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LEISURE IN CITY AND SUBURB:

MELBOURNE 1880-1900

MARGARET OLIVE INDIAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

MARCH 1980
THIS THESIS IS ALL MY OWN WORK

MARGARET OLIVE INDIAN
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ABSTRACT

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw the suburbanization of Melbourne. Suburban concerns came to shape and to dominate urban life. Improved transport, a rapidly growing population and changes in the nature of work accelerated this transition. The city centre became the commercial hub of the city, while people spent an increasing proportion of their non-working time in the suburbs. Leisure patterns reveal much about this transformation. During these decades defined leisure-time increased steadily for most workers.

The home, suburban meeting places and local parks and sporting grounds were the principal venues for leisure-time activities. More and more suburban sporting clubs and other social groups were formed. During the depression of the 1890s these recently-established suburban leisure routines helped Melbourne's citizens through the city's most difficult years. The strength of local ties and the importance of familiar social networks was evident, particularly in working-class Footscray. Hawthorn, a predominantly middle-class area, responded differently to the strain of the depression.

The character of Melbourne society changed during these years. Confidence and optimism gave way to a more cautious, sober mood. Although this change became apparent during and after the depression, the seeds had been sown by the suburban consolidation of the 1880s. The patterns of suburban existence, displayed in leisure-time as elsewhere, were evident on holiday trips away from home as well as on public holidays and weekends. By the end of the nineteenth century Melbourne's citizens had established a balance between the glamour of the city and suburban home life, and between work and leisure.
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INTRODUCTION

During the final decades of the nineteenth century Melbourne came of age. From the experiences of the gold rush, the economic boom of the 1880s and the sudden reversal of the 1890s there developed a city marked by certain physical and social characteristics which were to remain substantially unaltered for decades. Population increased dramatically, and population distribution changed, with the expansion of outer suburbs and the relative decline of the inner city. Through leisure, I study these changes, exploring the relationship between city and suburb and between workplace and home. The economic and physical life of the city became increasingly specialized and defined. Certain suburbs, for instance, came to be identified with particular economic functions and contributed in a specific way to the functioning of the urban whole. The social relationships between and within these functional areas are my primary concern.

Themes

Part of this urban study is an examination of the formalization of the city's leisure. This broad trend was evident in transport, in the growing complexity and regularity of work and in the expansion of organized spectator sport. What of other, less accessible areas: the suburbs, the home, the church and informal local clubs and societies? I concentrate on this side of social life, seeking to discover the subtle ties between physical urban expansion and social change: through the balance between work and leisure; in the local community, through hobbies and unstructured pastimes and games as well as through organized sport; during economic decline and during a time of boom. Of central significance is the way people consolidated and settled into suburban routines.

The vehicle for much of this study is a close examination of two suburbs: Footscray and Hawthorn. There were significant differences between leisure-time facilities and pursuits in these suburbs, differences stemming from each suburb's distinct physical setting and function
within the wider city. Yet in both suburbs the process of consolidating continued, during the years of boom and depression.

**Terms**

Leisure is defined broadly as non-work time. During leisure-time people have their greatest choice of activity. Some choose activities which may be regarded as traditionally leisurely, such as sport or cultural pursuits. Others undertake hobbies which seem more akin to work than to leisure or relaxation. The fact, however, of being able to choose, free from the necessity to work, is the crucial determinant.¹

The following diagram sets out certain distinctions which are central to this study.

\[
\text{TIME} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{WORK} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{NON-WORK = LEISURE = CHOICE}
\end{array} \\
\text{organized} \quad \text{unstructured} \\
\text{regular functions} \quad \text{loners} \\
\text{group (family)} \quad \text{individual} \\
\text{active} \quad \text{passive}
\]

Urbanisation has two facets. It involves physical growth of the city and an increase in population concentration, with consequent changes in transport and other urban facilities. An equally significant component is the development of an urban way of life, the growth of

¹What about non-working wives, children and retired people? It is possible to argue that their lives, too, are divided between times of unpaid work (or school) and times of choice of activity. More to the point, however, is the fact that, because of their subordinate or dependent position in a work-oriented society, they tend to follow the work/leisure divisions of husbands and other family members.
distinctive modes of work and leisure through which people adapt to the urban environment. After examining the physical aspects of Melbourne's urbanization I concentrate on the development of a distinctive urban way of life, with particular reference to leisure.

The members of a community experience feelings of social unity or cohesion. David Clark provides a useful working definition: the strength of community within any given group is determined by the degree to which its members experience both a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance within it.

I argue that Footscray and Hawthorn were communities in this sense throughout our period, though the basis and expression of community spirit changed as physical and economic circumstances altered.

Argument

Melbourne was settling down during the 1880s and 1890s, despite the economic fluctuations of those years. The much-remarked change in the city's character - from the brash over-confidence of the 1880s to the caution and solidity of the late 1890s and beyond - stemmed from the consolidation and suburban expansion of the 1880s more than from the depression experience. A study of leisure reveals the steady development of suburban routine and stability throughout these decades, and brings a new perspective and continuity to the study of two decades which have too often been studied separately.

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Sources

I have relied extensively on newspapers. The *Australasian*, in particular, proved an excellent source of factual information on city life. Reliance on this newspaper may, at first, appear excessive. I believe, however, that I have used it wisely, gleaning from its columns a great deal of the colour and everyday happenings in the city. I have taken care not to rely on the editorial columns and commentaries as accurate indicators of Melburnians' concerns and values.

The local press provided a wealth of detail on suburban groups and events. Through reading the local newspapers for a period of twenty years the researcher observes the continuity and regularity of suburban life, and can, with care, chart social and sporting activity. Some caution is necessary: much of the social and sporting news would have been provided to the local press by the individuals and clubs concerned. Organisations which did not seek publicity may, nevertheless, have been very active. Some successful local bodies may, therefore, have been neglected. In addition, the political or religious persuasion of the newspaper proprietors may have affected their coverage of certain groups. While these reservations should be borne in mind, they do not lessen substantially the value of these newspapers as a rich local source.

The nature of much press material raises one of the social historian's perennial problems. The material consisted almost entirely of factual fragments. The researcher has, therefore, to discern with care the significance of these apparently unrelated fragments, and the patterns which they form. Significance and meaning are not apparent from contemporary sources. Ideas and analysis do not inform the raw material. This characteristic gives rise to both strengths and weaknesses. The researcher must take care to order and interpret the material without imposing on it a false unity or significance. On the other hand, the colourful nature of much of the material can lead the student to lose the connecting threads in a welter of detail and description. A careful balance must be struck between analysis and the colour of social life.
Panorama of Melbourne, 1881, taken from the tower of the Law Courts
CHAPTER 1

MELBOURNE: URBANIZATION

Australia's urban development has attracted growing interest over the past twenty-five years. The causes, extent and significance of this country's urban concentration have been ably discussed by geographers, demographers, historians and other urban researchers. This thesis examines the social effects of rapid urbanization, concentrating particularly on Melbourne's suburban leisure patterns. This chapter describes Melbourne's growth during the late nineteenth century, explores the physical and economic causes and consequences of this population expansion, then proceeds to a discussion of the resultant qualitative changes in urban life, concluding with an assessment of the depression of the 1890s, with particular reference to leisure.

Geoffrey Serle has described Melbourne's population expansion in the 1880s as 'perhaps the most remarkable feature of the decade'. This growth, followed by the sudden reversal of the 1890s, was part of the pattern of rapid change which had characterised Australian history. Looking back from the early 1950s, Borrie noted that within white Australia's brief span of 160 years may be traced a nation's growth, from a tiny convict colony to the complex patterns of life of an 'industrial' society... Australian History is... the story of movement and adaptation of sufficient magnitude and rapidity to require adjustments, social and psychological as well as

---

Most of the references to Davison's work refer to the book, Marvellous Melbourne. However, I also refer to the thesis, which contains material not incorporated directly into the published work.

2 Serle, 77.
economic, by a major part of each generation. 3.

This study focusses on one such period of significant adjustment.

Population

Table 1:1
Melbourne: Population 1871-1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I  Population in thousands
II Annual average percentage increase, by decades
III Melbourne population as a percentage of Victorian population.

Source: J.W. McCarty, 'Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century', in Schedvin and McCarty, 21, 23. 4

Within the whole period 1851 to 1891 overseas migration was the main source of Victorian population increase, though natural increase surpassed immigration between 1871 and 1891. For the decade following 1881 immigration constituted over 40 per cent of population increase. 5 Presenting these figures, Cloher contends:

It seems reasonable to argue that these conclusions for the general Victorian total were at least equally applicable to its urban component, in view of the fact that the relative growth of the latter was in excess of the relative growth of the former over most of the fifty years ... 6

3W.D. Borrie, 'Observations on the Family in Australia', Australian Quarterly, 25 (December 1953), 44. See also: Briggs, 294. Referring to the development of Melbourne after the gold rushes as the largest Australian city and financial centre of the country, Roe remarked: 'Onegeneration witnessed this transformation, the gold-rush generation.' J.I. Roe, A Decade of Assessment Being a study in the intellectual life of the city of Melbourne between 1876 and 1886, (M.A. thesis, ANU, 1965), 203.

4See also, 32, McCarty's convincing explanation of the superiority of his figures over those of Coghlan.

5Cloher, 124. See also: Serle, 46-7; Glynn, 28.

6Cloher, 124. See also: Serle, 248.
During the 1880s, Melbourne and her expanding suburbs absorbed over 200,000 new citizens, about 40 per cent of them immigrants. The following decade brought a dramatic reversal: the emigration of 50,000, most of them adult males, lowered the population to about 423,000 by the end of 1894. In the decade to 1901 there was a population increase of only one per cent (5,000) to 478,000.

Population distribution altered markedly during the 1880s. McCarty has tabulated this changing distribution:

Table 1:2
Population of Melbourne, 1861 - 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups of Suburbs</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>000</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>000</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Melbourne</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner suburbs</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and east</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North and west</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other areas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Censuses.
Notes: The suburbs are grouped as follows: Group 2: Fitzroy, Collingwood, Richmond, North Melbourne, South Melbourne, Port Melbourne. Group 3: Prahran, St Kilda, Brighton, Kew, Hawthorn, Camberwell, Malvern, Caulfield. Group 4: Williamstown, Footscray, Essendon (including Flemington and Kensington). Brunswick, Coburg, Northcote, Preston. Group 5: Shipping in the harbour and areas outside the listed suburbs but within the 10-mile radius. Certain areas are excluded in the earlier years until they are considered to be sufficiently urban to warrant inclusion. The annexation in 1905 of North Melbourne and of Flemington and Kensington (previously portion of the City of Essendon) by the City of Melbourne precludes accurate comparison of 1911 with previous years in Groups 1 and 2. The available data has been used to maintain comparability with a maximum error of not more than two per cent for Group 1 and one per cent for Group 2.

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7H.A. Sinclair, *Economic Recovery in Victoria 1894-1899*, (Canberra 1956), 20-21, 118-19. A.R. Hall, *The Stock Exchange of Melbourne and the Victorian Economy 1852-1900*, (Canberra 1968), 205. The figure of 423,000 was obtained by taking the 50,000 population loss from McCarty's figure for Melbourne's 1891 population (473,000). If the population loss is subtracted from the 1891 census figure of 491,000, Melbourne's population at the end of 1894 was 441,000.

8See Table 1:1.

9Table taken from McCarty, 'Capital Cities', 27.
During the 1880s the population of the city and inner suburbs declined markedly, from 70 per cent to 54 per cent of the total city population. The main share of the population increase went to newer municipalities bordering the established inner suburbs, which grew at only 4 per cent a year over the decade. Half this increase was in Richmond and South Melbourne.

The southern and eastern suburbs gained 69,000, or 9 per cent a year, of which two-thirds was in Hawthorn, Prahran and St. Kilda, ... The northern and western suburbs also gained 69,000, but grew faster at 13 per cent a year.

As before, most of this increase - 70 per cent - occurred nearest the City, in Brunswick, Footscray and Essendon. 10

Economic and social differentiation between suburbs became more evident. Comparing statistics on house size, Davison concludes that, by 1891,

the most significant concentrations of high status areas were on the high south and east banks of the Yarra above Prince's Bridge, by the sea at St. Kilda and Brighton, and through the undulating, sand-soil areas to the east of the Yarra. Low status areas, on the other hand, were grouped on the river flats of the Yarra and Saltwater (Maribyrnong) Rivers, and on the flat, basalt plains to the north and west of the city. 11

Population density did not rise under pressure of rapid population increase. Compared with Sydney, Melbourne's earlier and more extensive suburban railway system ensured the spread of population. 12 The population growth of the 1880s resulted in an expanding suburban sprawl of detached and semi-detached single-storey homes, set on large blocks. 13

11 Graeme Davison, 'Public Utilities and the Expansion of Melbourne in the 1880s', Australian Economic History Review, X, September 1970, 73-75. See also Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, 144-150.
McCarty notes that in 1891 56 per cent of houses in the inner suburbs had less than five rooms, 'compared to 26 per cent in the southern and eastern suburbs.' The newer suburbs, 'such as Camberwell, Malvern and Caulfield, contained only 16 per cent of small houses'.
McCarty, 'Capital Cities', 29.
12 Neutze, 21.
13 Davison, 'Public Utilities', 72.
For leisure, one consequence of this low-density urban development has been the enormous volume of traffic required to employ, service and provide recreation for such a dispersed population.  

New urban relationships evolved from this rapid suburban expansion. The city was no longer the natural centre of all activity: a focus for suburban life developed around large shopping centres such as Chapel Street, Prahran, Smith Street, Collingwood and Puckle Street, Moonee Ponds; suburban sporting grounds, halls, hotels, churches and parks provided local meeting points. As the cost of inner city land increased, land use there changed from residential to commercial and business purposes (including commercial entertainment).  

Melbourne's development resembled that of other cities. Writing of Bristol, Heller describes unprecedented physical change during the late nineteenth century:  

There were important changes in the use of land within the city, with the centre losing population and gaining instead offices and warehouses; the development of industrial and residential suburbs, and the segregation of the classes. These changes were due to forces which were transforming all large provincial cities in this period and making them recognizably modern.  

While having much in common with cities everywhere, and particularly those of provincial England, Australian cities did not follow the traditional pattern of the medieval European cities, nor were they manufacturing cities created by the industrial revolution. They were commercial centres, linking the rural hinterland to world trade.

---

By 1896 there were four churches and 8 hotels in Essendon, 6 of each in Northcote, and five churches and 2 hotels in Camberwell. W. Bannow, The Colony of Victoria Socially and Materially, (Melbourne 1896), 469, 473-4.
markets. Such manufacturing as they had came later to them than to industrial cities, being induced by population growth and by the demands of service and export industries. In Melbourne the building boom of the 1880s was caused largely by the housing needs of a growing young population. In general, though, manufacturing played only a relatively small, dependent role in the expansion of the Victorian economy during the nineteenth century.

The following sections of this chapter consider the physical and economic development which accompanied the population expansion of the 1880s, and the consequent social change. It will then be possible to see the depression and its aftermath in context.

Transport

The physical dispersal of Melbourne's growing population depended on improved public transport which, in turn, largely determined the nature and extent of the suburban spread. The long-term significance of Melbourne's public transport expansion in the 1880s has been studied. This decade, which opened with an estimated 84 per cent of the population living within a 'walking city', witnessed the transition to a public transport city, a change which affected decisively the patterns of life and leisure established by Melbourne's citizens over the next

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19 Hall, 57, 117, 129; Butlin, 187-8, 213, 286.
20 Hall, 55-7; Cloher, 131.
21 For a discussion of the relative importance of transport as one influen ce upon Melbourne's suburban expansion see Davison, 'Public Utilities', 75-7.
22 McCarty, 'Capital Cities', 16-17, 28-29; Davison, 'Public Utilities', 75-85; Neutze, 21-25, 30.
seventy years. The city's rail system, virtually complete by 1890, and the cable trams, introduced in 1885, enabled the large-scale separation of workplace and home, and fostered rapid suburban expansion. The complete separation of home from workplace had been possible, previously, only for those possessing private transport. Rail and tramway expansion extended this option to Melbourne's middle-class. The introduction of cheap rates on workingmen's trains and trams, in the early and late 1880s, respectively, meant that workingmen, too, could move away from the workplace. In general, train travel was more costly than trams. The wealthy, who tended anyway to live in the outer suburbs served only by rail, travelled by train, while poorer workers, who tended to live in inner suburbs served by trains and trams, patronised the cheaper transport.

---

23 Melbourne was not unique. Cities everywhere had experienced or were experiencing similar patterns of development. Explaining this process, Oscar Handlin outlined three inter-related forces which formed the modern city: '... the development of the centralized national state, the transformation of the economy from a traditional, household to a rational capital-using basis, and the technological destruction of distance.' O. Handlin, 'The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study', in O. Handlin and J. Burchard (eds), The Historian and the City, (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 3; see also 10-12. The particular circumstances of this country's foundation make Handlin's third factor more directly significant for Australian cities. Taking a long view of the development of Australia's 'commercial cities', McCarty divides their historical geography into three periods, 'defined by their size in relation to the available means of transport.' At first, from foundation to 1870s or 1880s they were 'walking cities', because of the high cost of land transport. Then followed the transition to a 'public transport city', which stimulated suburban expansion, and accelerated the already-evident process of social differentiation between middle- and working-class suburbs. The post-1945 automobile city is the third stage. McCarty, 'Capital Cities', 12, 16-18, 28.

24 Davison, 'Public Utilities', 81, 83; Hall, 129; Neutze, 24-5, 27. The frequency of rail services to some suburbs in the early 1880s indicates the possibilities offered by this transport link. In 1879 there were 16 daily (week-day) return services to Essendon, and 33 to Hawthorn. Bradshaw's Guide to Victoria, (Melbourne [1879]), 10-11, 14-15.


26 Davison, 'Public Utilities', 76-7.
Neutze notes that trams were more widely used than trains, 'and probably had a greater effect on city life and on the shape of development of Australian cities in the period before the Second World War.'

Melbourne's trams performed a different function from the established rail system. The first routes were confined to the inner suburbs, and entered the 'city mile' by several routes, thus providing the city area with a close network of tram lines. They opened up settled areas, providing established residents with new approaches to suburb and city, new opportunities for movement and interaction. The suburbs served by trams were tied more closely and conveniently to the city centre, facilitating closer work and recreational links.

Melbourne's trams served less to extend the suburbs physically than to extend the possibilities of travel within established areas. The 1894 Tramway Guide to Melbourne and Suburbs encouraged people to explore their city by following the 'Rambles from Routes' which began from points along the tram lines.

Melbourne's cable trams, unique in Australia, added visibly to the city's metropolitan image. They excited local residents and confirmed overseas visitors' views of Melbourne's growing sophistication. They changed the rhythm and the sounds of city life. Male Casey remembered the trams adding to

the individual music of Melbourne: the muffled roar as they passed by, the whine as they rounded the corners, the grind of the brakes down the steep descent of Collins Street, the melody of the gripman's bell.

27 Neutze, 24.
28 Early tram routes: Richmond 1885, Fitzroy 1886, Collingwood and Clifton Hill 1887, along Nicholson Street 1887, Brunswick 1887, and Carlton 1887. Davison, 'Public Utilities', 83. See map, figure 1.
29 Writing of the rise of popular football in Britain during the late nineteenth century, Walvin stresses the importance of trams in providing local people with a cheap means of reaching previously inaccessible quarters of their own cities. J. Walvin, The People's Game: A Social History of British Football, (London 1975), 65.
31 Leader, 31 October 1885, 29; Bannow, 15-16; C. Bond, Goldfields and Chrisanthemums: Notes of Travel in Australia & Japan, (London 1898), 68; S.A. Wilson, Journal of a Visit to Australia 5 October - 10 December 1893, MS, n.p.
Figure 1
Melbourne's Railway System 1876-1895
Source: Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, 156
Figure 2
Melbourne's Tramway System 1885-1891
Source: Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, 162
Extension of public transport, and the suburban expansion it served, changed the quality of life. Local, personal horizons expanded, and patterns of life changed. The suburban neighbourhood became the centre of social life, distanced from the concerns and social contacts of the workplace. Some suburbs, such as Footscray, maintained the established residential/workplace mix, but the new railway suburbs to the east and south were part of the larger formal region of the new residential belt, and of the functional region of a residential suburb in relation to the city centre. This study explores, through leisure, the social relationships within these new suburbs, and their links with other residential suburbs, and with the city centre.

The "technological destruction of distance" considerably extended the familiar territory of many citizens, and increased the range and pace of their daily lives. Cannon notes that "by the end of the century there had clearly emerged a new breed of man to whom rapid, effortless mobility was the essence of daily life." People accepted travelling time as part of their daily time-tables. This was a qualitative change, involving more than just speed and distance. Walking to work through a local neighbourhood was a social experience: greeting acquaintances, stopping at a nearby shop, noticing neighbourhood happenings. A relatively anonymous train or tram trip to the city was not necessarily an alienating, negative experience, but it lacked the coherence, the breadth, of the familiar local patterns. It was a single-purpose trip, the physical measure of the increasing distance between work and leisure: another defined part of urban existence.

Specialization and Definition

Specialization was evident in all areas of life. As Melbourne expanded, "its various areas assumed distinct and specialized functions within the whole". The central city served commercial and business interests; the inner suburbs developed as industrial and working-class residential areas; to the north and east arose the new industrial suburbs: noxious trades in Flemington and Footscray, building trades in Brunswick and Northcote; and the middle-class residential suburbs.

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33 See below 123.
35 Handlin, 3.
36 Cannon, 70.
37 Cannon, 59.
to the east and south grew apart. The separation of work and home which resulted from this functional specialization further defined the role of the home. It became a centre for leisure and family life, relatively untouched by the work-day world. The breadwinner (early always male) led a segmented life. Transport services and monetary reward linked workplace and home. The growing separation of work and leisure was part of this fundamental division between production and consumption. For instance, with the growth of commercial leisure facilities, consumption became an important part of leisure-time activity.

Work, too, became more defined. Because Melbourne had begun as a commercial and administrative centre, its tertiary sector was large. During the 1880s this sector held its share of the workforce. The commercial world was developing sharper divisions of labour. Davison has traced this growing specialization, and the technological advances which created the need for skilled typists, shorthand writers and telephonists. Improved bookkeeping methods also necessitated more trained staff. As merchant houses expanded there was need for greater definition of staff responsibilities. The informal methods of the counting house were making way for organized large-scale business. Davison has been concerned to trace 'the evolution of a provincial city towards the competitive, bureaucratic structures of an authentic metropolis.'

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38 McCarty, 'Capital Cities,' 30.
39 This interpretation should take account of the possibility of members of the same family working together. In evidence before the Royal Commission on employés in shops, John Parry, a member of a large firm of wholesale clothing manufacturers, stated that the firm employed 'about 400 families'. Of the 800 females who worked in the factory, '100 are sisters [and] 90 are mothers and daughters ...', R.C. Shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.16a, questions 1592, 1600, 1603.
40 Cloher, 108, 129.
41 Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, 16. See also: 9, 27-30.
The size of industrial establishments increased considerably during the 1880s: an increasing proportion of industrial workers was employed in establishments of over 100 workers.\(^{42}\) Within these factories the division of labour intensified as processes were geared more to large-scale production.\(^{43}\) Industrial working conditions were first regulated effectively during the 1880s and later 1890s. Minimum standards of physical conditions were laid down; hours of work were limited; annual holidays, for those who received them, became more regular. Greater formalization was a necessary result of large, rapid population growth: greater organization and more formal articulation of rules ensured that the city functioned efficiently. Beneath the glitter and pace of the 1880s, Melbourne was settling down. Suburban existence became the stuff of daily life. Davison estimates that 'about 45.5 per cent of Melbourne householders owned or were buying their own homes in the early 1880s'. Dingle and Merrett conclude, from a survey of six Melbourne municipalities in 1891, that 41 per cent owned or were buying their own homes.\(^{44}\) Though, in general, the influx of population to the newer residential suburbs did not lead to a dramatic rise in owner-occupation,\(^{45}\) suburban


\(^{43}\) See below, 129.


\(^{45}\) See Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 181 for a table showing 'Percentage Houses Owner- or Purchaser-Occupied by Suburb 1881-1901'.
concerns came to dominate. Whether renting or buying, whether mobile or relatively stable, most people experienced the division between home and workplace and the accompanying daily routine. Both settled and mobile families took part in these rituals. Cycling commuters, in the mid-1890s, came in regular occupational waves:

You see mechanics on cycles in the earlier hours going to their labours, then clerks swarm along the thoroughfares on wheels towards their offices, later the professional man quietly pedals along in the sunshine, ...

Melbourne's suburban consolidation and the regularity of this type of life was one of the significant constants of the 1880s. The relationship between this life and the glittering, more transient highlights of the boom years will be discussed later. For the moment, one perceptive observation of the social effects of suburban life must suffice. A football commentator noted the way people identified with their suburb, and with its inhabitants and heroes. Writing of a recent match between Melbourne and Carlton, he lamented the decline of these clubs: 'alas! times have changed, and ... the two famous clubs have been outpaced.' In particular, 'the glory of Melbourne seems to have "departed never to return"'. The successes of such teams as South Melbourne and Geelong owed a great deal to local enthusiasm, which has a remarkably stimulating effect upon the players. Is not Peter Burns in Clarendon-street [South Melbourne] on a Saturday evening, for instance, the idol of

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46 When discussing job and residential mobility Davison notes that change of either job or residence did not necessarily imply change of the other. 'When workingmen moved, it was usually to another house in the same locality close to much the same potential employment.' From a study of a sample of Collingwood householders in 1833/4, and 1888/9, he concludes that 'probably no more than a quarter of all those who moved house in the half decade were beyond the reach of their old employment (and kin?).' Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, 177.

My research for Hawthorn supports this interpretation. Searches through the Sands and McDougall Directories for occupational listings, have revealed that a large proportion of those who moved stayed within Hawthorn, or moved only to a neighbouring suburb.

47 Australasian, 4 April 1896, 662.

48 See, for example, below 244-46, 244.
the promenading populace? ... Melbourne, unfortunately, having no local habitation, is inspired by no local feeling or enthusiasm, ... In olden times, it may be argued, they were similarly handicapped, but then the competition was not nearly so keen, and the feeling alluded to above had not commenced to simmer in the suburbs. It may not be that Melbourne has gone so much back as that its opponents have gone ahead, ...

The physical and economic changes outlined above brought pressure to bear on social standards and controls. Melbourne society was in a state of flux. More people were able to participate in social rituals which had previously been limited, practically, to people with private transport, but gradually the strain of travelling long distances led to changes in custom. Moreover, the social distinctions reinforced by the established transport modes became less sharply delineated. The possession of a carriage remained a real 'mark of respectability', but many without private transport eagerly adopted the endless round of social calls, and for them the suburban spread, and the distance between fashionable suburbs, posed problems. A lady from Studley Park, without a carriage, would no doubt have on her visiting list residents of Brighton, St. Kilda, Toorak and South Yarra, as well as closer neighbours from Kew and Hawthorn. So she studied the time-tables, and set off by train or cab to visit friends on their specified days. However, if several Brighton ladies specified different days, the Studley Park lady's task became impossible. Alterations of custom eased the problem, but the strains persisted and gradually the rigid requirements surrounding 'morning calls' disappeared. In 1896 a social commentator observed:

50 Noel McLachlan noted that increased industrialization and urbanization made full participation in communal activities impossible, geographically. 'Therefore a common cultural standard established and supported by the aid of every inhabitant is impossible and its absence will become increasingly conspicuous.' N.D. McLachlan, Larrakiaism: An Interpretation, (M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne 1950), 112.
51 Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, 1, 483.
52 Australian, 9 August 1884, 282-3. Twopeny commented that 'the scattered position of the suburbs and the extent of the population' split Melbourne's "elite into several local societies ...' R.E.N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, (London, 1883; reprint 1973), 108.
Calls are now found a great tax, especially by those who keep no conveyance and have to trust to trams, trains, or walking to get over distances that are often great. The old rule that required call for call indefinitely is dying out, as people in these times find they have almost daily opportunities of meeting each other. 53

Safe, reliable, respectable public transport gave women greater freedom. Some self-reliant women had been accustomed to drive themselves, but normally a woman was accompanied by a man, which considerably restricted her freedom of movement. Women could cope with public transport alone, or with female companions, and this greatly expanded their horizons. The new woman of the 1880s 'tasted of a complete independence of control' undreamed of by her elders.

From her earliest years she has probably had her monthly railway ticket, and travelled alone, backwards and forwards, on her way to school and classes, forming on her own responsibility acquaintance with her habitual fellow-travellers. 54

Greater individual mobility did mean freer mixing, even if usually only on the superficial level of a shared railway carriage or tram, or mixed attendance at public places.

Many rich and respectable Melbourne citizens had risen quickly in the world after financial success in the 1850s and 1860s. Rapid mobility posed social problems. Many attained a social standing which, according to old world (and still influential) standards, they were

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53 Australasian, 16 May 1896, 950.

54 Australasian, 19 April 1884, supp. 3. The diary of twenty-three year old Fanny Barbour, covering July 1887 to May 1888, describes days full of visits, drawing lessons, shopping and other outings, all usually undertaken alone or with a female companion, and, it appears, on public transport. F. Barbour, 'Jottings' Diary of Fanny Barbour 12 July 1887 - 20 May 1888, MS, La Trobe Lib., 8746, Box 976/1(a).
They possessed the trappings of middle-class status, but lacked an understanding of the mores and nuances of behaviour which governed social relations. Contending that the foundation of lassikinism is the absence of parental control, a Melbourne doctor outlined typical problems caused by rapid social mobility:

... numbers of people have come to Victoria - Australia - and made so much money so easily that it has placed them in a position they never dreamt of occupying, and when they arrive at this stage they are altogether without proper understanding of their responsibilities as far as their young'sters are concerned. 56

Those wishing to learn the ways of polite society faced many hurdles. The rigid conventions surrounding 'morning calls' had served to test whether new recruits to the ranks of the nouveaux riches were capable of learning the accepted proprieties of social intercourse. 57

The number of queries on this subject in the ladies' page of the Australasian indicates not only that it was taken very seriously, but

55 See below 287-... Melburnians were sensitive to slights concerning their social status. Charles Pearson, Liberal M.L.A., educationist and writer, retailed one such episode to Herbert Strong, former Professor of classical and comparative philology at the University of Melbourne:

I suppose you have heard of the social scandal that convulsed all Melbourne a month ago. Two of the newly-uniformed officers' wives ..., having cards sent them for a Cinderella [dance], ..., dressed up two of their maids and sent them under escort of a male friend... The ladies(!) were suspected but got safely through the evening. When it leaked out Mrs. Walker justified herself to the committee by saying that as so many people in Melbourne had risen from the ranks, she thought maid-servants would not be objected to.

Charles Henry Pearson to Herbert Augustus Strong, 21 July 1884, Jarman Papers, MS 7267, 439/2(c).

See also: below 720-203.

56 Daily Telegraph, 5 May 1887, 5, cited in McLachlan, 83. For similar contemporary opinions see McLachlan, 80-83.

also that many people were unsure of the correct procedures. During the 1880s these people often faced new situations, which only deepened their social uncertainty and self-consciousness. Twopeny's closely observed arrivals conformed to a way of life she was 'totally unaccustomed to and unfitted for.' Not daring to indulge freely her natural preferences, she remained self-conscious and bored. Social nervousness was indicated by a columnist's answer to one query: 'You are quite at liberty to take your own lunch to the Exhibition.' The extent of the problems facing the socially untrained was illustrated in a further answer, to a reader asking for guidance in organizing a picnic. While asserting that there was 'no etiquette for a picnic', the columnist nevertheless devoted a paragraph to details of the correct method of invitation, hostess's duties, and suitable clothing.

There was more involved, though, than untrained people striving, willingly, to learn the correct social customs. This attitude conflicted with the widely-held belief in the egalitarian nature of Australian society. Attempts to maintain social distinctions often gave rise

58 Australasian, 20 March 1886, 535; 5 June 1886, 1063; 13 August 1887, 225; 24 September 1887, 593; 17 December 1887, 1159; 10 May 1890, 930; 31 May 1890, 1074; 28 June 1890, 1266; 23 May 1891, 997. See also: Leader, 9 March 1889, 7. Attempts to mix with established families met with little success. Twenty-three year old Fanny Barbour, from one such family, commented, after attending a social evening: 'They were very soso, the people - ... I wonder how people like to associate with people beneath them ... I must say, I like my own set of people. I don't care for the 2nd class as acquaintances.' Barbour, March 1888, 236-7. Fanny Barbour's father was a pastoralist, on a station he had taken up in the late 1830s, in north-east Victoria. Members of the family spent a considerable amount of time in Melbourne.

59 Twopeny, 93.

60 Australasian, 22 September 1888, 633.

61 Australasian, 24 December 1887, 1207.

62 Twopeny remarked that: 'Amongst men social distinctions are very slight. It is lawful to be friendly with everybody and anybody in town, so long as you do not visit at his private house.' Twopeny, 107. See also: Australasian, 10 April 1883, 699.
to tension, and to public comment. In 1895 a Hawthorn 'CITIZEN WITHOUT A DRESS SUIT' complained, tongue-in-cheek, that 'this serious defect' in his wardrobe had caused him 'to be shut out from' the Mayor's invitation concert. 63

Some people did not feel, or were not aware of, the need to conform to certain standards of behaviour. Their transgressions did not escape censure. In 1884 a Melbourne Rotten Row was established around the Albert Park Lake.

All kinds of vehicles were pressed into service, from the elegant barouche to the family waggonette and simple pony carriage. In the minds of one or two families present a drive to Rotten Row, from some mysterious cause, was associated with a rural picnic, and they complacently ate huge sandwiches and drank startling quantities of gingerbeer before the astonished gaze of folks who came only to drive and listen to the sweet strains of Herr Plock's band.

Despite the shocked tone, the report ended on an egalitarian note, indicating a recognition that some relaxation of standards was inevitable.

Those not possessing a carriage, and not desirous of hiring a vehicle, will find many to keep them company should they walk to the Rotten Row, or be content with the convenience a St. Kilda omnibus offers in getting there. 64

Public displays, such as the Rotten Row drive, were observed by all types of people. They affirmed distinctions in manner, dress and mode of transport. Undoubtedly, such occasions served to perpetuate social divisions. However, in this brash young society, with its strong egalitarian ideas, it was difficult for the wealthy to withdraw from the public gaze. The difference between occasions of public display and private social gatherings was sometimes lost on the lower orders. Ada Cambridge described what she regarded as a typical Australian incident, observed when she was a guest at a Melbourne house party which included the imperial visitors Lord and Lady Rosebery. One afternoon, approaching the private tennis court, the party found the court in the 'possession of a crowd of strangers, holiday trippers of the 'Arry and 'Arriet type,' who had 'invaded the grounds' from the

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63 Australasian, 27 December 1884, 1207.
64 Hawthorn Citizen, 27 April 1895.
nearby railway and were in the midst of an exciting game. Despite 'the appearance of the smart folks from the house', play continued. Owner and guests meekly waited until the end of the game.65 Exclusive gatherings held on public grounds were not likely to remain private.66 The cream of Melbourne society attended the first meeting of the Intercolonial polo teams, at Newmarket one Tuesday in March 1892. The scene at the ground, which the Camperdown Club had hired, was enlivened by the presence of nearly a score of private vehicles, and 'by the appearance of Mr. H.A. Armitage's four-in-hand, drawn by a spanking team of bays.' Unfortunately, the day's sport was marred by the presence of a large number of unwelcome local residents. 'The Progress'; Political League of Flemington and Kensington had scaled the fences en masse,' and subjected 'the sportsmen who had hired the ground' to a barrage of light and sportive humour ... flavoured with bad tobacco, and ... a liberal sprinkling of bad language. Several fights also were successfully brought off, one of them extending to over 20 rounds ... with regularly-appointed timekeepers and seconds. Those amusements were varied by the consistent refusal of the crowd to keep outside the boundary of the flags, so that the progress of the game was continually impeded, ... To crown this peculiar situation, an enterprising individual established himself at the only gap leading into the paddock, and collected toll from every vehicle ... so that the people who had rented the ground had to pay again for admission ... and all the riff-raff of the district got in for nothing. 67

The liberalizing effects of public transport and adequate wages, combined with the tension between egalitarian ideals and traditional social distinctions, increased the likelihood of this type of clash between classes. And, during the depression, tension was heightened by the marked contrast between those who chose still to display their wealth, and those facing destitution.

65 A. Cambridge, Thirty Years in Australia, (London 1903), 165. The incident occurred in December 1883.
66 The following gathering took place on a week day when, presumably, the working-class would be at work. However, it was during the depression: many of the unwelcome spectators were probably unemployed, which would have heightened the contrast and tension between the two groups.
67 Australasian, 12 March 1892, 494.
There was, therefore, a gradual move towards more carefully limited social intercourse. If many citizens were not aware of, or did not accept, the former unspoken social barriers, more formal criteria for participation could be established. During the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s small voluntary groups and private clubs were established, with a limited membership. The society was now large enough to support diverse interest groups, but these clubs represented, too, an attempt to preserve social distinctions. Because many leisure pursuits were so democratic and because there was no tradition limiting participation, these first deliberate social barriers were erected bluntly and formally. Committees organizing private assemblies frequently announced that the number of tickets would be strictly limited and great care would be taken with their distribution 'so as to exclude any jarring elements.' Within less formally-constituted social groups, where restricted membership or participation was not possible, different forms of control operated. Reports of social activity, and observers' comments, conveyed a sense of intimacy and restraint. The Melbourne Bulletin, a light-hearted weekly journal

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68 See below 163, 177-8. The larrikin push of the late nineteenth century was a highly-organized, exclusive club, resembling in this respect its more legitimate counterparts in the wider society. McLachlan comments that the explicit rules and the strictly enforced morality 'suggests that larrikinism did not imply a rejection of all morality but merely the substitution of another code for that of conventional society.' McLachlan, 64, 66. See also: C.J. McConville, Outcast Melbourne: Social Deviance in the City, 1880-1914, (H.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1974), 227.

69 Hawthorn Citizen, 9 March 1895. See also: Australasian, 10 November 1883, 596; 31 July 1886, 213; 7 August 1886, 261. Sooner or later, most private clubs had to define membership requirements. Early in the life of the Wallaby Club, established in 1894 for the purpose of bringing together professional men fond of walking, the question of the eligibility for membership of non-professional men, was raised. No decision was recorded, but Club records make it clear that non-professional men were never members. Alfred Hart, History of the Wallaby Club, (Melbourne 1944), 20-3, 26-7, 34, 84-7.

70 One light, humorous booklet describing Melbourne social life during the mid-1890s, conveyed an atmosphere of familiarity within social groups, and of individuals under scrutiny. H. Woolhouse, Melbourne Life, (Melbourne [1896]).
incorporated in Punch in the mid-1880s, reporting the activities of one social set, often indulged in personalities:

It must have been a first-class musician that made Miss Mac dance so unceasingly at the Social Evening. Eh, M.C. and B. 71

Unacceptable behaviour earned a public rebuke:

'Wanted, the names of the two swells wearing smoking caps at an evening party in North Fitzroy. If they will kindly send their address through this paper, the ladies of North Fitzroy will post them a book on etiquette.' 72

The small world of social cycling exemplified this trend towards more formal standards of social control. Two related characteristics of the cycling boom accounted for the immediacy of its social impact: the small-wheeled safety bicycle provided the first opportunity for mass personal transport; and popular, mixed cycling quickly became fashionable. 73 Because of this novelty and rapid popularity there were few social rules governing the pastime. Standards of dress, behaviour and acceptable company could not evolve gradually: they were defined and transmitted quickly and openly. The microcosm of the social cycling world provides a fascinating glimpse of social adaptation to relatively sudden change. Because the safety bicycle

72 Melbourne Bulletin, 5 May 1882, 8. The weekly hunting column in the Australasian often contained specific comments on poor riding: '...one gentleman riding a grey horse fell at every fence he attempted to negotiate.' Australasian, 4 June 1881, 717.
73 Horses had always provided personal transport, but were available to fewer people. The penny farthing or 'ordinary' bicycle had been available in Melbourne since the late 1870s, but it was not until the more practical small-wheeled safety bicycle was introduced (about 1886 in Melbourne) that the cycling boom began. And it did not reach its height, in Melbourne, until the mid-1890s.
became popular so quickly cyclists were a mixed crowd. This new freedom and mobility presented problems of social control.

The bicycle has brought a socially undeveloped multitude of young persons, chiefly of the male sex, into situations where they are free from the control which can be exercised over them in ordinary circumstances. They are not ripe for responsibility, yet, to some extent, they are masters of the situation, ...

Cyclists rode in full public view, and, whether they liked it or not, were regarded as 'brothers of the wheel.' Many 'respectable' riders wished to distinguish themselves from people with whom they would not, normally, mix socially. It was hoped that once the bonds formed by the novelty of the new sport wore off, social barriers would reappear; and cycling, particularly in touring clubs, would become more exclusive.

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74 Judging from contemporary estimates there were no more than 10,000 cycles in Melbourne in the mid-1890s, with perhaps 1,000 of them owned by women. Austral Wheel, February 1896, 37; Australasian, 5 September 1896, 451; 7 November 1896, 1007; 30 April 1898, 971. Import statistics put the figure at nearer 10,000 in 1890, and close to 20,000 in the mid-1890s. Statistical Register of Victoria, 1899-1900, 'Interchange'. Allowance has been made in these calculations for the re-export of some cycles landed in Melbourne, though there is no way of knowing exactly how many were trans-shipped.

Cycles were not manufactured locally; those imported in parts were assembled at local workshops and some finishing work done there. In 1896 there were three cycle workshops in Melbourne, employing a total of 130 hands; by 1899, five workshops employed 200 hands. Statistical Register, 1896, 1899, 'Production.'

Could a working man afford a bicycle? In the mid-1890s good machines ranged from £17 to £33, though cheaper models were readily available from £8-10s. The secondhand trade was extensive: used machines were available from between £4 and £8 during the 1890s. This was at a time when an artisan's wage was around £3 a week. Time payment was widely available: £5 down and 9s a week for 12 months was normal, but some terms were as low as 10s down and 2s 6d per week. Cycling Times, 6 February 1896, 4; Austral Wheel, August 1896, 211; April 1897, 113; February 1899, 61; March 1899, 91; December 1899, 331; Australasian, 5 October 1895, 644; 18 January 1896, 114.

75 Australasian, 23 January 1897, 183. Respectable cyclists riding through working-class neighbourhoods were sometimes ridiculed and annoyed by onlookers. The bicycle took the middle-class rider out of his suburban retreat, through areas he would not normally visit. See Cycling Times, 13 February 1897, 4.
Men dissimilar in habits may admire and respect each other, but they cannot be congenial companions on a tour. Men and women to be really companionable must, in fine, have somewhat similar ideas, tastes, prejudices, and income. 76

Touring clubs solved some of these problems. 77 Membership was restricted, usually by cost, occasionally through a policy of limited membership. 78 Although the clubs involved only a minority of cyclists, 79 they illustrated on a small scale the process of definition and exclusion occurring in many social groups. Club members were distinguished by the smart uniforms they wore on their weekly runs. 80 The formal rules of the mid-1880s had been relaxed a decade later, though high standards of behaviour were still expected. 81 Clubs strove to maintain cycling's good reputation, and to set a good example for 'unattached' riders. Official club runs on Sunday were rare, and riding in uniform on that day was discouraged. Club rooms

76 Austral Wheel, April 1896, 79. '... the revolution caused by the bicycle has been so sudden and far-reaching that things have got a little "mixed", but they will gradually settle down into their accustomed grooves again, ...', Austral Wheel, October 1896, 281.

77 This discussion concerns only the touring side of cycling. Many clubs catered for both tourists and racing men.

78 Austral Wheel, March 1896, 66.

79 In the mid-1890s there were at least twenty active clubs, ranging from the Victorian Cycling Tourists' Club and the Melbourne Bicycle Club, each with close to 200 members, to many smaller suburban clubs in Malvern, Brighton, Williamstown, Hawthorn, Footscray, Yarraville and Coburg. Austral Wheel, June 1896, 158; November 1896, 318.

80 J.P. Russell, The Australian Cyclist: Annual, 1884, (Melbourne 1884), 15-16. In 1893, an observer noted that the days of silver and gold braided uniforms had passed. Sensible riders preferred a quiet grey uniform. Australasian, 27 May 1893, 975; Austral Wheel, May 1896, 123. By the late 1890s many cyclists had discarded the special knickerbocker cycling suit for ordinary clothes. Austral Wheel, November 1899, 293.

81 The Melbourne Bicycle Club's Rules and Regulations, (Melbourne 1887), required that the strictest order be maintained on all runs, and listed whistle signals by which Captain and Vice Captain would maintain an orderly file. There were instructions for 8 bugle calls: Attention, Assembly, Mount, Dismount, Form Single File, Form Twos, Dinner Call.
were closed on Sunday.  

Unattached riders did not escape scrutiny. The small, familiar cycling world ensured a personal, comradely atmosphere. The style of the cycling journals, particularly on the social pages, was informal, encouraging the feeling that cyclists belonged to one happy family. Individuals were frequently singled out. This familiarity made it easy to apply social pressure. Unacceptable dress or behaviour was publicized. While names were not usually mentioned, identities were unmistakable.

A considerable display of the female form divine in rationals which were not at all rational, was made on the St. Kilda Esplanade last Sunday morning. The delinquent cyclist is a young and fashionable "Brighton lady, who consistently displays execrable taste in more ways than one.  

Women were particularly vulnerable on the issue of dress, which was an enduring problem for female cyclists. There was general agreement on the benefits of cycling for women, but great disagreement on the most suitable clothing. Debate raged over the suitability of 'rationals' (bloomers gathered below the knee) rather than the normal long skirt. Any departure from conventional ladylike behaviour was likely to be criticized severely, whether it was immodest participation in a tricycle race or simply ungraceful knee action when pedalling. Cyclists' greater freedom of movement did

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82 Australasian, 3 September 1887, 455; Australian Cycling News, 5 December, 1885, 123; Austral Wheel, August 1896, 212; November 1896, 317-8; November 1896, 319; February 1895, 36; July 1899, 189.  
83 See, for example: Cycling Times, 30 January 1896, 13.  
84 Cycling Times, 23 January 1896, 10. See also: Australian Cycling News, 5 December 1885, 123; Boron medical News, 25 October 1895; Austral Wheel, January 1896, 2; October 1896, 282.  
85 Austral Wheel, January 1896, 1, 17-18; May 1896, 106; April 1896, 82; August 1899, 224.  
86 Australasian Storekeepers' Journal, November 1895, 198; Austral Wheel, June 1896, 135-7; August J996, 205; Cycling Times, 23 January 1896, 10; 13 February 1896, 8; Australasian, 23 March 1895, 549.  
87 Australasian, 23 May 1896, 978; Austral Wheel, January 1896, 7; June 1896, 139; Cycling News, 24 October 1885, 69.
Picnickers at Keilor, 1896

The Cyclists' Parade: Muster at Princes Bridge, 1896
not lead to an immediate, commensurate loosening of social restrictions. The rapid change brought by technological advance disrupted the established order, but social controls were soon redefined to encompass new experiences.

**Expanded Opportunities: Greater Regulation**

Melbourne's growth stimulated new opportunities for enjoying the benefits of city life. At the same time citizens experienced greater pace and pressure. Care must be taken when considering the effects on individuals of growing urban demands. It is too easy to emphasize negative consequences and increased tension. Daily work can provide a focal point - an organizational anchor - for the rest of life. The positive, regulated force of work can stimulate, in leisure-time, the earnest pursuit of activities and interests. This response involves more than a reaction against work, though for many in monotonous, debilitating jobs the appeal of passive, non-participatory recreations, or quick escape through alcohol, offer easy compensation. Work can transmit a binding force and stimulation, the significance of which has been observed in studies of the unemployed. In a chapter titled 'The Meaning of Time', a group of sociologists studying a German community of unemployed miners and their families, labelled the unlimited free time of unemployment 'a tragic gift'. Deprived of their work and lacking contact with the outside world, 'the workers of Marienthal ... lost their material and moral incentives to make use of their time.' No longer under any pressure,' they undertook nothing new and drifted gradually out of

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an ordered existence into one that was undisciplined and empty.\textsuperscript{89}

A nineteenth century Melbourne commentator declared, with an exaggerated flourish, that:

... as regards the possession of happiness, ... the man to be envied of all others, is he who is immediately above the poor. The calamity of riches has been spared him, the curse of leisure has not poisoned his life with ennui. ... \textsuperscript{90}

The negative aspects of growing work discipline and regularity in the late nineteenth century must be balanced against this wider view of the positive force of work.

On a more practical level, the greater regulation of city life cut into the freedom and established patterns of all urban dwellers. Cable trams threatened the long-established Eight Hour Day procession. The Mayor had suggested that, 'so as not to impede public traffic' more than was absolutely necessary, the Eight Hour officials arrange that the procession passed 'over certain parts of the tram lines within stated times,' the trams to be regulated accordingly. The working men's spokesmen resisted any changes: they insisted that the trams halt for an hour while the procession followed its traditional,

\textsuperscript{89} Time lost all meaning for the unemployed:
The realization that free time is limited urges a man to make considered use of it. If he feels that he has unlimited time at hand, any effort to use it sensibly appears superfluous.
The women fared better: they were not 'unemployed', just unpaid. Their workload increased rather than diminished, and their sense of time was not as disrupted. As time passed, the people of the village reverted to a less differentiated experience of time. Their new circumstances did not fit an established time schedule. 'A life ... poorer in demands and activities' gradually began to develop a timetable that was correspondingly poor.


\textsuperscript{90} *Australasian*, 2 February 1884, supp. 3. Alasdair Clayre, when discussing the problems brought by 'mechanized ease' in the nineteenth century, suggests that 'the spectre of chaos and formlessness' in daily life must have faced many wealthy citizens. 'Work offered release - social acceptance and an identity, inner freedom from formlessness or brooding, a shape, a routine, ...' A. Clayre, *Work and Play: Ideas and Experience of Work and Leisure*, (London 1974), 44. See also: *Australasian*, 11 August 1883, supp. 3.
uninterrupted city route. Such incidents illustrate the complexity of city life towards the end of the nineteenth century: new facilities and procedures came into conflict with established routines, giving rise, eventually, to distinct urban patterns of life.

During this period, the formal controls administered by local and colonial government bodies multiplied. The problems of ordering city life demanded attention, and gradually local bodies accepted more and more of this responsibility. Leisure-time activity, in particular, received official aid and regulation. Municipal councils struggled to reserve and extend open space. In the 1850s and 1860s Melbourne city and inner suburbs had been well provided with parks and reserves, but with the rapid suburban expansion and the land boom of the 1880s, the need for reserving open space was often ignored. Few public reserves were set aside in the new suburbs. Lack of foresight brought problems: as early as 1882 the Prahran Council had to begin repurchasing land for parks. Hawthorn Council, too, was dogged by problems arising from failure to reserve public land for parks and reserves. Cannon notes that by 1910 most Australian suburbs devoted far less than the accepted town planning minimum of 10 per cent of their area to parks and reserves. Overall, Melbourne's reserves accounted for only 7 per cent of the total land area, while in industrial suburbs like Coburg the figure was as low as 0.17 per cent.

Public land was encroached upon in a steady, albeit piecemeal, way. Even reserving areas of open space for a more specific recreational purpose was regarded by some as alienation of public space, and provoked resistance and official concern. When the National Agricultural Society requested a site in Royal Park, E. G. Fitzgibbon, the Melbourne town clerk, remarked 'that the Royal park, the people's breathing space, of 700 acres, had [already] been

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91 Leander, 2 April 1887, 28; 9 April 1887, 28.
92 Cannon, 39-40. On the broader level of Melbourne's recreational hinterland, in 1884, the Minister for Lands decided to repurchase the Hanging Rock Reserve. This favourite picnic area 40 miles from Melbourne had been sold to private interests several years before. The government repurchased seventy acres at a cost of £1400. Australasian, 19 July 1884, 123.
93 Grant & Serle, 139.
94 See below 208-9.
95 Cannon, 41.
diminished to something over 400 acres.' In 1881, the Municipal Association of Victoria passed several motions which proposed more definite control of local reserves. Hawthorn's delegate proposed: 'That local recreation reserves should be vested in municipal councils, jointly with the Board of Land and Works, to preserve them from alienation.' The local municipal authorities should have unrestricted control of local reserves, as they were in the best position 'to decide, in the interests of the residents, the recreative purposes to which such reserves may be devoted.' Some councils managed to expand their open space: when the Collingwood abattoirs closed down the council quickly claimed the eight acre site for a recreation ground.

Alienation of open space for enclosed sports grounds aroused public resistance and created problems for the authorities. There was some controversy over this issue in both Hawthorn and Footscray, particularly when public money was spent improving the sports grounds, and when entry charges were demanded to what had formerly been an open reserve. The issue flared up in 1885, when the Minister of Lands directed the South Melbourne Cricket Club to remove the fence around their ground. The club had a permissive occupancy of the ground, which formed part of the Albert Park reserve, and as the fence blocked public access, 'peremptory directions' were given 'for the removal of the obstruction forthwith'. After negotiations, the order for removal of the fence was withdrawn, but the issue remained unresolved. The Minister had earlier

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96 *Australasian*, 17 September 1881, 372. Albert Park had suffered, as had Richmond Park, which 'yielded the Melbourne Cricket Club ground, the Suburban Railway, and the Swan-street extension.' The Acclimatisation Society had been given land in Royal Park, as had the Model Farm. Large frontages had also been divided off and sold as building sites along Brunner Road. 'Melbourne City', *Imperial Review*, 7 (June 1882), 14. See also: *Leader*, 22 January 1887, 19; 10 September 1887, 20.

97 *Australasian*, 17 September 1881, supp. 5.

98 *Argus*, 9 August 1884, 13. See also: *Australasian*, 5 June 1880, 724; *New and Southern Express*, 7 December 1884.

99 See below 145-6, 207.

100 *Leader*, 29 August 1885, 28; 12 September 1885, 20.
made pointed reference to the fact that several cricket clubs had obtained a footing in public parks, and ignored the terms on which the use of the land was given to them by fencing it, and causing much inconvenience to the public. 101

Two years later the Minister repeated these sentiments when North Fitzroy residents complained about part of a local reserve being fenced off for sporting purposes. He continued:

It might surprise them to learn that the Melbourne Cricket Ground belonged to the public, or had belonged, and it was simply by allowing the Club to put up one fence after another, until at last there was one which it was impossible to look over, that the reserve was now denied to the public. 102

There was similar trouble over sports grounds on public reserves in Carlton and St. Kilda. 103 This pressure on public open space resulted directly from rapid urban expansion. As a consequence, the responsibilities of local authorities increased, and their regulations and by-laws multiplied. The trend towards turning public open space to specific recreational use was part of the broad process of defining and regulating urban life. The sphere of the casual weekend walk was making way for crowds and organized sport.

Control of other recreational facilities was becoming more formalized. As sea-bathing became more popular the public baths built in earlier years came under official scrutiny. After two fatal accidents in the early 1880s, the colonial government took steps to ensure that all proprietors of bathing-houses adhered to certain safety provisions. The issuing of licences for bathing establishments was suspended during 1884, while a code of regulations was prepared by the Central Board of Health. 104 The Board was also under orders to inspect Melbourne's theatres and prepare a list of alterations necessary to ensure public safety. 105 Each bayside and seaside municipal council had formulated by-laws forbidding mixed bathing and,

101 Leader, 29 August 1885, 28.
102 Leader, 10 September 1887, 29.
103 Leader, 10 July 1886, 19; 22 January, 1887, 19.
104 Australasian, 3 November 1883, 563; 23 February 1884, 243; Leader, 2 February 1884, 27; 23 February 1884, 27.
105 Leader, 15 March 1884, 28.
sometimes, stipulating times and clothing for separate bathing. There was growing pressure for mixed bathing during the 1890s, and these by-laws were often challenged, and sometimes revised. 106

Pressure on public open space, including the foreshore areas of popular resorts, led to the prohibition of activities which were thought to interfere with public enjoyment. A regulation gazetted in 1884 under the Ports and Harbours Statute, forbade 'bathing a dog from any public wharf or jetty, or from any portion of the foreshore within 100 yards of a wharf or jetty. The regulation was framed at the request of St. Kilda residents 'who complained that dogs after swimming in the sea ran about the pier and destroyed the clothes of promenaders'. 107 Cyclists, too, were considered a danger and a nuisance to pedestrians and horses in congested city streets. From 1883 onwards, stringent Melbourne City Council by-laws regulated bicycle traffic, and municipal councils also framed their own regulations. 108

Apart from the effect of encroachments on open space, limitations on permitted activities in public areas dampened the raffish rough-and-tumble mix of Melbourne's public life. The colour and variety of Bourke Street and the Eastern Market remained, but one established area for informal gatherings was lost: the wharves. In 1888 the Harbour Trust Commissioners took three men to court, in order to enforce the prohibition on congregateing on the wharves on Sunday afternoons. Two of the offenders had been 'haranguing a crowd on various subjects' whilst the other conducted a service for the Sailors' Home Mission. 109 This trend towards narrowing the permissible use of public space did not go unnoticed. A newspaper columnist criticized an attempt to prevent a circus procession through the streets:

Our city life ... has lost one by one nearly all of the outdoor sights and processions ... of earlier times ... It is very rare, indeed, to see any of those open-air celebrations which convert a whole city ... into a vast theatre and its population

106. Australasian, 8 December 1894, 1035; 31 October 1896, 850; 16 September 1899, 659. See also: below 291.
107. Leader, 12 December 1885, 28.
108. Bicycling News, 18 January 1883, 5; Austral Wheel, February 1898, 45; Cycling Times, 23 April 1896, 4; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 13 October 1893; Boronia Standard, 18 June, 3 September 1897.
109. Leader, 21 January 1888, 28. Gradually, the characters who had frequented the wharves established another meeting place, on the south bank of the Yarra, above Princes Bridge. Bannow, 24-5.
into interested spectators ... It seems to be considered now that streets are solely intended for ... the humdrum of business.

A circus parade would have provided a welcome addition to the 'dreary but restless monotony' of city streets. 110

Thus far I have traced the broad social consequences of urbanization, sketching the way life changed under the impact of rapid population growth and consequent suburban expansion. Rights and responsibilities became more formalized and defined. A greater range of activity and experience was possible, but, in turn, more was demanded; greater mobility was accompanied by greater regulation; urban life became increasingly complex. Through tracing this process further, into leisure-time, we can learn more about social adaptation to urbanization, and about the development of suburban patterns of life.

A broadening range of leisure-time opportunities did not necessarily mean that people pursued a variety of activities, nor that they valued choice as an essential element of free time. Routine seems to have been more important than variety, judging from the popular pursuits. People formed leisure patterns as they formed work and home routines; regularity and familiarity were important, and the increasingly ordered world of work meant that leisure-time, too, took on a more regular cast.

The suburban commuter's day was divided between work and home. The two areas were distinct, separated physically by the daily journey to work. Social life centred on the home and immediate neighbourhood, and leisure-time interests became an increasingly important bond between people who did not share a common work experience.111 The routines which developed from this division extended into leisure-time.


111 Gareth Stedman Jones has traced the consequences of this division for working-class life in late-nineteenth century London. He suggests that the erosion of the work-centred culture meant the depoliticization of much leisure-time. At the suburban 'local', lacking any strong work links, the talk was less of work and trade politics, and more of general sport and entertainment. G.S. Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', Journal of Social History, 4, 7 (1974), 485-7.
Saturday payday was unsatisfactory for it meant, among other things, that housewives could not shop until Saturday afternoon or evening. Workers preferred to be paid on Thursday or Friday. Their wives could then shop during the week or on Saturday morning, leaving Saturday afternoon and evening free for family outings.\textsuperscript{112} The attraction of defined free time influenced the popularity of some jobs. There was general agreement that girls preferred factory work to domestic service because of the shorter, regular hours worked in factories.\textsuperscript{113}

As working hours were defined and the 'weekend' (Saturday afternoon and Sunday) was established, Saturday night became the night for late-night enjoyment. It remained the chief theatre night for 'the multitude'. Saturday was the night 'which many of the working bees of this toilsome earth' could 'most readily spare for amusement ...'; they could give free rein to enjoyment when no imperative call was to summon them 'to the office or the desk on the following morning.'\textsuperscript{114}

Melbourne's working man looked forward
to the Saturday night's relaxation and the Sunday rest. Melbourne is practically given over to him on Saturday night, and with his family ... he fills its bright and busy streets almost to the exclusion of every other class. He crowds the theatres, he throngs the shops, he and his are legion in the cheap restaurants, ... 115

Theatre custom changed in other ways, too, as Melbourne grew. The custom of ending the programme with a farce, to send the patrons home feeling cheerful, gradually ceased. Perhaps this was because people 'got tired of sitting up so late, more particularly when they lived in remote suburbs.' By the early 1860s 11 o'clock was considered 'quite late enough to stay at the theatre.'\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{112} R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.16\textsuperscript{b}, question 2056. See also: below 73-n. Similar reasons were advanced to explain the popularity of late-night shopping. Young men and women working all day in city factories and shops preferred not to shop on Saturday afternoons: '... that is the only time they have for recreation, and they want to spend it in recreation and not in shopping.' R.C. Shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.16\textsuperscript{a}, question 1272.

\textsuperscript{113} R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.16\textsuperscript{b}, question 1603. See also: Scrle, 84; Australasian, 4 March 1882, 263; 30 December 1882, 848; 10 May 1884, 594.

\textsuperscript{114} Australasian, 11 October 1884, 679.

\textsuperscript{115} Australasian, 11 August 1883, supp. 3.

\textsuperscript{116} Australasian, 22 May 1880, 658.
These small changes - this meshing of work and suburban routines - gave rise to distinct leisure-time rhythms. Waldemar Bannow, observing the city in the early 1890s, described the ebb and flow of traffic as workers turned from labour to leisure. Between 3 and 5 in the afternoon, it was 'fashionable to "do" the "Block,"' which meant parading the 'northern footpath of Collins-street, between Elizabeth and Swanston Streets,' observing and being observed. 'Towards 5 o'clock ... the fair "loiterers,"' were joined by male relatives and friends leaving their places of business and the streams set in for the homeward-bound trains and trams.' Gradually, most of the shops closed.

At 7 o'clock the working men have had time to have their wash and their tea and begin to throng the streets again. The doors of the theatres and music-halls are now being beleaguered by crowds of ... pleasure-seekers, ... At about 7.30 trains and trams begin to arrive laden with ladies and gentlemen in full dress or otherwise, all bent on seeking pleasure at their respective favourite places of amusement.

Pedestrians of all sorts traversed the central city streets; cabs and trams moved swiftly by; and the sounds of various bands added to the life and movement of the city. There was a comparative lull from 8 o'clock until 10.30, when the music hall and theatre audiences came streaming out, reviving the street life. ... Week-day evenings, by the time the public houses closed at 11.30, the streets were very quiet.117

The growing, consistent popularity of regular sporting events, particularly football matches, suggested that many people regularly attended these sports on Saturday afternoons. Alexander Sutherland remarked on the numbers at football matches:

What other city of half a million people can, like Melbourne, show its gatherings of from ten to twenty thousand people at its principal matches every Saturday and public holiday throughout a whole season?

117 Bannow, 19-20.
It is not too much to say that fifty or sixty thousand people are assembled in one part or other of Melbourne every Saturday afternoon to behold their favourite matches, a single match having repeatedly attracted more than thirty thousand. 118

A report in 1900 noted that, owing perhaps to the fact that there was only one significant football match being played that day, lacrosse matches had attracted larger attendances than usual. 119 Some Saturday afternoon spectators had shifted their venue and sport, rather than forego the weekly outing.

Patrons of music, theatre and music hall displayed similar loyalties and patterns of behaviour. An examination of programmes and attendances reveals marked regularity: many people patronised the same type of entertainment, and often the same theatre, repeatedly. This pattern occurred at all social levels. The two Liedertafels always attracted large and 'very fashionable' audiences to their Town Hall concerts. The Melbourne Liedertafel gave its 243rd performance in March 1896, the Royal Melbourne Liedertafel its 176th performance the preceding November. 120 A critic noted that these groups were 'in a fair ... way to monopolise the attention paid by the well-to-do classes to music ...' Between them, they gave about two dozen concerts a year. Subscribers numbered over 1,000, representing probably 5,000

118 A. Sutherland, 'Australian Football', in H. Shearm, Athletics and Football, (London 1894), 415. Sutherland's figures were only slightly exaggerated. An attendance of between 14 and 18 thousand, in 1885, was considered 'enormous'; a crowd of 30,000 a year later was 'unprecedented'. Attendances dropped during the 1890s but numbers still remained at a fairly consistent level. Handle notes contemporary reports that the drop was probably due as much to rough play as to the depression. Leader, 1 August 1885, 19; 5 September 1885, 21; 11 September 1886, 19; Australasian, 2 July 1892, 18; 12 May 1894, 814; 6 July 1895, 18; W.F. Handle, 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century', Historical Studies, 15 (April 1973), 511.

119 Australasian, 23 June 1900, 1366.

120 Australasian, 29 February 1896, 404; 2 November 1895, 851.
persons: 'the time of a vast audience is pretty well taken up with
Liedertafelism.' A smaller group faithfully patronised the
Wednesday evening organ recitals at St. Paul's Cathedral. The
Church was nearly always crowded on these evenings. The free
Town Hall organ recitals, on Thursdays and Saturdays, also maintained
a loyal following.

Many broadly-based 'popular' entertainments were regular events.
Large audiences attended the Saturday evening People's Promenade
Concerts in the Exhibition Building. The 64th concert was staged
in February 1893, and they were still being held two years later.
Popular Saturday Night Concerts were held in the Russell Street
Temperance Hall. They continued for many years 'with a stolid
regularity calculated to shame and awe more evanescent amusements.'
The greatest enthusiasm was aroused by the variety of music hall shows
which dominated Melbourne's entertainment, particularly during the
1890s. The shows at the Alhambra, the Gaiety, the Oxford and St. George's
Hall were a mixture of the old Christy's Minstrels and the more recent
'silk stockings troupes', interspersed with athletics, ventriloquism
and conjuring. In December 1893 the latest attraction at the
Alhambra was an aquatic entertainment, staged in a large tank by
Professor Beaumont and his daughters. The sustained success of
these shows indicated that they suited the tastes of many people.

121 H. Kelley, 'The Tendency of Popular Taste in Music and How to
Elevate It', Victorian Review, 1 March 1880, 823-5. See also:
Australasian, 4 March 1893, 243; 3 March 1894, 379; 4 August 1894, 99.
122 Australasian, 4 November 1893, 815; 18 November 1893, 907;
2 December 1893, 995; 13 January 1894, 71; 26 May 1894, 907; 3 November
1894, 795.
123 Kelley, 827; Australasian, 14 January 1893, 71; 21 January 1893,
119; 15 September 1894, 463; 6 October 1894, 603; 20 October 1894, 699.
A British visitor noted that Melbourne theatregoers were very loyal
to their favourites. 'Once a star becomes a favourite in Melbourne,
that star never loses hold of their good opinion and support.' J. Grattan
Grey, Australasia Old and New, (London 1901), 164.
124 Australasian, 11 February 1893, 263; 18 February 1893, 311; 1 July
1893, 23; 15 July 1893, 111; 5 January 1894, 23; 20 January 1894, 115;
3 November 1894, 795; 22 December 1894, 1131.
125 Australasian, 2 February 1884, supp. 3.
126 Australasian, 16 December 1893, 1082.
Success depended upon regular attendance by the same people. This fact accounted for the weekly programme changes: new acts were necessary to hold the interest of the regular patrons. The more 'legitimate' dramatic companies sometimes followed this practice, and revived interest by incorporating new material into the show.

It may be guessed that 'A Stranger in New York' is just about half-way through its run at the Princess's Theatre, because the musical items are to be changed on Saturday. Audiences were not loth to see the same show several times. Revivals were often staged, and it was acknowledged that long runs meant that people were going to see the show several times. The sustained popularity of some entertainments, and the evidence of regular attendance by the same audience points again to the formation of leisure-time routines. Freed from the regularity and familiarity of daily work, people carried these same patterns over into their leisure-time.

The routines of leisure-time can be explored, too, through leisure facilities. Did they cater for regular attendance or for special occasions? Did popular preference decide what facilities were provided, or did people tend simply to patronise what was available? This approach raises again the question of choice: was there evidence of active, effective preference for certain activities and facilities? Unhindered formation of leisure patterns, giving the clearest indication of preference, occurred where people availed themselves of facilities which were not provided specifically for recreation: streets, shops, markets, piers, river banks, wharves and beaches. Melburnians shopped, strolled, or just lazed and gazed, at any time, but certain areas were popular at particular times. An observer remarked, in mid-1884:

Saturday morning was wont to be the great day for frequenter of 'the block' to 'see and be seen,' but now, by some unaccountable turn in the whirligig of fashion, Thursday afternoon is the correct period when 'the glass of fashion and the mould of form' is pleased to disport itself in the daylight.

127 Australasian, 10 June 1893, 1075; 5 August 1893, 242; 4 November 1893, 814; 9 June 1894, 994; 3 November 1894, 795.
128 Australasian, 26 August 1899, 483.
129 Australasian, 11 March 1893, 451; 28 April 1894, 730; 19 September 1896, 559.
130 Australasian, 5 July 1884, 7.
Twopeny acknowledged that Melbourne's large drapers and ironmongers were 'quite amongst the sights of Australia ...' The city's shop windows were 'much better set out' than was customary in England. Melbourne had 'decidedly the best set of shops, not only in outward appearance, but as to the variety and quality of the articles sold ...' Through their unstructured use of these public areas people mixed business and pleasure and, incidentally, revealed their preferences.

Many of the more orthodox leisure facilities were provided as much for civic improvement as for public pleasure. Heller has remarked, of nineteenth century Bristol, how little the development of municipal provisions for leisure and pleasure owed to popular demand. Municipal authorities struggled determinedly to erect cultural monuments such as libraries, art galleries and museums, but popular taste was directed elsewhere. There was a marked contrast, in Melbourne's suburbs, between the improving institutions favoured by the city fathers and the recreational facilities desired by residents. While ornate town halls, sometimes with insufficient meeting rooms and hall space, sprang up during the 1880s, private groups struggled to raise money for sports grounds, club rooms, equipment and other leisure-time needs. Nearly all the most popular leisure facilities - the suburban halls and dancing academies, the waxworks and cycloramas, the skating rinks and swimming baths - were provided commercially.

131 Twopeny, 12-13.
132 Heller, 97.
133 See, for example, below 139-43, 204-9. A letter published in a Footscray newspaper in 1898 illustrated this distinction between civic improvement and the broader interests of suburban residents. The writer doubted that Footscray had 'fulfilled its destiny as a city ...' It lacked many of the important institutions which were inseparable from the word 'city,' and 19th century civilization ... Where is our gymnasium, the swimming baths are unheard of, the popular tennis is entirely wanting, a free library is nowhere available, there are no ready means at hand for our ladies to ... [master] the mysteries of cooking ...

