertwined and as individuals they are both considered to have a special association with the early planning and establishment of the settlement of South Australia.

Since its establishment as a Corporation in 1849, Adelaide City Council has played a major role in the care, control and management of the Park Lands. If not for this, the integrity of the Adelaide plan would very likely have been diminished and compromised through the growing needs of a capital city, like most other planned colonial cities across the world. The Council and its staff have shaped its design and ultimately ensured its overall preservation. Since the 1850s Council has organised replanting programs, designed and improved structured and unstructured spaces for community enjoyment and supported various compatible uses. For these reasons, the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout have a special historic and ongoing association with the Adelaide City Council.

Discussion

The Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout has a special association with the life or work of two individuals and one organisation that relates to the following historical themes:

- exploring, mapping and surveying South Australia (2.2);
- establishing settlement (2.5); and
- establishing local government (7.3).

The point of difference in the settlement of Adelaide is essentially in the combination of Wakefield's idea and Light's plan, both with numerous influences and ideas. Light clearly has a strong association with the plan for the city, being ultimately responsible for its preparation, which has received greater accolades later in Adelaide's history than at the time. Although Light was involved with the design of other South Australian towns, his penultimate design is for that of the capital city. His task was especially difficult noting the numerous points required for his consideration and the judgement by many of his plan and its proposed inland location.

Light wrote in his journal in October 1839 that many did not understand the reasons for fixing Adelaide in that location but "I leave it to posterity... to decide whether I am entitled to praise or blame" (in Hutchings 2007:13). In light of two State heritage nominations for the Park Lands, subsequent use of the Adelaide plan as an ideal township model by Goyder, the recognition of the Adelaide plan by Ebenezer Howard as an 'ideal' town plan as part of the

Garden City planning movement, and the assessed heritage values in this report, Light is due considerable praise.

There are two State Heritage Places that directly relate to Colonel William Light:

- 'Light's Vision and Memorial to Colonel William Light' (SHP 16232, listed in 1998); and
- 'Colonel William Light's Grave and Monument, Light Square' (SHP 14139, listed in 1990).

Light's Vision is the lookout and statue on Montefiore Hill, which commemorates Colonel William Light, South Australia's first Surveyor-General, who selected the site for the capital of the colony and laid out the city of Adelaide in 1836-37. The statue of Colonel William Light was unveiled in 1906 in Victoria Square, and it was relocated to its current location in 1938 (Adelaidia 2017a and 2017c).

Light's grave and monument in Victoria Square also commemorates Colonel William Light and his role as the South Australia's first Surveyor-General. Light was buried in Light Square in 1838 and the monument was installed in 1843-1844 (Adelaidia 2017b). The original monument over Light's grave decayed, it was replaced with the current monument in 1906, and it has been refurbished several times since.

While the two memorials to Colonel William Light commemorate the person and his accomplishments, the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout is the physical outcome of his endeavours, and it is considered to be of great historical importance to South Australians.

The influence of Edward Wakefield is perhaps less apparent than Light. Adelaide was not just a good colonial town plan of its time, Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation' was an essential part in the difference of Adelaide and the proposal to make it better than colonial precedents in Australia, America and Canada. Without the influence of Wakefield, the city plan may look very different, and likely would not have included numerous regulations (June 1835) and instructions (March 1836) from the Colonization Commissions. The idea for Adelaide's settlement, encapsulated by Wakefield, is fundamental to our State identity to this day. In assessing the importance of the Adelaide plan, we cannot separate the importance of Wakefield's input and his special association with the State's beginnings.

Similarly, the long association of the Adelaide City Council (ACC) and its predecessors, which has directly impacted on the cultural values of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, is clearly documented (Jones 2007). Throughout most of the State's post settlement history, the Adelaide City Council has staunchly advocated for the care and protection of Light's original plan and layout, despite at times significant pressures at a State and private level. Its role in the care, control and management of the Park Lands is considered directly related to its integrity, which remain intrinsic to its heritage values.

Various ACC staff, such as George Frances, John Ednie Brown, August Pelzer and William Veale, have all had significant influence over aspects of the Park Lands as we know it today, however they have done so under the structure of the Adelaide City Council. Collectively, the Adelaide City Council has shaped the character and aesthetics of the place, which also forms part of its heritage values.

Other notable individuals referred to in the history, such as Sir George Kingston, Governor George Gawler and Governor John Hindmarsh, were considered in terms of whether they met this criterion. Their impact on shaping or evolving the Park Lands was, however, considered secondary in relation to that of Wakefield, Light and Adelaide City Council.

It is recommended that the nominated places **fulfils** criterion (g).

Extent of Listing / Significant Fabric / Curtilage:

The extent of listing includes:

- the outer ring of parklands as defined by the grid layout of Adelaide and North Adelaide and the outer urban areas
- the six city squares of Adelaide and North Adelaide
- Light's 1837 street grid layout of (South) Adelaide and North Adelaide.

The extent of listing excludes:

- the Institutional District of the City of Adelaide
- the railway corridors and
- land within the city allotments of Adelaide and North Adelaide.

The recommended curtilage is shown as a red line and shading on the Site Plan below.

State Heritage Place or State Heritage Area

One of the aims of this report was to determine if the 'Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout' should be considered as a State Heritage Place or a State Heritage Area.

A State Heritage Area is a clearly defined region with outstanding natural or cultural elements significant to South Australia's development and identity. A State Heritage Area is notable for its distinct character or 'sense of place', formed by: (Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources 2017):

- buildings and structures;
- spaces and allotments;
- patterns of streets; and
- natural features or the developed landscape.

Whereas a State Heritage Place is defined under s. 3 of the Heritage Places Act as:

- (a) a place entered, either as a provisional or confirmed entry, in the Register under Part 4; or
- (b) a place within an area established as a State Heritage Area; or
- (c) a place taken to be entered in the Register under Schedule 1 (as enacted on the commencement of this Act);

The heritage values of the Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout, is considered to be more than a distinctive character that is inclusive of various physical elements. It includes social and cultural values that are intrinsic to the place as a whole, and is therefore considered to be a State Heritage Place.

As a separate note, the current uncertainty around heritage provisions under the *Planning Development and Infrastructure Act 2016* (SA) mean that from a listing and management point of view, listing as a State Heritage Place may provide better certainty.

SITE RECORD

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares
and City Layout

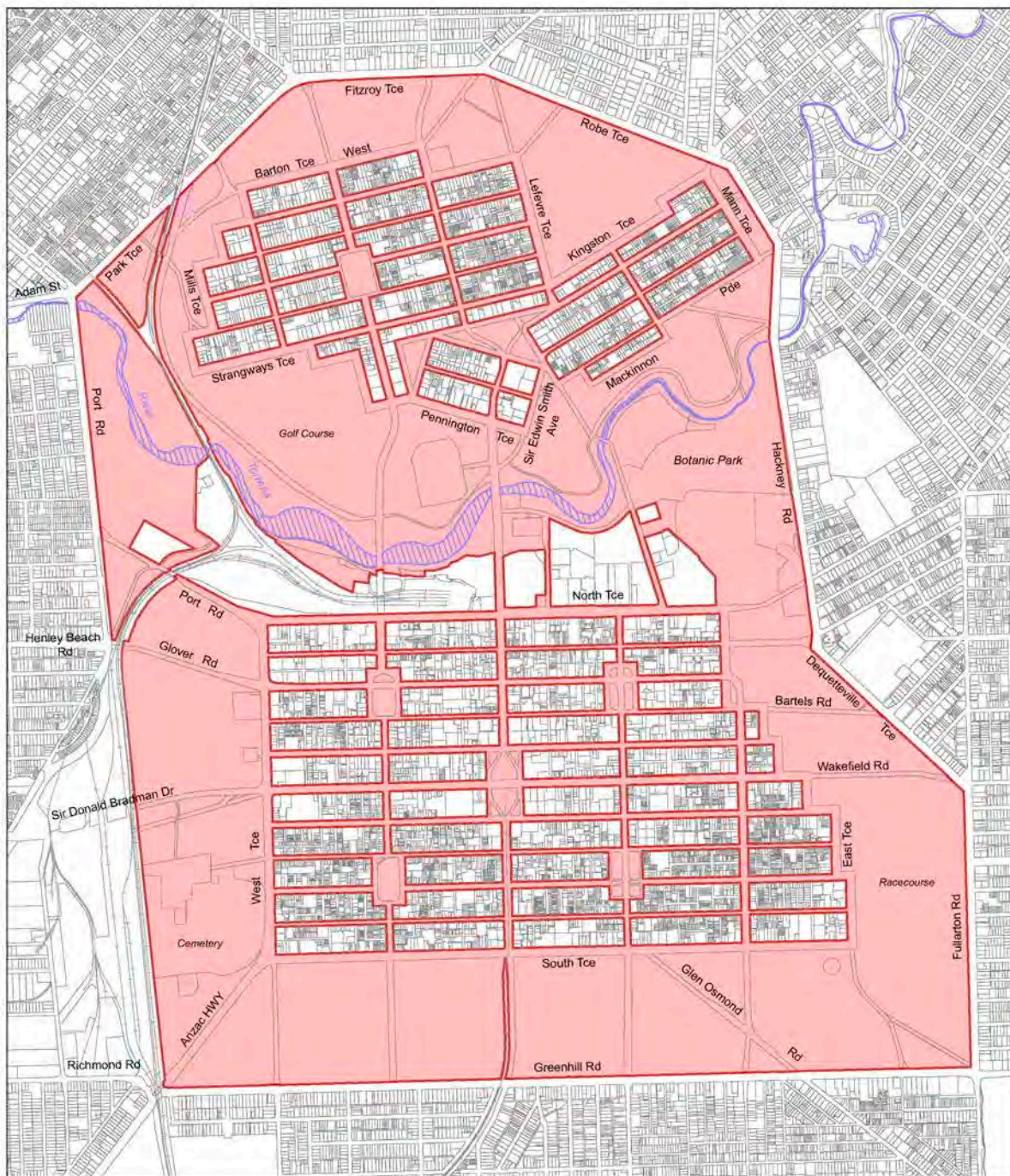
PLACE: 13717

FORMER NAME:	Adelaide Park Lands	
DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	Outer ring of parklands, six squares and the primary form of the city grid of North Adelaide and Adelaide	
DATE OF COMPLETION:	1837	
REGISTER STATUS:	Description:	Nominated
	Date:	2009
CURRENT USE:	Description:	Parklands, sports, leisure, recreation, events
	Date:	1837-2018
PREVIOUS USE(S):	Description:	Parklands, sports, leisure, recreation, depasturing, rubbish dump
	Date:	<i>Various</i>
ARCHITECT:	Name:	N/A
	Dates:	
BUILDER:	Name:	N/A
	Dates:	
SUBJECT INDEXING:	Group:	Exploration and survey; Farming and grazing; Parks, gardens and trees; Recreation and entertainment; Utilities
	Category:	<i>Various</i>
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	Description:	City of Adelaide
LOCATION:	Unit No.:	
	Street No.:	
	Street Name:	-
	Town/Suburb:	Adelaide
	Post Code:	5000
	LAND DESCRIPTION:	Title Type
	Volume:	
	Folio:	
	Lot No.:	
	Section:	
	Hundred:	
OWNER:	Name:	<i>Various (refer Figure 56)</i>
	Address:	
	Town/Suburb:	
	Post Code:	

