

DISCIPLINING RECREATION IN COLONIAL SOUTH AUSTRALIA:
CONSTRAINTS, CONTROLS AND CONVENTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The last four decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant growth of leisure hours for a growing number of South Australians, particularly working class males; it was accompanied by an upsurge in both organised and informal recreation activity.

The upsurge owed much to major advances in communication during the period – in transport by rail, steamship and late in the century, the bicycle, to the network of telegraph stations which by the mid 1870s, spanned much of the colony, the country and finally linked the colony to much of the wider world, and to the growth of local and daily newspapers and specialist journals. Industry, government and commerce drove these advances, but recreation benefited from all of them and came to be a major element of commercial activity itself, as some activities generated not only participants, but spectators and audiences. These developments in turn stimulated a demand for facilities, both indoor and outdoor, which came to be met by private groups, public authorities and commercial operators, or combinations of the three.

However, not all sections of the South Australian community looked favourably on aspects of these developments. Some social, religious and political forces, both separately and later as an alliance, combined to target elements of the recreation activities which emerged within the new leisure, particularly those of the working classes. They feared a return to public disorder arising from unseemly and licentious behaviour which accompanied many of the activities of the occasional pre-industrial seasonal leisure periods. These forces drew on contemporary programs in America and Britain in their campaign to quell 'social evils' including intemperance, gambling and what they regarded as inappropriate behaviour on Sundays, the Lord's Day. They advocated the uses of statutes to constrain, if not eliminate what many in the community regarded as acceptable recreational activity. Others from the reforming forces determined on 'rationalising' the recreation of the working classes by introducing programs which they regarded as educational and self-improving, based essentially on their own middle class

experience. A further restraint were contemporary conventions which determined matters of dress, conduct and behavioural expectations affecting areas of recreational activities; they were particularly severe on women. Other conventions affected full participation by men in a small number of sporting activities.

The thesis examines the origin, nature and conduct of these forces in South Australia each of which sought to discipline aspects of mainly working class recreation of the period. It concludes with an assessment of the outcomes as they appeared at the time of Federation.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for photocopying and loan.

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INTRODUCTION

At the height of the summer of 1862, C.B.L – a self-styled working man – wrote to the *South Australian Register* commenting on an earlier report in that newspaper which expressed surprise that the various evening classes offered by the South Australian Institute had not been better attended. Mechanics were alive to the advantages presented by the Institute, C.B.L. contended, but:

after working 10 hours, and in many cases away from their homes 12-13 hours, is it to be expected that in such cases men can leave their homes to improve their minds upon any of these branches of instruction ... the climate so enervates their physical constitutions as to render further exertion, even of a mental nature, irksome, being so exhausted through the many hours they have to labour.¹

The letter provoked a response by way of a leading article a few days later which, among other points, directed the working man to the writings of Samuel Smiles and his philosophy of self help. 'He must work and not dream ... whether he work with his hands or his brain, or with both, some measure of success is certain. Then the relations between labour and recreation will harmonise.'²

Some two decades later, the nineteenth century Australian journal, *The Victorian Review*, included an article by John Wisker entitled *Scientific Aspects of Recreation*. Wisker argued that there ought to be a science of recreation:

Its importance grows with civilisation. As man advances in knowledge ... he deems it expedient to devote an ever increasing proportion of his time to the pursuit of recreation. The class for which pleasure is the business of life is constantly enlarging and existence is ceasing to be a monotonous grind for any class. That man was not born to make himself miserable, whatever his station in life, and that each individual has a right to all the legitimate enjoyment he can command, are propositions which have passed the speculative stage.³

¹ *South Australian Register* (henceforth *Register*) 12 February 1862.

² *Ibid* 15 February 1892.

³ Wisker, John.' The Scientific Aspects of Recreation'. *The Victorian Review*. Vol. V November 1881 p. 98.

While Wisker appears to have been writing predominantly from a middle class viewpoint, in the colony of South Australia by 1881 substantial sections of the male workforce were enjoying new recreational experiences, both formal and informal, made possible by recently won hours of leisure.⁴ However, some forces in the community, drawn mainly from the middle classes and the Nonconformist churches, were greatly concerned about aspects of this recreational activity. They particularly feared that the working classes would resort to using their newly won hours of leisure in disruptive and immoral activities and determined on the need to discipline their impact.

This thesis examines the measures which were developed to control what were essentially working class recreational activities. In some cases, the counter measures contained elements which were class-based; in general terms, they amounted to three broad strategies. The first were the constraints imposed by statutes and By-laws banning or limiting certain activities. Next there were controls reflected in the programs and activities designed to attract persons into acceptable and 'rational recreation' and directed particularly at the working classes. Finally, there were conventions - silent sanctions which reflect society's expectations of its members in such matters as dress, conduct and public behaviour. The analysis concludes that by the end of the Victorian era, while the forces seeking to constrain and limit certain recreational activities remained strongly entrenched, a pattern of working class recreation had emerged accepted by the community at large, some parts of which were openly defiant of the constraining measures enacted by the moralists.

The starting point for these developments in the colony were the local successes of working class men in the 1860s and 1870s in achieving a significant decrease in their working hours. The campaigns at this time, waged locally, had as their

⁴ The term 'middle class' as employed during the Victorian era in Britain is taken to include persons who possessed property, did not work with their hands, adhered to certain standards of social behaviour such as respectability, church going, levels of education and moral integrity in public and private life. 'Working class' included those who worked with their hands whether as servants, labourers or skilled artisans. *Gunn, S. and Bell, R. Middle Classes. Their Rise and Sprawl.* Cassell & Co. 2002. See especially Chapter 2. 'Victorian Values' pp. 25-51.

general objective to achieve 'the eight hours day'; but there were many variations and partial positions negotiated in working towards that general goal. For some it included the winning of a shorter working day and working week; for others achieving a block of new leisure provided by a Saturday half holiday was paramount. There were no colony-wide campaigns. Where initial successes were achieved they were won by local loose groupings of tradesmen, negotiating with local organisations; more organised labour activity came later in the period. For some workers, even at the end of the century, little progress had been made and a working week of fifty hours or more spread evenly over six days remained; nevertheless, many skilled and semi-skilled male workers won significant new hours of leisure during the last four decades of the century.

The new hours of leisure soon resulted in the growth of a wide range of recreational activity, the most striking being the popularity of outdoor team activities, notably cricket and the newly codified Victorian Rules version of 'football'. Clubs for rowing, lawn tennis, lacrosse, baseball and athletics evolved, particularly in the late 1870s and 1880s soon extending to regional and inter-colonial competition. Indoor facilities came into being through halls created by churches, benevolent societies, local councils and Institutes for other purposes; they began to be used for recreational activities and entertainments. Informal outdoor recreation activities developed - in the countryside, at coastal resorts and locally in the growing number of parks and recreation grounds developed by local communities.

Overriding all these developments was the revolution in personal transport - by rail, omnibus, steamship, tramways – all established initially to assist government, industry and commerce for purposes other than recreation, but happily grasped by sportsmen, excursionists and other recreation seekers to access an increasing range of recreation opportunities, whether formalised or informal. Finally, in the closing decade of the century there arrived the ubiquitous 'safety' bicycle offering new opportunities for increasing numbers of men and women to tour or to travel to events in order to participate or to watch others perform.

Some community leaders however, many drawn from Nonconformist churches, were fearful of aspects of this recreation explosion. Fighting, wagering and drunkenness accompanied some events where crowds gathered. Gambling and intemperance were condemned in themselves; both came to be associated with some of the new activities, particularly those of a sporting kind. The revolution in personal transport led to increased opportunities to journey away from the immediate community on what was the one free day of the week for most families, to the detriment of church attendance and other breaches of a strict Nonconformist code of Sunday observance. Sections of the Nonconformist churches in particular, came to regard these developments, associated predominantly with the working classes, as 'social evils', which could and should be severely restrained or eliminated, if necessary, by legislation.

Those who were critical and fearful of the ability of the working classes to utilise their new hours of leisure appropriately (as judged by the newly empowered middle classes), adopted several strategies to discipline their recreation; in this, initially, they drew heavily on the experience and policies of the Mother country. The first was to create and sustain an effective lobby in the parliament, which could secure the passing of statutes constraining, or strictly confining, certain recreational activities, most notably, intemperance and gambling. Already, the colony of South Australia had inherited enactments of the British parliament of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century governing cruelty to animals, prize fighting and Sunday observance. A strong lobby had emerged in the British parliament by the 1860s to limit licenses for the making and sale of liquor; it had an energetic and effective South Australian equivalent.

A second discernible strategy was to develop control mechanisms which had as their objective to divert the leisure hours of the working classes into activities which reflected acceptable and respectable (middle class) values. One such approach was the promotion of classes, lectures and other forms of adult education, particularly through local Institutes; another was to support or promote certain clubs and societies which held values acceptable to the moralists, whether the local cricket club, preferably led by a reputable, temperate middle class

member of the community, or a 'mutual improvement society', developed by and presided over by a minister of a local Nonconformist church. By such means the recreation of the working classes would be 'rationalised', controlled and directed into acceptable and respectable activities. A common element of all these approaches was to provide a counter to the publicans and the brewers.

A third area of limitation to recreation activity involved the more silent discipline of contemporary conventions – practices, generally related to fashion, behaviour and social conduct which, by general consent, provide standards which come to be accepted by the community at large. Conventions evolve and change almost imperceptibly over a period of time. Groups and individuals question the appropriateness of a particular convention, refinements are made to a previously held position and a shift occurs. In Britain and its colony, conventional propriety was a major obstacle to women's participation in the burgeoning recreation scene which came within the range of an increasing number of males during the later decades of the Victorian era. Few South Australian women shared in the new hours of leisure; for those who did, drawn predominantly from the middle classes, and who had the wherewithal to participate, there were strong social conventions to overcome. They were especially severe on women taking exercise and covered such matters as restrictive dress, exercising in public, and a perceived danger of women competing or of exercising strenuously.

On a much smaller scale, there were other conventions which inhibited participation by working class men in some of the team activities which became more accessible in the second half of Victoria's reign. Some team activities came to assume a special educational significance in British public schools from the 1860s on.⁵ Claims were made that qualities of discipline, courage and above all, leadership, were developed through these team games and carried over into community life. With the spread of participation, former students laid claim to the leadership of the new organisations which came into being to govern, develop and administer the various team sports, since only they had experienced and could

⁵ The term 'public' in this context is a complete misnomer. The schools were extremely private, boarding and attended by the sons of a growing middle class.

interpret the true code of 'manliness' conveyed by the activities. On occasions, this exclusive style of leadership limited participation by working class men; in one sport - rowing - they were excluded completely.

Literature Review and Methodology

Both before and during the period of this study, some ninety per cent of the colony's population were drawn from Britain. It follows that studies on the contemporary attitudes, beliefs and perceptions towards the use of leisure by differing classes in the Mother country are pertinent to this study. There has been a steady and continuing research interest in recent decades, including the role and attitudes of the increasingly influential and growing middle classes towards the use by the working classes of their newly won hours of leisure. Goldby and Purdue underline the change of environment and content of popular culture in England from mid-eighteenth century, where it was largely rural, to the end of the Victorian era where it had become mainly urban and highly commercialised; ploughing festivals, cock fighting and bull-baiting had given way to the music hall, seaside holidays and football leagues.⁶ Lowerson and Myerscough have written of the changing practices and perceptions towards leisure in Victorian England.⁷ They note three social developments occurring during the period affecting both the middle classes and the working classes: the growth in the quantity of free time which became available, a growing array of new ways to fill the increasing hours of leisure and associated changes in spending habits on recreation. They identify a number of changes which occurred in the pattern during the Victorian era including seaside holidays, theatrical entertainment, music making and participating in newly codified team games. Another analysis provided by Walvin underlined the importance of the rapidly developing railway system in the pattern of recreational activity which came about in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸ To a considerable extent, these developments were reflected in the new colony, the *New Britannia*.

⁶ Goldby, J.M. and Purdue, A.W. *The Civilisation of the Crowd. Popular Culture in England 1750-1900*. Batsford Academic And Educational. London. 1984.

⁷ Lowerson, J. and Myerscough, J. *Time to Spare in Victorian England*. The Harvester Press. 1977.

⁸ Walvin, J. *Leisure and Society 1830-1950*. Longman. 1978.

Bailey and Cunningham, among others, underline middle class concerns regarding working class behaviour in the decades both before and during Victoria's reign.⁹ They included threats to property and to public order, as well as drunkenness, gambling, cruelty to animals and to persons, and the sexual depravity which accompanied the traditional seasonal fairs and wakes; these events were the major occasions for working class recreation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The increasingly influential middle classes argued that if social order was to be maintained, other options should be developed to attract the masses away from disruptive activities. Their recreation should be 'rationalised'. They should be encouraged to use their new hours of leisure to improve themselves by taking advantage of adult education opportunities provided by mechanics institutes, self improvement societies, libraries, museums, and art galleries. If they wished to be active, there were respectable team games, newly codified by the middle classes; or, with their families, they could enjoy informal recreations in public parks and recreation grounds bequeathed to local communities, or acquired and developed by local councils. By such means the working classes would climb the ladder to respectability. Bailey, Houghton and Thompson set out Victorian lifestyle changes giving substance to the notion of respectability, the qualities it encouraged and its application to the home, family, church, acceptable amusements, entertainment, work – and play.¹⁰ All have been valuable in positioning this study.

Waterhouse notes that Australian interest in the study of these issues, including their significance in the colonial period, was emerging in the 1970s; this interest covered the inclusion of essays on popular culture in flagship journals of Australian history and culture as *Australian Historical Studies* and the *Journal of Australian Studies*. These observations were made by Waterhouse in the Introduction to his

⁹ Bailey, P. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1976. Cunningham, H. *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c1780 – c1880*. Croom Helm. London. 1980. See also Malcomson, R.W. *Popular Recreations in English Society*. Cambridge University Press. 1971.

¹⁰ Bailey, P. Op Cit. Houghton, W.E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*. Yale University Press. 1957. Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900*. Fontana Press. 1988.

own and the first history of popular culture in Australia, *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure* in which he examines how imported values and institutions were reworked in the Australian context to meet local needs and requirements.¹¹

The early 1980s also saw the emergence of the Australian Society for Sports History. ASSH was formally established in 1983 following several conferences bringing together academics from a variety of disciplines, and non academics, on the theme of 'Sporting Traditions'.¹² An early undertaking of the Society was the publication in 1992 of *The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport*; the Companion's entries include a number of essays on such themes as amateurism, betting, nationalism and violence, highlighting the economic, social and political significance of sport in Australia. Three years later, one of the prime movers in the development of ASSH and of the production of the Companion volume, Richard Cashman, published *Paradise of Sport. The Rise of Organised Sport in Australia*. He argues that sport was prominent at an important stage in Australia's cultural formation, in the later decades of Victoria's reign when the character of Australian society was deeply influenced by the games cult. In addition:

The creation of cathedrals of sport in central locations reinforced the lofty status of sport. Abundant waterways and attractive beaches close to many of the major cities encouraged the development of outdoor sport.¹³

Cashman goes on to argue that while middle class notions have been prominent in many Australian sports, they have been modified and even changed in others by more working class agendas, including Australian football.¹⁴

Blainey's *Black Kettle And Full Moon* has provided a penetrating analysis of day to day living conditions operating for the majority during the period of this study - for

¹¹ Waterhouse, R. *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure. A History Of Australian Popular Culture Since 1788*. Longman Australia. 1995, p. xi – xii.

¹² Vamplew, W. et alia (Eds). *The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport*. Oxford University Press. Melbourne 1992. The Society's primary aim is: 'To promote, stimulate and encourage study, research and publication on sporting traditions with special reference to Australia.' It produces a journal – *Sporting Traditions* – twice yearly.

¹³ Cashman, R. *Paradise Of Sport. The Rise Of Organised Sport In Australia*. Oxford University Press Melbourne. 1995. p. 205

¹⁴ *Ibid* p. 207.

'the nine of every ten who were neither rich nor very poor.'¹⁵ Though its emphasis is not on sport or other fields of recreation, it provides a valuable backcloth against which to appraise day to day living conditions in matters ranging over travel, reading, the electric telegraph and other communication systems, shopping and the extensive role played by the local hotel in the community other than serving alcoholic drinks.

Much closer to my study, in place, content and time period, is Daly's seminal work *Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia, 1836 – 1890*,¹⁶ published over twenty five years ago. It is an examination of the sports played in the colony of South Australia and of the classes who played them. He poses a number of questions, the following among them: Was the structure which supported games and sports in the Mother country also transferred and maintained? Did the function of sport for each class remain the same in the new province? Were some sports integrative while others were kept exclusive? While there are elements common to both studies, my thesis is on recreation, which includes a range of other formalised and informal activities, as well as team games and field sports. Second, this study examines measures actively concerned with constraining or limiting people's access to some aspects of recreation and other efforts to provide alternative activities or programs. Further, it examines the conventions impeding women participating in recreation activities, not only in sport, but in other formalised and informal activities.

A number of studies have assisted understanding and appreciation of early travel challenges and the relationship between recreation activity and improved personal transport. Stacy has described the early challenges facing the colony's road makers and the hazards of night driving.¹⁷ Badger's studies of horse drawn vehicles stress the importance of the American buggy and the horse-drawn omnibus in the

¹⁵ Blainey, G. *Black Kettle And Full Moon. Daily Life In A Vanished Australia*. Viking Penguin Books Australia. 2003. p. ix.

¹⁶ Daly, J.A. *Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia. 1836 – 1890*. Published by the author. 1982.

¹⁷ Stacy, Bill. 'Good Roads Are The Best Test Of Civilisation. South Australian Road Making 1836-1936'. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 14.1986. pp. 83-106.

colony in the 1850s and its suitability for South Australian conditions; its cheaper price brought the vehicle within the range of increasing numbers of mainly middle class drivers.¹⁸ Forster's pioneering study of the changing face of country cricket in the colony in the later nineteenth century, thereby extending the opportunities to play a greater number of other teams, highlights how important advances in personal travel were in the context of teams journeying longer distances in a short span of time – such as a Saturday afternoon.¹⁹ But the greatest impact on personal travel for recreation purposes was the arrival of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre in the closing years of the century – touring, racing and as personal transport for recreation purposes to and from venues and superseding the horse – are themes developed by Blainey, Fitzpatrick and Herlihy.²⁰ This study develops the point in the context of team sports generally and of the struggle, particularly in country communities, to get all members of a team to a specific venue at an agreed time.

Improvements in communication are a constantly recurring theme in this study. Carey has pointed to the significance of the growth of city and local newspapers especially during the 1870s and 1880s and their importance as reporters of local events and activities.²¹ A different dimension to this theme was the growing network of telegraph stations linking communities, organisations and individuals at regional, colonial, inter-colonial and, from 1872, international levels. The network – created for purposes other than recreation – was to impact positively on much recreation activity, ranging from theatre company bookings and racing results, to fixture confirmations and hourly test match scores. Moyal's study traces the development of telecommunications across the continent up to the arrival of the telephone.²²

¹⁸ Badger, I. 'Horse Drawn Vehicles In South Australia'. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 2 1976. pp. 18-29 and his volume *Australian Horse-Drawn Vehicles*. Rigby. 1976.

¹⁹ Forster, C. 'Sport, Society and Space. The Changing Geography of Country Cricket in South Australia, 1836 – 1914.' *Sporting Traditions*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 1986. pp. 23-47.

²⁰ Blainey, G. *Jumping Over The Wheel*. Allen and Unwin. 1993. Fitzpatrick, J. 'The Spectrum Of Australian Bicycle Racing: 1890-1900.' In Cashman, R. and McKernan, M.. *Sport In History. The Making of Modern Sporting History*. University of Queensland Press. 1979. Herlihy, D.V. *Bicycle: The History*. Yale University Press. New Haven and London. 2004.

²¹ Carey, S. *The Prolific Press. Newspapers In South Australia, 1836-1890*. Flinders University, School of Social Sciences. B.A. Hons Thesis. 1978.

²² Moyal, A. *Clear Across Australia. A History Of Telecommunications*. Nelson. 1984.

Formalised activities, particularly outdoor team games, made striking progress during the period. Most had to deal with a series of challenges in the development of their activity. Among other matters, they had to establish a governing body for their activity through which to standardise and disseminate rules for the conduct of the game, support schemes to rationalise competitions and fixture lists, create mechanisms for their conduct, establish coaching schemes to improve the standards of play and officiating, improve playing venues and in some cases create stadia, select regional and colonial representative teams, and participate in creating an Australia wide organisation for their activity. The South Australian histories prepared by Harte for cricket and Whimpress for Victorian Rules football illustrate the negotiation of these various phases of development,²³ while Forster's study of the changing face of country cricket during the period, including the expansion of fixtures paralleling the growth of travel opportunities, is especially pertinent.²⁴

Within the whole spectrum of informal outdoor recreation, two areas of special interest have been noted. Warburton has described the evolution of the original British aristocratic picnic to become an activity followed variously by all classes of society in the new colony.²⁵ Annual picnics were staged for families of workers' groups, tradesmen, the members of benevolent societies and improvement societies, employers for employees, frequently making use of the colony's several public holidays. Picnics were also extremely popular with church congregations, particularly for Church and Sunday School Anniversaries. The second outdoor recreation activity which grew apace in the later decades of the century, enjoyed by musicians and listeners alike, were open air brass band concerts.²⁶

²³ Harte, C. *SACA. The History Of The South Australian Cricket Association*. Sports Marketing. 1990 Whimpress, B. *The South Australian Football Story*. SANFL. 1983.

²⁴ Forster, C. Op Cit.

²⁵ Warburton, E. *Picnic In The Hills*. Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia. No. 6. 1979. pp. 46-54.

²⁶ Herbert, T. Nineteenth Century Bands. The Making Of A Movement. In Herbert, T. (Ed). *The Brass Band Movement In The Nineteenth And Twentieth Centuries*. Open University Press. 1991. pp. 7-56.

In developing the section on legal constraints the work of Castle and Harris has been valuable in appreciating the significance of the closeness of the young colony's legal system to that of Britain.²⁷ Goldby and Purdue highlight the significance of middle class, humanist organisations in early nineteenth century Britain, which accompanied the passing of statutes affecting cruelty to animals.²⁸ The studies of McGaghy and Neal on cockfighting and Gray on prize fighting provide further illustration of the growth of public opinion opposed to these activities, despite their enthusiastic followings.²⁹ O'Hara's study of gambling in Australia lays bare the activity's particular source of division and moral conflict in the colony of South Australia.³⁰

Themes in this thesis draw on aspects of social, political, religious and cultural history. The initial source for providing the picture of recreational activity in the colony and its changing pattern over the last four decades of the nineteenth century has been newspapers, starting with the *South Australian Register*. Each edition of the colony's oldest newspaper for the year 1847 has been read, repeating the process for every fifth year up to and including the year 1897. By the early 1870s it was clear there was a marked growth in the coverage of local news. 'Country Correspondents' were reporting to the *Register* from over twenty five townships in the colony; over the years the reports began to include mention of growing recreation activity and an expanding social life. Not unexpectedly, the capital city of Adelaide showed the greatest range of activities in entertainments, music making, team games and field sports. In order to give further balance to recreation developments in country communities, the editions of the *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer*, (among the colony's oldest local newspapers), first published weekly in October 1864, and then twice weekly from March 1872 to October 1894, and thereafter weekly, have also been covered. This paper also

²⁷ Castle, A.C. and Harris, M.C. *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs. Government and Law in South Australia 1836-1866*. Wakefield Press. 1987.

²⁸ Goldby, J.M. and Purdue, A.W. *Op Cit.* pp. 85-87.

²⁹ McGaghy, C.H. and Neal, A.G. 'The Fraternity of Cockfighters: Ethical Embellishments Of An Illegal Sport'. *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. V11 No. 3 Winter 1974. pp. 557-569. Gray, W.R. 'For Whom The Bell Tolls: The Decline Of British Prize Fighting In The Victorian Era.' *Journal Of Popular Culture*. Vol. 21. No. 2. 1987. pp. 53-64.