*Indo-Pacific*, 10 September 1898.
134 *Australasian*, 9 August 1884, supp. 2; 13 December 1884, 1132; 27 December 1884, 1207; 3 January 1885, 28; 17 January 1885, 123.
The popularity of some temperance activities revealed more about the leisure needs of casual followers than it did about their temperance principles. By providing community halls and meeting places, and promoting family concerts, the temperance movement (and the Salvation Army) tapped a need which conventional leisure facilities failed to satisfy.135 The music halls, and to some extent, the churches, satisfied a similar need for a common meeting place, and for audience participation.136 No matter how dingy the surroundings, patrons packed the music halls and flocked to the sensational drama of theatres like the Alexandra, where Dan Barry, having 'taken the measure' of his audiences, proceeded to give them 'the class of entertainment' they enjoyed. The crowded houses at Barry's version of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'

applauded, laughed, raged, hooted, and wept
by turns, with all extreme vigour and intense enjoyment. 137

Outdoor activities provided many instances of facilities being enlarged to cater for popular demand. The number of sports grounds increased steadily throughout these years, and they were improved by the erection of pavilions and stands for the spectators.138

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135 See below, 176; Footscray Advertiser, 19 March, 21 May, 27 August 1886; 7 January 1887. Heller notes the same pattern in Bristol: a group of reformers, struggling to combat a social evil, uncover, in the process, a social need. She cites the temperance workers, striving to change social behaviour, stumbling across hitherto unexplored social needs for entertainment and recreation. Heller, 125.

136 Recently, a woman of seventy-eight, from Hawthorn, wrote, of the early 1900s:

... believe me, going to church in those days was a Big Thing. There was very little entertainment for the young except the ritual birthday party. But in one's Sunday clothes, the whole family piled into Swan's wagonette and went clippety-clop to Holy Trinity. Then the subdued scuffle as to who sat where and used which hassock - and good old rousing hymns.

Age, 7 April 1978, 2.

137 Australasian, 16 April 1898, 871. The old St. George's Hall was described, in 1900, as 'the frowlest and most unkempt place of amusement probably in the world....' Its barn-like interior had always defied effective lighting. Australasian, 6 October 1900, 772.

138 See, for example, Leader, 29 August 1885, 28; Australasian, 8 November 1884, 885; 2 October 1886, 547.
Racecourse facilities improved greatly, and more and more suburban courses were established during the 1880s. The fleet of bayside steamers expanded rapidly, and was employed to capacity throughout the summer. Each new steamer was faster and larger than its predecessors. Popular demand was concentrated in areas of outdoor activity - sport, bayside outings and in unstructured activities like picnics, promenading and shopping, which made use of public land. The growth of facilities in these areas was based on public preference; to a large extent, choice determined what was provided, an exercise of choice which was not, however, incompatible with the steady accretion of urban leisure routines. The regular patterns which people wove around certain areas and activities were the stuff of suburban life.

The suburbs offered regular activities, on an intimate and often humble level, and catered for all members of the family, separately and together. The city was a centre for special outings, providing spectacles and grand facilities which highlighted the progress and sophistication of this booming city. Such displays brought together, in the public arena, people from all social levels, and fostered a feeling of belonging to the city, and sharing its cultural and economic progress. This distinction was largely a result of the previously-discussed specialization of work and residence. Work and leisure in Melbourne were becoming compartmentalized, through physical separation and in other ways. This separation is seen most clearly in the central city layout: the city was designed

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140 See below 271.
141 The new Princess Theatre, built in 1886, was the grandest theatre in Australia:
From the splendour of [its] ... marble staircase to the picturesque dome ..., the theatre is a marvel of completeness; its electric lights, the charming decorations ..., the elegance of its scenic appointments, the room that permits the roof to roll away and suffers the spectators ... to look up into the delicious coolness of the star-bespinkled sky, all that wealth and lavish enterprise can effect, has been poured out on this temple of the drama in Spring-street.
A. Sutherland, Victoria and its Metropolis Past and Present, Vol.1, (Melbourne 1888), 519.
142 This theme is explored at length in Chapter 5.
primarily for work, not for recreation.\textsuperscript{143} Leisure needs were seldom considered when transport expansion was being planned, or when land use was changed.\textsuperscript{144} Transport services, although planned with little regard for recreation, did greatly influence the location and success of many leisure activities. Melbourne's widespread rail network ensured that suburbs and nearby country racecourses attracted large crowds. Several hundred football supporters took the train to Geelong, whenever the home side was playing a Melbourne team. Coursing and hunting relied on rail transport for passage of animals, owners and spectators.\textsuperscript{145}

The urban sprawl meant that sports which needed large areas of open space, such as hunting, racing and coursing, had to move further out of the suburban area. As Melbourne grew, transport played more of a determining role. The city's transport system - major roads, railways and tram lines - was highly centralized, and suburban expansion meant that transport (including recreational travel) was a major factor in the cost of living.\textsuperscript{146} Because of this centralized transport system, the city centre contained all the large theatres, markets, sports grounds and other commercial leisure facilities.\textsuperscript{147}


\textsuperscript{144} One exception occurred when a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was considering tramway extensions. The proposed line from north Collingwood to St. Kilda was unanimously supported by municipal officials and Collingwood businessmen because it would provide direct access to the beach at St. Kilda and Elwood, and because it would cater for sports spectators and teams, and for visitors to the various public gardens. Report upon the Suburban Tramways Company Bill, P.P., 1890, vol.1, questions 1, 5, 11, 45, 48, 52, 53, 58, 61, 62, 64, 71, 77.

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Australasian}, 3 January 1880, 3; 17 January 1880, 73-4; 20 March 1880, 362; 19 March 1881, 362; 11 September 1886, 500; 24 September 1887, 597; 14 July 1888, 84; \textit{The Australasian Coursing Calendar for the Season 1883}, (Melbourne 1884), X, 82; \textit{The Australasian Coursing Calendar for the Season 1884}, (Melbourne 1885), XI, 106, 124.

\textsuperscript{146} Brennan, 58.

\textsuperscript{147} In 1899 a Melbourne resident noted: 'Sydney has a few minor play-houses spread more widely afield than ours, which are all virtually concentrated in a single street.' \textit{Australasian}, 8 July 1899, 91. See also: Bannow, 65.
From this particular physical relationship between city and suburbs, there developed a distinctive leisure division. The city was the focal point of all that was glamorous and exciting; it attracted and displayed the best scientific and cultural achievements, culminating in the great 1888 Exhibition. Meanwhile, in the suburbs, a quiet expansion of leisure facilities and opportunities continued. Local paddocks became sports grounds, small halls were built, municipal libraries established.\textsuperscript{148} This steady growth was geared more to people's immediate lives than were the glitter and extravagance of city attractions, but the city was one hub of social activity.

I shall now examine the effects on leisure of the growing specialization discussed above. So far, work, transport, the home, the city and suburbs, and their changing relationships have been outlined. This chapter begins the study of directly-related changes in leisure pursuits. Other chapters fully develop this theme. One significant change is examined here: the way some leisure-time was becoming more highly-organized, more bound by time and by explicit regulation. The most obvious example was spectator sport.

Contemporaries agreed that football was much more popular than cricket, mainly because it was better suited to the increasing pace of modern life. More revealing was the implicit criterion on which these judgements rested: the success of these sports was being judged on their popularity with spectators, rather than on the number of people who played the game regularly, at all levels.\textsuperscript{149} There was an unquestioned concern with excellence and with the drawing power of sporting contests. These values were borne out in practice: players in lower grade matches often abandoned their own game, at short notice, to watch a first-grade match.\textsuperscript{150} Club cricket suffered

\textsuperscript{148}See, for example, Australasian, 11 August 1883, 179; C. Daley, The History of South Melbourne, (Melbourne 1940), 158.

\textsuperscript{149}One cricket commentator, placing the enjoyment of spectators firmly before that of players, remarked: 'You will see a man of some reputation for skill who will play the game as if it were simply intended for his own amusement and practice, who will set himself, not to get runs, but to see how long he can keep his wicket up against good bowling ...' Australasian, 2 January 1892, 21.

\textsuperscript{150}Australasian, 24 July 1880, 107.
greatly from the contrast between their standards and those of the occasional matches against English and intercolonial teams.

Attendances at regular cricket matches slumped during the 1880s, a development generally attributed to the fact that 'the cricketing palate' had 'been too often tickled with imported English fare to leave any taste for such plain but wholesome diet as club cricket.'\textsuperscript{151}

Even matches against visiting English teams were poorly patronised. Meanwhile, the mania for football and horse racing continued.\textsuperscript{152}

Seeking to explain the decline of cricket, one commentator drew a distinction between

... cricket as a pastime and cricket as a money-making sport... As a pastime for young men, cricket was never more widely practised than it is now. Wickets are pitched on Saturdays on every spare bit of ground in the public reserves ... But in its other aspect the public are getting tired of it. Life is becoming too short - the variety of out-door amusements is too large - for a contest extending over three weeks to command the attendance of one and the same set of spectators.\textsuperscript{153}

If, as another observer thought, modern life was characterised by 'a restless, insatiable craving' for new theories, new beliefs, and the latest amusements,\textsuperscript{154} then cricket was out-of-step with the times. Football had 'unmistakeably ... become the unchallenged rational pastime', while cricket was regarded as monotonous. It lacked football's 'attraction of continuous "go" from start to finish', and the added attraction of an element of danger.\textsuperscript{155} Changes were suggested, aimed at improving the pace and variety of the game,\textsuperscript{156} but nothing was done. Matches were still 'too long drawn out', causing people to lose interest.

\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Leader}, 22 December 1883, 19. See also: \textit{Australasian}, 8 May 1880, 588.
\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Leader}, 19 March 1887, 20.
\textsuperscript{153} \textit{Australasian}, 12 January 1889, 81. See also: \textit{Australasian}, 2 January 1892, 21.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Australasian}, 17 April 1886, 762.
\textsuperscript{155} \textit{Leader}, 25 December 1886, 20.
\textsuperscript{156} These changes included: six balls to an over, instead of four, to lessen the 'continually monotonous change of the field from side to side' and to add an hour or so to the day's play; playing matches out instead of allowing them to finish in a draw; beginning matches earlier and doing away with the tea adjournment; limiting important matches to three days. \textit{Leader}, 11 October 1884, 22; 25 December 1886, 20; \textit{Australasian}, 2 January 1892, 21.
The public have their own business to manage, and they cannot be expected to visit the ground on more than two consecutive days; and when a match is spread over four days, over two-thirds of the working week, the public lose interest in it before it is finished. 157

Discussion of the declining attendances at cricket matches continued during the 1880s and early 1890s. One writer suggested 'that cricket nowadays is voted slow, not because it is any slower than it was, but because public taste has become faster.' Of late, public taste has ... diverged from its old groove, and ... the remarkable interest taken for five consecutive months in the more exciting game of football has dulled the appetite for the less boisterous, but more skilful and scientific summer game. 158

While cricket continued in its traditional form, every effort was made to adapt football to the style of the modern working world. After years of matches starting as late as half past three, the Victorian Football Association passed a by-law in 1886, laying down fines for late starts. 159 The competitive edge of the Association games was sharpened by tighter organisation which ensured that each team met every other team three times during the season. 160 From its Inception in 1897, the Victorian Football League aimed to increase the popularity of the sport. Against strong opposition, the governing body altered the rules, in order to open up play, and thus improve the game as a spectacle. One 1897 change in the regulations, setting down a minimum distance of ten yards for marks, was hailed as an alteration 'for which most spectators have been clamouring this many winters.' 161

Changes intended explicitly to improve sport for spectators were not restricted to football. A major change to the Melbourne rowing scene during these years was a shift in venue for the annual

157\textit{Australasian}, 2 January 1892, 21.
158 He continued: 'In Sydney, where football has nothing like the hold upon public patronage and approval which it has achieved in this colony, no lack of support to first class representative cricket is observable ...' \textit{Leader}, 8 January 1887, 21.
159 \textit{Leader}, 5 May 1883, 21; 17 July 1886, 19.
160 \textit{Australasian}, 6 May 1899, 973. See also: \textit{Leader}, 8 May 1886, 20.
161 \textit{Australasian}, 20 March 1897, 563; 6 May 1899, 973.
Melbourne Regatta, from the 'dirty banks of the Saltwater River' to the delightful surroundings of the Albert Park Lake. The change was motivated solely by concern for spectator comfort and convenience. The oarsmen were not happy, as the change meant that they had to transport their boats overland from their usual river moorings, and, in any case, the lake was too shallow and dead for good rowing.\textsuperscript{162} Other sports were adapting to the restrictions of the working world. The handicap match of the twenty-fifth intercolonial tennis championships, held in November 1897, was played after office hours, to accommodate those engaged in business.\textsuperscript{163} Even the exclusive hunting set was affected by work-day demands. Whenever the hunt was held on Friday, because of a hunt club race meeting on the Saturday, there were many complaints: 'the decided majority of hunting members being business men, find it most inconvenient and many impossible to follow on a Friday.'\textsuperscript{164}

Horse racing, too, came under greater control during these years. The proliferation of suburban courses during the 1880s meant that, by 1890, 'there was just too much racing.' In order to avoid the clashing of race dates, the Victoria Racing Club which had gradually been assuming more and more control over metropolitan racing, took on responsibility for allocating race dates.\textsuperscript{165} Spectators received greater consideration in Australia than on most British courses. Racing was well-organized, with ample opportunity for spectators to view the horses before and during the races, and extensive arrangements were made for the comfort and convenience of patrons, particularly women.\textsuperscript{166} As paying spectators became more important, an Australian innovation — numbered saddle cloths — was introduced, in order to make the horses easier to recognize.\textsuperscript{167} These changes, this adaptation of some sports to the requirements of spectators, and, in turn, to the demands of the work-day world, illustrate the direct relationship between broad

\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Leader}, 9 September 1892, 13.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Australasian}, 13 November 1897, 1055.
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Australasian}, 6 July 1889, 25.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Puls}, 38-40.
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Wilson}, n.p.
\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Puls}, 49-50.
social movements and leisure-time. Before continuing the study of this relationship, I shall examine the most cataclysmic change of all: the 1890s depression.

The Depression

The depression appeared particularly shattering, for the historian as well as for contemporaries, because of the height from which Melbourne fell. Throughout the 1880s the city's pride, as well as her physical limits, expanded enormously. Both those who participated directly in the private pleasures of urban life, and those who observed from the fringes, felt its pull. The great public occasions such as the 1886 Exhibition and the annual Melbourne Cup festival symbolised the city's pride and confidence. The thousands who gathered each November on the lawn at Flemington, seemed to say: 'This is Melbourne. Study us now, consider us. Judge us, if you will, we are not a bit ashamed of ourselves.'

The 'splendid life and animation' of the 1880s was the subject of much contemporary comment and praise, particularly from overseas visitors. Self-consciousness led to brush over-assertion of stature and worth. Material achievements were trumpeted abroad:

The Yean Yean reservoir ..., our Exhibition, the big wool sale the other day at Goldsbrough's, Cup day ..., our new Law Courts, the half-penny Evening Mail, these are all aspects and evidences of the metropolitan character which Melbourne stamps upon all of its doings. 171

These material accomplishments formed a significant focus of much leisure-time activity. People observed their city developing - the new bridges, the widening of the Yarra, additions to major public buildings 172 - and their pride swelled. Recreation combined naturally with this observation of progress. Isabella Bird remarked

168 Australasian, 5 November 1887, supp. 1.
169 A. Buchanan, The Real Australia, (London 1907), 197-203 cited in Grant & Serle, 234-5.
170 See, for example: Bannow, 16; Mark Twain, Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World, (New York 1897), 162-63, 168.
171 Australasian, 5 November 1881, 593.
that before she had been a week in Melbourne, she had been asked fifty times whether she had seen the Yan Yeal, 'the great reservoir of the Melbourne waterworks, of which the citizens are justly proud, and a great resort of picnic parties, ...'. Whether, like Henry Gyles Turner, involved in a 'continuous round of balls, dinner parties, theatrical parties and entertainments', or whether simply enjoying the city's public facilities, all citizens shared a pride in their city, and a confidence in its promise, and in the possibilities of urban life.

Did the depression shatter this confidence, and lead to a fundamental change in the character of Melbourne? And did it undermine the relatively new patterns of urban life which had emerged during the 1860s? Sean Glynn, among others, has suggested that the 'optimism and provincial metropolitan pride of the 1860s disintegrated during the scandals, hardships and uncertainties of the 1890s'. Ada Cambridge believed that 'the best thing that ever happened to Melbourne society as she knew it, 'was the snuffing out of the lights of that feast, the coming of that cold daylight to the revellers.' Yet there has been little attempt to probe beneath the superficial contrast

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173 I.B. Bird, *Australia Felix: Impressions of Victoria*, [n.p. 1877?], 90. The success of the Public Library, an approved and popular resort for the use of leisure-time, was described by Jill Roe as 'a central pillar in the colonists' self esteem, and a self-evident proof of their success.' Roe, 227.


175 Glynn, 49. See also: Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 294, 312. Grant & Serle, 196.

176 Cambridge, 188.
of boom and depression, to the reality of changes in economic and social fortune. Cambridge concludes, of the depression, that 'better example of the vulgarising effects of wealth, and of the refining effects of being without it, was never packed in a neater compass.'

Perhaps too neat a compass? The temptation is to follow her example, to highlight the contrast between glitter and gloom, rather than to search for the more elusive, and perhaps more routine, reality. Tracing changes in leisure pursuits - in types of entertainment, attendance figures, costs, declining facilities - is one valuable way of understanding the social effects of the depression.

In order to view the use of leisure-time in context, I shall first examine the immediate effects of the depression, and assess its severity. The economic implications and causes of the depression have been debated elsewhere. The present examination has more limited aims, and stays closer to the ground. Who was most severely affected

177 This is not a criticism of the contributions made by economic historians such as N.G. Butlin, E.A. Boehm, A.R. Hall and P.G. Macarthy, nor of the pioneering work of Graeme Davison. However, a great deal of work remains for social historians. Davison has commented:

In accounting for the rise and decline of 'Marvellous Melbourne', it would be desirable ... to distinguish the social effects of the land boom from the more permanent changes brought about by the long-term process of urbanisation. The bursting of the land boom and the sudden contraction of the colonial economy did not entirely reverse the trends of the 1880s - witness, for example, the sustained level of local invention through the 1890s. The city, it appears, had reached a new plateau of social development from which there was no descent.


178 Cambridge, 186.

by the depression, and in what way? The level of unemployment is impossible to determine accurately, though Lack has made a careful estimate for Footscray. Macarthy estimates that, at the worst point, in 1893, there was over 28 per cent unemployment in Victorian manufacturing. Fragmentary contemporary estimates of the number out of work gave little idea of the level of unemployment in Melbourne during the 1890s. Davison's calculations provide the most accurate indication: he concludes that in March 1893 unemployment registrations were around six or seven thousand. He notes, too, that in most descriptions of the unemployed the classes of labour were mentioned in

180 He has calculated that possibly one-quarter of Footscray's breadwinners was unemployed or casually employed by 1892-3. By mid-1893, he estimated, 40 per cent of males over fourteen was unemployed. J. Lack, Footscray: An Industrial Suburban Community, (Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, 1970), I, 233, 343.

181 Macarthy is careful to stress that these figures, though the best available, are unsatisfactory. He claims only that 'by combining census data, general trades union estimates, and engineering unemployment' he has been able to produce 'a synthetic series which may roughly indicate the proportion of the manufacturing workforce unable to find work, but unwilling to move away from the urban areas.' Following are the figures for the 1890s from his synthetic unemployment series:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Macarthy, Harvester Judgment, 79-83.

182 For instance: In mid-1892 the government Labour bureau had registered 4,935 names. Australasian, 25 June 1892, 1214. The 1893 Select Committee estimated that, on average, about half the trades union members were unemployed. Report on the present distress, Minutes of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1893, D3, 2.
roughly the same order: labourers, building tradesmen, clerks and artisans. Clerks and shop employees were undoubtedly under-represented in official figures, because of their reluctance to register as unemployed. Press reports and evidence presented to the 1893 Select Committee investigating distress suggest that the worst-affected suburbs, not necessarily in this order, were South Melbourne (2,000 men out of work), Richmond (500 unemployed, 1,500 partially employed), Fitzroy (one third of the population unemployed), Port Melbourne, Northcote, Footscray and Brunswick.  

Worst affected were families with no property or savings to fall back on, and with commitments such as house repayments. In other words, the representative working- and lower middle-class family. And amongst this group were those most likely to be dismissed without warning. In many cases their employment history may always have been unstable, but during the 1870s and 1880s changing jobs was common on the initiative of employed as well as employer, and new jobs were readily available. During the 1890s the position altered dramatically.

Instances of sudden dismissals abounded in the Railway Department, previously an area of secure employment. Railway construction, with the building trade, was one of the earliest and most severely affected industries. Between 1890 and 1894 the Victorian Railways reduced its staff by 17 per cent. Surveyors, draughtsmen and clerks sometimes received notice of a month or more, but casual employees faced instant dismissal.  

183 Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, I, 496, 498.
185 Australasian, 18 March 1893, 499; 2 April 1892, 644. Several engineers and draughtsmen dismissed at 2 hours notice from the construction branch, in 1894, asked, unsuccessfully, for the usual 3 months salary. Australasian, 17 February 1894, 291. A strange incident, during the worst period of the depression, indicated that for those still fully employed, conditions had not altered significantly, or at least, that these men had retained an optimistic outlook. In May 1893 a Railway Employees Association deputation placed two matters before the Minister; they objected to elements of a recently proposed retrenchment scheme and they applied for a holiday on, or an allowance in lieu of, Foundation Day, 26 January. The Minister did not refuse the latter request outright, but replied that it would involve a large outlay, and he would have to consult the commissioners. Australasian, 13 May 1893, 884.
Throughout the depression, partial employment, periods of extended unpaid 'leave', and wage reductions almost certainly touched more households - and a greater range of households - than did outright unemployment. In September 1893 the Railway traffic branch and the 1,200 employees at the Newport workshops had their working week reduced from six to five days. These were minor, well-planned changes to working arrangements, compared with the practice in private establishments. As explained before, this type of irregularity was not uncommon previously, during temporary slack periods, but it was endemic during the early 1890s.

At the Guest and Company biscuit factory, the depression affected staff arrangements in several ways. Employees sometimes had to take leave without pay while, during slack times, repairs and maintenance work were carried out. Working hours were progressively reduced. In October 1892 shorter hours were first introduced: staff worked four 8 hour days one week, five 8 hour days the next. This arrangement applied from mid-1893, and for most of 1894. As the depression

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186 Dockerty, 72. In December 1889, as trade slackened, the Australasian Typographical Journal reported that some large offices were 'dispensing with their hands either upon the holiday system or the "sack" pure and simple.' Australasian Typographical Journal, December 1889, 1990. See also: Australasian, 4 March 1891, 456.

187 Table 1:3
Guest & Company: Labour Turnover, 1890-1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Turnover</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1890</td>
<td>136 hands employed (including 17 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1890</td>
<td>dismissed 16 hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1890</td>
<td>93 hands employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 marked: 'not wanted, not to return to work until sent for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1891</td>
<td>dismissed all hands (mainly boys and girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of no use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1894</td>
<td>77 hands employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1898</td>
<td>131 hands employed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


188 There was also a general tightening of hours and conditions. There was to be no more shutting down gradually from 4.15 so that the men at the back of the oven could knock off at 5 p.m. sharp. Mr. Guest 'will not have any of this 8 hrs. punctual business - these are not the times for it - [we are] now trying to keep our works and hands going at ridiculously low prices - they ought [to be] glad of the billett.' Note dated 15 February 1895, Wages Book, 1892-6.
continued, employees who once had received most public holidays without pay, in return for working overtime in the preceding week, now received nearly all public holidays unpaid without even the option of working extra time.\textsuperscript{189} Public holidays became an opportunity for the employer to reduce his wages bill by granting unpaid leave.

Employees of the farm machinery business, Mitchell and Company, fared worse than Guest's workers.\textsuperscript{190} Most worked part-time between 1891 and 1895. In November 1892, for instance, only two or three men worked full-time, the rest being off for as long as two weeks at a stretch. These hours continued until the farm machinery market improved early in 1896. These two cases - Guest's carefully regulated and relatively minor partial employment, and Mitchell's harsher, more haphazard reductions - provide some indication of the range of conditions throughout industry.

Wage reductions, too, were introduced to reduce staff costs, especially among white collar jobs. The following table is based on a broad range of salary reductions from 1892 to 1895.

While some companies were harsher than others, reductions were nearly always graded according to salary level. Clearly, as Davison has suggested, the range of income variations was less during the depression than the boom years.\textsuperscript{191} In general, white collar workers, more likely to retain secure employment, albeit at a reduced salary, were considerably better off than were artisans and unskilled workers who faced sudden dismissal without severance pay. In the English, Scottish and Australian Bank, for example, workers with long records of service received considerate treatment, often including

\textsuperscript{189} Except Good Friday, when all hands were paid.
\textsuperscript{190} During 1891-95 staff numbers fluctuated between 11 and 20, and were usually between 16 and 20. Mitchell and Company Pty. Ltd., Wages Books, 1891-96
\textsuperscript{191} Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, II, 502.
Table 1: Wage Reductions during the 1890s depression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>% Reduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne Tramway &amp; Omnibus Co. Ltd.</td>
<td>August 1892</td>
<td>£3 week, medium rates, higher salaries</td>
<td>10.0, 20.0, 30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swallow &amp; Ariell Biscuit Co.</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>£91, £117, £198, £214, £364</td>
<td>0.0, 10.2, 12.8, 16.6, 15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Permanent Building Society</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>£46, £100, £1300, £1400, £1250</td>
<td>0.0, 16.6, 25.0, 30.0, 36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service (proposed)</td>
<td>April 1893</td>
<td>£50-£100, £100-£1700, £1800-£10000, £10000-</td>
<td>2.5, 10.0, 12.0, 15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Bank of Australasia Ltd.</td>
<td>September 1895</td>
<td>all salaries</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank of Australasia</td>
<td>July 1895</td>
<td>all salaries</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English, Scottish and Australian Bank</td>
<td>January 1895</td>
<td>£100, £100-£200, £200-</td>
<td>0.0, 5.0, 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldsbrough Mort &amp; Co.</td>
<td>September 1893</td>
<td>£100, £1000- (same)</td>
<td>0.0, 10.0, 30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These were not necessarily the only reductions by these employers during the depression. They are the only instances of which I have complete details. For instance, the Melbourne Tramway Company reduced wages on five occasions. See: Report of the Royal Commission ... into the grievances of employees of the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company Limited, ... P.P., 1898, vol.3, no.42, q.468. Other reductions: Metropolitan Gas Company, December 1891, reduction of 6d in the day, to the level operating before a rise two years previously. Australasian, 28 November 1891, 1044. Wharf labourers, June 1892, reduction from 12.5s to 12 a week; day hands from 15 2d to 15 an hour; overtime rate of 1s 6d an hour unchanged. Australasian, 25 June 1892, 1116.

Australasian, 13 August 1892, 312.
Davidson, Marvellous Melbourne, 500.
Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, 500.

Australasian, 29 April 1893, 789.

Excerpts from records of Union Bank of Australasia Ltd., supplied by Mr. R.S. Holt, Archivist, Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited. In general, salaries were restored to previous levels in October 1901, though there were some individual adjustments before then.

Excerpts from records of Bank of Australasia, supplied by Mr. R.S. Holt, see (f) above. Salary levels were restored in April 1897, though there was some relief granted earlier at lower levels.

Excerpts from records of English, Scottish and Australian Bank, supplied by Mr. R.S. Holt, see (f) above. These reductions were applied leniently, with many exceptions.

Goldsbrough Mort & Co., Papers, Register of Officers 2A/1(39), ANU Archives.
extended severance pay, even when dismissed.\textsuperscript{192}

The final blow which struck many families was the departure of father, husband or brother to the country or, more commonly, to Western Australia or South Africa, in search of work or fortune on the goldfields.\textsuperscript{193} By the end of 1894 Melbourne had lost about 50,000 citizens through sea migration.\textsuperscript{194} Departures to Western Australia increased again after June 1895, reaching dimensions never before experienced.\textsuperscript{195} Sinclair estimates that more than two-thirds of these migrants were males.\textsuperscript{196} By 1901 there were almost 32,000 fewer male wage and salary earners than there had been in 1891.\textsuperscript{197}

Taken together, the varied effects of the depression, ranging from unemployment through partial employment and reduced wages, to

\textsuperscript{192} Two E,S&A officers selected for early retirement continued to receive their salaries (£200) for six months. One was forty-eight years old, had been twenty-seven years in the service, including the first nine as a manager; and was in receipt of a house and servant allowance. The other was similarly placed. (Urquhart, Inspector and General Manager, to Head Office, London, 4 July, 15 August 1893. Extracts from E,S&A Bank records supplied by Mr. F.S. Holt, Archivist, Australian and New Zealand Banking Group Limited). Five E,S&A clerks were dismissed in 1895. One, with 20 years service received 12 months allowance on half pay; three received 6 months on half pay; the other received 2 months on half pay. (Urquhart to Head Office, London, 8 January 1895. Extract from E,S&A records, as above). In mid-1896, two long-serving E,S&A managers who were retired each received 12 months on full pay and 12 months on half pay. (Urquhart to Head Office, London, 28 September 1896. Extract from E,S&A records, as above).

\textsuperscript{193} The revised book time-tables issued by the Victorian Railways in 1894 contained, besides the usual Victorian details, 'information about Western Australia, including the routes to the gold-fields, also the customs tariff and other matters.' Australasian, 7 July 1894, 24.

\textsuperscript{194} Sinclair, 21; Hall, 205.

\textsuperscript{195} June 1895: 1639; October 1895: 1688; December 1895: 2776; January 1896: 4756. Sinclair, 26.

\textsuperscript{196} Sinclair, 118.

\textsuperscript{197} Docherty, 65.
unwilling departure from Victoria, suggest that a wide range of households would have been affected in at least one way. While it is impossible to assess hardship, despite the pathetic cases highlighted in press reports, several points do merit consideration. The general agreement that hesitant recovery began in 1894 and continued slowly for the remainder of the decade, should not be taken to mean that the depression ended then for most people. Many families would have taken years to attain any kind of comparative financial or employment security, or to re-establish their previous standard of living, however modest. Furthermore, as Macarthy explains (in relation to wages paid by public contractors to unskilled labourers, but the point has wider relevance), whilst lower rents and retail prices in the early and mid-1890s partly mitigated the fall in money wages (from 7s or 8s a day before 1891 to at most 4s 6d a day two years later), 'the worst effects were felt when prices rose (and money wages for unskilled labor did not) in the last third of the decade.' Continued instability dogged low income earners in particular, for at least the remainder of the decade.

On the other hand, lower rents and prices meant that those still earning, albeit at lower levels, were relatively secure. The few who maintained pre-depression wage levels would have been considerably better off during the depression, and the many middle income and white collar employees who retained partial employment would have avoided poverty. This, and the previously-outlined graded wage reductions contributed to the levelling effect of the depression: people who had formerly received quite disparate incomes were brought closer together, at least on paper, and in relation to material conditions.

198 See, for example, Australasian, 25 June 1892, 1216. During 1893 the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society gave aid to nearly 11,000 individuals. Women's Work during Fifty years in connection with the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1845-1895, [Melbourne 1895], 55.
199 Macarthy, 'Living Wage', 5. See also: Macarthy, 'Wages in Australia', 71; Sinclair, 106-7.
200 Macarthy, 'Wages in Australia', 76.
Other influences tended to have a levelling effect, too, or at least to broaden people's range of experience. The economic marginality which had always faced lower income earners now affected those previously secure in employment and financial position. Many people experienced and understood economic insecurity for the first time. Lowered standards of living brought other significant changes: many middle-class women must first have faced life without servants during those difficult years, when great domestic skill was needed to make ends meet. Those who could no longer afford private transport had their first experience of dependence on trams and trains, with the close and varied contact that public transport involved.

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201 S.L. Swain, The Victorian Charity Network in the 1890s, (Ph.D. thesis University of Melbourne, 1976), 94-7. Rickard cautions against seeing the late nineteenth century in terms of 'facile divisions' between boom and depression, industrial peace and strife, and ignoring the continuums which did exist. While class consciousness was evident, the nineties were a time when many, both employers and employed, were, in their own ways, bent on survival. This needs to be borne in mind, for otherwise we are likely to imagine that the high drama of 1890 and the strikes that followed left Australian society split asunder into two armed and war-like camps. Society was certainly divided, ... in a manner entirely new to the colonies. But bad times acted as a general anaesthetic which often stifled the expression of these divisions.


202 These levelling influences should be contrasted with the likelihood of sharpened feelings of 'relative deprivation' during a depression. For those experiencing a greatly lowered standard of living, the contrast with those who had maintained their position might be expected to be greater than usual, and considerably exacerbated by direct experience of hardship and insecurity. This would be particularly evident in a city where, during a depression, there remained greatly varied levels of employment and material comfort. Under different circumstances, such as applied in Marienthal during the 1930s, where everyone in the village was unemployed, there would be less likelihood of stark contrasts. (Jahoda, 3). There is some evidence that, on the level of local social relationships, class tensions increased during the 1890s. (See above 18, below 200-203). However, I can do no more than raise the issue here, given the lack of evidence on which to base any systematic analysis. Runciman concluded that, during the 1930s, 'relative deprivation among manual workers and their families in Britain appears to have been low in both frequency and magnitude.' W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, (London 1966), 64-5.
Many families, then, were forced to lower their standards of living. But the hardship experienced by the unemployed was of a different dimension. They were outsiders, cut off from the familiar work-a-day rhythms of urban life. Suddenly deprived of the form previously imposed on daily life by the demands of work, they were faced with the need to create their own form and purpose. Reports of demoralized young men 'loitering about the streets' suggest that many found it difficult to cope with their changed circumstances. Free 'entertainment' such as local court hearings attracted crowds of unemployed men. For those without the diversion and discipline of work Melbourne's 'malignantly and consistently dull' Sunday afternoons must have been the lowest point of the week. A Pleasant Sunday Afternoon in Prahran in 1893 attracted 'artisans and clerks and professional men by the hundred, and the unemployed... by the score.' Entertainment of all kinds was very important during the depression, particularly those events which, through their regularity and familiarity, provided some compensation for the loneliness and monotony of life at a time of social and economic uncertainty. This was apparent in the suburbs of Hawthorn and Footscray which, despite their comparatively recent large-scale expansion, did by the 1890s provide practical, positive avenues for the satisfaction of residents' social needs.

Leisure played a significant role in maintaining an ordered urban life. Social activity flourished in Melbourne during the 1890s, though with some major shifts in response to changing needs. There was no wholesale or dramatic scaling down of facilities or activities. Judge Stretton remembered that, while the depression brought misery and hardship to those least able to bear it, 'for those who could afford it there was still a depleted fare of the races.

204 Report on the present distress, 4.
205 Hawthorn and Kew Express, 3 July 1891. See also the report of large numbers of unwelcome spectators at a polo match held on a Monday, in a working-class area, in the midst of the depression: above, 10.
206 Australasian, 22 April 1893, 755.
207 See below, 136-9, 179, 197-199.
the fights, the old-time music halls and the dead-pan comedian Will Whitburn ... The expensive pursuits, those which could be classed as luxuries, faltered. This may have been as much because the wealthy were careful to avoid imprudent 'social advertising' when others were struggling to survive, as because the few could not afford outings and hobbies as before. Melbourne's established social and cultural clubs were forced to broaden their bases in the face of financial stress. Davison notes that this relaxation of standards led to 'the prized social accomplishments of the boom years' being 'sold off at bargain prices.' The more narrowly based clubs, centring on a specific interest, found it easier to maintain standards without inviting financial collapse. Clubs as diverse as the Brighton Yacht Club and the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society attracted members who shared interests, co-operated in club activities, and formed a close-knit body. Such members were likely to rally round enthusiastically during these threatening years.

Fewer people used public transport for leisure purposes during the depression. The numbers travelling by train on public holidays fell by roughly 10 per cent, a definite, though not dramatic, decline.

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209 Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 530-31. Horace Perkins, a wholesale and retail importer of fancy goods (the American Novelty Company), classed his business as 'principally luxuries' providing for 'pleasure and amusement ...' During the early 1890s business declined between 1700 to 11000 a year. R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol. 2, no. 31, questions 35, 62-65.
211 Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 533-34.
213 For details on the marked decline in attendance at the Melbourne Cup see Puls, 49A, 143A.
Table 1.5
Number of Rail Journeys on Selected Public Holidays, Melbourne, 1891-93.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NEW YEAR'S DAY</th>
<th>QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY</th>
<th>BOXING DAY</th>
<th>MELBOURNE CUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td>52,863</td>
<td>86,072</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>77,607</td>
<td>42,400&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>81,954&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>67,684</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29,652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Rail traffic to St. Kilda, which now had a cable tramway to the beach, fell from 17,928 in 1891 to 12,220 in 1892. Australasian, 28 May 1892, 1028.

<sup>b</sup>Traffic to St. Kilda, with its new cable tramway to the beach, fell from 12,046 in 1891 to 7,887 in 1892. Australasian, 2 January 1892, 25.

Sources: Australasian, 2 January 1892, 25; 28 May 1892, 1028; 7 January 1893, 23; 8 April 1893, 644; 11 November 1893, 863; Hawthorn Citizen, 11 November 1893; Leader, 7 January 1893, 23.

A similar drop in weekend and week-night use of trains for leisure travel would have meant that more people were seeking recreational outlets in their local neighbourhoods. In some areas, public patronage remained satisfactory. The newly-established Sunday trains to Ferntree Gully and Healesville, in 1894, made a handsome profit at first, though traffic declined as winter approached. 214 The bayside steamers lost some passengers, but remained well patronised. 215

Attendances at each major sport varied during the depression. Football and racing attendances fell, but international cricket more than held spectator interest. There is no clear guide to the reason for the drop in football spectators. A contemporary believed that falling attendances were due to the depression and population loss rather than to lack of interest in the game. HANDLE, on the other hand, has noted that the slump was attributed as much to rough, close play as to the depression. 216 Cricket crowds at the Melbourne Cricket Ground

<sup>214</sup>Passengers to Ferntree Gully over twenty-two Sundays numbered 5,549, an average of 298 persons per day. Passengers to Hawthorn totalled 5,633, an average of 256 each Sunday. Hawthorn Citizen, 7 April, 5 May 1894.

<sup>215</sup>Australasian, 6 January 1894, 23.

<sup>216</sup>Australasian, 7 October 1893, 633; Australasian, 6, 13 June, 4 July 1896 cited in Handle, 520.
were larger than ever before during the 1890s. The profit of over £3,000 on the 1894/5 tour by Stoddart's Eleven freed the Melbourne Cricket Club of debt. The first day of the Melbourne match attracted 17,500, the second day 28,000 'a world record for a cricket match.' The Argus commented: 'There appears to be an idea somewhere else that there is a depression here. To the spectator on Saturday that word had no meaning.'

Horse racing suffered heavy reverses. The greatest blow came in 1894, with the reduction of the Melbourne Cup stake from its late-boom peak of £10,000 to £5,000. The profit from the VRC spring meeting in 1892 was £600, compared with £250,000 four years before. Betting was described as 'a luxury which people find it necessary to eschew in these dull times.' The suburban courses which had mushroomed during the previous decade were forced to hold fewer meetings, and in some cases to close their gates. Confidence had evaporated: one commentator predicted, in 1894, that cricket was likely to take precedence over racing during the Christmas holidays. Even though races were planned only for the two holidays and a Saturday, the marked difference in the cost of seeing the two sports was sure to tell during such hard times.

Puls, notes, however, that pony racing flourished during the depression, and suggests that this may have been partly because these courses were closer to the city, and thus fares were cheaper. He thought the number of pony meetings held each week (sometimes four in one week) was astonishing, considering 'that most of their patrons were probably drawn from the working class inner suburbs during a time of severe economic depression.' Perhaps working people with little to do felt comfortable mixing with their peers at this type of race meeting.

Tennis continued to consolidate. The Melbourne Tennis Club reduced the entrance fees for the annual open handicaps 'so as to

218 Australasian, 14 April 1894, 633. The Melbourne Cup Stake was further reduced to £3,000 in 1895. Puls, 48.
219 Australasian, 12 August 1893, 277.
220 Australasian, 29 July 1893, 189; 26 August 1893, 365; 4 November 1893, 805; Puls, 40.
221 Australasian, 23 December 1893, 1117.
222 Puls, 42-5.
meet the tennis players whose pennies are not as numerous as they were in the good times, but the charges remained relatively high, and the sport continued to attract large numbers of players. Despite early misgivings, the Melbourne Hunt Club survived the depression unscathed. Smaller suburban sporting clubs continued to form and expand: the Kew Golf Club was established, with thirty members and a nine-hole course, in 1894; the South Melbourne Bowling Club opened a new ground in October 1892. One sport attracts special notice. Rowing illustrates the direct adverse effects of depression on a sport. Rowers were young men, in their physical prime: the same type of young men who left Melbourne by the thousand for the Western Australian goldfields. By late 1894 there was a marked decline of interest in Victorian rowing, due to the departure of many top oarsmen for that distant state. Membership of the South Melbourne Rowing Club dropped by over thirty during 1894, mainly due to the depression and to the consequent exodus of young men. By the end of the decade the sport had recovered: young men could afford to join the clubs, and the gaps caused by the departure of experienced men to Western Australia had been filled.

Leisure pursuits changed during the depression. People continued to patronise the usual sports and entertainments, but sometimes with a new emphasis. Much of the leisure-time response to the depression was, in this sense, positive. Large-scale entertainment continued, particularly during Melbourne Cup Week, but often on a reduced scale. The annual Mayoral Ball in September 1893 was a brilliant affair, attended by over 1,400 guests. However, light refreshments replaced

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223 Australasian, 17 November 1894, 879.
224 Australasian, 12 May 1894, 809, 813.
226 Australasian, 29 July 1893, 195; 1 September 1894, 577; 23 September 1893, 547.
227 Australasian, 6 October 1894, 591.
228 Australasian, 8 April 1899, 751.
the usual lavish formal supper, and the Mayor declined the customary return ball. The racing carnival festivities in November 1893 were, however, hailed as 'the most brilliant on record.' There was a note of determined defiance behind the reports: 'Entertaining was never more lavishly and luxuriously carried out, and every night and day for the fortnight was taken up with engagements.'

Glittering functions were sometimes held to aid the poor: charitable motives added a touch of respectability and sober good sense to purely social occasions. Nor were the socially prominent above dispensing a little charity close to home. During the depths of the depression a formidable committee, headed by Lady Clarke and Mrs. George Chirnside, the wives of two of Melbourne's wealthiest landowners, organized a ball in aid of the newly-established Melbourne Polo Club. Such displays were rare, though in the area of fashion,

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229 Australasian, 16 September 1893, 517; 30 September 1893, 606. See also: Australasian, 12 August 1893, 298; Findlayson to Head Office, London, Union Bank of Australia, 1 November 1892. Records, Union Bank of Australia.

230 Australasian, 12 November 1892, 961.

231 Australasian, 25 November 1893, 962. See also: 12 August 1893, 298; 11 November 1893, 875-6. The previous year, Caulfield Cup attendance had been one of the largest on record.

The usual topic of conversation, which has ruled for months past in place of the weather, was either absent or kept most carefully in the background ... It has been suggested that clubs might be formed ... each member being bound not to mention the word D-p-e-s-on more than once during the 24 hours under a penalty of a half-a-crown fine. This might, perhaps, lead to a stoppage of continual harping on the same string, and, although it could not banish the harpers altogether, would certainly have the effect of making ourselves and others less miserable, which would be worth something.

Australasian, 22 October 1892, 805. On Cup day, a fortnight later, Flemington 'was a little nook securely fenced off from the harsh realities without, where for half a day folk might disport themselves unvexed.' Australasian, 5 November 1892, 913.

232 Australasian, 30 September 1893, 605-6; 4 November 1893, 830.

233 Australasian, 30 September 1893, 605.
particularly women's clothing, there was a glaring contrast between the hardship of the poor and the rather light-hearted response of their social superiors. In 1893 'the cheap blouse' was sneeringly noted as a fashion item among the lower orders. At the Cup, almost every woman on the Hill and the Flat wore a cotton blouse, and often 'a large hat, profusely trimmed as if to defy the Chill winds of Depression.' Some socially established women wore dresses which 'showed signs of having survived active service', but the majority followed the dictates of fashion, banishing gloom with a riot of colour and decoration. Several decided colours were often combined in the one gown. Seasoned observers concluded that 'There never was a time when the success of a dress more depended on the trimming, or when trimmings were more magnificent.'

Public taste in theatre turned towards the bright, fast-moving world of variety, music-hall and melodrama. While the respectable, serious theatres struggled to attract audiences, the variety houses were crowded night after night. During December 1892 Melbourne witnessed 'the unprecedented occurrence of a week without one of the regular ... theatres being open.' Throughout 1893 these theatres struggled to remain open. Shows sometimes lasted only a few nights; the Bijou and Theatre Royal were closed for long periods, the Alexandra for the entire year. The few successes were with local plays and with spectacular entertainments. 'The Double Event', a four act racing

235 Australasian, 19 August 1893, 341.
236 Australasian, 11 November 1893, 873-4; 23 September 1893, 56; 12 August, 199; 297. One type of entertainment, peculiar to the depression years, demonstrated the occasional insensitivity of the secure towards those who were less fortunate. Cyclists, in particular, enjoyed themselves immensely at 'Hard Times Smokers' at which guests competed for the honour of wearing the shabbiest clothes. Australasian, 16 April 1892, 734; 23 July 1892, 163; 30 July 1892, t.c.
237 Australasian, 10 December 1892, 1133. These were the Theatre Royal, the Princess, the Bijou and the Alexandra; the Opera House was occupied by a variety company throughout 1893. Australasian, 23 December 1893, 1126.
238 Australasian, 15 April 1893, 691; 29 April 1893, 787; 24 June 1893, 1165; 8 July 1893, 66; 23 December 1893, 1176.
drama set in Melbourne proved very popular. Among the mechanical events introduced [was] ... the shattering of a mirror in the first act by the firing of a pistol shot." The established theatres soon turned to the type of entertainment favoured by the public: spectacular, topical shows, fast-moving and with the emphasis on variety. By September 1893 the Theatre Royal was 'the only place of amusement in the city ... devoted to the drama proper.'

Three months later only two of the city's major theatres were open.

The new year brought little improvement. Serious theatre, even when performed by a well-known British company like the Brough-Boucicault, failed to attract audiences.

... matters theatrical in Melbourne just now are at the lowest possible ebb, ... with the latest success it is just possible to expect an overflowing house on Saturdays, and very moderate business during the week. If Melbourne has not as yet been destroyed by brimstone, it is certainly not on account of the prayers of more than one entrepreneur among those who have recently departed. The fact is, that among the profession the metropolis has lost caste as a good show town; and it is hardly less apparent that the critical taste of our audiences - always rather a moot point - has certainly not increased of late.

Established theatres which retained some popularity did so with 'ultrasensational' shows. The Alexandra's revival of the 'realistic drama' 'True Men' 'was well received by the patrons of this house, who dearly love such scenes as the conflagration in the fourth act.' A successful military melodrama at the Theatre Royal dealt only with extremes. 'Everything is overdone, and the audience expects it to be, and is consequently pleased.'

Reviewing the scene towards the end of 1894, an experienced critic lamented the change in public taste. The shows which succeeded over the past year were pieces of 'less than average merit' -

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239 Australasian, 8 April 1893, 643. See also: 13 May 1893, 883; 10 June 1893, 1075; 15 July 1893, 110-11.
240 Australasian, 6 October 1894, 603; 20 October 1894, 699.
241 Australasian, 16 September 1893, 506.
242 Australasian, 16 December 1893, 1082.
243 Australasian, 9 June 1894, 994; 12 May 1894, 819.
244 Australasian, 1 September 1894, 374; 6 October 1894, 603.
245 Australasian, 1 September 1894, 374.
246 Australasian, 18 August 1894, 268.
247 Australasian, 3 October 1895, 655.
for instance, recently, 'the solitary production favoure' with a six weeks' run' was 'that curious hotch-potch, "Ha Mie Rosette"'. Hard times were partly to blame,

but the depression has not prevented people from fighting round the door of the Town-hall to spend their money on Talmage tickets, or from besieging the Bijou during the Besant season, or running mad over Master Cyril Tylor. In short, the public, [in] spite of hard times, are as ready as ever to spend their money over any novelty that tickles their jaded palates.

A regrettable change, already noticed and accepted in London, was becoming apparent in Australia. Theatregoers were turning to 'that singular compromise between the theatre and the music-hall ... burlesque comedy.' Perhaps this change occurred because

in the hurry and bustle of modern life people have neither time nor patience to follow the intricacies of a modern plot. They want to be amused without the trouble of exercising their brains; and, failing a first-class variety performance, they turn towards those productions in which music-hall items are hung on a sufficient thread of plot to give them consecutiveness. 248

We must, then, look further than the depression to explain changes in public taste.

What did succeed during the 1890s, and why? Classical music and opera attracted a comparatively small but faithful following. Concerts by well-known overseas artists were usually well patronised, even in the midst of the depression. Hundreds were turned away from a recital by a famous contralto, Madame Antoinette Sterling, in mid-winter 1893. 249 Three months later a capacity audience at the Princess Theatre saw the first Australian performance of Leoncavallo's 'I Pagliacci', the opening piece in a season of Italian Opera. 250

248 Australasian, 22 September 1894, 506.
249 *Australasian*, 10 June 1893, 1075. See also: 5 August 1893, 243; 19 August 1893, 331; 1 September 1894, 375; 15 September 1894, 463; 10 August 1894, 272; 24 August 1895, 367.
250 Australasian, 16 September 1893, 507. See also: 13 September 1893, 517; 30 September 1893, 594; 13 January 1894, 71.
The traditional Christmas and Easter performances of sacred music were always well attended, and orchestral concerts attracted large audiences. While the numbers attending these musical performances did not rival the audiences at the nightly theatrical entertainments, they did constitute a reliable core of music lovers, and ensure that this part of Melbourne's cultural life survived the depression.

Nothing rivalled the popularity of the variety shows. They drew good houses every night of the week, and overflowed on Saturday. There were three regular venues during the early 1890s, all near the city centre: the Alhambra Palace of Varieties (the Opera House), St. George's Hall and the Gaiety Theatre. The Oxford Theatre opened for business in mid-1894. Variety entertainment ranged widely: conjuring, mind-reading, acrobatics, trapeze acts and a great deal of music and dancing. The variety, the weekly changes of content, and the pace and novelty of these shows largely accounted for their popularity. Sustained success forced them to critical attention: their popularity during a time of theatrical depression could not be ignored.

The length of time for which these combinations have held a place in the estimation of a considerable section of the theatre-going public is a proof that they suit the tastes of a large number of people. They are not patronised by the fashionable folks, at least the representatives of fashion do not frequent those performances with their wives and daughters, though there is no coarseness either in the entertainments or in the manners of their patrons which need operate as a deterrent.

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251 Australasian, 30 December 1893, 1175. An estimated 10,000 people attended a sacred concert at the Exhibition Building one Good Friday. Australasian, 8 April 1893, 644.
252 Australasian, 1 July 1893, 2s; 2 September 1893, 419; 30 September 1893, 594; 9 June 1894, 995; 28 July 1894, 155.
253 Australasian, 16 December 1893, 1082; 3 February 1894, 202; 17 February 1894, 291-2; 6 October 1894, 603; 20 October 1894, 699; 15 June 1395, 1135.
254 Australasian, 1 April 1893, 595; 6 October 1634, 603.
255 Australasian, 22 April 1893, 739; 30 September 1893, 594; 16 December 1893, 1082; 2 November 1895, 851; 9 November 1895, 903; 3 October 1696, 655; 17 October 1896, 758.
256 Australasian, 16 December 1893, 1082.
One critic attributed the varieties' success to their high standards. The character of Melbourne theatre had changed: 'all sorts of paltry sh.. and third-rate provincial companies' had been
foisted upon the public, with the inevitable result that theatre-goers have been driven perforce to the music-halls. Nor can one wonder greatly that this should be the case, considering the excellent nature of the variety programme submitted by the Messrs. Cogill Brothers at the Oxford Theatre. Not even in the boom time was a more varied and powerful company ever brought together, ... 257

A more practical reason was given for the success of variety and melodrama: lowered prices. Certainly, there had been 'a sweeping and universal reduction of about forty per cent ...', a condition to which drawingroom comedy could not submit. 258 Observers thought that reduced prices did boost variety attendances. 259 Even two of the established theatres experimented with 'well mounted plays ... at prices only a shade above the music-hall rates.' The initial success did not last, however. Large fully professional companies could not play and pay at the so-called popular prices, and charges soon returned to normal levels. 260 It is doubtful that the lower prices were a major reason for the success of variety and melodrama: with the return of better times, the established theatre revived and variety, despite its 'popular prices', declined. 261 The reason lies elsewhere; probably, as suggested before, in the novelty, pace, and light entertainment value of melodrama and variety. People could escape their troubles at these shows. They could participate, through laughter, interjections and choruses. And, as with pony racing, audiences formed a coherent group, with a similar social background. People welcomed this opportunity for solidarity at a time of uncertainty.

257 Australasian, 8 December 1894, 1024.
258 Australasian, 13 March 1897, 516.
259 Australasian, 1 July 1892, 22; 3 February 1894, 202.
260 Australasian, 3 March 1894, 378; 27 March 1894, 466-7; 24 March 1894, 511; 8 December 1894, 1024.
261 Australasian, 25 May 1895, 380.
Conclusion

These changes in public taste and in patterns of attendance occurred during a severe depression, but this fact does not necessarily indicate a causal relationship. For instance, the change in theatre attendance to crowded Saturday nights and small houses during the week had its origins in the 1880s. Two changes were involved: falling attendance, which may have been related directly to the depression, and a decided preference for Saturday night, which had begun during the 1880s, as part of the spread of settled suburban routines. Week-night outings to the city declined as the suburbs spread and more and more people commuted from relatively distant homes to work.

Did the depression undermine the new patterns of urban life which had emerged during the 1890s? Apparently not; in fact, the foundations laid during the preceding decade stood Melbourne's citizens in good stead during the 1890s. There was a decline in attendance at many entertainments, and some changes in public taste, but no dramatic reversal. The entertainments and activities which were available - the patterns which had been formed during previous prosperous years - were sufficiently strong to form a basis for continued social activity during a time of hardship. People found, in leisure-time, some of the continuity and regularity of life which the depression had removed from the world of work. The depression may have contributed to a changed attitude towards urban life, as Glynn has suggested, replacing faith and pride with feelings of insecurity and distrust.262 But it is not sufficient to state this proposition broadly, resting it on the contrast between the 1880s and the 1890s, while ignoring the continuities between the decades.

The depression did not constitute a decisive break with the preceding years. Less was shattered during the 1890s than has been suggested previously. The undoubted change in Melbourne's tone and temper during the late nineteenth century cannot be attributed solely to abrupt economic reversal.263 Consolidation in transport, suburban expansion, and in the routines of work and leisure was sufficiently well-established to provide a vital measure of continuity and security during the depression. Furthermore, this consolidation

262 Glynn, 52.
263 Another long-term movement was changing the character of the city. Many of the leaders of the 1850s were dead or in retirement: a natural generational transition was underway.
had already largely determined the type of stable, suburban city
Melbourne was to become during the last years of the nineteenth
century. It is to the sound developments of the boom years, as much
as to the depression, that the historian must look for the seeds of
Melbourne's apparently sudden change in character.
CHAPTER II
WORK AND PLAY

Work was regarded in the nineteenth century as one of the principal contributors to an orderly society. In Victoria as elsewhere, churchmen, political leaders, teachers and other public figures proclaimed the duty to work. By the late nineteenth century some change in attitude was evident. Occasional public comments questioned the traditional acceptance of work as the central element in a satisfying, wholesome life. One unusually lengthy analysis contrasted two worlds, one of dutiful acceptance of the virtues and necessity of work, and one where work was seen only as a means of attaining wider ends. The dutiful folk seemed happy:

they ask no questions, and have no misgivings about ultimate results; ... To others, however, 'the fruit of things to do' hath a bitter taste, ... He who is the busy man pass away, and his works after a brief space become like himself - dust and ashes; and they cry the old bitter cry 'Alas! what doth it profit?'

An articulate minority was coming to doubt that the basic disciplines of life should be those imposed by work, with leisure serving as an adjunct to, or preparation for, work, rather than as a part of life with a rationale of its own. Despite these growing doubts, the old values were still praised and promoted. Work was 'both a duty and a necessity' of human nature. Signs of workers valuing free time above duty or higher wages were condemned. These priorities were clearly stated in a speech before an 1884 Victorian Cyclists' Union dinner. The speaker admitted that great benefits could flow from athletic sports, but only when they were 'regarded as accessory and subordinate to the main duties men had to perform in ordinary life ...'. Even then, these benefits were defined according

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1 *Australian* 1382, 519. A socialist journeyman cabinetmaker appearing before a Royal Commission in 1895, when asked whether men working shorter hours should take their ease, replied: 'That opens up the question of what is the end of humanity, is it to work or to live?'. Report on the Factories and Shops Act 1890 Amendment Bill, Minutes of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1895/96, D4, question 810.

to the standards of work and the duties of duty. Cycling, cricket, football and rowing should be promoted because they encouraged 'abstinence, temperance, self-denial, self-control, decision, determination, perseverance and pluck.' These values contrast significantly with views advanced ten years later. at a Beefsteak Club dinner held during the depression. The Beefsteak Club comprised a small group of business and professional men who met once a month for a dinner, address and informal discussion. Deegan, the master for the evening, chose as his subject 'Legitimate loafing', and proceeded to question the values and 'rigid conventionalities of society'. Instead of stressing positive qualities such as 'abstinence [and] self-denial' he warned that 'absorption in the busy world and abandonment of nature' stemmed from 'ambition, the desire for wealth, the love of luxury, the craving for power, the yearning for fame; ...' A heavier stress on the negative aspects of work accompanied the tendency to welcome the increasing independent significance and freedom of leisure-time. The narrowing and monotonous side of labour was emphasized to the exclusion of any of its satisfying or stimulating characteristics. In one of the few extended contemporary discussions of work and recreation to appear in Melbourne, John Wisker considered the various ways in which people expended energy. He did not see many people using their energy creatively at work, or replenishing its stocks there. Rather, 'each person's propensities and capacities' tended to be 'exhausted in the ordinary avocations of life,' and his remaining 'fund of unexpended energy' determined the nature and extent of his recreations. While recognizing that the burdens of work and anxiety were counterbalanced for some in high positions by their sense of importance or responsibility, in themselves pleasures, he concluded that the person 'condemned to drudgery without compensation in the shape of fortune or fame is most in need

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3 Australasian, 20 September 1884, 551.  
4 As a merchant Deegan was probably more insulated from the effects of the depression than any wage earner. Nevertheless, his disillusioned description of the motivations of business life must have owed something to depression bitterness. Melbourne Beefsteak Club MSS, Dinner 94, 7 May 1894. See also: Messenger, 7 November 1889, 187; Charity Organization Society, Proceedings of the First Australasian Conference on Charity, ... 11-17 November 1890, (Melbourne [1891]), 37-38, 11.
of stimulating recreation. Frequent contemporary references to 'the carking cares of every day' and 'the toil and worry of the week' reinforced this negative view of work. People were not elevated by labour, but worn down by the boredom and care it brought. Compensation was essential, in the form of holidays - 'oases in the desert of labour' - and recreations which lifted 'jaded minds out of the dull routine and narrow grooves of week-day life ...'.

Gradually there emerged a compromise between the old acceptance of work and the new stress on the value of leisure. People referred, still, to recreation rather than leisure. Recreation, with its connotations of renewal and reconstitution of strength for labour, was firmly linked to work. The proper use of non-work time was justified and defined in recreational terms. Over-indulgence should be avoided:

... if [relaxation] is much indulged in, it no longer answers the end for which it was intended. Instead of provoking a keen appetite for work it

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Two modern researchers have traced a tendency for the most frustrating leisure to be associated with equally frustrating work. G. Friedmann, 'Preface' in J. Irsh Gauthier and P. Louchet, La colombophile chez les mineurs du nord, (Paris, CNRS, 1951), vi-vii, cited in J. Dumazadier and N. Latouch, 'Work and Leisure in French Sociology', Industrial Relations, 1, February 1969, 13-15. If equally true for the late nineteenth century this suggests that lack of stimulation from work may have represented a state which continued into leisure-time, rather than representing merely a deficiency to be remedied in non-work time. Speaking during the depression, one Beefsteak brother lamented that 'in our present life, nine-tenths lose the taste for leisure'. Beefsteak MSS, Dinner 94, 4 May 1894.
Recalling his years during the mid-1800s as an over-worked grocer's assistant, an English writer explained: '... all our recreations were fouled with excess; the stupor resulting from long hours and overwork sought to recover itself in satiety.' W.B. Whitaker, Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers: The Struggle to Obtain Better Conditions and a Half-Holiday, (London 1973), 17. For many, dissipation and other excesses must have represented the only possible escape.

6 Independent, 29 December 1894; Australian Bicycling News, 31 August 1892, 3.

7 Pictureque Victoria and How to Get There: A Handbook for Tourists, [Melbourne 1897], 11; W. Shields, Speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, on the 4th July 1883, ... on the motion ... to condemn the ... Trustees of the Public Library, Museum, and Picture Gallery, in opening a portion of those institutions on Sundays, (Melbourne 1883), 17. See also: 'The Necessity for Holidays', Melbourne Journal, iii, (April 1885), 31.
would do so for play. Instead of increasing the ability to rightly employ time, it would do so to waste it. 8

Free time should be controlled. The desire for amusement, while natural and necessary, must be regulated and guided, for fear of stimulating a craving for amusements of any kind, rather than for those which would benefit the individual and the community. 9 During the campaigns for shorter hours and longer holidays there was virtually no suggestion that the workers deserved extra time for enjoyment. At the various official enquiries the Commissioners were concerned with how more free time would be used. Would the employees go in for enjoyment or for improvement? Were the men 'likely to go on a "wild burst" and 'break down their constitutions', or were they more likely to join 'cricket clubs and that kind of thing'? 10 The workers and their representatives strove to create the impression that they were primarily concerned with self-improvement, family duties and moderate recreation. Addressing the Second Intercolonial Trades Union Congress, in 1884, the representative of the Ironmoulders' Society of Victoria put forward the typical justification for shorter hours. A tradesman ought


9 Messenger, supp., December 1882, 47; 4 September 1891, 158; Hawthorn Citizen, 29 May 1897. R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions 58-61. Concern with high standards of recreational behaviour was quite explicit. In 1892 the Hawthorn Congregational incumbent lectured his parishioners on 'Recreation, Its Use and Abuse.' Boroondara Standard, 27 May 1892. Nadel, discussing Mechanics' Institutes in the 1840s, explained that their Introductory lectures usually contained a social message exhorting the men to unity, which 'last point was invariably accompanied by the admonition to the working classes to use their leisure wisely and temperately.' G. Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Australia, (Melbourne 1957), 148.

to be able to go out after ... business and have some intellectual improvement, or attend to meetings which are held to further the interests of [his] fellow-men, ... 11

These thoughts were echoed repeatedly: free time enabled workers to recover from labour, and to recoup their energies for the coming week. 12

Whether used or abused, leisure was to be earned. Free time was not a right, but a reward for application. 23 A writer who often touched on questions of work, leisure and entertainment suggested that leisure was fully appreciated only by those who had earned it through hard work.

One pleasure the rich certainly lack, which the poor enjoy, and that is 'Saturday night'. The man of leisure, whose whole week is a holiday, cannot taste it. Only he who has laboured from morn til eve, since the previous Monday, knows its blessing and its comfort. 14

Underlying this stress on recreation as the appropriate use of leisure-time, and on the need for free time to be earned, was a constant search for a proper balance between work and recreation, and between duty and pleasure.

Rest, work and recreation is the true order of life, but in these keen days of competition too many men make work slavery, while ... [others] convert rest into slothfulness and recreation into undue excitement and extravagance. 15

13 T. Weegar (Comp.), Chronicles of the Melbourne Beefsteak Club, MS. Dinner 12, 7 May 1887, 81.
14 Australasian, 11 August 1883, supp. 3.
15 New and Hawthorn Express, 26 October 1888. Health lecturers and others stressed the need for systematic education of the body, contending that 'a sound ... body predisposes to a sound, well-balanced, and well-regulated mind ...' This ideal, too, indicated a desire for control and balance in all human activities. J.W. Springthorpe, 'The Results of Unhealthy Education', Australian Health Society, Health Lectures for the People, First Series, (Melbourne 1886), 81; Australian Etiquette, 278, 43-45; 'Acorn', 94. The motto of the Carlton Football Club - Nunc Sana in Corpore Sano - echoed the stated ideals of many other sporting clubs. H. Buggy and H. Bell, The Carlton Story: A History of the Carlton Football Club, (Melbourne 1968). Pleasure, too, needed to be ordered in this scientific age. In his detailed articles on recreation, Wisker aimed 'to bring to order the chaos of pleasure and amusement.' Wisker, 1, 98.
By the end of the century there was some recognition of the broad social value of increased leisure. Speaking in particular of the overworked tramway employees, the Hon. James Balfour, M.I.C., a leader in Melbourne's commercial and Presbyterian communities, observed:

We are rising to a very much higher state of civilization than we had before, and it is an advance, we think, and will be a benefit to reduce the hours of labour and give the men more leisure ... 16

In more academic vein, Wisker asserted that more and more people were regarding pleasure as the main business of life. They agreed that

man was not born to make himself miserable, ... and that each individual has a right to all the legitimate enjoyment he can command ... It is too late to plead that we devote too much attention to mere pastime. It is little to the purpose to argue that this or that recreation is 'of no use.' Palpable utility is not the universal standard of measurement, ... 17

The relationship between work and leisure altered markedly during the late nineteenth century. Each area of life became more sharply defined, more clearly distinguished one from the other. Leisure was accorded a central place in everyday life at all social levels. The transition was particularly evident in industrial and commercial centres, the arenas of so much rapid change during the nineteenth century. Melbourne was no exception. The change encompassed subtle shifts of emphasis and values, as well as more concrete changes in wages, hours of work and holidays. The former, less tangible shifts both reflected and stimulated the more concrete changes. In this chapter I attempt to elucidate the changing relationship between work and leisure in late nineteenth century Melbourne. I concentrate in particular on the development and regularization of the relationship during the 1880s. Developments during that decade explain much of the continuity, as well as the changes, during the following decade. I begin with the consequences, for leisure, of wage levels, hours of work, holidays and evolving attitudes to work. This basic beginning to the study of urbanization through leisure does not assume that leisure was a passive sphere, reflecting changes and pressures in working hours and conditions.

17 Wisker, i, 98.
The dynamic relationship between work and leisure is stressed throughout this study. For the moment, though, I intend to concentrate on the working out of the social and economic arrangements which affected directly the relationship between work and leisure.

Wages

The availability of money determined the extent of many people's leisure activities. I begin this examination of wages and budgets by setting out the range of incomes within the society. Then, using Davison's examples of budgets, garnered from household manuals and letters to the editor, I attempt to deduce what was allowed, or could have been allowed, for leisure-time expenditure. This information, used in conjunction with a sample of leisure costs, enables me to suggest the options available to people on varying incomes. I then go on to consider the other less straightforward, leisure-time consequences of income level. These consequences, in turn, modify my initial conclusions. The approach outlined above is based on two related assumptions: that people acted (budgeted) in accordance with a clearly defined set of priorities, and that budgetary constraints were the principal determinants of leisure-time opportunities. Neither assumption emerges unqualified from the following examination. The first part of the enquiry does, however, provide an ideal assessment of leisure possibilities. The second step refines that assessment through highlighting the other, less definable but equally significant variables which affected leisure-time opportunities. These variables included wage and employment fluctuations; the debilitating nature of some work; aspirations; the relative significance of choice for working- and middle-class families; and the likelihood that careful budgeting was not usual in the low income households where it appeared to be most needed. As with a great deal of this study, it is most useful to begin with choice: what degree of choice did people have. desire or exercise? What factors affected their range of choice?

It is difficult to assess the potential living standards of various occupational groups based solely on male rates of pay. Unfortunately, combined household or family income figures are not available. Many household budgets were augmented by the earnings of
women and children. This fact may help to explain the apparent discrepancy between the amount of money working men would have been able to devote to leisure-time expenditure, and their high attendance at sports and other entertainments. The wives and children of artisans often worked: 'In a "nature" family the income may have exceeded the husband's wage by £50, £100 or even more.' By 1891, between one in four and one in five of the urban wage earners were women. Half were probably in domestic service, and the majority of the remainder in the clothing industry. In 1891, 20 per cent of the Victorian female population was gainfully employed; in that year, females comprised 16 per cent of the total manufacturing work force. Few women earned more than £50 to £75 a year. Some shop assistants earned up to £130 a year, and skilled tailoresses and cloth machinists could earn up to £90. In general, however, the lower levels of earnings prevailed. In the clothing trade females under eighteen earned between £13 and £39 (many 'improvers' earned nothing because, it was claimed, they were under instruction), and females over eighteen earned between £26 and £100, with very few at the higher level.

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Despite these limitations, male rates of pay provide the only accurate base. Davison has compiled the following range of incomes for various occupational groups during the mid-1880s:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£ p.a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 - 1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 - 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 - 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 - 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, Davison has drawn up a table of model budgets (see table 2:1). These prescriptive guides to household expenditure provide the only available systematic information on domestic budgets. They are, however, ideals only, not accurate indicators of normal household expenditure. Certainly, they misrepresented leisure-time spending. There was very little provision for recreational expenditure, yet thousands of Melbourne folk did pay for entertainment. The proposed budgets assumed a narrow life-style in which there was little allowance for frivolous expenditure. They do represent, however, a valuable base from which to deduce the economic limits on household expenditure.

The examples suggested for the budgets are an artisan (£3 per week), a clerk or shopman (£200 - £300 per year), a more prosperous shopman or junior professional man (£500 - £600 per year) and a well-established professional or businessman (£800 - £1000 per year). I shall examine these budgets in more detail, paying particular attention to any expenses which affected leisure-time opportunities. For example, the employment of servants meant more leisure-time for husband and wife, and greater freedom from the responsibilities of rearing the children; possession of private transport greatly expanded the area and range of possible social pursuits. Of the artisan's £3 per week, £2.16s. was accounted for, leaving 4s. for extra expenses. Provision was made for a 1s. payment to a Friendly Society, representing

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### TABLE 2.1
Household Budgets, c.1885

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>£156 p.a.</th>
<th>£200 (1880)</th>
<th>£300 + (1885)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>6/0</td>
<td>6/0</td>
<td>6/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>9/8</td>
<td>9/8</td>
<td>9/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruiterer</td>
<td>2/0</td>
<td>2/0</td>
<td>2/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishmonger</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wines, spirits, ale</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total food</strong></td>
<td>1/0/0</td>
<td>1/0/7</td>
<td>1/1/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rent</strong></td>
<td>10/0</td>
<td>14/0</td>
<td>15/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fuel and light</strong></td>
<td>5/0</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothes</strong></td>
<td>10/0</td>
<td>10/0</td>
<td>15/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life Insurance</strong></td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>2/10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Friendly society</strong></td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building society</strong></td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Servants</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6/0</td>
<td>11/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Horse and buggy</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Travelling (holidays)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pew rent and charity</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School and music</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Babes Fund</strong></td>
<td>4/0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total budgeted expenditure</strong></td>
<td>2/10/0</td>
<td>2/10/0</td>
<td>3/17/0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Provision of unknown amount made
- No provision made

**Sources**

2. John Anderson letter in *Argus*, 15 June 1880, p.6 (man and wife only).
3. 'An Old Housekeeper', *Men and How to Manage Them*, pp.117-18 (man and wife only).
4. 'Thrifty Mary' in reply to 'Inexperienced Housekeeper', *Australasian*, 21 July 1883, p.71. The latter had asked for advice on budgeting for a family with six children (16 June 1883, p.743) but did not request information on drapery, clothes, etc.
5. 'Contriving Lucy' in reply to 'Inexperienced Housekeeper', *Australasian*, 23 June 1883, p.745. These estimates were challenged as too low by 'Plain Jane' (7 July 1883, p.7), and defended by 'Contriving Lucy' (21 July 1883, p.71). The only alteration made as a result of this discussion was to raise milk from 5s to 7s 6d.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 5 0</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 9 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 1 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 1 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 9 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 9 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 9 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 3 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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A woman worker, Armadale, 1885, p. 439. The budget is for a husband, wife and two children aged 11 and 15. A horse-feed only.