SITE PLAN

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717



Site Plan – Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

Legend

- Proposed boundary of State Heritage Place
- Proposed land inclusive of State Heritage Place



PHOTOGRAPHS

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717



Figure 30 – View of Adelaide CBD from Mt Lofty

[Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australien_Adelaide_Mt_Lofty_2005.jpg>]



Figure 31 – Aerial view of parklands greenbelt

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/wirrarinithi-park-23>>

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 32 – View of city with parklands greenbelt in foreground

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/parngutilla-park-8/>>]



Figure 33 – Aerial view of Adelaide Oval and Torrens

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/tainmuntilla-park-11/>>]



Figure 34 – Curved pathway lined with trees, planted in the 1880s

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/tuthangga-park-17/>>]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 35 – Adelaide Oval footbridge over the Torrens (Park 26)

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/tarntanya-wama-park-26>>]



Figure 36 – Sports grandstand in Park 25

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/narningga-park-25/>>]

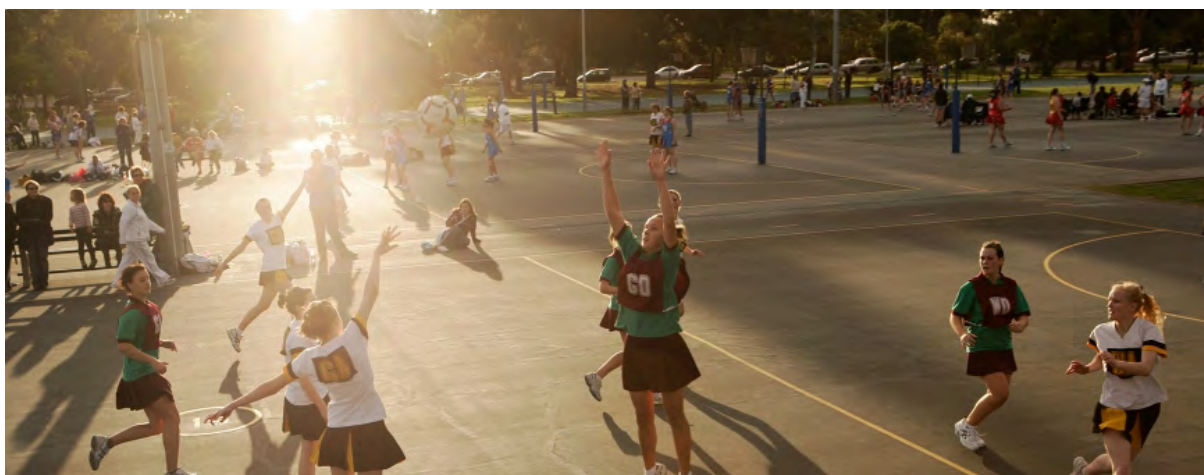


Figure 37 – Netball courts in Park 22

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/wikaparntu-wirra-park-22/>>]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 38 – Marshmallow Park playground (Park 19)

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/pityarrilla-park-19/>>]



Figure 39 – Himeji Gardens (Park 18)

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/witawirra-park-18/>>]



Figure 40 – Victoria Park (Park 16)

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/victoria-park/>>]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 41 – WOMADelaide festival in Botanic Park, 2015
[Source: WOMADelaide, available at: <<http://archive.womadelaide.com.au/2015/gallery/albums/womadelaide-2015-around-the-park.html>>, Image 9 of 25.]



Figure 42 – Bicentennial Conservatory and Rose Garden, Adelaide Botanic Garden
[Source: Wikimedia Commons, Author Bahudhara 2013, available at: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rose_garden_at_the_Adelaide_Botanic_Garden.JPG>]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

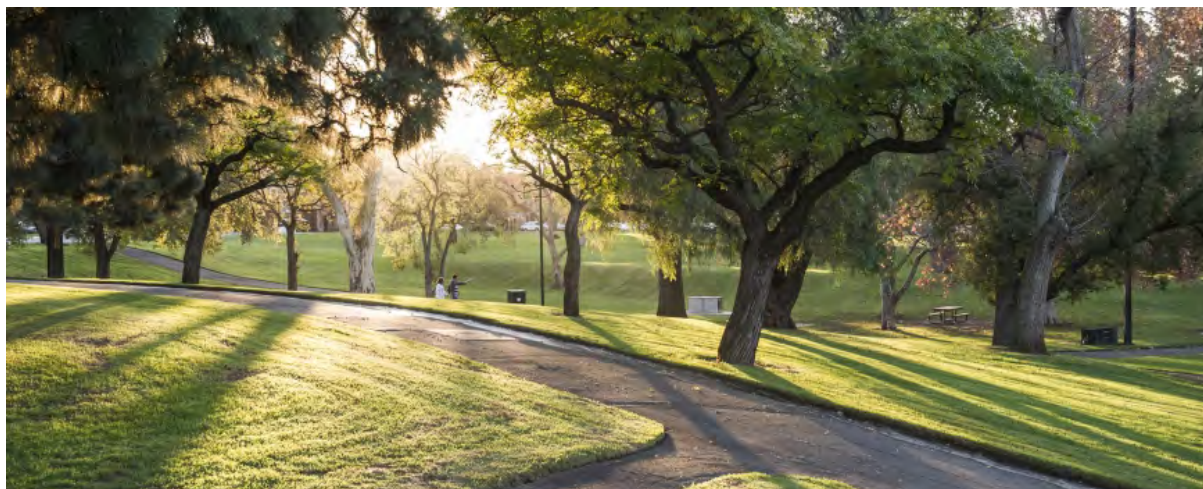


Figure 43 – East Park Lands

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: < <http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/parks-and-squares/>]



Figure 44 – Victoria Square

[Source: Adelaide City Council, available at: <<http://www.adelaideparklands.com.au/victoria-square/>>]

PLANS

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717



Figure 45 – Arrowsmith 1839 Plan of Adelaide
[Source: Adelaide City Archives]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

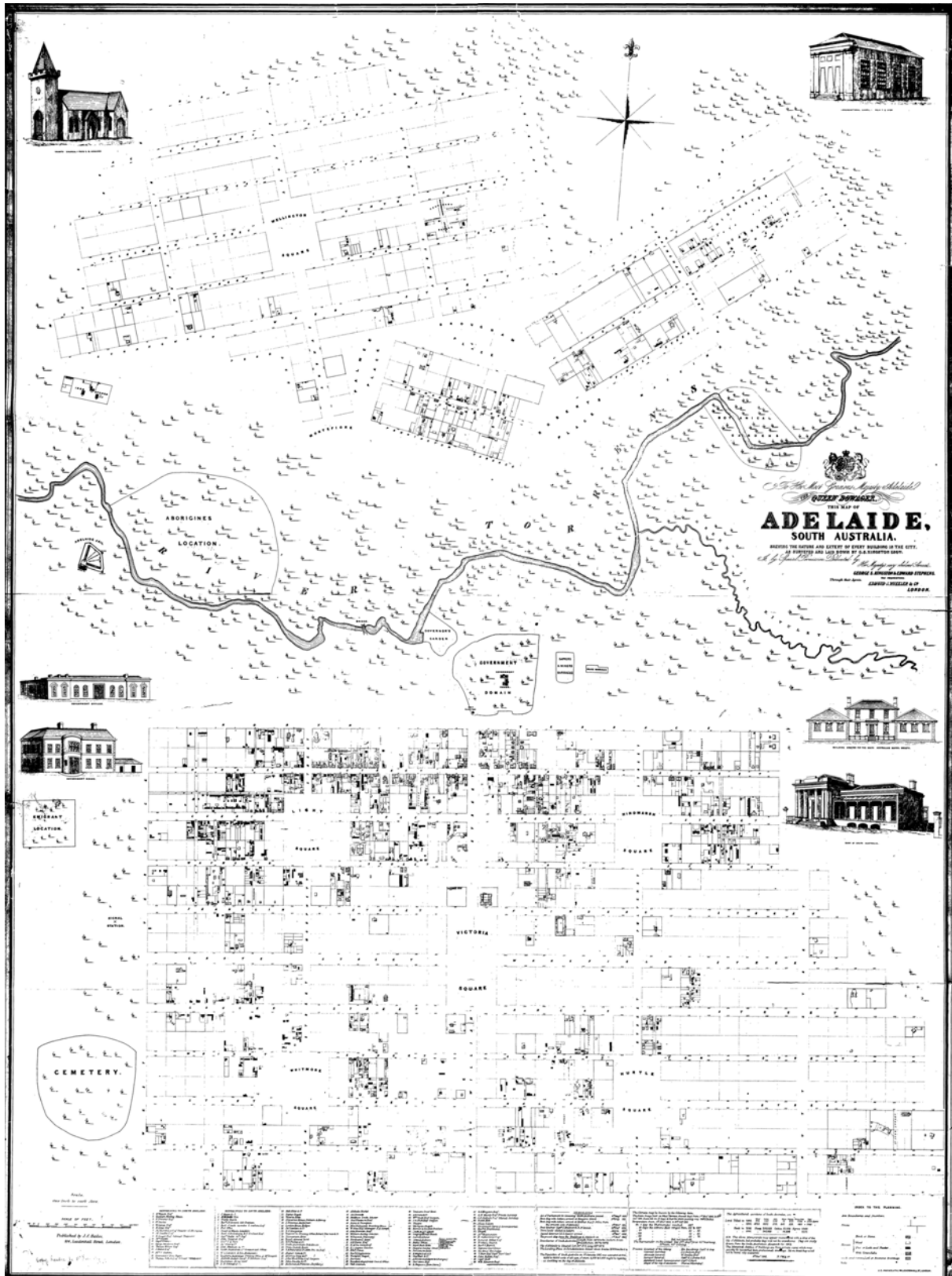


Figure 46 – Kingston Map of Adelaide, 1842

[Source: Adelaide City Archives]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 47 – Freeling Map of Adelaide, 1849
[Source: State Records, GRG 35/585/41]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