³⁰ O'Hara, J.A. *A Mug's Game. A History Of Gaming In Australia*. New South Wales Press. 1988.

reached out to a range of other communities in the area through correspondents in Angaston, Eudunda, Freeling, Hamley Bridge, Riverton, Tarlee, Truro and Saddleworth, among others; they reported on a range of local activities, growing markedly over the years and increasingly shared with neighbouring communities whether through team games, horticultural shows or quadrille dancing. Finally, from the mid 1870s on, the weekly editions of *The Lantern* (which later became *Quiz* and then *Quiz And The Lantern*) have provided valuable commentary on what were contentious issues at particular periods of time in the colony; many involved issues which some regarded as 'social evils' and others as acceptable recreational activity.

Parliamentary debates have proved a major means of appreciating the division of views on the stream of legislation opposing intemperance and gambling which came before the legislature in the last quarter of the century. In addition, records of the Nonconformist churches in South Australia together form a major resource in understanding the strength of the lobby opposed to intemperance, gambling and any weakening of a strict code of Sunday observance.

Early reading of social historical studies of the recreational scene in both Britain and the colony led to the identification of journals, some papers of which assisted a fuller understanding of issues which were emerging in the main study; they included the limitations placed on women's participation in the new wave of recreational activity, the class differentiation and the increasing concern of many from among the Nonconformist churches of aspects of the growing range of recreation activity. Studies reported in several Journals, including the *Journal of Popular Culture*, *Victorian Studies*, *Past and Present*, *Sporting Traditions* and the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* have revealed fresh aspects of the popular culture of the period.³¹

Several themes important to the study had been identified at this stage. One, carrying strong religious overtones, was the movement set on ridding South

³¹ Other journals found useful to this aspect of the study were *The Journal of Social History*, *The Journal of Australian Studies* and the *International Journal of the History of Sport*.

Australia of the perceived social evils of intemperance and gambling, and to retain the fullest observance of the sanctity of the Sabbath is a major theme of this study. It originated in the Nonconformist churches. Bebbington sets out the distinctive features of the movement which gathered momentum in the 1870s and, in the colony, went on to develop an extremely effective political arm. It argued that a range of social behaviours – imbibing any alcohol, gambling, travel on a Sunday among them – which many regarded as recreational, were evidence of the nation's moral decline. Through rallies, campaigns and petitions, the moralists argued that these 'social evils' should be eradicated, or severely constrained, through legislation. The statute book registered the moral progress of the nation. It not only reflected public opinion; it shaped opinion.³² The South Australian movement derived many of its ideas and energy from Britain; however, as the campaigns developed, significant differences appeared. In the first place, there was a strong American influence in the conduct of the South Australian campaign through the Blue Ribbon temperance movement and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The WCTU, through the membership in its network of branches across the colony, played a significant role in the campaigns which accompanied every Bill brought before the parliament. A second difference was the strength of the parliamentary lobby achieved in the colony, greatly aided by the election of Nonconformist members to the colony's parliament. Hunt's history of the Methodist church in South Australia articulates the role of one major player in these developments.³³ The statutes themselves, the debates accompanying their progress through the two chambers of the colonial parliament and the profiles compiled on individual members in the *Biographical Register Of The South Australian Parliament 1857-1957* have greatly aided the development of this theme.³⁴

³² Bebbington, D.W. *The Nonconformist Conscience. Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914*. George Allen and Unwin. London. 1982.

³³ Hunt, A.D. *This Side Of Heaven. A History Of Methodism*. Lutheran Publishing House Adelaide. 1985. See particularly Chapter 7. 'Reforming Society 1870-1900.' pp. 179-209.

³⁴ Coxon, H., Playford, J. and Reid, R. *Biographical Register Of The South Australian Parliament 1857-1957*. Wakefield Press. 1985.

A second theme was a natural corollary to the first. If persons, especially working class males, were to be persuaded to renounce certain activities, alternative acceptable activities should be devised to fill their leisure hours; their recreation should be 'rationalised.' One initiative undertaken with this objective in mind was the drive to promote adult education programs – classes and lectures which would improve the mind and the character. The vehicle for achieving this end were to be local Institutes many of which were built by local communities with the aid of substantial government grants from an adult education budget. Disputes occurred. The history of the Institute movement in South Australia by Talbot³⁵ and of the State Library by Bridge³⁶ (including its early years at the close of the colonial period), provide a valuable backcloth against which to assess the disagreements which occurred between some local Institute committees and the central South Australian Institute. Areas of contention occurred over the interpretation of the term 'adult education' and what recreational activities, if any, were permissible in an Institute facility.

Other themes identified themselves at this stage of the research. A range of Australian studies and articles were showing changes in the negative conventions towards women's participation as the Victorian era progressed; the studies fall largely in the field of social history. The work of Akers and Phillips underlines the significance of dress codes required of women and the harmful effects of contemporary materials on those who wished to exercise.³⁷ King lays bare the contemporary view which frowned on women exercising for fear of endangering their reproductive functions and because the practice was regarded as unfeminine.³⁸ Stell, among others, underlines the importance of the safety bicycle

³⁵ Talbot, M.R. *A Chance T Read. A History Of The Institute Movement In South Australia*. Libraries Board of South Australia. Adelaide. 1992.

³⁶ Bridge, C.A. *A Trunk Full Of Books. A History of the State Library of South Australia and Its Forerunners*. Wakefield Press in association with the State Library of South Australia. 1986.

³⁷ Akers, M. 'Crinolines and Red Knickers. A Fashion Revolution of the 1850s from Britain to the Victorian Goldfields.' *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria*. Vol. 55. No. 4, December 1984. pp. 15-25. Phillips, J. and P. 'History From Below. Women's Underwear and the Rise of Women's Sport.' *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. 27 (2). 1993. pp. 129-148.

³⁸ King, H. 'The Sexual Politics of Sport.' In Cashman, R and MacKernan, M. (Eds). *Sport In History. The Making Of Modern Sporting History*. University of Queensland Press. 1979, pp. 68-85.

and women's 'step through' version with its liberating opportunities for independence, rational clothing, travel, exercise – and fun.³⁹ Mackinnon identifies the development of the movement among South Australian women to secure a pathway to higher education and thereby increase opportunities to share in a fuller community life than contemporary society accorded them.⁴⁰ This study is able to illustrate how some South Australian women, drawn mainly from the upper and middle classes, achieved initial breakthroughs and acceptance to participate in competitive activities requiring strenuous physical exercise.

This study focuses on those of the colony's residents who were born in Britain, or were of British extraction and who, over the period 1860 – 1900, formed some ninety per cent of the population. It does not cover the indigenous inhabitants and makes no claim to identifying the attitudes towards the use of leisure by the remaining ten per cent migrant population who, during the same period, were predominantly of German extraction.

The German migrants established close-knit communities in the Barossa, the Adelaide Hills and in the growing city of Adelaide . The early difficulty of language communication tended to increase their isolation. They quickly established a reputation as being hard-working and industrious. As Lutherans, their church affiliations tended to align with the Nonconformists, but the issues of intemperance, gambling and Sunday observance did not carry the same concern as was the case with British Nonconformists. Moreover, at the time, the Lutheran Church in the colony, was struggling with doctrinal issues which were threatening to divide sections of the German community.⁴¹

³⁹ Stell, M. *Half The Race. A History Of Women In Sport*. Angus and Robertson. 1991.

⁴⁰ Mackinnon, A. *The New Women. Adelaide's Early Women Graduates*. Wakefield Press. 1986.

⁴¹ Nevertheless, several personalities from the German community held positions where their expertise came to influence aspects of the colony's pattern of recreational activity. Herman Heinicke, active in the Adelaide music scene for many years, was to the forefront of the drive to establish a full scale orchestra in the colony in the closing years of the century. Richard Schomburgk, Curator of Adelaide's Botanic Garden from 1865 to 1895, responded to numerous requests from local councils and horticultural groups for professional advice, and frequently, plants, cuttings and saplings, to help the establishment of local parks, gardens and amenity areas. Adolf Leschen and his son Hugo were heavily involved in the physical education programs of both public and private schools in the colony; post school they introduced the activity of German gymnastics (*turnen*) to the Adelaide community.

Development of the Thesis

The starting point for this analysis of attitudes towards the growth of recreation activities in the later decades of the nineteenth century in South Australia was the reduction in working hours for substantial numbers of the colony's male workforce. The increase of leisure – waking time free from the obligations of employment, travel to and from work, and from domestic obligations – was a necessary precondition for the growth of recreation activities. Recreation is seen as an activity freely entered into within leisure, whether as a performer or player, participant, spectator at an event, or a visitor to a particular amenity or attraction.

Chapter 1 analyses the struggles and successes during the period by groups of working men to reduce their hours of work, whether by a shortening of each of the six working days, the creation of a Saturday half-holiday, a consolidation of several public holidays and the long struggle to win the mid-week half-holiday for retail assistants *in lieu* of working long hours on a Saturday. Most campaigns were local and fought region by region, trade by trade, and organisation by organisation, under the general banner of the struggle to win 'the eight hours day'. For those that were successful, there was considerable variation in the reduction of working hours and their distribution over the working week; but, for most, the winning of a block of hours in the form of the Saturday half-holiday opening up opportunities to undertake one or more of a variety of activities was paramount.

There followed, in the last quarter of the century, a sharp rise in recreational activity, especially team sports, paralleling the winning of the Saturday half-holiday. This is the subject of Chapter 2. Some of these activities developed regional, colonial and inter colonial structures to facilitate competition and venues, and as a support for the further development of clubs and societies.

The new leisure also facilitated growth in informal recreation, as individuals took advantage of the Saturday afternoon, public holidays and, increasingly, Sundays, to journey to beaches, the countryside, parks and other areas of attractive open space. Entertainments, refreshment facilities and other amenities made the resorts

increasingly attractive, while excursion rates enabled growing numbers to enjoy individual and family informal recreation.

Supporting all these developments was the growth during the period of communication systems including personal travel options made possible by the ever expanding networks of roads, railways, horse omnibus and tramways – and the bicycle; the growth of regional and local newspapers, with specialist columns; and the electric telegraph. Recreation was not the driving force behind the development of these services, but benefited enormously from them. The recreation world also gained from nineteenth century advances in industrial technology. Mass production lowered the price of items such as upright pianos and bicycles. Hire purchase systems, a widening second hand market and the general upward trend of personal disposable income, brought the price of such items within the range of increasing numbers of owners. The commercial sector, by the end of the century, was providing services not only at traditional venues such as the theatre and the public house, but also at assembly rooms, skittle alleys and skating rinks. It was also deliberating how to accommodate on a more permanent basis the new wonder of the age – the *cinematographe*.

The chapters which follow cover the approaches adopted by the moralists to discipline certain activities, which others regarded as recreational and quite acceptable. Chapter 3 examines the history of legislation, beginning with statutes affecting cruelty to animals and to other human beings, and others enforcing the sanctity of the Sabbath; some were enacted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, instigated by the newly emerging middle classes, and inherited by the new colony. Though fears of public disorder at gatherings for a sporting activity still remained, there were also discernible changes of viewpoint by the community at large towards such assemblies as the century progressed. Legislation overall governing the powers of local authorities began to include sections allowing local councils to provide for team games. Other legislation empowered local councils to acquire land for development by communities for both informal, as well as formalised recreation activity, and required the operators of facilities to maintain minimal levels of safety for their patrons.

The new evils concerning the moralists, which had to be disciplined, (or even expunged) were intemperance and gambling, particularly when practised by the working classes. The chapter leads on to a consideration of the welter of Bills brought before the South Australian parliament on these two issues during the last quarter of the century and the legislative struggle which raged between those who supported increased restraints and those who regarded some of the measures as extreme.

Chapter 4 examines the second disciplinary strategy developed by the moralists which was aimed at attracting individuals, particularly working class males, away from the evils of intemperance and gambling and into programs of 'rational recreation'. In Britain, such programs included the development of parks and open space, public libraries, museums and art galleries, and adult education classes. Permissive powers were granted to local authorities to achieve these ends.

There were comparable developments in the young colony, but in some areas they evolved differently. This came about in part because of the size of communities and the distances between the emerging townships. The system of administrative and capital grants to local institutes, directed through the South Australian Institute and its Board of Governors, greatly aided the development of subscription libraries, lecture halls and class rooms across the length and breadth of the colony. However, the content of the libraries' book stock and what activities should be permitted in government subsidised facilities intended to be used for the purposes of adult education became the subject of considerable disputation between some local Institute committees, the SAI and government ministers.

A further example of this control strategy was the system of 'improvement societies', also inherited from the Mother country. 'Mutual' and 'self improvement' societies began to appear in the colony in substantial numbers in the 1860s. Generally they were introduced and sponsored by Nonconformist churches. In the early years of the movement the church minister was generally an active president of the society giving homilies within a program of adult education classes, public

speaking exercises, lectures and elocution. Their programs softened as the century wore on and were interspersed with soirees and conversaciones; entertainment companies emerged to bring choral and instrumental items and dramatic sketches into programs. In the 1880s, many began to adopt the title of 'literary society' and joined in a range of competitions with other societies.

Social conventions provided the third disciplinary measure which limited access to recreation activities and are examined in Chapters 5 and 6.. The former analyses the severe restrictions placed on women's recreational choice arising from conventions involving dress, exercising in public, concern over women indulging in strenuous physical exercise and other limitations. Some easing of the conventions was achieved by middle class women in the closing years of the century. As Chapter 6 reveals, men suffered much less restriction, with one exception where they were banned by the governing body from membership and therefore open competition. The background to this reveals an element of class exclusion, an attitude which also delayed working men's fuller acceptance into the development and administration of other activities where they participated.

In the final analysis, argued in the concluding chapter, as the Victorian era came to an end, a culture of working class recreation had emerged alongside that of the middle classes. The latter had been fashioned to be largely exclusive of the working classes aided by such measures as the cost of equipment and clothing, access to venues, level of subscriptions and even, in at least one case, the practice of blackballing. The pattern of working class recreation brought occasional reports of unruly behaviour at crowd events, which governing bodies for the sport concerned were able largely to control. Very few occurrences threatened public order. There were occasional reports of clandestine gatherings for cockfights which may have attracted middle class, as well as working class, owners and enthusiasts. Indeed those who were most likely to indulge in activities bringing cruelty to animals in the colony were the middle and upper classes through such activities as hunting, coursing, pigeon shoots and duck shoots, all of which were practised openly, legally and with little opposition. The middle classes had outlets which allowed them to evade licensing and betting laws more easily than their

working class counterpart. Working class betting was widespread – on the streets and in the back rooms of shops – as was illicit Sunday drinking. The working classes had no compunction in breaking laws which they felt were unfairly directed against them; insofar as there was any disruption to public order, it proceeded from the harassment inflicted on them by reluctant police required to enforce discriminating laws.

Commercial operations also dulled the effectiveness of the moralists' efforts to enforce Sunday observance or to control working class recreation. The introduction of excursion rates, the development of hire purchase systems and of a second hand market for major items of equipment, including bicycles, increased recreation opportunities for all classes, to the detriment among other matters of those defending tighter Sunday observance.

Elsewhere, there were other activities where working class membership was significant or dominant, which satisfied middle class standards of respectability. They included gardening groups and horticultural societies, animal and bird societies, brass bands, choirs and choral societies; all grew markedly during the last three decades of the century. Significantly, membership of improvement and literary societies remained essentially middle class, as did attendees at most lectures and classes promoted by the Institutes; they formed the majority of subscribers to the Institute libraries. The Institute movement had evolved to become a middle class organisation run for and by the middle classes.

1 EIGHT HOURS FOR WHAT WE WILL

Introduction

The subject of this chapter is taken from the slogan on the banner carried by the carpenters' union in the city of Worcester in the USA on the occasion of the unions' campaign march for the Eight Hours Day in 1889. It serves to remind us that, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, there was industrial agitation for a decrease in working hours in other countries as well as the Australian colonies.¹ New hours of leisure were central to the growth of recreational activity in the colony of South Australia in the last four decades of the nineteenth century for substantial numbers of working-class men. There were other factors which assisted this trend, including an easing of the physical demands of work itself, a gradual increase in personal disposable income and improved means of personal travel; but the key influence was the fall in working hours and the major beneficiaries were mechanics, clerks and artisans. Female workers, particularly those in domestic service and in some factories - the greatest employers of women - had fewer successes. The gains for men were achieved over several decades, trade by trade and region by region. Even at the end of the colonial period there were large sections of society who were still working sixty hours a week and more.

In incremental terms, the gains won by many in the workforce included the shortening of the working day, or the creation of the Saturday half-holiday, or a combination of both. Local groups campaigned under the general plea for the 'Eight Hours Day'. Later than in most other spheres of employment, retail shop assistants finally began to achieve successes in Adelaide and its suburbs and in regional towns across the colony, winning a mid-week half holiday in lieu of the late hours worked on Saturday. A small minority of workers secured a yearly holiday in the form of a clear break from work lasting several days. Most workers

¹ In the city of Birmingham in Britain, the workers in a number of key industries negotiated considerable reductions in their working week in 1871, including the creation of a Saturday half-holiday. See Molyneux, D.D. *The Development of Physical Recreation in the Birmingham District from 1871-1892*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Birmingham 1957. pp. 17-21.

benefited from the gradual increase in public holidays which grew in number in the later decades of the colonial period.

There were small but significant changes in the arguments put forward for decreasing the weekly hours of work. The emphasis in the 1860s was on shortening the hours of work to lighten the physical stress, particularly in the heat of the Australian summer; a secondary argument was that the shorter working day would allow the opportunity for working men to improve themselves, for example, by attending classes at local Mechanics' Institutes. In later years additional arguments began to be advanced to justify the shortening of the working day and the introduction of the Saturday or Wednesday half-holiday. They included the opportunity to share in the growing range of recreational activities, especially team sports, which by the 1880s were appearing in many local communities. Evening community activities including music-making – choirs and brass bands especially – and horticultural groups began to be mentioned in local news reports. By the 1880s, the eight hours movement had become a major objective of trade unions and of their composite body, the United Trades and Labour Council. There were increasing successes by a number of trades. Those seeking the reduction in the hours of work began to argue the need for renewal and recreation, and by century's end the movement had considerable support in the colony, including the colonial government.

Early Beginnings

It would appear that that one organisation in the colony operated an eight hours day as early as 1845. In that year the Burra Burra mine opened, with a predominantly Cornish workforce, all recently migrated from the Mother country. The methods of mining, rules and regulations, welfare arrangements and procedures at the new mine were all based on Cornish practice and included a five and a half days week of some forty four hours.²

² Davies, M. 'Cornish Miners and Class Relations in Early Colonial South Australia: The Burra Burra Strikes of 1848-49'. In *Australian Historical Studies*. Vol. 26 No. 105 October 1995 p. 574 and p. 576.

The Burra Burra experience was an isolated case. Elsewhere in the colony the efforts by working men to reduce their hours of work began to surface in the early 1860s. Late in 1862 the ironmongers' assistants in Adelaide lobbied their employers to close at lunch time on Saturdays. At the same time, retail assistants in Port Adelaide were meeting to prepare a memorial 'respectfully praying their employers to consent to close their establishments at 7 o'clock every evening except Saturdays, when the time should be extended to 10 o'clock.'

In February of the following year (1863), a meeting in Port Adelaide, convened by workmen of various trades and originated by shipwrights, resolved to join with tradesmen in Adelaide with a view to meeting with employers to promote 'the eight hours system', and to advertise such a meeting through the press.³ A meeting took place on a Saturday evening in mid April chaired by the Mayor of Adelaide. The arguments put forward by the protagonists in the correspondence preceding and following the meeting, as well as at the meeting itself, were based on moral, physical and social grounds; the hours of physical exertion, particularly in the heat of summer, were excessive and damaging; those working at a desk and indoors had a much shorter working day; working men needed the opportunity to 'cultivate their mental faculties'; working men should be allowed to spend more time with their families and exercising parental direction over their children; the system had been introduced satisfactorily in Melbourne and Sydney, in Queensland and New Zealand and was working well. (The system had been won by the building trades in Melbourne in 1856).⁴ Against this, while there was some sympathy for the views put forward by the workers, it was argued that a reduction to eight hours in the working day with no adjustment to wages, would impose an impossible burden on employers. There was also a strongly expressed view that while some workers would use the new hours free from work in improving themselves, others would

³ *Register* 21 February 1863. A public notice in the *Register* (30 March 1863) reported that a Committee was meeting every Saturday evening in Adelaide at the Norfolk Arms to discuss the 'Eight Hours Movement' and invited the attendance of any person interested in the matter.

⁴ Hughes, H. The Eight Hour Day And The Development Of The Labour Movement In Victoria In The Eighteen Fifties. *Historical Studies* Vol. 9 Nov1959-May 1961. pp. 399-400.

use the time drinking and gambling.⁵ At the conclusion of the meeting a resolution was passed unanimously:

that a conference should take place between the employers of labour and the working classes to enter into a mutual agreement as to the most reasonable time to be fixed for the commencement of the limitation of the present hours of labour.⁶

The report of the meeting provoked further correspondence in the *Register*. The paper's leader on the meeting expressed sympathy with its objective, approved of the workers' decision not to strike on the issue, and counselled prudence and caution. It concluded however, that the eight hours question was simply one of business, and that 'the law which regulates and must determine it is not one of morals, but one of supply and demand'.⁷ Nothing appears to have transpired from these developments, nor is there evidence that a conference was ever held.

By 1865 there were signs that working men in some trades were making gains as a result of improved contact and organisation. Carpenters, joiners and cabinet makers in Adelaide secured an adjustment of hours to create a free Saturday afternoon – a move which operatives in the Kapunda area were also able to negotiate with their local employers in September of that year.⁸ With the downturn in the colony's economy in the later 1860s, it was to be several years before new initiatives were mounted.

A Major Breakthrough

The three months between June and August in 1873 proved to be a period of great activity and considerable achievement for the eight hours movement in South Australia. Against the background of a stronger economy, shortages of labour and a degree of empathy among employers for the central issue, successful campaigns were undertaken to reduce the hours of work in some

⁵ See Letters and reports *Register* 16, 21, 27 and 30 April, 2, 20 and 25 May and 2 June 1863.

⁶ *Ibid* 20 April 1863.

⁷ *Ibid* 24 April 1863.

⁸ *Kapunda Herald & Northern Intelligencer* (Henceforth *KH*) 22 September 1865.

trades, not only in Adelaide and Port Adelaide, but also in a number of regional centres in the colony. The major concern of the employers was that if some of their number did not respond equitably in any one region, established markets would be lost; it was therefore important that all employers in a particular trade in any one region should agree to any new schedule of working hours.

There were some small but significant differences in the new surge to reduce working hours. In the first place employees began to join forces across the various trades in order to be more effective in their negotiations with employers. Negotiations with the employers in Adelaide and Port Adelaide were conducted by the 'Adelaide League' of trades' organisations. As negotiations progressed the regional groupings of tradesmen in Gawler, Mount Gambier and Kapunda were shown to be endeavouring to link up with the Adelaide League to strengthen their negotiating muscle with employers. Second, by the 1870s, the term 'recreation' was more widely used in the campaign. The eight hours' movement was transcribed into the slogan: 'Eight hours labour, eight hours recreation and eight hours rest'. Finally, the distribution of the 48 hours working week (from the previous 54-60 hours) remained flexible for local negotiation, and for many the ending of work on a Saturday at 1 or 2 pm became an option. The Saturday afternoon provided a block of hours free from work in which activities could be undertaken. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers at one foundry in Adelaide and at an engineering works in Port Adelaide negotiated working hours from 8 am to 5 pm from Monday to Friday, with an hour's break for dinner; but for Saturdays, work concluded at 2 pm. It was no coincidence that from the mid-1870s on, there was an upsurge in the playing of team games in the colony on Saturday afternoons.