These families had poultry, cows and, one, a vegetable garden worked by a man servant.

Wine and spirits.
potential male leisure-time activities such as cards, chess, quoits, socials and concerts. No provision was made for expenditure on alcohol, holiday expenses or private transport.  

A clerk or small shopkeeper and wife, living on £200 per annum, budgeted for £2.10s out of a weekly wage of £3.17s. Some of the remaining £1.7s may well have been spent on entertainment and hobbies. There was no provision for a horse and buggy, alcohol or holiday expenses, but they could afford a servant at 6s a week. In 1885 a slightly more prosperous shopman or clerk and wife on £300 per annum had a surplus of £1.18s after allowing for expenditure of £3.17s. There was an allowance of 11s 6d a week for servants, but again no expenditure on horse and buggy, travel, holiday expenses or alcohol.

A more prosperous shopkeeper or junior professional man earning £500 a year (£9.12s a week), supporting a wife and six children, had a surplus of £2.5.8, from which he had to pay school and music fees, clothes and rent, before considering less essential expenses. Wines and ale cost 5s a week, and £1.0.4 was spent on servants, but he could not afford a horse and buggy or large holiday expenses. A second, very similar budget suggested for the same level of income, allowed an unspecified amount for holiday travelling and a higher servant allowance. In the mid-1880s a man with similar occupational status to the above, but earning £600 a year, could afford £1.9s a week for servants and £2 for the upkeep of a horse and buggy, but no provision was made in his budget for alcohol or holiday travelling expenses. The well-established professional or businessman, with a wife and two children,

22We can compare these estimates with the position of one London factory worker during the 1890s. A 41 year-old soap boiler, married with two children aged 12 and 10, had a total income of £2.2.6 per week, from which he spent 6d per week on recreation, which consisted of buying a few newspapers, and taking long walks on Saturday and Sunday. T.E. Hugget, The Past, Present and Future of Factory Life and Work, (London 1973), 70-71. Seebohm Rowntree found, in 1901, that it was becoming common amongst London working-class families with an income of £30s or over a week (a group comprising 52.6 per cent of the working-class population) to take a few days summer holiday out of the city. A German sociologist studying industrial conditions in Lancashire during the late nineteenth century found that during the summer weeks many of the cotton operatives and engineers spent some of their savings on excursions to the Lakes, the seaside, London, and even the Continent. In six out of seven working-class budgets which he analysed there was holiday expenditure of some kind. J.A.R. Pinlott, The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History, (London 1947), 150-52.
earning £850 per annum spent £14.12s out of a weekly income of £16.7s, leaving a surplus of £1.15s. His main leisure-related expenses were: wine and spirits, £1 per week; servants, £1.19s; horse and feed, 15s; travel and holidays, 10s.

Before evaluating these budgets I shall select examples of a range of leisure costs. The most prized possession, after a home, was a piano. According to Twopeny, entertainment at home among all classes centred around the piano. Not only was it 'a sine qua non ... in a middle-class house;' it often took pride of place in working men's cottages. This description may have been accurate, even though pianos were costly. One manufacturer priced the cheapest piano in the colony at £23; the greatest seller, though, was the medium-priced instrument at about £60, 'an article pretty well used by the middle class of society.' An importer of musical instruments believed that 'anyone who can deposit a couple of pounds can have a piano.' Young married couples looked for one almost immediately, and usually paid between £35 and £45. In general, they were much used 'by the masses ... the artisan classes.' When discussing, in her domestic manual, the furnishing of the middle-class home, Mrs. Wicker advised: 'A piano is the only piece of furniture that should be bought on the hire system.'

Certainly it was possible to save the £2 deposit over a few months, and as the piano was probably the second-largest purchase (after a home) of many working people, and was universally desired, there was great inducement to save the deposit and keep up the weekly payments. Outside the home, a highly desirable piece of leisure-time equipment during the 1890s was a bicycle. Costs have already been mentioned. Bicycling, like many other sports and pastimes, could involve more than just the initial equipment cost. For instance, joining a cycling club meant buying a uniform, paying an entry fee, the cost of meals and repairs on tours, and the expenses associated with club social activities.


24 See above 21.

25 *Australian Cyclists' Annual*, (Melbourne 1884), 15-16.
Similar costs were associated with lawn tennis, golf, bowls and other sports. Dancing was cheaper and open to almost everyone: costs ranged from 1s to 10s 6d or more. Twopeny observed that dancing was 'a favourite pastime' and that 'a far larger class of people are able to afford to give parties and balls ... Even the servants are accustomed to go to balls ...'  

Moving further away from home and neighbourhood activities involved expensive holiday trips. In the mid-1880s the cheapest steamer trip to Tasmania cost £2.10s return; the round trip calling at such places as Queensland ports, Sydney, Newcastle, Adelaide, Tasmania and the North West Coast ports, cost £3.10s.  

A single working man may have been able to save £5 fare over a year, but accompanying expenses such as extra fares, food and accommodation would have put it out of his reach. An excursion to the Gippsland Lakes, for one person, by rail and steamer, including accommodation, cost £5.  

A short stay at Warrnambool or Portland was more within the means of a working man, at only 6s 6d (steerage) return for Warrnambool, 7s 6d (fore-cabin) for Portland. The rail trip was much dearer, at £2.5s and £2 respectively.  

An exceptionally frugal working man may have been able to save for one of these trips, including the accommodation costs of between 3s and 8s a night. Excursions down the Bay and, to a lesser extent, rail excursions, were the only trips easily available to lower and middle income earners with families. There were no accommodation costs; the whole family could go, taking a picnic lunch; and the trips were always available on weekends and public holidays. During summer public holidays thousands of people enjoyed outings on the steamers, or train trips to Lilydale and other scenic resorts. In the early 1880s a return steamer trip to Sorrento cost between 5s and 7s 6d and special excursions were much

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26 *Independent*, 5 May 1883, 27 September 1884, 28 March 1885, 17 April, 24 July 1886, 6 April, 20 May 1893; *Advertiser*, 19 July 1890; Twopeny, 220.  
29 *The Visitata Guide to Warrnambool*, (Warrnambool 1832), 19; *A Trip to Portland the Watering Place of the West*, (Melbourne 1880).
cheaper. In 1889 a half-day trip and seaside promenade concert, by a special Saturday afternoon train to Frankston, cost 2s 6d, with children under 15 half-price and juveniles free. A frugal working-class family man would have been able to afford the occasional Saturday and public holiday outing.

Everyday activities like concerts, roller skating and trips to the baths were within everyone's means. Two peny co-ordinated that admission prices to Australian theatres were very reasonable at between 3s and 6s, but he was referring to the top city theatres. A night's entertainment in the suburbs was cheaper. Concerts, lectures and dramatic entertainments in Footscray ranged from 2s for reserved front seats to 6d further back. Roller skating was very popular throughout Melbourne. A night of fun cost only one or two shillings, including hire of skates. Entertainments or clubs which required payment of a subscription before the facilities were available were generally beyond the means of a working man. Savings for the subscription would almost certainly have been used for some more urgent purpose before the money was raised. The Williamstown Ladies' Baths, where season tickets cost £1 1s (first class) and 10s 6d (second class), would not have been patronised by the wives of working men, or by factory girls on their free Saturday afternoons. Membership would only have suited (and been intended for) ladies with leisure to bathe frequently during the week. Clubs such as the Footscray Choral Society, formed in 1889, were more within working people's reach, though the 5s a quarter would have been a luxury.


A contemporary judgment indicates that these family outings would have been special occasions. Referring to the coursing meetings at Diggers' Rest, twenty miles from Melbourne, a columnist noted: 'The day's outing costs about half-a-sovereign, including railway, admission, and lunch, so that the sport is somewhat exclusive, ...' Imperial Review, June 1882, 79.

19; Independent, 29 May, 4 December 1886: 13, 20 August 1887; 9 January, 14 May 1892; Chronicle, 22, 29 January, 16 July 1887; New and Hawthorn Express, 2 June, 27 October 1882.
Perhaps we come close to what contemporaries thought the working man could afford, with the Mechanics' Institute subscription which, in Footscray, was 2s 6d a quarter. For this expenditure he was, theoretically, able to satisfy his leisure-time needs, as the Institute and Library was open from 7 to 10 every evening, and the committee organized debates, chess and draught tournaments, lectures and concerts, periodically. A few shillings extra for an occasional family outing and, presumably, his recreational expenses were at an end.

What do these proposed budgets, measured against the above summary of leisure costs, signify for this study? On income grounds alone, even if some allowance is made for an augmented family income, the artisan's freedom of choice was strictly limited. He was not free to spend his 'spare' 4s or more a week on sport and other entertainment without abandoning hope of saving for a house deposit, or for future emergencies. Furthermore, his freedom of action, and more particularly the freedom of his wife, was curtailed by the fact that they kept no servants to ease the workload in the house or to mind the children, and by the cost of travel on public transport. For them, being in the position of choosing between two leisure-time alternatives meant they had already made a previous decision to divert money from what many would have seen as a more fundamental area of need, such as savings, insurance or better food.

The clerks and shopmen were similarly placed, perhaps with a little more to spend, though as their wives were less likely to work, there was probably not as much of a gap between them and the artisan as the budgets suggest. Their incomes and the possession of servants opened a wider range of possibilities, but the higher income range meant, too, that they may have felt obliged to live up to a certain standard. Ideas of correct dress, mode of travel and, for example, appropriately-priced seats at public entertainment, were likely to circumscribe their activities. However, fewer people at this middle income level would have had to sacrifice necessities in order to pursue modest recreations.

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33 *Independent*, 14 July 1883; 4 October 1884; 17 March 1888; 8 June 1889.
People with more than £600 a year could afford several servants and private transport, which expanded their world enormously. Their leisure activities were integrated with the rest of their lives, without the need to weigh necessity against pleasure. There was less distinction between free time and work. Life involved the mixing of business and pleasure; club life and home entertainment were often inseparable from business and career advancement.

This discussion of budgets should not cause us to forget the position of those at the extremes of the income scale. The eminent barristers earning over £2,000 a year, the Melbourne surgeon making £800 to £10,000, James Balfour, a substantial merchant, spending between £14,000 and £5,000 a year, were in the minority, but a minority large enough to constitute a noticeable social strata whose way of life was emulated by those earning less but aspiring high. These men were among the few who were free of economic constraint when choosing leisure pursuits, and possessed of sufficient free time to exploit their good fortune.

At the other end of the worldly scale this talk of budgets and freedom of choice would have meant little. The rheumatic widow with three daughters, only one of them working, who earned 15s for a forty hour week making moleskin trousers at home, would have been oblivious to such considerations. Nor were they relevant for the deserted wife earning 5s for a fifty hour week, living in a miserable home with her five children, only two of whom were earning. Such low earnings did not call for a budget, and probably many working people did not budget at all. Some did not know, from week to week, how much money would reach home. Evidence before the various Royal Commissions of the 1880s and 1890s revealed a widespread concern that the usual Saturday pay-day encouraged the immediate drinking or gambling away of wages. 'When a man gets his money on Saturday at mid-day and goes to sports, he brings back to his wife one-half, one-third, or less.'

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34 Serle estimates that the number of domestic servants in Victoria was relatively almost half that in Britain. About one family in ten employed a cook-maid. The number of male servants was about 3,000, most of whom were coachmen-gardeners; butlers were very very few. It is unlikely that many more than 1,000 families employed a nursemaid. Geoffrey Serle, The Rush to be Rich, (Melbourne 1971), 88.
35 Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, 191.
Uncertainty about the size of the weekly wage arose from many other causes apart from the wage earner's improvidence. Working men - artisans as well as labourers - tended to change jobs frequently during the boom years.\textsuperscript{38} Periods of high, stable earnings were followed by days or weeks without income. Piece-workers (paid according to production) earned widely varying amounts, depending on when workers chose to work or when employers determined that they were needed.\textsuperscript{39} Where overtime was paid, wages fluctuated according to changes in demand for goods and services. Similarly, workers were sometimes laid off, or put on reduced hours, during slack periods.\textsuperscript{40} All these variables added to the uncertainty and irregularity of many working families' lives.

Such uncertainty in work, which was supposed to be the core of a working man's existence, naturally affected his ability and will to plan the rest of his life. What middle-class improvers saw as an attitude of wilful improvidence was, in fact, working men adapting to their fluctuating lot. With little incentive to save or to budget many lived and took their recreations on a day-to-day basis, choosing immediate gratification and release at the most readily available venues - the hotel and the race-track. There, through regular attendance and familiar surroundings and patrons, they found the regularity and certainty which others found (and thought that all should find) in carefully planned family excursions, church activities and home life. Despite the contemporary stress on respectable working-class family outings,

\textsuperscript{38}Serle, 91-2.
\textsuperscript{40}Gray, referring to the varying proportion of every trade 'who could expect to be under-employed at all but the best times', noted that, during the nineteenth century:

- In Edinburgh ... short-run fluctuations in activity, casualization, and under-employment had a far more severe impact on living standards than the factors of cyclical unemployment and technical change so often discussed by economic historians.

and the tendency to label the hotels, race-tracks and gambling houses as the low haunts of the shiftless, for many otherwise respectable men and women these places were regular leisure resorts.

My final point about the characteristics of lower income leisure concerns free entertainment. Public spectacles and free shows were the province of the working man and his family, adding breadth to an otherwise limited leisure-time diet. Attention was directed time and again to the number of respectable working-class families viewing processions, attending the zoo on Sunday (the free day), or inspecting warships thrown open to the public without charge. Though limited by lack of money, working-class families did have a range of leisure activities - the free and the relatively cheap - from which to choose. In any case, choice proves a false trail if followed too far. More revealing about the formation of leisure patterns was the way working-class families adapted to their circumstances, and the way they appropriated certain activities and venues. More significant in determining leisure opportunities was the amount of leisure-time available - including hours of work, the half-holiday, public holidays and annual leave.

Hours of Work

During the final decades of the nineteenth century there were improvements in the working conditions, including hours and holidays, of shop assistants, artisans, labourers, factory workers and female employees. The depression temporarily halted this movement. Greatly

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41 For example, see: Australasian, 18 December 1880, supp. 3; 25 November 1882, supp. 10; 28 July 1883, supp. 10; 29 December 1883, supp. 6; Footscray Chronicle, 20 November 1886; 5 November 1887.

42 Dingle makes the valuable point that the popularity of one activity depended on what alternatives were readily available. Drink, for instance, 'had to compete with other goods and services for a slice of the family budget.' In Britain during the late nineteenth century the range of attractive alternatives, such as cheap holiday trips and the rise of organized sport, increased considerably, 'with the result that the proportion of income spent on drink declined.' A.L. Dingle, 'The Truly Magnificent Thirst': some observations on Australian drinking habits, mainly during the nineteenth century (paper delivered at the AHZAAS conference, 1976), 16. See also: A.L. Dingle, 'Drink and Working Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914', Economic History Review, vol.XXV, no.4 (1972), 615-20.
reduced working hours, or worse, were an unwelcome reality for the majority of workers. A three-day working week or shortened working day was common in many establishments. Men on relief work usually worked one week on and one week off, or worked only three or four days a week. The 1,200 men employed at the Newport railway workshops, and the traffic branch employees, had their week reduced from six to five days, with a proportionate pay reduction. 43

During the 1880s and later 1890s the hours worked by clerks, civil servants and teachers remained stable. In general, clerks worked from 9 to 5, with some working Saturday morning. Civil servants were on duty until half past five, with half an hour for lunch. White collar workers in the larger warehouses and wholesale departments worked from 9 to 6. 44

For the majority of Melbourne workers, the 1880s were a time of diminishing working hours. From 1860 to 1890 the principal concern of workers' organizations was shorter hours. 45 During the early 1880s long hours were common. The tailoresses had struck in 1882 because low piece-work rates meant that they had to work up to fourteen hours a day in order to live. The majority of workers in the clothing industry were in a similar plight. Workers at one Melbourne paper mill worked sixty hours one week and seventy-two the next. Their employer thought that these hours did not involve hardship as the men were 'only attending to machinery.' Engine-drivers at flour mills worked a sixty-six hour week, and omnibus drivers were on duty for over seventy-eight hours a week - all day, every day, including Sunday. 46

44 Daily News, 1 January 1886; Evening News, 8 May 1896; Douglas H. Gane, New South Wales and Victoria in 1885, (London 1886), 149.
According to evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Tariff, other workers were better off. Much of this testimony came from employers who had a vested interest in presenting a favourable picture of working conditions in their establishments, but some employee testimony does support their view. The forty-eight to fifty hour week was described as fairly common. 47 The figures given did represent the norm for some workers in some industries, though those given for the clothing industry are misleading. The great majority of workers in those factories were on piece-work rates which were kept low because very poorly-paid outworkers had to work long hours in order to earn a basic living. In 1884 the Inspector of work-rooms and factories for the city of Melbourne estimated that nearly half the clothing trade was conducted in private homes, thus putting it effectively beyond reach of the 1874 (and later the 1885) Factory Act. 48 Female workers in the larger factories did benefit to a certain extent from the 1885 Act, which limited their hours to forty-eight, unless special conditions applied. However, there was no restriction on taking work home, so unscrupulous employers could impose longer hours. 49

There was rarely any thought for the great majority of women working, unpaid, in the home. In a paper read before the Victorian Branch of the British Medical Association Dr. William Cutts discussed their plight. He outlined the injurious effects of long hours, confined, stuffy working quarters and monotonous work on women shop assistants and factory workers, then turned to the women at home:

Her day is a constant round of cooking, scrubbing, making, mending, &c., with a child in arms, or one in prospect, from the time she gets up to the time she goes to bed, broken only by an occasional visit to the grocer's and butcher's across the street,

47 The hours of 173 coach factory employees were detailed: 80 per cent worked between 48 and 51 hours per week. Of 153 bootmakers' employees, 94 per cent worked between 45 and 55 hours. Of 401 men employed in clothing factories, 95 per cent worked less than 47 hours. Women worked slightly shorter hours: of 158 in the boot trade, 6 worked over 50 hours a week, and the rest between 43 and 50 hours; of 1,729 in the clothing trade, all worked between 44 and 52 hours a week, usually 45.


48 Fry, 237; R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1884, vol.2, no.18, questions 3765-81.

and possibly to the public-house at the next corner ... She has no leisure, but is always doing and has never done; ... 50

Bored and frustrated within these limited, lonely horizons, women with children and without servants worked as hard and as long as those in the workforce. When it was suggested that domestic servants have regular hours of work, outside which they would be free to do as they pleased 'without asking permission or fearing interruption', one writer concluded that under such conditions 'the servant's position would often be preferable to the mistress's.' 51 The working-class mother with a job had to face a myriad of household responsibilities after her official working day was over. 52 And, if the enlightened Dr. Cutts were right, there was little help from the husband.

Her husband can help in many ways, if so minded, for he has ample leisure, and many husbands do; but most men are awkward at house-work, and some are churlish and would rather spend their evenings outside; and, on the whole, ... in my experience the poor wife does not get the help from her husband she has a right to expect, but has to take much more than her fair share of the work and burden of life. 53

Apart from the increasing use of more modern gas stoves and hand-operated 'washing machines', which were luxuries anyway, there was little improvement in the hours or conditions of servantless housewives.

51 Australasian, 30 December 1882, supp. 8.
52 Perhaps the textile industry, with its predominance of female workers, relied extensively on piece-work rates partly because the women needed more flexible hours in order to cope with family responsibilities. Many women on piece-work rates did work short hours in order to cope at home. One employer explained that he had 'no control' over their hours of labour.

The married have their household work to do before coming to business of a morning, and many of them leave early in the afternoon [to] ... prepare the evening meal ... And the same rule will apply to numbers of the single, who have infirm or aged parents, for whom they have to perform like duties morning and evening ... R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.166, question 1603.
52 Cutts, 7.
Domestic servants, too, worked long and hard. Twopeny considered that he was lenient in allowing one of his succession of servants to go out three nights a week, after half past eight, but she left because he objected when she stayed out after eleven o’clock. ‘Every other Sunday afternoon and evening, one evening every week and occasional public holidays’ were ‘the customary outings’ though the Twopenys found it expedient to allow a good many more. If this approach were lenient, the majority of servants had very little free time. Colonial girls certainly preferred factory work to domestic service, apparently because factory work allowed them greater independence and more unrestricted leisure-time.

For most working-class men the eight hour day was fully achieved during the 1880s. From 1874 the principle was written into government contracts, and the government applied pressure to the Railways Commissioners to adhere to the system as far as possible. The eight hour day for government works was firmly established by the early 1880s. In his detailed account of the extension of the eight hour day, Fry estimates that over half the urban wage earners had achieved this goal by the end of that decade. He notes that the skilled and semi-skilled crafts and factory workers were more successful than the unskilled. A contemporary estimated that in 1890, 8,000 men representing fifty separate trades marched in the eight hour procession. Fry lists forty-six occupations represented in that year. Moves to obtain a forty-four hour working week were made during the mid-1880s by the operative plasterers and the builders’ labourers, apparently with some success by the former. The extension of shorter hours had community support and was considered one of Victoria’s signal achievements for the working man.

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54 Twopeny, 53, 55. Answering a query about domestic servants, a female columnist decreed: ‘Generally work commences at half-past 6 in the morning, and ends after dinner at night. 2. One day a month, every other Sunday afternoon, and an evening or two a week are the allotted holidays in most houses.’ Australasian, 2 July 1898, 43. See also: Boronorda Standard, 21 February 1890.
55 Australasian, 4 March 1882, 263; 10 May 1884, 504.
56 Serle, 98; Leo J. Harrigan, Victorian Railways to ’62, (Melbourne [1963]), 195.
57 The most significant extension of the eight hour day to urban unskilled workers was to wharf labourers, who numbered over 1,500 in their two unions by 1889. Fry, I, 231, 237-8.
58 Rae, 15; Fry, II, 568-9.
59 Australasian, 9 January 1886, 77.
60 Fry, I, 209; The Palace Hotel (Bourke Street) Guide to Melbourne, (Melbourne 1885), 63.
as it was general throughout their trade, but some insisted that shorter hours should not interfere with production rates. When the eight hour system was adopted in Melbourne tanneries, Isaac Hallenstein, owner of a Footscray tannery, wrote:

I think it will be better for us in the long run. They start at 7.30 & work till 12 commencing again from 1 till 5 & on Saturday till 1 pm. making 48 hours pr. week. No 5 minutes late is allowed. All have to be on the spot 5 minutes before the time putting on Aprons & Leggings & start punctually when the whistle blows. Any one late loses an hour. All know this & the men know that they have to do the same amount of work as of old & promised to do it well. 61

The fortunate employees - those favoured by good employers or by possession of sought after skills - could, to some degree, control their own working lives. Some piece-workers were regarded as their own 'masters and mistresses - they come and go as they like', apparently to the extent that the fortunate - or foolish - few could choose to work one week and play another. 62 Some employers, like T.B. Guest, the biscuit manufacturer, asserted that flexibility was not unusual amongst large employers. Guest stated that for twenty-seven years he had not had rigidly fixed hours; if the work was slack, the employees left early. Nor were they stood down during slack times - 'we give and take'. 63

As a group, shop assistants worked the longest hours. Before 1880 Melbourne's 18,000 shop assistants had been agitating unsuccessfully for shorter hours, relying on 'moral suasion' rather than pressing for legislation. In the early 1880s the Salesmen's and Assistants Union took over the struggle and began a very active campaign to reduce working hours to 7 p.m. weekdays and 10 p.m. Saturday. After the Royal Commission on Shops Employés was established in 1882, prospects

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61 Isaac Hallenstein to Edward [Hallenstein], 21 September 1885, Michaelis, Hallenstein & Co. Ltd., MS 36/59/23. See also: F.T. Derham to T. Swallow, 16 November 1885, quoted in Serle, 100; Independent, 13 September 1884.


of success improved greatly. At the beginning of the 1880s hours were very long. Most shops opened at 8.30 or 9 o'clock, or earlier in the suburbs. Many grocers, for instance, opened at 7 a.m. Large city drapers closed at 5 or 6 p.m. (1 or 2 o'clock on Saturday), but most smaller city and suburban drapers worked until 10, and some as late as 11.30 on Saturday. Grocers closed late during the week, and even later - 10 or 12 o'clock - on Saturday. For most shop assistants at least 14 hours' work on Saturday was the norm. Grocers, butchers, drapers, boot shops and pawnbrokers all worked in excess of sixty hours a week.

Once conditions began to improve, the position became increasingly complex. In brief, after considerable agitation, the Royal Commission report, and several false starts, the Factories, Workrooms and Shops Act of 1885 was passed. Shops were to close at 7 p.m. weekdays and 10 p.m. Saturdays, but municipal councils could permit any class of shops to stay open later (or close earlier), on receipt of a petition requesting this change from a majority of shopkeepers who were affected. This provision led to little relief for shop assistants. Municipal councils willingly granted exceptions, and shop hours between municipalities came to vary widely. Also, the local benches tended to impose only nominal fines for breaches of the Act. In Prahram by the end of 1887, thirteen classes of shops, including drapery and clothing, boots and shoes, ironmongers and fancy goods dealers were closing late, usually at 8 p.m. weekdays and 10 p.m. or later on Saturday. Most municipalities were in a similar position. Critics pointed to the weakness in this

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[64] Fry, I., 174, 268; ii, 556, 558-9; Australasian, 25 June 1881, supp. 6.
[66] The following shops were exempted from this provision, and could close when the occupier desired: chemists, coffee houses, confectioners, eating houses, fish and oyster shops, restaurants, tobacconists, booksellers and news-agencies. Report of Chief Inspector of Factories, 1899, P.P., 1900, vol.2, no.15, 19.
system: 'The influence frequently brought to bear on local councils in connection with such matters is not always the result of public spirit or kindly consideration for others; ...' In 1891, the cry was still for an act of Parliament closing all shops (except those selling perishable goods) at 7 p.m., thus reducing shop assistants' hours to an average of fifty-six a week. Drapers were still working sixty-six hours a week, and assistants in fancy goods shops and bookshops up to seventy-five hours a week.69

The 1896 Factory Act stipulated that females and boys under sixteen working in shops must not work more than fifty-two hours a week (excluding meal times), and nine hours on any one day, apart from one day when eleven hours was allowed.70 In those shops previously exempt from regulation, women and youths could work sixty hours a week. This provision was a great boon to women working in these shops: according to the Factory Inspector, waitresses, in particular, had previously worked up to 100 hours a week, standing a good deal of the time.71 Men's hours remained unregulated: male waiters continued to work between eighty and ninety hours a week, with no half-holiday, Sunday work and very low wages.72 The 1900 Factories and Shops Act extended the fifty-two hour per week limit to male shop assistants, but the confusion over closing hours remained. In 1898, in the metropolitan area, 225 by-laws and regulations were in force, extending shop closing hours beyond 7 p.m., whereas only twenty-one such by-laws were in force stipulating an earlier closing time than 7 p.m.73

Workers not covered by the Factory Acts, such as those in small factories, did not benefit from the generally improving hours and conditions. Drivers, packers and porters were badly off even when covered to some extent by the Acts. Porters in large drapery warehouses, who were not covered by legislation, worked up to seventy-one hours

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69Pevailleur, 10 June 1891, 5-6.
70The Factories and Shops Act 1896, no. 1445.
72Social Conditions, (Melbourne 1901), 50.
per week (eighty-three hours including meal breaks) in the late 1890s. Drivers at cordial factories were often out until 12 or 1 a.m. in the summer, then had to start again at 5 a.m. One driver described the reality behind many happy picnic parties: "On Sundays the roads to the different watering places are lined with vans, and that means that the men are up before daylight getting ready for the picnic, and they do not get home until 10 or 11 at night." Factory outworkers also suffered. Probably half the clothing trade was conducted in private homes, beyond the reach of the Factory Acts, and this situation continued until the early 1890s.

The general picture of gradually improving hours and conditions for the majority of workers must be balanced by reference to sizeable minorities at either end of the scale. The prosperity and improvements outlined above passed by many working people, while some of their fellows gained access to greater material benefits and freedom of action than was dreamt of by the majority of the working class.

The Half-Holiday

Nearly all workers gained a weekly half-holiday during these decades. The forty-eight hour week was usually made up of five eight or eight and a half hour days, and five or six hours on Saturday morning. The increasing adoption of the eight hour day for artisans and other manual workers, therefore, assured them of the Saturday half-holiday. By 1883 the half-holiday was the norm in the printing trade and was widespread in clothing factories and bootmaking establishments. In addition, many places which did not work the eight hour day still granted the Saturday half-holiday. In the larger factories the

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75 R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1884, vol.2, no.18, questions 3765-81; Report of Chief Inspector of Factories on the 'Sweating System', P.P., 1890, vol.3, no.138, 11, 14. The average hours of nurses were estimated to be 11 to 12 hours a day in 1895: P.D., 1894/5, vol.76, 8 January 1895, 1387. Small, self-employed shopkeepers and businessmen, too, worked long hours in order to save on wages.
Saturday half-holiday, usually from twelve o'clock, was firmly established by the early 1880s. Twopeny's report that 'Saturday is always a half holiday' was somewhat exaggerated, though true for the large majority of manual workers. There was no controversy over whether the factories and trades should take the half-day on Saturday or on some other day. Saturday was almost universally observed. Civil servants, bank clerks and other clerical workers only worked Saturday morning. Banks and the public offices closed at mid-day on Saturday.

Shop assistants lagged behind other workers. The legislation brought down during these decades made their position very complex. There were three separate points to be considered: the granting of a half-holiday to shop assistants; whether shops should close for one afternoon a week (or roster staff off on different afternoons); and, if shops did close for an afternoon, which day that should be. The 1885 Factories and Shops Act made provision for municipal councils, on receipt of a petition signed by the majority of all shopkeepers in any municipality (or all shopkeepers of a particular class), to make a by-law closing those shops on the afternoon specified in the petition. However, as the initiative rested with employers, and there was no requirement that shop assistants be given a half-holiday, this provision only resulted in a half-holiday for a fortunate minority. The general

77 R.C. on the Tariff, P.P., 1883, vol.4, no.50, questions 5693, 11981; Twopeny, 203; Fry, T., 268.
78 The Victorian Almanac for 1881, Melbourne [1880], 39, 50; Australasian Insurance and Banking Record, 10 March 1882, 80. In 1878 the letter carriers were granted a Saturday half-holiday. Australasian, 19 January 1878, 85; 11 January 1879, 51; 14 January 1882, 51.
79 The Factories and Shops Act 1885 excluded the following shops from this provision: chemists, coffee-houses, confectioners, eating houses, fish and oyster shops, fruit and vegetable shops, restaurants, tobacconists, booksellers and newsagencies.
position of shop assistants was so bad that initially their energies were directed towards obtaining early closing rather than the half-
holiday. When questioned, in the early 1880s, as to their preferred
day for the half-holiday, the secretary of the Salesmen's Union admitted
that he had no information on that matter, except 'that we have
considered the question, and consider the half-holiday is not in keeping
with the seven o'clock [closing]. We would rather have the seven o'clock.'

There was little further improvement until the 1896 Factories and
Shops Act provided that every shop employee must be allowed a half-holiday
on a day of the week other than Sunday. Whether shops should actually
close for one afternoon a week was still unresolved, and the earlier
provisions regarding petitions continued to apply. In practice,
many large firms rostered a proportion of staff off-duty each afternoon,
so that the shop retained open for its usual hours, including late on
Saturday night. Gradually, however, shopkeepers combined to present
petitions asking that one particular day be declared a half-holiday for
their type of shop. More and more shops in various municipalities began
to close for one afternoon a week. Because Saturday was the best suburban
business day suburban shops usually closed on Wednesday afternoon, and
city shops on Saturday afternoon. In South Melbourne, in 1897, the following
types of shops closed at 1 p.m. Wednesday: grocers, hay and corn dealers,
wood and coal merchant, watchmakers and jewellers, pawnbrokers, boot and
shoe shops and hardware and ironmongery stores. In addition, hairdressers
closed Thursday afternoon, and timber merchants and oil and colour dealers
closed at 1 p.m. on Saturday. The position was similar in other
municipalities. Some large city stores did not petition to have a
special by-law clause, but simply agreed amongst themselves that they
would close on the same afternoon.

82 British workers did not attain this goal until 1911. The Factories
and Shops Act, 1896, no. 1465; Whitaker, 159-61.
83 R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions
330, 1312.
84 Report of Chief Inspector of Factories, 1897, P.P., 1898, vol.3, no.22,
37-8; 1898, P.P., 1899/1900, vol.1, no.27, 44-45; 1899, P.P., 1900, vol.2,
o.15, 39-40; 1900, P.P., 1901, vol.2, no.28, 52-3.
85 Australian Storekeepers' Journal, October 1896, 334.
Having different half-holidays, in different shops, in different municipalities, caused great annoyance and inconvenience. With the 'industrial portion of the community' having the Saturday half-holiday, shop assistants who received a week-day holiday missed most organized sport and other activities, and were able to spend less time with school-age children. The Chief Inspector of Factories was convinced that everyone favoured a universal half-holiday - but each preferred his own day, so the movement for a common day did not progress. In his 1899 report, the Chief Inspector put the case for a universal half-holiday:

Shop assistants informed me that they were anxiously looking forward to a universal half-holiday within the metropolitan area. They contend that the half-holiday as it is is of very little use to them, as there are no amusements and no means of spending the holiday pleasantly or profitably, whereas if there were a universal half-holiday ... excursion amusements and sports ... might be inaugurated ... As it is now, in many instances, they contend that they might as well be at business, as they are at a loss to know how to put in their time. 86

Throughout these decades, shop assistants were in the forefront of the struggle for better hours and conditions, but their position remained worse than that of clerks, artisans and most manual workers. The overworked shop assistant was likened to 'a mere machine' with 'no time for social or domestic enjoyment ... He goes home jaded and tired - takes a glass of beer on the way, and goes home and falls asleep.' 87 The effects of long hours, and the disadvantages of a week-day half-holiday, once achieved, are apparent. Shop assistants approached their leisure-time tired and dispirited, with few excursions or public activities available on their half-holiday. They were set apart from the majority of the community through being unable to participate in Saturday festivities, and through being at leisure when the majority of citizens were at work. 88

87 R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.164, questions 474-5, 1065. See also questions 571, 2029.
88 Modern research suggests that people out of step with community rhythm (shift workers, the aged and the unemployed, for instance), cease to experience leisure as it is experienced by the rest of society. This disjunction can affect profoundly the structure of such people's lives. K. Roberts, Leisure, (London 1970), 11-13.
The thrust of my argument so far has been that the gradual regularization of working hours and holidays was a significant part of the definition and compartmentalization of work and leisure. The achievement of the universal half-holiday was part of this trend. The movement was not, however, a simple one-way flow. Elements of work and leisure remained intertwined. There continued a tradition of mixing the two, particularly on the half-holiday and, to a lesser extent, on public holidays. It was common for leisure activities to be organized within a particular firm or trade. Picnics, involving hundreds of people engaged in brickmaking, bookselling, the liquor trade, leatherwork, the hardware business, railway work or the making of felt hats, were elaborate affairs. The Grocers' Annual Picnic, in January 1896, was held at Schnapper Point. Over 1,400 people enjoyed a concert on board the steamer Hygeia, listened to speeches while lunching at an hotel, then spent the afternoon playing and watching sport.

These functions were informal. At a tailoring firm's outing, 'the employer, the cutters, the salesmen, and the workgirls went to Healesville, about 180 of us, and the employer mixed with the workgirls and the workmen, and there was no formality whatever.' Where the work relationship was cordial, employers and employees sometimes held social gatherings in honour of one another. Some employers held more formal functions, which were provided as a benefit for the workers, rather than as a general celebration. Outings took place on public holidays and Saturdays as well as on normal working days, so they were a genuine extension of work-time contacts into leisure-time, and not just a welcome alternative to a day at work. They were largely

69 Australian Storekeepers' Journal, January 1895, 9; March 1895, 14; R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, question 7994.
70 Australian Storekeepers' Journal, February 1896, 49.
71 R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, question 772.
72 See, for example, Borroondara Standard, 9 September 1887; 18 May 1888.
74 Australian, 8 April 1882, 435; Australasian Typographical Journal, April 1894, 2462; Australian Storekeepers' Journal, February 1896, 42.
attended probably because they offered the worker and his family the opportunity of an outing they may not otherwise have been able to afford, at least not on such a lavish scale, with refreshments, entertainment, sports and prizes provided. Trade bodies such as the Victorian Softgoods' Club, St. Crispin's Society (leather trades), the Tobacconists' association, the Victorian Public Service Association and the Insurance Social Club of Victoria promoted socials, concerts and smoke nights. Workmates in some shops formed social clubs and organized concerts, musical evenings and dances. Orchestras, brass bands, musical societies, quadrille clubs and dramatic clubs were also formed.

The greatest interest and energy were reserved for sport. Occasional games of cricket or football between scratch teams from different warehouses or between a works' team and the local suburban team were common. Clubs were organized, too - spontaneously, or more methodically, as with the railway signalmen of the northern suburban lines, who called a meeting to form a cricket club. Railway employees formed athletic and rowing clubs as well as cricket and football teams. During the 1890s, cycling clubs, too, were started at workplaces. Life insurance firms and the Victorian Softgoods'
Association sponsored cricket clubs, and employees at Craig Williamson, a large city drapery, could join shop clubs to engage 'in friendly games and ... a system of sports', on their half-holiday. Trades' football and cricket associations were not common, as in Britain, and were often shortlived when they were established. In Australia, by the time manufacturing industry had become sufficiently developed in large factories which could support permanent teams, the tradition of clubs organized around local areas and suburbs had a firm hold. Few of the works' teams and tradesmen's clubs started before the 1890s. Annual picnics and social functions were all that could be supported during the 1880s; only later were there sufficiently large concerns to support regular weekly matches. In suburbs where the Wednesday half-holiday was widely observed, football and cricket trades' clubs were often formed among local shopkeepers and tradesmen. Cricket teams formed in Hawthorn included the Hothton Estate Agents Club (1889), the Boroondara Trades Club (1890/91), the Hawthorn Tradesmen's Club (1892), the Glenferrie Tradesmen's Club (1895) and the Auburn Trades Club (1896).

The movement towards a clear separation of work and leisure-time did not result in a clean break between the two spheres. Social contacts formed at work overlapped into leisure-time, spontaneously and more formally. This merging depended to a large extent on territorial contiguity. As workplace and home became more widely separated, work and leisure, too, became more distinct.

102 Australasian Building Societies and Mortgage Companies' Gazette, 19 June 1890, 77; Australian Storekeepers' Journal, October 1895, 186; November 1895, 203; R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, question 799.

103 Moves were made in 1898 to reduce the Hawthorn Bowling Club subscription, with the aim of inducing 'the local shopkeepers and tradesmen to become members' and thus spend their Wednesday half-holiday playing bowls. Hawthorn Citizen, 24 September 1898.

104 New and Hawthorn Express, 29 November 1889; 16 May 1890; 18 December 1891; 7, 14 October 1892; Hawthorn Citizen, 25 August, 8 October 1892; 9 September 1893; 14 September 1895; 15, 29 January, 19 February, 5, 26 March, 1, 22 October 1898; 7 January, 4, 11, 18 February 1899.
Public Holidays

Australians were renowned for their wholehearted enjoyment of holidays, and observers invariably asserted that these days were universally observed. Their idea of the number of public holidays celebrated during these decades varied widely, from Twopeny's calculation of 'pretty nearly a dozen' to Percy Clarke's estimate a few years later of 'twenty-two regular legal holidays' observed in Victoria. In fact, the number of official public holidays fluctuated. Between 1880 and 1884 there were nineteen, and sometimes one or two extra, depending on the number of days proclaimed over the Christmas - New Year period. Between 1885 and 1887, with the loss of Whit Monday, Separation Day and Constitution Day, the number dropped to eleven. From 1888, January 26, variously described as the 'Australian Holiday', 'Foundation Day', 'Commemoration Day', and the (Australian Natives') 'National Day', was added. From 1897 'Agricultural Show Day' brought the number to thirteen, again with one or two extra in some years, depending on the Christmas - New Year arrangements.

Each year one or two special public holidays were gazetted. The Jubilee celebration in 1887 was the occasion for two special public holidays. With the addition of a special public holiday on 22 March, and four days proclaimed over Christmas, there were eighteen public holidays in 1881, and the same number in 1883; yet there were only twelve and a half in 1885. Special holidays were proclaimed frequently in individual suburbs (and country towns) on request of the local authorities. For instance, a special local holiday was proclaimed early in March each year, from 1892, for the Hawthorn Schools and Citizens' Excursion. Between 1885 and 1900, an average of eight special

105 Twopeny, 202-3; P. Clarke, *The 'New Chum' in Australia*, (London 1866), 56.
106 Included are all public holidays regularly proclaimed in the *Government Gazette*, but not special, occasionally proclaimed holidays.
107 New Year's Day, four days at Easter, Eight Hour Day (21 April), Whit Monday (mid-May to early June), Queen's Birthday (24 May), Separation Day (1 July), Melbourne Cup Day (first Tuesday in November), Prince of Wales' Birthday (9 November), Constitution Day (24 November), Christmas Day and Boxing Day.
109 *Hawthorn Citizen*, 5 March 1892; 28 March 1896; 12 February 1898; *Boroondara Standard*, 12 February 1897.
holidays was gazetted each year for specific Melbourne suburbs. In 1896, sixteen special holidays were proclaimed, at various times, in different suburbs. National groups, too, celebrated their special days, but they were not proclaimed as public holidays. Each year, on 1 March, the Cumbrian Society organized a day excursion and picnic for several hundred Welsh descendants, and Saint Patrick’s Day, 17 March, was generally ‘observed as a holiday by colonists from the Emerald Isle and their descendants.’ Usually, about 10,000 attended the annual Saint Patrick’s Day fête in the Friendly Societies’ Gardens.110

Dissatisfaction with ‘compulsory idleness’ was sometimes expressed during years when there were a large number of special public holidays. In 1880, the Commissioner of Trade and Customs branded the number of public holidays in government departments ‘a rascally sham;’ he intended introducing a bill to reduce them by one half. The holidays proclaimed for the Centennial Exhibition in 1881 caused some resentment, and a special day to honour a cricket match was described as ‘the height of absurdity.’111 These were isolated outbursts. During these decades the number of holidays fluctuated so widely that a concerted effort to limit them was never mooted, though the Chamber of Commerce occasionally made successful representations against the granting of certain extra holidays.112 Church groups, including the Young Men’s Christian Association, campaigned against a special public holiday being declared for the Melbourne Cup, suggesting instead that the race be held on the Prince of Wales’ Birthday (9 November), so that the Victoria Racing Club could ‘attract their bon[af]de supporters without impinging upon the consciences of the non-racing public.’113

The simple fact of proclamation did not ensure a truly ‘public’ holiday. Most workers received some of these public holidays, but few received them all. Public servants, those engaged in the law, bank officers and some career clerical workers in the private sector were granted all gazetted holidays, but manual workers and shop assistants

110Argus, 2 March 1882, 7; 17 March 1882, 5; 3 March 1884, 5; Australasian, 6 March 1880, 307; 20 March 1886, 373; 5 March 1881, 307; 18 March 1882, 340; 19 March 1887, 557.
111Boroondara Standard, 4 March 1897; Australasian, 27 November 1880, 691; 26 March 1881, 401; 17 March 1883, 337. See also: Boroondara Standard, 16 April 1897; R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions 377-79.
112Hawthorn Citizen, 16 March 1895; 20 February 1897.
113Hawthorn Citizen, 21 October 1899.
were not so fortunate. It is impossible to state definitely which holidays were really 'generally observed'. Probably, in many factories and shops the decision to observe or ignore the holiday was only taken a few days ahead, and depended on business conditions, whether the workers asked for the day, and what other firms were doing. Six days stand out as genuine public holidays: Queen's Birthday and Melbourne Cup Day, Christmas, Boxing and New Year Days, and Good Friday. The Prince of Wales' Birthday was 'not so rigidly observed as some in the Australian calendar' but judging from the large attendance at the numerous activities organized for the day, many workers had this day. Large crowds attended the Easter Monday activities, but the Tuesday holiday was observed only in government and legal circles and in some of the larger city business houses, so little public entertainment was organized. Whit Monday, Constitution Day and Separation Day, all abolished from 1885, were holidays only in the public and law offices and in the banks. White collar workers tended to miss the great labour festival, Eight Hour Day, but the artisan classes made the most of their celebrations. 'They will work on New Year's Day, they will work on Boxing Day, they will work on Easter Monday, and they will work even on the great Cup Day; but excepting in cases of extreme emergency ... they will not work on ... "the Eight Hours Day".' January 26, officially proclaimed in Victoria from 1888, was slow to take hold, but was becoming more popular by the end of the century. Similarly, the spring

114 Australasian, 13 November 1887, 940; 13 November 1880, supp. 2; 12 November 1881, 62; 10 November 1883, 595.
115 Boronddara Standard, 23 April 1896; Australasian, 3 April 1880, 1; Argus, 8 April 1885, 27 April 1886, 13 April 1887.
116 Australasian, 24 April 1880, 532; 26 April 1884, 530; Boronddara Standard, 24 April 1896; Leader, 3 July 1880, 13; 27 November 1880, 20; 22 April 1882, 21.
117 Australasian, 2 February 1889, 240; 1 February 1890, 235; T.B. Guest & Co., Papers, University of Melbourne Archives, Wages Books June 1889 - November 1892, December 1892 - June 1896, July 1896 - October 1899. See entries for end January 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1899. In 1892, one Hawthorn newspaper reported that January 26 was 'very generally kept in Hawthorn. The Town Hall was closed, as were most of the business places and shops.' Boronddara Standard, 29 January 1892. A rival local paper thought the day had 'passed off quietly in this district, but was not generally observed as a public holiday. Some of the shopkeepers closed their places of business, whilst others kept open, but the banks, post offices, State school and municipal offices, were closed, and there was no sitting of the Hawthorn police court.' Hawthorn Citizen, 30 January 1892.
holiday for the opening of the Agricultural Show was not freely granted at first, though workers pressed for its observance.118

The records of several firms, covering part of the 1880s and 1890s, provide detailed information on public holidays. The wages books of John McLwrraith Industries Limited (Builders and Plumbers Supplies) are not sufficiently detailed to show which public holidays were granted, but during the period from 1880 to 1884 payment for some public holidays was being introduced for some workmen.119 Mitchell and Company Pty. Ltd., a small farm machinery firm, normally employed from fourteen to twenty-six men. They were paid only for hours worked: on public holidays and during the slack Christmas period they received no wages. The records cover 1891 to 1896, the period of early depression, severe slump, then slow recovery, all of which is reflected clearly in the wages books and in the frequency of holidays. In general, Eight Hours Day, Easter Monday, Queen's Birthday and Cup Day were observed. The Prince of Wales' Birthday was usually taken by the majority of Mitchell's workers, but January 26 was only once kept as a holiday, and Good Friday and Easter Saturday were kept infrequently.120 Special public holidays were not observed. During the severe depression years, 1892 to 1895, it is impossible to tell from these wages books whether a particular holiday was taken, or whether it was just another enforced day off work. Business at this establishment improved markedly in late 1895 and early 1896. By March 1896 between thirty and forty men were employed, and many were working up to seventy hours a week. January 26 was not observed, though it had been the previous year. All the men worked up to nine and a half hours on Good Friday and thirteen hours on Easter Saturday. Eight Hours Day and the Queen's Birthday were observed.121 The (unpaid) public holidays granted to these men varied widely, depending on economic conditions.

118 Guest & Co., Wages Books, entries for 30 August 1889, 29 August 1890, 3 September 1896.
119 Bryant and Anderson earned £3 and £2.5s a week, respectively, though both worked a great deal of overtime, which raised their wages considerably. Bryant was paid for Good Friday and Easter Saturday in 1881, and both men were paid for five days holiday over Christmas - New Year 1883/84. Previously, they had received a 'Christmas Box' of £1 each year, but these bonus payments were cancelled in 1884, probably because they were being paid for the holidays. John McLwrraith Industries Ltd., Wages Books 1878 - [1885], ANU Archives, 39/14/7, 6, 9.
120 The Christmas - New Year period is discussed separately. See below, 108.
121 Mitchell & Co. Pty. Ltd., Wages Books, 1891-1896, ANU Archives, 60/19/1, 2.
The wages books of T.B. Guest and Company, biscuit manufacturers, give a full picture of holidays between 1885 and 1899. Guest's was a large firm. The number employed fluctuated from a high of 136 in March 1890 (17 of whom were female), to 93 in October of the same year, 77 in March 1894, and 131 in August 1898. During the 1880s employees were required to accumulate overtime before public holidays, so that the firm did not lose production time. This policy also meant that workers were able to maintain their wage levels while still enjoying the holiday. Anyone who did work on a public holiday was paid overtime rates.

Fifteen employees earning the highest wages (18 a week and a little below), including two members of the Guest family and, presumably, office staff and foremen and women, were paid for all public holidays without working up the time beforehand. Two or three other long-term, responsible workers were paid for public holidays too, as payment for overtime, a practice which ceased in 1894 because of the business slump. All employees, except those recently employed, were paid for the Good Friday holiday, and for special holidays such as that granted for the marriage of a Guest or the Jubilee holiday of 1897. The unpaid holidays were Easter Saturday and Monday, Eight Hours Day, Queen's Birthday, Cup Day and Prince of Wales' Birthday. January 26 was granted occasionally during the 1890s, as were Easter Tuesday and Derby Day (the first Saturday in November); in 1892, Steeplechase Day (the second Saturday in November) was granted, too. The increased number of unpaid public holidays permitted by Guest's during the 1890s was almost certainly a result of the depression, which makes their attitude over the Agricultural Show puzzling.

Management was firmly opposed to the Show Day holiday, even to the extent of noting, for 29 August 1891: 'Worked as usual 29th - refused

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122 All details which follow are from Guest & Co., Wages Books, 1885-1889.
123 There was some flexibility. If the workers had not accumulated sufficient extra time to cover the public holiday they would sometimes be 'given' the extra hour or so, an act of generosity which was always carefully noted in the wages book.
to let them away any earlier for agricultural show.' The employees must have greatly desired this holiday. In 1896 it was gazetted but not granted by most firms, including Guest's. On the day, the Guest factory was unable to operate, due to insufficient staff. The following year management granted the holiday.\footnote{124} Derby Day, too, was important to Guest's men. They were quite happy to lose half a day's pay in order to see the Derby on the first Saturday in November, even though the day was not a public holiday. There was no work in the bakehouses on Derby Day in 1891, but a note in the wages book stated that closing on that day 'was not to be a usual thing.' Despite this decree, the holiday was taken the following year and on three other occasions to the end of the decade.

By 1890, with business slackening, there was a move towards simply granting the unpaid public holidays, without requiring anyone to accumulate extra time to cover the day's absence, a change which must have meant the loss of at least eight day's wages a year. Management remained strict about the taking of unauthorised holidays, insisting once that, rather than lose wages, several employees who had missed a day should make up the time 'to facilitate the work.' Six junior employees were dismissed in 1889 'for disobeying the rule that no one was to be away on Tuesday 24th December.' As conditions improved towards the end of 1897, the practice of building up time to cover absence on a holiday was reintroduced, and the number of public holidays taken declined. January 26 was not observed in 1897 or 1898, nor does the Queen's Birthday holiday appear to have been observed. On the whole, Guest was a fair employer. As times became more difficult workers were dismissed during slack times, and deductions for lateness were rigidly enforced, but long-term employees were treated with consideration, and the welfare of all workers was taken into account.\footnote{125}

Shop assistants received few public holidays. The day after the principal holidays newspaper reports sometimes noted that the shops and places of business were closed, but closing was more usual in the

\footnote{124} The Agricultural Show was important to Sydney citizens, too. In the 1880s, when an entry charge was imposed, there were angry scenes at the Moore Park gates, with furious citizens demanding free admission as their right. A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan, \textit{The Sydney Scene 1788-1860}, (Melbourne 1962), 181.
\footnote{125} A rival biscuit manufacturer, Swallow & Ariell, treated his workers considerately, too: on election day in July 1870, the workmen were given a half-holiday so that they could vote. \textit{Leader}, 24 July 1880, 20.
city than in the suburbs.\textsuperscript{126} Temptation must have been strong to keep a suburban shop open on public holidays, when many people would be resting at home, strolling around the area or picnicking nearby. Certainly, shops did not automatically close on public holidays. In 1886 the principal Footscray drapers advertised that they had decided to close on Cup Day, to allow employees to join in the festivities.\textsuperscript{127} If closing on Cup Day - 'the great local holiday of the year'\textsuperscript{128} - was not automatic, other holidays, apart from Christmas Day and Good Friday, would have been less widely observed. On Good Friday 1881 nearly all places of business were reported closed, 'except hotels, tobacconists, oyster saloons and such places.'\textsuperscript{129} Probably the smaller, owner-operated shops tended to remain open, depriving only the owner of his holiday. The position of domestic servants remains something of a mystery, despite reports that 'their faces are very long indeed if they do not get the whole day when it is a public holiday.'\textsuperscript{130} A half-holiday, after the housework was done, was probably all the fortunate few could hope for.

In general, white collar workers were paid for public holidays, but the 'great body of workmen in the colony' obtained these holidays only 'by forfeiting their days' wages.' In 1897 the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce 'pointed out that every public holiday involved serious

\textsuperscript{126}See, for instance, Argus, 10 November 1881, 5. Horace Perkins, proprietor of the American Novelty Company in Swanston Street believed that his business was unusual: I cater for the amusement of the public, and on holidays and days when other people are shut I have to open, because they require cricket bats, and tennis balls, and games, fireworks, and other things that are especially holiday appliances, and it is then - on Easter Monday, for instance - that I very frequently do more business, when other people are shut, than on other days.


\textsuperscript{127}Independent, 30 October 1886. The large city store, Foy & Gibson, closed on Cup Day. Report on the Factories and Shops Act 1890 Amendment Bill, Minutes of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1895/6, no.D4, question 692. In 1887 Cup Day was strictly observed in the Hawthorn district, with all shops closed. Boroondara Standard, 4 November 1887.

\textsuperscript{128}Argus, 1 November 1881.

\textsuperscript{129}Australasian, 16 April 1881, 499.

\textsuperscript{130}Hst Gould, Town and Bush: Stray Notes on Australia, (London 1896; Penguin reprint 1974), 200.
losses to city firms paying weekly wages, while those employed at a
daily wage were unwillingly subjected to loss of income ... 131
Occasionally attention was drawn to the injustice of this distinction.
Letters to the Hawthorn local paper in 1893 and 1896 complained that the
Council labourers had to work on January 26 while the Town Hall officers
received a paid holiday. 132 A substantial minority of shop assistants
and factory workers may have been paid for some public holidays, judging
from evidence given before the various Royal Commissions. Alfred
George, owner of a fashionable Melbourne store, stated that he paid
his shop assistants, packers, porters and carters for nine public holidays
a year; a Bourke Street tailor informed the Commissioners that he paid
all his employees for all holidays; the eighty-odd employees at McNaughton,
Love and Company, importers and warehousemen, were paid for 'any ...
holidays that are going.' 133 In general, though, payment would have
been restricted to permanent, regular, skilled hands. 134 It was
considered unusual, for instance, that several printing firms paid
their hands - 'piece and stab' - for Christmas Day, and one firm paid
for Good Friday as well. 135 Employers who did pay manual workers for
public holidays did so often as a return for not granting the eight
hour day, or as compensation for long hours throughout the year.
Carriers and cartage contractors, in particular, were compensated in
this way for long, irregular hours and few or no half-holidays. 136

131 Australasian, 14 June 1890, 1153; Serle, 99; Fry, 1, 291; Hawthorn
Citizen, 20 February 1897.
132 Hawthorn Citizen, 4 February 1893; 1 February 1896. In 1895, on
Eight Hour Day, all Town Hall employees received a holiday, the officials
being paid while 'the poor labourer at 6s per day' received nothing.
Hawthorn Citizen, 27 April 1895.
133 Report on the Factories and Shops Act 1890 Amendment Bill, Minutes
of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1895/96, no.D4, question 520;
R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions
329, 8370; see also questions 121-2.
134 For instance, see Independent, 13 September 1894.
135 Australasian Typographical Journal, February 1892, 2218; January 1894,
2427; February 1894, 2434.
136 R.C. shop employees, P.P., 1884, vol.2, no.18, questions 5689-5691;
Independent, 13 September 1884; R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P.,
During the Christmas - New Year period the number of public holidays varied, depending when Christmas Day occurred, but usually there were four or five official holidays. Twopeny outlined the arrangements in 1882:

Christmas Day falling on Monday ..., business did not begin again till Wednesday ... In wholesale business, in the professions and amongst the working classes, the whole week from Christmas Eve to the 2nd of January is practically a holiday. It is quite useless to attempt to do any business during that period. In most places it is about Twelfth Day before things get into trim again. During the first few days of the year the work is done by half the ordinary staff. 137

The three firms discussed previously all had different arrangements for the Christmas period. McIlwraith's were very busy during December-January 1880-1885. Some men worked overtime during this period, though most took the public holidays. The Guest Company granted its employees Christmas, Boxing and New Year's Day, and one or two extra days; usually, but not always, the firm paid for Christmas Day. The works did not shut down for an extended period, nor were staff numbers reduced. On the other hand, the Mitchell establishment barely kept working over the Christmas period, with a minimum of staff on duty. Less than half the staff attended, and each one worked only two or three days a week. 138

In some areas of business, where very little would have been done during the Christmas period, firms did shut down for an extended period. A large number of Melbourne Building Societies closed their offices for the intervening days between the gazetted Christmas and New Year holidays in 1888-1889, giving their employees an unbroken holiday of eight days. The wholesale houses normally observed ten day's holiday over the same period. A commentator on 'Our "Herry" Epoch' referred to Australians dedicating 'a fortnight to rest and recreation at the close of the year ...' Inglish has suggested that by 1870 a peculiarity of the Australian Christmas was clear:

137 Twopeny, 203. See also: Boroondara Standard, 4 January 1895.
Late in December the year could be felt to be running down, in a manner unfamiliar to contemporaries in England or America... Falling in the middle of summer, Christmas was well placed to become the nucleus of an extended period away from work. 139

Annual Holidays

Annual holidays were usually taken between Christmas and the end of January, partly because of the weather, which, in turn, accounted for the six or seven week school holidays during December-January. 140 Nearly all the information on paid annual leave relates to salaried white collar workers; there was little regular paid annual leave for manual workers. 141 Their position was not, however, as bad as it may seem. Fry explains that:

Holidays are a minor aspect of duration of labour. The universal paid annual holiday comes only at a much later period than the 1880's. The prevailing high level of wages encouraged voluntary intervals between jobs or unpaid periods away from work. 142

The records of the firms discussed earlier support this observation. Frequent absences from work, apart from illness, were common. Though these absences were often during slack periods when the workers were given no choice about taking a 'holiday', the high wages during the 1880s and the widespread opportunities for overtime would have compensated those in regular employment. 143 Enforced periods of idleness during the depression were not, of course, in the same 'unpaid holiday' category. 144 Some manual workers who had been granted paid annual.

139 Australasian Building Societies and Mortgage Companies' Gazette, 4 December 1890, 379; Australian Storekeepers' Journal, December 1895, 228; Australasian, 29 December 1883, 816; K.S. Inglis, The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870, (Melbourne 1974), 115-6. During the early 1880s the State School holidays were of three weeks' duration. Leader, 25 November 1882, 26; 27 December 1884, 27.

140 Twopeny, 140; Advertiser, 16 January 1892.

141 For a comparison with the position in Britain, see Pimlott, 154-7.

142 Fry, I, 292-3.

143 For the British experience see Pimlott, 152-3.

144 For example, during July 1892, the Guest factory shut down for a week of engine repairs and white-washing. Seventeen of the junior workers were sent off on a week's unpaid holiday. Yet, when there was a similar shut-down for four days the following month, most hands were paid for their unexpected holiday. Guest & Co., Wages Book, June 1889 - November 1892. Writing of the same period in Britain, Charles Booth concluded that for many workers 'the uncertainty and irregularity of their industrial position' led to 'personal degradation ... For them change and uncertainty [had] no stimulating force.' Booth, ix, 361.
leave regularly lost this privilege during the depression. The few who did receive paid annual leave had it as a privilege granted by management, liable to be revoked during difficult times, rather than as a right. The only conclusion that can be drawn from such fragmentary evidence is that established semi-skilled workers who bore some responsibility and worked extensive overtime, paid or unpaid, received their reward from a considerate employer.

Shop assistants were more fortunate with regard to paid annual leave. Fry concludes that by the end of the 1880s they often received one or two weeks' paid annual leave, partly to compensate for unpaid overtime. Fry and Gibson, a large Melbourne store, gave all their employees a fortnight's annual holiday on full pay instead of giving them a weekly half-holiday, though the introduction of the compulsory half-holiday in 1896 changed this arrangement. By the end of the 1890s the fortnight had become a week: 'Some of them get a week. All the managers get a week.' One established manufacturer and merchant explained that he gave his 'old hands a fortnight every year, and the young hands ten days, and paid them. A representative from a firm of importers and warehousemen explained that 'nearly every man ... gets a fortnight, for which he is paid, as well as any other holidays that are going; or a man may get away for a day or half-a-day if it is convenient, and he does not suffer for that.' Towards the end of the 1890s Moran and Cato, a well-known grocery firm, gave their employees a week's annual leave on half pay.

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145 One of the Guest employees, Charles Young, who earned between £7 and £8 a week in the period 1887-89, was given two weeks' leave on full pay in 1887, and three weeks each year from 1889 to 1892. He received no leave, then, until 1895, when he returned to three paid weeks, and in 1899 he received three weeks' pay for two weeks' holiday. Another Guest worker, who earned between £2 and £2.10s per week, received five weeks' paid sick leave in 1887, and two weeks' leave during each year between 1889 and 1892. A co-worker, earning £3.5s in 1886, rising to £4.10s in 1893, was given between two and three weeks' paid leave each year from 1886 to 1892 (excluding 1888), and was receiving paid leave again in 1895. It is interesting that these privileges were not withdrawn until 1893, well into the depression, possibly indicating again Guest's considerate treatment of established employees. Guest & Co., Wages Books.
146 Fry, I, 292.
147 Report on the Factories and Shops Act 1880 Amendment Bill, Minutes of Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1895/6, no.74, questions 684-687; R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions 2545-6, 8370.
The position of other working-class employees is harder to determine. Despite the occasional shocked report of servant girls spending their Christmas holidays at fashionable resorts, there is little doubt that they received no extended leave.¹⁴⁹ Part of their wages was in the form of board and lodging, so a holiday away from 'home' would have been too expensive. In any case, their services were in such demand during the 1880s that occasional periods of voluntary unemployment (provided there was a family home in which to stay) may have served as holidays. Labourers and other unskilled workers who were paid on an hourly or daily rate were similarly placed.

The major initiatives in the provision of paid annual leave came through the Civil Service. Douglas Gane, visiting from Britain, reported in 1885 that:

> Summer vacations are very rarely allowed. It is not at all uncommon to hear men, forty or fifty years of age, declare that for the last fifteen or twenty years they have had no holidays beyond those accorded them by the Government; ... The Colonial Government has taken the first step to rectify this state of things by instituting an annual vacation of a few weeks for its servants. ¹⁵⁰

The Public Service Act of 1883 provided for a maximum of three weeks' paid annual leave,¹⁵¹ and over the next ten years this boon was extended gradually down through the ranks. Conditions within the railways, where the Commissioners retained sole power over holidays, changed slowly. In 1884 a member of the Legislative Assembly took up the case of railway employees, moving that they 'be placed in the same position as all the other employés in the public service in the matter of holidays ...'¹⁵²

Leave conditions for railwaymen did improve gradually, though many occupational inequalities persisted. Under the 1883 'Regulations for Leave' all officers received their leave exclusive of gazetted holidays. Those who had been on the salaried list for over two years had twenty-one days' leave, those with less than two years' service received fourteen days. Employees at the Williamstown, Newport and Sandridge workshops, on the other

¹⁵⁰D.M. Gane, New South Wales and Victoria in 1885, (London 1886), 150.
¹⁵¹Public Service Act, 1883
hand, received only ten public holidays (no annual leave). There were over twenty gradations between these two extremes. New regulations adopted in 1893 cut down on the length of leave for salaried officers. Instead of receiving ten days after one year, a salaried man was entitled to six days, and an additional day for each extra year, up to a maximum of twenty-one days, exclusive of gazetted holidays.

Leave privileges which were accorded relatively easily to the white collar workers in the civil service took longer to filter down to the non-clerical staff in the railway, post office and police force. By 1892 three weeks' annual leave had been conceded to nearly all civil servants, though a fortnight was still the rule in some branches of the non-clerical division. Post office employees who had been five years 'on the staff' received three weeks' paid leave by 1890. The following year it was established that gazetted holidays occurring during leave were to be added to the annual holiday, a practice followed by other departments. By 1892 non-clerical officers appointed before 1 January 1885 were allowed three weeks' leave. Those appointed after that date were granted a fortnight until they had served eight and a half years, when they were entitled to three weeks, though sorters (male and female) all received three weeks. The police were comparatively neglected. During the 1890s they were entitled to only twelve days a year, including public holidays, compared with the normal public servant allowance of twenty-one days and all public holidays.

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153. In 1887 the position was simplified. Officers and employees were divided into three classes, with leave graded according to rank. The leave was not cumulative.

| Class 1: Officers and others of yearly salary | 10 days' leave after one year of service; an additional day for each year of service up to 21 days, exclusive of gazetted holidays and of 4 other holidays. |
| Class 2: Artisans and others | 7 days after one year; an extra day per year up to 14 days, exclusive of the 4 special holidays but including the gazetted holidays. |
| Class 3: Labourers and others | 4 days after one year; an extra day per year up to 7 days, exclusive of the 4 special days but including the gazetted holidays. |

_Australasian_, 12 March 1897, 507.

154. _Victorian Railways Gazette_, 1 May 1893, 9.

155. _Victorian Public Service Association, Seventh Annual Report ..._ (Melbourne 1892), 5.

156. _Victorian Public Service Association, Sixth Annual Report ..._ (Melbourne 1891), 9; _Seventh Annual Report ...,_ (Melbourne 1892), 5.

157. _Boroondara Standard_, 21 November 1890; _Alert_, 19, 26 June 1892.
There was 'a want of system' with regard to bank employees' annual leave. By 1878 the Bank of Australasia granted three weeks to all employees with over five years' service and two weeks to those with from one to four years' service, but judging from the number of letters to the Journal of the Bankers' Institute supporting this idea, not all banks followed this practice. Perhaps these banks adopted arrangements similar to those operating in a Sydney branch of the Bank of New South Wales in the 1870s and early 1880s.

[The] number of occasions of days' leave or time off and the reasons given ... them were surprisingly frequent and various ... One clerk ... in a fairly typical year took two weeks' leave, had six days off for church affairs, including a picnic, half a day for a funeral, one for a wedding, one for a birthday, half a day for a school examination, and was absent through sickness intermittently for seventeen days ... Half-day's leave to attend representative cricket matches was quite frequent when English teams were present, and in 1881 one enthusiast left at 11 a.m. on four days and at 1 p.m. on three others for this purpose and had further leave for such occasions as Jewish festivals, a funeral, and the races. At least he had no record of illness.

158 Journal of the Bankers' Institute of Australasia, December 1887, 219; Circular issued by E.S. Farke, Superintendent, Melbourne Office, Bank of Australasia, 17 June 1878, A B5, Miscellaneous Box 3. Photocopy of the original supplied by Mr. F.S. Holt, Archivist, Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited; Journal of the Bankers' Institute of Australasia, January 1886, 281; June 1887, 452; August 1888, 523-4; January 1889, 669, April 1889, 744; January 1891, 259. Correspondents always pointed out the advantages of a yearly holiday in terms of relaxation from routine, renewed health and so on, but also stressed that the regular absence of each officer would enable the bank to keep a strict check on honesty and efficiency. A relieving officer would soon discover any irregularities. Official reasoning concurred. A Bank of Australasia circular on 'Annual Furlough' advised that officers could use their holidays to relieve at other branches if they preferred not to take leave. 'What the Bank requires is that all Officers shall be relieved from their usual duties during each year for a stipulated period, which an Officer may spend in any manner he pleases, even by remaining on the Bank premises, provided he does not visit the Office.' Photocopy supplied by Mr. F.S. Holt.

A similar record of leave for Goldsborough Mort office employees is available for the period 1883 to 1900. Unfortunately this material does not indicate whether all, or any, of the men were paid for their leave. It was granted as a privilege, not a right, judging from the variations in length and regularity of holidays. Sick leave was often entered simply as 'leave', which would account for some of these variations. For those on higher wages (above £150 per annum) it appears that sick leave did not affect their chance of annual leave. There are several cases of someone taking two weeks' sick leave, then having two weeks' holiday later in the year. All employees, on salaries ranging from £22.10s to £1,000 a year, were granted leave a year or two after joining the company. Length varied from a fortnight to three weeks, sometimes longer for those earning over £400 per year. Normally the fortnight or so was taken in one period, but a few of the men divided their holidays into two or more shorter breaks during the year. Some of the more senior employees (£500+ per year) took shorter holidays, or none at all, during the early 1890s. No reason is apparent for this change. Perhaps the company preferred senior men to remain on duty during difficult times. Senior men would almost certainly have been paid for leave, so they would not have been declining to take holidays because they could not afford them. Junior and middle-level employees would have had no choice over taking leave, and with routine administrative work declining during the depression, the company may have preferred to continue their leave, whether paid or unpaid. Judging from various notes and letters concerning staff matters in these records, the company was a fair employer, which leads one to suspect that the majority of employees may have been paid during their leave. The records of Goldsborough Mort provide valuable details of annual leave in a large company, covering all employees from junior clerks to the company secretary. Other large firms may have adopted a similar policy toward their white collar workers.