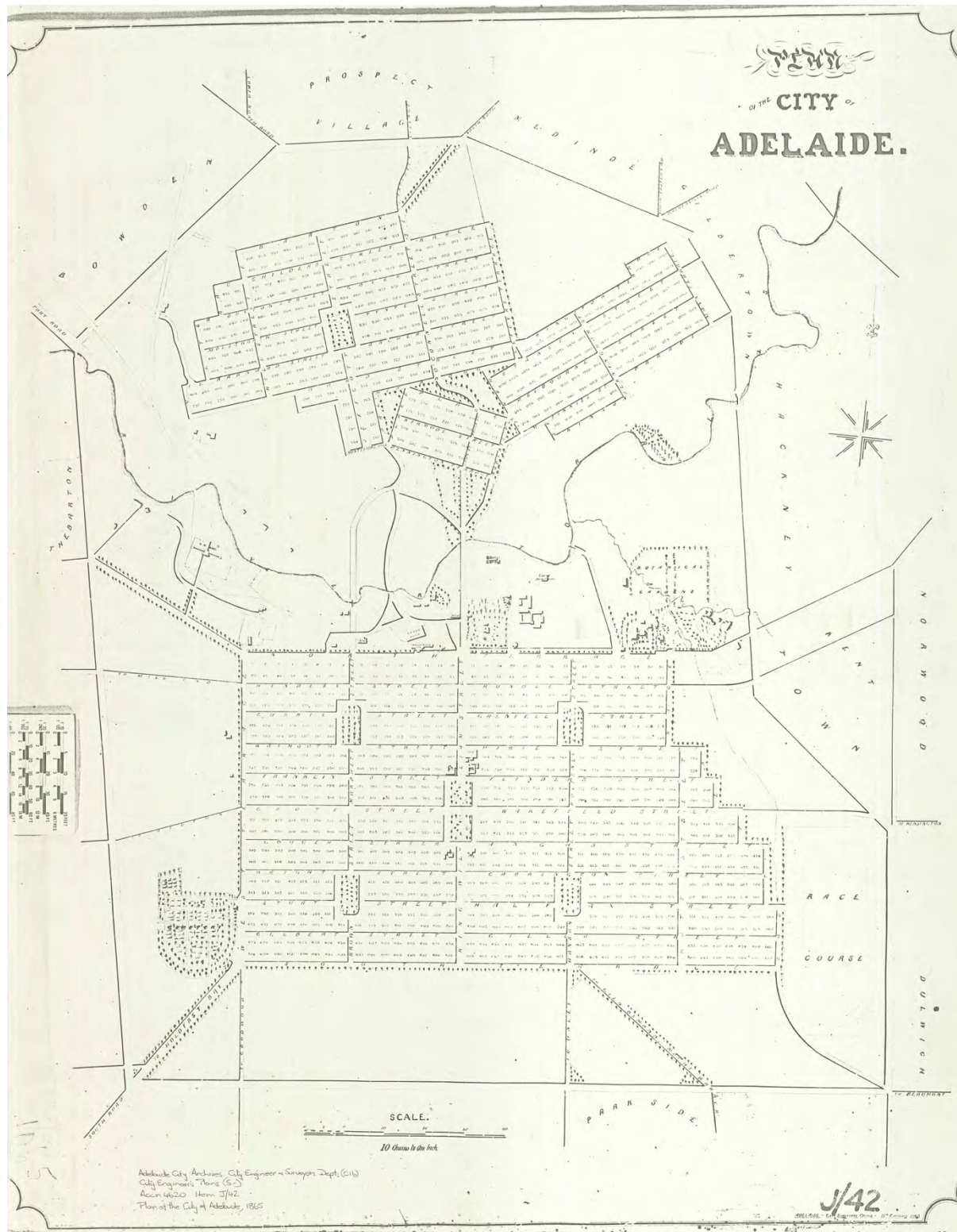


Figure 48 – Plan of the City of Adelaide by City Engineers and Surveyors Department, 1865 [Source: Adelaide City Archives, J/42]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 49 – Calvert Panorama of Adelaide, 1876
[Source: Adelaide City Archives]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

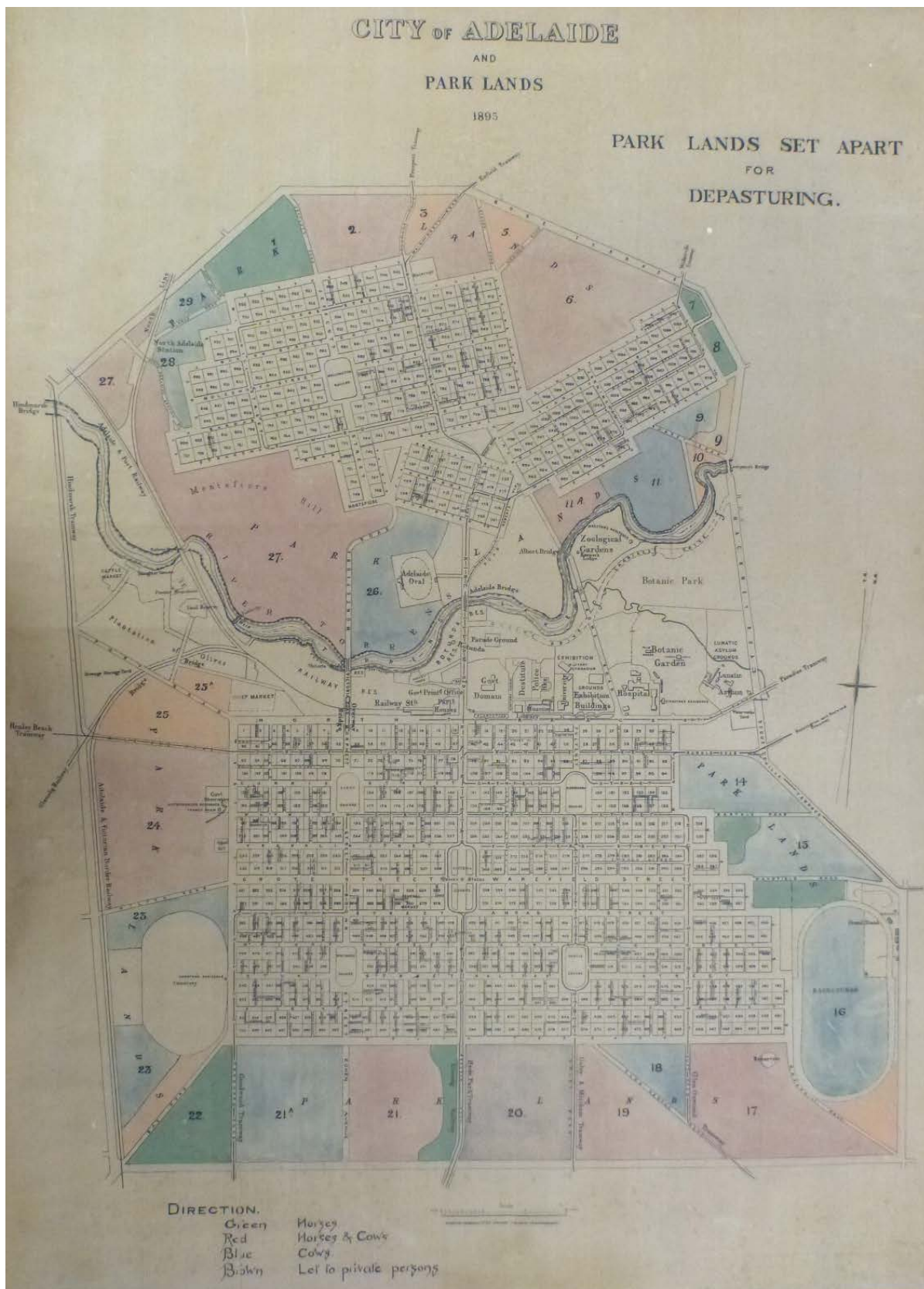


Figure 50 – Depasturing Map of Adelaide, 1895
[Source: Adelaide City Archives]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 51 – Hydraulic Engineer Map of City of Adelaide, 1917

[Source: State Records, GRG35/585/0/3/28]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