In the townships of Kapunda and Gawler, discussions and negotiations progressed through June and July and led to a successful outcome for the mechanics and machine operatives. *The Kapunda Herald* reported that:

Employees celebrated yesterday evening the funeral obsequies of the ten hours system in a manner much more noisy than agreeable to those who live in the vicinity, by discharging anvil shots and firearms. The saluting was kept up for about half an hour.⁹

Other agreements were negotiated for coach makers and saddlers in Adelaide and for smiths, wheelwrights and machinists in Mount Gambier; within many of the trade agreements the Saturday half-holiday was also established where no such arrangement existed previously.¹⁰ In September there were reports of celebratory functions. Workers at Gawler staged a procession and demonstration. Dinners were promoted to which politicians as well as employers were invited. One such occasion was attended by Sir Henry Ayers who had been Premier for much of the preceding decade. He congratulated both sides for reaching a peaceful outcome and noted how technology was improving output and that working men should benefit from these advances. He went on to observe: 'improvements in steam and water power ought to benefit the working classes and shorten the hours of toil'.¹¹ Many of these agreements came into operation on 1 September 1873; beginning in 1874, a public holiday was declared each year on a weekday in the first week of September to celebrate the breakthrough of 1873.

Once won, the new schedules had to be defended. Employers, at times of an economic downturn, sometimes determined that they could no longer sustain the previous working hours agreement. In 1879, the proprietors of J. Martin & Co, the agricultural manufacturing works at Gawler, attempted to return their workforce to the nine hours day and despite the industrial action of the 300 workers at the foundry over a period of several weeks, the outcome largely favoured the employer. For a time, the workers also lost the Saturday half holiday.¹² In 1880, it

⁹ *Ibid* 1 August 1873

¹⁰ *Ibid* 27 June and 8 July 1873. Moss, J. *The Sound Of Trumpets. History of the Labour Movement In South Australia*. 1985. pp. 102-103.

¹¹ Hodder, E. *The History Of South Australia From Its Foundation To The Year Of Its Jubilee* Vol. 1. 1893. p. 250.

¹² *K.H.* 7 and 14 February, 1, 4 and 8 March, and 1 April 1879.

It is interesting to note that some three years later, the workers were able to restore the Saturday half holiday, but only by starting work a half hour earlier on each of the six working days. See *K.H.* 9 May 1882.

was reported that the eight hours system in Mount Gambier had collapsed and that the men, who had gone on strike when the masters had insisted on a nine hours day, had given in and gone back to work on the masters' terms – nine hours per day, with an allowance of one hour on Saturday.¹³

In February 1888, as a result of the assaults by various employers and employer groups on the eight hours system, unions in the colony formed an 8 hours Protective Association. Its objectives were to keep the eight hours system for those who had already achieved it, to assist those who were endeavouring to secure it, to obtain recognition of the eight hours day by law, and to win extra rates of pay for overtime. This latter point had become a bone of contention between the opposing parties. Some workers were exploiting the new eight hours system to secure overtime payments for time previously worked as part of a nine or ten hours working day. This issue featured large in the dispute leading to a lock-out at Fulton's Foundry at Kilkenny in Adelaide in October of that year.¹⁴

The device of exploiting the eight hours system to increase overtime payments was prevalent in many government departmental workforces which were among the colony's largest employers of labour. By 1880 the government railways employed a labour force of over 1700 and a large staff operated the colony's 519 post offices and 173 telegraph offices.¹⁵ The workforces covered a wide range of skilled and unskilled workers and a variety of work practices among government departments often differing between city and country. The early reports of the colony's Civil Service Commission, established in 1888, confirmed that though the eight hours system was slowly being expanded, there was widespread exploitation of the system to secure overtime payments. Some Heads of Departments were resisting directives to implement the eight hours system knowing that it would lead to pressures on recurrent budgets through overtime payments.¹⁶

¹³ K.H. 12 October 1880

¹⁴ Moss Op. Cit. pp. 106-107.

¹⁵ Smith, D. *Labour, Recreation and Rest: Aspects Of The Eight Hours Movement In South Australia*. B.A. Hons Thesis. University of Adelaide. 1996. p. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 36-39.

Proposals for an Eight Hours Bill

There were attempts in the late 1880s by some of the colony's parliamentarians to pass legislation to make the eight hours system obligatory. In October 1888, recently elected Legislative Councillor, Dr Sylvanus Magarey introduced a motion into the Legislative Council:

That, in the opinion of this Council, it is desirable, in the public interest, that eight hours should constitute a day's work for employes (*sic*) engaged for daily wages; and that an Act should be passed enabling all such employes to demand payment of wages at the rate of time and a quarter for all overtime required of them by their employers¹⁷

Introducing his motion, Magarey argued that eight hours was long enough for a man to work on any one day 'with due regard to the needs of his physical, social, and moral nature'; that people should not be overworked, and that the adoption of the eight hours movement would largely improve the health and mental and moral vigour of the people; and that eight hours to work, eight hours for recreation, and eight hours for sleep could not be surpassed as a division of time for the advantage of an individual.¹⁸ Among the arguments lodged by those who opposed such a measure were that the colony was becoming over-regulated; that categories of employment were so diverse that the proposal would be impossible to implement; and that the quality of life of workers was improving without state interference and would continue to improve if workers and employers negotiated and did not resort to industrial disputation, whenever disagreements arose.¹⁹ The motion was lost by ten votes to five.

A private member's Bill, introduced a year later in the House of Assembly by William Mattinson, Member for Port Adelaide, sought to establish the eight hours day by statute. Among new arguments put forward in support of his Bill, Mattinson argued that government 'must be prepared to enforce by legislative action a progressive reduction of the hours of labour in order to keep pace with the

¹⁷ *SAPD* 9 October 1888 col. 1251.

¹⁸ *Ibid* cols 1251-1256

¹⁹ *Ibid* cols 1256-1262 and 17 October 1888 cols 1395-1407.

progressive development of labour-saving machinery.’ The Bill was withdrawn at the time of its second reading without a debate.²⁰

The principle of the eight hours day was again brought into focus in the following year when, in July 1890, the Hon C.C. Kingston moved a motion in the House of Assembly :

That in the opinion of this House an eight-hours system should be adopted in all branches of the Public Service, and that a clause should be inserted in all contracts for the construction of public works providing that the same should be performed under the eight hours system.

Kingston argued that in South Australia eight hours per day was long enough for any man to be engaged in manual employment. The climate was trying and if a man did his duty for eight hours he was entitled to the remainder of the day and night for rest and recreation. He was pleased that in some public departments, where the system had not existed previously, it had been lately introduced. He did not wish to see the proposition interpreted rigidly; it was not that eight hours work should be done every day, but an average of forty eight hours per week.²¹ The Chief Secretary, responding on behalf of the government, noted the general agreement among members that there had been a shift in public opinion on the issue over recent years and that there was now broad acceptance of the system. The government could not legislate to enforce the principle because the range of positions and responsibilities within departments was so complex; but it could set a good example in this direction. He revealed there were 2666 workmen in Government employment who worked more than eight hours per day and 1584 who worked eight hours or under. The motion would have the cordial support of the Government and the majority of members. The motion was carried without a division.²²

²⁰ *Ibid* 28 August 1889 cols 725-729 and 5 December cols 878-879.

²¹ *Ibid* 16 July 1890 cols 519-521.

²² *SAPD* 16 July 1890 cols 519-521, 30 July 1890 cols 676-678 and 10 September 1890 cols 1125-1130.

As if to illustrate the Government's goodwill towards its employees, in August 1892, it was announced that the employees on the Glenelg railway were to receive one week's leave of absence on full pay annually in recognition of the work undertaken on Sundays and public holidays.²³

The Retail Assistants

The eight hours day and the Saturday half holiday were particularly difficult to negotiate for one group of workers – the retail assistants. Shops were kept open for long hours six days per week, and until very late on Saturdays. Closing on Saturdays at 10 pm was common practice for many retailers. It was brought about as much as anything by the shopping habits of other workers, many of whom were paid their wages on the Saturday; among them were many who enjoyed the experience of walking around the well-lit shopping malls well after their shopping needs had been met. Females formed a significant minority of retail assistants and were required to make their way home by foot after a long working day; their welfare was a matter of considerable concern, though they themselves do not appear to have been active in the campaigns.

Initially, retail assistants in the colony, like their fellow workers, campaigned to lower the number of hours worked each week across six days. They more than most, were able to communicate their case both in writing and at public meetings designed to gain support for their case. They won over public figures to support their case. However, they tended to remain aloof and to operate apart from other groups of workers. They were able to secure the support of Mayors and political figures at their campaign meetings; but, until quite late in the century, they had few successes to show from their demands for a shorter working week.

Mid-century, the drapers' assistants in Adelaide formed themselves into the Linen Drapers Early Closing Association with the intention of securing conditions which closed shops at 6 pm from Monday to Friday and 5 pm on Saturdays.²⁴ The

²³ *Register* 12 August 1892.

²⁴ *Ibid* 9 January 1857.

Chairman of the new association wrote to all drapers in Adelaide with this request; however, no relief appears to have been negotiated.²⁵ In the years which followed there were many other efforts in Adelaide and in country townships in the colony, to seek the earlier closing of shops, especially on Saturday evenings; but there were few successes.

Shopkeepers had to be persuaded that sales would not be severely affected and that other retailers in their area would also be adhering to any changes of opening hours. Late in 1862 the ironmongers' assistants in Adelaide lobbied their employers to close at lunch time on Saturdays. The employers indicated that they were sympathetic to the assistants' proposal, providing all ironmongers in the town agreed to the change. It transpired that only eleven of the houses were in favour with eight opposing. The assistants resolved that as there appeared to be no prospect of a unanimous concurrence in the trade to the proposal, the idea for the present must be abandoned.²⁶ In 1867 the drapers' assistants were still encountering the same problem. The *Register* reported on negotiations between the assistants and the shopkeepers for a change to closing hours of 8 pm on Saturdays and 6 pm on all other days. A deputation of the assistants had met with the five or six drapers who had declined to agree. The group of drapers continued their opposition to the proposed changes and the move fell through 'for the want of unanimity'.²⁷ Employees of the service industry to retailers – the banks – were more successful. In December 1872, the *Register* reported that, after a date to be agreed upon in the following January, all the Adelaide Banks would close at noon every Saturday. 'This arrangement has long been desired by the employees in these institutions, but unanimity has not been earlier secured among the ruling powers upon the subject'.²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid* 10 January 1857.

²⁶ *Ibid* 28 November, 3, 5 and 10 December 1862

²⁷ *Ibid* 7 and 10 June 1867.

²⁸ *Ibid* 20 December 1872.

The Mid Week Half Holiday

It was during the 1870s that the notion of an alternative mid week half-holiday, *in lieu* of the Saturday half-day, began to take hold among retail assistants and, indeed, some retailers. The campaign of the retail assistants in the township of Kapunda, as reported in the *Kapunda Herald* over a considerable period of years, was not untypical of the struggles in South Australian regional communities as a whole. In 1877, the local newspaper noted that the local banks in the town – and one storekeeper - were now closing at one o'clock on Wednesday.²⁹ The same report referred to efforts being made in Mount Gambier and Naracoorte to secure a mid week half-holiday for retail assistants in the two townships to compensate for the late evening shopping on Saturdays.³⁰ Four years later, in 1881, a leader in the same newspaper entitled 'Shopkeepers' Assistants' came out strongly in favour of the assistants. Among several arguments the leader asserted that though the hours of work for retail assistants in country towns were generally less severe than in Adelaide, they were unnecessarily long; shopping could be undertaken within a shorter time span than custom, at present, dictates. It was especially concerned about the welfare of female assistants whose health, and that of their future progeny, was endangered through the long hours of work, much of it whilst standing; when not engaged in serving customers, they should be allowed to sit. The leader concluded that:

In Adelaide and large establishments elsewhere it might meanwhile be practicable to give the assistants an occasional opportunity of a half-day's recreation or outdoor exercise, such as would conduce alike to their physical and intellectual well-being, and which at present they can only get on Sundays.³¹

²⁹ *K.H.* 9 October 1877.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 31 October 1890. It would appear that the assistants in Naracoorte secured the Wednesday half-holiday around October 1880. The contribution from the Naracoorte correspondent to the *Herald* in the edition of 31 October 1890 reported on the tenth annual celebration of the Naracoorte Wednesday Half-Holiday Association, commenting that it was time the Kapunda shop assistants had the same privileges enjoyed in other towns by the same class. The correspondent concluded: 'The system works well here; people shop early and support the association in keeping up the annual festival'.

³¹ *Ibid.* 9 August 1881.

The same themes were repeated in a further leader later in the year around which time it was revealed that the introduction of a Wednesday half-holiday for retail assistants in Kapunda was being forestalled by two retailers.³² Nothing appears to have changed, though in August 1883 an advertisement and report in the *Herald* gave public notice that the offices of twelve businesses in the town would close on Wednesday afternoons at 1 pm so that clerks could have a half-holiday.

The town suffered in the region's severe depression of the mid 1880s, though the assistants continued their efforts to overcome the opposition of the two retailers. In May 1888, two local church ministers joined with representatives of the retail assistants to meet with storekeepers in the town and request them to close their establishments at 1 pm on Wednesdays 'except when a holiday occurred in any one week'.³³ The deputation was unsuccessful.³⁴ One of the ministers, the Rev J.W. Platt of the Congregational Church, went on to preach a sermon on the theme of Wednesday Early Closing. He argued that man required respite of some kind from his toil:

he must needs not keep the bow full stretched for ever; hence excursions, trips by land and sea, set holidays, special holidays, amusements, games and sports, outdoor and indoor. In a word the whole round of activities in the interests of soothing and repairing. In this wider circle the weekly half-holiday in general and, in particular, this proposed Wednesday afternoon holiday for the shopkeepers and assistants of this town, find their place. The general principle of the need of such periods of cessation from toil no one who is not cynical and soured will ever dream of calling in question.³⁵

The sermon provoked a lively correspondence in the following weeks, including a call to the town to boycott the recalcitrant shopkeepers.³⁶ But the impasse continued and was not broken until 1891, around which time there began a new momentum in Adelaide and elsewhere in the colony which brought the mid-week half-holiday to a growing number of retail assistants. Early in 1891, in Kapunda,

³² *Ibid* 2 December 1881.

³³ *Ibid* 11 May 1888.

³⁴ *Ibid* 22 May 1888.

³⁵ *Ibid* 29 May 1888.

³⁶ *Ibid* 8 June 1888.

the previous opposition by a minority of shopkeepers to early Wednesday closing was dropped. The moribund assistants' association was quickly resuscitated to negotiate the details and in April the half-holiday finally became a reality.³⁷ The event was celebrated with a picnic attended by retailers and assistants alike – and the Kapunda Brass Band.³⁸

There were breakthroughs for other groups of retail assistants around this period. In January 1892, seventy retail traders and assistants from Hindmarsh feted the recent move to a Wednesday half-holiday by hiring four drays, decorated with streamers, and journeying out to Norton Summit for a celebration at the Summit Hotel.³⁹ In the same month, the Eastern Suburban group were planning the commemoration of a similar success with a picnic at Henley Beach, at which they would be joined by the North Adelaide Assistants who had achieved the half-holiday some time earlier.⁴⁰ In May it was reported that the Glenelg assistants had secured the same concession.⁴¹ Within weeks, the various groups in the Adelaide area were arranging mid-week cricket matches and other social activities with each other.⁴² The momentum of the period may well have been responsible for the determination of the assistants in the Port Adelaide area to form themselves into an association to secure the Wednesday half-holiday.⁴³

Public and Other Holidays

This picture of new leisure hours acquired by substantial numbers of South Australians in the closing decades of the nineteenth century would be incomplete without mention of Public Holidays and other occasional one off days free from work. In the early years of the colony the religious significance of Christmas Day, Good Friday and Easter Monday were commemorated work free. By mid-century, New Year's Day, which previously had been named a 'Holiday of the Banks'

³⁷ *Ibid* 23 January 1891.

³⁸ *Ibid* 3 and 24 April 1891.

³⁹ *Register* 11 and 14 January 1892.

⁴⁰ *Ibid* 27 January 1892.

⁴¹ *Ibid* 5 May 1892.

⁴² See for example *Register* 19 May, 3 and 16 June 1892.

⁴³ *Ibid* 10 February 1892.

became designated a public holiday by government decree, together with the Queen's Birthday (14 May) and the Accession of the Queen (20 June). For a brief period in the early 1880s, the birthday of the Queen's son, the Duke of Edinburgh (9 November) was also added to the list of public holidays. However, in the mid 1880s this occasion appears to have lapsed, while, as has been mentioned earlier, a new public holiday, celebrating the Eight Hours Day, held in late August or early September made its appearance. Finally, by the end of the century, Proclamation Day and Adelaide Cup Day had been declared public holidays – making ten in all in any one calendar year. While Christmas Day and Good Friday retained their religious significance, all the other days carried potential for both formal and informal recreation. Picnics, small and large scale, the latter linked with informal sports and dancing, were particularly popular.⁴⁴ So too, were the opportunities for sportsmen to take advantage of long weekends to undertake tours whether as cricketers, footballers or cyclists.

Conclusions

The last four decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant growth in new leisure for substantial sections of the male workforce in the colony, in particular for clerks and for skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen. These gains were achieved incrementally, region by region, trade by trade, under the general title of 'The Eight Hours Day'. There were variations among the agreements in the actual hours worked and how they were distributed over a new working week; but for most, a key outcome was the creation of a Saturday half-holiday.⁴⁵

Among the several reasons for the success of the movement during this period was an increasingly organised workforce; individual unions of skilled tradesmen finally began to work together to achieve common ends, including the eight hours day. This was first seen in the endeavours of the Labour League of South

⁴⁴ There were also other occasions when the picnic format found favour. They included trade days, for tradesmen and their families, employers' occasional benevolence to employees and their families, church anniversaries and Sunday School outings (which were often family affairs), and celebrations by benevolent societies.

⁴⁵ The colony of Victoria shared the same experience. See Lack, J. 'Working Class Leisure' *The Victorian Historical Journal*. Vol. 49 No. 1. 1978. p. 50.

Australia, established in 1874, and developed further through its successor, the United Trades and Labour Council created in 1884. The United Labour Party, the parliamentary wing of the labour movement in South Australia, came into being in 1891. All three organisations were strongly supportive of strategies designed to secure the eight hours day.⁴⁶ The community increasingly was accepting of a basic forty eight hours week regarding it as a reasonable objective for society as a whole; there was also a recognition that the nature of some employment in the colony created difficulties in bringing such a regime into being.

Yet it has to be recognised that, at the turn of the century, there were many in the colony who were still working long hours and who were without effective representation to press their case for shorter working hours. They included categories of female employment - nurses, domestic servants and factory workers - large sections of the pastoral industry and labouring workers generally. Such groups had no representation in the Labour League and, seemingly, little in the UTLC, the body which succeeded the League. In 1892, the Adelaide Hospital Board was reported as being unable to accede to a request for the eight hours principle to be adopted for nurses, on grounds of cost and the extra work involved. The report on the matter also commented that some of the nurses' time was 'occupied in reading, sewing or other occupations on their own account.'⁴⁷ In mid-1883, a memorial signed by a number of labourers was presented to the Midland Road Board praying that their working week might be shortened by two hours on a Saturday, thereby creating a half holiday similar to other workers. The request was summarily dismissed on the grounds that no other Road Board allowed the concession. The labourers had pointed out that they had long distances to walk after the day's work was finished.⁴⁸ Blainey estimates that at the end of the Victorian era as many as 'half the paid workforce in the land worked at least sixty

⁴⁶ Moss, J. Op Cit. pp. 105-112. Prest, W.(Ed). *The Wakefield Companion To South Australian History*. 2001. pp. 551-552.

⁴⁷ *Register* 14 May 1892 p. 5.

⁴⁸ *KH* 22 June and 20 July 1883.

hours a week, often in shifts of ten hours a day, six days a week'.⁴⁹ This was the reverse side of the employment picture in the colony.

Returning to the title of this chapter, there were two senses in which the slogan of the carpenters' banner in the march of the Worcester campaign for the eight hours day was relevant to contemporary happenings in the colony of South Australia. The first was a cry from the workers in the colony to have time to join in activities of their choice in their newly won hours of leisure - in a word to indulge in recreation. The second meaning is less obvious. The workers were determined to use their new leisure in ways which *they willed*, and not necessarily in a manner which others in authority and influence would wish them to choose. In the colony of South Australia, there were social and religious forces which strove to influence the use of working class leisure and which were quick to prescribe some activities as acceptable and others which were not. This struggle for social control is the subject of Chapter 4.

Finally, there were discernible changes in the arguments put forward by the working classes as reasons for reducing their hours of work. In the 1860s and 70s the emphasis was on the need for respite from physical toil, often carried out in extremes of weather, and after walking considerable distances to and from the place of employment; occasionally, and almost as a sop to their middle class masters, reference was made by workers to a desire to improve themselves intellectually, for example, by using any new hours of leisure attending classes offered at local Institute classes. In the 1880s and 1890s, as the range of recreation opportunities opened up in most localities and as local travel and personal disposable income continued to improve, the arguments included a desire to participate in those activities which they enjoyed - and where they felt most comfortable.

⁴⁹ Blainey, G. *Black Kettle And Full Moon. Daily Life In A Vanished Australia*. Penguin Viking 2003. p 310.

2 THE GROWTH OF RECREATIONAL ACTIVITY

Introduction

The last four decades of the nineteenth century witnessed strong growth in a range of formal and informal recreational activities in the colony of South Australia. Mid-century, recreation activities for the great majority were local and extremely limited, especially in country communities. The extent of personal travel, particularly for the working classes, was defined by the distance they could walk. Walking several miles on top of a working day of ten or more hours was the general experience for six days of the week; that in itself was a limiting factor to participating in any recreational activity during the few remaining hours which might be regarded as leisure.

By the end of Victoria's reign, a growing number of colonists, mainly men, but including some women, were exercising choice from among a developing range of organised and informal recreational activities, either as participants or spectators. Individuals and families were travelling to country and coastal resorts, or to locally developed parks and recreation grounds. Outdoor team sports, generally well-regulated and controlled, were a feature of most communities, large and small, throughout the province and occupied Saturday half-holidays in their appointed season. At their elite level, cricket and football attracted spectators numbering several thousands; stadia had been developed to accommodate such matches. Communities increasingly had gained access to indoor facilities which brought an increase in the number and range of recreation activities and entertainments, particularly music-making. Most communities also provided at least a subscription library; at century's end, some were offering a free library. Services existed to provide for the equipment needs of the growing range of activities, while news reports and specialist commentators emerged in newspapers responding to local, regional and colony-wide information needs.

While this range of recreational activity during the period was made possible primarily by the increase in leisure hours won by substantial sections of the

community, and by a gradual increase in personal disposable income, questions arise as to what other factors were involved. Why was recreation so local and limited in 1860 and yet so diverse, organised and comparatively well-conducted in 1900? How had the facilities for both formalised and informal activities come into being? Were there factors other than the increase of leisure hours which influenced the growth and pattern of recreational activity in the closing decades of the century? This chapter identifies six such inter-related factors: the growth of personal travel opportunities; the energy of clubs, societies and emerging governing bodies for specific activities, most notably outdoor team games; the development of facilities, both general and specific, and the increasing contributions of commercial entrepreneurs; the impact of contemporary advances in communication on the recreation scene; and the contributions of contemporary advances in industrial technology and marketing, especially in specific items of equipment. The chapter concludes with a review of those areas where the burgeoning recreation scene was in conflict with a minority of citizens motivated by social and moral concerns.

The Growth of Personal Travel Opportunities

By the late 1850s and early 1860s there were significant improvements affecting personal transport in the colony. Though these advances were generated by the demands of industry, commerce and government, the new systems were quickly in use for recreational purposes; the systems themselves, and their inter-relationships, were highly significant in the growth of both informal and formal activities.