160 Goldsborough Mort was a large stock and station and wool-broking firm. Goldsborough Mort & Co., Register of Officers, 2A/1; Officers' Leave Book, 2/27.
161 All employees earning above £100 per annum took a ten per cent reduction in wages in late 1893. See: Register of Officers; above 51.
162 See, for example, B.W. Holgate to A. McD. Cooper, 17 December 1896, Goldsborough Mort & Co., MS records, 2/174/641.
Authorities such as municipal councils were moving toward the granting of annual holidays. Late in 1890 the Hawthorn City Council granted to all officers three weeks' annual leave (probably paid). Kew Council went even further in 1900, granting seven days' annual leave on full pay to the permanent day labourers.\(^{163}\) Towards the end of the nineteenth century more and more professional and semi-professional employees were able to take a fortnight or so paid leave each year. Those on higher wages would have been able to afford a brief sojourn at a seaside or mountain resort. These changes would have altered the balance at these resorts considerably. During summer in the early 1880s they had been populated almost entirely by women, apart from men working in the fields of law and education.\(^ {164}\)

**Summary**

As might be expected, divisions based on the privileges of public holidays, annual leave and reasonable hours of work paralleled the salary gradations discussed previously. Better-paid workers had a far greater chance of working limited, regular hours, with a weekly half-holiday, and receiving paid public holidays and a fortnight or three weeks' annual leave. Public servants, bank officers, professionals in law and medicine and some private managerial and clerical workers headed the list, followed by other administrative and clerical employees. By the end of the century the majority of shop assistants had received the benefit of legislation enforcing a weekly half-holiday and some shortening of shopping hours. They had more chance of receiving a week or fortnight of paid annual leave than of being granted all public holidays. Annual leave was often granted as consideration for unpaid overtime and missed half-holidays and public holidays: if it was granted as a privilege it was certainly one which had been earned.

Skilled manual workers were at least as well off as the lower white collar workers. The majority enjoyed the eight hour day by the

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\(^{163}\) _Boroondara Standard_, 5 December 1890; _Hawthorn Citizen_, 24 February 1900.  
\(^{164}\) _Australasian_, 28 January 1882, 103.
late 1880s, though this benefit was less important during the depression when a full week's work was unusual in many trades. The Saturday half-holiday was firmly established, and they had a good chance of being paid for several public holidays during the year and of receiving the rest - up to a total of eight or nine - without pay. High wages and a tight labour market during the 1880s compensated for lack of paid annual leave, with slack periods or voluntary unemployment taking the place of paid holidays. Again, this situation changed during the early 1890s to a state of uncertain unemployment, a shorter working week and reduced wages, with the effect of rendering irrelevant concern over paid absences from work. Factory workers and other semi- or un-skilled manual workers had experienced a gradual improvement in hours and conditions of work but the depression delayed any further improvement. These workers were more likely to have changed jobs frequently during the boom years, a fact which did not stand them in good stead during the bad times. Established long-term employees received first priority when dismissals, wage reduction or a shorter working week were to be implemented. Questions of payment for and the extension of public holidays and annual leave were not of immediate concern. After the depression those on hourly or daily rates of pay first sought rises in wage rates and the return to the eight hour day. After some balance had been restored in these areas, there would be time to consider holidays.

Worst off were those least able to help themselves, in areas of work difficult to organize or control through legislation, or where seasonal or economic fluctuations promoted an unstable workforce. Factory outworkers, domestic servants, drivers and carriers, unskilled building labourers and single self-supporting women formed a sizeable disadvantaged minority with little chance of improved conditions in boom times, let alone during a depression. 165 Many heads of households must be classed with the underprivileged. Even when their husbands kept some employment during the depression, the labour of these women was increased greatly by the tasks involved in making do with less money. Sewing, mending, taking time to buy and prepare cheaper meals, and generally cutting costs whenever possible increased

the working hours and worries of many women, particularly those with children. Many women must have first faced life without servants during these difficult years when great domestic skill was needed to keep the family home functioning.

Consequences

One significant trend which emerges from a study of working conditions and privileges during these decades is the growth of more formal, ordered arrangements. Legislation governing hours and conditions of work in factories and shops was only the most obvious manifestation of this change, which also encompassed the various acts covering holidays and conditions in the public service. Employer and employee organizations were forming; the practice of requiring a certain period of notice of intention to resign or dismiss was increasing; provision of medical certificates to cover extended periods of absence was becoming common; the growing division of labour increased the tendency for 'apprentices' to learn only one part of a trade, instead of all the processes, from beginning to end. In short, as Davison has explained, the business world was increasing in complexity, and taking on a form and structure distinct and deliberate.

The world of every worker was changing. The flexibility which had characterised even large firms was mentioned by several employers before various royal commissions, a flexibility, they were quick to stress, which favoured the workers. In fact, very often these arrangements were of at least equal benefit to the employer. Privileges granted were often at slack times when they would not interfere with production, while the worker granted his favours at the convenience

166 See, for example, R.C. on the Tariff, P.P., 1883, vol.4, no.50, Questions 11952-3; Australasian, 25 May 1889, 1089.
167 Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, chapters 1 and 2.
and behest of his employer. Several employers giving evidence before
the 1901 Royal Commission on the factories and shops law warned
that, with the intrusion of the law, an employer no longer felt
responsible for his employees. The old good feeling between employer
and workers was evaporating. One clothing manufacturer explained
the certain changes which followed the Factory Acts.

Before the Act came in we used to have a pic-nic
every year to Morphett or Portarlington – charter
a special boat or a special train. We used to be
always happy, but now it simply amounts to this, on
the one side – 'I will get from you all I can', and
on the other – 'I will give you as little as I can in
return.'

There were now no picnics. 169 Some employers hinted at unfortunate
repercussions if there were further legislative intrusion:

... if we are legislated for in the direction
of a Shops Board, that good sentiment that does
exist now would be knocked out of us, and we would
have to stand strictly by the law ... If you had a
Wages Board it would strike out all sentiment between
ourselves and our employes, not leading to very happy
issues. 170

This increasing formalization of the business world, regimenting
relations between employer and employee, carried significant implications
for leisure. Work came to occupy a clearly defined sphere, after
which the worker's time was his own. The young man who, when asked
to work back one evening, replied that he had to go to his dancing
master, and the grocer's assistants who knocked off 'at the stroke
of time' and looked on it as a great injustice if they had 'even
to take a horse out of a cart after hours', were working to this
new order which their employers found difficult to accept. 171

The work-related areas discussed above directly affected leisure-time
choices. Wages, hours of work, the half-holiday, public holidays and

169 R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, questions
7994-5; see also questions 222, 1412.
170 R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, question
831. See also question 837C.
171 R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1884, vol.2, no.18, question 6002;
R.C. on factories and shops law, P.P., 1902/3, vol.2, no.31, question
1600. See also: Pimlott, 79, 143.
annual leave determined the time and money a worker could devote to leisure. More broadly, other features of work defined the possibilities open to each worker. The irregular shifts of people such as enginemen limited their ability to share family leisure-time, or to join recreational societies which met regularly. Long hours not only lessened leisure-time, they physically exhausted people so that they could not enjoy amusement or begin to study after work. During the early years of the eight hour movement supporters stressed that the long hours left them too exhausted to care for recreational pursuits.

Poor physical working conditions caused tiredness, eye strain, headaches and illness. Many small workshops lacked adequate ventilation, sanitation and lighting, even after certain minimum conditions were laid down under the 1885 Factory Act (which, in any case, only applied to workplaces employing more than six people or using steam or other mechanical power.) The Report of the 1884 Royal Commission on employees in shops noted that the workers 'all tell the same tale: they were born tired, and have never been able to throw off the feeling'.

Dr. Cutts believed that standing for hours in a dusty, stuffy shop, breathing air fouled by gas lighting, resulted in 'a general oppression and depression of all the functions and processes of life.' Such conditions gave rise to headaches, muscular pain, indigestion, loss of appetite and anaemia.

and when the day's work is over, it is too late to take a walk or other out-door recreation, or they are too fagged to have the heart for it, and all they are fit for is to go to bed or to some place of amusement, where a little fitful and not always wholesome excitement serves at least to save mind and body from utter stagnation.

Working a sewing machine necessitated 'the same sitting and stooping posture all through, and the same continuous strain on particular muscles.' When performed for long periods in close workshops this kind of labour reached 'its maximum of injurious effect.' Cutts

172 Docherty, 12.
173 R.C. shop employees, P.P., 1883, vol.2, no.164, question 474; Rae, 21.
was referring particularly to women workers, both within and outside
the home, but his remarks highlight the effects of unsatisfactory working
conditions on any person's capacity for creative recreation.

Need it surprise us if, cooped up in shops, or
shut in at home from the pure air, the sunlight, the
pleasant sights of the outer world, with little to vary or brighten
their existence, or quicken its dull routine into cheerful activity; tricyl in temper, faded in mind,
exhausted in body, without energy, without heart, subject
to all manner of perverted sensibilities and cravings, ... they should seek a brief respite from suffering in the
easy, agreeable, but delusive relief of stimulants?

A Melbourne bootmaker reached similar conclusions, explaining that
'sweating' had 'an enervating effect', creating 'a desire for
excitement for some relaxation ...'.

Many workers in offices, factories and homes did not experience
poor conditions, exhausting physical work or irregular shifts. Boredom
struck at all levels, though. The larrikin, isolated and bored within
his occupational cage,

was the product of an industrial society in which
the machine was making his work tedious, the
vicissitudes of capitalism were making it
uncertain and the emergence of more highly
capitalized establishments was freezing his
employee status and making social mobility
difficult ... Larrikinism was distinctly if
incoherently a gesture of protest against the
life of the industrial worker in the growing
city."

As work became more specialized, the developing division of labour meant
that many employees, from managers and foremen to clerks and apprentices,
found their range of tasks diminishing and their field narrowing.

Housework remained relatively untouched by these changes: the 'daily
monotony' of cleaning, washing, ironing, shopping and cooking, compounded
'the isolated loneliness of staying at home...'. Even women surrounded
by servants and comfort were bored and lonely.

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176 Cutts, J-S, 10; R.C. shop employés, P.P., 1884, vol.2, no.18, questions
5755-6. See also: Australasian, 30 December 1882, 898; Whitaker, 17-18.
177 R.J. Moore, 'Marvellous Melbourne' A Social History of Melbourne in
the 'Eighties (M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne 1959), 91. See also:
of Melbourne 1950), 32, 34, 111-12.
178 New and Hawthorn Express, 14 September 1883; Independent, 1 May 1886;
Twopeny, 93. See also: Kingston, 29-41; Advertiser, 20 June 1891.
The mixed blessings of a more ordered working environment and of the increasing regularity of public and annual holidays were one manifestation of Melbourne's urbanization. Another was the growth of a varied range of suburbs encircling the city. I have devoted some attention to two of these suburbs - Footscray and Hawthorn - in order to gain a closer understanding of the relationship between work and social life within the suburbs, where the dreams and realities of urban existence came face to face.
CHAPTER III

FOOTSCRAY

It is now possible to begin a detailed study of suburban life. The chapters on Footscray and Hawthorn examine the social consequences, for community life and leisure, of Melbourne's rapid urbanization. As well as taking account of the rise of spectator sport, these chapters highlight the concurrent growth of a wide variety of activities which were more informal, often less structured, and oriented more towards participants than spectators. Historians have hitherto neglected this less public side of leisure. This balanced account involves, as well, an examination of the organizational role of local institutions such as the Church, the Mechanics' Institute, the pub and the friendly society, which stimulated and controlled much social activity.

Residential and Industrial Character

The three-fold population increase of the 1880s, closely followed by years of severe depression, led to the development of a pluralistic, less closely-knit community in Footscray, making these significant years for a study of leisure. Developments in leisure-time activities both reflected and directed the possibilities for social change. In a larger, less coherent Footscray, social life broadened, enabling people to satisfy their needs in a variety of ways. A sense of community can be gained within a small social group or series of groups, as well as within a tightly-knit suburb. During the later 1890s, after the strain of the preceding years, people needed and were able to establish a variety of activities and group contacts. This broadening process promoted harmony and stability, lessening the likelihood of any sense of frustration or isolation.¹

¹John Rickard, in Class and Politics: New South Wales, Victoria and the Early Commonwealth, 1800-1910, (Canberra 1976), 310-11, suggests that class division during these years developed as a limiting, accommodating force, a tradition fostering acceptance rather than change or conflict. My detailed work, on Footscray in particular, supports these contentions for social life. The development of a harmoniously stratified society was aided by the broadening possibilities for entertainment, diversion and satisfaction in leisure-time.
In his detailed study of Footscray, John Lack concludes that social relations in the western suburbs have been least marked by those transitory, segmented and secondary human contacts which Louis Wirth predicated would become more and more characteristic of city life.

Life in Footscray 'took a communal form because residents interacted not merely as acquaintances but as "full personalities".' Lack attributes this character largely to the fact that the majority of resident workers worked locally, except in the late 1870s and 1880s, when, in any case, most of those who worked outside Footscray walked to work in neighbouring suburbs. The proportion of residents working locally continued to increase until the 1920s. In terms of residence and workplace, Lack contends that:

Until at least the 20s the suburb cannot be described as primarily ... residential ..., except perhaps in the 80s; nor can it be described as merely an employing subcentre, providing workplaces in excess of residences. Footscray was a 'mixed' type of suburb, unmatched by any other in Melbourne, except perhaps ...

Williamstown. 3

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2 John Lack, Footscray: An Industrial Suburban Community (Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, 1976), I, 31-32. See also: Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', in Richard Sennett (ed.), Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities, (New York 1969). It is impossible, here, to convey in depth Footscray's physical and occupational environment, as Lack has done. His thesis and this work focus on similar issues. He is concerned with community, and with 'the scrutiny of human reactions to suburbanization and industrialization.' At the core of his thesis is the argument that in Footscray during the late 1870s to 1911 there existed a strong sense of community, which 'was most clearly articulated at times of stress', and which 'reflected basically [a] ... marked correspondence of workplace and residence.' I, 60-64 He pursues this argument primarily with reference to working and living conditions; my work explores a similar theme, concentrating on leisure; independently, the theses have followed complementary courses.

3 Lack, I, 37, 42-3. After the collapse of the 1880s boom, local workers represented 'a declining proportion of the total workforce as the "out-commuting" of the 80s was counterbalanced and replaced by "in-commuting."' Lack, I, 37. One practical, social effect of this 'in-commuting' by workers who lived in other suburbs but worked in Footscray was illustrated by a cricket dispute in May 1887. The donor of a trophy refused to allow it to be awarded because two of the teams had played non-local men. Quite possibly these non-locals were part of the Footscray workforce, and hence had been drawn into local sport. Advertiser, 21 May 1887.
Who lived and worked in Footscray? A study of social life and leisure-time must take a broad view, if over 50 per cent of the population is not to sink without trace. Once we turn from an analysis based on the workforce, women and children emerge. While it is difficult to obtain statistical or other information about this hidden group, their importance for this study must be acknowledged, and their daily lives investigated as far as possible. In a suburb like Footscray, with a very high proportion of young children, and with limited job opportunities for women, few women worked. A functional study, based on occupations, will account for the character of such a suburb largely in terms of the overwhelmingly male workforce. Over half the Footscray population (women, children, the aged) spent their day in and around the home—-at shops, schools and neighbourhood parks. They established the daily patterns of street and home activity. The historian needs to strike a balance between the demonstrable significance of (male) work and the less dramatic but socially relevant (female) sphere of suburban daily life.

Throughout these decades the sexes were evenly balanced.

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4See below 237-42.
5See below 125.
6Lack, 7, 193.
7The activities of children and adolescents are not mentioned in the local press, apart from occasional criticisms of local gangs and larrikin pushes. John Lack has pointed out that Footscray, with its shunting yards, quarries and factories, must have offered great possibilities for childhood adventure in the late nineteenth century, as it did during the mid-twentieth. In addition, Footscray’s position as an outer suburb meant easy access to the country for shooting, rabbiting, mushrooming and other activities. Correspondence between John Lack and the author.
8Males slightly outnumbered females in 1881 (by 2.39%) and 1891 (4.3%). The slight excess of females over males in 1901 (.71%) probably reflected the loss of males during the depression. There was no disparity between the proportions of the sexes in any age-group: the over-all balance was maintained throughout the age range. Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901.
Table 3:1
Footscray: Population 1881, 1891, 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>5,993</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
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<td>9,986</td>
<td>9,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>18,318</td>
<td>9,094</td>
<td>9,224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901.

Like the rest of the colony, most of Footscray's population was aged under thirty. In 1881 over 69 per cent of the population was aged under 30, 27 per cent was aged between 30 and 60, and less than 3 per cent was aged over 60. These proportions remained relatively unchanged over the next twenty years. It was a suburb without grandparents. During the ten years preceding 1880, Footscray's birthrate was higher than any other suburb.

Table 3:2
Victoria: Proportion of Population in 3 Age Groups, 1881, 1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-29</td>
<td>66.97</td>
<td>66.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-59</td>
<td>28.43</td>
<td>27.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>6.24</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891.

9 For the period 1871 to 1881 the figure was 45.62 per 1,000 population. Port Melbourne followed, with only 30.99 per 1,000. *Argus*, 18 October 1884, 13. In 19 of the 21 years between 1871 and 1891, Footscray had a higher birthrate than any other Melbourne suburb. Lack, I, 197.
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Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891

9 For the period 1871 to 1881 the figure was 45.62 per 1,000 population. Port Melbourne followed, with only 38.99 per 1,000. Argus, 18 October 1884, 13. In 19 of the 21 years between 1871 and 1891, Footscray had a higher birthrate than any other Melbourne suburb. Lack, I, 197.
Table 3.3
Footscray: Proportion (and Number) of Population in 5 Age Groups, 1881, 1891, 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>43.35 (2,599)</td>
<td>40.20 (7,695)</td>
<td>39.58 (7,251)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>25.90 (1,552)</td>
<td>30.18 (5,777)</td>
<td>26.03 (4,768)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>16.80 (1,007)</td>
<td>18.03 (3,452)</td>
<td>20.10 (3,682)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>10.76 (645)</td>
<td>7.79 (1,491)</td>
<td>9.20 (1,685)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-</td>
<td>2.89 (173)</td>
<td>3.41 (652)</td>
<td>4.97 (911)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901

Equally important for this study is the proportion of people who were married. The leisure patterns of a community of predominantly married adults could differ significantly from those of an area where, say, large numbers of young adults were single. In the latter case, one might expect more young women to work, and therefore to have greater potential control over their leisure-time than would their married counterparts with family responsibilities.

Living patterns would be crucial in determining the extent of this difference. Opportunities for child care and for greater flexibility in budgeting and general sharing of household responsibilities would be much greater in mixed households, comprising several adults and children. There is no way of knowing the composition of Footscray households, and the extent to which people lived in 'extended families'. In 1881 Footscray averaged 5.28 persons to an inhabited dwelling, (1891: 5.07; 1901: 5.11; Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901) but this figure adds little to our knowledge of household composition. Almost certainly, children lived at home until they married (and in Footscray, in 1881, 70 per cent of people between the ages of 15 and 29 were unmarried; see below). Whether, particularly in the later 1890s, newly married couples first lived with relatives, until they could afford a home of their own, or whether they moved immediately into a rented house, is unknown. The relative ease with which housing was obtained during the 1880s (Lack, I, 208-9, 211-12, 217, 226) suggests that young people determined to set up house would have had little trouble. In any case, in a suburb with so few older people, 'extended family' possibilities were limited.
Table 3:4
Footscray: Proportion (and Number) of Married Persons, Males and Females in 4 Age Groups, 1881, 1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881 Persons</th>
<th>1881 Male</th>
<th>1881 Female</th>
<th>1891 Persons</th>
<th>1891 Male</th>
<th>1891 Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>29.70</td>
<td>20.87</td>
<td>38.11</td>
<td>40.47</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(461)</td>
<td>(158)</td>
<td>(303)</td>
<td>(2,338)</td>
<td>(927)</td>
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<td>30-44</td>
<td>87.19</td>
<td>84.54</td>
<td>89.92</td>
<td>83.84</td>
<td>81.70</td>
<td>86.38</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(878)</td>
<td>(432)</td>
<td>(446)</td>
<td>(2,894)</td>
<td>(1,531)</td>
<td>(1,353)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>85.27</td>
<td>86.27</td>
<td>84.03</td>
<td>78.34</td>
<td>81.42</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(550)</td>
<td>(308)</td>
<td>(242)</td>
<td>(1,169)</td>
<td>(653)</td>
<td>(515)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>60.69</td>
<td>67.42</td>
<td>53.57</td>
<td>56.90</td>
<td>71.18</td>
<td>44.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(105)</td>
<td>(60)</td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>(384)</td>
<td>(247)</td>
<td>(137)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891. No figures available for 1901.

In 1881, of the almost 26 per cent of the population between the ages of 15 and 29, 70 per cent was unmarried. The marked disparity between numbers of married males and females in the 15 to 29 age group, in both years, indicates that females married younger. Implications for leisure are clear: relatively large numbers of single young people, particularly males, were seeking leisure activities and opportunities for social meetings. Further, the married population was composed primarily of couples raising young children, a fact which would affect greatly the leisure opportunities of the family, or, more usually, the mother. For these young families, living in separate households from parents and siblings, there was little chance of babies and toddlers being minded by relatives or older children.

By 1880, the character of Footscray was set. It 'was essentially a manufacturing locality where factory lived cheek-by-jowl with the residences of the working classes.' At the height of Melbourne's boom

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12. 1891: of 30 per cent of the population aged between 15 and 29, 60 per cent was unmarried.
Footscray was one of the most highly industrialized suburbs. Approximately 46 per cent of the metropolitan male workforce was engaged in industrial activities: in Footscray, the proportion was perhaps as high as 72.5 per cent.\textsuperscript{14} Manual workers dominated the suburb's heavily industrial working-class.\textsuperscript{15} The completion of the Williamstown rail link in the early 1870s had facilitated the movement of industry from the high rents of inner city areas to outer suburbs such as Footscray, Yarraville and Newport.\textsuperscript{16} Footscray's position on the Saltwater River, near its junction with the Yarra, solved waste disposal problems. It was a suitable area for noxious industries needing large areas of land. Problems caused by the suburb's sparse population and difficult access due to the West Melbourne swamp and the inadequate roads deterred many industries, but not the noxious trades.\textsuperscript{17} Davison has described Footscray as "the new industrial suburb" of the 1860s, with its developing metals industry, tanneries, chemical works, meat preserving establishments and sugar refinery.\textsuperscript{18} Lack notes that by the 1880s Melbourne's western suburbs were emphatically identified as a noxious trades area: 'Of a workforce of some 525 males in 1881 at Footscray, about 300 or 58 per cent was engaged in the noxious trades.\textsuperscript{19} This general industrial

\textsuperscript{14}Lack, I, 192.
\textsuperscript{15}Lack, I, 52.
\textsuperscript{16}Fry, I, 405.
\textsuperscript{17}Lack, I, 163.
\textsuperscript{18}Graeme Davison, The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne, 1880-1895, (Ph.D. thesis, ANU, 1970), I, 384. See also: Graeme Davison, The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne, (Melbourne 1978), 50; Fry, II, 541-552; Jos. Pickersgill (ed.), Victorian Railways Tourist's Guide ... (Melbourne 1885), 72-3; R.P. Whitworth (comp.), The Official Handbook \& Guide to Melbourne ..., (Melbourne 1880), 225. Of eighty-two noxious trades establishments in the metropolitan area in the late 1880s, twenty-four, including the most important enterprises in Melbourne, were situated in Footscray and the neighbouring borough of Flemington and Kensington. Parsons, I, 180.
\textsuperscript{19}Lack, I, 162-3. Lack has refined this picture considerably, showing that by the late 1880s the scene had changed. Diversification of manufacturing in the 1880s reduced noxious trades and their workforce to a fraction of the total. In 1888, while one in three of Footscray's factories were noxious trades, they employed about one in four factory workers. About half as many men were employed in metals and machine shops and foundries as were employed in the offensive industries. Lack, I, 168-169. However, this latter-day correction of the traditional view of Footscray's Industrial development does not alter the fact that contemporaries identified the suburb primarily as an area of noxious trades, with all their unsavoury characteristics.
concentration, and particularly the side effects of these noxious trades, greatly affected the reputation and self-esteem of Footscray and her inhabitants, giving rise to a distinctive community spirit. Industrial development changed the sounds, sights and smells of the area, touching the daily routines of all residents, not just the industrial workers.

Footscray was a silent city until the advent of factories that led to its industrial importance. The clocks striking in Melbourne and at the North Melbourne town hall could be heard as far as West Footscray and the pealing church bells in Melbourne were often wafted on the breeze. When the sugar works at Yarraville installed a strident whistle, it quickly became the recognised signal whereby residents would set their watches.

Footscray's large-scale industries occupied extensive areas of land and used much valuable machinery. Crowded workshops and sweating were found more in inner suburbs like Collingwood or Richmond, particularly in the clothing and boot-making industries.

In general, factory development in the western suburbs appeared to be on a larger scale, requiring a greater capital outlay, more skilled labour and offering long-term employment with a stable, efficient company ... In Collingwood, [in 1880], 60 factories employed an average of 12.6 men, while in Footscray, the average was 30.2 in 13 factories.

Seeking to explain Footscray's lower crime rate, compared with the inner suburbs and city centre, McConville suggests that this industrial pattern resulted in less monotonous work, less frustration and isolation, and thus a lower propensity to crime. Community life and leisure benefited

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20 See below 164-66.
21 Footscray's first 100 years, [Melbourne 1959], 8.
22 While sometimes used to describe conditions of exploitation of labour generally, by about 1880 in Victoria 'the term was being used to refer to outwork at home, or in small workshops, generally for subcontracting middlemen, most common in the clothing trade.' Fry, I, 122.
Capital outlay figures illustrate clearly the contrast in the type of industrialization in each district:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Factories</th>
<th>Capital Outlay</th>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Collingwood</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>£68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Footscray</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>£60,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Collingwood</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>£150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Footscray</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>£227,360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

too. The varied, active nature of many jobs in these industries led to physical exhaustion, but not to debilitation through sheer tedium. Potentially, work which involved movement, activity and contact with a large group of workmates, was a stimulating force. In turn, because a high proportion of the workforce lived and worked in the suburb, this relative stimulation was not lost to the community. There was a continuity between work and leisure in Footscray which strengthened community feeling and contact.

Movement of industry to Footscray, and the three-fold population growth of the 1880s, stimulated a dramatic increase in housing construction. During this decade the greatest expansion of workmen's housing took place in Footscray. The new houses were usually double-fronted weatherboard detached cottages, set on a quarter acre block, leaving room for a garden. Footscray's level of owner-occupancy was high, 'above that of Hawthorn, an area of dissimilar social complexion but comparable with Footscray in terms of boom growth.' In the two decades before the depression, about 60 per cent of Footscray houses were owned by their occupants or being bought by instalments. Compared with other suburbs, houses were crowded. In 1881, only four suburbs had, on average, more rooms than people per house: St. Kilda, Prahran, Brighton and Hawthorn. Footscray averaged 1.23 persons per room, surpassed only by Toorak, with 1.34. In 1891, Footscray averaged 1.10 persons per room. Roads in the new housing areas were primitive, although occasionally the footpaths had been asphalted. Recently-developed areas were often without gas and water for some time. By the late 1880s only three of some 200 Footscray streets had been fully metalled, one-third of the right of ways were unmade, and two-thirds of the street channels were earthen. Mud in winter and blinding dust in summer made


26Lack, I, 209.

27Davison calculated that in 1883/4 69 per cent of Footscray houses were owner-occupied: 1888/9, 62 per cent; 1893/4, 50 per cent; and 1898/9, 40 per cent. Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 181.

28*Victorian Census*, 1881, 1891. Lack has shown, in some detail, that house-size in Footscray was steadily increasing. By the 1880s a little over 50 per cent of new houses were of 3 or 5 rooms, and almost 40 per cent were of 5 or 6. By 1891 more than half were of 3 or 4 rooms, and nearly 1 in 3 had 5 or 6 rooms. Lack, I, 205.
local travel difficult. Until municipal rubbish collection began in 1888, rotting household refuse made public thoroughfares even more unpleasant. Visually, in the late 1880s, Footscray was a 'drab and monotonous' town, a sharply-etched industrial area within a booming city more concerned with cultural and institutional signs of progress than with the less attractive manifestations of industrial growth.

Opportunities for leisure-time escape were severely limited by Footscray's isolation. Although only a little over three miles from Melbourne, the suburb was isolated from the city by the Yarra and Saltwater Rivers, and by the West Melbourne Swamp. There was no passable all-weather road across the swamp until the early 1900s. Until 1895 there were only two road bridges across the Saltwater River. The opening of the Napier Street Bridge, in December 1895, was a local event of considerable importance, as it more than halved the previous circuitous trip to Melbourne. Cable trams did not run to Footscray. There was no cab or omnibus service to Melbourne, despite attempts to organize such an alternative when rail services were reduced during the 1890s. Lack of any alternative public transport made the rail link very important. Severe cuts in services during the 1890s raised widespread protests. Citizens complained that services on the Williamstown line were being reduced and fares raised because, without trams, Footscray was at the mercy of the railway authorities. After years of agitating for a twenty minute train service, they were faced with intervals of up to three-quarters of an hour between trains. Why was their line so badly served?

Is it because the residents of the district generally are regarded as a cut beneath South Yarra, Toorak, Hawthorn and Essendon ...? It is true that we may not be so cultured, live in such fine houses, enjoy the means and ability to command luxuries as some of our neighbours living in other suburbs, and to that extent may be supposed capable of roughing it.

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29 *Building Societies and Mortgage Companies' Gazette*, August 1886, 41; Lack, I, 290; *Advertiser*, 3 December 1886.
31 Lack, I, 100.
32 Joining the Ballarat-Melbourne Road with Smithfield Road, and Hopkins Street with Swamp Road. See map, figure 3.
33 *Footscray's first 100 years*, 42; *Advertiser*, 10 December 1892; Independent, 22 September 1900.
Deputations to the Minister were to no avail. 'The fares are cheaper on all other lines, and it is the lot of the workingmen of Footscray and Yarraville to pay the difference for the leisured and better-to-do classes on the south side of the Yarra.' Physical isolation gave rise to heightened class feelings over these signs of discrimination against the western working-class suburbs.

Another frustrating transport difficulty existed until late 1894, due to the two separate rail systems, one terminating at Spencer Street, the other at Flinders Street Station. Until the systems were joined, residents of Footscray and neighbouring suburbs wishing to travel to the eastern suburbs, or to join many of the seaside excursions, had to walk between Spencer and Flinders Street Stations, or to transfer from the train at Spencer Street to a tram, then to another train at Flinders Street. The changes to the railway timetables in 1892 increased Footscray's isolation at a very difficult time. In addition, infrequent Sunday services made leisure-time travel more difficult. As I shall demonstrate later, physical isolation, heightened by transport difficulties, increased local social interaction.

Employer-employee relationships in Footscray appeared harmonious. Workmates at some establishments formed football and cricket teams and brass bands. While these activities were not widespread, they did

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34 *Advertiser*, 7 May, 10 December 1892, 28 January 1893, 27 January 1894.
35 The viaduct linking the two rail systems was in use from late 1891, but was not used for passenger traffic until December 1894, Leo J. Harrigan, *Victorian Railways to 1952* (Melbourne [1953]), 186; *Independent*, 29 April 1893.
36 For instance, the 11.40 p.m. train from Melbourne (Saturday, 12 p.m.), was cancelled, meaning that the last train left the city at 10.50 p.m., a decided disadvantage to theatregoers and other excursionists. After representations, the authorities agreed to run an 11 p.m. train, an extension of only ten minutes. *Advertiser*, 7 May, 17 December 1892.
37 *Chronicle*, 20 November 1886; *Advertiser*, 7 May 1892.
38 *Advertiser*, 19 July 1890, 15 August 1891, 23 September 1893. Lack concludes that there is no evidence that, in Footscray during the late nineteenth century, industrial relations deteriorated with increased factory size. He attributes this maintenance of good industrial relations to the working-class background of many of the employers and managers; to the fact that many of them lived in the suburb, and were visibly involved in community activities; and to the adoption of annual picnics and sports days which helped unite, in a symbolic way, all levels of employees and management. Lack, I, 225, 226-8, 230-43, 246-7. This conclusion is part of his overall concern to explain 'why industrial capitalism in Australia failed to produce a working class revolutionary rather than reformist in temper.' Introduction, n.p.
indicate happy working relationships extending naturally into leisure-time. There was some agitation for the eight hour day in the early 1880s, but little public pressure after that. By the close of the decade, at least half of Footscray's adult male manual workers (and a considerably higher proportion of those working in the suburb) had achieved the forty-eight hour week.39 Early closing and half-holiday agitation followed the general Melbourne pattern.40 Some early closing was finally achieved after the passing of the 1885 Factories Act, though the larger employers soon combined to have their hours extended to 8 p.m., and 10.30 p.m. Saturday.41 By 1895 the Wednesday half-holiday was widely observed.42

The following year, in common with most other Melbourne suburbs, Footscray changed to a Saturday half-holiday.43 The fifteen-year campaign for the half-holiday and early closing, culminating in success and the formation of the Footscray Trades' Association, highlights the community significance of such co-operative campaigns. Years of working together developed a sense of solidarity and shared interests, broadened contacts and cemented business and personal friendships. The formation of a group like the Trades' Association, from a specific beginning, created the potential for further co-operation.

From the mid-1880s, then, most artisans and other manual workers in Footscray enjoyed an eight hour day and Saturday half-holiday. Before 1895 only a few shop assistants were granted the half-holiday, and for these few it was granted during the week, which prevented them from participating in any organized Saturday afternoon sport or excursions. In common with other Melbourne workers, Footscray employees had a chance of six unpaid public holidays a year.44 The fortunate minority may

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39 Independent, 21 April 1883, 11 October, 29 November, 27 December 1883, 16 May 1885; Lack, I, 229-230.
40 See above 90-99; Independent, 1, 15, 29 November 1884, 12 September 1885.
41 Drapers, boot and shoe shops, furniture and toy dealers. Independent, 9 July 1887. By 1895, pawnbrokers and tailors were also permitted to stay open later. Hours for closing shops. Return to an Order of the House, ... 26th September 1893, ..., P.P., 1895/96, vol.1, C no.3.
42 Independent, 10 December 1892, 22 April 1893, 9, 16 February 1895.
43 Early in 1895, after the last few shopkeepers agreed to grant the Wednesday half-holiday, 5,000 people gathered to celebrate its inauguration. The Footscray Trades' Association was formed to preserve this hard-won benefit. Independent, 23 February, 2, 9, 23 March 1895.
44 Independent, 8 August, 12 September 1895.
45 Good Friday, Queen's Birthday, Melbourne Cup Day, Christmas Day, Boxing Day, New Years Day. See above 101-102.
also have received Easter Monday or the Prince of Wales Birthday, and may have been paid for some or all of the public holidays. Some white collar workers and shop assistants enjoyed paid annual leave. If his workshop shut down over Christmas a manual worker may have received a week or so of unpaid (enforced) leave.

**Depression: Leisure Costs**

Before discussing leisure costs and facilities in Footscray, I will turn to the difficult years of the depression. Confident estimates of wage and unemployment levels are hazardous. There are no systematic figures on unemployment in the suburb, and none on the degree of partial employment. Lack has calculated that possibly almost one-quarter of Footscray's breadwinners was unemployed or casually employed by 1892-93. Local 'factory employment for males declined by almost one quarter between 1890 and 1892.'45 He estimates that by mid-1893, 40 per cent of males over fourteen were unemployed.46 While not statistically significant, female unemployment could severely affect family and individual livelihood. The closing of the Colonial Ammunition Factory in Footscray left 170 girls unemployed, some of them sole family breadwinners.

One girl stated that her father had been out of work for four or five months, and of a family of six or seven she alone had during that period been the breadwinner, her 40 a week supplying the household with the necessaries of life. Another smaller girl stated that she had earned 8s per week and was the sole support of her mother and three other children.47

The closure of large factories left hundreds without work. Many Footscray residents were among the 2,100 who lost their jobs when the Albion quarries in Braybrook shut down. The quarry was idle for three years, gradually resuming early in 1893, initially with only forty hands.48 The Harbour Trust, one of Footscray's main employers, had almost ceased work by mid 1893.49 Retrenchment by the local Council was on a smaller

45Lack, I, 333.
46If this included 1,000 married men, then almost 30 per cent of breadwinners were unemployed. Lack, I, 343.
47Advertiser, 22 October 1892.
48Advertiser, 4 February 1893. See also Footscray's first 100 years, n.p., for details of some large firms closing down, among them Bevan's Carriage Works.
49Advertiser, 16 September 1893.
scale, but involved wholly local residents. In April 1893 those employed
by the day and other labourers were reduced from forty-nine to sixteen,
and the rate collector and assistant surveyor were retrenched. Footscray's
Mayor estimated that in July 1893 there were 2,000 unemployed men in
the suburb. This figure did not include the large numbers who had
left the district in search of work. In that same month the local
M.L.A. recommended 573 of the Footscray unemployed for free railway
passes to look for work.  

The suburb's population dropped from over
19,000 in 1891 to a low of just under 16,000 in 1896. By the end of the
century it had risen to about 18,300. Most of those who moved on
were men seeking work in other suburbs, the country, or, particularly,
the Western Australian goldfields.

Many applied for the few jobs which were advertised. The newly-
created position of Secretary to the Footscray Gas Company, advertised
in April 1893, attracted 120 applications. When tenders were invited
for the carpenter's work on a cottage in the Footscray area, fifty-one
tenders were submitted, varying from £3.15s to £16. Even allowing for
the depressed times, the work was worth at least £20. Such responses
indicated 'a very unhealthy condition of affairs.'  

Workers who had
begun to pay off a house in the 1880s faced ruin if retrenched. A
deputation of Footscray ironworkers informed the Treasurer, late in 1891,
that many of their number had lost regular employment and as most of
those living at Footscray had been devoting their savings to the purchase
of homes, if they failed soon to secure work considerable distress
would prevail.  

Local insolvencies reported were usually those of
prominent traders like Archibald Burrows, an established timber merchant,
Daniel Warren jr. and Charles E. Lovett, owners of a large Footscray
tobacconist, and F.J. Sincock, a well-known solicitor with offices in
Footscray and the city.  

The bald statistics do no more than hint at
the hardship and disgrace which some families experienced:

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50 *Advertiser*, 16 September 1893; 15 April 1893.
51 *Victorian Census*, 1881, 1891; *Statistical Register*, 1889-1901.
52 *Advertiser*, 1 April 1893; 13 January 1894.
53 *Australasian*, 31 October 1891, 848.
54 *Advertiser*, 18 June, 23 July 1892; 7 January 1893. See Lack, I, 348-49
for other cases.
Leo Reichert, of Albert Street, Footscray, gilder.  
Cause of insolvency - want of employment.  
Liabilities, £58 9s.; assets £5 7s.; deficiency, £53 2s.  
Arthur Cowan Heron, of Percy Street, Footscray, railway employee. Causes - Mismanagement of household affairs and reduction in wages. Liabilities, £89 1s. 1ld.; assets, £5; deficiency, £84 1s. 1ld. 55

The Footscray Ladies' Benevolent Society was the only local relief agency which operated continuously during the depression. According to their figures, the number of people receiving aid increased sharply from 1890 to a peak in June and July 1893. In those two months the Society relieved 116 cases and 274 families (comprising approximately 1,000 individuals), respectively. 56 In mid-1894 the Society reported that distress had intensified during the preceding year. 57 Local press comment on economic activity within the suburb should be treated cautiously: the aim was often to promote, as much as to report, the return of prosperity. Some optimism was possible at the end of 1892, but twelve months later the outlook was gloomy.  

This Christmas season has not been productive of much stir in business in Footscray and the boldest and inclement weather since has destroyed any hope of revival in the opening of the New Year. The Christmas holidays were quietly spent by local residents. 58

This picture of unrelieved distress does require some qualification. It is possible during any economic decline to point to examples of prosperity and extravagance. Contrasts within the suburb were obvious at the time, and aroused comment. When a 'Monster American Circus' visited Melbourne early in 1892, the Footscray cabmen ran a special line of cabs from the Belgravia Hotel to Melbourne every week night. Later that year the Fitzgerald Brothers' Circus visited Footscray. Large attendances at both performances 'showed that no matter how dull times are, money can always be found for amusement.' Attendance money was estimated at

55 *Advertiser*, 30 September 1893.  
56 *Advertiser*, 17 June, 12 August 1893. Whereas, in the year to July 1891 the Society had relieved 116 cases, and in the year to July 1892 had assisted 600 persons. *Advertiser*, 16 July 1892.  
57 *Advertiser*, 14 July 1894.  
58 *Advertiser*, 31 December 1892; 30 December 1893.
between £100 and £200 each night, 'a lot of money these times to lose out of the city.' At the same time, the Benevolent Society was appealing for funds:

... surely when a circus can visit our city twice within a few weeks and carry off on each occasion more than £100, something can be done to help those of our unfortunate fellow citizens who are without beds, clothing or food. 59

Wage levels in Footscray during the 1880s fell within the general range for Melbourne's working-class. 60 Entertainment costs had settled at a level which the bulk of Footscray's patrons could afford. 61 Prices dropped during the depression. Even 'the popular shilling' was replaced in Footscray by 'the people's price - SIXPENCE Admission only.' This reduction was introduced early in 1892 in 'consideration of the general decline of business, values and employment' to enable 'families to come, one and all, and forget their toils and troubles ...' Prices continued to fall, and even when the worst of the depression was over, the lower charges were still operating.

The threepenny piece admission with sixpenny reserves for dramatic performances is going strong now in Footscray. On Monday evening the police interfered and prevented further admission to the hall, which was crowded to suffocation. 62

Entry charges to balls and dances varied widely. 63 Cheap, informal dances were first held regularly during the depression. They cost between 1s and 2s for gentlemen, and 6d for ladies, and were usually

59 Independent, 9, 16 January 1892; Advertiser, 6 August, 10, 17 September 1892.
60 See above 76.
61 Professional and semi-professional entertainment companies charged 2s (reserved seats), 1s and 6d. Amateur and charitable shows were cheaper, ranging from 3d to 1s. Temperance and Mechanics' Institute concerts, debates and lectures were often free. Chronicle, 18 September, 20 November, 4 December 1886; 22 January, 3 December 1887; Independent, 5 May, 29 September, 6 October 1883; 28 June 1884; 29 May, 12 June, 13 November 1886; 21 May 1887; 8 November 1890; 14 May 1892; Advertiser, 7 January 1887.
62 Independent, 9 January, 6 February 1892; 13 August 1895.
63 A ball costing 21s a double was unusual; normally balls and some socials cost from 4s to 5s a double. For those invited to participate, subscriptions to a series of assemblies cost around £1 1s for a season of seven dances. Independent, 5 May 1883, 27 September 1884; 28 March 1885; 17 April, 24 July 1886; Advertiser, 19 July 1890.
held in the Mechanics' Institute or the Temperance Hall. Club membership fees ranged from the 10s entrance fee and 10s 6d yearly subscription for a male social club forming in 1893, to the 3s per annum of the Horticultural Society established the following year. Restrictive membership policies and acceptance of social distinctions, rather than cost, excluded most Footscray men from the social clubs. Membership of many sporting clubs was limited to those who could afford the necessary clothes and equipment. Admission prices to leisure facilities varied widely. The most popular activity during the late 1880s was roller skating, priced to suit family working-class budgets at 1s entrance fee, and 1s (men) and 6d (women) for skate hire; as competition between rinks increased, only skate hire was charged.

Footscray's leisure costs fell mainly within the range a working-class family could afford. The few exceptions, such as expensive balls or clubs were, in any case, established on a 'select' basis. Lower admission prices during the depression occurred for two reasons, the most obvious being that people had less to spend. Significantly, though, fewer professional and semi-professional companies visited Footscray during the 1890s. Local amateurs, charging less, provided most of the entertainment. Many of these shows were staged for charity, and frequently the same artists performed the same acts at concert after concert: low admission charges were necessary to attract people to what was, in effect, a charitable act for both performers and audience. Did lower prices bolster attendances? A wider cross-section of the public was

64 *Independent*, 8 April, 20 May 1893.
65 *Independent*, 11 February 1893, 6 October 1894. The Choral Society, established in 1889, set its fees at 3s 6d per quarter for male performing members, and 2s 6d for women and youths under sixteen. *Advertiser*, 22 June 1899. The Mechanics' Institute quarterly subscription was 2s 6d. *Independent*, 14 July 1893.
66 The Lawn Tennis Club, formed in 1894, charged 5s per annum for women, and 5s (entrance) and 7s 6d per annum for men. Membership of the Bowling Club cost £1 1s per annum. Golf Club fees were 5s (men) and 2s 6d (women) per year. *Independent*, 29 September 1894; 17 February, 22 September 1900.
67 For instance, a season ticket to the Williamstown Ladies' Baths cost £1 1s (first class) or 10s 6d (second class). Miss Elphinstone Dick's Gymnastic Classes cost £1 1s a quarter. Young men had the much more reasonable alternative of paying 1s for the use of facilities in a local hall which had been equipped for gymnastic exercises. *Independent*, 4 October 1884, 22 May 1886; *Chronicle*, 4 September 1886.
able to attend performances more frequently, though this broadening of
the audience turned some people away. For years, the lads who disrupted
Footscray entertainments were known as 'the sixpenny boys', and it was
acknowledged that their noisy presence drove respectable families away
from the cheaper entertainments. In general, a few pence did make
a difference, particularly during the depression. In December 1893
a Footscray resident suggested that expense prevented many from enjoying
the Williamstown Sea Baths:

... the second class return to North Williamstown, 7d, is
of itself a considerable item, and when to this is added
a bath ticket you have the quite formidable total of
10d, a sum quite out of the reach of the generality of
people ... I have two sous, [and] a dip in the briny
is what we thoroughly enjoy, but from pecuniary con-
sideration we have to content ourselves with a sea
bath two or three times a month, instead of much more
frequently as we would prefer, ...

Two months later special Sunday morning trains were running from Melbourne
to Williamstown. The return fare from Footscray, including bath and
towel, was 1s, first class, 9d, second class. When organizing an
open air concert in January 1900, the Williamstown Cycling Club arranged
for reduced rail fares from Footscray and Yarraville to Williamstown.

To take that trouble, the organizers must have been sure that reduced
fares would boost attendance. A difference of a few pence in the cost
of leisure activities was important in a working-class area.

Public Leisure Facilities

As with entertainment costs, public leisure facilities bore the
stamp of the working-class suburb, both in their nature and extent, and
in the way they were provided. Such facilities were regarded as
important for local prestige: complaints and suggestions for improvements
were sometimes phrased in terms of what a growing city should provide
for its citizens. One keen tennis player considered it 'a standing

69 Independent, 4 May 1889; 13 February, 24 December 1892.
70 Advertiser, 2 December 1893; 3 February 1894.
71 Independent, 27 January 1900.
reproach to Footscray with its cognomen of city that it cannot boast a court ...72 For one critic, proclamation of Footscray as a city early in 1891 meant little more than the achievement of the necessary rating value.

... it is a city without a Cathedral, a city of 45 pubichouses and a Mechanics' Institute of weatherboard, with a small library, mostly yellow backs and about a 100 subscribers; a city dreary in the extreme, yet with hardly a single tree planted in its streets ...; a city of bone mills, but no picture gallery, museum or statues; a city of 19,000 people, but without a bowling green or lawn tennis ground; ... a city with plenty of pianos but with only one organ; ... a city of harsh sounds, but without a peal of bells ... is it a city in anything else but name, ...? Is it a city, without a public park or town hall worthy of the name ...[?] 73

Was Footscray as poorly served with public leisure facilities as these critics suggest? By 1885 there were three halls: a small one in the Mechanics' Institute, the new Blue Ribbon (Temperance) Hall, which seated about 400, and the larger Royal Hall, seating over 600, which was the main venue for concerts and dances.74 The following year a new brick hall, seating 300, was privately built in Yarraville. These remained the only public halls in the area until 1891, when the Anglicans erected St. John's Lecture Hall, with a capacity of 700.75 For years there was talk of building a new Mechanics' Institute, but by 1892 only the foundations had been laid. There was no further progress;

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72 Independent, 8 September 1894. The threatened disbanding of the Footscray Cricket Club, in 1893, called forth the comment that no other Australian city lacked a senior cricket club. Years later, at a meeting to establish a bowling club, a member of the Williamstown Bowling Club remarked that 'it was a matter for wonderment that Footscray did not boast a bowling green. He could not call to mind another suburban municipality that was not served in that direction.' Advertiser, 11 February 1893; Independent, 10 February 1900.

73 Advertiser, 9 May 1891. Perhaps unconsciously reaffirming his faith in, and desire for, civic progress after the depression, one citizen asked: ... has Footscray fulfilled its destiny as a city, inasmuch as there appear to be absent many important institutions which should be inseparable from the word 'city' and 19th century civilization? Where is our gymnasium, the swimming baths are unheard of, the popular tennis is entirely wanting, a free library is nowhere available, ...

Independent, 10 September 1898.

74 Independent, 21 April, 14 July, 4 August 1883; 7 February 1885.

75 Chronics, 4 September 1886; Advertisier, 20 June, 4 July 1891; Independent, 6 February 1892. John Lack suspects that the 'new' St. Joh.'s lecture hall was the old bluestone church removed to a new site. Correspondence with the author.
several years later the old building was removed and re-erected on the new site.\textsuperscript{76} There were plans, too, to build a new Town Hall, but nothing was done. The existing Town Hall, built in 1875, was a handsome bluestone building, containing the post office, courthouse and municipal offices but, apparently, no hall. An \textit{1880 Guide to Melbourne} explained that the hall was 'not yet completed'; there is no mention during the following two decades of any functions being held in the Town Hall.\textsuperscript{77} Until 1891 the Footscray and Yarraville halls could accommodate at most 1,600 people, and about 2,300 after 1891. The Royal and Yarraville halls were privately owned, and the only other large hall belonged to the Anglican Church. The Temperance Society strictly controlled the letting of the Blue Ribbon Hall, so the only 'public' meeting place was the Mechanics' Institute, which was described as 'a positive disgrace ... one of the most aediluvian-edifices in the city.'\textsuperscript{78}

The local council was not expected to provide all community leisure facilities. A resident who reproached the Mayor and local member for the absence of many public resources did not assume that the authorities should provide them, but that these representatives should 'set the ball rolling' by encouraging others to begin such projects.\textsuperscript{79} They were to provide leadership; the community was to act. In practice, this distinction operated. The Council approved the use of public land (usually on the recreation area, the Western Reserve) for sporting facilities, and the club concerned then laid out courts, greens or a track. In this way the tennis, bowling, quoits and cycling clubs developed their areas.\textsuperscript{80} Occasionally the Council granted further assistance.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Independent}, 20 October 1883; 26 January 1889; 20 February 1892; 20 April 1895; \textit{Advertiser}, 26 November 1892; \textit{Footscray's first 100 years}, 76.

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Independent}, 20 February, 5 March 1892; \textit{Footscray's first 100 years}, 26; Whitworth, 225.

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Advertiser}, 4 June 1892.

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Independent}, 10 September 1898.

\textsuperscript{80} The Cycling Club spent over £100 constructing a banked track on part of the Western Reserve. \textit{Independent}, 13 August, 24 September 1887; 9 March, 7, 22 December 1895; 17, 24 February, 25 August 1900; \textit{Footscray's First Fifty Years}, (Footscray 1909), n.p.

\textsuperscript{81} The tennis club asked for Council aid in establishing a second court. The Mayor thought it only fair to help 'as a similar concession had been allowed the Cycling Club', but some Councillors opposed the move: money should not be spent on a tennis court while public works remained unfinished; in any case, the tennis club was only a small body which might disband at any time. Council did lay down the second court, but the initial reluctance stemmed from a belief that municipal funds should be spent for the benefit of the whole community rather than for a minority who played tennis. \textit{Independent}, 25 November 1899.
Football and cricket, the two major public sports, received the greatest official assistance. This was, I think, because they were regarded as representative Footscray teams; both senior clubs had been competing against other suburban clubs for years, and both attracted a broad public following. In 1892 the Council improved the Western Reserve playing area greatly, benefiting equally the football and cricket clubs. Improving the football ground was a sensitive issue. Ratepayers, it seemed, resented paying for improvements to public areas which would then, effectively, be restricted to a minority. At the heart of the expressed criticism was resentment that areas of unstructured public space were being neglected, or alienated, in favour of confined, defined sports grounds. A newspaper report in April 1892 praised recent work on the Western Reserve ground. Among other improvements, Council had strung three rows of barbed wire along the top of the outside fence, and, in the 'greatest improvement of all', had fenced in 'the playing portion, so as to keep spectators from encroaching on it; 3750 pickets [had] been nailed around the ground.'

The following week, the newspaper explained carefully that the Council had not, in fact, borne all the expense of these improvements. It had widened the ground and erected the barbed wire, but all other work had been undertaken by the club committee, who deserved every credit for their efforts. Favourable Council treatment of the Football Club remained a sore point. In July 1894 a resident complained bitterly about the disgraceful state of the Western Reserve gardens. The Councillors should pay its attention to the Football Club, 'in which club his worship has recently accepted the elevated office of president ...' Over £350 had been spent on the Western Reserve in the past year.

What for? ... Visitors will see that little or no money has been laid out in improving the gardens, and instead of finding what ought to be places fit for recreation and enjoyment, they see signs of negligence and decay - in fact a perfect wilderness, occupied by herds of goats destroying trees.

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82 *Advertiser*, 10 September 1892; 1, 8, 29 September, 6 October 1894.
83 Other cricket grounds in the Footscray area, used by Church and trades' teams, included the Baptist Club's ground 'outside the Western Reserve (station end)', and the 'very prettily situated ground known as the "Buck's pitch" outside the reserve.' *Advertiser*, 23 September 1893; 28 April 1894.
84 In addition, workmen had widened the ground, laid two large loads of sand, and scarified and sown the area. Contractors had spread 100 loads of ashes in the members' and ladies' reserve. *Advertiser*, 16 April 1892.
85 *Advertiser*, 23 April 1892.
and shrubs, ... The ratepayers generally do not grudge the football club and followers all the privileges they can fairly obtain, but when it comes to the expenditure of large sums out of the taxpayer's coffers in the way of caretaker's wages, and costly improvements for the benefit of the club and thousands, who do not pay any rates at all, ... it is time for the unfortunate ratepayers to ... put a stop to this reckless career. 85

The Council's priorities, and the public criticism of them, revealed fundamentally different types of civic pride. The aldermen saw the city's sports grounds and representative sporting teams as (external) symbols of Footscray's mature civic standing. Others took a broader view of public resources, and regarded facilities for informal recreation within the suburb as equally significant.

Maintaining and improving the general recreation area of the Western Reserve was regarded as a Council responsibility. Periodic complaints about conditions there indicated the standard of this public leisure area. While Council could do little about snakes in the summer, they were directly responsible for the Reserves being used, for at least two periods, as a night-soil depot. Eventually, complaints ensured that this offensive practice ceased. 86 Early in the 1890s Council appointed a caretaker for the Reserve. Yet still thirty or forty goats, a flock of sheep and some cattle grazed there. Several months later, after complaints about cows belonging to favoured residents being allowed to graze on the football ground and pound reserve and in the gardens, Council banned livestock from the Reserve. Apart from the extensive work on the football and cricket area, Council did make minor improvements to the public area: they arranged for trees to be planted and seats erected, built an additional urinal, and hired someone to cut and remove the grass.

Many residents were involved in raising funds to improve leisure facilities, especially sports grounds. Women 'participated' in sport as spectators or as fund raisers, a task often involving simply a more public display of domestic skills like needlework, cooking and amateur

85 Advertiser, 28 July 1894.
86 Independent, 12 March, 7 May 1887; Advertiser, 10, 17 September, 10 October 1892; 30 September 1893.
87 Advertiser, 9 July 1892; 27 May, 26 August, 23 December 1893; 10 March 1894.
musical ability. They organized concerts and bazaars to raise money for a new Mechanics' Institute, and for improvements to the cricket and football grounds. Fund raising was a significant, continuing social activity in itself, consuming much time and generating a great deal of social contact. Common membership of local groups stimulated co-operative fund raising; the local Amateur Dramatic Club often performed in aid of Footscray sporting clubs. The most ambitious fund raising events were the annual sports meetings which attracted up to 2,500 spectators and participants to the Western Reserve. In 1890 the cricket and football clubs combined to organize the Boxing Day sports meeting, which had been staged previously by the Footscray United Friendly Societies. There was also an Easter meeting, presented by the Rowing Club for several years during the mid-1880s.

Because Footscray was a suburb of public leisure pursuits, community interest was easily aroused and conspicuous. A great proportion of leisure-time was spent in the home and garden, alone or in family company, but there was little private entertainment or private group leisure. Crowded houses, lack of money, and working-class traditions made the home the centre of family life. Group leisure was a public activity. Footscray's dominant public meeting place, for men, was the pub. The number of hotels in Footscray, and the facilities they provided, suggest their importance as community centres, for exchanging news, meeting new people, and whiling away leisure hours. They were drinking centres, and the proprietor's aim in providing varied facilities, was to attract people to drink at his hotel, but if the facilities were patronised as their number and extent suggests, one must be wary of concluding, simply from the number of pubs and from evidence that they were well patronised, that Footscray was an intemperate community. Hotels sponsored many

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68 Chronoile, 25 September 1886; Independent, 8, 29 September, 20 October 1883; 22 March, 28 June 1884; 21 March 1885. Female supporters raised over £100 for the Yarraville Cricket Club in a few months. Advertiser, 3 December 1886.

69 Independent, 21 August 1886; 1 August, 14 November 1896.

90 Chronoile, 31 December 1897; Advertiser, 29 November 1890; 27 January 1894; Independent, 16 February, 19 April 1884; 17 April, 1 May 1886; 20 December 1890; 31 December 1892.

91 While not wishing to overstate this argument, I think it is necessary to take account of the broad functions of hotels, in order to place in perspective their roles as drinking centres. Hotels were open six days a week, until 11.30 p.m., and when used as leisure centres, as they were in Footscray, drinking was often spread over a long period, interspersed with activities. The amount drunk under these circumstances would have a less marked effect than the same amount drunk over a shorter period in a more passive condition.
activities; they were not just passive, indoor drinking places. Estimates of the number of Footscray hotels in the 1880s differ. The most reliable source, the official Register of Licences (1886-1897), lists twenty-nine hotels for that period. The number of hotels in an area can be misleading: if possible, one should look more closely at activities they provided, as well as at size and sales, though that information is difficult to obtain.

Throughout the 1880s one Footscray hotel, the Buckingham, was the main centre of activity. Some other hotels provided a range of facilities, but the Buckingham outdid them all. James Howard, the licensee, provided facilities for a range of outdoor games, on the grounds adjoining the hotel. Coursing and quoits matches were held every Saturday, and a stock of pigeons and sparrows was available for shooters; pigeon racing was catered for, too, as well as the usual billiards and pool indoors. For a time, the ancient game of marbles was popular, but by the late 1880s marbles was the rage, on an acre of ground next to the hotel, set out as a model marble alley. Meetings were often held in hotels, as there were few public rooms available in Footscray. Men met to form fishing or golf clubs, pastimes not connected directly with the hotel, though it was to the proprietor’s advantage to provide a base for these gatherings. Generally, though, they were meetings of clubs which would use the quoits, shooting, marble or coursing grounds adjoining that hotel. There was keen competition between hotels to capture the local coursing or quoits team. At various times during the 1880s there were quoits clubs associated with at least four hotels; once a club faltered, a meeting would be called at another hotel to re-form the group.

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92 A local temperance advocate counted 32 (1883); Davison put the number at 35 (1885); the Sands and McDougall Directory listed 25 (1887). Independent, 17 November 1883; Davison, Marvelous Melbourne, I, 469; Sands & McDougall, Melbourne Directory 1887.

93 Register of Licences, 1887-1895. Held in the office of the Chief Supervisor of Licensed Premises, Liquor Control Commission, 222 Victoria Parade, East Melbourne. This figure of 29 hotels means that, in 1891, there was one hotel for every 202 males over 16. Comparative figures for some other suburbs: Collingwood, 1 hotel for every 196 males over 16; Richmond, 1:193; Fitzroy, 1:139; Hawthorn, 1:443.

94 After changing hands early in the 1890s, the Buckingham Hotel declined as a centre of public leisure activity. Advertiser, 20 February 1892.

95 Independent, 21 April, 1, 8 December 1883; 3 May 1884; Advertiser, 21 December 1889.

96 Independent, 21 April, 6 October, 1 December 1883; 3 May 1884; 29 August 1885; 23 January, 14 August 1886; 22 October 1887; 19 May, 16 June, 28 July 1888; 2 March 1889; 18 April 1891; 22, 29 September, 20 October 1900.
The Plough Hotel, Footscray, at the turn of the century

Footscray's first football team, 1883
Entry cost little or nothing, as the facilities were provided by the licensee. Prizes were awarded sometimes, in which case there was an entry fee. As well as attracting the custom of players, clubs attracted thirsty spectators. A match between two well-known quoiters could attract two or three hundred spectators. One tug of war which took place over several weeks, involving sixty competitors and attracting a large number of spectators, was a boon to the Punt Hotel. Regular club meetings were social as well as business affairs, so a hotel benefited from this type of patronage. Hotels moved with the times when providing services to attract patrons. In 1892, Mr's. Emery of the Belgravia Hotel arranged for major football results to be telephoned to the hotel during Saturday afternoon. For very important matches, quarter- and half-time scores were available, as well as final results. Hotels were more than convivial drinking places. They provided opportunities for working men which were not otherwise available on a private or community level. At times, hotel gatherings intruded upon days which were traditionally occasions for family or group outings, such as Christmas, Boxing and New Year Days. Quoit matches on these three days in 1883/1884 attracted large numbers of players and spectators to the Court House Hotel. The Christmas Day play lasted from 7 p.m. until after midnight. Sunday competitions were not organized, as hotels were officially closed on that day, though prosecutions and evidence before local option meetings suggest that Sunday trading was widespread.

Formalization and Fluctuation

The improvements to Footscray's main oval, outlined previously, regulated the sport played there, and formalized the role of spectators.

97 Shooters paid 5s to enter a contest at the Buckingham Hotel, with a 300 pound pig as a prize. *Independent*, 26 May 1883. See also: *Independent*, 1 December 1883; 21 December 1889.

98 *Independent*, 5 May 1883; 13, 27 February, 19 March 1892.

99 *Advertiser*, 21 May 1892.

100 *Independent*, 29 December 1883; 12 January 1884. See also: *Advertiser*, 21 December 1889.

101 *Independent*, 31 March, 7 April, 7 July, 17 November 1883; *Leader*, 27 March 1886, 27.
The picket fence around the playing area formally separated players and spectators. The barbed wire along the outside fence deterred free entry. There had previously been an entry charge, but inadequate fences made it difficult to bar those who preferred not to pay. As the Reserve was public space many citizens believed that they had the right of free entry at any time. Some asserted this right during the football season. When appealed to, Council advised that the football club could legally charge for admission to the ground.\(^{102}\) Improved fencing ensured payment by spectators, which, in turn, made watching the football more a definite outing, and less one of the sights of a Saturday afternoon stroll through the gardens. Attendances at Footscray's home games increased markedly during the 1894 season. The largest crowd yet seen at the Western Reserve - between 5,000 and 7,000 - attended a match between Footscray and South Melbourne in June of that year. Footscray was having a successful season, but the improved facilities also made a difference. Now that the playing arena was no longer 'sneered at by visitors', local pride and interest in the home team increased.\(^{103}\)

Providing leisure facilities in Footscray involved social interaction beyond the membership of one club and engagement in one weekly activity. This co-operation strengthened community bonds, even as parallel developments strained the social fabric. As with other areas of life within this modernizing society, sport and sporting organizations were becoming increasingly complex and controlled. Time constraints affected spectators and players alike. People who paid to see a football match, and particularly those who travelled by public transport, needed to know when the game would start and finish. As the city expanded, more and more suburban teams competed against one another, necessitating accepted, clearly defined rules. Governing bodies were established to control these inter-suburban contests, deciding questions of eligibility, fixtures and venues.

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\(^{102}\) *Advertiser*, 2 June 1894. Many suburban sporting grounds were fenced in during these years. *Leader*, 29 August 1885, 28; 10 July 1886, 19; *Australasian*, 25 November 1893, 1195.

\(^{103}\) *Australasian*, 2 June 1894, 946; *Advertiser*, 16 April 1892; 2 June 1894. See also: *Australasian*, 6 July 1895, 18; 4,000 local supporters saw Footscray defeat Collingwood on the Western Reserve. Attendances remained fairly constant during the rest of the 1890s: a crowd of 6,000 at a home match in 1900 was a record attendance. *Australasian*, 30 June 1900, 1421.
Formalization of the popular sports was part of the broad urbanizing and modernizing of Melbourne. These changes took place over a relatively short period. One old Footscray resident, reminiscing about football in the early 1880s, remembered games played on a piece of vacant ground:

They used to pile their togs in a heap, get a kid to keep his eye on them and line up in the centre ... The two captains would toss and the winner would kick with the win, ... Behinds were not counted and the first to score two goals won. If there were no goals after perhaps an hour, they would call a halt and duck down to the Royal Hotel — ... However it was often getting dark when they'd call it a draw ... I remember when feelings ran high, they would arrange to meet on Sunday morning ... to fight it out, winner take all! 104

Increasing regulation could have distanced sport from the community by restricting the public to a spectator role. This transition was only partly evident in Footscray. Because the suburb was comparatively isolated and deprived, community involvement and support was essential if the local teams were to participate in more organized contests. There developed, too, a new stress on consolidating the sporting strength of the suburb. In order to produce a worthy team, the various local cricket or football teams were encouraged to amalgamate. 105 Organized, regular competition brought increasing stress on high standards of performance and team dedication, contrasting sharply with previous more casual participation. In Footscray these changes occurred gradually. For instance, the clear distinction between spectators and players developed only slowly. 106 For some years, not all footballers selected would attend games played away from home; spectators often had to substitute. 107

104 Footscray's first 100 years, 203. There were other hazards: in September 1886, a contingent of Melbourne hunters was led a merry chase by a stag which turned towards Footscray 'and jumped into the recreation reserve ..., where a large number of footballers were at play, ...'

105 Independent, 29 March, 5 April, 20 September 1884.

106 The distinctive 'new "rig-out" of "our boys" with its "perpendicular stripes of red, white and blue", adopted in 1887 (jubilee year) helped distinguish players from opponents, and from spectators. Independent, 7 May 1887.

107 Independent, 5 May, 9 June, 21 July, 25 August 1883; 20 August, 10 September 1887; Advertiser, 21 May 1887; Australasian, 17 July 1887, 127. Why did players fail to appear? Critical press reports suggested that they could not be bothered to attend certain matches, particularly at distant grounds. Yet players missed home games as well. It was more likely that not all players could always take the Saturday afternoon holiday; and they may not have known until the day whether they had to work in the afternoon. See also: below 212.
Strong community support was needed to maintain grounds and equipment at a sufficiently high standard for inter-suburban matches. When the Lawn Tennis Club requested Council aid to lay down a second court, the reason given was that without a second court they could not enter pennant matches.\(^{108}\) The demands posed by the increasing sophistication of sport meant that, in poorer suburbs such as Footscray during these transitional years, the ability to participate, let alone succeed, depended upon community support. Large attendances at annual general meetings of the cricket and football clubs indicated a high level of public interest.\(^ {109}\) Community involvement was self-perpetuating: local interest ensured a strong team, which attracted continuing public support. In April 1894, the chief secretary of the Victorian Football Association, Mr. T. S. Marshali, strongly praised the Footscray Club. For many years they had struggled to stay together, but in recent years despite adverse circumstances, the club had prospered.

It is quite refreshing in these days of 'touting for players' to be able to point to even one club on the association which has sternly set its face against accepting the services of players from other senior clubs, the ranks of Footscray being entirely recruited from the juniors.\(^{110}\)

A team recruited entirely from within the suburb received strong local support, which, in turn, ensured a steady supply of local players. There was, too, an expectation that this support would continue. When, as periodically occurred with the rowing club, for example, public interest waned, the lapse was noted disapprovingly.\(^ {111}\) In 1894 the rowing club reached a very low ebb; only sixteen attended a meeting called to discuss its future.

There was a time when the Footscray boys held the pride of the place against all-comers ... With a population under 5000 the Footscray Club held premier position for years ... Of late years, and with over three times the inhabitants, we appear not to have sufficient pluck ... to contest a duck race in a side drain, and the successors of the doughty champions seem only to be able to get into debt and then dismiss.\(^ {112}\)


\(^{109}\) *Independent*, 20 September 1884; 19 March 1892.

\(^{110}\) *Australasian*, 28 April 1894, 726.

\(^{111}\) *Independent*, 14 March, 31 October 1885

\(^{112}\) *Independent*, 17 November 1894.
Leisure pursuits in Footscray involved a wide cross-section of the community. The following discussion deals with these leisure resources in broad clusters, grouped according to social role. My aim is to consider: how these groups and activities changed over time, particularly in relation to the formalizing trends within urban society; the types of citizens they attracted (and set out to attract); success; and who initiated and led them. The broad clusters are: sporting clubs and activities; social and cultural clubs; mutual improvement and self-help organizations (the Church, the Mechanics' Institute, the Friendly Society or Lodge); entertainments, such as concerts and dances; and private leisure pursuits, including home activities.

Sport was the most widespread and continuously successful community pursuit. It involved large numbers of people, both as participants and as spectators. The increasing regulation of football and other developing spectator sports has been mentioned, but sport covered a broad range. There were possibilities for increasing formalization and continuing informality within the same sport during the one season, and between different sports. To illustrate: the periodic visits of English cricket teams stimulated spectator interest in the game, leading to more clubs and associations being formed, to play regularly throughout the season; at the same time, these visits stimulated hundreds of casual games, on rough pitches with improvised equipment and scratch teams. The following discussion begins with the three major sports - football, cricket and rowing - then considers those sports and games which involved fewer people (quoits, coursing, pigeon shooting and pigeon homing), and those which began, in an organized way, during these years (lawn tennis, yachting, cycling, lawn bowls, shooting, athletics, marbles, swimming, fishing, golf.) Taken together, the two latter groups may have involved, at times, more participants than the first three sports, though not greater numbers of spectators.

Football made great strides in Footscray during these decades, and attracted a large following. By 1883, the Footscray Football Club was in its fourth season; at least one other club, Footscray Excelsior, was

113 I wonder how quickly the changes in football rules were incorporated into casual suburban games. Did such improvements permeate all levels of the game, or did they take time to become accepted and established?
in its third season. Competition between these clubs for players caused some friction, and the senior team sometimes found difficulty in fielding twenty players. The clubs remained separate, despite suggestions that the young men who preferred to join Excelsior might do 'better to the borough they live in by joining together and making the name of the Footscray Football Club one to be eulogised in the same way as the Footscray Rowing club ...' The position improved considerably the following year. Excelsior refused another call to amalgamate, but there was a large influx of members to the Footscray Club, enabling them to form another twenty.  

By 1886 there were several other district teams. The senior club was now a member of the Victorian Football Association (which meant that it was strong enough to guarantee eighty members at five shillings each), and there were at least six junior clubs, as well as Yarraville first and second twenties. Another two clubs were formed the following year. The sport continued to grow during the 1890s, with strong emphasis on support for the senior Association club, which attracted 300 to its 1892 annual meeting. Other clubs established during the 1890s included the Footscray Britannia (Baptist) Club, St. John's (Anglican) and the Ehlana Club. The high point for the senior club came in 1898, when they were Victorian Football Association premiers, (after the withdrawal, in 1897, of six major clubs to form the Victorian Football League.)