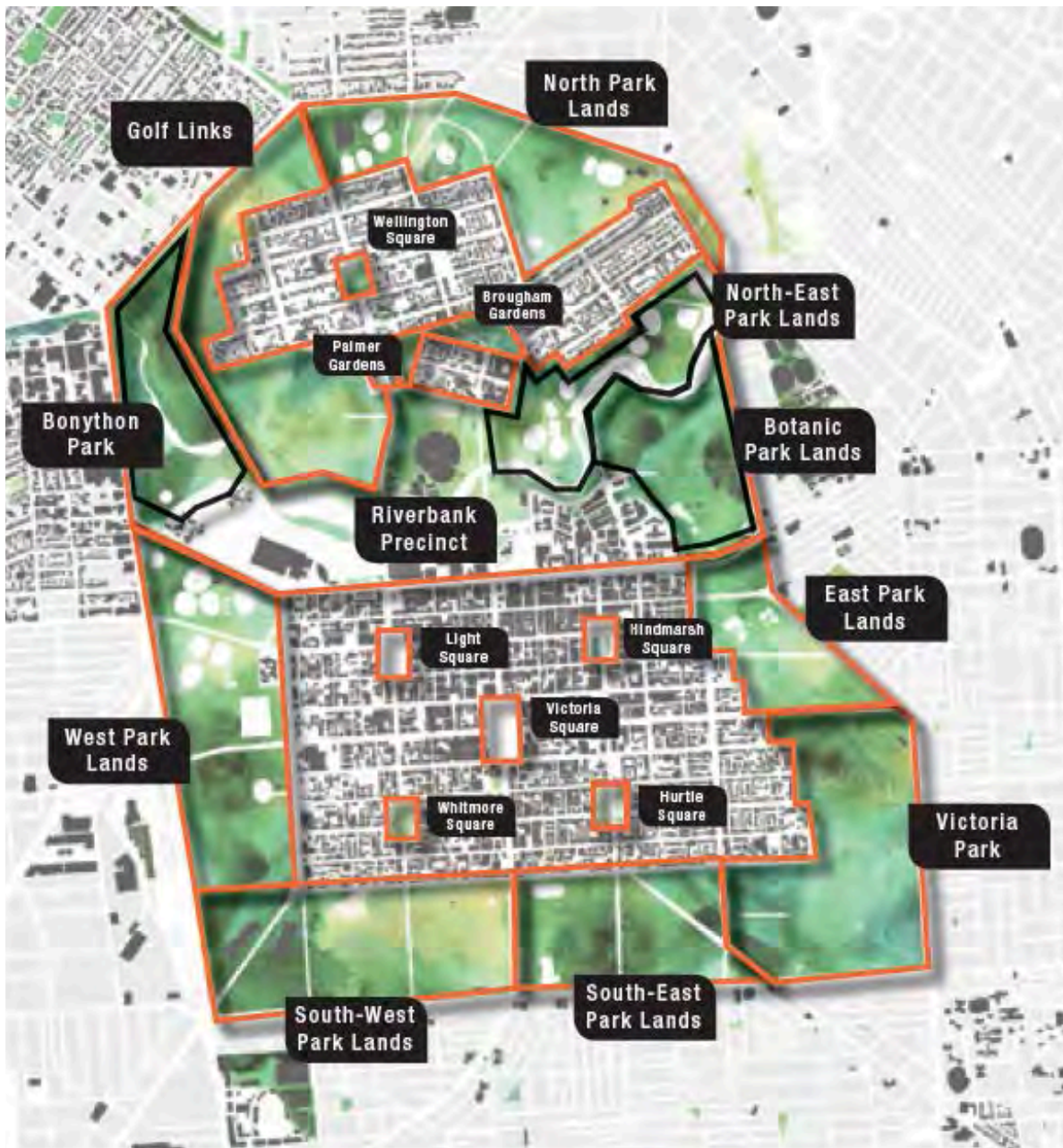


Figure 52 – Adelaide Park Lands Precincts

[Source: Adelaide Parklands Management Strategy, Adelaide City Council 2016:41]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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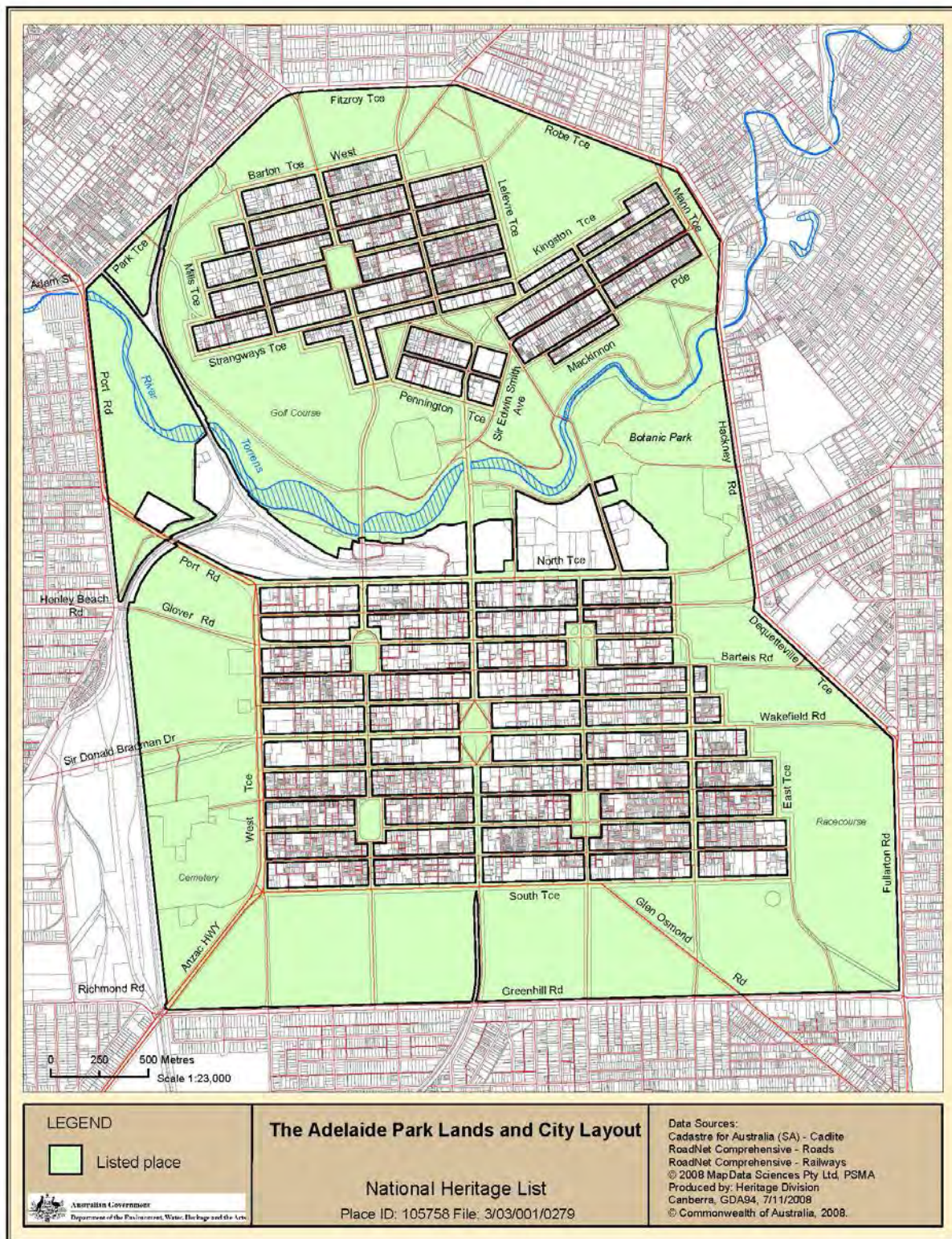


Figure 53 – The Adelaide Park Lands and City Layout National Heritage Listing [Source: Australian Government 2008]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

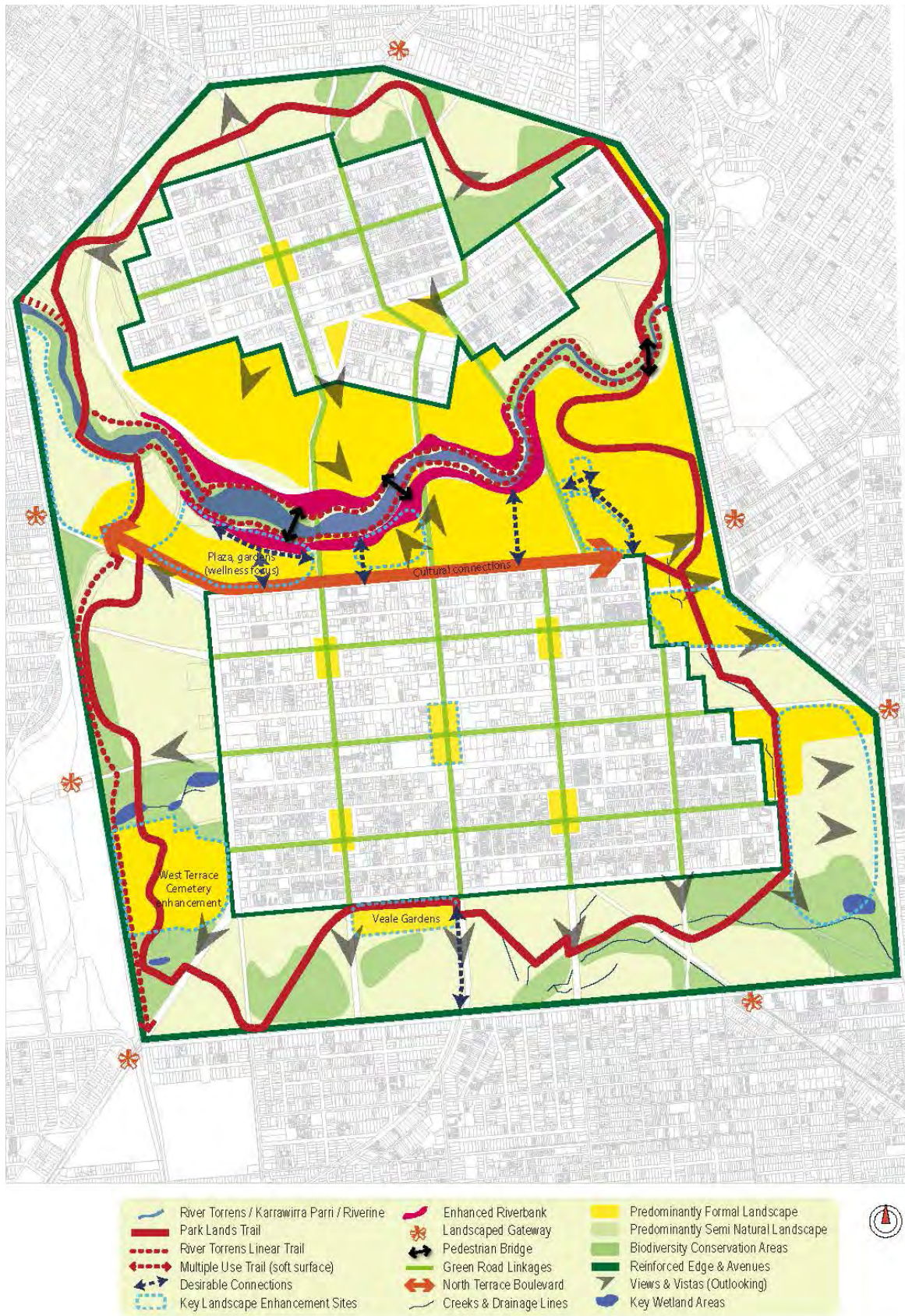


Figure 54 – Map of Landscape Character in the Park Lands, 2010
 [Source: Adelaide City Council 2010:22, Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