Roads were non-existent when the new colony was proclaimed in 1836. Stacy points out:

Immediately after the first needs of the settlers for shelter had been met, they turned their attention to commencing the development of a road system to carry the agricultural produce, the ore from the mines and the labour and population about the colony ... The rudimentary roads presented many dangers to the traveller. Unmade roads, lack of bridges, floods and

rain, all made travel hazardous, tedious and time consuming At night the absence of lighting made travel even more dangerous as hazards could not be seen.¹

In 1849, an Act was passed for the making and improving of roads in South Australia. The Act established District Road Boards, elected by local landholders, and a Central Board of Main Roads. Main Roads were vested in the Central Board and district roads in the District Boards.² In 1852, the Act was substantially amended and the responsibilities of the District Boards taken over by the new district councils which came into being in the same year.³ Reports of the meetings of these early district councils during this period were dominated by items to repair, construct, drain, maintain, create and extend roads. Highway engineers adapted British technologies to meet the differing climatic conditions of the new colony, and roads improved. By 1872 there were 2008 miles of declared main road in the colony, of which 750 had been metalled; by 1857, the district authorities had constructed 4000 miles of road, half of that number being metalled.⁴

Road surfaces influenced the design of vehicles which travelled over them. Two-wheeled carts and drays were necessary for a community lacking graded roads; they could be manoeuvred more easily than four wheels on rough surfaces. Local merchants, whose businesses involved spring carts, would be the main source of personal transport for individuals or the working-class family, provided a deal could be struck. This situation continued through the 1840s and well into the following decade.⁵ Recreational activity for most people was predominantly localised.

From the late 1850s, the colony saw the emergence of horse-drawn coaches; the four horse omnibus coaches, with seating on top as well as inside, were capable of carrying upwards of fifteen passengers. Regular services began to open up and

¹ Stacy, Bill. 'Good Roads Are The Best Test Of Civilisation.' *South Australian Road Making 1836-1936. Journal Of The Historical Society Of South Australia*. No. 14. 1986 p. 83.

² 12 and 13 Victoria 1849 No. 14. *An Act For The Making And Improving Of Roads In South Australia*.

³ Stacy Op Cit. pp. 90-92

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 90-92.

⁵ Radcliffe, J.C. and Steele, C.J.M. *Adelaide Road Passenger Transport 1836-1958*. Adelaide Libraries Board of South Australia. 1974. p. 3.

vehicles became available for individual hire including some for recreational purposes. In 1862, the *Register* reported that a team of footballers had travelled by omnibus from the centre of Adelaide for a game in Modbury; the nine miles journey (c. 14 kilometres) took one hour.⁶ A few years later, it was reported that a cricket team from Thebarton, with friends, hired one of Hill and Company's omnibuses and set out at 6 am to play a match at Gumeracha. After a meal at the end of the game the visitors journeyed home and arrived back soon after 8 o'clock.⁷ The position of the moon could well determine the date of such fixtures. A promotion giving details of a dance or entertainment sometimes included one word as a reminder to invitees – Moonlight!⁸ Commenting on a forthcoming function at the Kapunda Institute, the report concluded 'as the night will be a moonlight one, it is expected a number of country visitors will be present.'⁹

Coach builders in South Australia came to appreciate that the American style of coach building – light, robust and cheaper – was well-suited to Australian conditions.¹⁰ Various styles of the American buggy and especially coaches, such as the Concorde series, began to appear in Adelaide and regional centres in the colony, serving as both a mail and passenger service. Firms emerged to operate services between Adelaide and communities such as Mount Barker, Willunga and Glenelg.¹¹ Early in 1863, the firm of Rounsevell introduced their American line of Yankee Mail coaches running between Adelaide and Kadina, marketed as low cost and 'free of sea sickness'.¹² Personal travel had become a little easier, though perhaps few of the working classes would have been able to meet the costs involved in coach travel on more than an occasional basis.

⁶ *Register* 30 August 1862

⁷ *Ibid* 4 April 1872.

⁸ *KH* 17 August 1877. Conversely, at a function at Riverton, 'the darkness of the night and the unsettled state of the weather, prevented a larger audience.' *KH* 1 August 1879.

⁹ *KH*. 28 February 1890.

¹⁰ Badger, I. 'Australian Horse-Drawn Vehicles'. Rigby. 1977. pp. 14-19. Badger points out that, increasingly, American firms launched into mass production and established outlets in all major centres of population in the Australian colonies, where parts would be sent and vehicles assembled, thereby lowering the costs still further.

¹¹ *Register* 4, 15 and 17 December 1857.

¹² *Ibid* 9 January 1863. Another popular design which entered into the colony's stock of supply from the 1880s on and operated widely in the colony was the wagonette; it had a seating capacity for 8-10 adults.

The working classes would have been well-represented at community picnics. On these occasions, fleets of coaches were hired or negotiated to enable hundreds of residents to gather at a central venue and journey out into the hinterland or to the coast for tradesmen's days, a religious festival, or a joint benevolent societies' picnic. In 1859 the drapers' assistants, together with families and friends, held a highly successful day at Fourth Creek on property owned by the Honourable John Baker.¹³ Years later a fleet of ten Hill and Company coaches, preceded by a six horse vehicle reserved for the band and committee and between 30 and 40 other appliances and other horsemen, headed to the butchers' picnic at Oaklands Park and the estate of the Hon. John Crozier.¹⁴ The day out frequently concluded with an indoors entertainment back in the community at the local church or Institute hall.

After long delays, the 1850s finally witnessed the start of railway building in the colony with the opening of the line from Adelaide to Port Adelaide in April 1856. The line was greatly needed for importing plant and materials, and exporting first mineral ore and then, increasingly, agricultural products. In December of the same year the railway from Adelaide to Salisbury was opened and in October 1857 the line extended to Gawler; in 1860 the line reached out to the mining town of Kapunda. The line was soon carrying recreation travellers as well as ore and agricultural products. The *Register* in November 1957 reported that, on the previous Sunday, the total number of passengers conveyed to the Port was 1247.¹⁵

The following decade brought little development of the railway system in the colony, but during the 1870s a further series of lines were constructed. The colonial government passed the *Glenelg Railway Act of 1871* which led to the construction of a line from Adelaide to Glenelg, via King William Street and South

¹³ Warburton, E. 'Picnic In The Hills', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 6. 1979 p. 48.

¹⁴ *Register* 20 October 1882.

¹⁵ *Register*. 16 November 1857.

Terrace to Jetty Road. Other lines developed by government linked Redruth to Burra, Port Pirie to Gladstone, Port Broughton to Barunga, Port Wakefield to Hoyles Plains and Port Wakefield to Kadina.¹⁶ A further stage in the development of the rail system in South Australia was the completion of the inter-colonial link with Melbourne in 1887, which more than halved the travel time of steamships between the two cities. It was of major importance to the commercial and industrial life of the colony and was also quickly in use by a South Australian representative team.¹⁷

Nevertheless, steamships contributed to the upsurge in recreation activity in the colony; they not only shortened the time spent at sea as compared with sailing ships; they brought greater reliability to travel schedules. South Australia looked enviously at the reports of an 'iron auxiliary screw steam ship' that began operating between Sydney and Melbourne in April 1852; five months later the steamship *Chusan* arrived at Port Adelaide amid great excitement.¹⁸ It inspired the colony to acquire its own steamship and several were built, including *The Young Australian*, a pleasure steamer, which was soon making trips up and down the gulf.¹⁹ Railway proprietors were alive to the possibilities of recreational travel, sometimes linking with other travel companies to compile an attractive tourist package. In December 1857, the *Register* was advertising a weekly excursion trip from Adelaide to Port Adelaide by rail and then by steamship to Glenelg for lunch returning by ship and rail to be back at Adelaide Railway station by 6.30 pm.²⁰

Excursion day trips became a regular feature on public holidays, whether on the Murray aboard the Lake Alexandrina Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Telegraph* making the journey from Milang to Goolwa, or enjoying the combined rail and steamship companies' pleasure trips from Adelaide to the Port by rail and

¹⁶ Cheeseman, A.W. *Railways in South Australia 1839-1875*. History Hons Thesis. University of Adelaide. 1958. pp. 22-25.

¹⁷ The *Register* (9 February 1887) reported the departure of the South Australian cricket team by train for an inter-colonial match in Melbourne, some three weeks after the opening of the service.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 8 April and 13 September 1852.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 2 January and 16 December 1857.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 16 December 1857.

thence by sea to the resorts at Brighton, Glenelg and Semaphore.²¹ Holiday excursions became more ambitious and continued to grow. An Easter Monday attraction In 1877 included a rail journey from Adelaide to Port Adelaide and thence by pleasure steamer to Edithburgh, commencing the return journey at 4.30 pm and arriving back in Adelaide at 11 pm.²² By 1882, pleasure cruises were being offered from Port Adelaide on the steamer *Ferret* to Kingston, Robe, Beachport and Port MacDonald throughout December.²³ Among the list of pleasure steamer excursions from the Port being advertised in 1892 were day trips to Kangaroo Island, and also to Edithburgh.²⁴

Despite the progress made in the design of horse-drawn vehicles during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, which facilitated personal travel, road surfaces generally made for uncomfortable journeys for passengers. Roads were often rutted and poorly maintained. The fittings of the vehicles themselves and their general grubbiness added to the discomfort.²⁵ By 1875, the situation was so unsatisfactory, and the state of the coaches so poor, that the *Register* was moved to write that they appear 'to have attained the very extreme of inconvenience and discomfort.'²⁶ The colonial government was mindful of these concerns and was also well aware of the great success of horse-drawn tramcars in both Europe and America. The colony had constructed a horse tramway between Goolwa and Port Elliott as early as 1854, primarily for the transport of goods. It was extended to Victor Harbour a decade later and in 1869, linked to a new tramway from Middleton to Strathalbyn. On tramways, the length of the rails eliminated a great deal of the jolting experienced on omnibuses, while the smooth running of the vehicle brought about a marked increase in haulage efficiency. A parliamentary enquiry was established by the colonial government in 1871 to consider the desirability of establishing a tramway from the centre of Adelaide to Glenelg. The

²¹ *Ibid* 2 June 1857 and 24 June 1857

²² *Ibid* 3 April 1877.

²³ *Ibid* 7 December 1882.

²⁴ *Ibid*. 1 January 1892.

²⁵ As one example, the *Register* of 22 April 1873 reported on a petition signed by 85 residents of Kensington and Norwood, which had been lodged with the local Council, complaining of the state of the local passenger conveyances serving the neighbourhood.

²⁶ Quoted in Kannis, P. *Tramways In Adelaide 1876-1907*. B.A. Hons Thesis History, University of Adelaide. 1865. p. 6.

Engineer-in-Chief in his report to the enquiry, not only supported the proposal, but gave his opinion that tramways would be very suitable for traffic between Adelaide and its suburbs.²⁷ He might have been noting the transformation of several of Adelaide's satellite communities from villages to city suburbs.

No immediate development occurred, perhaps because the colony was experiencing a downturn in the economy. However, in 1875, the Adelaide and Suburban Tramway Company was launched with the objective of laying a tramway from King William Street in Adelaide, through Kent Town, Stepney and Norwood to Kensington Park, a distance of six kilometres. The company proposed a maximum fare of sixpence per journey with a service starting every ten or fifteen minutes. Each tramcar would be drawn by two horses and have a capacity to carry thirty to forty persons.²⁸ In the event, when the line was opened in June 1878, the fare charged by the Company for a ride to any part of the line beyond the city was threepence, while tickets could be purchased for 2s-6d per dozen. The venture was an immediate success. The total number of persons using the tramway in the first month averaged 8,000 per week. By December, over 405,000 passengers had been transported on the new tramway and the weekly average had risen to over 20,000. In December of the same year, the Company opened its second line, from the centre of the city to Brougham Place in North Adelaide, again with impressive returns.²⁹

In the following years new companies were established in Adelaide and Port Adelaide. They included the Adelaide, Unley and Mitcham Tramway Company, which opened a new line extending the eight kilometres from Flinders Street to Mitcham, in February 1879. In May of the same year, the Port Adelaide to Albert Park was opened. It was a development aptly described as changing the community from a 'walking city' to a 'public transport city'.³⁰

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 7.

²⁸ *Register* 22 April 1875.

²⁹ Kannis, *Op Cit.* pp. 17-18.

³⁰ Samuel, B. 'Community' In *The Port Adelaide District 1861-1901*. B.A.Hons Thesis in History. University of Adelaide. 1972. pp. 65-66.

Again, the impetus for this new mode of transport was commercial and industrial and, in particular, to facilitate travel to and from Adelaide for employment purposes. Travel for pleasure purposes was scarcely mentioned in those reports which discussed the importance of tramways and their intended market, unless it was the mention of shoppers travelling to and from the growing number of retail outlets in the centre of the city. Yet, directly and indirectly, access to recreation opportunities soon came to be recognised as enhancing the community life of growing numbers of persons who fell within the catchment areas of the various tramways. For the first time, for those working people who could utilise the network of tramways, the trams provided a mode of transport to a variety of recreation venues at an affordable price. The tram also offered a cheap means of travel to and from work, leaving working men and women with more time - and energy - to pursue interests which became accessible to them in their recently acquired new hours of leisure, including weekday evening options.

The trams also assisted weekend recreation options, for both residents of the city and the fast developing suburbs. Twopence was sufficient to transport an individual from an Adelaide suburb on a Saturday afternoon, and gradually on a Sunday also, to a growing variety of recreation venues, whether as an active participant, a spectator, or a casual visitor. In Adelaide, the list of attractions along and adjacent to North Terrace continued to grow as the century progressed – the Park Lands, the Botanic Gardens, the Library and the Museum, the Art Gallery, the Zoological Gardens, the Adelaide Oval, the Torrens Lake and the adjacent Elder Rotunda, the Exhibition Centre and its adjacent sports ground. Trams both served existing demand and stimulated new demand as they did further afield in linking the growing city with the developing seaside attractions of Brighton, Glenelg and Semaphore. The continuing development of visitor attractions at these coastal resorts added to the demand for this particular travel option.

Tramways also helped to serve the assembling of crowds at sporting events. Horse race meetings had attracted large crowds since the early days of the colony; from the mid 1870s on, large crowds watching cricket, the new game of Victorian Rules football, athletics and cycling competitions, and such occasions as

the Eight Hours Day celebrations, were a new experience. The tramways played an important part in transporting large numbers of spectators to and from the growing list of venues which were developing in Adelaide and its suburbs. Crowds of several thousand became the norm for a range of events and fixtures, including inter-colonial and international events.

The final travel mode in later colonial South Australia to be considered is the ubiquitous bicycle; with its arrival, it has to be remembered:

For the first time, people could truly imagine a world in which the horse – a beloved but demanding creature – no longer bore the brunt of personal transportation. An exciting new era of road travel loomed ahead, one that would enable even a poor man or woman to travel afar and at will.³¹

The bicycle evolved through three phases – the velocipede, the high wheel Ordinary and finally, the Safety bicycle. The velocipede, or ‘boneshaker’, accommodated a rider sitting astride two wheels, who propelled the machine forwards first with one foot and then the other. The later versions of the machine had pedals on the front wheel. There do not appear to have been many owners of the velocipede in South Australia, although there were enthusiasts riding the machine in the Kapunda area in the early 1870s.³²

The heavy and cumbersome velocipede was replaced in the late 1870s by the high wheel, or Ordinary. Its design, with the big wheel standing 52-54 inches (130-135cms) high and pedalled from a central position immediately above the wheel, was a challenge to the strength, balance and athleticism of a male rider. For those who met these requirements and could afford the cost of the machines, the Ordinary became a vehicle for racing or touring, but of limited use in daily transportation, not least because of its size. Its cost meant that owners were drawn predominantly from the middle classes.

³¹ Herlihy, D.V. *Bicycle: The History*. Yale University Press. 2004. p. 3.

³² In May 1872, the *Register* reported the feat of two young men who left Kapunda on velocipedes at 8 am and arrived in Adelaide at 3.30 pm. See *Register* 30 May 1872. In the town of Kapunda itself, local sports days in 1870 and 1872 included velocipede races. See *K.H.* 11 November 1870 and *Register* 21 September 1872

The touring side of cycling clubs carried a strong middle class social element. Handle Bar, the cycling correspondent of the *Register*, writing in his weekly column – Wheelmarks – in May 1892 observed:

Six to thirteen miles generally constitute the distance of Club runs on Saturday afternoons in this colony, and within that area some very pretty places can be visited. What is more enjoyable than a spin before tea to Tea Tree Gully, Thorndon Park, or Belair? Should hill climbing be objected to, Glenelg or Brighton are pleasant places to visit on the wheel. Not only is the exercise healthful and enjoyable, but the scenery is beautiful, and an appetite is generally secured which only cyclists can boast of possessing. I advise all unattached wheelmen to accompany the clubs to some of their favourite rendezvous, and it need scarcely be added an advantageous afternoon will result.³³

Reports of individual club runs generally included some reference to the state of the road surfaces for the benefit of other cyclists, although as one columnist observed ‘when the pneumatic tire (*sic*) comes into general use, and it is rapidly replacing others, rough roads will have little effect’.³⁴ The year’s runs for the South Australian and North Adelaide Clubs reporting in 1892 were for the former, 37 excursions totalling 688 miles, and the latter, 34 at 802 miles.³⁵

The Clubs which emerged in the late 1870s and through the 1880s, with their emphasis on touring rides, where members often wore uniforms, and gathered to socialise in club rooms, would have proved exclusive to those few working class cyclists who were able to purchase the ordinary machine.

The bicycle continued to evolve through the 1880s, with experimentation in mechanical design, culminating in the Safety version. The safety model included several innovative features, notably a diamond shaped tubular steel frame linking two similar size wheels, the ball bearing, a chain driving the rear wheel and tangentially-spoked wheels. All added safety for the rider – hence the name;

³³ *Register* 7 May 1892.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 28 November 1892.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 12 and 21 August 1892.

moreover, it was lighter in weight and proved to be strong, durable, reliable and capable of operating with minimum maintenance.³⁶

The invention of the pneumatic tyre proved to be a further significant milestone. Patented in Britain in 1888, the inflated tyre, after initial suspicion among many hardened cyclists, was the major feature which led to the safety bicycle developing a market which swept the world, including the Australian colonies. The safety bicycle, equipped with pneumatic tyres, was particularly well-suited to Australian conditions 'where the terrain and long distances and climate seemed to be waiting for the Dunlop invention.'³⁷ It was faster, more comfortable and easier to propel. In addition:

Australian men were more likely to buy a bicycle, partly because they earned higher wages. Furthermore, they could ride a bicycle the whole year round in most climatic regions of their land.³⁸

The safety bicycle's potential was soon noted in South Australia. The cyclist on the energy efficient machine proved to be two or three times as fast as a pedestrian or horse or camel.³⁹ One did not have to be young and athletic to ride the safety bicycle; the model was attractive to young and old riders alike. With the arrival of the 'step through' version, the safety model rapidly became popular with women and softened some of the criticism directed against their cycling. It was to prove highly significant in women's social liberation in the closing years of the century.⁴⁰ The safety bicycle, equipped with pneumatic tyres, was initially more expensive than the ordinary; but within two years, sales of the new machine began to overtake those of the ordinary. Despite the downturn in the economy during the 1890s, bicycle production increased markedly and the price of new machines fell.

³⁶ Fitzpatrick, J. *The Bicycle and the Bush. Man and Machine in Rural Australia*. O.U.P. 1980. p 10.

³⁷ Blainey, G. *Jumping Over The Wheel*. Allen & Unwin. 1993. p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 12.

³⁹ Fitzpatrick, J. *Op Cit.* p. 10.

⁴⁰ Aronson, S.H. 'The Sociology of the Bicycle.' *Social Forces*. Vol. 30. Issue 3. March 1952. p. 307.

By 1895 in Australia, a new safety bicycle could be purchased for £16 - 10s - 0d. As Hess notes, this was far less than the cost and upkeep of a horse.⁴¹

Many businesses, most with no prior connection with cycling, became agents for particular manufacturers of safety bicycles making them more readily available. The momentum for cycle ownership also benefited from the growth of a second hand market for machines and from another marketing innovation of the period among retailers – a variety of hire purchase schemes.⁴²

Blainey estimates that by the end of the century there were some 200,000 cycle owners throughout the Australian colonies and that the number was growing.⁴³ It is reasonable to assume that in the order of 17-20,000 of these owners would have been South Australians, including an increasing proportion from among the working classes. They would have enjoyed speedier access to venues for both formal or informal recreational activities, as compared with those who were forced to rely on walking or other forms of transport. They could travel direct from home to work – for which purpose most owners will have initially purchased their machine – but, at evenings and weekends, direct to other venues for recreation purposes. They could also tour with, or race against, other cyclists. Even though horse ownership had grown significantly over the life of the colony, the bicycle outperformed the horse in terms of speed, financial cost, maintenance costs and general convenience. It was a highly significant mode of personal transport in the colony by the end of the century offering all classes of men, and a growing number of women, a substantial increase of freedom to travel for informal and formal recreation activities.

⁴¹ Hess, R. 'A Mania For Bicycles.' *Sporting Traditions*. Vol. 14. No. 2. May 1998. pp. 6-8.

⁴² The edition of the *Register* for 2 January 1897 carried eleven separate agency advertisements for new and second hand bicycles. In addition, there was a growing market for ancillary products such as bells, lamps and tool kits, as well as clothing specifically manufactured for cyclists - stockings, trousers, shoes, caps and capes and for women, amid considerable controversy, bloomers and shortened and divided skirts.

⁴³ Blainey, G, *Black Kettle And Full Moon. Daily Life In A Vanished Australia*. Penguin Books. 2003. p. 121.

The Growth of Local Clubs and Societies

The growth of much organised recreation emerged through the energy of local enthusiasts coming together to form clubs and societies, generally leading on to regional and colony- wide structures to assist the further growth of their activity. This was particularly so with team games which swept Britain and the Australian colonies in the later decades of Victoria's reign. As one indication of this growth, the number of cricket clubs mentioned at least once in match reports in the *Register* grew from 38 in 1867 to 107 in 1877 and 148 in 1887.⁴⁴

The first task facing a newly formed local club was to find and secure a venue for their activity. Then, after mustering sufficient numbers to make up teams amongst themselves, a club looked for opposition against whom to pitch their skill in contest. It followed, if the step had not been achieved already, that clubs needed agreement on the dimensions of the playing area and the rules governing the conduct of the game itself. It was at this stage that the need for a governing body, recognised by all participating clubs, was paramount. With the exception of the developing game of Australian Rules football, all the team games which attracted followings in South Australia had governing bodies in existence overseas, notably in Britain, which had already agreed rules (or 'laws') of contest and other matters assisting the development of the activity.

In South Australia, versions of football had been played by several clubs since the early 1860s. An Adelaide Football Club, formed in 1860, played in the North Park Lands from the early 1860s; many of its members were drawn from existing and former students of St Peter's Collegiate School. In order to play competitively during the early years of the club, members divided themselves into a variety of sides and permutations: Married against Singles, Collegians against Non Collegians, North of the Torrens against South.⁴⁵ When, as occasionally occurred,

⁴⁴ Appendix 1 records the names of cricket clubs mentioned at least once in the editions of the *Register* for the years 1867, 1877 and 1887. It makes no claim to being a finite record of all cricket clubs playing the game in the colony, but merely an indication of the growth of the game, particularly during the decades between 1867 and 1887, when substantial numbers of the male population were gaining the Saturday half-holiday.