Cricket club fortunes fluctuated. Footscray did not have a senior club. During 1883 there were half a dozen junior clubs, the most prominent one having fifty financial members and attracting seventy to its annual meeting. As a result of efforts to form one very good team worthy of the borough, the Footscray United Cricket Club was formed in 1884. Several other teams continued to play locally during the late 1880s and early 1890s. Clubs playing in 1890 included the Buckingham, St. John's Firsts and Seconds, Footscray Juniors and Footscray Alberts. There were at least two trades teams, formed from employees at two local timber yards. Financially, the Footscray Cricket Club was often in

114 *Independent*, 21 July 1883; 29 March, 5 April, 24, 31 May 1884.
115 *Footscray's First Fifty Years*, n.p.; *Leader*, 24 April 1886, 21; *Independent*, 13, 20, 27 March 1886; 7 May, 4 June 1887; 19 March 1892; 26 March, 2 April, 17 September 1898; 29 September 1900; *Advertiser*, 21 May 1887; 9 May 1891; 8 April 1893; 31 March 1894.
116 *Independent*, 20, 27 September 1884; 18 September 1886; 1, 15 March 1890; 29 August 1891; *Advertiser*, 21 May 1887; 12 December 1892; 18 February 1893; 3 February 1894.
difficulties, and attracted few members. It disbanded late in 1892, while Council renovated the playing area, but had great trouble reforming. Eventually, late in 1894, club supporters rallied and a new club was formed. Meanwhile, junior cricket flourished: several local clubs formed an association and subscribed for a trophy. In 1898 familiar complaints arose over lukewarm support for the senior club; it was disgraceful that the district's principal cricket club received less than £5 donations a year. Local club cricket did not attract spectators as Association football matches did; a few hundred onlookers was the most that attended junior cricket matches, perhaps because of competition from more attractive summer pastimes like swimming, gardening and picnics. Also, cricket, unlike football, was a game where enthusiasts often organized their own casual Saturday afternoon 'matches', with improvised equipment on rough grounds, rather than watch clubs play. Lack of interest in club affairs did not necessarily indicate a lack of enthusiasm for the game.

Rowing was in a different position. Because of the cost and nature of the equipment, and the small size of crews, it was restricted to a few. Huge crowds watched the major regattas, but few followed the sport from week to week. Because of the notable successes of the local crews in the early 1880s, rowing was an important sport in Footscray. Amongst many other significant wins, the Footscray eight gained permanent possession of the prized Clarke Challenge Cup, after winning that race three years in succession (1880-1882). These feats led to the exclusion of manual labourers from some events, and thus to a decline in interest in the sport in Footscray. Despite declining public support, club successes (in the races they were eligible to enter) continued. But in 1886 the club collapsed after fire destroyed the best boats, personal misunderstanding marred club harmony, and the Victorian Regatta venue was shifted from the Footscray area, on the Saltwater River, to the Albert Park Lake. Re-established the following year, the club was in a very healthy state by late 1892, with over sixty members and a steady stream

117 *Advertiser*, 7 January 1888; 10 September 1892; 11 February, 7 October 1893: 8 September, 6, 13 October 1894; *Independent*, 11 June 1898.
118 *Australasian* noted: 'Every second spectator at least is himself a player,...' *Australasian*, 5 January 1895, 29-30. See also: *Australasian*, 15 February 1899, 355; 2 January 1892. 21: 12 November 1892, 942; *Advertiser*, 5 May 1894.
119 Footscray's first 100 years, n.p.
120 See below 165.
of new recruits. Again, interest waned, until in 1894, the club was all but defunct. Re-organized as the Footscray City Rowing Club it continued to grow very slowly, and in 1900 was at last free from debt.\textsuperscript{121}

Fluctuations in the fortunes of sporting clubs were even more marked in sports which were not well established. Public support for clubs, apart from football clubs, declined periodically. These fluctuations and revivals increased as Footscray's population grew during the 1880s, and they continued during the depression. Seeking to explain this confluence, I return to the point that, in Footscray, sports which were increasingly played on a formal, inter-suburban basis relied heavily on public support. Footscray people grew closer through working together to support local clubs. Rowing had needed and obtained this support, but it declined once manual labourers were restricted to certain events, and the Footscray club was less involved and less likely to bring glory to the suburb. Community spirit develops slowly. As population increased dramatically during the late 1880s the old Footscray unity was threatened by newcomers, who were not quickly integrated.\textsuperscript{122} While there was, on the one hand, a larger population to support and join bigger and better clubs, there was, on the other, less likelihood that this would happen. A new unity may have begun to develop after a few years, but for the depression. Community bonds weakened, as people sought escape on an individual level in music halls and entertainment spectacles.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Independent}, 30 January, 20 November, 18 December 1885; 1 December 1886; 29 September 1900.

\textsuperscript{122} 'It is noticeable that the large influxes of population in the 70s and 80s swamped the existing population: 50% of 1871 residents remained in 1880, but by then they constituted only 20% of the population; 42% of 1880 residents remained in 1889, but by then they comprised only 15% of the population.' Lack, I, 41.

\textsuperscript{123} Population loss, in aggregate terms and because of the loss of community leaders, could have severely affected social activity. However, few of the prominent organizers I have been able to trace left the district. F.J. Sincock, a well-to-do local and city solicitor, and secretary of the Mechanics' Institute in the early 1890s, was involved in financial trouble in 1892, and left Footscray after being declared insolvent the following year. \textit{Advertiser}, 23 January, 6 February, 12, 19 March 1892; 7 January 1893. Daniel Warren, jr., and Charles Lovett, partners in a large local tobacconist and both socially active, became insolvent in 1897, but neither left the district; in 1894 Lovett was elected joint secretary of the new Footscray Cricket Club. \textit{Advertiser}, 18 June 1892; 8 September 1894. Many other community leaders - activists in the dramatic clubs, choral society, Mechanics' Institute, church, local assemblies, and other lies - continued their businesses, medical practice, and professional occupations throughout the 1890s. Any decline or change in social activity cannot, then, be explained through sudden loss of social leadership.
Individual needs took precedence over community involvement. Most club failures and (temporary) revivals took place during the depression. Lack of money was not the main explanation. The cause lay in the more complex reasons outlined above, exacerbated by the fact that unity had already been weakened by the 1880s influx.

Smaller clubs formed and re-formed. Several short-lived quoit clubs were established during the 1880s. Organized quoit contests lapsed during the 1890s, though informal games at hotels may have continued. Coursing grew from occasional meetings at hotels in the early 1880s, to the formation of two large clubs a few years later. These clubs merged in 1892, forming one large club of over 100 members. Gun clubs, often centring on competitions organized at hotels, were formed in 1883, 1884, 1891 and 1894, the last proving the most successful. At least two Pigeon Homing clubs were formed, in 1884 and 1892. A pattern emerges: clubs were formed enthusiastically, met regularly for a year or so, then struggled for a while, often to disband and later be re-formed. The three sports discussed above were in a special category, resembling hobbies rather than competitive team games. They tended to be restricted to the local area, and to local participants and spectators, and to be organized more informally than the larger sports. The relative stability of coursing and pigeon homing during the 1900s may have stemmed partly from their semi-hobby nature. They involved an individual commitment, looking after an animal or bird, rather than a formal commitment to a team, with regular practice and match attendance.

The types of clubs which were formed during the late 1890s, and the difficulty of establishing some of them, indicates a great deal about the effects of the depression, and of the recent population changes. Briefly, the clubs established were: lawn tennis (1894), cycling (1896), harriers (1898), bowling, golf, angling and ladies' swimming (all 1900). A yacht club formed in 1886 had a fleet of twelve boats by 1888, but was

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124 *Independent*, 31 March, 8 December 1883; 3 May 1884; 19 May, 30 June, 28 July 1888; 2 March 1889; *Advertiser*, 9 May 1891.
125 *Independent*, 12 May 1883; 25 October 1894; 16 June 1888; 10 April 1891; 20 August 1892; 6, 13 October 1894; 5 January 1895; 19 December 1896.
defunct by 1891. The cycling, tennis, harriers and bowling clubs were only established after several false starts; there had been regular attempts to start a bowling club since 1882, but with no success until 1900.  

Early attempts failed partly because the suburb was not yet ready to support such clubs. There was not sufficient money or drive to establish facilities, the population was small, there were few social leaders. Premature attempts were stimulated by outside influences and standards, from a feeling that a city the size and standing of Footscray should possess certain clubs and resources.  

Footscray residents were particularly sensitive to feelings of inferiority, and to suggestions that they lagged behind other suburbs. These early failures to establish certain sporting clubs occurred partly because these sensitivities led to the initiation of projects for which the suburb and citizens were not ready.

The clubs which were established successfully during the second half of the 1890s had a limited potential base and were formed by small interest groups. Membership was restricted by several factors. They were individual rather than team sports, and usually required expensive equipment or facilities. Cycling, bowling, tennis, golf and yachting required special skills and were more strongly social and participant than competitive or spectator. After earlier failures, these and other clubs were established successfully during the later 1890s. Some of the reasons for this delayed success derived from the depression, some stemmed from seeds sown in the 1880s. The population growth of the 1880s meant that, once some people began to recover their confidence and fortunes after the depression, there was a base for a tennis or cycling club. Despite the intervening years of hardship, the previous consolidation bore fruit. The early 1890s was a dormant period: seeds sown in the suburbanization of the 1880s took time to germinate, but they did take root, gradually, during the last years of the century.

127 Advertiser, 9 April, 11 June, 17 December 1886; 11 February 1888; 18 April 1891; Footscray's first 100 years, n.p.; Footscray's First Fifty Years, n.p.; Independent, 11 August, 20 October, 2 November 1883; 5 September 1885; 4 July 1891; 29 September, 6, 13, 27 October 1894; 30 November, 7, 20 December 1895; 25 January, 23 May, 1 August 1896; 10, 17 September 1898; 17, 24 February 1900.

128 See above 139-140.

129 See below 164-165.
Following the static years of the depression, with their worry and inactivity, the fortunate few welcomed a renewal of activity and involvement on a small scale. Some of these sports possessed an added attraction: they provided a chance to display, discreetly and for an acceptable reason, new possessions, new skills, a new or revived social status. Through these activities people could define themselves and their social position. The depression had a levelling effect. Potentially, all social and economic levels faced the same fate, and had similar worries. Those who did escape unscathed thought that it was not proper (or tactful) to display wealth as they had flaunted it ten years before. Once the worst of the depression was over (and of course it was 'over' sooner for some than for others), the process of re-establishing social position revived. This trend is evident in these clubs with their prominence, small membership and carefully organized social functions. This is not to suggest any crude scramble for social status. It was a much more subtle process of re-establishing public and private identity after years of doubt, anxiety and loss of confidence.

What did involvement in this kind of group signify? There are two related ways of describing this development: as the growth of a variety of pluralistic activities in an expanding suburb; and as the growth of individualistic, self-contained activities in a less coherent suburb. Those with more economic choice could cope with the gradual diminution of community through involvement in smaller groups. In this instance, too, these new sports and games represented a partial escape from the restrictions of urban and industrial life which were particularly evident in Footscray. These new sports were often more social, and less rigidly ordered, than the larger team sports. Tennis, cycling, golf, and bowls encouraged a mingling and swapping of partners, and allowed greater freedom for mixing socially while the sport progressed or while others played. The microcosm of sporting club development in Footscray illustrates one of the ways in which people sought to express themselves in an expanding, industrializing, economically depressed society. There was not one widespread easily discernible response. In the short term, community ties were strengthened because public support was essential for participation in major sporting competitions. Unity was weakened by
rapid population growth which was only partly assimilated before the depression further shook community confidence. One result was a trend towards more informal, equipment-centred sports, both as a means of escape from the order and rigidity of urban life, and as a way of building community within smaller, more congenial social pockets.

Footscray's recreational organizations and their known period of existence during the years 1880 to 1900 are shown on the accompanying chart (figure 4). The chart reveals a consistent spread of social activity, with more sustained success during the 1890s. A diverse range of clubs, covering pigeon homing, literary discussion, horticulture and other activities, attracted a strong local following during and after the depression. Although more stable than their predecessors of the 1880s, many of these clubs did experience difficulties which paralleled those of the sporting clubs.

The Camera Club, which began in January 1899, was affiliated with the Cycling Club. A camera and a bicycle were two desirable possessions in the late nineteenth century, complementing one another perfectly: the cycle revealed new horizons, the camera recorded them. A dozen men established the club; within a year it had over eighty members, and was considered 'decidedly cosmopolitan' as it comprised 'all professions - clergy, doctors, lawyers, chemists and dentists, and nearly all the trades'. This club required expensive equipment and some skill, and was an individualistic pastime, particularly suited to display of both equipment and the resulting photograph. It was a select club, rather than one which broadened community ties.

In 1894, ten years after a first attempt failed, a Horticultural Society was established. The society continued, very successfully, with over 100 members, until November 1898, when support had declined. Only twenty attended a meeting to discuss the society's future. A call for financial assistance raised some public support, and the society rallied. This society's early years were trouble free because there

131 *Independent*, 28 January, 10 February 1900.
132 *Advertizer*, 29 September 1894; *Independent*, 28 July 1883; 22 March 1884; 6, 27 October 1894; 12 January 1895; 24 October 1896; 19, 26 November 1898; 28 January, 11 February 1899.
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\(\bullet\) = established (or ceased to exist) at this date. For others, period is based on press and existence. Undoubtedly, many of these clubs did exist before and after the period.
|    | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 | 1887 | 1888 | 1889 | 1890 | 1891 | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 | 1900 |
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For others, period is based on press reports of activities did exist before and after the period indicated above.
was sufficient depth of interest to support such an undertaking. When it was first tried, in 1864, Footscray was not sufficiently settled or 'suburban' to support such a specialized club. A horticultural society needed a large body of settled members with time and a place for gardening. These conditions were extending gradually by the late 1890s: the home buyers of the boom who had financially survived the depression were well settled into home and garden; shorter working hours meant more daylight hours at home. Gardening could be undertaken, co-operatively, by husband and wife. This fact extended possible time for cultivation during the day, by women alone, and also accounted for the success of such a society once established. For women, gardening posed no social or physical problems, and they were welcomed as members of horticultural societies. While centred on the home, it did involve some group activity, bridging the home-community gap which was an unbridgeable gulf for many women.

The Footscray Horticultural Society was established after the worst years of the depression. For those who had been unemployed, enforced time at home may have been spent in the garden, providing essential food as well as filling otherwise empty days. Such experience would augur well for the success of a horticultural society. Gardening was not bound by time, or by the need for fellow participants, as were many sports and organized hobbies; it was not disciplined in the same way as, for example, amateur dramatics or team games. Closely linked to seasonal rhythms, it offered a unique opportunity to pursue a hobby unhindered by the regularities and restrictions of industry and commerce. On the other hand, it was not a hobby which threatened the discipline of work. It was flexible, fitting into 'a spare five minutes' during the week, or a Saturday afternoon. Horticulture involved creation rather than competition, and while not requiring elaborate equipment, did provide scope for display at monthly meetings or seasonal shows. Gardening (and horticultural societies) appealed to men and women, offering an alternative way of meeting needs unsatisfied through work or more organized leisure activities.

133 _Independent_, 11 February 1899.
Choral singing and amateur dramatics flourished at various times. The Footscray Minstrels began, and performed occasionally, during 1885, but real success came with the Choral Society formed in 1889. Several women were among the founding thirty, who aimed to cultivate a pleasing art and to promote social union, through regular practices, social functions and public performances. The society began with over forty performing members, who attracted 600 to their second subscription concert at the Royal Hall. During their second season they were highly praised, though it was suggested that a few more male voices were needed to balance the 'splendid array of ladies.' The society continued to perform until early 1892, but in May of that year the local press referred to 'the defunct Footscray Choral Society' selling their piano.\textsuperscript{134} Failure may have stemmed from loss of members during the depression, or from the public turning towards music hall entertainment, and away from serious choral concerts. The brief history of the Choral Society is another example of the difficulty, in Footscray, of sustaining any such organization, even after a good beginning and a successful first year.

This pattern of an enthusiastic start, then gradual decline, was even more marked with the many amateur dramatic societies, or what, perhaps, can be more accurately described as the fluctuating fortunes of the same society. The years 1880 to 1900 saw at least six failures and revivals of Footscray amateur dramatic companies. Several were established or revived to last only a few months, others struggled along for several years.\textsuperscript{135} Greatest success spanned the worst years of the depression: the company which was re-formed in August 1892 performed regularly to large audiences until October 1893. After this success, the tempo slowed: the company performed regularly in 1894, consistently throughout 1895, and occasionally in 1896. In April 1897 a new club was formed and began performing, but by August 1898 it was practically defunct.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Independent}, 7 March, 25 April, 20 June 1885; 8, 22 June 1889; \textit{Advertiiser}, 30 January, 24 April 1885; 1, 8, 22 June, 21 December 1889; 28 June 1890; 5, 12 March, 14 May 1892.\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Independent}, 6 October 1883; 21, 28 March, 18 April, 13 June, 11 July 1885; 16 January, 15 May 1886; 28 May 1887; 21 January, 25 February, 23 June, 14 July, 13 October, 22 December 1888; 26 January, 16 February 1889; 11 January 1890; 7 November 1891; \textit{Advertiiser}, 10 July 1885; 29 October 1886; 11 February, 5 May 1888.\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Independent}, 6 August, 3, 17, 24 December 1892; 23 September, 21 October 1893; 11 May 1895; 1 August, 14 November 1896; 3 April, 1 May 1897; 13 August 1898; \textit{Advertiiser}, 10 December 1892; 29 April 1893; 3 February, 18 August 1894.
Despite the frequent necessity for revivals, the club had local appeal. Performances were always well attended. There was never a suggestion that poor local response caused the periodic declines: 'local people like[d] to see local talent playing ...' The club was a real force for strengthening community bonds: it 'caused many pounds to be spent every week in the town, which otherwise would have gone to ... Melbourne traders and amusement mongers';\textsuperscript{137} and it fostered a (visual) familiarity between audience and performers. Charitable performances further cemented these community ties. Despite fluctuations the club was active for many of these years, and worked at quite a pace, often being committed to periods of weekly performances. Periodic recesses after strenuous seasons were not surprising. Productions did not vary greatly, though the club did occasionally stage ambitious plays, such as the four act drama 'The Black Flag' produced in September 1893.\textsuperscript{138}

The regular declines arose partly from the difficulty of a small amateur group maintaining a busy schedule for more than a few months, especially when they relied heavily on a few activists. Discord arose within a small group working closely together under pressure. The history of the club was marred by conflict and jealousy. On at least two occasions the invitation to submit names for membership of the renewed club were worded cautiously, hinting that some might not be welcome. The club's sudden dissolution in October 1888 was attributed to ill feeling, and the rupture deplored: 'It is a matter for deep regret that dissension or petty jealousy should mar the entente cordiale ...' When the club did re-form in January the following year, it was noted that 'With one or two exceptions all the old members ... will appear.' William Devine invited ladies and gentlemen to join the new club in April 1897: 'Old friends and new members cordially welcomed. Silence in all cases to be considered a polite negative.'\textsuperscript{139}

The worst months of the depression, October 1892 to December 1893, were the club's most successful times. Amateur and charitable performances dominated the local entertainment scene. Comedies and melodramas, usually

\textsuperscript{137}\textit{Independent}, 13 October 1888; 13 August 1889.
\textsuperscript{138}\textit{Independent}, 23 September 1893; \textit{Advertiser}, 20 April 1893; 18 August 1894.
\textsuperscript{139}\textit{Independent}, 13 October 1888; 26 January 1889; 3 April, 1 May 1897.
of overseas origin, were exceptionally popular in Footscray, and in the city, as people welcomed escape through fantasy, laughter and extravaganza. Local audiences were larger, too, because there was less money for travel to the city. While these practical reasons for success during the depression were important, equally important was the role of the club in providing a centre for local contact and identification. Without committing themselves to activity or involvement people were able to gather together in a friendly, familiar atmosphere during this time of great adversity and uncertainty. The fluctuations of the Footscray Amateur Dramatic Club during these decades stemmed from causes other than poor community response, lack of leadership and talent, or the effects of the depression. The club's continued popularity, and particularly its success during the depths of the depression, arose from its role as a strong centre for local identification as much as from its entertainment function.

The dogged success of the drama club contrasted with the failure, on at least five separate occasions, to establish a social club for men. The longest-surviving club - the Emu - began in March 1889, with about thirty intending members, but only lasted six months. Yet the promoters had been convinced that Footscray needed a well-known and recognized first-class club. Brief newspaper reports contain little information about the motives behind the various attempts. However, they do reveal a change in emphasis after 1889. The first three initiatives were promoted as clubs for social purposes, and as opportunities 'to afford recreation to the young men of the town' who would otherwise loiter in the streets. The Footscray Club, proposed in 1891, was to be a 'social institution' serving as 'a pleasant resort for business men in their spare moments after the worries of the day.' It was suggested that the Footscray Progressive Club, mooted early in 1893, be organized on similar lines to the Melbourne and Athenaeum Clubs. The emphasis had changed from a club which would serve a useful community purpose as well as a social role, to one which would cater for a smaller special-interest group.
The narrower concept of the early 1890s meant that the club could serve as a retreat from the large, depressed Footscray community. The times did not encourage displaying material well-being, but withdrawing to a small, select club was a possible avenue for separating self from the wider community.

Organizers tried to keep proposed clubs select. The 1886 announcement reassured possible members: 'The entrance fee and annual subscription will be fixed so as to secure the Club from falling into disrepute, and members will have to be balloted for.' After initial enrolments, all future members of the 1893 club were to be elected by ballot.\(^{144}\) It was difficult to draw an exclusionist line in a working-class suburb. A carefully written letter of May 1891 paid lip service to the need for a broadly based club, while suggesting a rigid code of conduct which would, in effect, ensure a 'respectable' membership. The writer asserted that Footscray needed a club

\[\text{where men of all classes (not necessarily on the ultra-democratic basis), but all shades of thought, opinion and status can harmonize at billiards, a quiet newspaper read, quiet converse or a game of cribbage or euchre as taste suggests ... The institution could be kept as select as others of its kind, and yet not flavour of upper crustiness so nauseous to the 'one vote' predilections of Footscray.}\]

The club should 'have a concise and severe code of rules that compel a strict adherence to all the proprieties'; members should practice 'self-denial on all points of questionable conduct.' I concur in John Lack's view that Footscray was not a highly class-conscious suburb.\(^{145}\)

There was not a great physical or social gap between workers and owners or managers. Occasional attempts by a few to withdraw suggest that some individuals did feel a need to distance themselves from their social and work environment. Because they did not escape to middle-class 'garden suburbs' occasional seclusion in select clubs may well have seemed attractive. The failure of nearly all attempts to form such clubs suggests that the movement to withdraw was not strong. A further impetus, which

\(^{144}\) *Independent*, 13 March 1886; 11 February 1893.

\(^{145}\) Lack, I, 55-56, 221, 225, 247.
would have been present in other suburbs, was lacking in Footscray: businessmen worked and lived in the suburb, so there were daily opportunities for social and business contact. There was no need for a club to foster such interaction. 146

Two successful social clubs did develop, at separate times, but both began under another guise, which largely explains their initial success and eventual persistence. The first began meeting weekly in 1883 as the Footscray Debating Society, and, in April 1885, renamed the Bohemian Club, erected its first rooms. With this greater security and success came caution: the Club intended being select and balloting for all new members. Club activities broadened: the rooms were open for athletics and games on nights not set apart for debates and socials. Membership increased steadily: new members were proposed or elected at nearly every meeting, and sometimes fourteen to twenty men faced the ballot on the same night. The club continued very successfully until at least early 1890. 147 It was successful because it began with a purpose - debating - and continued to be activity-centred. The other successful social club had similar origins: it had begun as a club catering for a specific pursuit, and only later, after considerable success and activity, became a purely social club. With the decline of cycling in the late 1890s, the Cycling Club took on a more social role, with evening entertainments, bagatelle and parlour games. It became the Footscray Club and enlarged its premises and activities. 148 The activity-centred nature of these two successful clubs suggests that the Footscray community could not support a purely 'social' club. The similarly strong emphasis on games and sports at the local level supports the contention that, particularly during the 1880s, Footscray citizens lacked the range or ability (or desire) needed to develop any passive recreations which emphasized conversation and the social arts. The type of industrial or commercial work in which most of these men were engaged served as a training for activity rather than passive recreation.

146 An interpretation suggested by John Lack.
147 Advertiser, 24 April, 29 May, 11 December 1885; 19 March, 11 June 1886; 21 May 1887; Independent, 6 October 1888; 15 March 1890.
148 Footscray's First Fifty Years, n.p. This early historian hailed this club as 'the first permanent social organisation of the city.'
Important, too, were the attitudes of women to these clubs, and whether they were permitted to join. Both successful clubs included women in some or all of their activities. They were welcomed as members of the Cycling Club, and were invited to attend and participate in Bohemian Club socials and debates.\textsuperscript{149} There was no suggestion that the other proposed social clubs intended including or catering for women. The occasional publicly voiced opposition to a new club always stressed the selfishness of such clubs towards women. The proposers, too, sometimes revealed a sensitivity to this issue. An 1883 proposal to form working men's clubs in Melbourne suburbs was soundly criticized in one Footscray paper. Such clubs would not aid the development of model working men and good fathers. A man should stay home after work in order to get to know his family, and to show his wife that he appreciated her daily labours. He probably already attended the Friendly Society once a week, and could also attend the Mechanics' Institute or the debates of the Amateur Parliament, with its monthly socials. 'These should afford abundant scope for what after all are the selfish enjoyment of the man, ...' Women gained nothing from such clubs. The working-class would not be elevated through clubs and absence from home, but through

more comfortable dwellings with nice gardens, with healthy surroundings and modern conveniences, more home life, more of women's and children's influence on the husband ... more books, pictures, music, and other refining influences at home and not abroad, ... \textsuperscript{150}

This type of criticism was directed with particular severity against clubs which were intended as select institutions, where businessmen could relax after the day's work. Judging from these protests, and from the defensive attitudes of some proposers, one reason for the failure of these social clubs was resistance based on the ideal of family life. Despite middle-class efforts to promote such an ideal amongst the working-class, it may in fact have been stronger amongst the middle-class. The working man already had several resorts open to him away from home: the pub, the Mechanics' Institute, the Friendly Society (the latter two with 'improving' as well as social motives). He was freer from the ties of home than was his middle-class equivalent. The opposition

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Advertiser}, 30 July, 20, 27 August, 1 October 1887; \textit{Independent}, 30 May, 1896.

\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Independent}, 22 September 1883; 20 April 1889; 30 May 1891; \textit{Advertiser}, 20 June 1891. See below 239-240 for detailed discussion of this issue.
to the middle-class clubs, based on the neglect of women and home life, touched a sensitive nerve, and would have worked strongly against them.

Reputation and Resistance

For some Footscray residents the distinctive characteristics of their suburb fostered a desire to retreat, while for others they strengthened community bonds. The suburb's reputation derived from its position as a centre for noxious trades, and as a working-class residential area, accentuated by its isolation from Melbourne. For many years Footscray 'struggled under a cloud', enjoying 'an unenviable notoriety for being a place for evil smells ...' 151 Residents became increasingly defensive because of outsiders' derisive comments. Winning a major sporting competition was, for Footscrayites, not merely a sporting triumph, but proof that they were as good as anyone else. In 1882, their third consecutive victory in the Clarke Challenge Cup enabled them to thumb their noses at those who had ridiculed the Footscray rowers' 'slap-dash style' and had labelled them 'a crew of

151 *Advertiser*, 17 December 1892.
mud-punchers' because several worked as labourers for the Harbour Trust. Supporters of a losing team were quick to deride Footscray's reputation. After a football match where Footscray defeated Collingwood, there was an indignant report that one of the Collingwood harrackers had cast aspersions on the odour of the supporters who hailed from 'stinkholla'. Incidents of ruffianism in Footscray were reported in tones which suggested that nothing more could be expected in such a lower class area. In September 1882, a Footscray dance ended in a scuffle:

152 Footscray's first 100 years, n.p. Russ Topham has noted the same response in Collingwood, over football. 'Truly, "...a win for the Club [meant] a win for Collingwood." ... the spirit of community in Collingwood was driven by a desperate quest for social recompense.' Russ Topham, 'The Stricken Magpie: The C.F.C. and the "Collingwood Spirit"'. Konjin Quarterly, 2, 34 (June 1975), 160.

Because Footscray's rowing triumphs had been so important for residents' confidence and self-esteem, bitter protests followed moves to exclude manual labourers from nearly all regatta events, and, later, to shift the Victorian Regatta from the Saltwater to 'smoother waters, and a more favored locality, such as the Albert Park, where the habits of the projected Rotten Row may loll and look.' The 'aristocratic smooth-water oarsmen' were accused of dreading the Saltwater River frontage as much as they dislike meeting 'Our Boys.' At one time it used to be 'pick and shovel men' and the 'dirty moleskin crowd', now the bad feeling is cloaked under financial loss, ...

Behind the reasons given for these changes, Footscray residents discerned distaste for their suburb's character and inhabitants. Their replies were couched unmistakably in class terms. The move to 'that aristocratic wash-tub ... Albert Park' was not surprising. Ever since 'Our Boys' wrested the Clarke trophy, and the Grand Challenge fours from all comers, it was simply a question of time as to changing the venue from the often turbulent waters in this locality, to a sort of drawing room aquarium, ...

The 'blackguardly manner in which the Melbourne and City crews were received at the finish of the [1882 Clarke Cup] race by misguided Footscray supporters' drew a sharp rebuke from one reporter: 'such ebullitions of feeling should be avoided in the future.'

Independent, 27 December 1884; 28 November 1885; 11 December 1886; Leader, 25 March 1882, 14; 27 December 1884, 20.

For reports on this continuing 'manual labour' issue, see: Australasian, 8 March 1880, 300-301; 1 May 1880, 556; 29 May 1880, 684; 12 June 1880, 748; 17 July 1880, 77; 24 July 1880, 108; 21 May 1881, 651; 10 August 1889, 287; 22 September 1898, 503; 4 January 1899, 20; Leader, 15 January 1899, 12; 7 February 1880, 22; 1 February 1880, 12; 21 February 1880, 12; 28 February 1880, 13; 13 March 1880, 12; 29 March 1880, 13; 1 May 1880, 13; 8 May 1880, 13; 12 June 1880, 12; 17 July 1880, 12; 24 July 1880, 13; 1 March 1881, 13; 18 June 1881, 12; 11 February 1882, 12; 18 February 1882, 12; 11 March 1882, 14; 27 May 1882, 13; 21 October 1882, 22; 18 August 1883, 20; 25 August 1883, 21; 25 August 1883, 21; 11 October 1884, 21; Independent, 20 November, 18 December 1885.

153 Advertiser, 21 May 1892.
1. The Essendon Club will go forth in its pride to conquer Footscray.

2. "Oh, dear! This is not the atmosphere that I'm accustomed to play football in."

3. "Eugh! This is worse than playing against a partial central umpire."

4. Defeated, but not dejected... "It was not the players, but the smell that vanquished us."

THE VICTOR'S VANQUISHER

A Football Prophecy
Their notion of the proceedings of a dancing assembly at Footscray appear to be peculiar. At an assembly held in the Royal-hall on Saturday night we are told: 'Shortly before 10 o'clock, ... the doors of the ballroom were locked, and the master of ceremonies having passed the word, 'Nine-in, Footscray,' a general fight began. A constable hearing ... cries of 'Murder', attempted to force open the front door, but was prevented by a number of those inside lying against it. The constable then went into the gallery ... and saw some 20 of the dancers pummelling one another on the floor.'

When it was suggested, the following year, that the name of Footscray be changed 'to some appellation more in keeping with its growing importance and future greatness', the name Riverton was suggested. 'Many a resident has, it is said, been subject to ridicule when saying he hailed from Footscray.'

This poor public image did not result only in a negative feeling of inferiority. It also gave rise to a positive lauding and applauding of those characteristics which middle-class improvers and critics regarded as deplorable, and fostered a vigorous combative sense of community identity. Local leaders admitted freely that Footscray was 'not ... a reading community' and 'that tradition had it that Footscrayites were not over fond of lectures' but they strove to improve these attitudes. Feeling that it was 'high time the stigma attaching to Footscray ... of being utterly indifferent to all opportunities of mental and moral culture, was removed', the Presbyterian minister organized a series of lectures. Others were defiantly proud of their suburb's anti-intellectual reputation. These views were usually expressed through absence from lectures and mutual improvement societies, and are, therefore, difficult to document. The 'requirement' that enjoyment be of some educational or social value was sometimes resented. Bohemian Club functions were described approvingly as 'enjoyment without

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154 Australasian, 16 September 1882, supp. 5. See also: 30 September 1882, supp. 6. Koway dances were not uncommon in the 1880s. At a Footscray Fire Brigade social, a disturbance occurred in the hall owing to one of the male dancers wishing to enter the ladies room. A more serious row took place outside ..., several members of the rowdy element interfering with a member of the brigade ... Fireman Ushart had the misfortune to have his leg broken in the lobby by someone falling on him when leaving the hall.

Advertiser, 3 December 1886.

155 Australasian, 1 December 1883, supp. 4. Several years later another attempt to change 'Footscray' to 'West Melbourne' was unsuccessful.

Advertiser, 21 May 1887.

156 Independent, 23 June 1883; 24 December 1887. See also: 19 May, 22 September 1883; 17 March 1888.
starch and humbug..." Because 'they are held for pure amusement they are highly appreciated ... Would that all entertainments in the borough were given from such disinterested motives. 157

Lengthy statements from working-class people on their feelings about any subject, including middle-class reformers and self-improvement, were very rare. One man who did speak his mind was supported strongly by his peers. In May 1898, at a meeting of delegates from the many Footscray marble clubs, James Bluet, of the Grand United Ord of Evenmen, announced proudly that 'his thoughts were all day long concentrated on the game of marbles.'

Footscray citizens were thoroughly up to date. They did not waste time in so-called intellectual improvement, ... but old and young found more congenial employment in football, boxing, rope quoits (cheers), and the 'grandest o' them a' - marbles (prolonged cheering). He was proud to say that there was not a single literary institution in their midst, no mutual improvement societies and debating clubs to waste precious moments that were better devoted to sport, and he was also sure that very little time was squandered in reading books, and in the study of literature, and such like superstitious bunkum which some fools call food for the mind (loud applause). He believed that he was [right in asserting that] the local Mechanics' Institute was languishing for want of support, and rightly so. Away with such foolish institutions - good enough for down-trodden slaves, but they who were free, emancipated from the thralldom of nonsensical superstitions and intellectual tyranny, would demonstrate their liberty by heartily enjoying themselves with plenty of rollicking fun (thunders of applause).

He was particularly pleased to note that members of the various churches and societies who used to spend their evenings in debates, readings, recitations, essays, and similar purposeless unprofitable trash, now ... devoted them to genuine fun ... in the shape of manly games, foremost among them ... being their own ... ancient game of marbles. 158

These attitudes were borne out by the difficulties of establishing and sustaining lectures, mutual improvement societies, debating classes

157. Advertiser, 2 July 1886. The promoters of a new Temperance Society announced that they were 'leaving out the religious element altogether'; the success of their popular concerts was attributed to appreciation of 'an entertainment free from cant and humbug.' Advertiser, 19 March, 21 May, 1886.

158. Independent, 14 May 1898. Uniquethough this statement was, I think that it deserves to be taken seriously. The title 'Grand United Order of Evenmen' was obviously a tilt at the various orders of oddfellows, but the remainder of the report appears genuine.
and the like, many of them associated with the two working-class institutions, the Mechanics' Institute and the Friendly Society.

The Mechanics' Institute consisted of a hall and a reading room and library. Throughout these decades the subscription was 2s 6d per quarter, the free newspaper reading room was open daily, and the library was open every evening from seven until ten. In 1883 the library contained 2,000 volumes, as well as current newspapers and magazines; by 1900 the number of books had increased to 3,309. Weekly debates were the Institute's main organized activity. Debates continued fairly regularly throughout the 1860s and spasmodically during the 1890s; periodically, it was necessary to appeal for new members or to re-establish the club after a temporary lapse. Other educational activities which the committee attempted to establish fared less well. Lectures, in particular, were not successful. During 1898 the Institute was at a low ebb, despite attempts to hold a series of monthly social meetings, and to promote chess and draughts. The role of the Institute was changing in Footscray as elsewhere from improvement to entertainment. The writer who criticized current apathy was lamenting a former age.

It does not speak well for the average young men of Footscray that such an institution as the Mechanics' Institute, capable of so much expansion in the direction of debating societies, classes for mutual improvement, lectures, and so forth - should have so little support from the very class it was intended to benefit.

The 1889 annual report was pessimistic. It was impossible for the committee to carry on without more public support. The room renovated for use as a smoking, chess and draughts room was seldom used, and the concerts and lectures held during the year had not been successful. A gradual revival occurred during 1890. The depression may have helped, because working-class men could afford only cheap leisure. Certainly,

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159 Independent, 14 July 1883; Advertiser, 5 February 1894; 20 January 1900.
160 Twenty attended a debate in May 1883. Independent, 7 April, 5 May 1883.
162 Independent, 26 January 1889.
163 G. Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Australia, (Melbourne 1957), 126-127.
164 Independent, 17 March 1889.
165 The concerts raised 16.1.6, the lecture 9s. Independent, 26 January 1889.
the depression sharpened patrons' preferences for entertainment rather than education: economic reversal hastened the gradual change noted above. By January 1891 members numbered 185, and subscriptions had increased dramatically from £38.12.9 in 1889 to £64.14.9 in 1890. The smoking, cards and chess room was always well patronised, and 303 volumes had been added to the library. Attendance at the annual meeting in February 1892 was the largest for several years. Eighteen candidates stood for nine committee positions. The Secretary reported an increase in membership subscriptions from £64.14.9 to £76.19.3, though he regretted that there had been no lectures during the year, and that the attempt to form a debating club had failed. The annual report delivered in January 1894 described a fairly gratifying state of affairs, even though the debating club inaugurated early the previous year had been discontinued owing to lack of enthusiasm. The committee decided 'to inaugurate socials with a view of popularising the Institute.' Several smoke and pound nights were held, all extremely successful, especially when women were included. By the end of the century the change in the role of the Mechanics' Institute from improvement to entertainment was clear. The emphasis was on socials, chess tournaments, billiards and novels, not, noted one observer regretfully, on working-class improvement through lectures on what to read, the art of public speaking, music and the elements of logic.

The study, defiant pride of many Footscray citizens in their maligned suburb, and their contempt for 'cant and humbug', allied with an indifference to learning, meant that the ideals and methods of the Mechanics' Institute met with little sympathy. Increasing preference for entertainment and activity, rather than intellectual involvement, particularly during the depression, hastened changes in the nature of the Institute. Competition from a growing range of commercial entertainment facilities forced the Institute to move with the times. The success of billiards, light reading, chess and other games showed clearly what working men preferred. Underlying this obvious shift from education

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166 Independent, 24 January 1891. The Debating Society was reorganized in August 1891, but did not last long. A series of free Winter Evening Entertainments, mainly lectures, was slightly more successful. Independent, 29 August 1891; 6 February, 14 May, 2 July 1892.

167 Independent, 6 February 1892; 11 June, 3 September 1898; 7 January, 27 May 1899; Advertiser, 13 January, 3 February, 3 March, 7 April, 7, 21 July, 13 October 1894.

168 Independent, 7 January 1899.
to entertainment was a more fundamental shift in emphasis from the formal and passive to the more active and casual, as exemplified in the eclipse of organized, formal debates and lectures by more casual games. This shift is just one example of similar changes, some of which have been discussed, which were occurring throughout the society. One aim of this work is to explore on a community level the implications and validity of the interpretation which links the growth in urban, commercial and industrial complexity ('modernization') with a generally greater regulation and regularity in social life. That interpretation ignores some of the more subtle accommodating developments taking place in suburban communities, developments which tended to lessen the impact of growing formalization. There was a shift to more active, casual recreations which could be engaged in for varying periods, by flexible numbers or by individuals. They fitted into a spare hour or two after work, or at the weekend, thus not disrupting work routines, while at the same time satisfying a need for more spontaneous, active recreations. For those who turned to their friendly society for leisure activity as well as for practical aid, the lodge came to fill a similar role.

For an active minority of members, the friendly societies were centres of social activity. There were twelve lodges in the Footscray area in 1884, and twenty-one by 1887. After business was concluded at their weekly, fortnightly or monthly meetings, there was usually an hour or two of songs and conviviality. Lodges often organized balls and socials, and sometimes formed a choral society or other club. At one lodge social and pound night the 'attendance was somewhat extraordinary, there being no less than 100 couple[s] present.' Both the social involvement and the general formal organization of the Footscray friendly societies increased as they grew in size. A Friendly Societies' Association had been formed in the early 1880s. Apart from administering financial and other benefits the Association played

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169 By the end of 1891, total lodge membership numbered 2,548: over 40 per cent of males over 15. Lack, I, 234; Advertiser, 4 June 1887.

170 Independent, 21 April, 19 May, 2, 23 June 1883; 18, 25 October 1884; 8 October 1887; Advertiser, 26 February 1885; 2 June 1894; Chronicle, 4 September 1886.

171 Advertiser, 26 May 1894.

172 Lack, I, 234; Chronicle, 1 January 1887; Independent, 11 March 1899.
an active social role. The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement, which continued successfully in Footscray for several years, sometimes attracting three or four hundred people, was promoted by the Footscray, Yarraville and District Friendly Societies' Association. The Association also organized quoits, cribbage, euchre and debating tournaments, as well as a cricket competition and shooting matches. At a meeting in 1898 the popular game of marbles was the centre of attention. Nearly all the friendly societies and many of the churches in Footscray had formed clubs

for the purpose of fostering and regulating in a systematic manner the popular game of marbles, ... and it was now thought advisable that a central council having supreme control over the various clubs, should be formed ... 173

These games were popular enough for the Association to consider sponsoring competitions and providing prizes. Even more significant was the development of this working man's Association as a central organizing body for the leisure activities of lodge members. The organization and regulation of sport and games was occurring at all levels of society, involving working men and their casual games as well as football and the Victorian Football Association.174 Lodge office-holders were usually middle-class men, as were committee members of the Mechanics' Institute.175 However, working men's preferences triumphed:

173 Independent, 19 June, 28 August, 4 December 1897; 5 March, 2, 16 April, 14 May, 11 June, 13 August, 1 October, 26 November 1898; 11, 25 March 1899.
174 In 1894 an iron quoits association was formed by clubs in the working-class areas of Collingwood, Port Melbourne and Yarraville. Rules and by-laws were adopted and issued in book form. Advertiser, 27 October 1894.
175 Secretaries of friendly societies in 1887 included J. Greenwood, almost certainly John Greenwood, a stonemason, and son of Luke Greenwood, founder of the Footscray and Malsbury Stone Cutting and Quarrying Company; J. Palmer, who owned the newsagency and Post Office in Yarraville; James Tynan, a local butcher; and W.B. Wilkes, a local music teacher and bookseller. Advertiser, 4 June 1897. Occupation details from Sands and McDougall, Directory 1880-1900. Mechanics' Institute office-holders tended to be estate agents, solicitors and owners of local businesses. The most active Footscray Friendly Society, the Australian Natives' Association, was markedly middle-class. Local doctors and businessmen predominated. The branch met at least once a fortnight and often held socials, debates and smoke nights. Frequently, women were welcome guests. Given the middle-class dominance, the emphasis on activities like impromptu speaking was not surprising. Independent, 22, 29 March 1884; 24 July, 7 August, 11 December 1885; 5 February 1887; 26 January, 5 October 1895; 6 October, 3 November 1900; Advertiser, 6 August 1886.
games, sports and social activity replaced lectures and debates. Whatever
the organizers may have thought, popular taste was decisive. As the
speaker at the marbles association meeting indicated, working men knew
what was considered good for them, but they rejected such organized
improvement and chose their own pastimes.

Footscray's other major community organization, the Church, also
played a large leisure-time role. On census day, over 40 per cent of
the Footscray community declared themselves Anglican, nearly 17 per
cent Catholic, 15 per cent Presbyterian and 14 per cent Methodist. \(176\) Social
activity reflected these proportions, although surprisingly little Catholic
activity was reported. \(177\) All churches held bazaars, concerts, teas and sales
to raise money, and this type of activity was a continuing social
commitment for church members, particularly women. \(178\) As well, there
was the traditional religious role of the church. Attendance at services,
Sunday school teaching, choir practice and similar functions occupied
a large part of leisure-time for active church members. All churches
were involved, to varying degrees, in the provision of broader cultural
and entertainment opportunities. The Wesleyan Church Mutual Improvement
Association, formed in 1885, continued to meet regularly for lectures and

\(176\) Table 3:5
Footscray and Greater Melbourne: Percentage of Population
of different religions: 1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greater Melbourne</th>
<th>Footscray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474,440</td>
<td>19,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalian (Anglican)</td>
<td>40.22</td>
<td>41.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>15.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>11.08</td>
<td>13.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>7.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>20.38</td>
<td>15.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sects etc.</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Victorian Cenagua, 1891*
These percentages remained fairly constant from 1881 to 1901, so I
have given only the 1891 figures.

\(177\) This gap may stem from a lack of information rather than from inactivity.
Proprietors of the local newspapers were Anglicans and Protestants, and,
therefore, may have tended to publicize their own churches' activities.

\(178\) *Chronicle*, 18, 25 September 1886; 8 September 1888; *Independent*, 19 May
1893; 8 October 1887; *Advertiser*, 30 May 1891.
discussions until 1892, and from 1898 to 1900. A gymnastic class was formed in the late 1890s. A Footscray branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society began in 1892, and soon established a Drama Club which performed in Footscray and other areas. This society was still active at the turn of the century.

With newspaper reports as the sole source of information it is difficult to document fully the progress of these church groups. They may have existed successfully for years without being mentioned in the press. The activities of the Presbyterian Mutual Improvement Society, formed in 1883, received regular press coverage at first. Although it was acknowledged that, as a rule, the life of such societies, 'in Footscray especially, has heretofore been very brief', the society made a good start and continued to meet until at least mid-1888. The regular fortnightly debates and social evenings attracted a good attendance. A series of monthly lectures, the first of which was entitled 'David Livingstone', was well attended. Other organizations included a Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, and a Literary Society, the male and female members of which held regular lively debates and entertainments throughout the 1890s. This society was particularly active during the worst years of the depression. On a mid-winter Monday night in 1894, over 100 attended a reading of Julius Caesar.

Towards the end of the century the Presbyterian Church organized a series of Friday evening lectures, and formed a Chess and Draughts Club which met twice weekly. The young men of the church established a gymnastic club. Without attendance figures the popularity of these groups is difficult to gauge, though continued existence and regular meetings were, in Footscray, one measure of success.

179 *Independent*, 8 May 1886; 25 August 1888; 23 January 1892; 17 March 1900; *Advertiser*, 20 October, 1 December 1888.
180 *Independent*, 15 July 1893; 31 March 1894; 3 September 1898; 19 August 1899.
182 *Advertiser*, 12 June 1885; 13 February, 9 April, 17 June 1892; 16 September 1893; 10 March, 14 July 1894; *Independent*, 23 January 1892; 11, 25 September 1897; 1, 15 October 1898; 17 March 1900.
St. John's Church of England was the most active and popular Footscray church. The Progressive Union began the 1883 'season' with a Grand Opening Night Conversazione in the Royal Hall, at a cost of 1s. Members continued to meet regularly in the Royal Hall, on alternate Tuesday evenings. At one of the June 1883 meetings, 150 ladies and gentlemen attended, and fifteen new members were admitted. The next meeting was a 'Gentlemen's Night', with smoking, singing, draughts and chess. This pattern of successful social and games evenings continued throughout 1883 - 1884, with attendances between 100 and 400, and frequent enrolments of new members. After a recess of four months, 200 members opened the 1885 season, in April, with a Fruit Soiree and Conversazione. More serious purposes were served by a series of Wednesday evening winter lectures given by well-known speakers. Audiences ranged from seventy to 250.  

After a relatively quiet interval of some years, 1891 saw a revival of Anglican social activity. St. John's Literary and Debating Society began to meet in the new Anglican Lecture Hall. In June 1891 twenty-six heard a paper and excellent debate on 'Realism in Fiction.' Social activity increased with the completion of the new hall. Eight hundred attended a grand social gathering there in 1892; an entertainment was planned for the hall once a month. An Entertainment Committee was established to organize 'grand spectacles and musical entertainments.' Church activities did not slacken perceptibly during the depression. The offertories for 1892 were in excess of any former year, and the seat rents only a fraction less than the previous year. St. John's Literary and Social Guild was formed in June 1894, and, the following month, attracted over 300 to a musical evening. During the 1890s some Footscray Anglicans, like the Wesleyans and Presbyterians, were interested.

183 Independent, 5 May, 2, 30 June, 14, 28 July, 11, 25 August, 15, 22 September 1883; 9 February, 3, 24 May 1884; 4 April, 4 July 1885; 29 May 1886.
184 In July 1891 over sixty attended the usual fortnightly meeting. Advertiser, 30 May, 20 June, 4 July 1891
185 Independent, 27 February, 1 October 1892; Advertiser, 24 September 1892; 28 January 1893; 9 June, 14 July, 8 September, 20 October 1894.
in physical exercise, although the problem of organizational continuity remained. An athletic club, lasting for a year from mid-1892 and revived in June 1895, attracted up to forty young people to its twice or thrice weekly meetings. Smaller gymnastic clubs for women (1899) and men (revived 1900) and a rope quoit club (1898) were also established.\(^{186}\)

Compared with the Wesleyans and Presbyterians, the Footscray Anglicans' equal emphasis on social activity and mutual improvement is striking. Attendances demonstrated the popularity of this diversity. This broad range of activities placed the church in the centre of the social life of active Anglicans. Such success was due largely to the Anglican incumbent in Footscray from 1877 to 1896, the Reverend H.F. Scott, who was active in church and community social organization. In his inaugural address to the Literary and Social Guild in 1894, Mr Scott indicated the extent to which he was in advance of some members of his congregation. The Guild aimed to cultivate the minds of members through essays, debates, readings and other instructive pursuits, and to 'nourish and stimulate their social qualities.' No one doubted the wisdom of the first aim, so he passed over it briefly, to discuss 'the methods by which the sociability of ... members may be developed and strengthened.' Throughout his lengthy address he urged a positive recreational role for the Church, and warned against condemning or ignoring people's natural desires for 'healthy and innocent enjoyment.' Instead,

the Church ... ought to undertake to purge our public sports, our dramatic entertainments, and our social pleasures of ... evils ...; and then, not only patronize them, but enter into a healthy competition in providing the people with them ... I know that I am an advanced thinker with reference to the legitimate use [of] amusements ... People, especially young people, will have pleasure. Is it not better to get it under the protection and patronage of the churches, than force them to places and scenes ... that are perilously dangerous.

Mr Scott concluded by assuring his respected conservative opponents that though he held his views firmly, he had always been prepared to heed the views of others; 'but as a set off, [I] would like a concession occasionally in favor of my way of thinking.'\(^{187}\)

\(^{186}\) *Independent*, 18, 29 June, 6, 27 August 1892; 21 January, 22 July 1893; 29 June 1895; 22 April, 18 November 1899; 26 March 1898; 7 April 1900.

\(^{187}\) *Advertiser*, 16 June 1894.
Scott's influence and enthusiasm led the Footscray Anglican Church to fill a major recreational and social function. The continued existence of church mutual improvement societies and the like during these years, when the Mechanics' Institute was struggling to survive, and when it was acknowledged that such activities were not popular in Footscray, can only be explained by the persistence of the churches and their ministers. They regarded it as their duty to struggle against the prevailing trend towards irresponsible entertainment and frivolity; where other serious-minded organizations failed due to lack of public support, the small band of activists within each church struggled to continue with respectable social and improving activities. Scott, with his blend of the social and educational, succeeded in sugar-coating the improvement pill. Similarly, the popularity of temperance activities in Footscray rested as much on their entertainment value as on an acceptance of temperance principles. Nearly every temperance activity took the form of a concert or dramatic presentation. From 1883, the Blue Ribbon Army provided lively amusements, attracting between 40 and 160 in the early days, and over 600 in the later 1880s. This success derived from several factors: the entertainments were usually free; they were held on Saturday nights, a night during the 1880s when there was little other public local entertainment; vocal audience participation was encouraged; and women were involved in the performances, as they were in all temperance activities. Evidence suggests that the regularity and frequency of locally produced entertainment in Footscray was unusual. There was some truth in the boast that Footscray stands alone amongst the suburbs in this respect of producing regularly ... [local] entertainments ... High praise was directed towards entertainments which kept 'our population

188* The Independent, 14 26 July, 4 August 1883; 7 February 1885; 8, 15, 29 May, 12 June, 3 July 1886.
189 The early popularity of the Salvation Army in Footscray stemmed from similar causes; see Advertiser, 11 February 1888.
190 Independent, 20 December 1890. See also: Advertiser, 11 June 1887.
in the borough of a Saturday evening, instead of the people going to the Metropolis to spend their loose cash.\textsuperscript{191} This stress on taking one's pleasures in Footscray had an economic motive, particularly when promoted by the local press, but to the extent that such praise evoked a response it strengthened community bonds. Dances were among the most regular and popular local activities. Assemblies or dances catering for a wide range of ages and social levels were held nearly every week night during winter, often until very late. The range of halls available largely determined the types of dances which were held. During the 1880s the venue was the Royal Hall; the Temperance Hall came into use as a dance hall in 1890, and the Mechanics' Institute in 1893.\textsuperscript{192} Dances held in the two last named were public rather than 'select' assemblies. Entry was not restricted to club members, and admission charges were low. They were held at the two smaller halls because the rent of the Royal Hall was too high for a cheap weekly dance.\textsuperscript{193}

During the 1880s there were more select assemblies than public dances. One of the local doctors established an exclusive Quadrille Assembly in June 1883. Gloves were in great demand for its first social evening, at which members danced to a Bavarian Band from eight until midnight. Similar assemblies, attracting between sixty and seventy couples, continued throughout the 1880s. Other private clubs were formed, with limited membership and an emphasis on their 'select' nature. Tickets to the Royal Assembly's plain and fancy dress ball, held in September 1884, cost gentlemen 10s 6d and ladies 5s and were available to the public only on the recommendation of committee members.

\textsuperscript{191}Independent, 8 May 1886; 13 October 1888; 10 July 1897; Advertiser, 11 June 1887. This emphasis was part of a broader view noted by Lack: as in other industrial suburbs in nineteenth century Melbourne, Footscray's manufacturers and workers strongly favoured protectionism. 'The protectionist argument - buy only colonial-made goods, create employment and make decent working conditions possible - spawned a variant on the local level: live locally, spend locally and keep your suburb prosperous.' Lack, I, 56.

\textsuperscript{192}Independent, 11 October 1890; 12 March, 6 August, 5 November 1892; 21 January, 8 April 1893; Advertiser, 23 July 1892.

\textsuperscript{193}Advertiser, 23 December 1893.
This ball was the first of its kind in the borough; everyone was agog, discussing costumes and other details. Some of those involved in forming such clubs were: the three local doctors, the part-owner of a leading Footscray tobacconist, the partner in a large local timber yard, and the proprietor of the Advertiser. 194

The most successful and most select club of the 1880s was the Bachelors' Assembly, which held a series of seven or so dances each year. Subscribers paid a £1 ls (later £1.7.6) membership fee. Control of this assembly was tight. 'A Member' suggested, early in 1885, that a meeting be called to elect officers and to see last season's balance sheet, if it existed. He concluded: 'I do not think it is right for the same chosen few to re-elect themselves every season, as a committee to manage an assembly, which consists of upwards of seventy members.' John Waters, the Honorary Secretary, replied that there was a balance sheet, but that the club was a private rather than a public concern; the committee chose the members, not the members the committee. 195 Nevertheless, it was not politic to display overt snobbery or exclusiveness in Footscray. In June 1886 it was announced that the Mayor would give a ball 'to which the old and principal residents will be invited.' He assured the public, however, that the ball was more to celebrate his daughter's birthday than to mark the end of a successful year in office 'or go "one higher" than his municipal predecessors.' 196 The casual, cheap dances of the 1890s satisfied the need for more local entertainment and activity during the depression, when fewer people could afford to travel to city entertainments. 197 These dances tended to be held on

195 *Independent*, 21, 28 March 1885; 17 April 1886.
197 There is no way of knowing, but one wonders: did people choose to stay within the suburb during the depression for other than financial reasons? Did they lack the will - almost the courage - to venture further afield, seeking instead the security of familiar faces and surroundings? See: H. Jahoda, P.F. Lazarsfeld, H. Zeisel, *Marienthal: The Sociography of an Unemployed Community*, (New York, 1971; 1st published in German, 1933), x-xi.
Saturday night which, in Footscray as in other suburbs, had been traditionally a shopping and promenading night, rather than a time for organized entertainment. By the late 1880s there was usually at least one entertainment staged in Footscray each Saturday night.

Local amateur concerts and dramatic performances outnumbered the professional companies, though the latter did appear frequently. In the midst of the depression the Zoety Comedy Company was performing in Footscray every Monday night. Two years later the Metropolitan Dramatic and Comedy Company, after a long and prosperous country tour, leased the Royal Hall for a three month season. There were occasional complaints that amateur shows were repetitive and unimaginative; in 1884 a concert was given in honour of a local vocalist who had 'assisted at over 1700 entertainments during the past fifteen years ...' 199 People attended local shows for reasons other than a desire for professional, sophisticated entertainment. Widely travelled professional variety companies were not always as well patronised as the local Saturday night Popular and Temperance Concerts. Audiences responded to the casual, familiar atmosphere of amateur performances. They enjoyed seeing local talent perform, and sometimes took a vocal part in the performance. The Dagonet Dramatic Company, which was 'chiefly composed of local gentlemen' staged a well-known melodrama in the Royal Hall:

The tastes of the Footscray audiences are evidently gratified by sensational and exciting incidents, and this play was full of such which were loudly applauded when the hero conquered, and as loudly hissed and hooted when the villain reigned supreme. 199

Within the municipal boundaries people established their own informal everyday patterns, sometimes mixing business with pleasure. Saturday night shopping, for instance, was more than a practical enterprise. It was several hours of promenading, observing, buying, casual meeting and communication. One shopkeeper showed lantern slides on a screen above the roof, to entertain and attract shoppers. A local report in 1884 noted that for years Footscray inhabitants had spent their

198 Independent, 17 May 1884; 17 October 1885; 15 October 1898; Advertiser, 30 May 1891; 17 June 1893; Chronicle, 23 June 1888.
199 Independent, 15 May, 28 August, 4, 19 September 1886; 28 May, 8 October 1887; 18 July, 19 September 1896; 10 July 1897; Advertiser, 21 May, 27 August 1886.
wages at the central city markets, neglecting local traders. Now, on
Saturday nights, Nicholson, Hopkins and Barkly Streets were 'brilliant
with gas jets and lively with the crowds which almost thronged the
footpaths' to inspect and buy from local traders.²⁰⁰ Informal social
contact centred on the main shopping area, Sunday afternoon walks along
the wharf, where several hundred people sometimes gathered, and along
the river generally. Bad language, offensive behaviour and nude bathing
in these public areas repelled some people.²⁰¹ Those with large homes,
or enough money to hire a public hall, could entertain privately;
this option was restricted to people like the local doctors, lawyers
and bank managers, and the owners of large businesses.²⁰² The home
of a Footscray workingman was not large enough for entertaining, nor
was this practice something to which he aspired. The home was the centre
of family life and relaxation; organized, and much informal, leisure
activity took place in public areas.

It is easier to list the range of pursuits open to Footscray
residents than it is to estimate the numbers who participated in the
various activities. Attendance figures for organized activities are
fragmentary (and for casual ones non-existent), so it is not possible
to ascertain the proportion of Footscray residents who regularly
attended public activities.²⁰³ Dances, concerts, meetings, lectures and
socials were held throughout the week, often until very late during the
working week. Saturday was becoming a night for organized local enter-
tainment. The 'weekend' was reserved for sport, shopping and outdoor
activities, and week nights for indoor pursuits. On any night the great
majority of Footscray residents were at home. Much leisure-time was
spent in these cramped, crowded surroundings, extending to the garden
and street life at the weekend and on summer evenings. Home and family
duties would have filled much of this time, interspersed with reading,
hobbies and games.

²⁰⁰Footscray's first 100 years, n.p.; Independent, 1 November 1884.
²⁰¹Independent, 12 May 1883; 7 March 1885; 2 April, 6 August 1887; 5 January
1889.
²⁰²Independent, 19 June, 17 July, 2 October 1886; 12 November 1887; 18 April,
14 November 1891; 8 January 1898.
²⁰³In the late 1880s Footscray halls accommodated about 2,000: the total
population was approaching 20,000.
Many of the leisure-time changes in Footscray during the late nineteenth century were common to the whole society: spectator sport played an increasingly important, formal role; leisure choices, particularly for the middle-class, were extending and diversifying. This broadening of opportunities for satisfaction, recreation and stimulation was a force for harmony and stability in a city which was experiencing rapid social and economic change. Footscray was unusual: because a high proportion of residents worked within the suburb, community bonds were strong. Work and leisure were closely integrated. This characteristic explains the depth of social interaction which continued throughout the worst years of the 1890s. Familiarity with the local environment and inhabitants provided a secure base for continued identification with the community.

It has proved difficult to trace working-class leisure in any systematic way: even at this detailed local level, emphasis was on the doings of the small local elite, rather than on the pursuits of the majority. Nevertheless, some significant developments are evident. Even in 'working-class' organizations which were run by prominent middle-class men, members' preferences triumphed over improving activities. And these preferred working-class games and sports, which had been played, previously, informally around hotels, increasingly came to be organized and regulated in a similar way to the other, more prominent spectator sports. The same formalizing process was working at all levels.

The preceding discussion sheds some light on class divisions in Footscray, as manifested during leisure-time. There is very little evidence of class hostility, or of a bilharie built on middle-class paternalism and working-class deference. Class divisions in this unusual suburb were softened by local pride. Rather than the working-class deferring to or conflicting with middle-class leaders, the latter identified with Footscray's working-class character and reputation. They continued to live there once their businesses were established, and played an active role in many community activities. The continued denigration of Footscray by outsiders cemented local ties.
CHAPTER IV

HAWTHORN

Hawthorn's distinctive features contrast sharply with those of Footscray. Beginning with a brief comparison of the two suburbs, I move to an examination of differences in background, physical setting, housing, function, and class and occupation of residents. I then explore leisure closely, seeking to discern and to explain Hawthorn's distinctive leisure patterns.

The two suburbs lay at a similar distance from the city: Footscray three and three-quarter miles to the west, Hawthorn three and a half miles to the east. Rivers separated both areas from Melbourne. During the 1880s the population of both suburbs increased very rapidly, and at a parallel rate. Hawthorn's population rose from 6,019 in 1881 to 19,551 in 1891; Footscray's increased from 5,993 to 19,142 during the same decade. Both were proclaimed cities in the early 1890s. While not unimportant, these similarities were overshadowed by the differences. Footscray's characteristics are familiar. Hawthorn was a middle-class residential suburb, with most resident wage-earners employed elsewhere. Signs of its rural, orchardist origins were still evident, and there was very little industry. It was established by the 1880s as a dormitory or commuter suburb, housing workers who travelled daily to the city.

Why study such a suburb? Hawthorn lacked Footscray's close work-leisure connection: it was not, to the same degree, a functional unit. Was it, then, anything more than a local government division? These doubts raise the very issues which should structure a study of leisure in such a suburb. Through exploring Hawthorn's leisure facilities, activities and social networks we can determine whether, and how, community life was affected by this disjunction between work and leisure. Not everyone experienced a complete separation of these two spheres: Hawthorn did function as an integrated environment for those who lived and worked there, including the women and children who

\footnote{Victorian Census, 1881, 1891.}
spent each working day within its boundaries. Was there any difference between the leisure activity of these people and of those residents who spent much of their time outside the suburb?

Hawthorn is of central importance for this study. The rise of residential suburbs characterised nineteenth century urban development. Such suburbs were part of the move towards greater specialization within the workplace, the workforce and the physical urban environment. Whether these suburbs developed as middle-class retreats from industrialism, or because certain land was unsuited to industrial use, is less important here than is the fact of their emergence. Footscray's industrial/residential mix was untypical: Hawthorn represented the growing residential suburbs. A study of leisure in such a suburb highlights the social consequences of urbanization. Did people identify closely with their suburb and with local concerns? Were there signs of fragmentation between work (city) and home (suburb), or did people interact as 'full personalities' at home? These broad concerns give rise to many specific questions. How did Hawthorn residents meet socially? Was there a strong, shared sense of community? How important was the local area for social contact, and how important the work base? Did the depression reveal close local ties, as in Footscray? Was Hawthorn society uniformly middle-class, or was there evidence of class strain?

One feature of Hawthorn life was significant: there was much more private leisure activity there than in Footscray. This chapter does not deal extensively with that private sphere, but its existence affects the study in two ways. First, it is necessary to explain the origin and significance of this private emphasis. Secondly, we need to balance against the private activities the public facilities and activities that were available.

Residential Character

Before the rush of development in the 1880s Hawthorn was a pleasant rural outer suburb. There were two types of residents: 'the market gardeners, orchardists, and brickmakers, who actually made their living in the district', and 'the wealthy city merchant or professional gentleman who could afford to drive in and out of Melbourne every day.' In 1885 it was described as a 'pleasant residential suburb lying in the
midst of fine agricultural land', with market gardens adjoining sewer villa sites.²

The picturesque rural character of the area was its main attraction. A visitor to one Hawthorn home in the early 1880s described a 'pretty villa' where they enjoyed 'vegetables, cream, butter and flowers' from the garden. For thirty years the owner, Robert Wallen, chairman of the Stock Exchange and editor of the Australian Banking and Insurance Record, had relaxed after business by tending his garden and a few animals.³ Some of the large estates remained intact until the turn of the century. In 1890, one Hawthorn property, now the site of Scotch College, comprised sixty-five acres of wooded terrain, including the last major stand of old red gum forest on Yarra river banks.⁴ The wooded undulating land, rising from the river's west towards the Dandenong Ranges, was ideal residential land once reliable transport was available. It possessed few of Footscray's advantages for the location of industry, and none of its marked disadvantages as a residential suburb.

During the 1860s Melbourne's southern and eastern suburbs developed as a middle-class residential area. Regular rail services to Hawthorn began in 1861, and in 1882 the line was extended on through Camberwell to Box Hill, giving Hawthorn two new stations, Glenferrie and Auburn. The initial rail link with Melbourne stimulated rapid growth, bringing a 'great influx of lower middle class population ...' Daily rail transport to the city opened the way to residence in Hawthorn, and 'the clerk and the higher grade mechanic ... took advantage of it in great numbers.'

²The History of Hawthorn to 1896, (Hawthorn 1896), 91; Jos. Pickersgill, Victorian Railways Tourist's Guide ... (Melbourne 1885), 108. There is no equivalent for Hawthorn of Lack's comprehensive work on Footscray. The following outline of the suburb's character is, therefore, necessarily more impressionistic and reliant on contemporary description than was the parallel examination of Footscray. Nevertheless, I am confident that the outline, though lacking a solid statistical base, is accurate.

³Fazulbhoy Vistam, A Khoja's Tour in Australia, (Bombay 1885), 50. During the 1870s an annual event for the Melbourne Hunt Club was the meet at 'Tooronga', Hawthorn, where Colonel Ward and his wife provided luncheon before the followers set out across country. Heather E. Ronald, 'Hounds are Running', History of the Melbourne Hunt Club, 1853-1957, typescript, not paginated; in 1891 745 acres (31.2 per cent) of Hawthorn's area was used for farming. The suburb accommodated 509 milk cows, 107 other cattle, 12 sheep, 21 pigs and 1,069 horses. George Rolfe, Hawthorn 1900-1920: Aspects of Change in a Suburban Community (B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1976), 3.

Land sales and building increased dramatically during the 1870s. Well-built four and five roomed villas, selling at between £225 and £300 to prosperous mechanics, mushroomed throughout the suburb.5

Hawthorn’s genteel character changed with this influx. Many of the new inhabitants were ‘in a humble walk of life compared to the majority of the old residents. The coachsmith, the bootmaker, and even the monumental mason and the undertaker’ took up allotments. The subdivision known as Glenferrie expanded into a clustering little town of small villas and cozy cottages. Nevertheless, Hawthorn remained distinctly middle-class, ranging from the older areas ‘inhabited chiefly by city gentlemen’ to the newer pockets of lower middle-class white collar workers. Davison confirms these contemporary impressions, explaining that during the early 1880s homes sprang up quickly within a half-mile radius on the north and south slopes on either side of the new stations.6

A branch railway line from Hawthorn to Kew opened in 1887. Previously, the only link had been an omnibus service. Omnibuses and horse cars also ran regularly to and from the city. Before the rail line was extended, omnibuses met each Melbourne train at Hawthorn station, and transported passengers to Camberwell, Upper Hawthorn and Kew. After the rail extension there was still a limited omnibus service, from Hawthorn station, along Power Street and up Riversdale Road to Auburn Road. Several ‘buses a day continued on to Camberwell. After the cable tram reached the Hawthorn Bridge, in the late 1880s a horse tram service was established along Burwood Road to Power Street, south to Riversdale Road, then along Riversdale Road to Auburn.7


6Hawthorn Express, 18 September 1885; H. Thomas, The Guide to Melbourne and Suburbs ..., (Melbourne [1879]), 69; Graeme Davison, The Rise and Fall of ‘Marvelous Melbourne’ 1880-1895 (Ph.D. thesis, ANU, 1969), II, 385. Rolf K. Kalf suggests that, by the end of the First World War, Hawthorn was becoming a ‘grey area’ between the strongly working-class suburbs across the river (Collingwood, Richmond) and the surrounding middle-class suburbs of Kew, Camberwell and Malvern, and that this change was taking shape at the end of the century. Rolf K., 15-18.

7Harrigan, 92; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 13, 20 October 1882; R.P. Whitworth (Comp.), The Official Handbook & Guide to Melbourne ..., (Melbourne 1880), 229; F. Watmuff’s Australian Almanac for 1880, [Melbourne 1879], 31; Bradshaw, 51.
Hawthorn was better served by transport, both within the suburb and to the surrounding area, than was Footscray. Yet Hawthorn was only a little over half the size of Footscray, with an equivalent population. Several distinguishing features explain this difference. There were three railway stations in Footscray: the line divided at the main Footscray station, one branch going west to Footscray West station, the other south to Yarraville and on to Williamstown (see map figure 3). This divided line meant that the railway serviced a greater area in Footscray, and was of great value for transport within the suburb as well as to outside areas.

Hawthorn was a transport centre for the surrounding area, particularly until 1882, when the railway line was extended to Box Hill. Because the cable tram line (which began operating in November 1885) stopped at Hawthorn Bridge, Hawthorn was a central point for transport services linking outlying suburbs with the tram route. Finally, although half the size of Footscray, Hawthorn's population was more dispersed. Large areas of Footscray land were unsuited to housing (or industry), and much of the remainder was industrial land. Residential areas were comparatively compact, lessening public transport needs. Hawthorn, on the other hand, being almost entirely residential, had a greater area requiring public transport services. Because of this important difference, it is misleading to contrast figures on the number of houses or persons to the acre in these suburbs. In 1881 Footscray averaged .25 dwellings to the acre, and Hawthorn .44, yet the number of inhabited dwellings was almost the same, and Hawthorn housing blocks were larger. The number of persons to a room provides a more accurate gauge of quality of life in relation to housing. In 1881 Hawthorn averaged .93 persons to a room (Footscray: 1.23). Only St. Kilda, Brighton and Prahran averaged fewer persons per room.