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Figure 55 – Map of Existing Uses in the Park Lands, 2010
 [Source: Adelaide City Council 2010:10, Adelaide Park Lands Management Strategy]

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

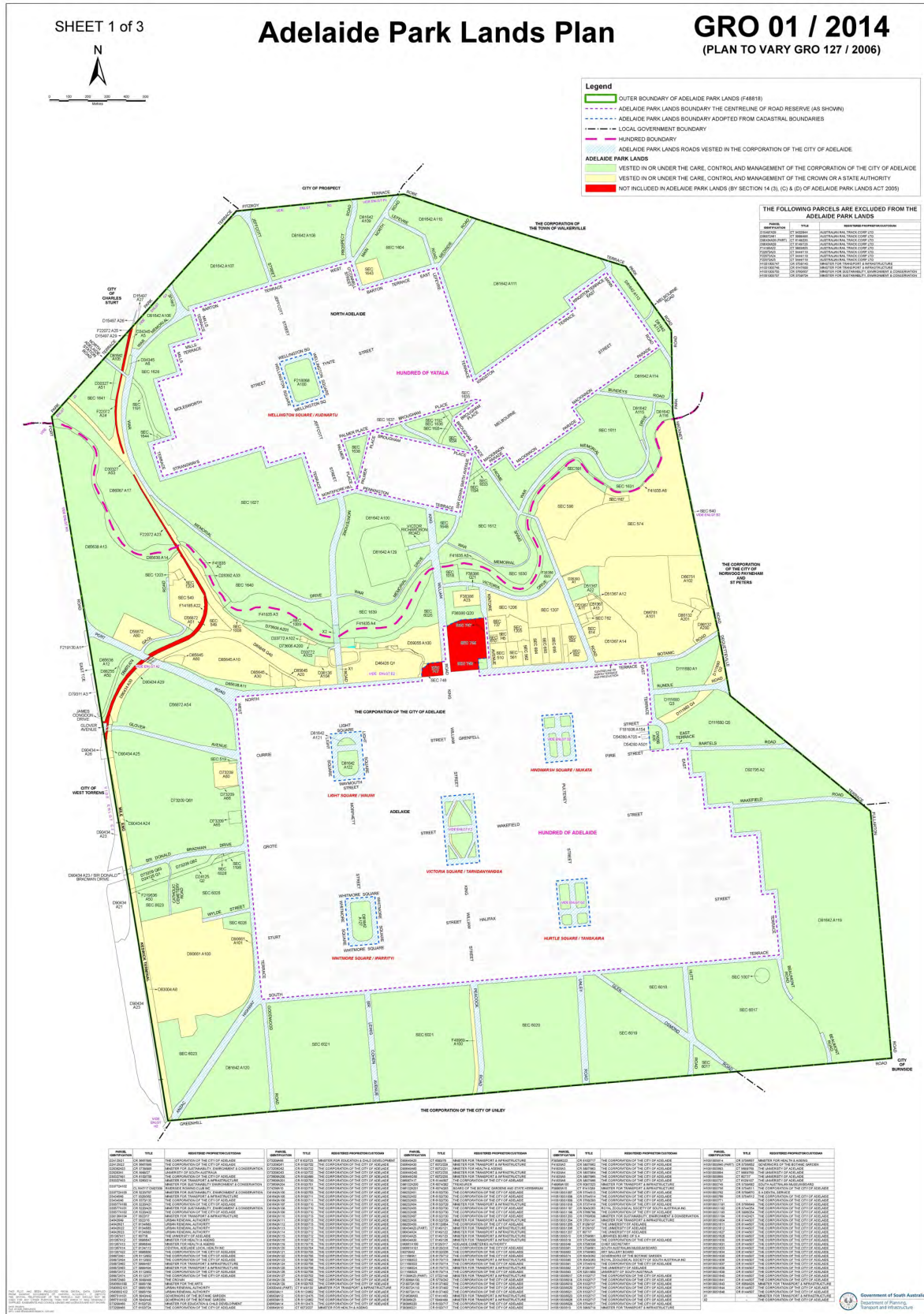
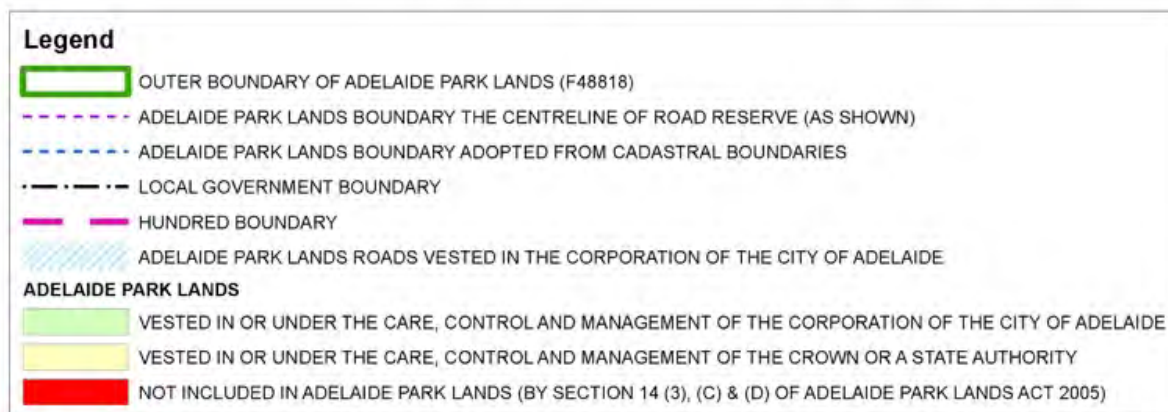


Figure 56 – Adelaide Park Lands Plan at 2016, showing ownership [Source: Adelaide City Council 2016] [Note: See extract of tables below]

Extract of Tables from Figure 56



The following parcels are included in the Adelaide Park Lands.

PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN	PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN
D24125Q1	CR 5667/595	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D73209A66	CT 6102/723	MINISTER FOR EDUCATION & CHILD DEVELOPMENT
D24125Q2	CR 5667/595	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D73209Q61	CR 6102/722	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D28392A33	CR 5739/885	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION	D73209Q62	CR 6102/722	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D28393A1	CR 5988/27	UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA	D73209Q63	CR 6102/722	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D30327A51	CR 6102/709	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D73609A200	CR 6102/699	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D30327A53	CR 5260/214	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	D73609A201	CR 6102/700	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D33772A102	-	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION	D73609A204	CR 6102/701	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
	CL1647/17 OM21309	RIVERSIDE ROWING CLUB INC	D74258A10	CR 6102/715	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D33772A103	CR 5220/707	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION	D81842A100	CR 6102/703	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D34345A5	CT 5320/362	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	D81842A105	CR 6102/711	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D34345A6	CR 5373/132	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A106	CR 6102/711	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D35577A100	CR 5220/421	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A107	CR 6102/710	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D35577A101	CR 5220/420	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION	D81842A108	CR 6102/710	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D35577A102	CR 5220/422	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A109	CR 6102/710	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D38136A104	CT 5522/17	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	D81842A110	CR 6102/713	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D46426A9	CT 5522/16	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D81842A111	CR 6102/713	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D46426Q1	CT 6134/983	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D81842A112	CR 6102/713	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D46426Q2	CT 6134/983	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D81842A113	CR 6102/713	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D46426Q3	CT 6134/983	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D81842A114	CR 6102/712	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D51367A11	CT 6077/8	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A115	CR 6102/712	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D51367A12	CT 5696/847	MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGEING	D81842A116	CR 6102/712	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D51367A13	CT 5696/848	MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGEING	D81842A119	CR 6170/715	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D51367A14	CT 6134/112	CENTRAL ADELAIDE LOCAL HEALTH INC	D81842A120	CR 6102/704	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D51367A22	CT 5696/850	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A121	CR 6102/705	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A51	CR 6112/852	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A122	CR 6102/705	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A54	CR 6112/852	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A123	CR 6102/706	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A62	CT 5999/487	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	D81842A124	CR 6102/706	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A63	CT 5999/494	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	D81842A125	CR 6102/706	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A72	CR 6112/852	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A126	CR 6102/706	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A74	CR 6112/377	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D81842A127	CR 6102/702	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D56872A80	CR 5999/489	THE CROWN	D81842A128	CR 6137/492	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D59055A100	CT 5895/158	MINISTER FOR THE ARTS	D81842A129	CR 6102/703	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D59055Q101	CT 5895/159	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D83004A8 (PART)	CT 6145/130	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
D59055Q102	CT 5895/159	URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	D85638A11	CR 6112/852	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D66751A101	CR 5943/442	GOVERNORS OF THE BOTANIC GARDEN	D85638A12	CR 6112/475	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D66751A102	CR 5943/443	GOVERNORS OF THE BOTANIC GARDEN	D85638A13	CR 6112/852	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D73209A60	CT 6102/723	MINISTER FOR EDUCATION & CHILD DEVELOPMENT	D85638A14	CR 6112/473	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D73209A65	CT 6102/724	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	D85645A10	CT 6072/227	MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGEING

PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN	PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN
D85645A20	CT 6063/76	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	F38386Q22	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D85645A30	CT 6072/229	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	F41835A2	CR 5807/962	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D85645A60	CT 6072/231	MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGEING	F41835A3	CR 5807/963	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D85645Q40	CT 6072/230	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	F41835A4	CR 5807/964	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D85645Q50	CT 6072/230	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	F41835A5	CR 5807/965	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D96067A17	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	F41835A6	CR 5807/966	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D96132A200	CR 6074/262	TREASURER	F48969A100	CR 6097/323	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
D96132A201	CR 6074/263	BOARD OF THE BOTANIC GARDENS AND STATE HERBARIUM	F58800A10	CT 6141/289	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
D88232A51	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1007	CR 5754/513	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D88232A52	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1008	CR 5754/514	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D88232A53	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1009	CR 5755/293	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D88232A54	CR 6152/729	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S1018	CR 5737/419	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D88232A55	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1187	CR 6043/263	ROYAL ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA INC
D88232A56	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1198	CR 5768/798	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D88232A57	CR 6152/730	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1203	CR 5760/638	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION
D88232A58	CR 6152/729	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S1204	CR 5781/141	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
D88255A50	CR 6112/854	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S1205	CT 6129/107	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
D90434A23 (PART)	CT 6145/121	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S1206	CT 6129/107	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
D90434A24	CT 6145/122	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S1207	CT 6077/77	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
D90434A25	CT 6145/123	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S1510	CR 5759/861	LIBRARIES BOARD OF S A
D90434A30	CT 6145/126	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S519	CR 5754/509	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D90696A100	CT 6125/317	ADELAIDE CEMETERIES AUTHORITY	H105100S549	CR 5759/336	CHIEF SECRETARY
D90696A101	CR 6125/318	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S561	CR 5759/981	SOUTH AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM BOARD
D92795A2	CR 6132/226	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S562	CR 5759/983	ART GALLERY BOARD
D111680A1	CR 6170/712	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S574	CR 6043/262	GOVERNORS OF THE BOTANIC GARDEN
D111680Q2	CR 6170/713	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S590	CR 6043/263	ROYAL ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA INC
D111680Q3	CR 6170/714	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S591	CR 5754/510	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
D111680Q4	CR 6170/713	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S582	CT 6129/107	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
D111680Q5	CR 6170/714	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S583	CR 5251/900	UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
F11089A23 (PART)	CT 5722/148	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S6017	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F218068A100	CR 5779/242	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S6018	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F218072A109	CR 6137/492	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S6019	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F218072A110	CR 6137/492	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S6020	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F218072A114	CR 6137/492	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S6021	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F219636A50	CT 6141/463	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S6023	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F38386A23	CT 5948/489	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE	H105100S6026	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F38386Q20	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S6028	CR 5754/517	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
F38386Q21	CR 6102/717	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE	H105100S610	CR 5965/718	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE

PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN
H105100S614	CR 5759/657	MINISTER FOR HEALTH & AGEING
H105100S640 (PART)	CR 5756/652	GOVERNORS OF THE BOTANIC GARDEN
H105100S693	CT 5685/768	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S694	CT 5685/769	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S695	CT 6077/77	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S737	CT 6129/107	THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S745	CR 5759/682	SOUTH AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM BOARD
H105100S756	CR 5754/511	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S762	CR 5759/670	S A DENTAL SERVICE
H105100S769	CR 5754/512	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H105100S771	-	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1191	CR 5766/849	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1192	CR 5744/254	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1193	CR 5896/254	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1194	CR 6142/421	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1604	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1611	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1612	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1627	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1628	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1630	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1631	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1633	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1634	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1635	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1636	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1637	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1638	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1639	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1640	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1641	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1643	CR 6059/925	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
H106100S1644	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
H106100S1648	CR 6144/507	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE
X1	-	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
X2	-	THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF ADELAIDE

THE FOLLOWING PARCELS ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE ADELAIDE PARK LANDS

PARCEL IDENTIFICATION	TITLE	REGISTERED PROPRIETOR/CUSTODIAN
D15497A29	CT 5432/944	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
D56872A61	CT 5999/486	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
D90434A26 (PART)	CT 6148/335	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
D90434A29	CT 6145/125	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
F14185A22	CT 5803/625	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
F22072A23	CT 5444/119	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
F22072A24	CT 5444/119	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
F22072A25	CT 5444/119	AUSTRALIAN RAIL TRACK CORP LTD
H105100S747	CR 5758/143	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
H105100S748	CR 6147/655	MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
H105100S755	CR 5760/637	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION
H105100S757	CR 5759/734	MINISTER FOR SUSTAINABILITY, ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION

NAME: Adelaide Park Lands, Squares and City Layout

PLACE: 13717

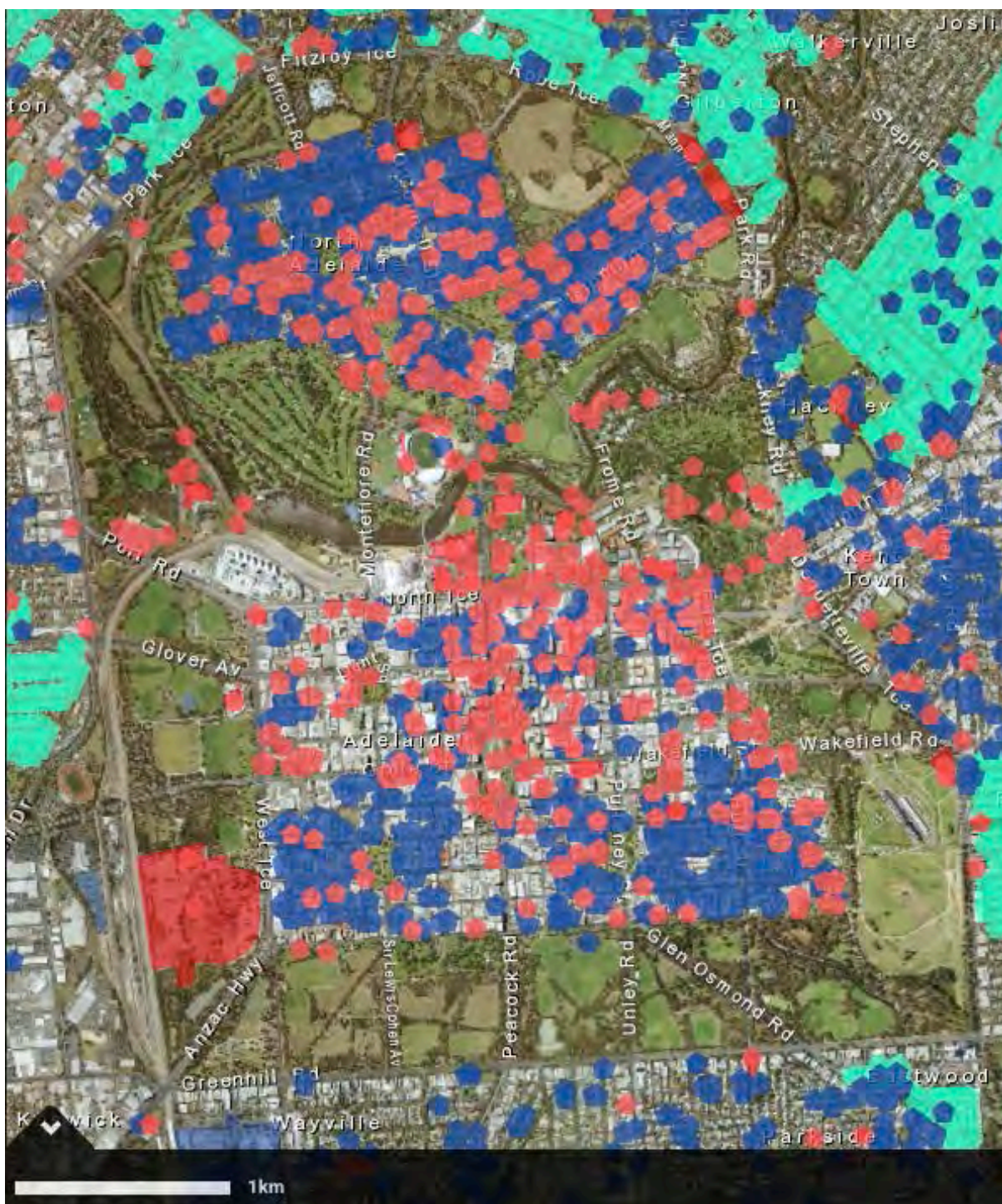


Figure 57 – Map showing Heritage Places in the Adelaide Park Lands and CBD

[Source: Location SA Map Viewer, 2017, viewed 9-Aug-2017]

Key:

- State Heritage Place – Indicative Footprint
- Local Heritage Place – Indicative Footprint
- Contributory Heritage Place – Indicative Footprint



APPENDIX

Was it really Light's plan?

We should see whether we can establish if the Adelaide plan is really Light's work, because there have been suggestions that it was designed by one of Light's survey assistants, George Strickland Kingston. Unsurprisingly, this suggestion was first hinted at by none other than Kingston himself, many years after Light was dead, and has generally been viewed sceptically by historians. However, it was revived by two Adelaide academics in the 1980s (Johnson and Langmead 1986).

The thesis of Don Johnson and Don Langmead begins with a lengthy essay on classical and historical town planning, identifying possible inspirations for the Adelaide plan. They imply that Kingston was familiar with this field of study. The book goes on to suggest that Light played little part in the design of the city of Adelaide plan, but that he had deliberately suppressed knowledge of Kingston's role. Kingston, they say, drew the plan in London in 1835, selected the site for the city, and laid out the plan on the ground. Light was preoccupied with administrative matters and ill with tuberculosis, and played little part in the process. They state "In 1855 Kingston claimed under oath personal responsibility for surveying most of Adelaide, a fact generally acknowledged." They give no source for this claim (Johnson & Langmead 1986:18-22). Elsewhere Langmead makes the same claim, giving the source as the *Adelaide Observer* 30 June 1855, page five (Langmead 1994:69).

The reference is actually on page four of that newspaper. Kingston was giving evidence in a remarkable case brought by the Anglican Diocese, seeking to claim from the Crown the land indicated as the site of their cathedral in Victoria Square on Light's 1837 plan. Kingston in evidence said he had "Laid out the survey of the greater part of the city of Adelaide himself." That is not controversial; it is well known that Light spent little time on the survey himself, he had a team of assistants to do that, headed by Kingston. On that occasion Kingston made no claim to have planned the city, merely to have surveyed it. In fact, he mentioned a number of changes made by Light to the 1837 plan without his knowledge, including the layout of the squares, and the allocation of sites for government and church uses, implying that he was not in charge of planning the city. The resolution of the case was that the jury found the land (i.e. Victoria Square) "was set apart originally for the recreation of the inhabitants" (*Observer* 30 June 1855:4).

Johnson pursued the same thesis more recently in two journal articles and a book on the history of municipal parks (Johnson 2004, 2008, 2013). He tells the story of the City of Adelaide plan and the Park Lands again, inflating Kingston's importance in the process and diminishing Light's.