⁴⁵ *Register* 19 May, 21 July and 30 July 1862.

matches were played against other teams, agreement had to be reached on the rules to be followed. Even then, as was the case when in 1862 the Adelaide Club travelled to Modbury to play a local team, there were difficulties. Somewhat patronisingly, it was reported:

Some unpleasantness occurred at first through the Modbury and Tea Tree Gully men not knowing the laws in which football in the colony was regulated, but upon their understanding them a better feeling prevailed and the game terminated harmoniously on either side.⁴⁶

On another occasion the Adelaide club played a match against the local regiment:

But before any goal was scored, owing to several disputes arising from the rough play, especially of one of the soldiers, the game was brought to a standstill by the club team refusing to play upon the soldiers' terms. The latter thereupon left the ground.⁴⁷

Other football clubs came into existence in the early 1870s, including Kensington, Port Adelaide, Woodville, Willunga and Gawler; there were variations in the rules adopted by each club. In 1875, a meeting in Kapunda to launch a club for the township instructed the newly appointed Secretary 'to write to the Adelaide, Gawler and other clubs for a copy of their rules, so that the Kapunda Club might in some measure be guided by them in drawing up a code for themselves'.⁴⁸ At a subsequent meeting a code of rules was compiled drawing on those in use by the principal clubs in South Australia – and Victoria – and the Secretary was directed to have them printed and distributed to members of the new club 'forthwith'.⁴⁹

This challenge to establish an agreed set of rules for the Australian version of football was an ongoing issue in the 1870s; agreement was finally reached in 1877 after one desultory effort four years earlier. Following a series of meetings of several Adelaide clubs, but including also representatives from the Gawler, Willunga, Port Adelaide and Kapunda clubs, the decision was taken to establish

⁴⁶ *Ibid* 30 August 1862.

⁴⁷ *Ibid* 17 June 1867.

⁴⁸ *K.H.* 23 April 1875.

⁴⁹ *Ibid* 30 April 1875.

the South Australian Football Association. The same meeting elected to adopt the Victorian code of rules.⁵⁰ Other developments followed: the dimensions of the playing area, the rationalisation of fixtures, the development of regional structures, the role of umpires and other officials, and clarification of allowable contact in an essentially physical contact game. The game grew apace. As one indication of this growth, 28 clubs were mentioned at least in match reports in the *Register* during the 1877 season; a decade later, in 1887, the figure had grown to 66.⁵¹

A further stage in the evolution of a team activity was the objective of securing regular fixtures within given leisure periods (especially Saturday afternoons) and over agreed seasons. This was a particular challenge for country clubs who each had their own 'friction of distance' to overcome. Forster in his study of country cricket in the colony during this period observed:

Travel times by horse-drawn vehicles tended to restrict the choice to clubs within 20 miles (32 kilometres) and usually much less Starting and finishing times, and therefore also the determination of results, were still largely informal.⁵²

Cricket clubs aspiring to assemble a regular fixture list came to establish regional associations, which went some way towards compiling a season's matches. These associations were first established in metropolitan Adelaide; they were even more important in regional South Australia. Five country associations – the Yorke Peninsula, Gawler, Barossa and Light, Southern and the Port Augusta and Flinders Cricketing Associations – came into being during the period 1887-1890.⁵³ Other developments quickly followed – times of play including starting times, the rationalisation of fixtures, improvements in the standard of umpiring and the selection of teams for representative sides.

⁵⁰ *Register* 1 May 1877.

⁵¹ Appendix 2 is a record of football clubs mentioned in match reports of the *Register* in the years 1877 and 1887.

⁵² Forster, C. 'Sport, Society And Space. The Changing Geography Of Country Cricket In South Australia 1836-1914.' *Sporting Traditions*. Vol. 2. No. 1. May 1986. p. 28.

⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 33-34.

In varying degrees for the different activities, these stages of development were experienced in South Australia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century for cricket, Victorian Rules football, rowing, cycling (embracing both racing and touring), lawn tennis, rifle shooting, athletics, lacrosse and baseball. The middle classes played a dominant role in these refinements, especially in the growth and operations of the regional and colonial structures and, in the process, carried with them a framework of values. They were particularly concerned to preserve the good name of organisations they represented in matters which included charges of fighting on and off the field of play at football matches, gambling and 'arranged' races at cycling and athletic meetings, and, as the crowds at football matches grew, the payment of players.

The genteel game of lawn tennis was another activity which enjoyed significant growth in the later 1880s. Introduced into the colony in the early 1880s, there were at least fourteen clubs operating in metropolitan Adelaide and mentioned in matches reported in the *Register* during 1887.⁵⁴ A large percentage of country communities reported the existence of a lawn tennis club during the same period. In the region of Barossa and Light, both Tanunda and Gawler boasted their own clubs in 1884.⁵⁵ By 1888, they had been joined by Nuriootpa and Angaston and the number of communities owning lawn tennis clubs continued to grow. Though the game in its early years was played in the gardens of middle and upper class families, there were other venues which began to be employed in the colony, which pointed to the likely future growth of the game. In 1884, the Kapunda club played on courts in the town's developing Dutton Park; the club was seeking the agreement of the park's management committee for an extension of the number of courts and the construction of a small pavilion.⁵⁶ In 1887, it was reported the University club had laid out an asphalt court.⁵⁷ The game also turned to regional structures to satisfy the quest for matches with other clubs, as well as among their

⁵⁴ The clubs mentioned were Advance, Brookside (Hyde Park), College Park, Glen Osmond, Grasshoppers, Gumtrees, Kensington, Knightsbridge, Leander, Montefiore, Prince Alfred College, Skribs, Semaphore and University.

⁵⁵ *KH*, 7 November 1884.

⁵⁶ *Ibid* 11 July 1884

⁵⁷ *Register* 8 April 1887.

own members. An Eastern and Suburban Lawn Tennis Association serving five clubs was in existence in 1891.⁵⁸ A Barossa and Light Lawn Tennis Association came into existence in 1893 and in the 1893/94 season was serving the needs of the local clubs of Angaston, Kapunda, Nuriootpa, Tanunda and Truro.⁵⁹ The South Australian Lawn Tennis Association was conducting colonial championships on courts adjacent to the Adelaide Oval.⁶⁰

Rowing was among several team activities with smaller followings, which nevertheless enjoyed significant growth during the last 10-15 years of the century; it received a considerable boost with the creation of the Torrens Lake in 1881, following the failure of the first attempt fourteen years earlier. Reports in the *Register* show that at least six clubs were using the new facility in 1882: Adelaide, Banks, Commercial, Norwood, St Peter's Collegiate School and University; several, along with the Birkenhead and Port Adelaide clubs also competed on the Port river. Rowing clubs were also operating at a number of other South Australian ports; most probably they included members who were also watermen in their daily employment.

Limited but growing followings for lacrosse and baseball existed in the colony in the closing years of the century. Three lacrosse clubs were playing in the Adelaide area in 1887 – Adelaide, North Adelaide and Noarlunga. By April 1892, a South Australian Lacrosse Association was in existence serving six clubs in Adelaide and others in Port Augusta and Jamestown.⁶¹ Players from these two regional clubs were among the team representing the colony which travelled to Victoria for a series of games in 1892 and were successful in the inter colonial match.⁶² By 1892 seven lacrosse teams were competing in the colony's Senior club championship and at least five in the Junior.⁶³ A similar scale of following existed for baseball in the 1890s. In 1892 the South Australian Baseball League accommodated five

⁵⁸ *Ibid* 22 November 1892. From the beginning of the 1892/93 season, the association changed its name to the Adelaide and Suburban Lawn Tennis Association.

⁵⁹ *KH*. 4 August 1893.

⁶⁰ *Register* 11 and 14 March 1892.

⁶¹ *Ibid* 14 April 1892.

⁶² *Ibid* 27 July, 11 and 15 August 1892.

⁶³ *Ibid* 18 March 1897.

teams in metropolitan Adelaide.⁶⁴ There was also a club in Port Pirie.⁶⁵ An inter-colonial contest with Victoria was held in 1897 at which time plans were being discussed for an Australian side, including the provisional selection of two South Australian players, to tour the United States.⁶⁶ The tour does not appear to have materialised; but the fact that it was being seriously considered is testimony to the ability of a newly organised team activity with a modest following to explore such possibilities with a view to raising the standard of performance among its own members.

Groups of local enthusiasts also came together in the later decades of the century to form clubs and societies in a range of other activities from choirs and horticultural societies to brass bands and bird and animal societies. The new communities in the colony, in the main, made their own entertainment in which singing and other music making played an important role. Vocal musical activity ranged from the part pieces of ballads, glees and operettas performed by groups as items in a range of local entertainments, to cantatas and items from operas, particularly the former, rendered by choirs of thirty and more. Items of sacred music were especially favoured, perhaps because many choirs were church-based, but some church choirs extended their activities into the broader community.

Some communities, such as Kapunda, established a strong local musical tradition. The town formed its own Philharmonic Society in 1870 and gave twice yearly concerts for many years.⁶⁷ The object of the Society was 'the cultivation of music for its own instruction and the entertainment of others'.⁶⁸ Its home base was the Kapunda Institute where it gave the majority of its performances. In the early 1880s it had a performing membership of 53, but this declined to 41 in 1885⁶⁹, the beginning of a long period of distress which extended through most of the 1890s.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* 29 October 1892

⁶⁵ *Ibid* 6 October and 28 December 1892.

⁶⁶ *Ibid* 8 and 14 January, and 5 February 1897.

⁶⁷ The Society's early programs included Hayden's *Spring* (*KH.* 17 August 1873) and Mozart's *Twelfth Mass* (*KH.* 18 December 1875).

⁶⁸ *Register* 9 December 1872.

⁶⁹ *KH.* 30 January 1885

The Society was moribund for several years but, in 1894, re-constituted itself as the Kapunda Music Union. Its first concert under the new name, and the Christmas concert which fell shortly afterwards, both attracted large audiences.⁷⁰ Other communities with a strong choral tradition included Hindmarsh, Moonta, Norwood and Port Adelaide.

Local community dancing was another popular activity in country communities particularly as roads improved and access was gained to newly developed halls. Failing the availability of a hall and at certain times of the year, a grain shed would suffice. Quadrille classes, balls and societies abounded, most meeting on a regular basis; their programs included dancing in sets or with a partner.⁷¹ Completing the card for the quadrille ball at Clare in 1873 took dancers into the small hours of the following morning.⁷²

Perhaps the most popular form of music making in the later years of this study, both in terms of performers and supporters, were brass bands. Quite small communities aspired to possess a brass band. They played at a myriad of community activities: to greet the visiting circus, to provide interim music for professional entertainers visiting the town, at local football and cricket matches, skating nights and other sporting functions, local balls, Christmas carol services, *soirees* and other local indoor entertainments, and the popular outdoor bandstand and rotunda concerts. Brass bands were essentially working class institutions proudly owned by their communities. They developed from a predominantly British working class tradition. Moreover, migration from Britain:

Occurred at exactly the time when the brass band was establishing itself as a key element in popular music making back home, and it was only natural for the migrants to carry it with them as part of their cultural baggage ...

⁷⁰ *Ibid* 9 November and 28 December 1894.

⁷¹ See for example quadrille activities at Kapunda, Gawler, Mundoora and Balaklava reported in *KH* 21 June 1881, 13 July 1888, 13 November 1891, and *Register* 6 July 1882

⁷² *KH* 11 November 1873. The card for the end of season quadrille ball at Clare contained quadrilles, schottische, polkas, waltzes, gallop, lancers, Circassian circle, a Caledonian and a mazurka.

More important still, Australian bands relied heavily on importing ... both their instruments and their sheet music from Britain.⁷³

It was entirely appropriate that multiple community brass bands should march and play in the heyday of the Eight Hours Day movement in the 1880s.

Communities without brass bands strove to establish them. In 1873, the townships of both Auburn and Saddleworth were reported to be in the process of creating their own local band.⁷⁴ In 1889 the Greenock correspondent of the *Kapunda Herald* noted with pride the success of the local band, formed only fifteen months earlier, in winning a band concert for the best performance of an anthem and a brass band march at a contest in Angaston. 'Their success ... ought to stimulate them to fresh efforts and spur them on to still greater proficiency'.⁷⁵ Brass band competitions and mass band concerts were a particular feature of this form of music making inherited from Britain. Late in 1887 there was much interest among South Australian bandsmen in the Centennial Band concert to be staged in Sydney the following January. The Eastern Suburban Company (of the Royal Volunteer Force) Band was reported as definitely going together with, possibly, the Militia Band.⁷⁶ Correspondence which followed arguing the importance of South Australia's representation at the event included a letter saying that the colony's reputation would be enhanced if the Police Band were also able to go.⁷⁷

The development of brass band music in the colony was improved by the bands which emerged through the volunteer movement, perhaps because of the professionalism and supporting infrastructure which military bands were able to call upon. 'Military', 'Rifle' and 'Volunteer' Bands were among those which played more frequently at the most favoured outdoor venues, particularly the Elder

⁷³ Bythell, D. 'The Brass Band In Australia. The Transportation Of British Popular Culture, 1850-1950.' In Herbert, T. (Ed). *Bands. The Brass Band Movement In The 19th and 29th Centuries*. Open University Press. p. 150. See also Herbert, T 'The Victorian Brass Bands. The Establishment Of A Working Class Tradition.' *Historic Brass Society Journal*. Vol. 4 1992. pp. 1-11.

⁷⁴ *KH*. 23 September and 14 October 1873.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* 28 June 1889.

⁷⁶ *Register* 28 November 1887.

⁷⁷ *Ibid* 30 November 1887.

Rotunda after its completion in 1882.⁷⁸ They had fewer difficulties than most bands in raising funds for instruments, uniforms and sheet music and they carried greater depth in terms of the number of bandsmen they could call upon as compared with the majority of community bands.

By the 1890s a range of music forms had developed in Adelaide itself and were being supported by the city population and its neighbouring communities. The Heinicke orchestra, at times numbering over fifty players, performed at a long established series of popular concerts in the Town Hall, sponsored by the City Council.⁷⁹ A series of chamber concerts was also in operation.⁸⁰ There existed an Adelaide String Quartet. The City had its own organ, with free concerts given by the City Organist and others.⁸¹ The occasional concerts of the Adelaide Harmonie Society and the Adelaide Orpheus Society added to the performances of the longer established Adelaide Philharmonic Society.⁸² The Albert Fairburn Operatic Society was performing light operas, particularly works by Gilbert and Sullivan.⁸³ The Adelaide Liedertafel had been entertaining the Adelaide community with their music form for over twenty years; other occasional specialty entertainments were offered by the Adelaide Quartet of male singers, the Adelaide Cornish Musical Society and the Adelaide Glee Club.⁸⁴ The description of late Victorian England as, 'at every social level, an intensely musical place,' could equally be applied to its colony. 'The concert hall, the music hall, the public house, the parlour, the church, the park and the street were all centres of musical activity.'⁸⁵ Many communities in the colony could also add schools to the list with the development of a music curriculum in public schools in the last quarter of the century.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ *Ibid* 11 December 1882 and 14 and 15 1887.

⁷⁹ *Ibid* 2 August 1897.

⁸⁰ *Ibid* 29 October 1892.

⁸¹ *Ibid* 28 July 1892.

⁸² *Ibid* 7 March and 21 September 1892.

⁸³ *Ibid* 13 November 1892.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* 9 March, 12 May and 16 July 1892.

⁸⁵ Russell, D. 'Popular Musical Culture and Popular Politics in the Yorkshire Textile Districts, 1880-1914.' In *Walton, J.K. and Walvin, J. Leisure in Britain 1780-1039*. Manchester University Press. 1983. p. 100.

⁸⁶ Southcott, J. 'Now The Labourer's Task Is O'er: Alexander Clark And The Foundation Of School Music In South Australia'. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 30. 2002. pp. 24-38.

The strength of followings for the visual arts over the period as measured in terms of clubs or societies is difficult to determine. The importance of the arts for the new colony, as seen by its early planners, had been foreshadowed at one of the meetings of the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association held in London in 1834, two years before the colony was settled. The speaker was R.D. Hanson, who in the 1850s was to draft the colony's constitution and later became Chief Justice and Chancellor of the University of Adelaide. He argued the need in the development of any new province for a civilised society to provide for the cultivation of the mind through the maintenance and diffusion of knowledge. The visual arts would be one such means of achieving this goal. Two decades after the founding of the colony, in 1856, the South Australian Society of Arts was born. Its initial set of objectives included promoting public lectures, establishing a public gallery of art works, a School of Design and an art library, and developing annual exhibitions and competitions.⁸⁷ Five years later it had achieved all of these objectives save one – the public gallery. Yet the Society could not lay claim to representing the interests of either professional or amateur artists. It was frequently criticised by the professionals for failing to be supportive of their work in terms of acquisitions for the new collection, exhibition opportunities and the number of categories and level of prize money at competitions promoted by the Society.⁸⁸ Its lofty aspirations for the 'pursuit of taste' contained little room for the direct support of the amateur artist who found drawing or painting in their leisure time a fulfilling means of recreation.

However, there were other indicators of local growth and interest in the visual arts. In the mid 1880s some local and regional agricultural shows began introducing a new area of exhibiting under the title of 'Industrial and Art.' It contained several sections including, in the case of the Kapunda and Light show, 'Writing, Drawing

⁸⁷ Finnemore, C. 'The Pursuit Of Taste. The Early Years Of The South Australian Society Of Arts.' *Journal Of The Historical Society Of South Australia*. No. 13. 1985. pp. 30-31.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 40-41.

and Painting.’ In 1886, the first year this category was introduced at the Kapunda show, it attracted 112 entries. By 1888 the number had risen to 147.⁸⁹

There was other recreational activities, more loosely organised, mainly with working class followings, which emerged in the colony during the period of this study. The care and training of birds and animals had strong followings which mainly were revealed at the time of local shows. In 1881 the Gawler Poultry Society, formed in the previous year, attracted over three hundred entries.⁹⁰ A year later the South Australian Canary and Pigeon Society reported 319 entries for its annual show.⁹¹ Some local societies, such as that of Port Adelaide, evolved to embrace dogs.⁹² Another group of bird societies served the interests of homing pigeon enthusiasts. Some groups were racing their pigeons in 1882. Reports indicate that at least eight ‘homing’ clubs existed in the colony in 1897.⁹³

Finally, there were the growing numbers of gardening enthusiasts who emerged as the colony grew and evolved. Hodgkinson argues that South Australia passed through the phase of subsistence gardening rapidly after the establishment of the colony and that a series of occurrences came together to assist the spread of interest in home gardens beyond vegetables. These included overcoming the early shortage of water; the development of an infrastructure of market gardeners backed by the diffusion through books and journals of early experience of South Australia’s botanical and climatic conditions; the increase in the size of individual housing blocks; new financial systems which enabled more and more working class people to acquire blocks and build homes; and the growth for many of the

⁸⁹ *KH*. 12 October 1888.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 30 August 1881.

⁹¹ *Register* 1 August 1882.

⁹² *Ibid.* 8 August 1897.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 6 March and 4 June 1897.

The reports of 4 June show that four clubs released a total of 98 birds from four points - Saddleworth, Mount Bryan, Wasleys and Farrell’s Flat.

Homing Clubs were successful in negotiating the support of station masters through the South Australian Railway Commissioners. A report in the *Register* of 3 February 1892 reveals that the Commissioners had circulated all railway station masters on the northern and southern lines saying that when the pigeons were released, the station masters should see that they were not fired upon and that if that occurred they should obtain the name of the offender.

new householders of new hours of leisure some of which could be spent in gardening.⁹⁴

For many, gardening became a satisfying recreational activity. Regional and local horticultural and floricultural shows developed. The Kapunda flower show of 1883 attracted some 450 entries from 60 exhibitors⁹⁵ and the chrysanthemum shows in late April and early May were highly popular. Gardening societies came into being. The South Australian Gardeners Association was active in 1892, the Mount Lofty Gardeners Society was meeting monthly at Stirling in 1897.⁹⁶ Newspapers developed gardening columns for their readers.⁹⁷ The *Kapunda Herald* through the 1880s and 1890s ran a monthly feature reminding its readers of tasks which, at that period of the year, needed to be undertaken in the kitchen, flower and fruit gardens.

By the end of the century, for increasing numbers of the population, recreation activity had become a meaningful part of their lives. South Australian communities had developed a range of clubs, societies and other organisations offering opportunities to pursue particular interests in their leisure hours. Other outlets offered entertainment opportunities in activities attracting crowds or large audiences which society at large regarded as acceptable and where governments had enacted laws to ensure the safety of those who attended.

The mid-north town of Kapunda was one of the earliest communities in the colony coming into existence in the 1840s with the discovery of copper ore. It prospered through the 1850s and 1860s, but thereafter became increasingly less reliant on the mining industry and suffered with the rest of the colony as rural communities struggled with droughts and economic downturns. It carried a population around 2500 persons throughout most of the period of this study and was not untypical of many other South Australian communities of comparable size. In the mid 1860s,

⁹⁴ Hodgkinson, R. 'Gardens and Gardening in Adelaide in the Nineteenth Century'. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 19. 1991, pp. 42-77.

⁹⁵ *KH*. 26 October 1883.

⁹⁶ *Register* 6 April 1892 and 1 October 1897.

⁹⁷ *Register* 6 May 1887

as revealed in the editions of the *Kapunda Herald*, the town boasted a philharmonic society (with between fifty and sixty instrumentalists and choristers), giving some four concerts a year, a cricket side playing the occasional match, mainly on public holidays, a yearly ploughing match and an agricultural society with its annual show.⁹⁸ Elsewhere, and unreported in the local newspaper, it can be assumed that some recreational activities were available to patrons of the several public houses and hotels in the town, probably including billiards, card games and some board games.

By the end of the century, as revealed through reports in the *Kapunda Herald*, the township boasted a music society (replacing the former philharmonic society), a brass band, two choirs, an improvement society, two literary societies – one based at the Kapunda Institute and the other at the Wesleyan Church – a dramatic society, a chess club, a quadrille dancing group, a subscription library housed in the Institute building, with a reading room open to non-subscribers. In team activities, the town laid claim to three cricket clubs, two and occasionally three football clubs, and a lawn tennis club; each held a fixture list developed for an established season and achieved through the development of regional structures for their activity. The town also possessed a rifle shooting club, a gymnastic club and consideration was being given to launching a lacrosse club. Several of these clubs used grounds set aside in Dutton Park, and specially developed for their activity by the Management Committee. Dutton Park also accommodated a cycling track. The park was a bequest to the town by the discoverer of the copper deposit, Francis Dutton, over half a century earlier; the park was intended initially for informal recreation.⁹⁹ Other community groups existed to stage particular events in the Kapunda calendar: the agricultural and horticultural show, the Kapunda Races, the visit of one or more circuses, a coursing meet and the United Friendly Societies sports day. The town also staged a range of activities at the local

⁹⁸ The *Kapunda Herald* was first published in October 1864. From March 1872 it became a twice-weekly publication remaining so for over twenty years until October 1894, when it reverted to being a weekly publication.

⁹⁹ The district council had been pleased to receive the donation from Francis Dutton, but then established a management committee, to whom it made the occasional donation, to lead its development and maintenance.

Institute, particularly after the installation of a proscenium, which increased the attractiveness for professional theatre companies, entertainment groups and the new phenomenon – the *cinematographe*. This span of recreational activities was not untypical of other similar size communities; the larger the community, the greater the likelihood of a wider range of activities.

The Development of Recreation Facilities

The third feature contributing to the growth of recreational activities was the creation of facilities. By the end of the century, most South Australians had access locally to a park or a recreation ground and for some, a swimming pool; most communities had one or more halls, established by a local church, or an Institute or occasionally, a benevolent society. If the hall had been established for Institute purposes, it would almost certainly have included a lecture hall, one or two class rooms and a subscription library. Adelaide and several regional centres boasted a museum and an art gallery. Team games were played and children's playgrounds had been established in many quarters of Adelaide's park lands; the capital also accommodated facilities for the elite level of some activities, notably horse racing and cricket, as well as a botanic garden, a landscaped water recreation area and a zoo.

Unlike Britain, there was no major shortage of land in the colony on which to develop open space facilities for the enjoyment of communities; but there were two difficulties to overcome. The first was a shortage of resources to develop land which had been set aside for later development as amenity open space and a determination that those that were available should be directed to other needs. The second questioned whether a facility created with public money for purposes other than recreation should be used for recreational activities and if so, what activities should be deemed appropriate?