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8 Table n:1
Footscray and Hawthorn: Area and Population: 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Footscray 1881</td>
<td>4,525 acres</td>
<td>5,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawthorn 1881</td>
<td>2,389 acres</td>
<td>6,019</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881.

9 Leader, 31 October 1885, 29; 7 November 1885, 28.
10 Victorian Census, 1881.
Figure 5
Hawthorn c. 1892
Hawthorn's close ties with the surrounding area, through transport links and, as we shall see later, through social interaction, were the result of a natural eastern suburbs cohesion. Hawthorn's municipal boundaries were not physical barriers. Footscray, bounded by the Saltwater and Yarra Rivers, the West Melbourne Swamp and a barren area to the west, was physically isolated. Hawthorn was defined by Burke and Barker Roads to the east and north, and by Gardiners Creek and the Yarra River to the south and west. The creek could be crossed easily at several points, so the Yarra was the only significant physical boundary. It did impose some limitations (halting the cable tram before Hawthorn Bridge, for instance), but it was the shortest boundary, crossed by the railway line and, by the turn of the century, by three other bridges. There was no sense of physical isolation in Hawthorn, despite the rural surroundings and the sought-after separation from industry and from the city hustle and bustle. Hawthorn shared these qualities with the other less-developed eastern suburbs of Camberwell, Canterbury, Surrey Hills, Kew and Malvern. Local transport and social ties, as well as the suburb's almost solely residential character, largely determined the form of community life.

There were few local employment opportunities. Apart from the small industrial and artisan workforce, shopkeepers, real estate agents, a few local tradesmen and professional men, and those working for the Post Office or in municipal offices comprised those locally employed. The largest industrial establishments were several brick manufactories; other workshops, between 1870 and 1890, included a saw and moulding mill, a coach-builder and a tanner and currier employing ten men. For 1885, Parsons lists six Hawthorn factories, employing 66 men; in 1890, fifteen factories employed 292 men and one female.\(^{11}\) Using rate books for

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\(^{11}\)In 1885, 27 Footscray factories employed 574 males and 1 female; in 1890, 72 factories employed 1,273 males and 11 females. Parsons, I, 166A; II, 639-43; R.C. on Tariff, questions 8791-5.
four Melbourne suburbs Davison has calculated the estimated proportions of householders of various occupations in 1883/4. 12

Table 4:2
Percent Occupations of Householders in 4 Melbourne Suburbs, 1883-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Collingwood</th>
<th>Footscray</th>
<th>Hawthorn</th>
<th>St. Kilda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Managerial</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Shopkeepers &amp;</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep. Trades</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Artisans</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clerks</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Snr Assistants</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Service</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unskilled</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Not in the</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workforce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Unknown or</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NO. SAMPLE</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 382.

Davison notes that Hawthorn's middle-class tone was confirmed by the conspicuous presence of clerks (17.3 per cent of the household population), professional men (5.5 per cent) and business directors and managers (10.2 per cent). It seems to have attracted many of the 'new' businessmen of the 'eighties: accountants, shorthand clerks, land bank managers and manufacturers' and real estate agents. 13

12 The four municipalities were selected as contrasting types: Collingwood, 'the original and "traditional" working-class suburb'; St. Kilda, old, established, previously genteel and still fashionable; Footscray, 'the "new" industrial suburb of the 'eighties' and Hawthorn, 'one of the new middle-class railway suburbs' to the east. Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 382-5.

13 Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 382, 386.
These figures confirm, too, Hawthorn's status as a dormitory suburb for city workers. The suburb offered very few employment opportunities in such areas: clearly, these men travelled to work in the city each day.¹⁴

Four broad groups of people had ties with Hawthorn. The great majority of female and juvenile residents spent their days there; most adult male residents worked outside the suburb, usually in the city; many domestic servants worked and lived in Hawthorn; residents of other suburbs visited for social and transport reasons, and to shop. Those who worked or travelled regularly outside the suburb had opportunities for forming social ties outside, as well as within, Hawthorn.

Demographically, the suburb differed markedly in one respect from Footscray. Females outnumbered males, by 9.29 per cent in 1881, 6.29 per cent in 1891 and 11.49 per cent in 1901.

Table 4:3
Hawthorn: Population 1881, 1891, 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6,019</td>
<td>2,730</td>
<td>3,289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>19,551</td>
<td>9,161</td>
<td>10,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>21,430</td>
<td>9,484</td>
<td>11,946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901

This disparity was almost certainly due to the presence of a large number of resident female domestic servants. Closer examination of the male and female population composition supports this explanation. Greatest disparity occurred in the 15 to 29 age group, which was the age range of the majority of female domestic servants.

¹⁴ This division affected social customs and arrangements in many small ways: tickets for a charity concert to be held in Hawthorn Town Hall in 1882 were on sale in Hawthorn and in the city. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 2 June 1882.
Table 3.4
Hawthorn: Percentage by which females outnumbered males in 5 age groups, 1881, 1891, 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>-1.29</td>
<td>-3.60</td>
<td>-1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>18.47</td>
<td>16.41</td>
<td>22.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>15.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>-2.52</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>10.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>11.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901.

As we shall discover, there was little evidence of leisure activities being provided for, or organized by, this significant minority group of female domestic servants. Nor was there much local public entertainment for them. In any case, these women had little leisure-time. Sunday, the traditional free day for domestic servants, was not a day of organized leisure. For the fortunate servants granted a free week night, there was little available in Hawthorn, apart from an occasional charity concert or church social meeting. These women were one of the groups most firmly excluded from organized urban leisure.

As with Footscray and Victoria as a whole, Hawthorn's population was predominantly young. In 1881 over 68 per cent of the population was aged under 30, only a little over 26 per cent was aged between 30 and 60, and less than 5 per cent was aged over 60. These proportions remained substantially unaltered during the next twenty years. Hawthorn, too, was a suburb of young adults.

15 See above 125 for comparative figures.
### Table 4:5
Hawthorn: Number and Proportion of Population in 4 age groups, 1881, 1891, 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>2178 (36.19)</td>
<td>6228 (31.86)</td>
<td>6533 (30.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>1957 (32.51)</td>
<td>6728 (34.41)</td>
<td>5913 (27.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>981 (16.30)</td>
<td>3761 (19.24)</td>
<td>5131 (23.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>634 (10.53)</td>
<td>1810 (9.26)</td>
<td>2211 (10.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-</td>
<td>262 (4.33)</td>
<td>994 (5.08)</td>
<td>1620 (7.56)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Victorian Census, 1881, 1891, 1901.*

In 1881, only approximately one-sixth of the nearly 2,000 young adults aged between 15 and 30 was married. For the slightly 1,000 aged between 30 and 45 the proportion jumped to a substantial three-quarters. Figures for 1891 were similar. In terms of leisure needs, then, there was a disproportionately large group of young unmarried people seeking entertainment, activity and company. The comparatively few facilities available for this group suggest that greater freedom of movement made it possible for them to travel to the city for entertainment. Hawthorn's leisure facilities and activities were geared more to the large group of young married couples with young families. Unlike their counterparts in Footscray, household help would have freed many of these young families from some household responsibilities.

### Table 4:6
Hawthorn: Number and Proportion of Married Persons, Males and Females in 4 age groups, 1881, 1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>1957 (16.40)</td>
<td>732 (13.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>981 (74.92)</td>
<td>442 (78.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>634 (78.08)</td>
<td>325 (85.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-</td>
<td>262 (56.11)</td>
<td>126 (74.60)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Victorian Census, 1881, 1891.*
Hawthorn and Footscray did not differ significantly in population size or composition: the one noticeable difference (in the balance of sexes) arose directly from Hawthorn's generally higher socio-economic status.

Depression

It is difficult to gauge the effects of the depression in a suburb like Hawthorn, where the majority of resident workers worked outside the municipality. There was no closure or scaling down of large numbers of local factories and businesses, as in Footscray. Unemployment occurred outside the suburb. The local exception was the closure of the three brickworks. As they were the largest single employers of labour in Hawthorn, the resultant unemployment attracted much local attention. In 1899, 142 men worked at the three yards. By 1891, one had closed, and the remaining two employed only 106 men. No yards operated for any length of time from 1892 to 1894; there were signs of a slight recovery early in 1894, and by the following year two yards had re-opened and were employing fifty-seven men.\(^{16}\)

Giving evidence before a government committee on unemployment in September 1893, Hawthorn's Mayor estimated that there were 500 people out of work in the district.\(^{17}\) This estimate understated the number of unemployed, and ignored the distress caused by partial unemployment and

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16 Table 4:7
Hawthorn Brickyards and Potteries, 1885-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Works</th>
<th>Hands Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistical Register of Victoria, 1885-1890, 'Production'. Boroondara Standard, 18 May 1894.

17 Hawthorn Citizen, 23 September 1893. More than a year earlier, a local observer estimated that at least 20 per cent of those who usually worked for weekly wages were unemployed. Boroondara Standard, 24 June 1892.
wage reductions. Unemployment of manual labourers attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it was the most visible cause of distress in the suburb. There was, however, another reason for this concentration. Local commentators were reluctant to admit that Hawthorn's citizens were experiencing significant hardship. They focussed on the plight of unemployed manual workers, rather than on white collar distress and unemployment. Even Hawthorn's working men were considered less likely to suffer than were workers in other areas. The men who lived in Auburn and Lower Hawthorn were nearly all mechanics and skilled tradesmen, rather than labourers and factory hands. This was probably true, but one wonders why, during a severe depression, these skilled workers were less likely to face unemployment or economic hardship, particularly when they lived in an area of comparatively high rents and house prices. Such opinions stemmed from firmly-held beliefs in Hawthorn's respectability and prosperity. It was difficult to admit that economic hardship, hitherto the province of the shiftless and improvident, could threaten Hawthorn's worthy citizens.

Early reports of Hawthorn's economic condition stressed that there was little real want. Rents were being paid with 'fair regularity' and there were no abnormal demands on the poor box. The 'Disastrous Year' of 1893 could not be dismissed lightly. The development and consolidation of the 1880s had tied Melbourne people down as never before.

It is not always possible now for a man to leave his home and go and seek for something to do. There is a family to look after, with perhaps a house half paid for in a building society. And so the evil times have been felt in a[n] ... acute manner, ...

In Hawthorn, the bank stoppages were felt in a greater degree than in almost any other suburb; for every one of the financial institutions represented closed its doors ... [The closures] practically put a stop to all local trade, and the result is seen in the long line of empty shops in the principal thoroughfares, and the disappearance of many of the older business houses ... 20

Recovery dimmed memories of economic hardship. Commentators asserted that Hawthorn, which had not been affected as badly as other

18 Boroondara Standard, 24 June 1892.
19 Boroondara Standard, 24 June 1892.
20 Boroondara Standard, 5 January 1894.
suburbs, was one of the first to experience some recovery. Forgotten were those who had left for cheaper areas, or in search of work in the country and interstate. In June 1892 there were 350 empty houses. A year later there were 510: one house in eight. Population loss was not as great as in Footscray. Population dropped from over 19,000 in 1891 to a low of 18,806 in 1893. By the turn of the century it had increased to over 21,000. Most of those who left were young men in their twenties. In 1891 this group formed 21.4 per cent of the population; by 1901 the percentage had fallen to 24.5.

Middle-class distress was rarely mentioned: public discussion was reserved for the manual worker's plight. The Council provided relief work consisting entirely of stone-breaking, trenching and roadwork. Two Councillors questioned the worth of this type of relief work to many Hawthorn citizens. Councillor Russe remarked that manual work did not meet all the distress in Hawthorn. There were many men accustomed to mercantile and clerical pursuits who required assistance, but did not make their wants known.

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21 *Boroondara Standard*, 3 January 1896, 8 January 1897.

22 *Boroondara Standard*, 24 June 1892; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 2 June 1893.

Figures for each ward: Yarra - 97, Power - 56, Glenferrie - 149, Auburn - 208. *Boroondara Standard*, 26 May 1893. Seventy per cent of the empty houses were in the wards of Auburn and Glenferrie, which housed Hawthorn's lower middle-class and working-class residents.

23 *Statistical Register*, 1889-1900, 'Population'.

24 Rolfe, 8.

25 In mid-1892 the daily rate of pay for Hawthorn Council day-labourers was 7s. The rate for relief work from July 1892 to June 1894 was 4s. Those on relief rarely worked full-time: usually they were permitted to work 3 or 4 days a week, or one week on, one off. *Boroondara Standard*, 24 June, 29 July, 5 August 1892; 15 June 1894. The table below summarizes the fragmentary figures available on the number who applied for relief work, and those who obtained it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Registered</th>
<th>Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 1892</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1892</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1894</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1894</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Councillor Kiddell agreed:

Council might go a little further in the way of relief works. Some of the most deserving people in Hawthorn kept their poverty to themselves, and the public knew nothing about it. 26

Nothing came of these suggestions. Had some form of relief work been provided for white collar workers, pride would have prevented them from accepting it. The hardship facing city clerks and professional men was less apparent than that of the unemployed brickworkers. Rather than total unemployment, they experienced wage reductions and partial employment. Under these circumstances many could struggle on, though with a greatly reduced standard of living. Junior clerks burdened with young families and house repayments would have been severely pressed.

Council retrenchments and wage reductions provided a local example of the professional plight. In April 1893 Hawthorn Council amalgamated the offices of Town Clerk and City Engineer. The Engineer was appointed to the new position, and Council asked the Clerk to resign, cushioning the blow with three months' paid leave. 27 Salaries of other Council employees were reduced. 28 Demands on the Ladies' Benevolent Society indicated severe increasing hardship, and covered a wider range of the deserving poor than did the Council relief work.

26 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 8 July 1892.

27 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 7 April 1893; *Boroondara Standard*, 4, 14 April 1893, 6 March 1896. At first it was reported that the Town Clerk was negotiating for a position with a country shire. Three years later, he was appointed Town Clerk at Fremantle, Western Australia. All types of men went west in search of better prospects.

28 The Health Officer's honorarium was reduced from £50 to £25 per annum, the Analyst's from £15 to £10. Surrounding Councils carried economy measures even further: both Boroondara and Kew retrenched their telephones. *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 26 January, 10 February 1893; 7 December 1894. From the beginning of 1894 Kew Council adopted the following reductions: Town Clerk and Surveyor to £390 per annum (previously £440), Assistant Town Clerk £140 (£150), Inspector of Nuisances £50 (£84), Rate Collector and Hall Keeper £140 (£150), day labourers 6s per day (£7s). *Kew and Hawthorn express*, 17 November 1893.
Table 4:9
Hawthorn Ladies' Benevolent Society: Number of families and individuals receiving aid, 1891-1894.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 11 March, 24 June, 30 September 1897; *Boroondara Standard*, 30 September 1892, 10 March 1893, 16 March, 27 July 1894, 8 March 1895.

Table 4:10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Widows</th>
<th>Sick &amp; Infirm</th>
<th>Deserted Wives</th>
<th>Wives whose husbands are absent</th>
<th>Wives whose husbands are partly employed</th>
<th>Wives whose husbands are unemployed</th>
<th>Aged Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 11 March 1892; *Boroondara Standard*, 10 March 1893, 16 March 1894, 8 March 1895.

Widows and the families of the unemployed claimed most of the Society's attention and resources.

The reluctance to admit fully the severe, wide-ranging effects of the depression contrasted markedly with a readiness to admit that, socially, Hawthorn had become very dull. Summaries of local life published at the end of each year bemoaned the dearth of social functions. 'The pleasant Assembly and Quadrille Clubs have all disappeared, and an occasional charity ball is all that now takes place.' Even after economic recovery commenced, social activity continued to lag. Not until 1896 was any improvement noted:

29 *Boroondara Standard*, 5 January 1894, 4 January 1895, 3 January 1896.
Socially, Hawthorn has been well to the front during the last twelve months. The usual number of functions have been held privately, and publicly the record shows rather an improvement. 

These reports underestimated social activity: a survey of the local press during the early 1890s reveals many more dances, debates, social meetings and entertainments than these reports suggested. How was social life in Hawthorn affected by the depression?

Staging of entertainments, and spending money socially continued steadily, to the surprise of some observers. Takings from a five-day Village Festival in April 1893 were close to £800, which is extraordinary at a time when banks have suspended payment'. Friendly Societies and other bodies continued to organize socials and dances, and there were many concerts, fairs and dramatic performances. Several of the largest most successful entertainments raised money for the local relief fund and the Ladies' Benevolent Society. Other charitable and amateur performances continued: the churches, in particular, held concerts to raise money for their building funds and for other purposes. Activity was on a reduced scale, but entertainments were staged, attracted large audiences, and raised substantial sums.

Throughout the depression public reception of these performances followed a familiar pattern. Local, amateur shows were more successful than were professional companies or shows seeking funds for outside causes. In particular, entertainments which involved prominent local

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37 Boroondara Standard, 8 January 1897.
31 See, for examples: Kew and Hawthorn Express, 11 July 1890; Boroondara Standard, 14 August, 3, 17 October 1890; 3 July, 10 October 1891; 5 August, 21 October 1892; 2 June 1893; Hawthorn Citizen, 24 October 1891; 16 April, 21 May, 2 July, 13 August, 21 September, 15, 22 October, 5 November 1892; 18 March, 22 April, 26 August, 14 October 1893.
32 Hawthorn Citizen, 7, 28 May 1892; 22, 29 April 1893; Boroondara Standard, 5 August, 21 October 1892; 21, 28 April, 2 June 1893.
33 Hawthorn Citizen, 16 July 1892; 12 August, 2 September 1893; 11 August 1894; Boroondara Standard, 8 January 1897.
34 Hawthorn Citizen, 30 April, 14, 28 May, 16 December 1892; 8 April 1893; 19 May 1894.
citizens were assured of success.35 A flower show held early in 1894, to raise money for local charities was not a financial success because, the promoter explained,

the whole exhibition was completely ignored by what I suppose we must call the society of Hawthorn, those who visited and paid admission money being almost exclusively the working classes and the local shopkeepers. 36

There was a practical reason for the continuation of entertainments throughout the depression: Hawthorn's new Town Hall came into use early in 1890.37 This welcome addition to municipal facilities held 1,600 people, and proved a great stimulus to public social activity. The first Hawthorn Private Assembly was held in May 1890.

Hitherto, Hawthorn has been sadly behind other suburbs, but now, having a hall second to none, there is no reason why such social re-unions ... should not become exceedingly popular with residents. 38

The ambitious Hawthorn Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society, formed in the midst of the depression, intended to make good use of the new hall. Its 'excellent stage and accessories' were well-suited to dramatic performances, unlike the ill-equipped old hall. The Club began well, attracting the active support of many prominent citizens, but after its first successful performance in December 1893, it was not mentioned again in the local press.39 Failure was due less to the depression than to the

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35 Hawthorn Citizen, 15 April, 12 August 1893.
36 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 7, 12 January 1894.
37 The loan for the new Town Hall had been floated late in 1887. Boroondara Standard, 24 December 1887, 18 July 1890; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 2 May 1890.
38 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 16 May 1890. 'The possession of such a splendid hall in the district has suggested the idea of local entertainments instead of coming into the metropolis for them; ...' Boroondara Standard, 18 July 1890. Rental of the new hall was expensive. After several public complaints charges were reduced considerably. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 2 May 1890, 26 May 1893; Hawthorn Citizen, 3, 10, 24 June 1893. Other charges were reduced, on a smaller scale: a game of billiards at the Hawthorn Coffee Palace dropped to 1s 6d, then to 6d. Hawthorn Citizen, 25 February 1893, 6 October 1894.
39 Hawthorn Citizen, 23 December 1893; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 8, 22, 29 September, 27 October 1893; Australasian, 16 December 1893.
established Hawthorn preference for private rather than public entertainment - particularly public entertainment requiring sustained commitment. Hawthorn's citizens had not previously involved themselves greatly in community groups like amateur dramatic companies. While the new Town Hall did stimulate public entertainments and dances, the drive and social cohesion needed to sustain an amateur dramatic society was lacking. During the depression Hawthorn citizens drew closer together socially. Some increase in community interaction and local solidarity was apparent, though not as much as might have been expected, given the fact that there were many more people at home during the day. 

Sporting activity continued. A generally pessimistic report of economic and social activity during 1893 listed many sporting successes: the Bowling Club won the championship; the Cricket Club had increased in strength; the new Junior Firsts Football Club had won several matches; the various district tennis clubs had performed creditably; and the Hawthorn Harriers had run every Saturday during the winter. 'The result ... has been that Hawthorn is now taking a recognised place in the athletic world, and those residents who desire to, have no difficulty in participating in any department of it.' The position continued to improve. A similar report at the end of 1894 noted that 'in several departments' sport had 'shown a distinct advance'. Hawthorn Cricket Club was the leading district club; since joining the Victorian Cricket Association, membership had increased greatly. Junior cricket was flourishing, too, and the Bowling Club was unassailable. This increase in sporting activity was not incompatible with Hawthorn's private nature: most sport has to be played in public and semi-public clubs if high standards are desired. Large team games, in particular, are inseparable from public competition and open sporting clubs. The increasing range of sports available to Hawthorn residents, and the growth of club membership during the 1890s was a result of the population increase of the preceding decade, and was one of the few areas where local co-operation and activity did increase during the depression.

40 In July 1893 there were very large audiences at the Hawthorn Court. The fact of such a crowd of working men at the police court is only another evidence of the great dearth of employment at, and the unemployed are now glad to avail themselves of any little change in the monotonous daily task of walking about the streets or sitting at home. Looking for work is out of the question, for there is none to be had, and a few hours spent in the police court enables them to get a little cheap amusement.

41 Borroondara Standard, 5 January 1894, 4 January 1895.
There were signs of increasing social dissension. Social distinctions became more important, were more carefully delineated, and aroused more public comment and resentment. Serious disharmony surfaced on two occasions—late in 1890, and in May 1894. The issues around which dissension crystallised stemmed from Hawthorn's changing social composition. The significance of the depression is less easy to assess. As previously mentioned, the completion of the new Town Hall, early in 1890, stimulated public social activity, particularly the formation of quadrille clubs and assemblies. One of the first of these was the Hawthorn Private Assembly, formed in March 1890. It was not surprising that in a suburb unused to public and semi-public social gatherings there should be teething troubles, particularly involving the social standing of members. Hawthorn lacked a range of public activities, catering for various levels; the problem which quickly became apparent was one of selection and discreet exclusion of those considered undesirable. Hawthorn society had broadened during the 1880s. The influx of lower-middle-class workers posed problems in a suburb where, previously, there had been little need to articulate social distinctions. This broadening, occurring shortly before an increase in public social activity and a severe depression, resulted in social tensions which erupted in at least two serious public rows.

The first incident, in September 1890, concerned the Hawthorn Private Assembly. A member escorted a lady to one of the assemblies. Committee members accosted him on the dance floor, and asked the lady's name, occupation and previous position. The gentleman, 'a well known and respected' local resident, resented the insult to the lady, and the 'indelicate' questioning of someone 'whose good judgment would have been sufficient to debar him from bringing any undesirable person.' Following a further incident at the next assembly, and debate at a general meeting of the assembly, the issues were widely canvassed in several heated letters to the Editor. The old order was under strain; new social distinctions were evolving, albeit with much publicity and acrimony.

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42 Hawthorn and Kew Express, 14 March, 2 May 1890.
43 It was a private assembly, with a carefully limited membership, but the all-male members brought (unscreened) ladies, which was what caused the first trouble.
44 Borroodara Standard, 19 September 1890. More precisely, the committee members asked the occupation and previous position held by the lady which was not such as stated by the questioner. One suspects that the lady was accused of being a domestic servant, which would have put her quite beyond the pale at this select gathering, composed chiefly of employers of domestic servants.
45 Borroodara Standard, 5, 12, 19 September, 3 October 1890.
The disturbance four years later was more complex: questions of social standing were complicated by local loyalties and by an apparent uneasiness with the previous relegation of shopkeepers and tradesmen to a subordinate position. This later incident illustrated the marked social changes which had occurred, particularly in relation to lower middle-class workers. Though of professional, white-collar standing, and anxious to distinguish themselves from the working-class, they were not people of independent means or established social position. On a small scale the incident revealed the social problems accompanying the growth of this broad professional group.

Conflict began over a Chrysanthemum Ball organized by a group of citizens to aid the Hawthorn Ladies' Benevolent Society. Because it was a charity ball, they were granted free use of the Town Hall. Despite the ostensibly charitable aim, and the free use of a public facility, the promoters tightly controlled the issue of tickets. When the Town Clerk requested 'a few of the ball tickets for sale' due to 'frequent applications for the same', he was informed that 'owing to the rapid sale of the ... tickets,' issue had been stopped. In any case, Edgar M. Waters, Jun., continued,

I think it also as well, perhaps, to inform you that it was resolved ... that none but the committee have tickets for sale, and this is why none were forwarded you in the first instance. 46

Public reaction was swift, and in no doubt as to the real aims of the Chrysanthemum Ball Committee. Sale of tickets had been limited to a small circle composed mainly of the Collins-street masher element, several well-known Hawthorn shopkeepers having been refused the right of purchasing tickets'. One resident was surprised that free use of the Town Hall should have been granted to a party of snobs to entertain their own circle of friends at a cheap ball, under the cloak of charity, ... No wonder there was a large attendance, for 'birds of a feather flock together,' and the bank clerks and lawyers messengers were only too glad of the opportunity of obtaining a dance and a feed at the small charge of 4/- a head; for had the admission been fixed any higher I fear a good many of those present would have been numbered with the absentees.

46 Finally, Mr. Waters explained, 'That no provision has been made or is intended to be made for the reception of the Council or any member of it'. New and Hawthorn Express, 25 May 1894.
Indignant residents quickly organized another charity ball 'in which no class distinctions shall be made in regard to the disposal of tickets'. They hoped for a monster attendance, to demonstrate 'that all the charity is not confined to a few young men who work in Melbourne'.

Public opposition to the original ball was expressed in two ways. There was obvious antagonism towards outsiders, which is surprising considering the large number of residents who worked outside Hawthorn. However, this division was based to some extent on class lines. Established residents, particularly those who were involved in local affairs and who had for years run businesses and owned property in the suburb, allied with the small local shopkeepers and tradesmen. Respectability tended to be equated with a work or property commitment to the suburb.

People with this tangible community stake had lived in harmony. Social distinctions were understood and accepted; in particular, the lower levels did not display overt or unrealistic social ambition. newcomers who threatened this established pattern aroused antagonism as outsiders and upstarts. Much of the criticism of the ball promoters implied that they were more committed to their city workmates than to their fellow residents. These 'bank clerks and lawyers messengers', typified many of the lower middle-class professionals who had moved to Hawthorn in the 1880s. The strength and bitterness of the resentment directed towards them in 1894 suggests that antagonism had been building for some time.

Running through the criticism of the charity ball organizers was a clear awareness that it was snobbish to exclude tradesmen and shopkeepers.

The second ball was described as

a protest against the impertinent assumption of superiority affected by the managers of the recent ball, at which the 'selection of the fittest' was left to the

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47 *Hawthorn Citizen*, 19, 26 May 1894; 2, 16, 23, 30 June, 1894.
48 It was pointed out that 'not more than one fourth of those present' were Hawthorn residents. 'Although the Hawthorn shopkeeper was not represented within the ballroom,' some Melbourne shopkeepers attended, 'but then they had a friend on the committee who had explained that the a city shopkeeper was far above the local one in the social scale.' *Hawthorn Citizen*, 26 May 1894.
49 This distinction was evident in the local response to the ball. The banding together of established local residents was a natural reaction to the great influx of city workers in the 1880s. Although the majority of the newcomers would have quickly set about paying off a house, this did not represent the same stake in the community as a shop or other business.
inexperience of a youth, who abhorred shopkeepers,
and to whom the artisan was anathema maranatha. 50

Rather than indicating a desire to abolish social distinctions, this
awareness stemmed from a distaste for overt snobbery. The accepted
unspoken distinctions which lay beneath Hawthorn's unruffled social
relations were under threat, and it was this threat, above all else,
that aroused resentment. These two incidents occurred during the
depression, but the trouble stemmed from the population influx of the
1880s rather than from the immediate economic malaise. Hardship
and anxiety over declining fortunes exacerbated social tension, but the
larger issue involved the social implications of Hawthorn's growing role
as a dormitory suburb.

Public Facilities: Private Initiative

Socially, the signs of Hawthorn's changing character were striking.
Local initiative and social ties were weaker than was the case in
Footscray. Few dances were held, even after the new Town Hall had been
in use for several years. Residents had to travel to other suburban
dances.

50 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 1 June 1894. Domestic servants, however,
were still firmly beyond the pale. Shortly after the Chrysanthemum
Ball, the leading 'Topic of the Week' concerned a recent Hawthorn ball
where 'special efforts' had been made 'to admit no gentleman who was
so unprofessional as to remove his coat to earn his living, and
no lady below the rank of a typewriter ...' Some time after being
introduced to a pretty young girl and enjoying her 'witty and pleasant'
conversation, a wealthy matron remembered to her horror why the
'vivacious young creature' was familiar. Recently,
at the house of a friend the pretty young house-maid had
been given notice in consequence of the too marked
attentions of pater familias. This was the pretty housemaid.
The feelings of the shocked matron may be imagined, and
only the recollection of noblesse oblige prevented her
from mentioning the matter. She suffered in silence, but
really there ought to be a more careful supervision
exercised over admissions to affairs of this k'nd.
Kew and Hawthorn Express, 1 June 1894.
Every convenience and requirement is to be found in Hawthorn and it is a matter of surprise why there has not ere this been inaugurated a series of private assemblies ... similar to those so successfully carried out in other suburbs, with far less favourable conditions. 51

Local sport suffered because residents played for outside clubs. Hawthorn was reported to be the only city, in 1893, that did not possess a senior football team. Residents played in various leading football and cricket clubs; if they had played for their own suburb, Hawthorn's clubs would have been stronger. 52 Social ties formed amongst residents who worked together in the city sometimes resulted in social activity outside working hours. Employees of the Dunlop Tyre Company who lived in Hawthorn organized a social in 1897, to inaugurate the dancing season. A number of Vacuum Oil Company employees from Hawthorn and Camberwell met at the company's city office and formed the exclusive Vacuum Tennis Club, which was to play on the Hawthorn Coffee Palace tennis courts. 53 This type of social contact was common in a suburb like Hawthorn; ties stemming from city work could be as significant as local association, and, as above, the two were sometimes combined.

A systematic examination of Hawthorn's social life will reveal how deeply community facilities, groups and activities were marked by the dormitory nature of the suburb. The following investigation covers several broad areas of community life: facilities, public and private; activities, ranging from organized sport to the less structured entertainments; organizations (clubs, churches, friendly societies) which stimulated much public leisure activity; and, finally, the people who formed the social networks and leadership patterns at the heart of all leisure activity. Nearly all Hawthorn's leisure facilities

51 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 15 March 1895.
52 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 24 February 1893. Footscray suffered from the opposite problem. One year, there was a fuss over outsiders playing in Footscray cricket teams (see above 123). Footscray's many minor football and cricket clubs were pressured, occasionally, to amalgamate, so that the suburb would have at least one strong representative team (see above 147). There was no suggestion that Footscray residents played for other suburban teams.
53 Borroondara Stannard, 9, 16 April 1897; Hawthorn Citizen, 26 March, 30 April 1898.
were privately owned. There was very little public provision of sports grounds, halls or other meeting places. The Town Hall, completed early in 1890, was the only public facility established solely from public funds and managed by the local authorities. Other halls were in private or church hands, though readily available for hire. The old Town Hall and Golding's Hall were the main public halls in the early 1880s; the latter included a Lodge Room in which local societies held meetings and socials. As population increased, two more halls were established: St. Columb's (Anglican) Hall, completed late in 1887 was the largest hall in Hawthorn; the Auburn Recreation Hall, built privately a year later, comprised a large hall, stage and retiring rooms. Before 1890 Hawthorn's hall space was inadequate, particularly for a suburb which needed suitable venues for fashionable gatherings.

Hotels did not contribute significantly to indoor leisure activity. Hawthorn had fewer hotels per head of population than Footscray. By 1885 there were nine hotels in Hawthorn; eight years later there were thirteen. In general, there was no special provision of facilities, apart from the usual billiard tables. A skittles competition was organized at one hotel in 1882, and a cribbage tournament at another some years later. Outdoor activities were uncommon. Publicans did not provide facilities for, or help to form, sporting and other clubs, in order to attract custom. The most common organized use of hotels was for holding meetings. The football, cricket, rowing, cycling, athletic and quoit clubs all held annual or foundation meetings at hotels. Social clubs met there, too, particularly during the depression, when there were several attempts to form such

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54 At least one other hall was available. The City Hall, in Burwood Road, was mentioned occasionally during the 1890s. There was no indication of its size. It did not appear to be used as often as the other halls. *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 21 September 1883; 13 February 1885; *Boroondara Standard*, 16, 23 December 1887; 21 December 1888.

55 In 1891 there was one hotel for every 443 males aged over 16 (Footscray, 1:202). *Davison, Marvellous Melbourne*, 11, 469; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 8 December 1882; *Register of Licensees* 1887-1895.

56 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 4 August 1882; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 2 April 1892; 27 May 1893; 6 June, 27 July, 10 August 1895; *Boroondara Standard*, 10 September 1897.

57 In 1889 the Licensee of the Hawthorn Hotel established a baseball club. It was not tied to his hotel, though, nor did he provide a field for play. The club played at the Lower Hawthorn Gardens. *Boroondara Standard*, 25 January 1889.
groups. Two hotels did serve a broader function as social centres: the Glenferrie and Langham Hotels, both located in the Glenferrie ward, a working- and lower middle-class residential area. During the 1890s, especially, these hotels became increasingly important for leisure activities. As well as providing good billiard facilities, the Glenferrie Hotel set aside a Club Room; the Hawthorn Social Club met there each Wednesday night during 1895. The Langham Hotel was a popular venue for sporting club meetings, and for cribbage and billiard tournaments. The Emu and Boomerang Social Clubs met there during the early 1890s. In general, use of hotels was restricted to meetings and a few indoor games. They did not provide a range of activities associated particularly with hotels, nor were they at the centre of the leisure activity of a particular group as was the case in Footscray.

There was no Hawthorn Mechanics' Institute, but there was a Free Library, which began a subscription service in 1882, lending books on payment of a 5s annual subscription (or 1s 6d per quarter). The service struggled on, attracting small patronage, despite being

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58 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 31 March 1882; 13 April 1883; 7 October 1892; *Boroondara Standard*, 19 August 1887; 22 March 1889; 18 July 1891; 29 May 1891; 11 March, 30 September 1892; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 8 October, 17 September 1892; 25 March 1893; 17 February 1894; 11 May, 29 June 1895; 30 September 1899.

59 A billiard tournament staged at the Langham Hotel in mid-1895 attracted 40 competitors. It did not appear to be directed at attracting new custom, being carefully reserved 'for those who frequent the rooms.' *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 7 October 1892; *Boroondara Standard*, 22 March 1889; 18 July 1890; 11 March, 30 September 1892; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 2 April, 17 September 1892; 25 March, 13, 27 May 1893; 17 February 1894; 11, 25 May, 13, 6, 29 June, 27 July, 10 August 1895; 30 September 1899.

60 Information on the size of the library, and the extent to which it was used is summarized below.

### Table 4:11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Volumes on shelves</th>
<th>Circulation: volumes exchanged during previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1886</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1887</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1891</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>1,052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

substantially reorganized as the Hawthorn Public Library in 1890. Council took control of the failing service in 1899, and, after improvements, patronage increased steadily. After years of failure and neglect the library began to tap and to satisfy a real community need. Apart from the skating rinks, which invaded Hawthorn and most other suburbs in the late 1880s, there were few commercial leisure facilities. The two Hawthorn rinks attracted hundreds of regular patrons before the skating boom collapsed.

Council was not actively involved in the provision of public leisure facilities. Hawthorn's only sporting ground owed little to official aid. In 1881 Council granted Hawthorn Cricket Club the right to use part of theLower Hawthorn Recreation Reserve for a cricket ground. The club raised all the money needed to establish and improve the ground. Council still controlled the ground, which restricted the freedom of the Cricket Club. Members thought that

the Council should grant permission to charge for admission on special occasions, a privilege that clubs in other localities enjoy. The club would then be able to join the Victorian Cricket Association and enter for the pennant competition.

61 In July 1900 borrowers numbered 163; the average number of patrons per night for the past month had been 55. Three months later there were nearly 500 registered borrowers, with over 200 present each Saturday evening. During November 1900, 3,768 persons (1,869 males and 1,799 females) attended on the 24 evenings the library was open. The number of borrowers had increased to 629, an increase of 83 in one month. *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 25 September 1891; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 2 April 1892; 11 September 1899; 31 March, 7 July, 29 September, 13 October, 9 December 1900.

62 The St. James' Park Skating Rink was destroyed by fire in February 1890. It had not been a popular addition to the exclusive St. James' Park area. The inhabitants of the area, '(who regarded the rink as a nuisance)', had recently tried unsuccessfully to buy it. *Boroondara Standard*, 1, 15 June, 14 September 1888; *Australasian*, 22 February 1890, 387.

63 Improvements included enclosing the ground, and employing part-time labour to prepare the turf. By 1894, the total amount spent on improvements, including the cost of the recently-completed pavilion, was £1,000. The Cricket Club was more or less obliged to share the benefits of its hard-earned ground with the Lacrosse and Football Clubs. *Hawthorn Cricket Club Bazaar Gazette* [September, 1893]; *Boroondara Standard*, 12 January 1894; 9 April 1897; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 9 June, 10 November 1893; 2 February 1894.
Council was aware of its duty to provide more public leisure facilities; public attention was often directed to Hawthorn's deficiencies. There was a recreation reserve in Lower Hawthorn, but the rest of the suburb lacked any grounds or playing fields. During the late 1880s and early 1890s Council made several moves towards establishing a recreation area in central Hawthorn, but nothing resulted. Shortage of money was the explanation, but lack of reserved public land was the real problem. Before establishing a reserve Council had to buy privately-owned land, and plans always foundered because the cost was too high. Even a proposal to lease seven or eight acres in the privately-established Grace Park (near Hawthorn Railway Station) proved too expensive. By 1897 the problem was no nearer a solution: Council was still considering leasing part of Grace Park. Hawthorn's lack of public open space was a direct result of rapid urbanization: the rush to the outer suburbs swamped any thought of reserving land for public use.

The call for more public open space was nearly always phrased in terms of a need for a recreation reserve to be used for particular sports. This emphasis was natural, given the growing interest in the major team sports, and Hawthorn's lack of sports grounds. At the same time, this widespread desire for reserves intended for specific purposes rather than for informal public recreation was one more manifestation of growing formalization and specialization. The city of Melbourne prided itself on its Botanic and other public gardens, but the suburbs concentrated on sports grounds. Hawthorn had public gardens, but some

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64 See, for example, *Hawthorn Citizen*, 28 October 1893. There was pressure for the establishment of public baths. It was considered dangerous to swim in abandoned clay holes or in the Yarra; other municipalities had public baths. Plans were drawn up, but the proposal was later abandoned. *Hawthorn Citizen*, 28 January, 3, 10 February 1894; 5 February 1898.

65 The 7 acre reserve at the Western end of the city, near the Yarra, was the only reserved public space. Hawthorn lagged behind other municipalities in this respect: Kew had reserves of 700 acres, Richmond of 300. *Boroondara Standard*, 19 July 1895.

66 *Boroondara Standard*, 22 June, 6 July 1898; 17 December 1897; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 7 December 1894; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 12 December 1891; 1 December 1894; 15 January 1898.

67 Pressure groups such as sporting clubs, with a particular cohesion and formal structure, were in a better position to achieve their desired ends than were unattached residents who wanted more parkland for informal relaxation. Furthermore, sporting clubs could guarantee to improve any land they obtained.
residents pressed for more, particularly for Upper Hawthorn. After the Council's failure to buy part of Grace Park in 1892, a resident suggested buying one or two smaller areas, for ornamental reserves and places of pleasant resort, rather than for cricket and football. Nothing was done; six years later residents were still complaining about the lack of a pleasure garden in Upper Hawthorn. The site was available, where the dust-cart emptied its load amidst empty kerosene tins. 'Even plebeian Richmond can boast its public gardens. Upper Hawthorn must hide its head in shame.' Shortly after these complaints, work began on public gardens in Henry Street, Auburn. Flower pots, lawns and a lake were established. At last, in November 1900, the long-promised Henry Street Gardens were opened by the Governor. Despite the concern with sports grounds, the only Council success during these years was the completion of these public gardens. The only public sports ground established owed more to the hard work of the Cricket Club than to any Council initiative. Far more was achieved through private effort.

Many of Hawthorn's leisure activities were private affairs. Social evenings, dances and 'at homes' in private residences were the staple social activity for many. Elaborate private picnics, balls and theatre parties were common. Sometimes private residences and gardens became public pleasure grounds for a day: certain established Hawthorn residents accepted the role of wealthy patron. For several years, Mr. Adam Stackpool opened his grounds for the Easter Monday Friendly Societies' Sports and Picnic. In 1894, over 2,000 people enjoyed the races, log-chopping, greasy pig chase, football kicking and rope quits. The most notable private achievement came with the formation of the Grace Park Recreation Club.

66 The Gardens were open from 7.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. weekdays, 2.30 p.m. to 9 p.m. Sundays. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 16 September 1892; Hawthorn Citizen, 25 June, 22 October, 26 November 1898; 24 November 1900.

69 A picnic organized by Messmates J. and R. Cherry and Mrs Watts was typical: a party of 150 took the train to the Blackburn Lake, where they hired boats and played games. After high tea at beautifully decorated tables they danced to several young female musicians, then travelled home after supper. Hawthorn Citizen, 29 April 1893. See also: 21 September 1892; 6 October 1894; Boroondara Standard, 14 February 1890; 10 August 1894; 13 September 1895; 18 September 1896; 11 March 1897; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 18 July 1894; Australasian, 9 June 1894, 1006; 8 August 1896, 279.

70 Brydehaw, 58; Boroondara Standard, 14 December 1888; 9 December 1892; Hawthorn Citizen, 3, 31 March 1894; 20 April 1895.
in 1889. Thirty gentlemen who lived in the Grace Park area formed a club, and set up recreation grounds on land near the junction of the Kew and Hawthorn railway lines, in Grace Park. Plans for the construction of two asphalt tennis courts, a pavilion, skittle alley and handball court were submitted and approved. The annual subscription was £1.11.6 for gentlemen, 10s 6d for ladies. The club was successful from the beginning, attracting 'the elite of Hawthorn', and the planned facilities were established quickly. This one venue satisfied the recreational needs of many Hawthorn citizens. By mid-1891 members numbered 120. Women were involved: there was a ladies' honorary secretary and committee, as well as the male office holders. Half the members were women.\textsuperscript{71} The establishment of a quoit ground in Glenferrie saw the same principles at work, on a smaller scale, and involving a different group of people. The Glenferrie Quoit Club, formed early in 1883, secured as its site a piece of ground near the Glenferrie Station. During the first year, members erected a fence and pavilion and formed pitches, but still managed to end the year with a credit balance.\textsuperscript{72} Isolation and the lack of public facilities prompted similar private initiatives in the less populous neighbouring suburb of Kew.\textsuperscript{73} Hawthorn's leisure facilities were broadened too, through contact with neighbouring areas. Functions in the Hawthorn, Camberwell and Kew halls attracted residents from surrounding suburbs, and in other respects, such as the formation of social clubs, these adjoining suburbs formed one large social belt.\textsuperscript{74}

Although local initiative and local social ties were weakened by the dual identification of many residents (with work based in the city and home life in Hawthorn), enough citizens possessed the drive and

\textsuperscript{71}Kew and Hawthorn Express, 16 August 1889; 11 July 1890; 3, 17 July 1891; 18 November 1892; Boronia Standard, 22 June 1888; 18 July, 14 August 1890; 3 July, 21 August 1891; Hawthorn Citizen, 11 February 1893; 24 February 1894.

\textsuperscript{72}Australasian, 30 June 1883, 814; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 9 February 1883; 15 February 1884.

\textsuperscript{73}In the early 1880s, the Kew Recreation Association formed a company to provide grounds and buildings, with the aim of drawing forth a greater social feeling among the residents of Kew'. The quickly-established facilities included a cricket ground, bowling green, tennis court, skittle alley, and a hall. Costs were higher than for the Grace Park Club: a general subscription was £3.3s; bowling club £2.2s; cricket club £1.1s; lawn tennis club £1.1s, Kew and Hawthorn Express, 26 May, 9, 22 September 1882; Australasian, 8 November 1884, 885. See also: 2 October 1886, 647.

\textsuperscript{74}See below 222-23.
resources to establish leisure facilities which were not publicly available. The semi-private nature of these facilities, which ensured some selection and control of members, suited Hawthorn's way of life. The lack of public leisure facilities was due partly to there being little real need for them in a suburb where there was a great deal of private entertaining, and where homes were large enough for groups to pursue games and hobbies privately. Nevertheless, social ties and community spirit amongst some citizens were sufficiently strong to bring about leisure time co-operation and public activity.

**Competition and Co-operation**

Some of the popular Hawthorn activities have been mentioned above, and many others will be discussed in the later section which examines the role of recreational organizations. First, though, I shall explore the diverse ends of the activities spectrum: organized sports, and then the more informal activities such as shopping, strolling, public entertainments and dances.

As in Footscray, cricket and football became increasingly popular during the late nineteenth century. Football grew steadily in favour, not through attracting large numbers of spectators and supporters to a senior team, but through the formation of more and more teams. In general, these teams competed against others from the surrounding area, either on a regular basis, arranged at the beginning of the season, or in a more casual way. Some played for trophies, some purely for fun. 75 During the 1880s the Hawthorn Football Club fielded first and second twenties, and there were at least three other established teams. As well as the two senior sides, five other teams played during the 1890s. 76 At least two trade teams played regularly against other trade teams from Hawthorn and surrounding districts. 77 The lack of widespread spectator

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75 The Excelsior team, formed in 1895 from the Upper Hawthorn and Camberwell Try Excelsior class (a city-wide organization which sponsored physical and self-improving activities for young men) announced that they would be happy to compete with any fourth-rate team at O'Shannassy's Padock or elsewhere. *Hawthorn Citizen*, 11 May 1895.

76 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 31 March 1882; 13 April 1883; *Boroondara Standard*, June-July 1887; 17 August 1888; 11 March 1892; 20 April 1894; 9 April 1897; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 25 February; 11 March, 8 April 1893; 11, 18 May 1895.

77 *Boroondara Standard*, 25 September 1891; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 2 April, 14 May, 2, 9, 16 July, 6, 27 August 1896; 13 May, 29 July 1899.
support for the 'official' local team - the Hawthorn Football Club Firsts - stemmed from two related causes, and it is hard to say which was the more fundamental. Hawthorn Firsts was not a member of the Victorian Football Association and, therefore, was not a senior club. It was not even what was regarded as a first-class junior team. Moves, in 1893, to field a senior team met with some success, and a first-class junior team was established.\(^78\) A district club, restricted mainly to playing against other teams from the surrounding area, did not attract great spectator interest or local identification. There was not the spur of battling for Hawthorn's honour against other established suburbs. But here, also, lies a likely cause of low spectator interest and of the lack of any real pressure to establish a first-rate team: Hawthorn had nothing to prove, in the way Footscray had. The suburb was not struggling to rise above an unfortunate reputation, so unity behind a football or rowing club was not fostered by outside denigration.\(^79\) Sporting success, for Footscray, was a way of thumbing the collective nose at the critics. This imperative did not operate in Hawthorn. The local press did not trumpet Hawthorn's sporting victories, nor devote much space to detailed match descriptions, including the number of spectators present. There was no suggestion, either, that the Hawthorn team played roughly, or that games against certain teams were 'grudge' matches (as were Footscray's...

\(^{78}\)Hawthorn Citizen, 25 February, 11 March, 8 April 1893; Boroondara Standard, 24 February, 10 March, 5 May 1893; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 24 February, 10, 17 March 1893.

\(^{79}\) The Hawthorn and Footscray Football Clubs shared one problem: members of the Firsts quite often failed to appear, especially when the game was away from home. This problem dogged Footscray from at least 1882 to 1887. I suggested previously that this may have been because the men found it difficult to take every Saturday afternoon off work (see above 147). There is another likely explanation: the absences were particularly acute in 1882/3, when the Footscray Football Club was in its infancy, and in 1887, the year after the club was admitted to the Victorian Football Association (Independent, 5 May 1883; 20 August, 10 September 1887). The latter promotion added greatly to the burden of travelling, and required higher standards of play, practice and punctuality. Hawthorn's problems of transition were similar: the problem was acute just after the rise to first-rate junior status, (Hawthorn Citizen, 15, 22 April, 17 June, 12 August 1893), which involved travelling greater distances when playing away from home, and generally increased standards and competition. Before a strong team and competitive spirit had developed, this higher rank may have proved a disincentive to some players used to the old more casual ways. The rise through the ranks to senior sporting status involved more than an easily-recognized transition to mass organized sport. Individual willingness and ability to adapt to such modernizing trends could affect, in a small way, the speed of the transition.
games against Williamstown and Port Melbourne). This was not just because Hawthorn’s middle-class citizens played more genteel football. It was, at least partly, because the players were not tightly bound together against the outside world, including the surrounding area. Unlike Footscray, Hawthorn was part of its immediate hinterland. There was very little evidence of rivalry or aggression between Hawthorn and Kew, Camberwell or Canterbury: in leisure and in other spheres of life residents from this eastern suburban belt co-operated and mingled rather than competed.

Cricket was Hawthorn’s most popular sport, in that it involved the greatest number of players. At the most senior level, though, there were dramatic slumps, from 1886 to 1890, and during the late 1890s. Until 1886 Hawthorn Cricket Club fielded two elevens. Interest declined steadily from 1886, but there was steady improvement from 1891 onwards. In 1894 the Hawthorn Club was admitted to the Victorian Cricket Association, a move which attracted many new recruits. During the 1880s at least seven junior and trade teams played, and several new teams appeared in the early 1890s; a Hawthorn Trades Cricket Club was formed, to play on Wednesday afternoons. Cricket boomed after the England tour of 1894/5; many more local teams and competitions were established. Interest was sustained for the remainder of the decade, especially in trade cricket. But support for senior cricket slumped again: by 1899 the Hawthorn Club was reduced to playing specially-arranged one-day matches around the suburbs. No explanation was advanced for this sudden decline, which occurred despite

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80 Leader, 10 July 1886, 19; 11 September 1886, 19; 13 August 1887, 19; Australasian, 25 August 1900, 413.

81 By 1889/90 club membership had dropped to eleven. Gradual improvement followed: 1890/91: 30, 1891/92: 51; 1892/93: 64. There was no apparent reason for the collapse: it was mainly at the senior club level; there was some general loss of interest in cricket, but many junior and trade clubs continued to flourish. Keu and Hawthorn Express, 6 January, 10 February, 1881; 13 October 1882; 28 September 1883; 11 September 1885; 14 October 1887; Borodanda Standard, 9 October 1891; 10 June, 16, 30 September 1892; Hawthorn Citizen, 17, 21 September 1892; 9, 16 September 1893; Australasian, 8 December 1894, 1020.

82 Borodanda Standard, 9, 16 September 1887; 22 March 1889; 9 October 1891; 10 June, 16, 30 September 1892; 8 September 1894; 14 January, 13 September 1895; 17 September 1897; Keu and Hawthorn Express, 29 November 1889; 16 May 1890; 18 December 1891; 30 September, 7, 14 October 1892; Hawthorn Citizen, 6 February, 25 August, 6 October 1892; 21 January 1893; 22 September 1894; 16 February, 16 March, 14 September, 12 October, 9, 16 November 1895; 15, 22, 29 January, 19 February, 5, 26 March, 2 April, 24 September, 1, 15, 22 October 1898; 22 April, 23 September, 28 October, 25 November 1899; 18 August 1900.
continued local interest in the game. This pattern does, however, resemble what had happened with football, and a similar explanation may apply.

General interest and participation in the sport was high, but there was no drive to establish a strong local team to do formal battle for Hawthorn. The emphasis (and perhaps the need) in Hawthorn centred on participation within the local area. Cricket club social activities were frequent and, for some, seemed as important as the matches. The trade clubs, in particular, stressed the social side of cricket, and the possibilities for broader interaction.  

I suggested, above, that perhaps Hawthorn's citizens needed local participation more than they needed inter-suburban (sporting) success. From what I have discovered so far it does seem too simple to suggest that local ties and initiative were weakened by Hawthorn's function as a dormitory suburb. To some extent this reaction occurred, but there were more complex forces at work. Social practices are not governed solely by existing social and physical conditions. They are also stimulated by needs which these conditions may or may not satisfy. In different ways, both Hawthorn and Footscray illustrate this point. In Hawthorn, physical and social conditions (particularly the work/home division) tended to weaken community spirit, but the need for local ties, for secure social contacts, prompted people to overcome these barriers. In Footscray, although local conditions militated against the ability to support strong, well-equipped sporting teams, the need to prove that their suburb was as good as any other spurred local people to establish and strongly support such teams. (This interpretation should not be taken too far, but it does illustrate the necessity of looking beyond the perceived, expected reality to the patterns of social intercourse which people did establish.)

The other popular Hawthorn sports also emphasized participation and social activity rather than outside competition. These successful clubs were usually 'select', either because membership was restricted or because they only attracted a small interest group. Established sports included

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83 *Foot and Hawthorn Express*, 7 October 1892; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 8 October 1892; 14 January 1899.
lawn bowls, harriers, lacrosse, quoits and tennis. There were two tennis clubs: the Grace Park, formed in the late 1880s, and the exclusive Vacuum Tennis Club, formed in 1898 by Hawthorn residents employed in the Vacuum Oil Company's city office. Hawthorn's only public tennis courts were at the Coffee Palace, which opened its two courts to the public in 1893. In practice, then, tennis was restricted to the members of the two select clubs and to those who had access to private courts.

Lawn bowls was a more open sport. The Hawthorn Club was established in 1879 and continued very successfully throughout the following two decades. In 1886 Upper Hawthorn residents established the Auburn Bowling Club; members soon numbered nearly eighty. The Bowling Clubs were not deliberately exclusive, although the sport only appealed to older males.

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84 There is little information available about rowing and cycling, though both were practised in Hawthorn. The Hawthorn Rowing Club was a self-contained, small club which did not generate much local support, interest or social activity. Established in 1877 as the Borroodara Rowing Club, it continued steadily throughout the next twenty years, apart from a slump in the early 1890s, after destructive floods. Renamed the Hawthorn Rowing Club in 1892, it had increased to forty members by 1895. The Club was on the periphery of Hawthorn's sporting life, despite its regular competition against other representative Melbourne clubs. Australasian, 17 September 1881, 364; 14 September 1895, 500; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 24 November 1882; 26 January 1893; Borroodara Standard, 9, 23 September 1887; 3 September 1897; Hawthorn Citizen, 12 December 1891; 17 September 1892. The Hawthorn Cycling and Touring Club, formed in 1895 and active until at least 1897, was similarly self-contained. The regular club runs attracted little public interest, and the club held few social activities. Hawthorn Citizen, 29 June 1895; Borroodara Standard, 3 September, 14 October 1897. The majority of the members of the Grace Park Amateur Cycling Club, formed early in 1896, were from the Kew and Hawthorn Harriers. Australasian, April 1896, 93. Other bicycle clubs were the Augustine and the Australian Natives' Association clubs, both mentioned in 1899. Hawthorn Citizen, 19 August, 30 September, 14 October, 18 November 1899.

85 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 16 August 1889; 18 November 1892; Australasian, 3 September 1898, 527; Hawthorn Citizen, 26 March 1898; 10 June 1899.

86 The high-point for membership was 1886, with 86 members. In 1891 there were 31 full members, 11 life and 10 honorary; 1893: 39, 11 and 8. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 25 May 1883; 18 June 1886; Borroodara Standard, 10 June 1892; 9 June 1895; 4 January 1895.

87 Borroodara Standard, 30 September 1897; 28 September 1888.

88 There was never any public suggestion that women join either Hawthorn club, though women from another club did stage an exhibition at Hawthorn in October 1899. Judging from the tone of one report of the exhibition match, there may have been some doubt that the visiting ladies would be accorded a friendly reception. Hawthorn Citizen, 14 October 1899.
In 1898 the subscription of the Hawthorn Club was reduced, with the stated aim of inducing 'the local shopkeepers and tradesmen to become members of the club' so that they could spend their Wednesday half-holiday enjoying a game of bowls. Dissension within the Hawthorn Club arose not over any issue related to restrictive membership, but over an issue which highlighted the Hawthorn preference for local participation as opposed to external, formal competition. Trouble flared over the concern of some members that Hawthorn's entry to pennant competition had increased the stress on competition at the expense of the club's friendly spirit. Previously, the members used to meet and enjoy each other's company in a thoroughly sociable manner. But now those who were not in the pennant teams felt themselves inferior members of the club, and there was no pleasure for them to come on the green.

One member believed that 'the Hawthorn and other clubs in the immediate vicinity could arrange matches that would prove far more interesting and enjoyable than the pennant contests'. Debate over this issue raged at the 1893 general meeting: some feared favouritism and the growth of cliques; others believed that without pennant competition members would lose interest. This controversy illustrates the potential conflict between two views of the aims of a suburban sporting club: to field the best possible teams, and strive to enhance the reputation of the suburb, or to foster broad participation and friendly local competition. In this instance, many members believed that the two ideals were irreconcilable. As well as highlighting Hawthorn's preference for local participation rather than outside competition, this episode indicated that there was some dissatisfaction with the growing formalization and inter-suburban organization of sport: when threatened by this process, local links and informal contacts could be considered more important.

Among Hawthorn's keenest sportsmen were the lacrosse players and the harriers. Both clubs were formed in the early 1890s with immediate success. Though small they were very active. The harriers met every Saturday afternoon, mustering at least fifteen runners, even on wet days. During the depths of the depression active membership remained at between twenty and thirty. Increased interest led to the formation in 1897 of an

89 Hawthorn Citizen, 24 September 1898.
90 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 9 June 1893.
91 Hawthorn Harriers formed in 1891; the sport had begun in Melbourne, in an organized way, in 1890. Borroondara Standard, 18, 25 September 1891. A Lacrosse Club was formed in 1892/3. Borroondara Standard, 29 March 1893. The population growth of the 1880s meant that Hawthorn could support a greater range of more specialized activities and interests. Society was broadening and diversifying in sport as in other fields.
Auburn club. The harriers ran outside the local area, sometimes joining with other Melbourne clubs on combined runs, but the sport was not competitive in the same sense as cricket and football, and by its nature it attracted little spectator interest. Socially it was an active club. Melbourne's harriers held a series of races in 1899; a sportswriter congratulated those who had done well, adding:

Auburn I condole with. They had a ball the night before in the Hawthorn Town-hall. The ball was successful. The team next day was - well I leave it to you. 93

The Hawthorn Lacrosse Club played in the Melbourne competition, and attracted strong local support despite generally poor performances. In 1896 an Auburn Lacrosse Club was formed by six enthusiasts; a year later the club was capable of fielding four teams. The lacrosse clubs generated much social as well as sporting activity. Their annual ball, instituted in 1896, was always very well attended and the Auburn Club, in particular, actively promoted social meetings. The 1887 annual general meeting was combined with a conversazione attended by over 350 members and guests. Female interest was encouraged; the Committee hoped that 'by their presence the ladies and their friends will make the playing ground a place of pleasant social intercourse'. Greater social activity followed: the Auburn and Hawthorn Clubs combined to form a social cricket team.

The many outings in the drag have been delightful and healthy, and the afternoons and evenings spent, particularly at Spring Vale, Hampton and Greensborough, will long be remembered.

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92 Hawthorn Citizen, 19 October 1891; 28 May, 4, 25 June 1892; Boroondara Standard, 5 January 1894; 11 June, 2 July 1897; Australasian, 4 August 1894, 194.

93 Australasian, 5 August 1899, 320. Several months later a sportswriter noted that the Grace Park Tennis Club gave 'greater prominence to the social element than most other tennis clubs...'. Australasian, 17 March 1900, 582.

94 For example, in 1894 the team played 7 matches, won 1 and lost 6; 1899: played 12, won 2, lost 10. Australasian, 4 August 1894, 194; 26 August 1899, 472.

95 Boroondara Standard, 17 July 1896; 2 July 1897; Hawthorn Citizen, 3 April 1897. The local press devoted much attention to lacrosse; see, for example, the 2½ columns in Hawthorn Citizen, 31 July 1897.
The Auburn Club's Ladies' Committee was kept busy organizing picnics, balls and other 'social innovations'. The sustained success of these clubs highlights again the essentially localised preferences of Hawthorn residents. The suburb's sporting clubs (and, as I shall demonstrate below, many other organizations), developed in a way which satisfied this need for local ties, while at the same time maintaining certain features distinctive to the suburb. For instance, apart from the annual State Schools and Citizens' Excursion and the Friendly Societies' Easter Monday Sports and Picnic, there was very little large-scale public leisure activity. Hawthorn's citizens preferred 'public' contact in small groups.

Hawthorn's entertainments tended to be local amateur and charitable affairs rather than professional performances; and entertainments involving or attracting prominent citizens were most likely to succeed. There was some increase in professional entertainment once the Town Hall was established, but there had been, in any case, no concern over the absence of professional performances. Local shows constituted nearly all concerts and social evenings. The risk involved in bringing fully professional companies to Hawthorn was acknowledged: when the Marcella Day Company planned a visit, those who knew the suburb were pessimistic. However, there was an excellent attendance, with nearly all prominent citizens attending. The last phrase is significant: success depended largely on attracting the socially prominent. To attract these patrons an entertainment should have fashionable, respectable motives and performers, and no taint of popular taste or commercial aims. Some of the most successful functions were invitation

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96 Hawthorn Citizen, 22 April 1899.
97 Hawthorn Citizen, 3, 31 March 1894; 20 April 1895; 12 February 1898; Boroondara Standard, 12 February, 4 March 1897.
98 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 29 September 1882; 1 July 1887; Boroondara Standard, 10 June 1887; 16 December 1892; 11 March, 1, 8 October, 10 December 1897; Hawthorn Citizen, 30 April, 14, 28 May, 22 October, 13 November 1892; 8 April, 24 June, 12 August, 16 December 1893; 19 May 1894; 27 April 1895.
99 Boroondara Standard, 21 June 1895.
100 Even a local institution aware of these standards could transgress: at a very successful St. Columb's concert, presented before a 'fashionable and crowded audience' one of the artists earned a public rebuke.

Mr Juniper gave 'The Skipper' of St. Ives' faultlessly, but we do not think that this song was quite in keeping with the general character of the concert. The same remark applies to the concluding number of the programme 'Sol-Fa', between Mrs Palmer and Mr Juniper. Standards related more to morality than to quality. At a similar successful concert two years later, one of the acts was the wonderful performance of Mr. Frederick Ireland (the eminent pianist), who, whilst blindfolded, performed a most difficult solo on the pianoforte, which is covered entirely with a large cloth, ... Kew and Hawthorn Express, 24 September 1886; Boroondara Standard, 24 August 1888.
concerts staged by the local Boomerang Club. Any entertainment favored with vice-regal patronage was assured of a huge attendance. The motives of those who flocked to these functions did not escape scrutiny.

Hawthorn is supposed to be a music-loving community. Just let the Governor promise to attend a concert, and our would-be fashionables would flock to be present also; but now, when the Lady Mayoress and a few energetic ladies endeavor to make the Opera Carnival a success, those with plenty of time and means are conspicuous by their absence. 102

Hawthorn's entertainments lacked popular appeal in another important sense: they were staged once; there was little regularity or continuity. Hawthorn never supported anything like the People's Saturday Night Concerts which were so popular in Footscray. This type of entertainment did not form part of a leisure routine. Hawthorn residents could not go each Saturday night to a hall to see a concert similar to that of previous weeks, but with sufficient changes to maintain variety while providing leisure-time continuity. Continuity was, instead, provided by the informal, unstructured activities which were available to everyone: strolling, shopping, swimming and the like. People formed their own habits and routines, making certain times popular for these informal pursuits. Everyone was involved, from those branded as incipient larrikins to the most respectable citizens. Occasionally, distinct groups, following their chosen paths, clashed. The ladies and their escorts who strolled along the river on Sundays, to inspect the Swan Street-Riversdale Road Bridge site, were offended by the youths disporting themselves in the water without any regard to public decency. There were complaints about insolent young men hanging about the corners in Burwood Road in the summer of 1882, and during the depression. During the latter period the complaints were not about bad behaviour, but just about these nightly assemblies to chat of football. 103 As in Footscray,

101 Boroondara Standard, 27 February, 1 May 1891; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 1 May, 12 June, 31 July 1891.
103 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 3 February 1881; 20, 27 January 1882; Hawthorn Citizen, 21 September 1892; 17 June 1893.
shopping was part of a strong Saturday leisure pattern. The Hawthorn market, ablaze with gas light and filled with the sounds of the Hawthorn Band, was a popular resort. One Saturday night, shortly after it had opened, it was filled with over 2,000 people, some bent on business, some on pleasure at the amusement stalls and shooting gallery. A Burwood Road draper assured the 1901 Royal Commission on the factories law that Saturday night was Hawthorn's best trading time.

... the working class, as well as the city workers and civil servants, who are all suburban residents, have their holiday on Saturday afternoon. After dinner or lunch they dress themselves and their families and come out to see the crowd, see the shops, and do their shopping ... [There are] crowds in the street on a Saturday afternoon and evening that are not seen on any other evening of the week. 104

Dances, too, provided opportunities for continuity of social contact. Participants could look forward to a regular night of enjoyment. There were few dances during the 1880s, and no select assemblies or private quadrille clubs. Nor were there many annual balls or socials. Public or semi-public clubs organized dances, and there was a Thursday night public dance held during 1887. Three clubs organized regular dances throughout the period 1884 to 1888. 105 The opening of the new Town Hall in the early 1890s led to changes: the number of annual events, particularly the select balls of prominent sporting clubs and lodges, increased dramatically. Church clubs, friendly societies and other bodies began to organize socials. Several

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105* The Olivetti Quadrille Club organized the only Saturday night dances, during the 1880s. Footscray developed Saturday night entertainment from the early 1890s, but in Hawthorn Saturday night was usually free from organized entertainment, which explains partly why Saturday afternoon and evening shopping remained so popular. Kaw and Hawthorn Express, 4 April 1884; 13 February, 15 May, 21 August 1885; 15 January 1886; Boronia Standard, 18 March, 11 November 1887; 13 April 1888. In contrast to Footscray, press notices publicizing Hawthorn dances never mentioned the cost of admission, even when the dances were open to the public.
private quadrille assemblies were formed. They ranged from the very formal and select first-formed, which considered full evening dress indispensable and had a strictly limited membership list, through those who made tickets available to the public with the utmost discretion 'so as to exclude any jarring elements', to the one or two which allowed relatively free access.

The division between respectable, fashionable functions and the more popular public pursuits was evident with dances as with other entertainments. The private assemblies were assured of success and sometimes had to refuse respectable applicants tickets. The public dances of the 1880s faded quickly. The one attempt, some years later, to hold open assemblies was a failure, despite the proprietor's care to advertise his assembly rooms as 'strictly select' because he knew that 'that desideratum is only to be observed to secure a large attendance and success of his undertaking ...'

Some related insights emerge from this examination, which has contrasted Hawthorn's structured sporting clubs with more informal leisure-time activities. Clubs and players tended to resist the

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106. There were at least eleven private quadrille clubs in Hawthorn at various times during the 1890s, as well as numerous other lodge, church and business bodies which organized socials. *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 14 March, 2, 16 May, 27 June, 11 July 1890; 25 March, 3 July 1891; *Boroondara Standard*, 14 March, 16 May, 14 August, 3, 10, 17 October 1890; 3 July, 21 August, 16 October 1891; 25 March, 10 June, 5 August, 21 October 1892; 2 June 1893; 12, 19 April, 17 May, 14 June, 26 July 1895; 15 May, 17 July, 25 September 1896; 9, 16 April, 21 May, 11, 25 June, 2, 30 July, 20 August 1897; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 24 October 1891; 14, 21 May, 2 July, 13 August, 21 September, 15, 22 October, 5 November 1892; 18 March, 8, 22 April, 26 August, 14 October 1893; 26 April, 5 May, 7 July 1894; 9, 23 March, 20 April, 4 May, 1, 29 June, 2, 9 November 1895; 3 April, 18 September 1897; 28 May 1898; 27 May, 9 September 1899.


108. *Boroondara Standard*, 14 August 1890; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 16 April 1892; 9, 23 March, 20 April, 1 June 1895.
formalizing pressures which were changing sport. In a suburb which
itself had been moulded largely by these forces there was little
enthusiasm for the highly competitive, structured mass sports. Local
contact and participation were preferred. The unity missing from
(city) working lives was achieved by many in local and district leisure
activities. Nevertheless, apart from organized sport, there was a
marked dominance of private and semi-private leisure contacts over the
public sphere. Leisure-time routine and continuity came from private
meetings rather than from regular public encounters.

Recreational Organizations

Were similar trends evident in the field of voluntary groups;
clubs and societies concerned specifically with the provision of leisure-
time activities?

Some community institutions, like the churches and the friendly
societies, provided leisure-time opportunities as part of a broader social
involvement; other special-interest groups played only this role.
Hawthorn's recreational organizations and their known period of existence
during the years 1880 to 1900 are shown on the accompanying chart
(see figure 6).\(^{109}\) The chart reveals some significant patterns.
There was comparatively little activity during the 1880s, though two
principal organizations did last for several years: the Hawthorn and
Kew Harmonic Society and the Borroondara Horticultural Society.\(^{110}\) These
societies, as well as the two coursing clubs formed during the 1880s,
were district rather than Hawthorn based. Hawthorn, with its small
population, could not support specialized groups. On the other
hand, problems of distance caused at least one of the societies to
collapse. The Horticultural Society experienced problems from the

\(^{109}\) The chart does not give a complete summary of all Hawthorn recreational
groups, but it does provide a useful record of many of the clubs which did
exist, and of their period of greatest activity (as measured by the
frequency with which their activities were mentioned in the local press).
The chart was constructed from material gathered from the local newspapers.
I noted the name of each club or other social group when it was first
mentioned; each time the club was mentioned thereafter, I noted its
continued existence. Although the chart does not necessarily record the
full period of existence of every club, it does indicate clearly periods
of greatest activity.

\(^{110}\) The Harmonic Society held 17 subscription concerts during the period
1881-1885; it had a chorus of 50, and an orchestra of over 20. *Australasian*,
30 April 1881, 566; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 21, 28 April, 5 May 1882;
24 August, 26 October 1883; 27 June, 19 December 1884.
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<td>Literary &amp; Mutual Improvement Societies</td>
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<td>Hawthorn &amp; Camberwell Working Men's Club</td>
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* = established (or ceased to exist) at this date. For others, period is based on press reports of activities and existence. Undoubtedly, many of these clubs did exist before and after the period indicated above.
beginning, because of the difficulty of covering both Kew and Hawthorn. Attempts to hold meetings alternately in each suburb were not successful. Even when alternative venues were found, scarcely a Kew member attended meetings at Hawthorn. Combined clubs were normal during the 1880s, but were not as common in other years.