He covers much the same ground that the joint authors traversed 27 years previously, praising Kingston's accomplishments (some of which seem to be very lightly documented), and seems to take pleasure in denigrating Light's abilities at every opportunity, describing him strangely as "Uniquely unqualified" (Johnson 2013:79). Kingston on the other hand had read books on architecture, which had taught him about proportion and architectural history, "and, by implication, town planning" (Johnson 2013:81). This is the only evidence that Johnson provides to show that Kingston knew anything whatever about town planning, and it is 'by implication'. The rest of the evidence for his planning abilities comes from minutes of meetings, which record that Kingston chaired committees, and tabled plans, which no longer exist.

Johnson and Langmead strongly implied that Kingston had drawn the plan of Adelaide in detail by November 1835: "... the lots had been determined ... the city plan was complete This could have been done only by a rigorous study of documents prepared from previous English and French expeditions" (Johnson and Langmead 1986:19). This implies that the entire city plan had been laid out in London, based on a knowledge of the topography of the Adelaide Plain. Unfortunately, the documents mentioned would not have helped very much with that task.

The Colonization Commissioners made much of the reports of the explorers Matthew Flinders and Charles Sturt in their planning and public statements. Flinders had sailed past the site of Adelaide in the afternoon of 29 March 1802. Encountering shallow water and shoals close in-shore, Flinders had prudently pulled away to about eight miles (13km) out to sea. He named Gulf St Vincent and Mount Lofty, but saw little more than smoke from Aboriginal fires and the skyline of the ranges. On the return south down the gulf, he passed the Adelaide Plains in darkness, seeing only "a large fire on the eastern shore" about midnight (Cooper 1953:58-61). Two weeks later a French expedition commanded by Nicolas Baudin found nothing new to report. Neither saw the mouth of the Port River. These expeditions by Flinders and Baudin recorded the broad outline and extent of the gulf, suggested that its east coast looked more promising for settlement than the west coast, but they sent nobody ashore, and provided no detail of what lay behind the coastal dunes.

Sturt knew even less about the site of Adelaide; he had never been closer than the River Murray, about 80km away. That didn't stop him writing a report collating what other people had seen. In 1831 Captain Collett Barker had climbed Mount Lofty and seen water glittering in an inlet, but died soon after and his written report was third-hand (Dutton 1960:175). In 1834 Captain John Hart sailed up the Gulf and later claimed to have walked over the site of Adelaide, but left no description of it (Bride 1969:53). In the same year Captain John Jones saw "a beautiful harbour" and reported "the country ... was very fine, the soil rich and black, the grass very high and thick, and the country abounding in kangaroos and emues (sic)" (Napier 1969:251). None of these three accounts was useful. There were no "documents prepared from previous English and French expeditions" which could assist in drawing the plan of Adelaide. The facts had to be learned on land, starting in July 1836.

Johnson and Langmead insist that it was Kingston, not Light, who discovered the site for the City of Adelaide. That may be true, but he discovered it because Light had sent him out to do so. Kingston made no such claim to be the discoverer at the time. The monument erected to Light in Light Square after his death in 1839 described him as: "First Surveyor-General and by whom the site of Adelaide was fixed". The monument was designed by Kingston.

Johnson and Langmead provide no evidence that Kingston ever claimed he had designed the city of Adelaide. They assert he was involved in the preparation of the Adelaide plan during his work with the Colonization Commission in London in 1835, but they provide no evidence for it. Even if he was, then by their own account, what was brought from London was not the plan of Adelaide, but simply the greenfield plan for the "square mile", based on the 1682 plan of Philadelphia. Kingston himself in a letter to a newspaper described the Adelaide plan as "the original plan of Colonel Light" (*Express & Telegraph* 14 November 1877:3).

Johnson and Langmead are slighting in their assessment of Light's abilities. They say "he seems to have had no formal education in the disciplines of civil engineering and architecture, although he could draw and paint moderately well" (Johnson & Langmead 1986:18). Of course, Kingston had no 'formal education' either. He had done some training in the office of a civil engineer in Birmingham, and he had bought some architecture textbooks, which Johnson and Langmead are convinced would have qualified him as engineer, surveyor and architect. There is no evidence that he had ever designed a building or planned a township before he became involved with the South Australia project as an unpaid employee. Since qualifying as an engineer, he had hung around London for two years seeking work.

There are numerous contemporary descriptions of Kingston which record that he knew nothing about surveying and showed incompetence in his contribution to the survey, which was delayed for weeks by his blunders; when Light left, leaving Kingston in charge, the entire survey staff resigned (Mayo 1937:164,169). Halfway through the Adelaide survey, Governor Hindmarsh described Kingston as "totally incapable of any of the duties of a surveyor" (Dutton 1991:196). Light went into more detail, describing Kingston as a man who: "cannot establish a meridian line, that is not capable of finding his latitude or longitude, that cannot determine the variation of the compass or conduct a survey trigonometrically". He added the

damning comment that "Mr K does not go into the field himself (because he could do nothing if he did)" (Mayo 1937:246-247). Kingston was effectively sacked from the survey in 1838, although it took the face-saving form of being 'promoted' from surveyor to engineer, a role for which he had some professional training (Mayo 1937:129).

Light on the other hand had trained as an officer not only in the British Army, but also in the Royal Navy, and had practised his profession in both services for over twenty years. Johnson and Langmead seem completely ignorant of what the training of an officer in those services would consist of. Besides skills like seamanship and gunnery, Light would have been expert in mathematics, astronomy, navigation, surveying, cartography and topographical drawing. This education was not acquired in lecture rooms at an academy, but on the backs of horses and the quarterdecks of warships. Light appears to be both better-educated and more experienced than Kingston.

The controversy has been summed up by John Porter, himself a former South Australian Surveyor-General 1987-1992, and more knowledgeable on nineteenth century surveying methods than any previous commentator. He dismisses Johnson and Langmead's argument, and states unequivocally that Kingston had neither the training, experience or skills to design a city or carry out the necessary surveying work. Light had all the necessary qualifications and was equipped with state-of-the-art survey instruments (Porter 2007).

The Light-Kingston argument has perhaps been coloured by the best-known portraits of the two men. There is a photographic portrait of Kingston made in about 1872, 35 years after he was peering through a theodolite at the Adelaide plain, five years before he wrote his memoirs and eight years before his death. He looks like a venerable and grumpy old man. We have two painted portraits of Light showing him as a dashing young, slim military officer. But those were probably painted 20 or 30 years before he arrived in Adelaide. Hence the visual imagery handed down to us portrays Kingston as a wise old man, and Light as a callow youth.

But the portraits were made 50 or more years apart, and the truth is the exact opposite. As the idea of the Park Lands was taking shape in 1837, Light was 51 years old, with 38 years of experience in the Royal Navy, the British Army, and the military services of Spain and Egypt. Kingston was 30, born in Ireland, and qualified as an engineer after moving to England in his teens, but he had little experience in the profession. In his late twenties, he heard of the South Australia project, became active in political lobbying, and impressed the Colonization Commissioners, who sent him out to Adelaide as a surveyor. Despite the impression of the portraits, in 1837 it was Light who was the older, wiser and more experienced leader, and Kingston was his assistant.

There is one other test we can apply which may help to determine the provenance of the Adelaide city plan and the Park Lands. Light and Kingston were involved separately in the design of three other towns in South Australia. Comparing the plans of those towns with that of Adelaide may lead us closer to understanding the town-planning abilities of the two surveyors.

Gawler: In 1839, not long before his death, Light drew up a plan for the town of Gawler, on a site he'd selected (Figure 58). Johnson says Light did not draw the plan of Gawler; it was done by his subordinates (Johnson 2013:141). However, there is good evidence that Light inspected the site and drew the concept plan, although he was too ill to supervise laying it out on the ground. Johnson dismisses the plan as illogical, misshapen and with "gross failings". The site was dominated by the ridge between the North Para and South Para rivers, where they join to form the Gawler River. Hence the town plan was an irregular triangle, and had to accommodate some steep, hilly topography. Light drew the eastern boundary, the main commercial thoroughfare, Murray Street, as a straight north-south line between the rivers. At right angles to this he planned another major thoroughfare, Cowan Street, following the spine of the ridgetop west down to the confluence of the rivers. This is the major axis of the plan. Three squares are dotted along this street, and it is the location of the four churches of the town.