The first substantial amenity development in the Adelaide park lands was the creation of the Botanic Gardens, opened to the public in 1857. As well as the botanic exhibits, and until the opening of the Zoological Gardens in 1883, the

Botanic Gardens also displayed animal and bird exhibits. The Gardens were an immediate success, especially for families during the limited opening hours on Sundays and Public Holidays. In 1865, the Director reported with pride that on a recent Sunday, upwards of 3500 persons had passed through the gates.¹⁰⁰ Other local authorities, including Strathalbyn and Mount Gambier, were also adopting measures to develop land designated or subsequently acquired for development as amenity open space.¹⁰¹ Some Councillors, perhaps sensitive to local ratepayers' criticisms of their taxes being spent on amenities of any kind, made donations of materials or money to assist the municipal effort. Port Adelaide, without land suitable for public open space, sought to rectify the position by acquiring land from the colonial government to be developed specifically for recreational purposes.

The last four decades of the century saw several statutes enacted which assisted the recreation cause, particularly in the development of open space. Successive *Municipal Corporation Acts* of 1861, 1880 and 1890, empowered local authorities to effect improvements to their park lands 'for the purposes of public recreation, amusement, health and enjoyment'.¹⁰² Bathing and swimming were other activities which councils were allowed to provide for, with model By-laws to regulate bathing and to set apart any place for the sole use of either sex.¹⁰³ Other Acts empowered municipal and district councils to develop land for gardens to be used as public walks or pleasure grounds,¹⁰⁴ while the *Crown Lands Consolidation Act of 1886* set out purposes for which Crown Lands could be designated four of which, directly or indirectly, touched on recreation.¹⁰⁵ Occasionally, leading citizens made donations of land to local communities for development as amenity open space. In 1864, Francis Dutton donated land to the community of Kapunda, the community which came into being following his discovery of copper ore, and George Angas similarly to the township with whom he had close association, Angaston.

¹⁰⁰ *Register* 8 November 1865.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid* 11 March, 22 May, 12 June, 15 July and 22 August 1872.

¹⁰² 24 and 25 Victoria 1861 No. 16, 43 and 44 Victoria 1880 No. 190, and 53 and 54 Victoria 1890 No. 497.

¹⁰³ 50 and 51 Victoria No. 419. *The District Councils Act, 1887*.

¹⁰⁴ 44 and 45 Victoria No. 234. *The Ornamental Gardens Act, 1881*.

¹⁰⁵ 49 and 50 Victoria 1886 No. 393 *The Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1886. Section 6(d)*.

The dearth of indoor facilities in the first twenty years of the colony's existence began to ease from the 1860s on with the establishment of halls by some churches, which allowed some access for recreational purposes. Similarly the lecture halls and class rooms contained in the wave of Institutes, established in communities large and small across the colony for adult education purposes and funded in large part with grants from the colonial government, were soon under pressure to open their facilities for entertainments, touring theatre companies, balls, concerts, horticultural shows, chess clubs, small group meetings and other community recreation demands. With few exceptions, the Institute complexes included subscription libraries, though by the end of the century some local authorities were using the *Free Libraries Act of 1898* to widen reading opportunities in their communities.¹⁰⁶

Indoor facilities developed through the commercial sector ranged from the traditional services offered at the local hotel and public house for meetings and entertainments sometimes including adjoining facilities such as skittle alleys or gymnasias, to the multi-use assembly rooms and the larger specialist facilities of theatres and music halls, accommodating audiences upwards of a thousand persons. The larger the population catchment area, the greater the likelihood of specialist indoor spaces, especially if transport services were keeping pace with growing communities. But in the colony – founded essentially as a 'moral society' – commercial theatre had to contend with moral issues as well as the financial implications of their business.¹⁰⁷ In Adelaide, during the first few years of the colony's existence, there were several desultory efforts to establish theatres, mostly converted structures linked to hotels. Only one, the Queen's (renamed the Royal Victoria in 1850), remained in existence for more than a year.¹⁰⁸ Adelaide at that stage of its development was unable to sustain a permanent theatrical

¹⁰⁶ 61 and 62 Victoria 1898, No. 700. *The Free Libraries Act, 1898*

¹⁰⁷ Worby, G. 'A Theatre Now And Then'. McCredie, A.D. (Ed). *From Colonel Light Into The Footlights. The Performing Arts In South Australia From 1836 To The Present*. p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ They included the Royal, opened in 1838, the Royal Victoria late in 1840, the Queen's in 1841 and the Pavilion in 1845. Irvin, E. *Dictionary of the Australian Theatre 1788-1914*. Hale and Iremonger. 1985. pp. 15-16.

company. The multi-purpose assembly rooms had a greater chance of surviving being able to cater for functions other than those provided by a theatre. White's Rooms, opened in 1856 in King William Street, attracted balls, variety and musical entertainments, banquets, lectures, meetings and concerts. For the next decade this venue and the Royal Victoria appear to have met the greater part of Adelaide's indoor entertainment needs.¹⁰⁹ In the later 1860s Adelaide saw the construction of the purpose built Theatre Royal (1868) and the opening of the Town Hall (1866); the latter, including its organ, made a significant contribution to diverse musical interests as the century progressed and specialist groups emerged. The growing city, with neighbouring communities changing from village status to suburbs and linked to an improving transport system, began to encourage the commercial development of additional entertainment venues; in particular, there was a need to accommodate the increasingly popular Music Hall, a program of individual and varied acts, which later became known as Vaudeville and Variety. White's Rooms, with its flat auditorium floor and primitive stage proved inadequate to the needs of the new form of entertainment. The Academy of Music – an American title for this type of entertainment facility, opened in Rundle Street in 1879 in response to this popular demand.¹¹⁰ The anticipated demand in the closing years of the century of specialist facilities to accommodate the new *cinematographe* following the exciting years of its introduction into the colony in 1896, did not materialise immediately; until that time (1908) the main outlets used in Adelaide were the Theatre Royal and the Adelaide Town Hall. Regional centres continued to utilise the venues they had always used, namely local Institute halls.¹¹¹

The Growth of Communication Systems

Communicating information about recreation opportunities and activities was an important aspect of their growth. Newspapers were a key element in this process.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid* p. 18.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 21. White's Rooms underwent substantial changes and re-opened in 1880 as Garner's; in 1893 it became Hudson's Bijou and finally The Tivoli in 1900.

¹¹¹ Walker, W.D. 'The Rise Of A Popular Culture – Adelaide Cinema 1896 – 1913.' In McCredie, A.D. (Ed) *Op Cit.* pp. 372-374.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a substantial growth in the number of newspapers in the colony and the range of their reporting. Over the period 1850-1890 the colony was described as possessing a 'prolific press'.¹¹²

At first, country communities were served only by the colonial dailies – the *South Australian Register* and the *South Australian Advertiser*. Both were centred in Adelaide. By the early 1860s, Country Correspondents were serving the Register with frequent news reports from their communities. In the early months of 1862 upwards of twenty five correspondents, from all quarters of the colony were presenting such reports. Crop reports, local weather, the industrial outlook and the latest road developments tended to be the main items of news; but increasingly there were reports of local entertainments and soirees on public holidays, the occasional cricket match, lectures, Sunday School picnics and church anniversaries, the visit of a touring circus and the periodic race meeting.

This trend in reporting was accentuated when local newspapers based on regional towns began to appear in the mid 1860s. Local newspapers appeared in Kapunda in 1864, Wallaroo (1865), Strathalbyn (1866), Clare (1869), Gumeracha (1870), Naracoorte (1870), Port Pirie (1876), Port Augusta (1877) and Jamestown (1878).¹¹³ Over the period 1872-1891, no fewer than twenty six local newspapers were launched in the colony, of which eleven survived the period. One local journal commented:

Every district, almost every country town has its local press. Adelaide swarms with papers; Gawler, Kapunda, Clare, Wallaroo, Mount Gambier, and all the rest of them, have their Times, their Heralds, and why not? North, south, east and west, papers are flying in all directions...¹¹⁴

The local newspapers had their correspondents in other neighbouring communities. The Kapunda Herald, for example, reached out to and had its

¹¹² Carey, S. *The Prolific Press. Newspapers In South Australia, 1836-1890*. Flinders University. Hons Thesis. School of Social Sciences. 1978. p. 33.

¹¹³ *Ibid* p. 28 and p. 64.

¹¹⁴ *Portonian*. 12 August 1871. Quoted in Carey, S. *Op Cit.* p. 65.

correspondents reporting from Clare, Eudunda, Freeling, Greenock, Nuriootpa, Riverton and Saddleworth.

As well as reporting local events, the new regional newspapers raised and discussed issues of local interest, including recreation happenings. An increasingly literate society, even if they were unable to afford the purchase of the local newspaper, could access the local library's reading room, a facility perhaps linked to the community's newly completed Institute, or a room in the local school used as a reading room on weekday evenings. Reading newspapers was a recreational activity in itself. The reports and occasional leading articles reflected the aspirations and disagreements of local societies, clubs and associations. Such matters as the need for new uniforms for the local brass band, the opening hours of the Institute library or reading room, the country tour of a professional theatre group, the chess club seeking more members, or the future of the horticultural show – all found their way into the locally compiled newspapers. So too did the opposing views on issues which divided communities in South Australia at the time such as the exercise of local option on a new hotel licence, gambling and acceptable behaviour on the Lord's Day.

In addition, both the colonial and local press developed specialist columns for a variety of interests which carried strong recreational overtones. The *Register* in 1897 included columnists covering book reviews, chess, coursing, cricket, cycling, dress fashions, fairs and fetes, football, gardening, horse racing, horticulture, literary societies, music, photography, rowing and sailing.

Newspapers informed readers of recreation opportunities and issues, involving informal and formal activities, local, regional and colony-wide. Another major communication development of the period helped forward the recreation movement. Inspired by the possibilities which rapid communication would bring to commerce and industry, the electric telegraph or 'magic wire' – invented in Britain in the late 1830s and developed through the 1840s – went on to sweep round the

world during the two decades from the mid 1850s. It revolutionised communication.¹¹⁵

The 'magic wire' was first directed to the needs of government, public order and safety, and the service of commerce and industry. Thereafter, it was available for private and personal messages. Moyal observed:

It was electric telegraphy that would transform the business of communication in Australia and bring a mercurial speed to the flow of news, information and human exchange that underpinned the structure of a rapidly advancing society.¹¹⁶

In South Australia, the first leg of the electric telegraph system, linking Adelaide with Port Adelaide, was foreshadowed in the Lieutenant Governor's speech to the Legislative Assembly in 1852, but was only completed in 1856. Other lines to Gawler and to Port Elliot and Goolwa followed in 1857. By early 1862, an advertisement in the *Register* showed that telegraph lines extended from Adelaide to Koorunga, with stations at Dry Creek, Salisbury, Smithfield, Gawler Town, Freeling, Roseworthy, Kapunda and Clare. South east, a line developed via Glenelg, Mount Barker, Woodside, Nairne, Willunga, Port Eliot, Goolwa, Guichen Bay and Mount Gambier to Penola.¹¹⁷

A leading article on the Telegraphic Extension in the *Register* early in 1862 remarked: 'Every year the network of wire, which is gradually spreading to all parts of the colony, takes in some new district of the interior, or reaches some fresh point of the coastline.'¹¹⁸ It went on to reveal that extensions then in hand would establish lines from Auburn to Wallaroo, from Mount Gambier to MacDonnell Bay, from Woodside to Gumeracha and from Willunga to Yankalilla – all commercially inspired.

¹¹⁵ Morus, I.R. 'The Electric Ariel: Telegraphy And Commercial Culture In Early Victorian England.' *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 39. No. 3. Spring 1996. p. 340.

¹¹⁶ Moyal, A. *Clear Across Australia. A History Of Telecommunications*. Nelson. 1984. p. 16.

¹¹⁷ *Register* 14 January 1862.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid* 28 January 1862.

Linkages with the other Australian colonies had already begun in the late 1850s. In May 1857, the Victorian and South Australian governments were surveying routes for the first inter-colonial link which was completed in June of the following year. Sydney and Adelaide were joined directly in 1867, but it was to be another ten years before West Australia was linked with South Australia. Finally, in 1872, after overcoming considerable physical and political challenges, Charles Todd inspired the momentum to drive through the landline from Port Augusta to Darwin linking the colonies to the submarine cable which joined the Australian continent to the wider world.¹¹⁹

The increasing private and commercial use of the electric telegraph began to impact on recreational and entertainment events such as the final arrangements for the country tours of professional theatre groups, lecturers and entertainers, and international and colonial touring sides. Late postponement of cricket and football games, brought about by adverse weather conditions could sometimes be made using the 'wire'.¹²⁰ It was also early into arranging the transmission of the scores of international cricket matches from Adelaide Oval to England.¹²¹

Earlier, some enthusiastic clubs and associations had explored ways of utilising the electric telegraph directly to progress their activity. In 1863 two inter-colonial rifle matches were contested between teams of fifty riflemen from New South Wales and South Australia. The major problem facing the organisers appears to have been how to achieve comparable weather conditions at two venues many miles apart.¹²² Chess had no such problems. Matches were being played by telegraph as early as 1865, and between teams representing Adelaide and

¹¹⁹ Prest, W. (Ed). *The Wakefield Companion To South Australian History*. Wakefield Press. 2001. pp. 533-534. *Register* 23 and 24 August 1872.

¹²⁰ *KH* 17 October 1893. 'Owing to the wet weather .. the opening cricket match of the season between the Lyndoch and Kapunda did not come off, it being satisfactorily arranged by telegram to postpone the game.'

¹²¹ *KH* 21 November 1876. The reporter at the match between an England XI and a South Australian XXII makes mention of the 'laying on of telegraph wires to the ground so that messages could be sent all over the colonies, and I suppose the world ..'

¹²² *Ibid* 11 and 16 March, and 27 April 1863

Sydney in 1872.¹²³ Chess contests by telegraph, particularly those involving teams from among country communities, continued to be reported through the 1880s.¹²⁴

The promoters of sporting events were quick to exploit electric telegraph in other ways for the benefit of their patrons. In 1887 the half-time scores of the football game between the Adelaide and Carlton clubs being played in Melbourne were 'wired' to Adelaide and posted on the scoreboard of the Adelaide Oval where a local game was being played. Similar arrangements were made later in the year by the South Australian Cricketing Association to 'wire' from Melbourne the horse racing results of the Victorian Racing Club program for the benefit of spectators at the Adelaide Oval watching the game against the M.C.C.¹²⁵ It was almost certainly the recreation activity of gambling on horse racing which utilised the 'wire' most frequently and effectively. As the network of electric telegraph stations spread, so too did its use by the new industry of bookmakers and their assistants. Gambling on horse racing was a long-established recreational activity in the Australian colonies, by all classes. As the railway network grew, so did the number of race meetings. The electric telegraph enabled starting prices and results to reach the bookmaker quickly; in urban areas the information was passed expeditiously to their 'runners' and thence to punters gathered in the back rooms of shops, on the streets or wherever the bettors might gather to learn of race results. The streets outside newspaper offices were reportedly popular spots on race days.¹²⁶

Direct Benefits from Industrial Technology and Contemporary Commercial Practices

The direct impact of nineteenth century advances in industrial technology on recreation, by way of railways, steamships, the electric telegraph, passenger vehicles and systems of road making has already been touched upon. There were other examples of technological advances which impacted on recreation activity

¹²³ *Ibid* 20 and 24 February, 30 March and 23 and 25 May 1872.

¹²⁴ *Ibid* 27 July 1880 (Clare vs Narridy), 2 September 1881 (Port Pirie vs Port Augusta), 20 October 1885 (Kapunda vs Eudunda) and 31 May 1887 (Moonta vs Saddleworth).

¹²⁵ *Ibid* 4 June and 29 October 1887.

¹²⁶ *Register* 8 July and 11 October 1897.

more directly; two, the evolution of the bicycle to the safety model and the invention of the pneumatic tyre, have already been noted. Two others, both in the field of music-making serve to underline the point. The development of the iron-framed upright piano and of the valve for use in brass wind instruments made it possible for these instruments to be manufactured on a large scale. This, together with new marketing strategies, including systems of hire purchase (or 'time payments' to use the expression employed by retailers at the time), enabled the cost of the item to be brought within the purchasing power of more persons, including working class families. Although these developments took place initially in Europe and the United States, colonists in far distant South Australia were among the early beneficiaries as manufacturers of bicycles and upright pianos dispatched the items in considerable numbers in kit form for assembling in the colony.

It has been asserted by McQueen that some 700,000 pianos were imported into the Australian colonies during the nineteenth century. Whatever the precise figure, ownership of a piano in the later decades of the century was not just the preserve of the middle and upper classes. It was 'the pinnacle of working-class aspirations'.¹²⁷ This would not have been possible without the transformation in the design of the piano itself. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the piano was the horizontal grand – handcrafted, ornate and costly; in consequence, ownership was confined to the upper echelons of society, including elements of the rising middle class. Throughout the century many patents were registered with ideas and inventions concerned with the manufacture of pianos.¹²⁸ Some of these developments centred on the 'square' or upright models, which came to dominate sales if for no other reason than that the new market was directed to those who lived in small homes, with limited space and incomes. By the 1820s the leading British piano maker, John Broadwood, was producing four 'uprights' for every

¹²⁷ McQueen, H. *A New Britannia. An Argument Concerning The Social Origins Of Australian Radicalism And Nationalism*. Australia Penguin Books. 1975. p. 118.

¹²⁸ Hollis, H.R. *The Piano. A Pictorial Account Of Its Ancestry And Development*. David and Charles. 1975. p. 61.

'Grand'. The firm also recognised that the piano consisted of many individual parts which could be manufactured by one man.¹²⁹

However, it was American manufacturers who, in the second half of the century, really addressed the market and who introduced the full force of industrial production into the piano industry. The making of individual parts became the specialist responsibility of separate firms, which reached the point where the function of many piano-making firms was reduced to that of buying the parts and assembling the instruments.¹³⁰ The price of the upright piano fell. Teaching manuals were produced as a further aid to their marketing. By mid-century the American piano industry had re-captured their own local market from British manufacturers and were soon exporting their products to Britain and elsewhere in considerable numbers.¹³¹

In Adelaide an advertisement in the *Register* late in 1882 offered pianos at Woodman's Music Warehouse with a range of hire purchase options. Instruments could be purchased over a twelve, eighteen or twenty four months period. The firm also offered a tuning service 'in town and country...and all the newest music at half price.'¹³² The upright piano entered the cherished front rooms (or parlours) of thousands of working class homes, generally those of tradesmen, as well as those of the more wealthy. It may have been iron-framed and purchased on 'time payment', but it was generally well used, especially by the daughters of the family. Domestically it was the centre of family singing and musical activity. Beyond the home the piano came to be seen as an essential piece of equipment in church halls, Institutes and public houses – as accompaniment, in performance or rehearsal, for choirs, entertainments, soirees, dances and other community activities. Those who could play were in great demand as soloists and accompanists; but first the organisation had to possess the instrument and that

¹²⁹ Van Barthold, K. and Buckton, D. *The Story Of The Piano*. BBC. 1975. pp. 42-43.

¹³⁰ The annual output of American pianos rose from about 9,000 in 1850 to 360,000 in 1910. Ibid p. 76.

¹³¹ *Ibid* pp. 94-97. See also Dolge, A. *Pianos And Their Makers*. Dover Publications. 1972. Part Two Chapter 1. 'Commercial Development Of The Piano Industry'. pp. 166-178.

¹³² *Register* 6 December 1882.

task had been facilitated by the industrialisation of the construction of the instrument and its subsequent commercial marketing during the second half of the century.

A second example of technology assisting the growth of a recreational activity during the period of this study concerns improvements in the design of brass band wind instruments and the development of new processes in their manufacture. The most important design innovation was the evolution and adoption of the valve late in the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth; this simplified playing techniques and dispensed with the need for complicated 'crooks'. For beginners the application of the valve to brass instruments made them easier to play.

The quality and variety of new materials available to the makers of brass instruments over the same period increased greatly:

The direct extraction of zinc from its ore, pioneered in the eighteenth century, led to brasses with a more controlled zinc content and a wider range of ratios of copper and zinc. The calamine process for producing brass ... was gradually supplanted by the direct alloying of copper and zinc. Refinements in the production of steel, most notably the Bessemer process, resulted in finer, tougher and more durable springs – essential components of efficient, smoothly operating valve mechanisms. More efficient and refining processes for other metals led to their use in specialised applications. Nickel, for example, came to be used for sliding components where its hardness and resistance to wear were advantageous.¹³³

These processes, combined with new methods of manufacturing and production, led to a lowering of the price of brass band instruments and assisted a broadening of ownership. Teaching manuals facilitated the learning process. The new instruments could be learned by rote.¹³⁴ Both developments assisted the further growth of brass band music.

¹³³ Myers, A. 'Design, Technology And Manufacture.' In Herbert, T. and Wallace J. (Eds). *The Cambridge Companion To Brass Band Instruments*. C.U.P.1997 p. 115

¹³⁴ Herbert, T. 'Brass Bands And Other Vernacular Brass Traditions.' In Herbert, T. and Wallace, J. (Eds). *The Cambridge Companion To Brass Band Instruments*. C.U.P. 1997. p. 178.

Matters of Concern

By any standard, the growth and range of recreation activity in the colony, both organised and informal, over the last four decades of the nineteenth century was considerable. Increasing numbers of the community were sharing in this growth and with few exceptions, society at large was accepting of it. Governments passed legislation to facilitate further growth such as permissive powers to acquire and develop open space for both formal and informal recreation, statutes to make indoor facilities used for recreation and entertainments safer, and others to finance public libraries which would be accessible to all. Benefactors supported and often led local initiatives. Clubs and societies created regional, colonial and national structures for the better organisation, administration and further development of their activity. Commerce responded to needs for clothing and equipment for the variety of activities as they evolved and pressed forward with new entertainments and activities to attract those of the newly leisured who possessed the means to indulge.

But there were many in the colony, drawn especially from the Nonconformist churches, who held severe reservations about aspects of this surge in recreation activity which they regarded as 'social evils' which should be constrained or eliminated, if necessary by legislation. First there were concerns about what they perceived to be a decline in Sunday observance. They practised, and sought to enforce on others, the strictest of conduct codes for Sunday observance, focussing on worship, contemplation and spiritual renewal.¹³⁵ All travel on a Sunday, except to attend to a medical emergency, was criticised and particularly if it involved public or commercial services – by train, omnibus or tram; such practices, they argued, deprived employees of the opportunity to practise a respectful Sunday with their families. Even their own ministers were admonished for using public transport services on a Sunday. The Sabbatarians opposed trains, trams and steamships which carried pleasure seekers to the growing resorts of Brighton, Glenelg and Semaphore, and others from the country to the growing

¹³⁵ *Hunt Op Cit.* pp. 148–151.

range of amenities open for all or part of Sunday in the capital. They were critical of the railways for timetabling overnight trains from Melbourne to arrive in Adelaide early on a Sunday morning. They opposed the increasing numbers of cyclists who ventured out on a Sunday for a few hours recreation. They opposed the Sunday afternoon brass band concerts. Some even advocated and practised immobilising children's swings on a Saturday evening, in private homes and public playgrounds, so that they could not be used on a Sunday.¹³⁶

A second major area of concern was the growth in gambling, not only at horse racing, but at other sporting events where crowds gathered such as football matches, cycling and athletics meetings, and even cricket matches. Gambling on horse racing was endemic among all classes. By the 1880s, the spread of railways and the growth of race meetings had given rise to the bookmaker and his assistants, being active in their trade not only at race meetings, but also at street corners and in the back rooms of shops and public houses. Activities away from horse racing but associated with gambling in some of its forms, such as cards, were strongly condemned by many, particularly the Nonconformist churches.

A third major concern was the sale and distribution of alcohol which was also viewed as a social evil blighting the lives of thousands of families. As with gambling the moralists believed that legislation should be used to control the sale of alcohol. Their two main strategies were first, to reduce the hours of opening of hotels and public houses, and second, to reduce the number of licensed premises.