There was a marked rise in social activity during the period 1891-95, with the formation of many new clubs covering a broad range of interests. This development was not surprising, despite the severe depression. As in Footscray, local solidarity and social contact in small familiar groups provided reassurance and stability during threatening times. The depression may explain why so many of these ventures were short-lived, but it was not necessarily an inhibitor of social activity. The roots of this social expansion lay in the 1880s. The early 1890s was, for some, a period of consolidation following the boom and population growth of the previous decade. This was especially so in Hawthorn, which was not as severely affected by the depression as were other areas. People were settling down; many were ready and able to branch out socially, and to put down roots in the area. Many of these new groups catered for special interests, and thus attracted a limited number of members: opera and drama, chess, debating and sparrow shooting, for example.

These years saw several attempts to establish a social club for men. The attempts met with little success, but showed that men

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111 A further reason for the Horticultural Society’s failure was attributed to its lack of practical aid to the amateur gardener. Those who fancied gardening as an amusement wanted practical information rather than talk and exhibitions. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 3 February 1881; 14 March 1884.

112 Other combined clubs which were formed during the 1880s: the Kew and Hawthorn Social Union (1883); the Kew and Hawthorn Brass and Reed Band (1884); and the Hawthorn and Kew Microscopical Society (1886). Three combined clubs were mentioned during the 1890s: the Kew and Hawthorn Choral Society, which lasted for a few months in 1895; the Hawthorn and Camberwell Social Club (1896-7); and the Hawthorn Lacrosse Club, formed in 1900 after the Kew and Hawthorn clubs amalgamated. Kew and Hawthorn Express, 15, 22 June 1883; 26 September 1884; 26 November 1886; Hawthorn Citizen, 28 May 1898; Australasian, 5 May 1900, 972.

113 Hawthorn’s depth of social resources was illustrated by the formation of the Hawthorn Orchestral Society in 1899. Orchestral music was heard rarely in the suburbs; the success of this society with its 50 or 60 instrumentalists, indicated a high level of local interest and co-operation. Australasian, 19 August 1899, 428.
were convinced of the need for such a club. The Boomerang Club (1890–mid 1891) achieved greatest success, the members organizing many musical evenings and invitation concerts; a very enjoyable ladies' night attracted 600 Hawthornites on a moonlight bay trip on the Ozone. The emphasis on activity rather than just providing a meeting place for the social elite explains much of the club's success. Memories of these good times lingered: there were at least two further attempts - 1893 and 1899 - to revive the club. In 1891 a very ambitious scheme for a social club with elaborate club rooms, tennis courts and other facilities, founder. Two years later there was a report of the Emu Social Club's fourth smoke night concert. This club probably resulted from the March 1893 attempt to start another Boomerang Club. Finally, the Hawthorn Social Club, formed in 1895, was very active (musically) from May to July, but was not mentioned again.\(^{114}\)

What lay behind these determined efforts to establish a social club in the early 1890s? Why did these efforts fail? A local identity - A.R. Houlton - was involved in at least three of the clubs;\(^{115}\) his determination and drive explain partly the repeated attempts. Another reason has been suggested: the need to communicate and co-operate more during a period of adversity. In addition, the influx of professional city workers in the 1880s brought a sufficient number of men with similar interests and status to enable the formation of a social club. Yet success was limited. One reason advanced to explain a similar lack of success in Footscray was that businessmen there did not need to meet socially. Working in the suburb, most had ample opportunity for contact during the day, and were not, therefore, isolated from their fellow owners, managers and professional colleagues.\(^{116}\) Lack of such opportunities would augment well for a social club in Hawthorn: city professional men would need a local

\(^{114}\)Both the attempted revival of the Boomerang Club in March 1893 and the Emu Club meeting two months later were held in the Langham Hotel Club Rooms. Boronia Standard, 18 July, 25 October 1890; 27 February, 1, 29 May, 19 June 1891; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 1 May, 12 June, 31 July 1891; Hawthorn Citizen, 12 June 1891; 25 March, 13 May 1893; 11, 25 May, 13, 27 July 1895; 30 September 1899.

\(^{115}\)Houlton, whose occupation was listed as Professor of Music, was the concert director of the original Boomerang Club; he was on the provisional committee of the mooted 1891 Hawthorn Social Club, and he initiated the 1893 attempt to revive the Boomerang Club. Sands and McDouall, Directory, 1891-1900; Kew and Hawthorn Express, 12 June, 31 July 1891; Hawthorn Citizen, 25 March 1893.

\(^{116}\)See above 161-62.
meeting place. But this contact could come through private meetings, which were the staple of Hawthorn's social life: well-established private leisure patterns served the same purpose. In any case, whatever the reason, male social clubs in middle-class Hawthorn were no more successful than they were in Footscray.

Clubs which were active for the longest time centred on the following interests: music, horticulture, athletics and organized recreation (the Grace Park Recreation Club). In addition, the Catholic Young Men's Society (1886-1893) and the Hawthorn Branch of the Australian Natives' Association (1890-1899) attracted strong support. With few exceptions, these clubs succeeded because they tapped a continuing, rather than a fashionable or ephemeral, interest, and because they included women as members or as participants in most of their activities. Women were members of the musical and drama clubs, and of the horticultural societies; the activities organized by the Australian Natives' Association and the Catholic Young Men's Society nearly always included women as participants or as members of the audience: concerts, socials, picnics, steamer trips.117 Women were full members of the Grace Park Recreation Club: they paid a sizeable subscription (rather than the more usual token payment or free entry with a male member), and there was a separate ladies' management committee. Half the seventy members of the Grace Park Lawn Tennis Club were women.118 On the other hand, the all-male social clubs and some of the debating societies which excluded women did not prosper. The Hawthorn Literary and Athletic Society realized the advantages of female members. In 1892 the committee decided:

In order to render the literary meetings of the society more attractive, and with a view of imparting more life to them, the committee recommended that ladies be admitted as literary members on payment of a subscription of 5s. per annum. 119

117 See, for example: Hawthorn Citizen, 30 January 1892; Boroondara Standard, 9 February 1894.
118 Kew and Hawthorn Express, 17 July 1891; 18 November 1892. The very successful Auburn Lacrosse Club involved women in everything but the sport; social arrangements were under the control of a ladies' committee. Hawthorn Citizen, 22 April 1899.
119 Hawthorn Citizen, 27 February 1892.
Whether clubs which included women in some way succeeded because female company made the proceedings more interesting, or because women were likely to be very active members, or because these groups then encountered less domestic opposition, is not clear. The fact remains, though, that clubs which provided for female as well as male amusement and occupation succeeded more easily than did exclusively-male groups.

Hawthorn's churches promoted surprisingly little social activity. Apart from the very successful Catholic Young Men's Society, the only other popular church groups were the various athletic clubs, in particular the Anglican Literary and Athletic Society which continued from February 1889 to April 1895. The Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Augustine (Congregational) Churches all ran debating, mutual improvement and literary societies at various times during the 1890s, but they were usually short-lived. In addition, in the late 1890s the Augustine Church organized a series of Young Men's Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Classes (1896-98), a Girls' Social Club, a cricket club and a Young Men's Society. The churches also organized some lecture programmes and entertainments, and staged many concerts and bazaars to raise funds. Still, overall their level of social involvement was low.

Nor was there an active self-improvement movement in Hawthorn. Given the predominantly middle-class population, this inactivity was not surprising. Nevertheless, two of the most successful (if only briefly so) clubs in Hawthorn during the 1890s were intended as improving organizations: the Hawthorn Branch of the Church of England Working Men's Society (1891-92; 1893-94), and the Hawthorn and Camberwell Working Men's Club (1897-98).

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120 *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 24 April 1885; *Boroondara Standard*, 1 February 1889; 18 July 1890; 26 April, 20 September 1895; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 12 December 1891; 27 February 1892; 27 October 1894; 7 March 1896; 5, 19, 26 March 1898. Meller notes that Bristol's Church leaders found that sport and physical exercise were the most effective means of attracting young men and boys to socio-religious institutions. H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*, (London, 1976), 155.

121 *Hawthorn Citizen*, 8 August 1896; 19, 26 March 1898, 7 January, 18 March 1899.

122 One possible explanation for the low level of church social activity is that a good deal depended on the beliefs, personality and energy of the ministry. In Footscray, Mr. Scott, the Anglican incumbent, stimulated a great deal of social activity within and outside his own church. See above 175. There is no evidence of a similar role being played by any of the Hawthorn incumbents.
These bodies were successful in two ways: they attracted many working-class members; and Hawthorn's ladies and gentlemen took a great interest, working enthusiastically for their success. Indeed, it seemed that the middle-class activists welcomed this type of involvement as much as the working men were believed to need the opportunity for self-improvement. The Church of England Working Men's Society opened club rooms with facilities for chess and other games, and established a Labour Bureau. Members met frequently, held weekly socials and established a brass band. Other activities included a series of lectures, and Sunday evening church services, at which children were welcome. Women were not involved in the first CEWHS, but were permitted to enrol as associates in the revived 1893 society, though without vote or voice in management. 123

Even more successful was the Hawthorn and Camberwell Working Men's Club, which lasted for a little over a year. It aimed to provide a meeting place for the large number of working men at the nearby brickyard. The spacious, well-equipped club rooms were open from 7 to 10 p.m. on weekdays, and on Sunday afternoons. There was a supply of daily newspapers and magazines, as well as facilities for cards, chess, quoits and other games. Special amusements were planned for Saturday nights. Despite early warnings by well-wishers that 'a tone of patronage' must be avoided the club was controlled openly by a group of middle-class citizens. All Committee members and office-holders were prominent residents; the Hawthorn Town Clerk was the Secretary. Local worthies addressed the working men on such subjects as achieving happiness through making profitable use of spare time. A group of interested women raised money for a piano, and enthusiastically organized concerts, at which well-meaning ladies and gentlemen performed. At the second Saturday night concert

the room was filled by an audience of workers, who appeared to thoroughly appreciate the good intentions with which these entertainments have been inaugurated. 124

The activity of the middle-class volunteers contrasted markedly with the passive role of the working-class members. The significant point, however,

123 There were 80 members on the roll in August 1891. *Kaw and Hawthorn Express*, 28 August 1891; *Boroondara Standard*, 1 May, 9 October, 20 November, 24 December 1891; 12 February, 4 March, 1 April 1892; 13, 20 October 1893; 12, 19 January 1894.
124 *Hawthorn Citizen*, 29 May, 28 August 1897; *Boroondara Standard*, 23 April, 7, 14, 28 May, 4, 11 June 1897.
is not that the workers were being patronised, but that the club fulfilled a dual function, for those who received and those who conferred the benefits. The wholehearted participation of the community activists indicates, on their part, a need for public involvement and outside social contact.

I have noted several times different ways in which Hawthorn's social life was affected by the suburb's dormitory function. In order to examine some basic consequences of this division between work and home life I intend now to trace patterns of public social leadership and organization within the suburb. From the local press I noted the names of the socially active, particularly those involved with sporting and cultural clubs and other community groups. I then traced these 130 men, year by year, through the Sands and McDougall directories, from 1880 to 1900, noting occupation (where given) and address. This material also yielded information on work location, family networks and length of residence.

With particular reference to the distinction between local social activists who worked in the city and those who were locally employed, the information can be summarised as follows:

Table 4:12
Hawthorn Community Clubs divided according to work location of activists: 1880-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work location of activists</th>
<th>Organization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Grace Park Recreation Club</td>
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<td>Hawthorn Lacrosse Club</td>
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<td>several select assemblies</td>
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<td>Hawthorn</td>
<td>Boomerang Club, Hawthorn and Camberwell Working Men's Club, Lodges, Friendly Societies, several trades cricket clubs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Combinations: some city, some Hawthorn</td>
<td>Australian Natives' Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hawthorn Bowling Club</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rowing Clubs (Boroondara and Hawthorn City)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dramatic and musical clubs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hawthorn Cricket Club</td>
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<td>Church clubs</td>
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125 My interest was in those who took an active part in club life. I have excluded people such as Councillors who, because of their public position, often held positions in clubs. They were patrons or figureheads rather than activists.
126 The Sands and McDougall directories are not completely accurate. Names are sometimes misspelled and sometimes omitted. However, checking each name for each year has revealed many errors, and has enabled me to cull out any cases of doubtful identification.
Further refining the data, according to years of greatest activity, as well as work location, reveals increased activity in the 1890s by residents employed in the city. Given Hawthorn's population expansion of the preceding decade, and the consolidation which followed, this development is not surprising. Men who worked in the city were active in forming or taking part in the following clubs from the late 1880s: the Lacrosse Club, several select assemblies, some Church groups, the Amateur Dramatic and Operatic Club, the Grace Park Recreation Club and the Hawthorn Bowling Club. There was a corresponding increase in social activity amongst the locally-employed during the same period, both in co-operation with the city workers and by the locally-employed alone forming or controlling various groups. Both groups combined in the Hawthorn Cricket Club, the Amateur Dramatic and Operatic Club, the Australian Natives' Association, Church groups and the Hawthorn Bowling Club. Locals alone ran the Hawthorn and Camberwell Working Men's Club, the Boomerang Club, Lodges and Friendly Societies and trades cricket, and organized a citizens' charity ball.

This surge of social activity was part of the general suburban consolidation of the 1890s, which occurred despite the depression. Limitations imposed by the nature of my material make it difficult to generalise about other elements of stability and consolidation such as length of residence and mobility within the suburb. In general, activists, particularly those who participated in several groups, had been residents of Hawthorn for some years. This comparative stability did not extend to maintaining the same address. Throughout these decades it was not unusual for families to move several times within the suburb or to a neighbouring suburb. This limited mobility did not appear to affect the growth of consolidating social ties.

The increased social involvement of locally-employed residents during the 1890s owed a great deal to the stimulus provided by the new arrivals. The greater range of talent and interests, and the larger population, could support a variety of new enterprises. Mingling between those working locally and those employed in the city occurred most often amongst professional and businessmen. The relative exceptions were the cricket and bowling clubs, where office-holders ranged from local shopkeepers and tradespeople to men who owned or managed large city businesses.
The few groups composed almost entirely of local men indicated that, under some circumstances, local work and residence promoted or necessitated social cohesion. Practical considerations explained both the local dominance and the trade and small business orientation of the Lodges and the Wednesday afternoon trades' cricket clubs. The Boomerang Club, a very successful musical club composed of local small businessmen and tradesmen, was an exception. The members may have been local residents with a long association, or there may have been some other reason, such as a desire to maintain local ties, for the club's purely local composition. This motive certainly stimulated one temporary alliance of local tradesmen (and a local doctor) who combined to organize a Citizen's Charity Ball in mid-1894. The group was formed soon after a Charity Chrysanthemum Ball which had aroused great controversy. The organizers were accused of using charity as a cover for a deliberately restricted gathering of local residents who worked in the city, and their city friends. Locals, particularly tradespeople, had been pointedly excluded.  

With some exceptions, co-operation between those who worked locally and those who were employed in the city was evident in public leisure activities. Consolidation was strengthened in other ways as well. The last decades of the nineteenth century were, in Melbourne, a time of transition between generations: the leaders of the 1850s were being succeeded by their sons. One can trace, in a small way, in Hawthorn, the consequent extension of family networks. There were many instances of fathers and sons, or brothers, in the same business, trading and living within walking distance of the business and one another. These family links helped to knit together the new outer suburbs. Davison has noted the tendency of newlyweds to find their first home in the new outer suburbs 'along a main transport link from the parental home'.

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127 See above 201-2; *Hawthorn Citizen*, 26 May, 2 June 1894. Although the membership sample for the Harriers Club is too small for accurate comparison, there appeared to be a division between the two popular new sporting clubs of the early 1890s – Lacrosse and Harriers. The former was composed primarily of city professional men, the latter catered more for local traders and small businessmen. *Baroondara Standard*, 25 September 1891; 29 March 1891; *Australasian*, 8 July 1899, 80; 5 May 1900, 972.
As well, it was not uncommon for some members of the family to remain close to the family hearth and business.129

Hawthorn residents were divided into two groups: those who worked locally and the majority, formed from the new arrivals of the 1880s, who worked in the city. The division was further accentuated by occupational distinctions: local workers tended to be small businessmen, tradespeople and a few brickyard workers; the city workers were predominantly the new urban middle-class - managers, professional men, owners and partners in large businesses. Local public social life involved both groups, either separately or combined in sporting and cultural organizations. Tension surfaced at times, and occasionally led to public acrimony. The social consequences of the suburb's dormitory function were manifested more in the closed circles of private life than at the observable public level. The majority of residents enjoyed their leisure in private gatherings, something relatively unknown in a suburb like Footscray. To this extent, indirectly, the division between work and home did affect community ties.

129 For example, the Hatherley family, in the building trade in Hawthorn/Kew: A. Sutherland, *Victoria and its Metropolis Past and Present* (Melbourne 1898) II, 641; the Kinder family, woodyard merchants in Hawthorn/Kew; the Knox family, in the coach-building/saddlery business in Hawthorn/Kew. Sands and McDougall, *Directory*, 1880-1900.
CHAPTER 5

SUBURBAN LEISURE

The comparison between Footscray and Hawthorn has revealed much about suburban social life. This chapter further narrows the focus to leisure in the home and immediate surroundings. The home was the centre of suburban family life. As the suburbs expanded, and the division between home and workplace widened (in terms both of distance and of function), the home became the base for leisure-time, and the immediate neighbourhood the main area of activity. And the home was the female sphere. Women were most active in the area of family leisure-time. In this chapter, too, I examine the developing regularity of suburban life, beginning from the home, then extending to the immediate neighbourhood through a study of regular weekend and week-night activities. I turn, then, to special occasions and outings, devoting particular attention to public holidays and day excursions, which were 'special', but occurred regularly each year. From these different elements people formed the weekly and yearly patterns of suburban life.

Regular Leisure: The Home and the Local Neighbourhood

The home was a familiar, private place; surroundings and fellow inhabitants were known, the status of members understood and, for the most part, accepted. Patterns of leadership, initiation and control were more informal than elsewhere. The home offered greater continuity of contact and activity than did most other spheres of life. The 'closed' family circle ensured that the stability and familiarity remained relatively undisturbed. Furthermore, as the world of work and public social activity became more formal and specialized, the home became the only area where many daily activities coalesced. It encompassed work (preparing for it, talking about it), domestic duty, child-rearing, rest and leisure. These qualities were regarded, more and more, as linked to the home, and unlikely to be found elsewhere. While these
features were not peculiar to the late nineteenth century home, they were growing in significance at that time. Nor did all homes function according to these ideals. The above description outlines the domestic potential: what was most likely to have been offered, and sought, in the home rather than elsewhere.

Who composed the family circle? This question is impossible to answer without a detailed study taking into account origin of family, length of residence, income level, and so on. And the figures available would rot, in any case, support such a study. It is only possible to sketch some features of the late nineteenth century Melbourne household. The domestic circle did not include the extended family, with grandparents, married and unmarried children living under the one roof. Given the relatively recent overseas origins of most Melbourne citizens, many families would not have had grandparents living in the same country, let alone the same house. There was a greater chance, though, of the family being extended to include all unmarried children, and, sometimes, married children and spouses for a time after marriage. There was also the possibility of families including, for a time at least, a relative from the country or from overseas, who had come to settle in Melbourne.\(^1\)

Because of its private nature there is very little information about home life. Melbourne's wide range of homes\(^2\) offered diverse possibilities for the use of leisure-time. The large homes of Toorak and Brighton, with private tennis courts and croquet greens, and spacious ball-rooms, were the exception, though they have received much attention as symbols

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\(^1\) There is no evidence for Melbourne, but overseas research suggests that a lodger was a common addition to the nineteenth century household. In his study of British and European workers, Stearns points out that most working-class women did not work outside the home during the initial stages of industrialization. 'Their earning activities were much more commonly devoted to servanthood, domestic manufacturing, or caring for lodgers.' P.N. Stearns, *Lives of Labour: Work in a Maturing Industrial Society*, (London 1975), 59.

of the extravagance of the boom years. Nor were Collingwood's two
two thousand or so two and three roomed wooden shanties the norm. A
contemporary described the social effect of these cramped conditions:

With neither comfort, nor convenience, nor quietness
at home, the growing lads and girls naturally seek
enjoyment elsewhere, and there is a wretched future for
the young people thus driven to the streets for
recreation. 3

The 'comfortable middle-class' and 'respectable working-class' homes
predominated. In terms of room for leisure this meant a two or three
bedroomed house, with a separate kitchen, dining room and parlour, and
with a backyard large enough for gardening and children's games. 4

The prized piano provided most domestic entertainment, but other
commercial products were available. Games sets for the garden included
croquet, badminton and lawn tennis, and there were available many books
explaining the finer points of these and other games. 5 Carefully chosen
indoor games were described in a booklet of social amusements. The
editor assured his readers that when compiling this 'volume of laughter-
provoking games, reviving plays and innocent deceptions,' great care
had been taken to eliminate 'all phrases which might give offence to
refined family circles.' The compiler had aimed to provide 'an encyclopaedia
of amateurish amusement which shall be the standard in Australian homes.'

For the most part the book described simple parlour games requiring a
minimum of easily-obtained equipment, but it did also contain instructions
for elaborate charades and dances. 6 Much home amusement centred on music. 7

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3 From the (Collingwood) Observer, 1875, cited in B. Barrett, The Inner
Suburbs: The evolution of an industrial area, (Carlton, Vic., 1971), 140.
See also: R.J. Moore, 'Marvelous Melbourne' A Social History of Melbourne

4 For example, see R.E.H. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, London 1863; (reprint,
Sydney 1973), 16, 45.

5 Australasian, 17 April 1880, 484; 4 December 1880, 708; 18 March 1882, 9.

6 Social Amusements. A Choice Collection of Parlour Games, Tricks, Charades, ...
Parlor Theatrals, ... and Figures and Calls for Dancing, ... (Brunswick,
Vic., 1866), 9.

7 The average annual piano sales of one Melbourne musical supplier
(Nicholson & Co.) were 600. As well this firm sold about 150 cabinet
organs each year, and hired out pianos and organs. Melbourne Journal,
April 1884, 22-3; A. Cambridge, Thirty Years in Australia, (London, 1903), 123.
In 1884 the Melbourne publishers Massina and Company sold nearly 100,000 copies of the Australian Melodist, and during the next few years the figures were several times around the six-figure mark, and once over it. Judge Stretton recalled musical evenings where neighbours in one of Brunswick's better areas would sing songs like After the Ball, Less than the Dust, Melisande, Fleurette, all rather tearful; the young men would sing manly songs like The Galloping Major and Asleep in the Deep and recite Laska, Fuzzy Wuzzy and Gunga Din. 9

Fanny Barbour described a different type of musical evening, at the Boyds', an established middle-class family, closely involved with the literary and artistic world. The company, which included Captain Mayne and Miss Mayne, 'the Miss Fennings "en masse", Miss Waie ... Mr. and Miss Goodmans, Arthur and Minnie Boyd, Miss Boyd, and old Captain and Miss Boyd' sat out on the verandah, then came inside for tea. 'The Miss Goodmans sang & played, ... Miss Boyd recited two little short pieces rather well.'10

The home was the centre of private, individual leisure pursuits like reading. Melbourne was well-supplied with bookshops11 and with lending libraries;12 as well, the weekly versions of the large dailies (the Australasian, the Weekly Times and the Leader) contained plenty of light reading matter.13 There is no way of assessing the popularity of hobbies.

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11 Twopeny, 12-13; Cambridge, 284.
12 In 1893 the Public Lending Library gave out 93,608 volumes to borrowers. Registered borrowers numbered 8,336. Australasian, 22 September 1894, 507. The Athenaeum's annual report for 1897 contained a return showing a classification of the works issued to subscribers over the past 4 years. During that time membership had gradually fallen from 945 to 805.

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Australasian, 29 January 1898, 260.

13 See, for example, Australasian, 8 July 1882, supp.3-4.
The success of the annual Victorian Canary and Pigeon Show suggests that bird-keeping was popular; women were encouraged to take up needlework and similar useful crafts. Fanny Barbour indicated the practical uses of hobbies, as well as their place in a well-bred young lady's accomplishments:

I've got such a lot to do to-day get my photo taken, go to Flo's to lunch & go to those blessed sports - I want to get a little letter rack made & painted to send to Mister Paddy for a Xmas present, ... send Edie a sash, make Ern something, paint Emily a tambourine ... I want to make up my print dress too.  

Fanny Barbour’s description of a family evening at home also provides a rare glimpse behind the domestic walls, and suggests that, at least in this family, the men would normally be out of an evening.

We had a great bit of fun last night. It was pouring wet so none of the fellows could go out. And we had a concert & wax works & charades ... I dressed up as Signorina Squalina, rouged & powdered my face (cherry toothpaste & flour), blackened my eyebrows, put on Jenny's red dressing gown, & a bath towel for a turban ... I was carried in backwards, stiffly glaring - Then they wound me up - & I started squealing at the top of my voice, - & the works got wrong & I wouldn't stop but had to be carried out ... The audience laughed till the tears ran down their faces.

Given the lack of direct information, one way of learning more about the home is through manuals instructing women in the art of home management, and through general descriptions of the role of the home. Such sources promulgate an ideal of family life considered suitable for middle-class

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14 *Australasian*, 22 July 1882, 115; 21 July 1888, 148. See also: 17 April 1880, 484.
17 Barbour, 126.
18 Barbour, 134-6.
suburban residents.\textsuperscript{19} Moreover, they indicated the standards to which women were expected to aspire. According to some commentators, the disturbing characteristics of Australian life - such as an absurdly extravagant sense of freedom, an impatience of control, rolling delight in liberty for its own sake - could best be curbed through family control. The home was the seat of those virtues without which no individual and no community could attain excellence: 'industry as opposed to idleness; sobriety as opposed to intemperance; good order as contrasted with lawlessness; frugality in place of extravagance.'\textsuperscript{20} An ideal family evening saw 'all the members of the family ... united round the ... hearth', indulging in 'pleasant social intercourse.' During long, cold winter evenings, with the curtains drawn and the family party assembled around a bright fire, there was 'a sense of comfort and cheerfulness not easily surpassed.' To add to the variety and company, neighbouring families could form mutual improvement societies, hold working 'bees' to make articles for the less fortunate, and organize dramatic readings, charades and games' nights. Such amusements drew family and friends together, and enhanced the attractions of home without incurring expense.\textsuperscript{21}

'The homeliness of a home' was everything. Rooms should be light and airy, and should 'look as if they were inhabited and not placed in lavender for company. Nothing is such bad taste.' Nevertheless, everything should always be 'in readiness ... for anyone who might call.' Calculated effort was necessary to establish this air of lived-in homeliness. The drawing-room, for instance, needed

a fair-sized table in the corner ... with plenty of books and magazines on it to give it an air of homeliness ... and whatever you do 'use your room,' and don't be frightened of living in it ...  \textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19}As Davison notes, these manuals did not provide a true guide to the way families lived. They did, however, represent the middle-class ideal, to which working- as well as middle-class homemakers aspired. Davison, Marvellous Melbourne, II, 369-72.
\textsuperscript{20}[Methodist] Spectator, 3 September 1886, 415.
\textsuperscript{21}Leader, 10 May 1884, 7.
\textsuperscript{22}F.B. Aronson, XXth Century Cooking and Home Decoration, (Sydney 1900), 305, 312, 316.
Ideally, there was 'little labour and very great delight in making [a] home bright and pleasant, and surrounding it with a pretty and useful garden.' Comfort and pleasure were, in any case, secondary aims. Higher goals included effectively utilizing spare time, and inculcating 'the best of moral lessons to our children, the love of beauty and cleanliness and utility.'

The quality of life in the home was primarily the wife's responsibility. It was her duty to create an atmosphere which would relax her husband after his daily toil. Even without servants, she should ensure that the house ran smoothly, and that respectable standards were maintained. Meals could still be served in the parlour rather than the kitchen. The young wife could remove the dishes to the kitchen immediately after the meal, then hasten to return to her husband.

A very few minutes will serve to pack away the utensils and crockery that have been used in such fashion that they may be cleaned and washed up the next morning after he has gone to business, and of course she will, if she be a wise woman, have his meals ready by the time he comes into the house for them. All the utensils that really must be cleaned at once to preserve them will not take a quarter of an hour, and long before he is finished that first pipe ..., she may be back again the room ready to sit and talk to him, or if he be in that mood, to sit quietly at her needlework if he wishes to read in peace or doze, or to go out with him if he so desire.

The recipient of this careful attention should second and appreciate his wife's efforts. 'His evenings and spare moments should be devoted to her, and these should be used for their intellectual, moral and social advancement.' It was the husband's duty 'and should be his pleasure' to accompany his wife to church, to social gatherings, to lectures and to other places of entertainment they could both enjoy.

In fact, he ought not to attend a social gathering unless accompanied by his wife, nor go to an evening entertainment without her. If it is not a fit place for his wife to attend, neither is it fit for him.

This, then, was the ideal. Although unable to assess the degree to which it was achieved, I can point to some areas where it was clearly far from the

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reality, although sometimes still strongly supported. Larrikinism was regarded as the outcome of an unsatisfactory home environment. A Melbourne Police Inspector commented:

You cannot make a boy sit in the house all night and twiddle his thumbs for amusement, and a great deal lays in the house not being attractive. 26

McLachlan supports this broad interpretation, linking the rise of larrikinism to rapid urbanization which, through concentrating population, facilitated social contacts and early employment of youths away from home, while at the same time breaking down the compact family circle 'and even the local neighbourhood situation.' 27 Francis Adams saw the larrikin as 'the product of the hideous weariness and dreariness of the home life of the lower classes.' 28 Children from working-class families sought entertainment outside their cramped home conditions. In the late 1890s there was a call for the establishment of a night class for boys 'where the crowds of lads who nightly walk the streets of Footscray and Yarraville, might have a chance of spending their time profitably.' 29

Discontent over existing domestic conditions became apparent, too, when there was talk of forming a social club for men. The Vice-President of one new Footscray club admitted that it would be 'unpopular with the ladies, but people cannot always be playing Darby and Joan, and one tires of being constantly at home.' 30 The proposer of a similar club, two years later, predicted correctly that 'the wives ... will rise to oppose the founding of such an institution.' 31 A correspondent replied that 'It would indeed be surprising if they did not.' A club taught men 'to neglect their homes and perhaps ruin them.' What did it mean for the wives?

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27McLachlan, 76-79, 84.
28Cited in Moore, 91. The object of the Hawthorn and Camberwell Working Men's Club, formed in 1897, was 'to afford social and rational amusement to workers whose evenings are from various causes the most wearisome part of the day.' Hawthorn and Boroondara Standard, 7 May 1897.
30Independent, 20 April 1889. See also: Boroondara Standard, 23 April 1897.
31Advertiser, 20 June 1891.
Besides being alone the greater part of the day you would have them spend their evenings alone also, ... Let our homes be our clubs, and be our first thought and care and not our last. 32

According to these public comments, some men found constant home-life boring, while some women felt, equally strongly, that their close-knit family circle was being threatened by outside attractions. 33

A Melbourne physician provided another view of domestic life. Writing on the 'Injurious Effects of Close Confinement and Overwork', Dr. William Cutts 34 described the housewife's hard existence.

Her day is a constant round of cooking, scrubbing, making, mending, &c., with a child in arms, or one in prospect, from the time she gets up to the time she goes to bed, broken only by an occasional visit to the grocer's and butcher's across the street, and possibly to the public-house at the next corner ... She has no leisure, but is always doing, and has never done; ...

Dr. Cutts continued, giving a valuable description of what he had observed of home life, and of the different roles of men and women.

Men, of necessity, are much in the open air: they have to go to business, to go about in connection with their business, to go home in the evening, &c.; then they fish, or shoot, or play bowls, or go to the races, or potter about the garden; and if the occasion does not otherwise arise, they make it.

32 Advertiser, 20 June 1891. See also: Kew and Hawthorn Express, 14 September 1883; Independent, 22 September 1883; 1 May 1886.

33 Stearns has observed, in late nineteenth century Britain, some conflict between new leisure activities and the workers' traditional family focus. The new leisure interests were nearly always masculine, compensating often for waning job satisfaction. The resultant frustration felt by the wives affected home life, thereby limiting family satisfactions and 'weakening one major aspect of life off the job as another was being strengthened.' Stearns, 293.

34 Dr. Cutts, a staunch Wesleyan Methodist, was a prominent member of Melbourne's medical community from the 1850s until his death in 1897. Among other achievements he was an honorary physician of the Melbourne Hospital for 17 years, a founding member of the Medical Society of Victoria (President from 1866), a founding member of the Victorian Branch of the British Medical Association (President 1880-81) and a member of the Council of the University of Melbourne from 1858 until his death. Dictionary of Australian Biography.
But the poor wife: well, home is her proper sphere, the sphere assigned her by Providence for illustrating the virtues and duties of domestic life, &c.; and so it happens ... that she comes to be a house drudge and little else. 35

Not every housewife endured such hard lonely conditions. Men, too, were restricted by marriage, home ownership and family responsibilities. 36 The immediate neighbourhood was the main leisure area for the young families settling in Melbourne's expanding suburbs. Here was the potential for the closest possible links between the family and community institutions and facilities such as the Church, shops, hotels, parks and recreational clubs. The preceding discussion of Footscray and Hawthorn examined these social connections. Here it is necessary only to highlight their primary role. Community ties formed around suburban facilities and institutions; through the churches, sporting and other clubs people grew to know the local area, and to establish links with other residents. 37 Shopping was a significant area of communication, particularly for women. As previously mentioned, Saturday night was traditionally a night for promenading, gossiping and taking in the sights, as well as for transacting business. 38 For housebound women shopping providing a legitimate excuse for an outing. Discussing evening trading, one shopkeeper commented:

I think a good many wives make this an excuse to go out when they ought to be with their families. They go shopping and palavering ... It gives them an excuse.

36Although written in a humorous tone, there was no doubt a great deal of truth in a report that the East Hawthorn Cricket Club had been formed after it was made clear to some local cricketing enthusiasts that some local summer amusement was necessary 'for the men of these parts, especially as some of these individuals were strongly under petticoat government, and their wanderings from home had to be regulated by yards,' instead of by miles, as in single days. Hawthorn Citizen, 24 September 1898.
37The Australian Health Society played a social as well as an educational role. The Society's Collingwood meetings for wives and daughters regularly attracted between 80 and 100, including '40 regular attendants, some of them ... young wives and mothers, who would not think of missing their weekly meeting.' Every few weeks the meeting ended in 'a four o'clock tea' which helped to promote 'friendly intercourse among all present.' For isolated women these regular gatherings would have been very important. Leader, 17 May 1884, 7.
to make small purchases and get out at night. It often breeds a little dispute after the wife comes home, and the man has sat and nursed the children while she is out shopping. 39

Ease of communication meant that the suburbs naturally formed relatively self-contained areas for regular leisure activities. People established firm recreational patterns in their local neighbourhoods, ranging from weekly attendance at a church mutual improvement society, to playing for a local football team.

Sunday travel and entertainment restrictions ensured that people spent more time close to home. 40 Rail services were confined to an arbitrarily defined 'suburban area', covering a ten mile radius from the city centre. 41 And, for the first few years after their introduction, there were no Sunday morning tram services. 42 Controls were gradually relaxed after 1884; trains then ran to Coburg, Box Hill, Oakleigh

40 A British visitor described a typical Melbourne Sunday in the mid-1890s:
Sunday, of course, is different to all the rest, as the ultra-professing Christians as yet rule the roost here. In the morning the streets are almost totally deserted, ... During the forenoon, well-dressed people ... stream ... along the streets or [come] in from the suburbs by train, to attend the different places of worship, ... At half-past twelve the worshippers are released and again file through the streets bound for their homes, while others betake themselves to the different restaurants to enjoy their dinners. At 1.30 the most stringent part of the sabbath is ended; the trams begin to run,
41 Australasian, 12 November 1881, 628; 44 December 1881, 818; 14 January 1882, 57; 16 February 1884, 6.
42 Australasian, 31 December 1887, 1263.
and Bordialloc (and to Frankston after 1888). In the early 1890s restrictions were eased further, with the provision of Sunday services to Lilydale and Ferntree Gully. Sunday entertainment was also curtailed. Despite determined efforts by a wide range of people, the Museum, Gallery and Public Library remained closed. Commercial theatres were forbidden to open, and even where this was evaded by staging 'free' 'sacred' concerts or similar apparently respectable entertainments on Sunday evening, a vocal minority who disapproved usually forced abandonment. If people were careful not to attract public attention, they could enjoy some Sunday levity. Turn Verein members used to gather in their city club rooms on Sunday evenings, to drink and sing. But, in general, opportunities for Sunday entertainment in Melbourne were severely restricted. As late as 1899 a plan to open the Melbourne Bicycle Club's rooms on Sunday foundered because of fears that there would be too much card-playing, billiards and drinking. Strict sabbatarians frowned upon Sunday.

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43 Leader, 10 December 1887, 29; Australasian, 6 December 1888, 1091; 3 January 1885, 28. The 3 trains to Bordialloc on the first Sunday carried 520 people: 262 to Bordialloc and the rest to intermediate stations. Australasian, 24 January 1885, 171. When the service was extended to Frankston, 106 persons arrived in the town by the first 4 trains; 58 had booked from Princes Bridge, 3 from Richmond, 11 from Hawthorn, 1 from Toorak, 13 from South Yarra, 7 from Caulfield, 4 from Bentleigh and 9 from Bordialloc. Australasian, 17 March 1888, 395; Leader, 10 March 1888, 72.

44 Hawthorn Citizen, 25 November 1893; Australasian, 25 November 1893, 951. On the first Sunday over 1,000 people took the train to Ferntree Gully, and 1,200 the following Sunday.

Most of those who went took their own eatables ..., and picnicked under the spreading ferns. Tea was the usual drink, the homely billy or kettle forming part of the excursionists' kit. Some of the parties consisted of 30 and 40 persons, mostly young people, with one or two married persons by way of chaperons. Then there were the family parties, mother, father, and children, or mother, father, and two or three babies, as the case might be.

Australasian, 23 December 1893, 1138.


46 Theatres Act 1890; Theatres Act 1896; Advertiser, 13, 27 October 1894; Australasian, 31 December 1887, 1273. In 1883, the Mayor of Melbourne ordered that the coffee stalls were to close at midnight on Saturday.

Australasian, 2 June 1883, Supp. 5.

47 Australasian, 5 February 1885, 166.

48 Austral Wheel, November 1898, 319; July 1899, 189.
cycling, though this disapproval had little effect on the thousands who welcomed the chance for unrestricted Sunday travel. 49 There was, of course, no public Sunday sport. 50

Two most popular, approved activities were a visit to the Zoo or a quiet excursion to the Botanic Gardens. Thousands visited the Zoo on Sunday afternoon, when entry was free:

there are to be found here strong contingents of the respectable middle and the lower classes. A flavour of the upper class also is always to be found, imparting an air of standard gentility to the scene. There are spruceely attired clerks, resplendent in unaccustomed silk hats, and bearing on the arm not engaged in the evolution of the Sunday cane, fair specimens of Victorian daughters. There are solid working men, ... followed by their wives and tortuous strings of families, ... There are clean-shaved larrikins of a 'superior' order, ... and there are lower class larrikins, discarding every article of dress which could interfere with freedom of motion, ... All these, to the number of 1,600 or 2,000, come together on the winter Sunday afternoon, ... 51

Special Outings: The City; Public Holidays

The regularity and familiarity of leisure at home and within the immediate neighbourhood was leavened by occasional special outings, often to the city. It offered famous entertainers, crowded streets and markets, great public institutions and all the spectacles of city life. Here Melbourne residents congregated in crowds of well over 20,000 at the 1888 Exhibition. 52 In mid-1887 200,000 people came into the city on a rainy mid-winter night, to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, and to admire the decorated public buildings, illuminated with the

49 For example, see Australasian, 26 February 1898, 468; 30 April 1898, 971.
50 Pioneering golfers needed 'moral courage to be seen wearing golfing clothes and carrying golf clubs', but Still greater courage was demanded of those brave spirits who first dared, in the Melbourne of the early 'nineties, to play golf on Sundays. A small, but devoted band, held manfully to the principle of Sunday golf, and braved all the storms that raged about them. In due course they triumphed, ...
51 Australasian, 29 December 1888, 1451; 5 January 1889, 31; 19 January 1889, 135; 26 January 1889, 187.
electric light. They mingled on Saturday night at the Eastern Market: 'roofed and walled in from the wind and the mist, and ... filled with the glare of the electric light ...' it was 'an Aladdin's palace of splendour and magnificence ...' On Saturday and Sunday evenings, Bourke Street was 'the favourite promenade of the masses. Thousands of people of all ages and both sexes promenaded up and down with monotonous regularity. The more fashionable folk took their public airing in Collins Street, in the late afternoon or on Saturday morning:

Crowding and jostling each other, with rustle of silk and shimmer of jewels, with eyes eagerly watching the dresses of friends and strangers, with arms and hands laden with rolls of music, or the weekly supply of books, fashionable Melbourne walks up and down, round and round the square of streets which represent to so many the one promenade of their daily life. The excitement and novelty of city visits derived from the variety of experience available, and from the opportunity to mix with, and to observe, all types of fellow residents.

The theatre was one of the city's great attractions. An observer described the different parts of the theatre, and the behaviour of the patrons, incidentally revealing the total nature of the experience: The 'family circle' attracted respectable people - white collar workers and well-to-do tradesmen and their families. Tradesmen, shopkeepers and labouring men of all kinds patronised the pit; as well, 'junior clerks, storemen, and the like', formed 'small knots of three or four under the dress circle at the sides, to gossip over the news of the day: ...' A party of five bustled along to their seats: a married couple - 'with the baby, of course' - a friend and her daughter, and the daughter's young man.

They have evidently come with the intention of having a night's enjoyment, for the man carries a black bag, filled to repletion with all manner of good things, among which is a bottle, for the cork may be seen protruding through the clapse.

54 Australasian, 11 August 1883; supp. 3. See also: 31 December 1881, supp. 7; Cannon, 33.
56 Australasian, 12 May 1883, 583. See also: 16 October 1880, 499.
Patrons in the pit munched apples, sucked oranges, and shared sandwiches, biscuits, sweets and a flask of drink. One party passed around a gin bottle filled with beer and a teacup without a handle. People went to the theatre to enjoy themselves 'physically as well as intellectually.' A wide range of other treats was available, out of the city: day rail excursions to Ferntree Gully and to country areas, picnics to the Yan Yean reservoir and to scenic outlying suburbs, and trips to the beach. One of the most popular weekend excursions was a trip down the Bay, much favoured by clerks, shopkeepers, independent tradesmen and other working men and their families.

How did these occasional, special outings complement regular suburban life? By providing wider experiences which, at the same time, helped to unite an otherwise anonymous metropolitan population. Individuals in a crowd or at the theatre did not share an acquaintanceship, but they shared an experience. And in an era without the means of mass electronic communication, large public gatherings were doubly significant. Through these shared experiences, particularly when they involved viewing the fruits of nineteenth century progress, people came to feel that Melbourne was their city, its achievements and prosperity theirs too. This was the basis for the much-remarked metropolitan pride and character of Melbourne's residents. These special outings seemed, too, to be occasions for family outings. Many local activities catered for particular interest, age or sex groups, while the less regular public outings involved a broader range of people, both in the sense of social position and in the sense that they involved family groups, thus promoting social cohesion. So did public holidays. They occupied a special place in the Melbourne year. Because few people received annual holidays much public recreation was concentrated within these precious days. And the citizens fully utilised these breaks from work. While sometimes expressing misgivings about Australians' love of pleasure and sport, observers admitted freely

58 Bardwell, II, 391, 654; Victorian Railways Gazette, 1 June 1893, 2; 1 July 1; 4; Barbour, 127-131, 199-207.
60 See, for example, J. Ballantyne, Homes and Homesteads in the Land of Plenty: A Handbook of Victoria as a field for Emigration, (Melbourne 1871), 152-6.
that they - and Melburnians in particular - knew how to enjoy themselves.\(^{61}\)

Though sharing the American 'strenuousness' and 'pushing business energy', Australians differed in that they could relax. An American on holiday displayed 'an undercurrent of restlessness, as if he were oppressed with the thought of losing time; an Australian gives himself up to the enjoyment, and feels that he has gained a day.'\(^{62}\) Twopeny probed more deeply, noting that although the colonists were blessed with a great deal of leisure, they were 'above all, a serious people', who tended to devote this leisure to 'working at play'.\(^{63}\)

Holiday-makers seemed content with 'a day's outing, a sail in one of the bay steamers, or a long and tedious ride in an overcrowded railway carriage, ...'\(^{64}\) Paradoxically, it seemed that 'none work harder than those people who move about on public holidays in search of amusement ...'\(^{65}\) On public holidays people engaged in a great deal of outdoor activity, a fact generally ascribed to the Australian weather; this led, in turn, to holidays being times of travel, movement and 'commotion', rather than times of rest.\(^{66}\) More broadly, holidays have always been important indicators of national character: much can be learnt about a people through their ceremonies and celebrations. This side of leisure was not lost on contemporaries,\(^{67}\) and, as we shall see, this awareness sometimes brought a touch of self-consciousness to the business of holiday-making.


\(^{62}\)Parkin, 691. See also: M. Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australasia*, (London 1898), 120.

\(^{63}\)Twopeny, 202. See also: Francis Adams, 'Social Life in Australia', *Fortnightly Review*, 1, September 1881, 395.

\(^{64}\)Independent, 12 April 1890. See also: *Melbourne Handbook of Recreations and Calendar for 1873*, (Melbourne 1873), 111.

\(^{65}\)Leader, 27 December 1884, 28.

\(^{66}\)James G. Hogan, 'The Coming Australian', *Victorian Review*, 1 November 1880, 103; *Australasian*, 29 January 1881, 147; 27 December 1890, 1229.

\(^{67}\)Australasian, 20 July 1889, 133.
Melbourne's public holidays shared broad characteristics, but there were marked differences between them too. A pattern of traditional activities - including a certain style or mood - surrounded each day. Boxing day, following immediately 'the quiet observance of Christmas Day', was a day of 'universal festivity', with people turning out en masse for open-air enjoyment. No holiday in all the year is like Boxing-day. If only one fête were to be indulged in it would by common consent be held on Boxing-day, when all kinds and conditions of men can unite in pleasure-seeking without regard to sect or creed. 68

On that day, Melbourne went 'demented', rendering the city 'scene from morn to midnight one of vast bustle and animation' and subjecting the rail system to the year's greatest strain. 69 December 26 was the great day of the year outdoors. Many attended the Caulfield races and the intercolonial cricket match, and usually over 20,000 patronised the United Temperance Gala in the Friendly Societies' Gardens. Several thousand took trips on the bay, and the suburban beaches were crowded: over 30,000 visited Brighton beach on Boxing Day, 1900. 70 Cup Day and Boxing Day vied for position as Melbourne's 'holiday par excellence ...' 71

On New Year's Day people could choose between the Champion Race Meeting at Flemington, intercolonial cricket at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, or the Hibernian Society's Sports meeting at the Friendly Societies' Gardens, as well as from numerous suburban gatherings and the varied steamer and rail excursions. 72 Easter Monday holiday-makers were usually offered a suburban or country race meeting, the Druid's Gala at the Friendly Societies' Gardens, the annual Fitzroy Easter Sports, and the Catholic Picnic at the Warehousemen's Grounds, St. Kilda. 73

68 Australasian, 30 December 1882, supp. 4; 29 December 1883, supp. 5.
69 Leader, 1 January 1887, 29; Australasian, 30 December 1882, supp. 4.
70 Australasian, 31 December 1881, supp. 6-7; 30 December 1882, supp. 4-5; 29 December 1883, supp. 6; 1 January 1887, 25; 6 January 1900, 35.
71 Leader, 7 November 1885, 7.
72 Australasian, 4 January 1879, 2; 3 January 1880, 19; 8 January 1881, supp. 3; 5 January 1884, supp. 5.
73 Australasian, 3 April 1889, supp. 1; 8 April 1882, 435; 19 April 1884, supp. 6; Leader, 16 April 1897, 29.
The Queen's Birthday (24 May) was dominated by sport, football in particular. The 1889 range of activities was typical: five first-class football matches, the Victoria Racing Club's inaugural May race meeting, the annual Fire Brigades' Demonstration at the Friendly Societies' Gardens; as every year, the principal spectacle of the day was the Governor's review of troops in Albert Park, after thousands had watched them march through the city.\textsuperscript{74} The Prince of Wales' Birthday marked the beginning of the steamer excursion season. As well, over the years, there were many suburban race meetings and sports meetings.\textsuperscript{75} Christmas and Boxing days complemented one another. As with Good Friday, Christmas Day was spent quietly, amongst family and close friends, with Christmas dinner the high point of the day. Many attended church services in the morning, then remained at home for the rest of the day. There was some restrained outdoor activity - picnics, outings to the Zoo and the Botanical Gardens, and some day excursions.

Two public holidays stood apart, because they were not universally observed, and because each was dominated by one public event. January 26, officially established in Victoria in 1888, was promoted initially as a formal National Day, rather than as another public holiday. The great public gathering was the 'monster National fete' at the Exhibition Building.\textsuperscript{76} Eight Hour Day was granted more to working men than to white collar workers. Working men and their families flocked to the Procession, and to the sports which followed, in the Friendly Societies' Gardens.\textsuperscript{77}

Melbourne's greatest public holiday came on the first Tuesday in November - the Melbournes Cup. The great public event of the day, the race meeting at Flemington, embodied all the public holiday characteristics: it was an outdoor sporting event, catering for a broad cross-section of the population. It embodied, too, some of the most pervasive myths

\textsuperscript{74} Australasian, 27 May 1882, supp.5; 22 May 1886, 988; 21 May 1887, 977; 27 May, 1993, 908; 26 May 1894, 908.
\textsuperscript{75} Footscray Chronicle, 5 November 1887; Australasian, 12 November 1881, 629; 10 November, 1883, 593.
\textsuperscript{76} Independent, 9 January 1892; Australasian, 12 February 1887, 316; 21 July 1900, 147.
\textsuperscript{77} Leader, 22 April 1882, 21. It was estimated, in 1887, that 8,000 took part in the procession, while 100,000 watched. Leader, 23 April 1887, 29.
about Australians and their national characteristics. Through examining this important festival we can discover some of the strengths and weaknesses of this 'Australian national character', and at the same time further explore the function of this and the other large public gatherings.

Contemporaries regarded Cup Day as an Australian holiday. It was acclaimed, by visitors and locals alike, as 'The Australasian National Day.' 78 People came from all parts of the continent for this 're-union of the colonies ... It is a symbol, as the Olympic games to Greece, of the unity of Australia.' 79 Furthermore, Cup Day was recognizably Australian because of its egalitarian style: 'Cup Day as a demonstration is essentially colonial, and representative of every grade of society ...' 80 Descriptions of the Flemington crowd highlighted its diversity, the free-and-easy mixing of all classes, and the democratic nature of the arrangements. 81 On Cup Day Melbourne was on show to overseas, intercolonial and country visitors, and the citizens displayed pride in their national celebration. British and American visitors admitted that they were surprised and impressed with the completeness of the arrangements, the size, good behaviour and prosperous appearance of the crowd, and the absence of old-world class distinctions. 82 Melbourne basked in the glow of this widespread approval.

Yet, beneath this harmonious, confident exterior lay a curiously sensitive, uncertain side of 'Marvellous Melbourne.' The complex reactions to Cup Day illustrate this paradox. After all, that day did embody many qualities for which Australians were often criticized. The Flemington crowd displayed the inordinate Australian love of pleasure and sport; the evil of gambling was inextricably associated

79 Australasian, 6 November 1886; 889; Leader, 7 November 1885, 19;
Australasian, 10 November 1883, supp.4.
80 Leader, 7 November 1885, 7.
81 'The Melbourne Cup for 1879', Victorian Review 1 December 1879, 274-6;
Australasian, 10 November 1883, supp.5; D.L. Bernstein, First Tuesday in
82 Australasian, 10 November 1883, supp.4; 5 November 1887, supp.1; 10
November 1888, 1057.
Flemington Racecourse, 1885

Carbine winning the Melbourne Cup, 1890
with horse-racing. It was, moreover, an occasion for the flashy display of wealth, epitomised by female over-dressing. A vocal Christian minority organized Sunday school picnics and excursions on the bay to attract young people away from horse-racing and gambling. Surely this was not a fitting national festival?

These lurking doubts and embarrassments resulted in a defensive attitude. Replying to real or imagined critics, commentators highlighted the democratic nature of the day, and its unassailable position as "the national holiday of Australia" - a fact which "all the injudicious ravings of its opponents" would not alter. Defenders distinguished carefully between the few who came to gamble, and the "thousands of pure holiday-makers" who flocked to Flemington "for the sake of the outing, to saunter ... in the open air, to meet friends, to admire the dresses, to picnic, and perchance to flirt." Gambling was "the one black spot" on a day of innocent outdoor pleasure. "The meeting would never have grown to its present dimensions but for social reasons. It is not altogether an affair of betting; it is a gigantic garden-party."

The standard of female dress was another sensitive point: commentators were at pains to stress that gaudy dressing was a fault of the past. Final proof of the worthiness and respectability of the day came from the restrained, well-behaved crowd. If they were, as some critics suggested, "the collected devilry of the whole colony" it had to "be admitted that this unpleasant element behaved itself very well."

This exaggerated concern with public order reveals a constant, though often unstated, fear that the developing Australian race would be judged inferior to old-world stock. A steady stream of considered

83 Australasian, 10 November 1883, supp.4; 22 November 1884, 985; 10 November 1894, 841.
84 Hawthorn Citizen, 7 November 1896; 21 October 1899; Australasian, 5 November 1881, 595; 6 November 1886, 888-89.
85 Australasian, 8 November 1884, 889-90; 22 October 1887, 785.
86 Australasian, 4 November 1893, 805; 6 November 1886, 888-89; 5 November 1887, 889; 10 November 1898, 1057; Leader, 7 November 1885, 19.
87 Australasian, 5 November 1881, 593; 10 November 1883, supp.4; 8 November 1884, 883; 6 November 1886, supp.1.
88 Australasian, 22 October 1881, 521; 5 November 1881, 593; 10 November 1883, supp.4; 8 November 1894, 889; 6 November 1886, supp.1; 1 February 1890, 234; Footscray Chronicles, 5 November 1887.
articles, boasts and counter-attacks sought to stem this type of criticism. Cup Day, 1880, was hailed as clear proof of the sobriety, and order, and good behaviour of the masses of our people ... It is impossible to deny that we are rearing a people better able to take care of itself, and to observe good behaviour, and to exhibit self-restraint and mutual consideration ... under very exciting conditions than almost any people in the world. 90

A critic of rowdy behaviour at a seaside resort earned a stern reprimand: 'The contrast he draws between the demeanour of Englishmen and Victorians when on holiday we do not believe will stand examination.' Compared with the behaviour of English holiday-makers, a Victorian crowd 'under the most exhilarating holiday excitement' was 'a pattern of perfect propriety.' 91 At the root of the sensitivity about female over-dressing was this same desire to prove Australia's equality in all matters, including taste. Signs of greater maturity, such as an ability to display, without flaunting, wealth, were eagerly announced: 'It seems a pity that there was no great historian present on Cup Day to tell the tale of moderation and good taste to the world.' 92

Through isolating the common characteristics of these public holidays we can discern their broad social functions. As we have seen, they were occasions for large public gatherings. These events were described and promoted as democratic, exemplifying the best egalitarian characteristics of Australian life. 93 It was true that on those days 'rich and poor' did 'unite in holiday-making', 94 but clear class distinctions remained. As at the theatre, all who attended the Cup

90 Australasian, 6 November 1880, 593; 10 November 1883, 593.
91 Australasian, 17 January 1880, 82.
92 Australasian, 6 November 1886, 871; 10 November 1883, 583, supp. 4; 6 November 1887, supp. 1.
93 Ronald Lawson, Brisbane in the 1880s: A Study of an Australian Urban Society (St. Lucia, Qld. 1973), 231; K.S. Inglis, 'Australia Day', Historical Studies, 13, 49 (October 1967), 21; Australasian, 6 November 1884, 889.
94 Australasian, 6 November 1886, 888.
witnessed the same spectacle; but from carefully separated positions. Though this was a separation based ostensibly only on ability to pay, it encompassed great differences in style.\textsuperscript{95} The splendour of the lawn was the crowning glory of Cup Day, but 'the voice of the hill' was the loudest and the merriest of the day. From noon till evening the clatter of business, the roar of sport, and the music of genuine fun and frolic goes on there. The hill is the place of cake and wine, of ham sandwiches and bottled beer, of apples, oranges, and lemonade, of family parties ... There are no Cup dresses, and no fashionable promenade ...; but instead thereof lolling and strolling and eating and drinking ... \textsuperscript{96}

Large public events did attract a broad range of people, but the democratic mix was carefully controlled. This fine balance meant that these days served several socially desirable purposes. Their superficial unity encouraged public feelings of satisfaction and acceptance.\textsuperscript{97} Most Melburnians could feel that the Melbourne Cup was their day, that it characterised their society, their approach to holiday-making. At the same time, within this egalitarian framework, public holiday gatherings were utilized for purposes of display, before an audience of peers and others. This aspect tended to reinforce class distinctions.\textsuperscript{98} As well, the formal, structured nature

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Australasian}, 10 November 1883, supp.4; 13 November 1886, supp.3; 'Melbourne Cup for 1879', 274-75.

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Australasian}, 10 November 1888, 1034.

\textsuperscript{97} Those who attended the intercolonial cricket match over Christmas-New Year were united as Victorian supporters against other colonies, or, sometimes, against England.

\textsuperscript{98} The 'fashionable' public's love of promenading and display was highlighted during the 1888 Exhibition. The organizers decided to declare Tuesday the 'fashionable' or 'half-crown' day, charging 2s 6d rather than 1s. One observer commented:

It is an error to suppose that the Exhibition is pleasantest when empty or desolate. How many 'fashionable' ladies and gentlemen would go to the lawn on Cup Day unless the whole world were present at the same time to admire them and keep them company? \ldots' No flowers care to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air ... \textit{Australasian}, 18 August 1888, 377. See also: 28 May 1881, 692.
of many holiday activities, and the preoccupation with public order increased pressure on all levels to conform and to 'live up to the day.' Concern with these public standards was sometimes quite explicit. Nevertheless, within these limits there was an opportunity for the play of fantasy, and for escaping from humdrum everyday life. Either vicariously, or through participating, one could become part of these spectacles. On Cup Day, for instance,

Custom sanctions ... the adoption of colours and styles, combinations and effects, which worn at other places, and with other surroundings, would look outré and bizarre. But they do not look so here. Everything is gay, the flashing jackets of the jockeys ... the brilliant sunshine, the blue sky, the fresh green carpet beneath our feet ... Here the fettered imagination finds full play for its fancies ... and the unattainable ideals of a whole year become facts on Cup Day. Criticism is suspended, or becomes more lax or tolerant, the forbidden becomes allowable, the extravagant is received as common-place.

Public holidays were not apart from normal work-day routines: they were characterised by activity, enjoyment and great public gatherings. On these days Melburnians revealed a great deal about themselves, their tastes, and what they had come to believe about themselves.

Women

Women and children were conspicuous in the holiday crowds. I intend now to look more closely at the place of women in relation to Melbourne's urban leisure patterns, and to suggest that here, too, women played an important role in the suburbanization of Melbourne.

Deciding how - or if - to discuss women in this thesis has posed many problems, not the least of which is the comparative dearth of

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100 *Australasian*, 5 November 1881, 533. This description brings to mind the Vagabond's shrewd comment that fancy dress balls offered 'favourable occasions to protest against the stringent laws of fashion and society, and to allow displays of the human form divine, such as would not be thought decorous elsewhere.' Cited in Cannon, 221.
material on female life and leisure, and the bias of what is available towards the articulate and privileged. Should they be discussed separately, or remain integrated? I have decided to discuss them separately, largely because the lack of material necessitates a different, more speculative approach. Moreover, given the weight of what has been written about (male) society one needs to state explicitly the significance of women in history: to clean a small part of the slate before proceeding.

So far, most of this thesis, explicitly or implicitly, has been about men: men largely occupied the workplace, and established commuter transport links to satisfy its needs; organized public leisure, particularly sport, was a male province. Women were present, as spectators, as consumers, as members of family excursion groups, but rarely did they initiate or control. The growing gap between work and leisure, between city workplace and suburban home, precipitates the historian to take a male-orientated view. Students of this functional distinction nearly always see 'life' transferring from work in the city to evening and weekend hours in the suburbs, thus assuming that significant work and social activity is inextricably linked with men, and, therefore, cannot exist, for example, in a dormitory suburb inhabited during the day only by women and children. This interpretation has been reinforced by the lack of information about the day-time suburban culture. For the late nineteenth century we can infer that most women spent their days indoors, doing housework, but we know little about their feelings, needs, and contacts with others, and little about child-rearing practices.

However, all is not lost; we need not relegate women to obscurity merely because information is scarce, or because of apparent male dominance. A first step is recognizing that there was day-time life in the suburbs, even though there is little evidence about it. A second step involves examining more closely this and other female roles, in an attempt to discover their broad social functions. My aim is to establish the significance of the female social position and field of activity for women themselves and for the society.

There was an accepted, positive, albeit supportive, female role. Viewed narrowly, the world of work was male. Viewed broadly, it encompassed
female work in the home as a prime support for the predominantly male workforce. Women's daily work in the home constituted part of the relationship between workplace and home. The tangible transport link has already been mentioned. The female role enabled men to perform their regular daily work, largely untroubled by domestic considerations, and to devote a significant proportion of their free time to organized leisure. This definition and separation of male and female roles, in turn, facilitated greater specialization within the workforce, because it opened the way to more regular working hours and a more stable workforce. Of course, this was a reciprocal process; I am not suggesting that one development preceded and determined the other. Women worked to establish much of the suburban stability and continuity of the 1890s. And I contend that it was the security provided largely by this suburban consolidation which explained the city's change in character towards the end of the nineteenth century. 101

Melbourne's suburbanization stemmed from economic change, transport developments and population growth, but it was a movement staffed by women and children. Neglecting their contribution leaves us with an incomplete understanding of the urban development.

From this broad discussion of the historical implications of the female domestic role, I shall proceed to a more specific examination of their position as contributors and supporters within the field of urban leisure. This involves, on a practical level, an exploration of the general interpretation advanced above. Women were conspicuous only as supporters and spectators. It is easy to dismiss this level of participation as passive, and indicative of female subordination. However, closer examination reveals greater significance. In Footscray and Hawthorn, women were usually the fund-raisers and social organizers for sporting clubs and other recreational groups. For these purposes, they initiated, participated fully, and directed operations. They organized social gatherings and ran bazaars and other fund-raising functions. 102

101 See above 66.
102 See above 142-3. See also, for example, Hawthorn Citizen, 3 April 1897; 22 April 1899; Independent, 29 September 1900; Criterion, 6 October 1892, 15.
And they watched the men playing their sport. The great sporting contests at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, attracting thousands of spectators, have received much attention. However, there were many more suburban contests throughout the year, watched by a cross-section of female friends and family. These spectators were not necessarily passive, nor was there always a rigid division between spectators and players. Writing of the broad community support for football in Collingwood, Russ Topham stressed that it was followed at the family level, with women welcomed as spectators and supporters. He cited a contemporary description of some very enthusiastic, vocal lady barrackers. At a cricket match between two local Footscray teams vociferous female supporters 'displayed great feeling throughout the match', leaping with joy, beating their umbrellas on the seats and applauding loudly. When the excitement was over, the supporters of the winning team 'metaphorically hugged their cricketing heroes ... and straightaway had their photos taken ... boys and girls all mixed up.' Spectator sport helped urban men to shed work-day tension and control, and to compensate for inactivity or lack of stimulation and commitment at work. It was equally important for women, if, as was often the case, attendance at a football or cricket match was their only outing for the week, their one chance to feel part of a crowd, and to identify with a cause outside the immediate home and family. For women, spectator sport was of positive importance.

Very often, careful provision was made for female spectators: they were welcomed, and special arrangements were made for their comfort and convenience. Some sporting clubs went so far as to institute changes so that women could attend — and perhaps participate — more freely.

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103 For example, see above 147.
105 *Independent*, 2 April 1898.
106 The eager response to one opportunity for day-time activity and outside contact, in Footscray, suggested a need for this type of facility. Ladies' skating classes arranged for Tuesday afternoons were 'a gigantic success', with seventy attending the first class. *Independent*, 27 August 1887.
107 *The Australasian Courting Calendar for the Season 1883* X (Melbourne 1884), 131; *Courting Calendar for 1884 XI* (Melbourne 1885), 94, 131, 155, 161; *Kooyong Citizen*, 7 January 1885.
A ladies' coursing meeting, 1876
After their 1877 carnival the South Melbourne Swimming Club resolved that women would be allowed to watch future meetings, an innovation which led to the adoption of a standard attire of 'football costume ... minus boots and socks.' At first, the Footscray Gun Club took care to shoot at clay pigeons 'so that fair ladies may not be afraid of having their fine feelings shocked by witnessing blood and feathers flying.' Female supporters of the Footscray Football Club were invited to witness the Club's annual general meeting on at least one occasion. In 1899, the balcony of the Royal Hall was reserved for women, and, after close of business, a musical programme commenced. Several years before, the neighbouring Williamstown Football Club had celebrated the end of the season with a steamer trip down the bay, instead of the more usual 'dinner or some such masculine enjoyment ...'.

Reports of such changes never indicated that they were the result of direct female pressure. Perhaps there was some realization that clubs and social functions were more likely to be successful if women were included. This success may have been because of the positive benefits brought by the female presence, or because it was one way of overcoming domestic resistance to exclusively-male pastimes. A Footscray bank manager thought that a scheme to establish a lawn-tennis club would have 'the hearty support of the ladies, who only require to join in the movement to make it a success.' When the club was formed, several months later, previous failures were attributed partly to 'not having secured sufficient interest in the fair sex, ...'. H.F. Scott, the Footscray Anglican incumbent, thought many working men's clubs failed 'partly because they made no provision for the wives and daughters.'

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109. Within a year the Club was using live birds as targets. Independent, 5 January 1895; 12 December 1896. Fine feelings did not prevent the ladies mustering in force for a Hawthorn Private Sparrow Shooting Club ladies' day, when several thousand sparrows were 'annihilated.' 20 and Hawthorn Express, 2 December 1892.

110. Independent, 26 March, 2 April 1898.

111. Footscray Chronicle, 5 October 1896. See also: 20 October 1898.

112. Though there was probably a tale behind the blunt addendum to an advertisement announcing a complimentary banquet for two councillors: 'N.B. - Ladies will be admitted to the Banquet.' Independent, 27 August 1887.

113. See above 225-26.

114. Independent, 15 September 1894; 12 January 1895.

115. Advertiser, 16 June 1894.
The promoters of the Austral Bicycle Race followed the dictum of Robert Bagot, a former secretary of the Victoria Racing Club: 'Attract the ladies and the men are sure to follow.' Women flocked to cycle races during the 1890s.

The general thrust behind moves to include women was often simply that social activities were more varied, and more enjoyable, in mixed company. A Hawthorn Lodge concert was described as "somewhat monotonous because there were no women on the programme. The Hawthorn Rechabites envied the Star of Kew Tent its many sisters: the Hawthorn Tent needed 'a few like them, as they were good in providing harmony, and for their able assistance on other occasions.' Some literary and mutual improvement societies boosted their dwindling attendances by admitting female members, a move which attracted back many males. Cycling, too, was more fun in mixed groups. Tours were 'more like picnic parties than the dry [masculine] processions of the past.' There was now no point in 'scorching' away, when everyone else merely jogged along 'at eight miles an hour, with light chatter and little rills, ...'

While there is no doubt that the active sport and club world was male, women were welcome companions in many areas of organized public social activity. Their presence and aid was judged an advantage, their social skills were valued and utilized. Significant, above all, is the fact that female participation placed suburban sporting clubs, drama and horticultural societies, mutual improvement and other leisure groups on a much more secure base. Without the enthusiastic support of countless women in the suburban leisure patterns which form the heart of this study would not have developed so quickly or penetrated so deeply.

Having viewed women within their broad social context, I shall examine more closely the range of activities which were available to them, and changes in this area. Did women share in the expanding leisure possibilities of the late nineteenth century? Certain leisure pursuits had always been open to women: choral and horticultural societies, drama clubs, lawn tennis, temperance societies, the Church. They were effectively excluded from the pub, many Mechanics' Institute activities,
most Friendly Societies and social clubs, and nearly all active competitive
sport. They absented themselves from gatherings where men were permitted
to smoke. It is quite possible that men found the smoke-screen a
convenient barrier to total female participation.120

Women who could afford the time and money, and those who had access
to child-care, could take advantage of broader recreational opportunities.
While noting that these were a privileged few, we must also remember
that they did, in many instances, blaze a trail which led eventually to
greater freedom for all women. The fashionable ladies who played cricket
occasionally against male elevens limited to left-hands and broomsticks,
did little to expand the boundaries of female sport.121 But those who
pioneered female golf, swimming, cricket, lawn bowls, tennis, rowing and
cycling, and adopted suitable clothes, set in motion a movement resulting
in more sensible clothing and greater freedom of activity for all women.122
As far as I have been able to ascertain, public disapproval was voiced
only over such innovations as competitive female cycling, which was
considered harmful to the reputation of both the sport and the women.123

120 The Footscray Mechanics' Institute announced a 'smoke and pound night':
'By the term "smoke" is implied that none but the sternest sex are expected.'
The next social evening was, however, to be a non-smoking night, so that
ladies could attend. *Advertiser*, 31 March 1894. The Footscray Cycling Club,
which did admit female members, held many smoke nights. In 1898, fifty
women attended the club's annual combined 'smoke and ladies' night', 'but
at the conclusion of the set programme they retired and the remainder of
the evening was devoted to smoking, and indulgence in an impromptu list
of songs ...' *Independent*, 5 February 1898. Had they stayed, no doubt
the women would have found the words of the impromptu songs as upsetting
as the smoke.

121 *Mirror*, 23 November 1888, 174; *Australasian*, 26 October 1889, 884; 9
November 1889, 998; 23 November 1889, 1106. Addressing the fifth annual
conversazione of the Field Naturalists' Club of Victoria the President, the
Reverend J.J. Halley, drew attention to the falsity of much so-called female
participation. Many societies invited women only 'to grace and add sweetness
and lustre to annual gatherings, or occasionally, in a kind of superior
patronising way,' they 'arranged special evenings when more serious
work was dispensed with, and curious or pretty things were shown or said, ...
Male and female field naturalists, however, shared in honest intellectual
toils as well as meeting 'on gala days in festive dress ...' *The Victorious
Naturalist*, 11, May 1885–April 1886, 2, 4.

122 *Australasian*, 12 November 1881, 616; 18 June 1892, 1168; 1 July 1893, 334;
29 July 1893, 154; 2 September 1893, 431; 12 January 1895, 69; 2 March 1895,
403; 27 July 1895, 171; 10 October 1895, 692; 7 November 1895, 1007; 9 April
1898, 809; 2 December 1899, 1257; *Kew and Hawthorn Express*, 19 November 1892;
*Hawthorn Citizen*, 16 March 1895; 14 October 1899. At a ladies' swimming
tournament in February 1899, 'A few married ladies swam under assumed names,
tournament in February 1899, 'A few married ladies swam under assumed names,
the reason being given that their husbands might have objected to their
canoeing.' *Australasian*, 25 February 1899, 421.