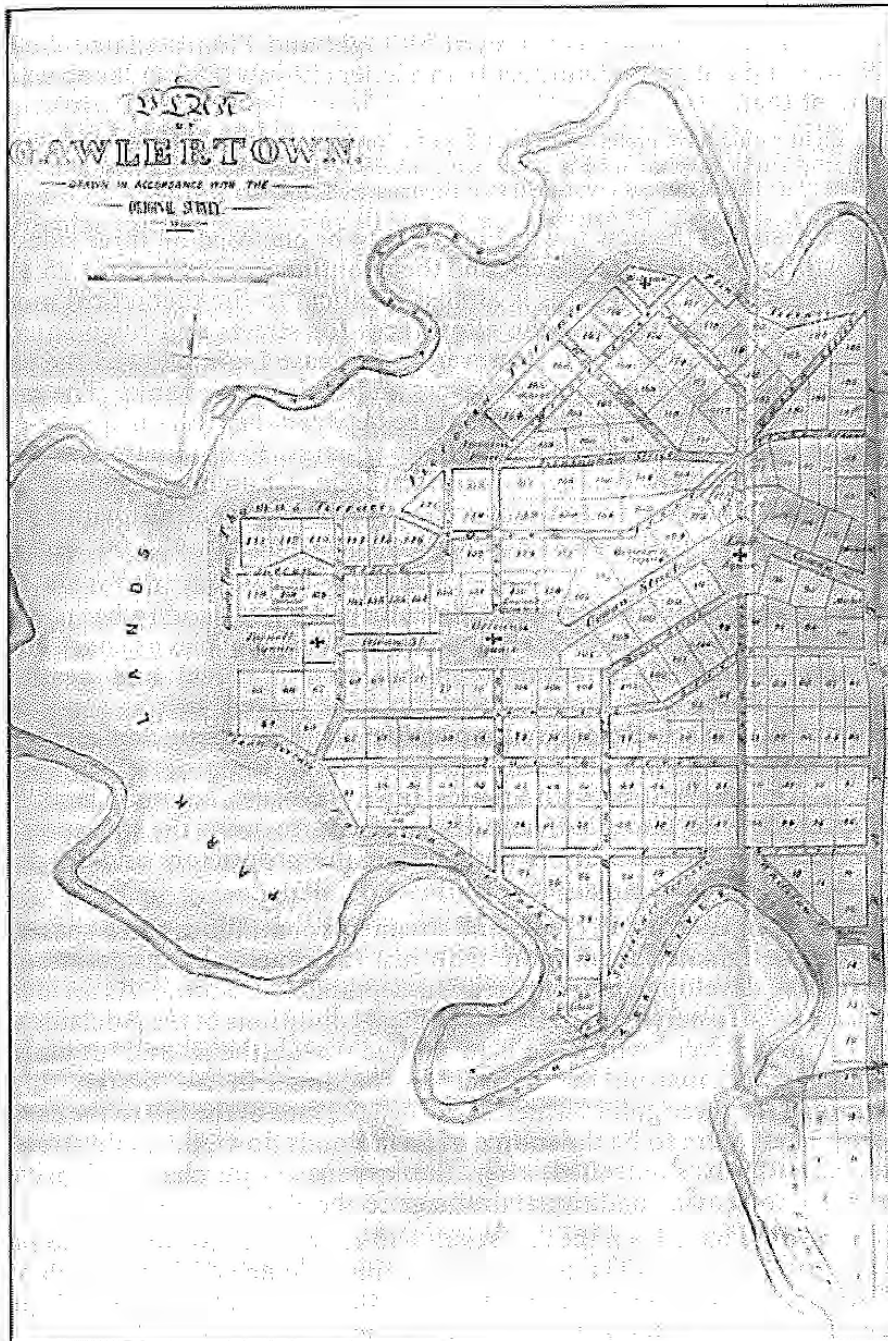


Figure 58 – Light’s plan of Gawler, 1839

[Source: Cheesman 1986:115]

The plan certainly responds to the topography, but the demands of the hills and rivers mean the town cannot be a simple rectangular grid. It has an axis of symmetry, and logically-planned public open spaces. There is the same logical hierarchy of major and minor thoroughfares within the grid as in Adelaide. The boundary streets along the riverbanks are called Terraces, and the unsurveyed flood-prone river flats on two perimeters formed natural parklands. While the similarities are not obvious at a glance, it is in many ways like the city of Adelaide plan. The most dramatic moment is in Cowan Street, where the Anglican and Catholic churches in their respective squares face each other down the vista of the street. It reminds us that in his 1837 plan for Adelaide, Light showed the Anglican cathedral and Government House facing each other along King William Street (neither was built where he depicted them).

Kingston: Nearly 20 years later, Kingston designed the eponymous town of Kingston on Lacedpede Bay in the south-east. He was a sleeping partner with a group of graziers in the new town, intended to be a private port. The first survey plan of the Township of Kingston

lodged in the General Registry Office in Adelaide is dated 7 January 1858 (GRO Plan 129 of 1866) (Figure 59). The subdivided land was part of Section 508, which George Kingston owned. The survey plan is also signed "G.S. Kingston", and this has led many people to believe that Kingston personally carried out the town survey.

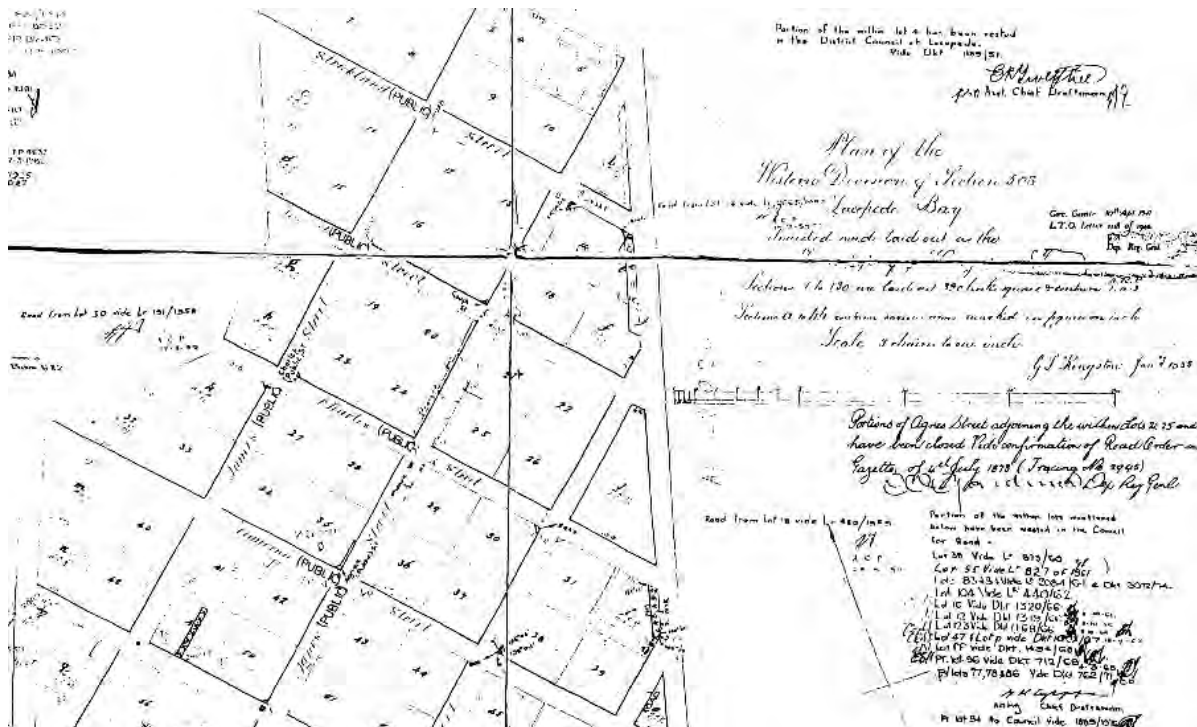


Figure 59 – Kingston’s 1866 plan for Kingston

[Source: GRO Plan 129]

However, in 1857-58, Kingston was member of the House of Assembly for the District of Clare and Burra, and Speaker of the Parliament. He was busy in his electorate, particularly Burra, which was a booming copper mining town where he was also chairman of the mining company. He was also involved in setting up the South Australian chapter of what would become the Institute of Architects, and preoccupied with importing glassware and china to equip his grand house at Brighton. He found time to do some prestigious architectural commissions on the side, such as Saint Mary’s church at Port Adelaide and extensions to Saint Francis Xavier Cathedral and Ayers House (Langmead 1994:165-167). It is difficult to imagine that during this period he actually packed his theodolite in a suitcase and took ship to live in a tent at Lacepede Bay for a few weeks to lay out the Township of Kingston. It is far more likely that his signature means he certified the work of more junior surveyors whose names we do not know. If it is not Kingston’s own work, he certainly approved it.

Whoever drew it, the first survey plan of Kingston is an unusual essay in planning. There is no real topography to respond to in Kingston; the site is a flat low-lying coastal plain, bounded on the west by a straight foreshore, and to the north by the muddy meanders of Maria Creek. The street plan is laid out in a rough rectangle – none of its sides are parallel – bounded by Maria Creek, Cooke Street, South Terrace and East Terrace. However, within that rectangle the streets were turned at about 60° to form a diagonal grid, so that all internal streets meet the rectangular boundary roads at odd angles. There is no other town plan quite like it in South Australia; although the diagonal streets have some precedents in the Village of Kensington in Adelaide’s eastern suburbs and the township of Willunga, laid out twenty years earlier in 1838 and 1840. Kingston has no centre, no axis of symmetry, no obvious main street, and perhaps most tellingly, no parkland reserves whatever, and no public open space. There is no hierarchy; all streets are the same width, and simply connect one town boundary diagonally to an opposite one. It was planned as a town of unhelpful street directions and awkward intersections, with no indication of where long-distance road traffic would enter and exit the town. If this was George Kingston’s idea of a good town plan, it seems unlikely that he was capable of designing the layout of the City of Adelaide.

Kooringa: Johnson and Langmead also give Kingston credit for designing the township of Kooringa at Burra for the South Australian Mining Association, drawn up in 1846. As he was qualified for the job and a director of the company, this is quite likely (Johnson & Langmead 1986:19). Its plan survives in a later version from 1849. Johnson describes the plan as "responsible, modest and uncomplicated" (Johnson 2013:149). The authors do not illustrate the plans of either Kingston or Kooringa to demonstrate Kingston's talents. In fact, the plan of Kooringa is an unimaginative rectangular grid imposed arbitrarily on the landscape. It gives no thought to the topography, is asymmetrical, has no centre or axis or hierarchy, and no trace of squares, parks or other public open space.

Comparing the town plans of Gawler, Kooringa and Kingston tells us that Light demonstrated he was capable of independently replicating many of the design elements of Adelaide on another site, and Kingston, despite two opportunities, did not. This strongly suggests that the principal force in designing the Adelaide City Plan was William Light, with George Kingston as his assistant.

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12349	Former Municipal Tramways Trust Hackney Depot
13642	Dwelling (former) - Yarrabee

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Aerial view of Adelaide, <i>Pictorial Australian</i>	July 1892	
District of Adelaide as Divided into Country Sections (Arrowsmith map)	1839	
Kingston Map of Adelaide	1842	
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Park Lands set aside for Depasturing	n.d.	
HP0096	Victoria Park racecourse	1890
HPO364	Sheep grazing, Montefiore Hill	1905

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GRG 35/328	Maps Drawn by Colonel Light	1838
GRG 38/82/13	Adelaide Lunatic Asylum Block-Plan	1866
GRG 38/97/2	Government Land and Buildings East of the Botanic Gardens	1935

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B 260	Slaughter House in Park Lands	1914
B 2773	Adelaide Botanic Garden and Lunatic Asylum	1860
B 3124	King William Road and Elder Park	1882
B 3744	View south-west from Kent Town to city	1873
B 5099	Duryea Panorama	1865

B 6562	View south-east from present Bonython Park	1865
B 9126	Festival Centre site	1880s
B 9420	View east from East Terrace across Park Lands to Norwood	1880
B 10708	View south-west from near Zoo to city	1884
B 16004	Duryea Panorama	1870
B 26308	Hindmarsh Square	1940
B 53751	Tennis party	1911
B 64029	Aerial view of Brougham Gardens	1936
B 70747	Elder Park and city skyline	1940
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