A fourth activity which was a major concern of many, especially among the Methodists, was dancing. They argued that 'dancing stimulated an appetite for pleasure that could easily displace the all-consuming interest in spiritual things that was one of the marks of a good Methodist.'¹³⁷ Of particular concern was the 'round' dance which, it was believed, led to the downfall of many young women.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Pike, D. *Paradise Of Dissent. South Australia 1829-1857*. Melbourne University Press. 2nd Edition. 1967. p. 515.

¹³⁷ Hunt, A. Op Cit. p167.

¹³⁸ 'Evils Of Dancing' reprinted 'by request' in the *Kapunda Herald* 4 January 1889.

Finally, there were participation restrictions placed on sections of the community as a whole by social conventions. In the period of this study the greatest sufferers in this regard were women who had to contend with restrictive conventions concerning dress and others purporting that strenuous exercise was unfeminine and injurious to their health. Other conventions of the period denied women a role in the organisation and administration of those clubs and societies, few in number, where they were accorded any form of membership. On a much smaller scale there were negative conventions affecting participation by working class men in a small number of team activities.

Recreation, despite its growing strength was to face considerable challenges in the last quarter of the century as the moralists sought to discipline aspects of the pattern of activities through legislation and other means.

3 LEGAL CONSTRAINTS

Introduction

The development of many recreational activities in colonial South Australia was constrained in greater or lesser degree by legislation. To a large extent the statutes, introduced by governments and occasionally private members, reflected contemporary views and attitudes towards certain activities and practices; they had the effect of either banning such activities entirely, or constraining them in terms of when, where, and in what manner they might be practised.

Constraining statutes were introduced by a new and growing middle class to limit or deny completely certain recreational activities, mainly on grounds of public good order and the protection of property. The statutes were directed at the seasonal and holiday activities of the working classes. Over time the original limitations and constraints placed on certain activities were themselves subjected to review; changes in such matters as living standards and travel opportunities, or a hardening or softening of public opinion, perhaps driven by existing or new organisations, led to amendments to existing legislation or to new statutes. In the early part of the nineteenth century the emphasis of constraining legislation was to preserve property and public order. In the closing decades of the century these matters remained; but of greater concern was the saving of souls from what came to be regarded by the Congregationalists, Methodists and other Nonconformists – and the disciplined army of foot soldiers which they led - as ‘social evils’. Legislation, they argued, could and should constrain these social evils and, if possible, expunge them from society.

This chapter identifies the range of legislation which constrained recreational activities in the colony, and the forces which brought the statutes into being. It notes the changing mores which came to accept activities previously frowned upon but then refined and made acceptable to middle class respectability. It goes on to examine the wave of moralising and religious ardour which drove the campaigns to impose a strict code of Sunday observance and, through legislation,

to constrain intemperance and gambling, 'social evils' which had grown out of hand, most notably among the working classes.

The coverage begins with the constraining legislation inherited from Britain affecting cruelty to animals, prize fighting and Sunday observance. Initially, and until the colony, along with Australia's eastern colonies, first obtained a degree of self government in 1850, South Australia was regarded as an extension of Britain; its Governors and Chief Justices governed through a British body of law.¹ Some of this legislation, as for example the observance of the Sabbath, originated several decades before the new province was founded and was a reflection of contemporary social and religious thinking in Britain at the time it was enacted. As the Victorian era evolved, although new South Australian legislation remained close to that of the Mother country in many areas where recreation was affected, there was some divergence. This came about through differences in climate, terrain, population distribution, the demographic distribution of the new and developing communities and, above all, the evolving social and religious opinion in the new province. These factors, especially the zeal and organisational capacity of the body of Nonconformist churches, led to a wave of new and amending Bills in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, directed predominantly at working class intemperance and gambling.

Cruelty to Animals

Legislation intended to prevent cruelty to animals provides one illustration of the changing social mores of society directed by one class against the recreation interests of another. In this case it was sections of the new and emerging middle class lobbying for protection of property and public order against the working classes who gathered to wager on dogfights, bull-baiting and cockfights. These activities had long been practised in a variety of forms throughout Britain and were frequently given a degree of legitimacy by the attendance of the local squirearchy. However, the cruelty, gambling and riotous behaviour attending these events

¹ Castles, Alex C. and Harris, Michael C. *Lawmakers and Wayward Whigs. Government and Law in South Australia 1836-1966*. Wakefield Press 1987. p. 47

came under increasing censure, particularly from the new and growing urban middle class who were fearful of a breakdown in public order and of damage to property. The campaign against cruel sports became more organised and influential. Organisations such as the *Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*, the *Association for Promoting Rational Humanity Towards the Animal Creation* and the *Animals' Friend Society* were founded in the 1820s and early 1830s and produced a stream of tracts and pamphlets.²

In 1822, the British parliament had passed a law to prevent the cruel and improper treatment of cattle, including horses, cows and sheep.³ Eleven years later and following the passing of the *1832 Great Reform Act* which enfranchised substantial sections of the country's middle classes, the 1822 Act was enlarged to include new sections banning the practices of bear baiting, cockfighting and other forms of animal fighting. It forbade the keeping:

of any House, Room, Ground, or other Place for the Purpose of running, baiting, or fighting any Bull, Bear, Badger, Dog or other Animal (whether domestic or wild Nature or Kind), or for Cockfighting.⁴

Two years later, in 1835, a further Act was passed in Britain consolidating and amending the two previous Acts and widening the area where the new statute should operate. The introduction of this Act reflected the changing social environment which had influenced the new legislation. The first two Acts had been directed towards controlling disorderly conduct which endangered 'public peace'. Cockfighting had been prohibited during the reigns of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II for political, not humane reasons; cockpits were seen as meeting-places for riff-raff and hence they spelled potential trouble which could lead on to riotous behaviour.⁵ The consolidating Act of 1835, in its introduction, while echoing earlier

² Golby, J.M. and Purdue, A.W. *The Civilisation of the Crowd. Popular Culture in England 1750-1900*. Batford Academic And Educational. 1984. p. 78.

³ 3 George IV 1822 CXXI *An Act To Prevent Improper Treatment Of Cattle*.

⁴ 3 & 4 William IV 1833 CXIX *An Act for the more effectual Administration of Justice in the Office of a Justice of the Peace in the several Police Offices established in the Metropolis, and for the more effectual Prevention of Depredations*.

⁵ McGaghy, C.H. and Neal, A.G. 'The Fraternity Of Cockfighters: Ethical Embellishments Of An Illegal Sport.' *Journal Of Popular Culture*. Vol. VII No. 3 Winter 1974. p. 59.

statutes by setting down the intention of preserving public peace and preventing disorderly conduct, sought also to overcome the:

Needless increase in the Sufferings of dumb Animals and ... the Demoralization of the People Whereby the Lives and Property of His Majesty's Subjects are greatly endangered and injured.⁶

Such values – the preservation of property, a changed morality for the working classes and a value system which condemned all cruelty to animals, as well as endangering public peace – were reflective of the social mores of a new and growing middle class. They began to view such activities as barbaric and wished to direct the energies of those who participated in them into other more appropriate uses of their leisure time.

The passing of the *Australian Colonies Act of 1850* gave South Australia the power to enact its own laws. Among early statutes which the colony enacted, was its first *Police Act* in 1863. This replaced the *Governor's Ordinance of 1844* (pre self government) for regulating the new colony's police force. Section 76 of the 1863 Act dealt with cruelty to animals and detailed offences for which persons could be convicted. The second sub-section made it an offence for 'any person' to 'keep or use in the management of any place for the purpose of fighting or baiting any kind of animal, or who shall permit or suffer any place to be so used.'⁷ The fourth sub-section covered causing unnecessary pain or suffering to an animal and the fifth ill-treating, inciting to fight and torturing any animal. The consolidating and amending *Police Act of 1869-70* contained a similar clause.⁸

The existence of these Sections in successive South Australian Police Acts implies that these activities were not unknown in the new colony and that the community at large, from whence some ninety per cent of migrants came,

⁶ 5 & 6 William IV 1835 CLIX *An Act to consolidate and amend the several Laws relating to the cruel and improper Treatment of Animals and to make other Provisions thereto.*

⁷ 26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 10 *An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Police of South Australia.* Sn 76.

⁸ 32 & 33 Victoria 1869-70 No. 15 *An Act to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Police in South Australia.* Sn 67.

confirmed the views of the Mother country that animal fighting and baiting should be repressed. Nevertheless, cockfighting did occur in the colony. As one example, it was practised in the Cornish mining community of Moonta until the early 1880s. Owners of fighting cocks matched their birds for wagers, and side bets were made among the spectators. The usual venues were in the scrub. However, a cockpit was situated in the back yard of the township's Prince of Wales Hotel, with scouts posted to give the alarm if the arm of the law approached.⁹

Similar bans on these activities were contained in the *Corporations Act of 1861*. This Act consolidated and amended the powers of the Corporation of the City of Adelaide, and of local authorities who were permitted to incorporate under the provisions of the Act. It included a Schedule of By-laws authorised by the Act, one of which dealt with 'Disorderly Places And Conduct'; among those listed were dog fights, cock fights and prize fights.¹⁰ The same power was included in the *Municipal Corporations Acts of 1882 and of 1890*.

Hunting, Coursing, Pigeon Matches and Other Shoots

As in contemporary Britain, certain activities involving injury to, or the killing of, animals escaped the sanction of the law in the colony of South Australia. This was especially so if they included a following from the upper strata of society. Hunting was one such activity. The Adelaide Hunt Club was in existence by the 1850s, though the quarry frequently changed from hares and foxes, transported from Britain, to wallabies, wild dogs, or even a kerosene rag.¹¹ Club members were drawn from the elite of the colony and operated a seasonal program from the beginning of June till late September, concluding with the Hunt ball, a highlight of the colony's social calendar.¹² For the most part, the Adelaide Club met and hunted from the estates of South Australia's gentry.

⁹ Pryor, O. *Australia's Little Cornwall*. Rigby Ltd. 1962. pp. 160-161.

¹⁰ 24 & 25 Victoria 1861. No. 16 *The Municipal Corporations Act, 1861. Schedule of By-laws*.

¹¹ Daly, J.A. *Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*. Published by the author. 1982 p. 35.

¹² See, for example, *Register* 22 September 1897 and 31 August 1899.

Club meets were reported regularly in the *Register*, frequently with the names of participating huntsmen and their horses. The social side of the activity, preceding and following a meet, appears to have been strictly adhered to. Elsewhere in the colony, occasional one-off hunt meets were reported, such as gatherings at Martindale in 1882 and Naracoorte a decade later.¹³

Coursing – the competition between a pair of hunting dogs, usually greyhounds, in pursuit of a quarry, generally hares – also escaped sanction. Contests were held in the colony at least by the late 1860s. While hares were being established in local areas, in the early years wallabies were frequently used as a quarry for the dogs. The club claiming to be the first in South Australia, the Naracoorte Coursing Club was established in 1867 and a year later its local landowning members organised the first Waterloo Cup, copying the major meet in the British coursing calendar.¹⁴ Clubs grew in number in the colony as the century progressed. In 1895 the Coursing Notes column of the *Kapunda Herald* during April and May, the early weeks of a new season, showed at least thirteen coursing clubs in the colony which were active and holding meetings.¹⁵ Correspondence and column topics over the years included breeding and training dogs to not only race and turn, but to kill. Another topic was achieving and maintaining a sufficient supply of hares to cater for the number of contests programmed for the season's meetings.¹⁶

Pigeon matches also were left unchallenged by the law, despite the wholesale slaughter of the captured birds. One report of a meeting at Brighton in 1863 informed the reader that the winner had shot 16 out of the 19 birds released, while

¹³ *Ibid* 3 August 1882 and 29 August 1892.

¹⁴ Vamplew, W. et alia (Eds). *The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport*. O.U.P. 1992. p. 98. *The Oldest Coursing Club In Australia, Being A History Of The Naracoorte Club From 1867-1889*. Reprinted from the Naracoorte Herald. 1920. Author Mr James McGilchrist who was Secretary of the Club for a number of years. The article includes reference to annual coursing balls accompanying the Waterloo Cup 'held in the newly built Naracoorte Assembly rooms, at which all the elite (and some of the other sort) disported themselves to the admiration of the townsfolk ...' *Ibid* p. 6.

¹⁵ They were Balaklava, Blythe, Caltowie, Clare, Eudunda, Hoyleton, Kapunda, Manoora, Mt Pleasant, Port Pirie, Quorn, Riverton and Yongala.

¹⁶ See for example correspondence and column entries *Register* 25 and 30 July 1862, *KH*. 29 August 1879, 13 July 1883, 7 August 1891 and 6 June 1893.

his opponent had hit only 14.¹⁷ Advertisements and reports of meetings, frequently promoted by publicans or Gun Clubs, generally made reference to the availability of birds; two meetings in 1867 were advertised 'Plenty of birds available' and conversely 'Pigeons wanted. Paid on delivery.'¹⁸ Over 700 birds were secured for a Pigeon Match at Hamley Bridge in 1897,¹⁹ while at Kapunda three years earlier, at 'the close of the match, the remaining birds were disposed of by firing off two sweepstakes.'²⁰

These class-based instances of cruelty did not pass entirely unnoticed. In 1885 the sporting column of *The Lantern* journal, on the occasion of an advertised 'Grand Rabbit Coursing With Fox Terriers' contest, questioned the ethics of the promotion and why the activity of 'ratting', a popular working class activity, attracted police intervention, but not this coursing event:

We are not up to Police ethics in the matter of cruelty to animals. It is very hard to kill anything without some cruelty, and if killing is to be the order of the day, or to form one of the leading principles of the quiet possession of property, the principle of the least amount of torture should prevail. Killing of necessity is bad enough, but killing for pleasure is quite another affair, and so it strikes us as being singular that Police ethics should call rat killing cruelty to animals, and tolerate the miserable murdering which goes on under the name of Gun clubs, Pigeon matches, Sparrow matches etc.²¹

The reality was that, in Britain and its colonies, the wholesale slaughter of animals had become an acceptable recreational activity for many in the upper and middle classes in the closing decades of the century. *Quiz* reported two such examples in South Australia early in 1892. The first was a party of 40-50 persons on an excursion holiday up the Murray to Renmark and Mildura: 'Plenty of cranes, pelicans, shags, ducks, plover, teal, swans and rabbits were bagged. About 50

¹⁷ *Register* 28 February 1863.

¹⁸ *Ibid* 28 February and 30 April 1867.

¹⁹ *Quiz* 19 August 1897.

²⁰ *KH* 13 July 1894. Presumably the contest was for the number of birds hit with a specific number of shots.

²¹ *The Lantern* 22 August 1885.

emus were seen, but they were not within range.²² A few weeks later *Quiz* reported the:

Hon R.C. Barker's shooting party to the Morphett and Jervois stations on the Murray a great success, if success be measured by the number of wildfowl slaughtered. Altogether about 2000 ducks were executed and of this 'bag' His Excellency Lord Kintore was responsible for the largest record.²³

Prize Fighting and Boxing

There were occasional episodes of prize fighting in the colony. In 1863 the *Register* reported the travels of two fighters who were scheduled to fight for a purse of £50. A crowd of between 300 and 400 assembled in the neighbourhood of the Waterloo Inn on the road from Dry Creek to Virginia; however, the fight preparations were interrupted by the arrival of the police. A few days later the combatants, officials and followers, numbering between 70 and 80 persons, travelled by steamship from Port Adelaide across the Gulf to Surveyor's Point. There the fight took place without interruption, though the referee's decision was disputed.²⁴

In 1882, the same newspaper reported that an 'undercover police operation' had been successful in preventing a prize fight in the Underdale area and that several persons had been arrested. The two principals had each been fined £5, the two seconds £2 and those of the onlookers, who failed to escape capture by the posse of police, £1 each.²⁵ It would appear that the availability of police as well as a Justice of the Peace were crucial for a successful prosecution to be made; this combination was difficult to achieve away from Adelaide and its suburban communities.

²² *Quiz* 8 January 1892

²³ *Ibid* 19 February 1892.

Richard Chaffey Baker, a lawyer and pastoralist, was a member of the Legislative Council for over twenty years and its President for eight years. He held a wide range of Directorships, was Chairman of the South Australian Jockey Club, was made a CMG in 1886 and Knighted in 1895.

²⁴ *Register* 23 September, 1 and 2 October 1863.

²⁵ *Ibid* 20 February 1882.

In the late 1870s, South Australia, in common with the other Australian colonies, experienced the gradual adoption of what became known as the *Queensberry Rules* in an endeavour to make the activity more acceptable; as in Britain, colonial communities increasingly viewed the activity as not only illegal, but barbaric, and running counter to middle class values of respectability. Some of the Rules had been in practice for several years to refine the activity, before being given the imprimatur of the ninth Marquis and with it a degree of respectability. The Rules required the use of gloves, or ‘mufflers’ as they were sometimes termed, and three minutes rounds; in addition they prohibited a variety of unbecoming practices in the contests themselves – kicking, holding, throttling, hair-pulling and gouging – all tricks of the prize fighter’s trade.²⁶ The activity frequently was promoted as a means of self defence. In South Australia as early as 1863, Johnson’s Boxing Saloon in Grenfell Street, Adelaide, was advertising ‘Private lessons in the art of self defence’ and ‘A Grand Public Exhibition of Boxing every Saturday evening’ for an entrance fee of one shilling.²⁷

Unlike prize fighters the ideal Queensbury boxers did not compete for monetary stakes and side bets, or the settling of grudges. Instead they contested for trophies in three weight classes – light, middle and heavy.²⁸ In Adelaide both professional and amateur versions of boxing were being promoted from the late 1870s on from ‘athletic halls’.²⁹ Contests for money purses appear to have attracted audiences drawn from across a wide spectrum of society. In 1889 *Quiz* advertised a ‘Fight To The Finish’ for £100 aside and 75 % of gate money. At the event itself, its reporter:

looked around the crowded hall, and found assembled there members of both branches of the Legislature, lawyers, bankers, squatters, shareholders, Civil Servants, brewers, publicans, bookmakers, cabmen, newspaper boys – in fact nearly all avocations were represented.³⁰

²⁶ Gray, W.R. ‘For Whom The Bell Told: The Decline Of British Prize Fighting In The Victorian Era.’ *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. 21. 1987. No. 2. pp. 53-64. Vamplew, W. et alia (Eds) *The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport*. 1992. Entry on *Boxing*. P 69.

²⁷ *Register* 25 June 1863.

²⁸ Gray. Op Cit. p. 59.

²⁹ See for example *Quiz* advertisements and reports. 6 and 13 December 1889 and 3 January, 15 and 29 August 1890.

³⁰ *Quiz*. 25 October and 1 November 1889.

By 1890, *Quiz* judged the activity merited a regular column – *Boxing Bouts by Bruiser*.³¹

Sunday Observance

Sunday observance hung like a black pall over a range of recreational activity in the colony of South Australia throughout the nineteenth century. It had much in common with attitudes in the Mother country, but evolved to take on a significance of its own in the new colony, almost certainly because of the strength of the Nonconformist churches in the colony.

Legislation in Britain impacting negatively on recreational activity on a Sunday extends back to the Act of 1781 for *Preventing Certain Abuses and Profanations on the Lord's Day, called Sunday*.³² Even earlier, in the fifteenth century, games and other recreational activities were a key part of Sunday, after morning worship. Indeed, the area immediately adjacent to the church was frequently the centre for the Sunday games. The justification for the Act was that good morals were being corrupted and that 'irreligion and profaneness' were being encouraged through the opening of houses, rooms and other places of entertainment and amusement on the Lord's Day on payment of money, or for tickets sold for money. Public houses, as well as tea houses and coffee houses, were specifically mentioned in the list of refreshment venues banned from opening for business and entertainment. The imbibing of any refreshment at any of these venues was deemed to be 'disorderly' leaving the keepers of the establishments, as well as the entertainers themselves, open to prosecution.³³

Prosecutions under the Act in Britain were infrequent and in the early decades of the nineteenth century few convictions were obtained. However, acting under the general leadership of the *Lord's Day Observance Society*, local protesters formed organisations and turned to other methods to constrain those they felt had broken

³¹ *Ibid.* 26 September 1890.

³² 22 George III 1781 CXIX *An Act For Preventing Certain Abuses and Profanations on the Lord's Day called Sunday*..

³³ *Ibid.* Sns 1 and 2.

the religious objective of a sacred Sabbath. Generally this involved press publicity and local protest meetings at the locality where the alleged infringement had occurred or was occurring. This strategy appears to have been more successful than efforts to secure prosecutions under the 1781 Act. However, the Act remained on the statute book and served as a major prop in what became known as the Victorian Sunday, synonymous with multiple services of religious worship, religious education and contemplation, no use of public transport, no work other than that required in a medical emergency, and the rejection of any activity, mental or physical, which detracted from these goals.

In the new colony of South Australia, the sanctity of the Sabbath was firmly registered in Governor Grey's 1844 *Ordinance For Regulating the Police*, a measure necessitated by the establishment of the colony's first police force. Two sections of the ordinance were specific to Sunday observance. The first enacted that the owner or occupier of any public billiard room or other place of amusement, who allowed any game to be played on a Sunday in his house or premises, should be open to prosecution. This reflected the differing situation in the new province with its small and scattered population, as compared with the increasingly overcrowded, poorly housed, urban centres of population in Britain. The second required a Police Magistrate 'as far as in him lies' and within the limits for which he was appointed, to 'cause the Lord's Day to be duly observed by all persons'.³⁴ In 1844 and for many succeeding years, the successful enforcement of these powers was dependent on the availability of resources in a specific locality at any one time, the interpretation of the powers themselves and the determination of local magistrates to enforce them. The two later Police Acts of 1863 and 1869 contained no comparable powers requiring magistrates and officers to enforce Sunday observance.

Nevertheless, the rigid code of behaviour which was the British Victorian Sunday was well-established in the colony by mid-century. As well, there existed a sizeable minority of South Australians for whom Sunday observance was an act of

³⁴ 7 & 8 Victoria No. 19 Sns XVI and XVII.

faith, demanding a strict code of behaviour. It was not enough to silently follow the strict code themselves; it was necessary to press it on the rest of the community.

The Nonconformists – the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, but excluding in this exercise the Lutherans – made up 35.9% of religious affiliations in the colonial census of 1860 and rose to 37.5% in 1881.³⁵ As a proportion of all religious affiliations, Nonconformists were much higher in South Australia than in any of the other Australian colonies. The observance of Sunday was a matter of particular importance for nineteenth century Methodists and Congregationalists. Writing of the Methodists, Hunt reminds us:

It was a test of whether or not they were imbibing the spirit of the world. The general rules of all the Methodist denominations banned work on Sunday ('except such as is absolutely necessary'), buying and selling ('except medicine for the sick or necessaries for funerals'), 'all parties of pleasure', and travelling by public transport.³⁶

During the early years of the colony, when the only means of transport was by horse and when horse-drawn vehicles were owned by few persons, the Nonconformists, particularly the Methodists and the Congregationalists, had a greater chance of imposing their code of Sunday behaviour on their members and, perhaps, other sections of the community. However, against a background of continuing improvement in modes of personal transport as the Victorian era progressed – by rail, omnibus, trams, steamships and above all, late in the century, the bicycle - and the gradual increase in disposable income for increasing numbers to use them, for pleasure as well as work, the challenges multiplied for those wishing to impose a strict code of Sunday observance. An article in *The South Australian Wesleyan Magazine* early in 1869 re-iterated the Methodist view of the sanctity of the Sabbath, including the banning of all recreational activity and the denial of the use of public transport on a Sunday. Both were clearly an increasing problem for the Methodists.

³⁵ Hilliard, D. and Hunt, A.D. Chapter 'Religion' in Richards, E. (Ed) *The Flinders Social History of South Australia*. Wakefield Press. 1986. p. 229.