123 *Australasian*, 23 May 1896, 978.
During the final decades of the nineteenth century there were many breakthroughs for women, each one small in itself but, taken together, representing a general expansion of female opportunity. Usually, this expansion involved breaching a previously male preserve. Apart from such activities as gymnastics and swimming, which were necessarily restricted to female company, there were very few pursuits involving only women. Except for charitable and temperance societies, few clubs catered solely for females. Occasionally there was talk of a ladies' club, but the only two to survive for any length of time were the Warrabee Club and the Austral Salon, both of which catered for Melbourne's small group of intellectual and literary-minded women. Expansion of opportunity, then, largely followed well-charted paths. Women were becoming more involved in their social surroundings, and, at first, were content to follow and to join, rather than to initiate.

Despite these advances, there remained enormous practical barriers to the great majority of women: those who were married, with children and without servants. Unless family or neighbours would mind the children, these women were unable to go out alone, or with their husbands. Most solved the problem by taking the family with them on all outings, which limited the number and extent of these excursions. Even those

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124 For instance, women were admitted to the Brighton Yacht Club in 1886, to the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society in 1897, and to many bicycle clubs during the 1890s. Christopher De Fraga, 100 Years of Yachting on Port Phillip Bay. A History of the Royal Brighton Yacht Club, (Melbourne 1975), 67; William A. Carne, A Century of Harmony: The Official Centenary History of the Royal Melbourne Philharmonic Society, (Melbourne 1994), 126-27; Australasian, 18 August 1883, 205; Independent, 23 May 1896; 13 August 1898.

125 Leader, 12 April 1884, 7; Australasian, 3 May 1884, 55; 10 July 1886, 55; 27 July 1889, 165; 2 July 1892, 24; 24 December 1892, 1247; 23 September 1893, 551; 2 February 1895, 210; 18 September 1897, 626; Criterion, 10 November 1892, 16; James F. Hogan, The Sister Dominions, (London 1896), 174-75; Rules of the Warrabee Club, 1893, (Melbourne 1893).

126 Referring to Australian babies, Twopeny commented; 'the little brute is omnipresent, ...' Twopeny, 82. See also Freeman, 75. Answering a complaint about noisy babies at a Yarraville dramatic performance, a woman agreed that they should be left at home if there was someone there to look after them. If not, the mother had to take them with her.

... very few husbands ... would debar themselves of the smallest amount of pleasure staying at home to look after the little ones to give the wife a change from her every day monotonous life, ...

I know only too keenly the isolated loneliness of staying at home while the husband is out making himself ... agreeable to others; ...

Independent, 1 May 1896.
who were free of these practical obstacles faced restrictions on women moving about alone, or going out at night, even in a group, without a male escort. Where clubs were open to women, membership was often limited, practically, to those whose husbands or other male relatives also attended. Similar restrictions surrounded such activities as cycling: 'One rarely hears of single girls being possessed of bicycles; it is only ... married ones, and then only those whose husbands are also fond of cycling.'

Improved public transport greatly benefited such women. Restrictions on female travel largely disappeared once safe, respectable public transport was widely available, enabling many women to extend their personal horizons greatly. For the fortunate few the bicycle, too, opened up new worlds. A female 'suburban pedaller' noted that by 1896 scores of lady-riders were to be seen, whereas a few years before very few were evident. To the middle-class woman the cycle had proved a great boon: 'It ... established her independence, improved her health, [and] enlarged her knowledge' of the surrounding area. Public transport enabled women to participate more fully in city life, and brought them into closer contact with the distinctive characteristics and opportunities of urban existence.

What conclusions about women and leisure, and about the society, arise from the preceding examination? Women participated in leisure largely through the family, primarily as supporters of the activities of fathers, husbands, brothers and children. Organized suburban leisure relied on a network of female workers and spectators. There were few female-directed pursuits. Women took their leisure as part of the family group. They were drawn into urban leisure largely through the family. Although the married woman with children was restricted by her household responsibilities she was accorded more freedom to participate in social activities with her husband. Single women, on the other hand,

127 Australasian, 13 October 1894, 639.
128 Austral Wheel, April 1896, 82.
were restricted by social taboos, though these were loosening. Family ties provided the point of entry to leisure activities for many women, and drew them into closer contact with organized urban life. In the same way, through contact with working men, women were drawn into the web of regular working hours, transport timetables and weekends. Though indirect these links were significant in binding women to the wider society. Viewing the female role positively, I have suggested that women played an important part in the suburban expansion and consolidation of the 1890s. Much of the stability and endurance of Melbourne’s suburban life must be attributed to their unrecorded daily work.

The expansion of female leisure opportunity during the late nineteenth century reveals something of the rate of social change. Accepted leisure activities for women expanded without posing any threat to established patterns, and without leading to much more independence. Expansion was directed more to taking up male pursuits and to engaging in greater physical activity, rather than to forging new directions. Given these limitations the lack of male resistance is not surprising. It is even less surprising when one remembers that this expansion was more a potential than an actual broadening of opportunity. Practical and personal limitations ensured that comparatively few women took up the new activities. Because they posed no immediate threat to established male patterns, there was little resistance. Few perceived the long-term significance of the expansion of female opportunity. This investigation

129 In 1889 an observer noted wide acceptance of the practice of young ladies attending parties unescorted. Several young women would meet in the cloak-room, approach the hostess together, and rendezvous after dances or return to the protective wing of the hostess. Generally, they left early, the one cab or carriage depositing each one at home. *Australasian*, 28 December 1889, 1365. Fanny Barbour revealed that on informal occasions, where a large group was involved, there was even greater freedom. Fanny organized a large sea-side picnic, which a married friend, Mrs Quick, promised to chaperone. However, when they arrived at their destination, Mrs Quick, who was already there with a party of her own, chose to stay with her group. Fanny and her friends spent the day eating, walking, singing and flirting ('mashing'). They nearly missed the return train, which reached the city at 11.30 p.m.

It was great excitement. I better not say too much about it though. There was a fine rowdy train full going home. They made a most awful noise.
Barbour, entry dated Sunday 29 January 1888, 199-207.
of female leisure has highlighted the significance of the family: it was the central pillar supporting suburban expansion, and it was the centre of female strength, and the point from which women were bound to the wider society.

In this chapter I have explored some causes of Melbourne's suburban stability during the last decades of the nineteenth century. A study of leisure reveals a stable core of regular family and neighbourhood activities which extended, on special occasions, to the broader city opportunities. The weekly routine of work followed by local evening and weekend leisure provided a solid base which was leavened by occasional special excursions, particularly on the eagerly-awaited public holidays. These years saw the working out of a balance between suburban and broader metropolitan life: between an ordered suburban existence and the excitement of occasional great public gatherings. The Melbourne Cup, crowded bay-side excursions, colourful public celebrations united isolated suburban residents as proud citizens of Melbourne. Neither the regular nor the special side of life was alone characteristic of the city: together they provided the mixture which was peculiarly 'Melbourne' and which was at the root of the city's apparent charge of character during the 1890s.
CHAPTER 6

HOLIDAYS AWAY FROM HOME

A holiday away from home, at a seaside or country resort, was an unattainable dream for most Melbourne citizens. At best, they could look forward to a cheap steamer or rail day-exursion. Gradually, extensions to rail and steamship routes and the increasing provision of more regular, sometimes paid, holidays brought trips extending over several days within the reach of more people, though they remained a restricted group. Modernizing developments had increased the pace and pressure, and, some asserted, the monotony of life and work in Melbourne. These developments ranged from major changes affecting the working lives of hundreds of people, such as the increasing tendency towards larger workplaces and a more specialized division of labour, to innovations which appeared less significant at first but which cumulatively increased the pace and noise of city life: the cable trams, the typewriter, the telephone and the bicycle.

Modernization affected holiday trips in two ways: transport improvements broadened the opportunities for travel, and the increased pace of urban life stimulated the desire to escape from the hustle and bustle.\(^1\) What were seen as declining opportunities for change and stimulation within work (and, on the positive side, greater economic security) increased the necessity for revival and reinvigoration to take place in leisure-time, particularly, if possible, during an extended break from work and the normal environment. Invariably, reasons for going away were linked directly to needing a break from work and from the city.\(^2\) This chapter examines attitudes to holiday trips through studying the effects of transport improvement and the differences between seaside and country holidays. I pay particular attention to the lifestyles

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\(^1\) One holiday report noted the marked effects of the extension of Victoria's railway system during the Christmas and New Year holidays. In 1884, the departures for the country from Spencer Street and Princes Bridge were almost double those of the previous year. The greatest passenger increase was on the Gippsland line. *Leader*, 27 December 1884, 27.

\(^2\) See below, 275-276.
and the range of activities and patrons at these resorts. Transport improvements were more significant than cheap fares and the provision of regular holidays for this privileged group. Professional men and independent businessmen and their families could afford holidays and fares: they were more concerned with the range of places available, and with ease of access.

The Holiday Season

It is difficult to separate the day-excursion season from the extended holiday season, particularly on the steamers. People going away for holidays used the special excursion steamers as well as the regular scheduled services. Similarly, it is difficult to separate the two groups of tourists on the trains. Regular summer steamer trips extended from early November until April - broadly, from Melbourne Cup Day until Easter. Frequency of service increased as the weather improved. The exodus of long-term holiday-makers began early in December, continuing to early February, with people returning gradually until late in March. Socially, this was Melbourne's quiet time, 'all the life and gayety being in the country or at the seaside.'

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3 Leo Harrigan distinguishes between the railway authorities granting special excursion tickets, and providing cheap rates for general travel to holiday resorts:
Although excursion tickets had been, for many years since 1859, a regular and popular concession, tourist traffic, as such, was not exploited till 1885. In that year, reduced fares to tourist resorts were introduced.
Leo J. Harrigan, *Victorian Railways to '62*, (Melbourne [1963]), 130.


5 Australasian, 14 January 1882, 52; 1 February 1890, 249; 11 March 1899, 548; 15 December 1900, 1327. Rail excursion tickets covered a much longer period: in the early 1880s they were available from 18 December to 3 January, open for return for thirty days from the date of issue, so effectively they were available from 18 December to the end of January. This period gradually lengthened: by the late 1890s excursion tickets were available from 15 November to 30 April (return open for three months). Despite this extended time for concessions, the great majority still took their holidays between mid-December and early February. The Easter excursion period was similarly lengthy. In 1884 excursion tickets were available from the Tuesday before Easter until the Wednesday after - nine days - and were available for return for one month from the date of issue.
Australasian, 9 December 1882, 755; 5 April 1884, supp.5; 13 December 1884, 1131; *Picturesque Victoria and How to Get There*, (Melbourne 1897), 20.

6 Australasian, 7 January 1893, 37; Leader, 15 January 1887, 7.
Weekend excursions attracted a wide range of people. In 1881 'weekend' (Friday evening to Monday evening) excursion tickets were available from 1 October. For those who worked on Saturday morning, there was a special train to Queenscliff, leaving at 2.30 p.m. Saturday and returning on the Monday morning. Country places were not neglected: for instance, in January 1889, several overnight country excursions were offered, and a popular series of cheap weekend excursions to Ballarat and Bendigo operated in mid-1893. Rail excursion arrangements for the Queen's Birthday (24 May) in 1895 were generous: tickets were available from Wednesday 22 May until Monday 27, inclusive. Weekend excursion tickets were generally available at single fare rates.

These typical examples illustrate the wide choice available to holiday-makers, either for extended visits to resorts or for weekend trips. Cheap weekend fares extended the opportunity of a brief absence from home to a greater range of people. An extensive range of trips was offered, and both steamer and rail services to resorts expanded steadily throughout these years. Extra benefits eased the excursionist's path: additional early morning suburban trains were provided to enable tourists from all suburbs to catch the first country trains during the holiday period; some breaks of journey were permitted; and, as an added inducement to the 'low fares and facilities for visiting many attractive places', rail excursionists were 'allowed to take all necessary paraphernalia, tents, fishing and shooting tackle, etc., as passengers' luggage.'

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7 *Australasian*, 17 September 1881, 371; 1 October 1881, 435.
8 *Australasian*, 24 December 1881, 618.
9 *Australasian*, 5 January 1889, 32. See also: Hotham Citizen, 2 February 1895. One weekend in May 1893, five special trains took 2,000 to Bendigo. About a month later, seven special trains took 3,000 on the same trip. Victorian Railways Gazette, 1 June 1893, 2; 1 July 1893, 4; 1 August 1893, 2.
10 Hotham Citizen, 18 May 1895; Harrigan, 130.
11 In the late 1890s it was suggested that 'low attendances at pennant cricket matches arose partly from people's increasing fondness for 'going away from Melbourne from Saturday to Monday ...' Improvements in land and sea transport had made weekend trips more practicable. *Australasian*, 2 October 1897, 717.
12 *Australasian*, 13 December 1884, 1131; 20 December 1884, 1179; 6 December 1884, 1083; *Leader*, 27 December 1884, 27.
Transport

All extensions to rail, steamer and coach routes increased the range of touring possibilities. The map (figure 7) sets out all extensions to rail services during these decades. The great bulk of railway construction had taken place before 1890, but many of the short extensions after that date benefited tourist traffic. Equally important for expanding holiday travel opportunities was the gradual increase in frequency of service, and the eventual extension of Sunday rail services to outer suburban, then to country, areas. To illustrate how transport expansion affected holiday travel I shall describe the means of access to several popular resorts.

Schnapper Point (Mornington) and Queenscliff were both established beach resorts, about thirty and seventy miles from Melbourne, respectively. From the early 1870s Schnapper Point was served by a regular summer steamship service. Off-season isolation led residents to consider buying a steamer to provide a year-round service, but gradual rail expansion solved the problem. By 1882 the line had reached Frankston and alternative transport was available: rail to Frankston (27 miles), then coach (8 miles). By the end of the decade the line was through to Mornington. Daily trains made the thirty-nine mile journey in two hours. This 'most elite' watering place was then linked to Melbourne all year round. 13

Queenscliff was linked to the city by rail in 1879. Before this date, travellers had taken a train to Geelong, then a Cobb and Company coach to the resort. A regular summer steamship service was established in the early 1870s, and a few years later residents had a small steamer - the Queenscliff - built, to ensure a year-round service. By the late 1890s, two trains a day (and an additional mid-day summer service) covered the distance in three hours. 14 Lorne, a scenic ocean settlement over 100 miles from Melbourne, beyond Queenscliff, was isolated by the Otway Mountain range which bordered the coastline. In 1877 the Geelong railway line was extended to Birregurra. The tourist then faced an

13 Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, (Melbourne [1880]), 4-6, 8; L. Bruck (ed. & comp.), Guide to Health Resorts in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, (Sydney 1888), 61; Picturesque Victoria, 20-7. The exact sequence of rail extensions was: Caulfield to Mordialloc (12-17-1881), Mordialloc to Frankston (1-9-1882) Frankston to Mornington Junction (now Baxter) (1-10-1888) Mornington Junction to Hastings (10-9-1889), Hastings to Stony Point (17-12-1889), Baxter to Mornington (10-9-1889); Harrigan, 287.

14 Harrigan, 284; Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, 25-6; Picturesque Victoria, 62.
eighty-three mile rail trip from Melbourne, and a twenty-four mile
coach trip to Lorne (the coach trip alone would have taken at least
five hours). The rail service had improved slightly by the end of
the century. After taking the train to Dean’s March (91 miles)
the tourist faced a fourteen mile coach trip; total travelling time would
have been at least seven hours.\textsuperscript{15} There is conflicting evidence about
steamship services to Lorne. There may have been some summer steamer
services, but there appears to have been no established regular sea
transport during the 1880s and 1890s.\textsuperscript{16} Despite these obstacles,
Lorne continued to grow in popularity.\textsuperscript{17} Warrnambool, over 160 miles
from the city, beyond Lorne, was one of the most frequented holiday
places. The regular thrice-weekly steamer service left Melbourne in the
evening and arrived at Warrnambool shortly after daybreak. Land transport
was not a practical alternative until the line reached Warrnambool in
1890. After that, at least two trains made the trip each day.\textsuperscript{18}

Resorts which relied solely on steamers were well-served during
the summer, but isolated at other times. Portsea, Dromana and Sorrento
depended almost completely on steamers.\textsuperscript{19} In the early 1860s one company’s
regular summer excursions to Sorrento, Queenscliff, Dromana and Schnapper
Point began early in November. Sorrento and Queenscliff were served
four times a week, Schnapper Point and Dromana once.\textsuperscript{17} In addition,

\textsuperscript{15}Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, n.p. (See Grand Pacific Hotel advertisement);
Truck, 56; Picturesque Victoria, 66; Harrigan, 284.

\textsuperscript{16}Newspaper correspondents, in 1882, suggested that a regular steamship
service be established for the coming season, but nothing resulted.
Late in the 1880s a guide book noted that there was a direct steamer
service to Lorne, but there was no mention of this service in the
shipping columns of the Argus. Australasian, 17 January 1890, 83;
Argus, 23 October 1882, 8; 26 October 1882, 5; Truck, 56.

\textsuperscript{17}See below, 381.

\textsuperscript{18}The Visitor’s Guide to Warrnambool, (Warrnambool1882), 3, 19; Argus,
2 December 1882, 1; Harrigan, 284; Picturesque Victoria, 77. During the
early 1880s a land trip to Warrnambool involved leaving Melbourne by a
6.00 a.m. train, changing to a coach at Colac, and reaching Warrnambool
at 9.00 p.m. (or leaving Melbourne on a 4.00 p.m. train, meeting a coach
at Colac at 10.15 p.m., reaching Warrnambool at 8.00 a.m. next morning).
Return first-class fare (coach and rail) was 12; Visitor’s Guide, 19.

\textsuperscript{19}A coach did serve Sorrento and Dromana, taking passengers to Schnapper
Point, then to the city (or, after 1889, they could change to a train
at Mornington) but this route was not used frequently during the summer.
Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, 9, 17.
throughout the year the Queenstown served Queenscliff and Portsea several times a week, and Sorrento once. During the summer, and especially on public holidays, day excursions ran to all resorts, so there was no problem with steamer transport for any holiday trip during the season, from about November to March. 20

Steamers improved considerably during the 1880s. Frequency of service increased, both in- and off-season. The new boats - the Lyondale, Courier, Ozoma and Hygeta, among others - were faster, larger and more comfortable than the earlier models. 21 These new steamers brought the beaches of Portarlington, Frankston, Mornington and Dromana within one and a half hours of the city, and reduced the Queenscliff and Sorrento trips from half day journeys to pleasant runs of an hour and forty minutes. 22 The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the heyday of this type of holiday transport. Rail transport was dearer and slower, and did not serve many of the steamers' ports of call. The greatest expansion and improvement of Melbourne's steamer fleet took place in the 1870s and 1880s.

Railway development first stimulated, and then continued to serve, the popular inland resorts. The forty-four mile trip to Macedon took about an hour, by the express service. 23 Travellers to Daylesford, seventy-six miles from Melbourne, had to change trains at Woodend, on their four hour trip. 24 Tourists to the Gippsland Lakes used both rail and steamer. After the train trip to Sale, travellers took one of the

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20 Argus, 31 October 1882, 1; 18 November 1882, 1; 18 December 1882, 1. There is a good summary of the regular steamer runs in 1879, in Bradahau's Guide to Victoria, 1879 (Melbourne 1879), 24.

21 The Ozoma made her maiden voyage to Queenscliff and Sorrento in December 1886. She was the best-fitted steamer in Victorian waters: capable of steaming 20 statute m.p.h., 250 feet long, 28 feet across the beam, and weighing 572 tons; lighting was electric. N.A. Dunn, A History of Point Lyondale, (Melbourne 1949), 42.

22 Australasian, 16 October 1886, 727; 25 February 1888, 426; 13 December 1890, 1137. The return trip must have been slower: on one trip, the Ozoma's time of two hours and twenty minutes from Sorrento to Port Melbourne, including the usual stop at Queenscliff, was considered very fast. Australasian, 4 January 1890, 27.

23 Bruck, 57.

The Christmas holidays: tourists for Tasmania, 1883
three lakes' steamers across to Bairnsdale, calling at several settlements on the way. 25

The cheapest holiday travel was by steamer to the bay resorts (see table 6:1). Even so, these costs, added to the cost of accommodation in guest houses or hotels (over £2 a week board and lodging at most resorts), 26 meant that, in general, only middle-class families earning at least £300 a year could afford a seaside or country holiday. For the wealthy, Tasmania was a popular refuge from hot, dusty Melbourne. The cheapest passage in 1882 was steerage to Launceston (no provision) at £1.10s. Steerage to Hobart cost £3. Three years later, the cheapest price for a round trip, with several ports of call, was £1, (first-class £3.10s). At the same time, the cheapest Gippsland Lakes excursion tickets cost £1.9s.6d. 27 These 'cheapest' rates can be misleading: respectable, fashionable people travelled first-class to Tasmania.

There is no information on those who travelled steerage: people searching for work would have chosen cheap rates, and groups of young tourists - particularly males - may have saved enough to take the 'rough' passage for a camping holiday. Even a first-class trip had its discomforts. Edith Pearson, wife of the Victorian Liberal M.L.A., Charles Pearson, took her children on a three month steamer trip to Tasmania early in 1888. She described one disturbed night off Port Fairy:

We slept on the Devon - One of those hideous nights that seem like a nightmare - a stuffy close cabin with us all in it - gentlemen on one side, ladies on the other - with curtains to draw around us - A baby squalling painfully on & off all night. 28

25 The Centennial Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Rivers, (Melbourne [1886]), 2, 6, 43. This guide was a substantial fifty-three page booklet, promoting this holiday area. Five thousand copies of the two previous editions (1882 and 1884) had been sold, and a similar number of the third edition was published (p.3). These numbers give some idea of the appeal of this area to tourists.


27 Argus, 17 October 1882, 1; Independent, 21 November 1885; Centennial Guide, 43.

28 L. Pearson, Diary ... 5th February 1883 - 23rd July 1891. Pearson Papers MS 7106 La Trobe Library, SLV.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Melbourne to ...</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>STEAMER</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>2nd class return</td>
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<tr>
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<td>30s + (combined rail and coach)</td>
<td>10s (estimate)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>28s 6d</td>
<td>22s 5d</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warrnambool</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td></td>
<td>10s</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1896</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1897</td>
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<td>22s 5d</td>
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<td>1897</td>
<td>13s 8d</td>
<td>9s 1d</td>
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<td>Portlandington</td>
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<td>Schnapper Point</td>
<td>1880s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daylesford</td>
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<td>10s 4d</td>
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<td>Healesville</td>
<td>1897</td>
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<td>4s 1ld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *Picturesque Victoria*, 62, 66, 77, 148; *Argus*, 23 October 1882, 8; 31 October 1882, 1; 2 December 1882, 1; 21 December 1882, 1; 30 December 1882, 1; 4 November 1896, 1; 21 November 1896, 1.
New Zealand, too, was increasingly attractive and accessible to the wealthy. During the 1884 holiday season, Melbourne visitors via Dunedin numbered considerably more than 100. The Union Steamship Company advertised a wide range of excursions, costing between £7 and £20.2

Some holiday-makers adopted a new form of personal transport: the safety bicycle, which was introduced to Melbourne in the mid-1880s. Only a small minority of citizens owned a bicycle,30 but the horizons of these few were expanded considerably. It was now possible to explore the countryside around the resorts cheaply and easily. During the 1896 season the streets were reported full of baggage-laden cabs 'and in cases without number the steel wheels of a bunch of glittered ostentatiously from amongst the piles of baggage.'31 The following year, the 'steamers to seaside resorts were laden with wheeled vessels looking somewhat a convenient starting point.' One Sunday the 'steamers brought about 100 bicycles up to Melbourne ... from the seaside resorts.'32 One popular route was to Sorrento by cycle, stopping at Mornington overnight, then home by boat.33 The cycling journals tended only to report the doings of prominent people, but their trips do illustrate the freedom enjoyed by all cyclists.34 One cyclist described a tour of the Mornington Peninsula covering St. Kilda, Cheltenham, Mordialloc, Frankston, Mornington, Mt. Martha, Dromana, Rosebud, Rye, Sorrento, Portsea, Cape Schanck, Flinders, Hastings, Tooradin, Cranbourne, Dandenong, Oakleigh and Melbourne.35 Warrnambool was the touring cyclists' Mecca, particularly during Easter and Christmas.36 Long country tours, often including women, were very popular.37 One woman rode 120 miles in one summer day, from Melbourne to Sorrento and back.38

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29 Australasian, 23 February 1884, supp.6; 8 November 1884, supp.4;5.
30 See above 21.
31 Australasian, January 1896, 5.
32 Australasian, 9 January 1897, 71.
33 Australasian, March 1898, 74.
34 Australasian, January 1896, 6-7; February 1896, 45.
35 Australasian, January 1895, 18;20.
36 Australasian, April 1896, 90; August 1896, 211; November 1896, 334.
38 Australasian, January 1896, 2.
Women welcomed the opportunities offered by the cycle: they visited
country friends, and enjoyed 'the company of both sexes in large
numbers.' Debate raged over suitable clothing for female riders:
rational dress (bloomer or knickerbocker suits) was adopted by some, but
the majority continued to wear more orthodox clothes, perhaps going as
far as a divided skirt. Nevertheless, "cyclistes' dress changed female
fashion to some extent: cycling clothes were tailored rather than over-
decorated, and allowed greater freedom of movement. The cycle craze
of the mid-1890s increased the freedom of many men and women, and
facilitated greater unsupervised mixing of the sexes. The bicycle was
an important means of transport; by combining rail and bicycle, or
steamer and bicycle, holiday possibilities could be considerably extended.

Social Change

Transport expansion was crucial in determining holiday opportunities,
and is easily illustrated. The significance of other social changes is
harder to assess. For those who could just afford a few days at a resort,
as long as paid leave was granted, the increasing regularity and
formalization of annual holidays was of direct benefit. This process
included the kind of 'rationalisation' that was apparent in some businesses,
where employees were granted an unbroken holiday (though it was not called
an annual holiday) when the business closed down for the days between the
Christmas and New Year holidays. Being sure of the holiday would
greatly affect the workers' expectations and approach. As the yearly
paid holiday became a regular occurrence, not just a possible boon,

39 Australasian, 4 January 1896, 38.
40 Austral Wheel, June 1896, 135-7; August 1896, 205; Cycling Times of Australia,
13 February 1896, 8.
41 Austral Wheel, May 1896, 103; September 1896, 250; August 1897, 250;
Australian Cyclist, 22 July 1897, 37.
42 This regularizing process was particularly noticeable in the Goldsbrough
Mort leave records, affecting all employees from junior clerk to highly
paid officers. Leave tended more and more to be taken as a regular
fortnight or three weeks, at the same time each year. Goldsbrough Mort
43 See, for example, Australian Building Societies & Mortgage Companies'
Gazette, 4 December 1899, 379.
44 Only a small minority of white collar workers had a regular annual holiday.
Within the context of the privileged group being discussed in this chapter,
the proportion was more significant. Those who could only enjoy a holiday
away from home if paid leave was granted were on the fringes of this group;
as paid annual holidays became more common, their numbers increased.
perhaps without pay and perhaps granted at short notice, the intangible benefits gained from planning and anticipation increased.

We are entitled to a certain amount of cheerful anticipation, and if we don't get it we lose one of the best ingredients of the social salad. Get your guide books, procure a map, ... look up views and photographs, procure introductions ..., make inquiries among your friends. You are intensifying your holiday and making it a treasury of recollections and associations when you may have to lay aside touring, when the pleasant paths of life fall into a hard, dry road of duty and routine. 45

An advocate of regular yearly holidays for bank officers detailed the benefits of refreshing and regenerating dulled spirits, and concluded: 'With what joy and anticipation is the holiday looked forward to!' 46

Transport expansion was important in this sense as well: as the range of possibilities expanded, planning involved more discussion of the advantages of different resorts, and consultation of time tables, pamphlets and others' opinions. 47

The host of related developments which broadened opportunities for holidays and travel - population increase, technological advances, industrial expansion, greater regulation of working hours and conditions - were seen as increasing daily pressures and necessitating periods away from work and urban life. Even minor problems like coping with the growth of foot traffic in Melbourne streets increased the strain of working and living in this expanding city. 48 Despite this recognition, an ambivalent attitude marked public comment on holiday-making. It is not possible to say that people generally felt this way, but it was certainly the interpretation presented in the press and other public forums. Holidays were welcomed as opportunities 'to escape from the cares and worries inseparable from life in crowded cities and thickly populated suburbs,' away from 'the scarcely ever ceasing whirl and hurry of business, the rush of cars and the shriek of trains' the city dweller could relax and open his mind to 'the sweet and soothing influences of nature.' 49 This

45 *Melbourne Handbook of Recreations and Calendar for 1873*, (Melbourne 1873), 67.
47 For example, see *Australasian*, 20 January 1883, 71.
48 *Australasian*, 30 July 1881, 146.
49 *Australasian*, 5 January 1884, supp.5; *Independent*, 29 December 1894.
See also: *Australasian*, 29 April 1882, 519; 18 October 1884, 746.
explanation of the need for holidays revealed a negative view of city life and of work. Yet the people who could afford such extended holidays were least likely to experience at first-hand the hustle and bustle of the city and the tedious or exhaustion of long working days. They lived in pleasant residential suburbs, and enjoyed some control over their working conditions.

This apparent paradox arose, I think, from the reasons for justifying holidays. Rather than revealing a real concern with, or experience of, the harsh side of city existence, these commentators were revealing a need to justify the taking of holidays. This need fostered a tendency to present holidays as an escape from deadening work routine and the noise and dirt of the city. Moreover, people deserved holidays because they earned them. 'If a man feels that he has earned a holiday, then, and not till then, he can thoroughly enjoy it.' Just as 'play be necessary to the most efficient work, it is equally true that work is necessary to the full enjoyment of pleasure.'

This repeated justification brought holidays further within the orbit of work and urban life. They represented a deserved respite from work routine, but were nonetheless firmly encompassed by the rhythms of this life. The rationale for holidays was changing: their religious, state or ceremonial origins were being steadily overshadowed by 'the prevalent feeling that any excuse is good enough for a holiday.' New Year was appreciated, apparently, 'by a large section of the community' more 'because of the admirable marine excursions organised to celebrate the occasion than from any inherent love for the season as a mere record of modern time.' An editorial suggested the pervasiveness of this view:

Holidays are grand institutions. In the abstract it matters little whether they are brought about by honor and celebration of ... great [sacred] events ... or whether, ... they are simply associated with such utterly mundane affairs as the Melbourne Cup or the Queen's birthday - they are holidays none the less.

50 *Journal Bankers' Institute*, June 1898, 452; *Picturesque Victoria*, 11.

51 *Australasian*, 10 November 1894, 841. See also: 2 May 1891, 838.

52 *Australasian*, 28 May 1891, 669. See also: *Leader*, 5 November 1891, 11.

53 *Australasian*, 5 January 1884, supp.5.
It is not for a moment desired to take away or
touch upon the sanctity which is attached by
so many to the holidays, but it means those
times set apart for genial recreation, when,
as by common consent, the artisan lays down
his tools, the shopkeeper his daily round of
business, the merchant his ledgers, the barristers
and judges their wigs and gowns, ...  
Holidays were becoming an integral part of a working society, and were
justified and enjoyed in these terms.

Two more mundane, though probably more immediately real, reasons
for going away were often mentioned. Melbourne's 'social set' regarded
Christmas holiday trips as a welcome opportunity to recuperate from
'the whirl and worry and late hours' of the spring season. The spring
racing and social season lasted only two months, and into that short
time were crammed dozens of dances, 'at homes', race meetings and
theatre parties. Even the young looked forward to a rest at the seaside
or mountains. Melbourne's small 'leisured class' earned their annual
holiday by participating in the exhausting round of spring social duties.
A more pervasive feature of Melbourne's life encouraged summer migration:
dust. A British visitor found Melbourne's dust

... very often appalling. It is not like ordinary
dust either, for the streets are all macadamised
with basalt rock, which breaks up into a most
detestably-sharp, three-cornered, irritating sort
of dust, extremely trying to the eyes.  
The 'fight with the [dust] fiend' had 'been going on for years', but in
1899 the city seemed 'as dust-ridden as ever it was in the early days,
when there were no water-carts, ...'. Holiday-makers extolled the
virtues of 'glorious fresh air, free from dust'.

For a variety of reasons, then, Melburnians justified their holidays.
This need to justify stemmed from the very newness of the holiday ritual

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54 Independent, 29 December 1894.
55 Australasian, 16 October 1886, 727. See also: 3 December 1892, 1105.
56 Australasian, 28 December 1889, 1365.
58 Australasian, 4 March 1899, 492. See also: 2 September 1899, 548.
59 Kaw and Hawthorn Express, 17 April 1891. See also: Australasian, 29
January 1881, 147; 26 April 1884, 526; 15 May 1886, 958.
for many of these people. They were not used to, and could not adopt easily, the European and British tradition of the well-to-do escaping from the city during summer. Unaccustomed to the social trappings which accompanied their money and relatively elevated social position, they embraced this style of life awkwardly. Their self-conscious approach, in turn, removed these experiences from the realm of simple enjoyment, and heightened people’s tendencies to observe, comment, promenade and display, rather than to withdraw and relax. Rather than 'getting away from it all', many were intent on taking a great deal of it with them.

Inland Resorts

There were marked contrasts between seaside and inland resorts, both in the type of people they attracted, and in the activities these visitors favoured. David Saunders points to a significant difference in his discussion of Daylesford. Mount Macedon catered for aristocrats, and Daylesford for people of middle incomes. Daylesford frugally used the amenities and buildings originally provided for a flourishing gold community; as a holiday resort it was founded on thrift and spa-water in an era when people favoured thrifty natural remedies for their ailments and favoured shade more than sun for their holidays. 60

Country holiday-makers adopted a spartan outlook. Favourite places were often difficult of access and had few facilities. The emphasis was on tramping rather than promenading, companionship rather than socializing, escaping the city rather than maintaining urban rituals. Suggested new places to explore ranged from the relatively accessible Marysville and Healesville, to Kosciusko and Mount Buffalo, trips which took several days and necessitated changes of transport. 61 The tourist intent on 'Midsummer in the Australian Alps' had to spend nine hours

60 D. Saunders, Historic Buildings of Victoria, (Melbourne 1966), 56.
See also: Bruck, 31-2.
61 Bruck, 45; Australasian, 19 May 1883, supp.3; 16 June 1883, supp.9; 15 March 1884, supp.3. Among the most successful publications of the printing firm Massina & Co., in the 1880s, was a 15 handbooks: The Visitors’ Guide to the Upper Yarra District. R.G. Campbell, The First Ninety Years: The Printing House of Massina Melbourne 1859 to 1849, (Melbourne 1950), 112.
on the train (with two changes) to Myrtleford, then two-and-a-half hours by coach to Bright. Next day, he or she faced a sixteen mile coach trip to Harrietville. 62

For these holiday-makers, the trip itself, the movement, the sense of adventure and exploration, were as important as the destination. Nor did they relax on reaching their goal: they explored, tramped about, and moved from place to place. 63 In mid-winter 1881, the General Manager of the Commercial Bank, Henry Gyles Turner, his wife and another couple,

took a week's pedestrian excursion from Lilydale via Healesville, Fernshaw, the Black Spur and Harbethong to Marysville. These places are now easily reached by tourists, but they were little known then. We walked all day and generally found quarters at night. 64

Even popular places close to Melbourne, like Fernshaw and Lilydale, had only sparse accommodation facilities during the early 1880s. 65 This lack did not deter eager excursions; the resulting crush must have added greatly to the informality and conviviality of some holidays. During Easter 1889, the Keppels' Australian Hotel at Marysville was packed. An excursionist, J.C.P. O'Meara, on a walking tour of the Black Spur district described the scene:

On Easter Monday they had as many as eighty persons sleeping in the hotel which can only hold thirty comfortably, in one of the rooms there were five people sleeping under the one covering, on the floor, chairs, tables, sofas, in fact, everything that could be used, were requisitioned for sleeping purposes, and the only part not occupied was the roof.

Mr O'Meara enumerated the contents of his portmanteau, providing an invaluable glimpse of what was considered necessary for a week's hiking in the mountains. He took: two white shirts, two crinoline skirts, overcoat, four pairs woolen socks, eight handkerchiefs, one pair (extra) boots, one suit of clothes (extra), four collars, a soft hat, a pair of leggings, a flannel undershirt, one pair of drawers, a guernsey, note paper and envelopes, handstrap, needles and thread. 66

62 Australasian, 19 April 1884, supp. 3.
63 See, for example, Australasian, 15 May 1886, 95R: 'Easter in the Mountains'.
64 H.G. Turner, Personal Memorabilia, 92. MS records, 468/1, MS 6062; M1681, La Trobe Library, SLV.
65 Australasian, 7 April 1883, 434; 4 October 1884, 651.
66 [J.S.P. O'Meara], Diary of a Tour to the Country April-May 1889. MS 9337, La Trobe Library, SLV.
Daylesford, the established country resort with over twenty hotels and numerous guest houses and coffee palaces, catered well for tourists. They walked to nearby picturesque spots, and sampled the Hepburn 'carbonated chalybeate springs'. A young lady who visited Daylesford with a famil' group in January 1888 strolled about, took a trip to Hepburn Springs, and watched from the top of nearby Wombat Hill. Unlike many of these inland holiday areas, Daylesford was equally suitable for men and women, old and young. More isolated places, which lacked proper facilities and called for constant activity, were considered too difficult and dangerous for women and children. However, as we shall discover women dominated the seaside resorts.

Seaside Resorts

Seaside holidays merit close attention. They were the most popular holiday trips, attracting, with Tasmania, greater numbers than inland areas. The resorts and the visitors were closely observed, and aroused much public comment. Public discussion of this most desirable type of holiday, and the popularity of steamer day excursions, suggests that those who could not afford to stay at the seaside nevertheless aspired to a beach holiday rather than a country trip. Finally, the customs and activities at these resorts revealed a great deal about the people who patronised them. Some Victorian watering places resembled the country resorts, and attracted similar people. Small settlements like Portarlington, Portsea, Ocean Grove, Dromana and, to some extent, Lorne, were considered comparatively peaceful and unspoiled. Phillip Island, remote from the city, had similar virtues.

Dromana, with its farming hinterland, possessed 'an air of homely comfort singularly foreign to the majority of watering places.' It attracted tourists seeking 'quiet, rest, ... healthful exercise, ... and great change from the conditions of city life.' Ocean Grove was

67 Daylesford and its surroundings, 12.
68 Bruck, 31.
69 F. Barbour, Jottings. Diary of Fanny Barbour 12 July 1887-20 May 1888, MS 8746, Box 976/1(a), La Trobe Library, SLV.
70 Clothing constituted the main impediment to full female participation. See below 289-90.
71 Australasian, 10 April 1880, 456; 20 January 1883, 71; 14 January 1888, 106-7.
72 Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, 9; Australasian, 21 January 1882, 72; 20 January 1883, 71.
recommended as a 'middle class watering place, where there is no bustle, no town style, but good accommodation, company, amusement, and glorious fresh air, free from dust.' Its great charm lay in its quiet restfulness, there being no noisy trains or crowded steamers, bringing shoals of excursionists, to attract or distract the attention of visitors, or to demand the putting on of society clothes, ... 73

Standard of dress was a major indicator of a resort's social standing. A visitor to sleepy Portarlington in the late 1870s airily remembered that 'as for dress we sent to Melbourne for all our cast-off clothing and posed before the town as people of fashion.' Lorne remained relatively unchanged, despite some fashionable pretensions. Although represented in 1880 as a watering place 'rapidly growing in favour', bidding 'fair soon to leave Sorrento and even Queenscliff in the shade', it maintained for years a comfortable rustic air, partly because of its distance from Melbourne, and transport difficulties. Holiday-makers there, particularly at Mountjoy's Temperance Hotel (later Erskine House), favoured active pursuits during the day, and informal card games and concerts during the evening. Excursionists eschewed 'good clothing ... as pertaining simply to sinful waste.' A wag, writing in the hand-produced Lorne Bulletin asked, 'Why do the lady visitors of Loutit Bay look so fresh and affable? Because (say they kindly who know you know) they have left their paint-pots at home, and the only side they put on here is sea-side.' Visitors included prominent citizens, but Lorne was never the favourite resort of Melbourne's 'social set'.

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73 *The Geelong Advertiser*, 17 April 1891. Ocean Grove was a liquor-free resort. For a description of a quiet, lazy holiday at Portsea see *Australasian*, 15 December 1909, 1327.
74 *Australasian*, 20 January 1883, 71.
75 R.G. McCutcheon, *To Lorne and Back with Goosepimples by the Way*, (Melbourne 1880), 3.
77 McCutcheon, 9.
79 Mr. E.W. Cole, of Cole's Book Arcade, and his family, spent several weeks each summer at Erskine House. The Chief Secretary holidayed there in 1881, and the Bishop of Melbourne and Mrs. Goe, in 1829. S. Endacott, 'Recollections of Cole's Book Arcade 1899 to 1925', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, xxvlii, 3 (February 1962), 135; *Australasian*, 1 January 1881, 19; Mirror, 4 January 1889, 273.
The majority of people who flocked to the seaside were not seeking peace and quiet. They preferred to crowd all together to the port, now this, now that, to which the tide sets for the present time, according to the fashion of the year. 80 Queenscliff, the oldest and most populous settlement, was acknowledged as the most fashionable watering place, 81 though Schnapper Point (Mornington) was 'the most elite'. Its 'fine wooded hills' were 'pleasantly dotted with handsome-looking residences built by various Melbourne gentlemen, as seaside homes.' 82 Portsea, described in 1868 as 'a pleasant and beautiful, but sadly sleepy little watering-place,' 83 became a favourite site for private holiday houses, rather than for hotels and boarding houses. Queenscliff, too, had its share of private residences, but was equally favoured by visitors to hotels and guest houses. 84

Sorrento, second only to Queenscliff, differed from the other resorts: it had been developed deliberately as a watering place.

Charles Gavan Duffy and George Coppin, a well-known theatrical entrepreneur, promoted the area. Their Ocean Amphitheatre Company built several cottages, as well as the Sorrento baths and other improvements. After

80 Australasian, 21 January 1882, 72.
81 Bruck, 67-9; Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, 25-6. In the early 1860s Queenscliff's population was 1000; by the mid-1890s it was 3300, with 307 ratepayers on the roll. Illustrated Handbook of the Env., 26; Bannow, 88. In 1885 it was decided that the Governor's summer residence would be either a marine villa at Queenscliff or a residence on Mount Macedon. Leader, 10 October 1885, 28.
82 Australasian, 21 January 1882, 72. These 'many beautiful villas and family mansions' were 'quite a feature of the place ... Among the more conspicuous and striking' were the residences of several prominent Melbourne men, 'Mr. Richard Grice, Mr. Bright, Mr. Webb, and others.' Illustrated Handbook of the Bay, 6. Mr. George Webb was a leading Melbourne Queen's Council. Messrs. James Grice and Reginald Bright were prominent citizens, both committee members of the Melbourne Hunt Club. V. Fazulbhoy, A Khoja's Tour in Australasia, (Bombay 1885), 52; H.B. Ronald, Hounds are Running, [History of the Melbourne Hunt Club, 1853-1967] typescript, HS8542, 994/2 (b), La Trobe Library, Siv.
83 Australasian, 7 January 1888, 50. R. Robertson, surgeon, St. Kilda, offered to let his Portsea villa in January 1880. It contained six rooms, was furnished, had a piano, and was served by a daily steamer. Australasian, 3 January 1880, 4.
84 During the early 1880s the Melbourne Bulletin published visitors' lists for hotels at the fashionable resorts. Queenscliff, Portsea and Sorrento featured frequently, Lorne and Schnapper Point occasionally. The lists were extensive, carefully noting all details, such as the presence of Mr and Mrs 'nurse and family'. Melbourne Bulletin, 31 December 1880, 5; 19 February 1881, 5; 24 March 1882, 5; 7 April 1882, 5; 21 April 1882, 5; 8 December 1882, 5; 15 December 1882, 5; 22 December 1882, 5; 30 March 1883, 5.
the erection of the Sorrento pier in 1870, Coppin established the Sorrento-
Queenscliff Navigation Company, which purchased the pioneer excursion
steamer *Golden Crown*, reducing the fare from Melbourne from £1 to 7s 6d,
then 5s, return. 85 This regular steamer service encouraged a number of
professional and business people to establish holiday residences on
prominent beach frontages. Among these early selectors were a solicitor,
the headmaster of Geelong Grammar, a building contractor and a
Melbourne judge. In 1892, Coppin still lived at his villa, 'The
Anchorage', next to James Service, former Victorian premier, who spent
the best part of each summer there. Sorrento's settled population in
the early 1890s was about 246, increasing to 400 during the season. 86
Many of the activities at these fashionable resorts resembled those
at the quieter settlements, but the latter lacked the social and
self-conscious edge which marked their popular neighbours. The owners
of seaside homes did not participate in the public social life of the
resorts, mixing instead with neighbours and guests. *Etiquette sanctioned
this withdrawal: at summer resorts,

those who own their cottages call first upon those who
rent them, and those who rent them, in turn, call upon
each other, according to priority of arrival. 87

There is little information about these privileged property owners. 88

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85 Bruck, 98; *Illustrated Handbook of the Bay*, 3, 17-18; Hollinshead, 192.
86 Hollinshead, 192-3; *Australasian*, 7 January 1888, 50; 31 December 1892, 1299.
87 *Australian Etiquette*, (Melbourne 1885), 59-60.
88 On one occasion, considerable hostility was aroused because of an
attempt by some wealthy citizens to reserve choice beach sites for
themselves, at the expense of public access. A deputation protested
at the Minister of Lands' willingness to alienate land at Wilson's
Promontory, rather than proclaim it a National Park. The land was
to be set aside

For the purposes of 'marine residences!' The 'curled
darlings of Toorak' are to be provided with 'blocks of
land' on the shores of the promontory; and, in order that they
may enjoy themselves in their luxurious sea-side resorts, the
low people ... are not to be allowed to come between the
wind and their aristocratic noses ... One seaside resort is
already said to have been damaged by the drainage from houses
on its shores.

Moneved men could look after themselves. They should think instead
of 'the children languishing on the flats of Richmond and Collingwood.'
The Minister was not convinced: 'The department wanted to obtain
what money it could, and must study public convenience.' Some
limited remission for public use might be possible. *Australasian*,
25 February 1898, 428, 429.
In any case, the style of life at the popular watering places was set by the majority who patronised the public accommodation and rented the few cottages which were available. Their activities and conspicuous presence set the tone of Sorrento and Queenscliff, in particular.

The frequent denigrations of these popular resorts revealed a great deal about the holiday-makers and their ideas of the good life. And the critics indicated their preferences. The disapproval was not always explicit or deliberate: a chance remark praising certain qualities sometimes conveyed a negative attitude toward the popular holiday areas. An admirer of Ocean Grove predicted glumly that

A few brass bands and sham yachtsmen in glowing costumes will entirely remove from this lone and lovely spot its primitive beauty. Still, there is always the sea which fortunately cannot be altered. 89

A newspaper columnist longed 'for a spot untrodden by tourists and other philistine travellers.' He vowed to keep secret the location of his favourite retreat; 'the feet of the profane may meanwhile stray to Lorne, or Queenscliff, or Frankston, or any other place which has been "done to death" by over publicity.'90 Dislike of crowds and 'formality and fashion' marked these observations. Queenscliff out of season was very pleasant. During summer, 'restless bustling crowds' swarmed in the gardens and on the beach, swapping gossip, 'gay with the fashions of Collins-street, and converting the town into a small Melbourne-super-Mare.'91 It seemed that the great bulk of holiday-makers preferred 'to live packed in a huge barrack-like hotel, and to take their city etiquettes, and fashions, and formalities with them.'92

The values of the critics were obvious. They sought peace, and escape from the routines and requirements of city life, desiring 'greater change of air and scene and occupation than is to be found in ordinary fashionable life at the Victorian seaside.'93 And, they suggested, the

90 Australasian, 17 April 1886, 762.
91 Australasian, 27 October 1883, Supp. 4. See also: 3 April 1899, 771.
92 Australasian, 21 January 1882, 72. See also: 10 February 1883, 167; 8 April 1899, 771.
93 Australasian, 19 January 1889, 134.
offending holiday-makers were only happy surrounded with the same
crowds and social trappings they had left in the city. For the group,
the desirability of a resort was determined by its inaccessibility and,
it possible, its undiscovered state. For the other, popularity, and
physical and social proximity to the city were essential conditions.

Were these observations about the 'fashionable' holiday-makers
true? What did these characteristics signify? Descriptions of holidays
at these resorts did suggest a preoccupation with ritual, formality and
display. Some reports were satirical, but the exaggeration served only
to highlight the truth. After a leisurely breakfast, everyone set out
for the beach, which quickly took on the appearance 'of an ant's nest,
with children, mammas, and nurses scattered and moving in all directions.'
Those patiently waiting for a bathing box watched 'the gaily dressed
bathers' swimming and diving 'like veritable mermaids ...' Many
supplied their own bathing-dresses, some of them

far too handsome for a plunge in the 'briny', with
their gathered collars, lace and braid trimmed
sleeves, and smart-looking tunic, belted over
knickerbockers, and coquettish-looking oilskin caps
to preserve the heat.

By mid-day the beach was deserted.

In a short time grumpy little figures emerge from the
hands of their nurses fresh and fragrant in white
frocks and smart sashes; and mamma, too, dons some
prettier dress, if that is possible; for here,
whether necessary or not, every one changes her dress
twice or thrice a day, and our time of rest is given up
to showing off our clothes.

The afternoon was spent rambling along the beach or promenading along
the esplanade. Unaccustomed to such activity, and particularly to
ever-present children, the weary visitors retired early. There was little
night life.98

98 The above description was taken from: Australasian, 28 January 1882,
103; 3 February 1883, 135. See also: 5 January 1880, 9. Places like
Lorne, which was considered too far to travel for families with young
children (Australasian, 20 January 1883, 71) reported more night-life.
Also, there were more equal numbers of males and females at these
distant resorts. Closer, conveniently-accessible places like Sorrento
and Queenscliff were the preserve of women and children, with fathers
coming down for the weekend. See below 287.
Judging from these descriptions, the satirical view of one writer was close to the truth:

The Thonson DeVeys, at Royal Cliff, wear three distinct and distinguished costumes per diem, and they never look blown about or breezy. The son, senior, puts on his dinner suit for dinner, and Madame the family diamonds, which he bought after a lucky speculation in a Queensland station. The children parade with nurse and French governess (the latter, you will observe, I properly name second), and never are guilty of the indecorum of making fortifications in the sand with the primitive spade of the second generation of the human race. 95

Inevitably, there was some relaxation of social standards, and some informality during the weeks at the beach. Fortunately, the damage could be repaired. Etiquette did not require 'that all intimacies formed at watering-places should continue after the parties have returned to town.' 96

The Dominance of Women

Women and children dominated the seaside resorts. As already suggested, the absence of night life stemmed from the dearth of men and from fatigue due to the demands of children during the day. 97 Amongst those who could afford it, the practice was for mother and children to spend several weeks at a convenient watering place, and for father to come down on the 'husbands' boat' for the weekend. 98 Weekend rail concessions, too, were intended for this purpose. 99 The few men who

95 Australasian, 31 December 1881, 850.
96 Australasian, 17 December 1887, 1159. See also: Social Amusements, A Choice Collection of Parlour Games, Tricks, Charades ... (Brunswick 1886), 9.
97 See, for example: Australasian, 10 February 1883, 167.
98 Australasian, 21 January 1882, 72; 20 January 1883, 71; 16 October 1886, 727.
99 Picturesque Victoria, 21. On a small scale, this practice became quite institutionalised. Arrangements for country residents to visit the seaside at excursion rates provided that where four or more tickets were bought, 'the head of the family' obtained an extra ticket entitling him 'to travel to and fro at pleasure during the month'; thus he could attend to business and spend some leisure-time with his family. Australasian, 15 November 1884, 337. One year, during January, the Ozone left Sorrento every Monday morning at 7 a.m., and Queenscliff at 7.30 a.m., arriving at Port Melbourne in time for the 9.40 train to the city. Argus, 13 January 1888, 1.
did spend an extended period at the beach were more active than their wives, and ranged more widely. The 'masculine element' at one resort was 'comparatively small and almost entirely confined to devotees at the shrine of law and education.' They basked on the beach and fished. Those at Queenscliff divided their time between snipe shooting and fishing. Swimming and surfing were yet to attract many regular enthusiasts. Fashion dominated the female scene. Those who imagined that a change of air meant a chance to wear out old clothes were 'very much out of date.'

These holiday-makers were not a mixed group in terms of wealth, occupation, social origins or sex. The preponderance of women had a marked effect on life at these resorts. Unable to relax completely or to pursue much activity the women filled their otherwise empty days with promenading, changing and displaying clothes, and, in general, recreating and observing urban social rituals. They exemplified Twopeny's arrivée. Anxious and uncomfortable with her new wealth and with the accompanying style of life, she retreated into conformity and display.

She has no tastes except those which she does not dare to gratify, and becomes a slave to the very wealth whose badge she loves to flaunt.

The insecurity and self-consciousness discerned behind the evident need to justify holidays, and the uneasiness displayed when facing these new horizons, were doubly apparent once these people - and particularly these women - were away from home. They needed the security of conspicuous rank and fashion. Without servants, a carriage, a large house and possessions to define their position (and without the ability to define it without these trappings), changing clothes three times a day, and displaying model children, assumed great significance. A critic of this 'large contingent ... who go to the seaside ... simply because it is the

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100 Australasian, 28 January 1882, 103; 3 February 1883, 135.
102 Was this uneasiness exaggerated in the case of women? Their social position derived from their husbands' occupation and status; removed from him, and from the social setting he provided, insecurity and anxiety may well have been intensified.
fashion' observed that enjoyment derived solely from the success of one's toilet soon lost appeal. Sensibly dressed mothers and children enjoyed themselves immensely, whereas over-dressed families were restricted and bored.102

Given the fact that the (fashionable) beach was woman's sphere, we might observe there changes in her social position, particularly as the beach involved bathing in comparatively revealing clothes (albeit only in female company). Bathing dress was becoming more practical and less cumbersome. Seaside dress in general was improving: 'the loose shirt' with 'its equally delightful loose sleeves' was welcomed as an eminently suitable seaside garment.104 During these years female dress did become more sensible and less inhibiting, if not less important as a fashion item. This trend accelerated once women began cycling and playing tennis in earnest. There had been a steady trend towards fewer dress for some years: tight stays were criticized, and abandoned by some, and less bulky and restrictive underclothing adopted.105 Only a small minority of women took these steps, but the moves were well-publicized on the women's pages, paving the way for later acceptance.

Tennis and the cycling craze were just the spurs needed to stimulate rapid change. Fashion considerations did not disappear, but they did begin to take account of the need for freedom of movement and summer comfort. Once fashion approved these new clothes, their benefits extended to non-sportswomen.

103 Australasian, 23 January 1886, 151. 'Some poor little things never get their frocks soiled, but get their amusement in solemnly walking on the sands in charge of their attendants, and looking with envious eyes at the children who with dresses rolled up, boots and shoes off, paddle about in the water and out on the sand nearly all day. These sea-eyed little children are dressed too richly to play, and their fine silks and satins are more for show than use ...' Australasian, 28 January 1882, 103.

104 Australasian, 5 January 1889, 9.

105 See, for example: Australasian, 9 June 1883, 711; 27 October 1883, 519.
The New Women, in rational dress, 1895

Morning Toilet
... every woman in those days possesses a tennis flock even if she does not play the game, for it is always appropriate for wear in our summer mornings in the country and at the seaside, and is generally becoming, as there is no attempt at over-dressing in such a gown. 106

On holiday trips, particularly those involving considerable activity, women's dress had always been a problem. Utilitarian suggestions for reform did not attract many followers,107 but a combination of the sensible and the daring, adopted by some young ladies in the mid-1890s, had greater appeal. A group of fifteen, seven men and eight women, the latter all in rational dress, spent Christmas camping and hiking near Fernshaw. Unencumbered by trailing skirts the women had no trouble keeping up with the men in all activities. One and all declared the 'distinct cylinders' to be 'emancipation in reality, freedom as compared to shackles ...'108 An article extolling the virtues of cycling dress stressed the change in women's holiday activities. Country holidays were more enjoyable,

Especially in these times, when women have no longer to make martyrs of themselves by lounging away the days and weeks over novels, a little fancy work, or a stray ride or ... A woman now must cycle, play golf, tennis, and occasionally take a hand with the fishing-rod or gun. 109

Australian Customs Develop

Changes in dress sometimes involved more than simply greater female freedom. Towards the end of the century one fashion writer noted approvingly the marked changes in bathing dress. The 'old sack horrors' had been replaced by 'a garment [with] ... a certain smartness both in and out of the water.' Red, cream and navy drill or linen had replaced serge and thick flannel. The popular tunic style, with its low neck and very small sleeves, allowed the sun and wind to act as a tonic on the skin, a benefit which was considered to outweigh 'the

106 Australasian, 4 January 1890, 41.
107 See, for example, Australasian, 19 January 1884, 71.
108 Australasian, 12 January 1895, 69.
109 Australasian, 4 January 1896, 38.
temporary inconvenience of a slight tanning. Acceptance of some
tanning was another small adaption to Australian conditions. The
increasing popularity of seaside holidays was part of the same movement.
Writing about Tasmania, Peter Bolger has suggested that, in the
nineteenth century, when 'the propaganda of Englishness was at its
maximum', Hobart town was particularly attractive to mainland tourists:

the ideal leisure environment was still a
cold temperate one. The growth of ... a
desire for heat, sun, beaches and surf ... was a
rather slow process and was a r.sult, and a part,
of the emergence of Australian nationalism ...
Hobart town thus became in the fashion of the day,
the spa, besides being the emotional retreat, for
Australians. 111

If Hobart town, and Mount Macedon, had been emotional retreats for
English people in this inhospitable land, the gradual acceptance of
the Australian beach holiday was of great moment. It signified the
growth of an australian way of life, as opposed to the retention of
English customs. Conditions were harsh at Australian beaches, and the
resorts were relatively undeveloped, unlike the gentle European
seaside resorts, with their established social and cultural life.

The holiday environment changed gradually from the 1870s.
Transport problems eased: fast, cheap steamers made Melbourne's
bayside beaches more accessible and attractive. 112 Sorrento and
Queenscliff developed rapidly in the late 1870s and early 1880s. A
hotel costing over £10,000, built at Queenscliff in 1882, was the third
large hotel there, and the second to be built within twelve months. 113
A writer extolling the attractions of Lorne, in 1880, noted that five
years ago Mountjoy's Temperance Hotel accommodated about a dozen people;
now it catered for about 100, and almost every room was occupied from
November to May. 114 The crowds who besieged the popular resorts
aroused mixed feelings, but there was agreement on their increasing
size. 115 In the late 1880s there were complaints that Lorne and other

110 Australasian, 10 December 1898, 1331.
112 The introduction of the Orona in December 1886 reduced travelling time
and greatly improved the trip to bayside watering places. Australasian,
16 October 1886, 727.
113 Australasian, 25 November 1882, supp.5.
114 McCutcheon, 11; See also: Alexander Sutherland, Victoria and its
Metropolis Past and Present, (Melbourne 1888); II, 86.
115 Australasian, 28 January, 1882, 103; 27 October 1883, supp.4.
resorts were too crowded, and the government considered allowing private building at Wilson's Promontory. 116

Without statistics on the number of people who visited the various resorts, it is impossible to gauge popularity definitively. The evidence does suggest increasing acceptance of the beach holiday, despite the heat, glare and general remoteness from the traditional Christmas scene. There were hints that standards of judgment were being reversed. In 1889, 'Queen Bee' criticized the incongruity of continuing some British habits in Australia. Instead, she accepted the Australian conditions, and suggested adopting suitable customs. This attitude contrasted sharply with the usual practice of accepting without question the suitability and necessity of British practices, while demeaning the problems raised by the Australian environment. 'Queen Bee' commented:

How odd it is, ... no matter what the thermometer registers, hot soup, hot meats, and the traditional plum pudding, with its bit of holly covered with powdered sugar, a miserable make believe of snow, still forms our chief meal on Christmas Day. There is but one sensible departure from these bonds of custom, and that is we ice our wine. Now, how much better ... would a menu be something like the following: - A few fresh oysters ... fish mayonnaise, some cold poultry, cold roast of beef, tomato or cucumber salad, cold game pie, iced pudding and jellies, plenty of luscious fruit ... and if anything need be hot let it be the coffee and the plum pudding... 117

The Woe-worning Club, formed in 1897, aimed to foster originality and a love for things Australian. Every Christmas and Easter members camped out in the bush, celebrating the festivals in Australian style. 118

116 Australasian, 25 February 1888, 426, 429.
117 Australasian, 5 January 1889, 9. Another commentator observed approvingly: 'Our Christmas is a new festivity - a festivity of picnics and cricket, of shooting and fishing, of the sun and the open air.' Australasian, 31 December 1887, 1273. See also: 27 December 1890, 129.
118 Gum Leaf: The Journal of the Woe-worning Club, December 1901, 1. New products which made beach conditions more pleasant were coming into vogue: beach umbrellas and camp stoves were popular and, no doubt, the new 'coloured spectacles for cyclists' soon found a use at the beach. Australasian, 28 January 1892, 103; Austral Wheel, October 1896.
Australian beach holidays remained traditional in one respect: mixed bathing was forbidden. An early attempt, in 1882, to introduce the continental style of mixed bathing received little support or publicity.\(^{119}\) All the popular resorts had separate sea-baths for men and women. Queenscliff tried to make do with one set of baths, with separate times for males and females, but had to build separate men's baths in 1883. These separate facilities were still in use in the late 1890s.\(^{120}\) Even at quiet Portarlington there was no thought of open sea-bathing:

> How we laughed over the rules of the bathing-house, of which we and the school mistress seemed the only patrons, with its red flag up, waiting for gentlemen who never came, and the blue flag up after we had bathed ...  

The ladies' baths often had fresh water laid on, but this benefit was not extended to men.\(^{122}\) The issue of mixed bathing was raised in 1894. Warrnambool Town Council had received complaints about unsuitably clad men and boys bathing in the sea at all hours, to the annoyance of beach strollers.\(^{123}\) New regulations for sea bathing on the shores of Lady Bay allowed mixed bathing on condition that 'all persons must be provided with at least a bathing trunk!' It was thought that the ladies would continue to patronize their separate sea baths.\(^{124}\) Several months later, the Moorabbin Shire Council voted against sanctioning mixed bathing at the Nordialloc baths.\(^{125}\) There was no mixed bathing at Nordialloc until well into the twentieth century. New Bathing Regulations of 1911 specified the 'Canadian Bathing Costume', covering the body from neck to knee, and provided that 'no person clothed in a bathing costume shall sit, lie, loiter or run along the beach or sea shore, but shall proceed in a direct line to and from the dressing place ...'.\(^{126}\)

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\(^{120}\) *Illustrated Handbook of the Bay*, Erskine House advertisement; *Australasian*, 3 February 1883, 135; *Pictureque Victoria*, 62; Bannow, 88.

\(^{121}\) *Australasian*, 20 January 1883, 71.

\(^{122}\) *Illustrated Handbook of the Bay*, Erskine House advertisement; *Australasian*, 7 January 1888, 49.

\(^{123}\) Although not stated directly in the report, it seemed that previously, males had been permitted to bathe (naked) in the sea at certain hours, but had been abusing the privilege.

\(^{124}\) *Australasian*, 12 May 1894, 821.

\(^{125}\) *Australasian*, 8 December 1894, 1036. See also: 31 October 1896, 850; 16 September 1899, 559.

Photographs of Melbourne beaches in the late nineteenth century show fully clothed adults, with most of the men in dark suits.

Urbanization

In escaping from the city, holiday-makers brought urban life closer to hitherto isolated seaside settlements. The urban tentacles of regular transport services and an extended tourist season profoundly affected these small communities. Urbanization is a process which encompasses far more than brick upon brick within city boundaries. It involves the spreading of an urban way of life, along diverse avenues, by a multitude of carriers. The late nineteenth century Melbourne holiday-maker was one of these carriers, and the seaside resorts were a notable example of this urbanizing process at work. While their charm lay in their distance from city life, they were drawn into the urban work/holiday pattern. The artificial, concentrated activity of the 'season', heralded by a peculiar 'quiet of readiness and expectancy' was only the most striking manifestation of this phenomenon.

The increasing number and range of steamers and trains, running daily during the season and at regular intervals during the remainder of the year, brought more than excursionists. They broke down the isolation with city news and goods. The 'arrival of the Melbourne boat' was acknowledged as 'the only sensation life at the seaside affords': The husbands' boat, in particular, was a regular link with the steady work routines of the city. One satisfied excursionist noted in 1880: 'Happily there are no daily papers at Lorne to remind one of the conventionalities.' Tiny, sleepy Portarlington received a daily post, with city newspapers, in the late 1870s. During the summer months in 1885 the Mordialloc mail was to be delivered by letter-carrier, in order to accommodate the large number of holiday-makers at that resort. In the same year, a daily summer postal service began between Lorne and the city. Gradually, regular contact increased. It was felt that Mordialloc 'lost something by being brought so much nearer to Melbourne

128 Australasian, 28 January 1882, 103.
129 McCutcheon, 23; Australasian, 20 January 1883, 71; Leader, 31 October 1885, 29; 28 November 1885, 29.
by means of its railway.' In some ways it was an advantage that the 'comfortable, rural-looking hotel, standing sociably by the roadside,' sheltered by masses of 'verdant ti-tree shrubs' was more accessible. But the change has brought with it a sense of dependence on trains, a periodical expectation of passengers from the city, a frequent reference to time-tables. Melbourne is now too much with it, late and soon.

Accessibility had been gained at the cost of some 'depreciation in quality.' Grand new hotels were built to satisfy the demands of excursionists, but in the process the city claimed the closer resorts as her own. Ferntree Gully was considered pre-eminently the scenery outing of Melbourne. It belongs to the metropolis more than any of the other similar places of resort. It gives, at smallest expense of time and distance, the best glimpse of ... characteristic ... Australian scenery. It is so close to Melbourne that it seems almost suburban.

Some permanent residents of seaside settlements resented the weekend intruders. Spectators who travelled to Brighton to see the yacht races were also catered for by a carnival on the beach. Green Point had two merry-go-rounds and hawkers with cakes, fruit and pastry 'despite some reluctance among the local inhabitants to permit these frivolities.' Even distant Hobart found the mainland visitors a mixed blessing. When the Tasmanian season was 'in full swing' there were 'parties and picnics everywhere, ... strangers monopolising the Club,' and swarms of cabs and drays conveying tourists to the local sights. It was too much for one disgruntled resident:

every place is full of [tourists] ..., loafing about ... so that one is led to hate them ... Although it is no doubt good for the town, and for one's self to be stirred up by these periodical arrivals, I confess I often sigh for the quiet summers of my youth, when we followed our own devices and had our quiet and enjoyable picnics in our own quiet way and when the advent of a stranger was an event.

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131 Australasian, 7 April 1883, 434; 4 October 1884, 651.
132 Australasian, 2 April 1881, 423.
133 C. De Fraga, 100 Years of Yachting on Port Phillip Bay. A History of the Royal Brighton Yacht Club, (Melbourne 1975), 36-7.
134 James Backhouse Walker to Mary Backhouse Walker, 16 January 1891; 18 February 1890. Quote in Bolger, 412-13. Some visitors left visible reminders of their holiday. Ferns at Lorne were being damaged, and the natural beauty of favourite picnic spots spoiled. Australasian, 5 April 1884, supp. 5.
Not everyone felt this way. Some residents unreservedly welcomed the patronage of tourists, and the 'progress' they brought. A Queenscliff bowling green was established in 1883 so that Queenscliff would continue foremost amongst Victorian holiday resorts by fully catering for the pleasure, recreation and entertainment of visitors.\textsuperscript{135}

The needs and preferences of holiday-makers, and their effect on the resorts, are related issues. Here we see the beginning of a continuing problem: the search for change and for periodic release from urban life brought with it many of the trappings the holiday-makers sought to escape. The city-dweller's escape was more physical than social. As well as examining the apparent need to escape the pressures and routines of city life, and the formative role of transport improvements in extending holiday horizons, I have sought, in this chapter, to highlight the myriad ways in which urban tentacles were extended beyond physical city boundaries.

\textsuperscript{135}J.W. Dronien (comp.), \textit{A Brief History of the Queenscliff Bowling and Tennis Club \ldots}, [Melbourne n.d.]. See also: \textit{Queenscliff Sentinel}, 6 December 1884; \textit{Australasian}, 27 January 1883, 103; 15 March 1884, supp.5.
CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this thesis have been reiterated as the work has progressed. As Melbourne grew many of the strains and complexities of urban life were accommodated in the suburbs. This process was particularly evident during the depression, in the realm of leisure. Suburban stability, familiarity and social networks helped many people through those difficult years.

The work has two principal strengths. Contrasting Footscray and Hawthorn has resulted in a deep penetration of everyday social interaction in the suburbs. Extensive use of suburban newspapers has revealed a rich local field: social organizations, the funding of leisure facilities, the role of the Church, the Friendly Society, the Mechanics' Institute, the pub and the home, and the significance of unstructured pastimes such as shopping, walking and local amateur entertainment. Secondly, the study has highlighted the relatively neglected area of leisure. Focussing on leisure has revealed a great deal about work, about the choices people faced and made and about the female role. Leisure has formed the central core of this study, rather than being treated as a peripheral, almost decorative, afterthought.

Through leisure I have sought to explore Melbourne's developing solidity and stability as the nineteenth century drew to a close, suggesting that the explanation of the city's changing character lay in the consolidation of the 1880s, rather than in the reverses of the 1890s. Behind the glitter of the city centre lay the steadily growing patterns of suburban leisure. The great public holidays, and the spectacles of city life, united Melburnians. But equally significant was people's identification with their local area, through regular leisure activities. The urban character of Melbourne was determined as much in the suburbs as in the city.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>Australian National University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Board appointed to ... Board appointed to inquire and report as to the working of the 'Factories and Shops Act 1890' with regard to the alleged existence of the practice known as 'sweating' and the alleged insanitary condition of factories and workrooms; Reports [with minutes of evidence and appendices].</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.P.</td>
<td>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly with Copies of Various Documents Ordered (by the Assembly) to be Printed. [Vol.1]. Papers Presented to Parliament [Vol.2].</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.C. on factories and shops law</td>
<td>Royal Commission on the operation of the factories and shops law of Victoria; Reports [with minutes of evidence and appendices].</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.C. on Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company Limited</td>
<td>Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the grievances of employés of the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company Limited, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C. on Old-Age Pensions</td>
<td>Report of the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.C. shop employés</td>
<td>Royal Commission on employés in shops; Reports [and minutes of evidence].</td>
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<tr>
<td>Report on the present distress</td>
<td>Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to consider and report on the present distress and Want of Employment</td>
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</table>
Report upon the Suburban Tramways Company Bill

Report from the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly upon the Suburban Tramways Company Bill, together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence.

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