³⁶ Hunt, A.D. *This Side Of Heaven. A History Of Methodism In South Australia*. Lutheran Publishing House. 1985. p. 170

While we rejoice in the Sabbath as a privilege, it becomes us to guard its sanctity, for this is the foundation of the privilege. A day of recreation and gaiety is not a Sabbath. A part of the day is not enough, and to spend an hour in God's house in the evening will not allow for private desecration during the day. Travelling and visiting, and the use of public conveyances, are all instances of Sabbath desecration.³⁷

'Sunday was virtuously preserved for decorous clothes and solemnity'. In Adelaide for many years, libraries remained closed as part of a commitment to formal observance of dull, purposeless Sundays; even the gates and swings of children's playgrounds were carefully padlocked each Saturday night.³⁸

The Nonconformists, particularly the Methodists, frequently spoke disparagingly of those who followed the 'Continental Sunday', meaning Catholics and others, who worshipped at their church in the morning and then recreated during the remainder of the day at home, or by transport to increasingly popular seaside and countryside resorts. The Methodists viewed such behaviour unfavourably, particularly if it required travelling by public transport – whether by boat, bus, tram or rail - their argument being that this denied the staff involved their Sabbath.

The Methodists were alert and ready to oppose any action by others which they regarded as a breach of their code of Sunday observance, generally with the support of other Nonconformists. In 1874 a member of the House of Assembly moved a motion in the House that 'Government Institutes and Museums ought to be open from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Sundays'. He argued that:

There was no reason ... why opportunities should not be given to those who on ordinary days could not visit the Institute and Museum to spend a portion of the Sunday there in a religious, social, and profitable manner.³⁹

The motion was withdrawn when it was pointed out by the Minister of Justice that the Act establishing the Institute required that it should be open daily, Sundays

³⁷ *South Australian Wesleyan Magazine* (Henceforth *SAWM*) January 1869 pp. 110-111.

³⁸ Pike, D. *Paradise Of Dissent. South Australia 1829-1857*. Second Edition. Melbourne University Press. 1967. p. 515.

³⁹ *SAPD* 12 August 1874 Col 1276.

excepted. This brief interlude in parliament drew a sharp rejoinder in a leading article in *The Methodist Journal*. It re-iterated the argument that such places as Institutes could not be kept open without some employment of labour and that this principle, once established, would increase the number and range of recreation activities:

The number of persons employed to minister to the wants of the Sunday pleasure seekers would at length be considerable. These persons would as surely miss their Sunday rest – miss it in body and soul and we should have the sad sight presented of one portion of the working class, in their pursuit of Sunday pleasure combining to oppress and enslave another portion.⁴⁰

Criticism of Sunday recreational activities by the Methodist press continued unabated from the mid-1870s to the end of the century, often targeted at a special group in the colony. A letter from Sabbatarian to *The Methodist Journal* in 1875 objected to 'Sacred Recitals' being promoted at a local theatre on Sunday, and as well, to pleasure seekers travelling to Glenelg beaches by rail, to German sportsmen pursuing their activity in the field, and to business men operating steamboats on the Murray.⁴¹ By 1880, the occurrences which the *Journal* regarded as breaches of the Methodists' code of Sunday observance had become so marked that, at their annual conference, it was decided to appoint a Sunday Observance Committee.⁴² Its role was not specified and its impact, if any, was indeterminate.

The Primitive Methodists' District Meeting, held a few weeks later, was also concerned, but went no further than the passing of a special resolution:

⁴⁰ *MJ* 21 November 1874

⁴¹ *Ibid* 19 November 1875.

⁴² *Ibid* 6 February 1880.

That this meeting avows its belief in the sanctity of the Lord's Day, regrets its widespread desecration ... and earnestly urges upon the members of our churches throughout the colony the desirableness of refraining from travelling on that day more than is absolutely necessary.⁴³

It was the increasing improvement in transport services and the ease of travel for individuals, families and groups which caused Sabbatarians the greatest concern. The use of Sunday trains for pleasurable purposes was frequently the subject of criticism. 'Those cursed trains' was the outburst employed in a leading article on 'Sunday Railway Traffic' in one Methodist journal in 1882.⁴⁴ When special trains were employed to convey passengers to particular events, in this case an *al fresco* concert of sacred music promoted by leading citizens at Glenelg, the criticism was especially severe:

It is questionable whether the sin of retailing beer on the Sabbath is greater than the sin of selling the blood, brains, and perhaps the souls of hard worked employees by demanding that they should forego the rights and privileges of the day of rest in order that they minister to the requirements of the pleasure seeker on the one hand, and the money-maker on the other.⁴⁵

A similar controversy occurred a few years later at Semaphore over a Sunday outdoor concert at the local rotunda, involving the Police Band. Local promoters were classified by the same journal as 'agitators' seeking out ships and state bands to reduce 'Semaphore to the unenviable character which such places as Bondi and Coogee have for Sunday entertainments.' On this occasion the Premier, Dr Cockburn, intervened by acceding to a local petition and refusing to allow the band to play.⁴⁶ Two years later there was a similar division in the Gawler community over a proposed sacred concert to be given by a military band on a Sunday. It resulted in written protests by the local Wesleyan Church to the military authorities and to the Mayor. Despite the protests, the concert appears to have

⁴³ *Ibid* 27 February 1880.

⁴⁴ *Ibid* 26 May 1882.

⁴⁵ *CW* 1 February 1878.

⁴⁶ *Ibid* 7 March 1890

gone ahead with an observation from the local journalist that the controversy had proved useful publicity for the event itself.⁴⁷

The South Australian community at large, during the Victorian era, appears to have accepted that playing sport on a Sunday, at least in public, was unacceptable. The Adelaide City Council in 1880, preparing for the opening of the Torrens Lake in the following year, agreed an amendment to the boating regulations, introduced by Councillor Buik, a Congregationalist, that no boat should be allowed on the river on a Sunday.⁴⁸ Similarly, in 1888, the opening of a roller skating rink on a Sunday was protested successfully.⁴⁹ However they were less successful in curbing travel to the countryside and to seaside resorts, sometimes for specific entertainments. A sub leader in *The Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* in 1888 saw fit to criticise a group of German fellow colonists who had journeyed out to the steamer *Salier* to greet a group of other Germans on a Sunday. There were speeches on board, 'wine-bibbing and toasting', followed 'at about church time' by a banquet and a brass band playing:

with all the freedom that attaches to a Continental Sunday... We trust that in the future, they will conduct themselves more respectfully by respecting the customs and sentiments of the land in which they live in such generous freedom.⁵⁰

There were occasions when even the colony's first citizen was attacked for travelling on a Sunday for recreational purposes. In 1879 *The Lantern* defended the then Governor, Sir William Jervois, who had been criticised for travelling on a Sunday, visiting public institutions and patronising the local hotel. *The Lantern* argued:

It is only by such examples that the barrier of fanaticism can be broken down which, instead of forcing people to church, keeps them confined to their houses on Sundays, instead of giving them increased facilities by rail

⁴⁷ *Register* 10 and 13 February 1892

⁴⁸ *Lantern* 4 June 1880. See also entry 'Buik, William Christie' in Coxon, H et alia. *Biographical Register Of The South Australian Parliament 1857-1957*. Wakefield Press. 1985. p. 29.

⁴⁹ *CW* 24 August 1888.

⁵⁰ *CW* 26 September 1890.

to see something of the country in which they live; or opening the North-Terrace (*sic*) and the Botanic Gardens for the whole day for the benefit of those unable or unwilling to leave town.⁵¹

Some years later, in 1890, the Governor, the Earl of Kintore, was reproached for conveying a theatre party by dray to Inglewood in the Adelaide hills for a picnic. The editor of the *Christian Weekly* regretted having to raise the matter and excused the apparent discourtesy by adding: 'We however, forbear from further comment in the hope that there will be no further cause'.⁵²

The *Lantern* continued to counter the Sunday observance campaigns. In an article in the late 1880s, *Sunday As A Day Of Amusement*, prepared as a response to the Church of England Bishops' declared intention of entering into a crusade against Sunday amusements, the leader writer argued:

The day is coming ... when people won't wait to be told by parsons and ministers what they are to do with their spare time on a Sunday. They will do exactly as they please. Those who want to go to church will go, and those who wish to recreate ... will not be deterred because a lot of bigoted Bishops choose to denounce such indulgence as a crime.⁵³

By century's end, individuals and families travelling by train or horse omnibus on a normal Sunday schedule to recreate in the countryside or at beaches were escaping specific criticism from the Sabbatarians and given only the occasional general reprimand. Walkers and, late in the century, cyclists too, enjoyed a freedom to tour in the countryside without harassment. Cyclists were mobile and, for the most part, able to pursue their activity without having to assemble in numbers at a central point. There had been a proposal to prohibit cycling on Adelaide roads on a Sunday, which did not proceed.⁵⁴ Cycle touring clubs softened some of the criticism levelled in their direction for pursuing their activity on a Sunday by assembling for the occasional church parade.

⁵¹ *Lantern* 24 May 1879.

⁵² *CW* 26 September 1890.

⁵³ *Lantern* 10 March 1888.

⁵⁴ *Lantern* 11 June 1881.

The Nonconformists continued to be alert to what they regarded as more blatant abuses of their code of Sunday observance. In 1898 they expressed their 'shame and sorrow' over the railway traffic employees recent picnic at the Belair National Park where informal sports and amusements had been held. Owing to the peculiar working hours of this group of employees, it was impossible for them to hold their annual outing on any other day except Sunday. The Department had arranged for the families to be conveyed to the park and back in special carriages attached to the train, thereby giving the function an official imprimatur.⁵⁵ This time the *Christian Weekly* directed its criticism at the parents of the children, claiming they were undoing the work of Sunday schools and violating the sacredness of the holy day. The Nonconformist Conscience in the closing years of the century had become deeply engaged in other major battles involving the development of campaigns to secure the abolition of other social evils, most notably gambling and intemperance.

Gambling

The extent of gambling and the degree to which the activity should be controlled became the subject of wide disputation in South Australia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For some, the issue became the centre of a concerted political campaign for its complete elimination in which the Nonconformist churches were heavily involved. No fewer than six statutes dealing with gambling issues were enacted by the colonial parliament over the period 1875 – 1897.⁵⁶

All classes of society were involved in gambling to some extent. Cards, billiards and backgammon were activities commonly gambled on in private clubs. Public houses offered opportunities to wager on billiards, quoits, and skittles. A range of other activities periodically staged or promoted by publicans attracted gambling, including wrestling, footraces, boxing, ploughing matches, and even ratting

⁵⁵ CW 7 December 1898.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 3

contests.⁵⁷ People also bet on cricket matches, coursing matches, football matches, rowing and yacht races and above all else, horse racing.

Race meetings grew in number as more communities developed their local promotion. The growing network of railways was a further aid to race goers. Press coverage increased while the electric telegraph transmitted the results of races speedily to a growing number of gamblers.⁵⁸ As the century wore on, for many personal disposable income increased and gambling, by more men and women, followed. These developments were served by other developments in the racing industry – the growth of a new profession, the bookmaker and in the late 1870s, via the Sub Continent, the arrival of the Totalizator. The Totalizator showed the number and amount of bets made on a race and divided the total among those who bet on the winner. The century saw the development of a variety of other forms of gambling. Individuals also had opportunities to ‘try their luck’ in raffles, sweepstakes and lotteries all utilised among a variety of fund-raising activities for projects in the colony’s new communities, including church and school buildings.

Gambling was high on the list of social evils which an evangelical alliance, led by the Nonconformist churches, first sought to constrain and then to eliminate through legislation and its strict enforcement. Their opposition was expressed most forcefully by the Methodists and the Congregationalists who were opposed to all forms of gambling, whether dice games played in the street, card games, and, above all, betting on horse races. They viewed gambling as fraudulent and a form of stealing, since money or possessions were obtained without giving a service or goods in return. It ran counter to the Methodist ethic of self-improvement through diligence, thrift and industry.⁵⁹ In addition, they argued, it carried the potential for immense social distress, particularly among working class families. The Nonconformists generally were to prove formidable proponents in the alliance which came together in the closing quarter of the century to press for legislation to

⁵⁷ Adair, D. Entry ‘Public-house Sports’ in Vamplew, W. et alia (eds) *The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport*. O.U.P. 1992. pp. 282-283.

⁵⁸ See also Itzkowitz, D.C. ‘Victorian Bookmakers And Their Customers’. *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 32. Autumn 1988. No. 1. pp. 7-30.

⁵⁹ Hunt. *Op Cit.* p. 196.

constrain all forms of gambling, but particularly that on horse racing. Some Anglicans carried the same intense opposition to the activity, but most adopted a middle ground, regarding activities such as lotteries and raffles as acceptable, particularly when church buildings, services and projects were the beneficiaries. The Catholic church was still less demanding of its members, accepting gaming and betting as a natural part of life, but requiring diligence to ensure that it did not become excessive and damaging to the welfare of families.

O'Hara, in his study of gaming and betting in Australia, draws attention to differences between the classes of the period in their gambling behaviour. The gentry gambled to display wealth rather than as an attempt to increase their wealth or to add force to their opinions. The poorer classes were attracted by 'good odds' so that a win would bring the opportunity to achieve things which were normally beyond their means.⁶⁰ Early legislation in the new colony of South Australia touching on gambling followed the lead of British statutes, the objectives of which were to stamp out cheating and to preserve public order; the statutes did not attempt to constrain or eliminate gambling practices and thereby change individual behaviour, which was to be a feature of later legislation. Section 36 of the *1859 Act For Consolidating The Statute Law In Force In South Australia Relating To Indictable Offences Of A Public Nature* decreed:

Whosoever shall, by any fraud or unlawful device or ill practice in playing at or with cards, dice, tables, or other game, or in bearing a part in the stakes, wagers, or adventures, or in betting on the sides or hands of them that do play, or in wagering on the event of any game, sport, pastime, or exercise, win from any other person, to himself or any other, any sum of money or valuable thing, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.⁶¹

As such, those offending would be liable for a fine or imprisonment. The consolidating *Police Act of 1869-70* contained a similar Section and another deeming any person playing or betting 'in any street, road, highway, or other public place, or in any railway carriage, or at, or on, or near any race-course, fair,

⁶⁰ O'Hara, J. *A Mug's Game. A History Of Gaming And Betting In Australia*. New South Wales Press. 1988. p. 4.

⁶¹ 22 & 23 Victoria 1859 No. 2 S 36.

exhibition, or show buildings, or grounds' guilty of a misdemeanour and liable for a prison sentence of up to three months.⁶² The enlargement of the list of public places as compared with the equivalent section of previous Police Acts suggests a clear indication that gambling in public had increased and was causing disquiet among some sections of the community.

Gambling, seen by some as a moral issue and a social evil requiring legislation for its correction, first registered in a parliamentary debate in the colony in 1875 when the government of the day introduced a Bill *For The Suppression Of Lotteries And Of Unlawful Gaming*. At the time of its introduction it was revealed that the Bill was intended as a tidying-up operation following a court judgment revealing there were some deficiencies in the colony's gaming laws. The government wished to incorporate into South Australian law sections of British statutes, particularly those relating to lotteries.⁶³ The Bill was divided into three Parts: Lotteries, Unlawful Gaming and Other Matters.

Lotteries were defined as:

Any scheme for the sale or gift, disposal or distribution of land, houses, plate, jewels, ships, money, securities for money, goods, or chattels, or of any right thereto, or of any share therein, depending upon, or to be determined by lot or drawing, whether of a box or other receptacle, envelope, or device or chance whatsoever.⁶⁴

All lotteries were deemed to be a common nuisance and unlawful with substantial penalties against promoters and advertisers. The only exceptions were voluntary associations who developed lotteries with the sole intent of purchasing works of art.

The Act also described 'unlawful gaming' as including:

Any fraud or unlawful device or ill practice in playing at or with cards, dice, tables or other game, or in bearing a part in the stakes, wagers, or

⁶² 32 & 33 Victoria 1869-70 No. 15. *The Police Act of 1869-70*. Ss 63 and 72.

⁶³ *SAPD* 31 August 1875 Col 872.

⁶⁴ 38 & 39 Victoria. 1875. No. 13. *An Act For The Suppression Of Lotteries And Of Unlawful Gaming, 1875*. Section 2.

adventures, or in betting on the sides of them that play, or on wagering on the event of any game, sport, pastime or exercise, win from any other person to himself, or any other or others, any sum of money or valuable thing.⁶⁵

Part 2 of the Bill legislated against contracts or agreements by way of gaming or wagering; gaming in any street, road, highway or open and public space, or houses, offices, rooms or other places kept for unlawful gaming. However, Section 17 specifically excluded stakes due to the winner of any lawful horse race, or to the owner of any horse engaged in any race.

Again the emphasis of the Bill was to control cheating and to preserve public order. However, as the Bill proceeded through the various parliamentary stages it became clear that there were members who, while supporting the government's intention, wished to take the opportunity it provided to raise other much broader moral and social issues surrounding gambling. Speaking in the debate in the House of Assembly, immediately following the Attorney General's introduction of the Second Reading, David Nock, a Methodist, argued that many young men in the colony were being ruined through gambling. He was critical of gambling on card playing and on horse racing and hoped in Committee to introduce amendments banning both.⁶⁶ He was supported by other members, including John Pickering, a Congregationalist, who argued that 'the time had arrived for something to be done to check the multitudes of young men going wrong through gambling in this city.'⁶⁷ Several speakers in the same debate took a differing view and questioned whether legislation was capable of putting down gambling; one could not make men honest nor prevent them from gambling by an Act of Parliament. One could constrain gambling practices in public places, but forbidding all gambling would prove impossible for police to enforce and 'would be inaugurating a tyranny which no person would tolerate'.⁶⁸ These polarised views –

⁶⁵ *Ibid* Section 9

⁶⁶ *SAPD* 31 August 1875 Cols 872-873.

⁶⁷ *Ibid* Col 873.

⁶⁸ *Ibid* Cols 872-875.

the moralists on the one hand and the pragmatists on the other – were to dominate future debates on gambling in the South Australian parliament.

In the end, the Bill passed both Houses with little amendment. The new Act appears to have been successful in suppressing major lotteries. However, small lotteries and sweepstakes continued to flourish, including those promoted by charities and some churches.⁶⁹ The contentious question of betting on horse racing was left to be fought out in the following two decades when the two divergent views were to polarise even further.

The Totalizator Act, 1879

The battle lines between the moralists and the pragmatists became more clearly profiled in 1879 with the introduction of a Bill *To Remedy Some of the Evils Arising from Betting at Races*.⁷⁰ The Bill sought to legalise the introduction of the Totalizator machine on to racecourses. It had been in operation in Europe and the Sub Continent for several years and more recently in the Eastern colonies. Its proponents claimed that, by pooling all bets, the machine gave a fairer return to all bettors, stopped betting on credit, blocked attempts to bribe jockeys and, overall, took business away from dishonest and fraudulent bookmakers. The Introduction to the Bill claimed it would give 'young men and others a pecuniary interest in races without the evils incident to indiscriminate betting'.⁷¹

The Bill sought to legitimise the machine in the colony and place its operation 'under the auspices of and with the permission of any duly recognised racing club upon any public racecourse'.⁷² Racing clubs would take a percentage of the money invested (set initially at five per cent) which would be used for much needed improvements in the emerging industry, such as capital works to racing tracks and the improvement of bloodstock. The measure was specifically

⁶⁹ Rendell, Anthony A. *The Punter In Paradise. A History Of Relations Between The Punter And The State In South Australia*. B.A. in History Honours Thesis. University of Adelaide 1961. p. 8.

⁷⁰ 42 & 43 Victoria 1879. No. 161. Subsequently known as *The Totalizator Act 1879*.

⁷¹ *Ibid*. Introduction.

⁷² *Ibid* Section 1.

exempted from the provisions of the *Lottery and Gaming Act of 1875*. Its opponents, who included several well known Nonconformists, were sceptical of the claim that the use of one form of gambling, the bookmaker, would decline as a result of the introduction of another.⁷³ The Bill passed the House of Assembly by a small majority and the Legislative Council by one vote.

The operation of the amended Totalizator Act was carefully watched, both within and outside parliament, by an opposition which was growing in strength, political experience and determination, particularly among members of the Nonconformist churches. At each parliamentary election readers of the *Methodist Journal* were advised of candidates who could be relied upon to vote for measures to constrain gambling. An army of workers, many of them women, was mustered to obtain signatures for petitions submitted to parliament when gambling Bills (and Bills on other 'social evils') were being debated. In parliament itself, members with Nonconformist religious affiliations grew in number and could generally be relied upon to follow the moralist line. The number of Congregationalists who entered parliament during this period was disproportional to the strength of the denomination in South Australia. Though they never numbered more than four per cent of the total population, Congregationalists held more than one third of the seats in the House of Assembly through the period 1857 to the early 1880s.⁷⁴ These figures do not include Methodist members.

Nonconformist conventions witnessed the growing concern of delegates at what they perceived to be an increase in the numbers of people gambling. The Chairman of the Congregational Union, in his address to the Union in October 1882, observed:

Little urchins creep (*sic*) our side streets and play at pitch and toss, working men visit the skittle alley, young men crowd the tables of billiard saloons ...

⁷³ SAPD 23 October 1879. Col 1615.

⁷⁴ Phillips, W.W. *The Influence Of Congregationalism In South Australia 1837-1915. A Study Of The Congregational Influence On Political And Social Reform In South Australia*. B.A. in History Honours Thesis. University of Adelaide. 1957. p. 11.

While thousands upon thousands stake their earnings, and in many cases what does not belong to them, on the horses that run, or do not run at the racecourses.⁷⁵

Nonconformist members began to take initiatives in the parliament, not just to control undesirable features linked to gambling, such as associated fraudulent activities and threats to public order, but to place further constraints on the activity itself.

The operation of the Totalizator was closely watched and by August 1882, the *Register* was pronouncing its justification a failure. The machine had simply taken its place alongside the bookmakers. Although it had made inroads on the profits of these gambling agents, it had been the means of encouraging more of the public to gamble. The number of bookmakers had not decreased and the amount of money wagered had increased sharply.⁷⁶

Encouraged by the growing support for further controls on gambling, a member of the Legislative Council, William Sandover, a Congregationalist, introduced a Bill to repeal the Totalizator Act. Speaking on the Second Reading, he argued that, far from decreasing the number of bookmakers, the number had actually increased and many more persons were now betting on the Totalizator, who had not wagered previously.⁷⁷ Another Congregational member, William Buik, when in business, had found that young men borrowed money to use on the Totalizator. He 'had found it necessary to prohibit those in his employ, under threat of dismissal, from having anything to do with it or with betting'.⁷⁸ Against these arguments, the member who had steered through the original Act claimed that those who were using the machine to bet were investing small sums and that, as had been argued at the time, the racing industry had benefited.

⁷⁵ Reported by Phillips. Op Cit. p. 73.

⁷⁶ *Register* 10 August 1882.

⁷⁷ *SAPD* 4 October 1882 Cols 1101-1103

⁷⁸ *Ibid* Col 1106.

Both sides claimed some comfort from the report of the Police Commissioner on the first three years of the machine's operation. On the one hand, the number of embezzlement cases had fallen; however, the number of people betting had increased. Several members argued for more time to be allowed before passing judgment on the machine.⁷⁹ John Colton, a past premier and a leading Methodist in the colony, was less circumspect. He contended that the Act 'having had three years' trial had proved an utter failure ...and he trusted members would now be true to the deepest interests of the colony and blot out this monstrous thing from the Statute book.⁸⁰ In the event, an amendment was introduced at the Committee stage which limited the use of the machine to not more than eight days on any one racecourse in any one year and fixed the charge on money bet through the Totalizator at five per cent.⁸¹

Following the passing of the Act, the *Register*, in a leader entitled 'A Legislative Freak' noted:

Legislation must of necessity be full of compromises; but it is something in the way of legislation to exempt a particular form of gambling from the operation of the laws against gambling, provided it is practised not more than eight days a year on any racecourse, and provided further that those who furnish the facilities for it do not charge more than 5 per cent commission on the sums invested.⁸²

A few months later, the Congregational members and the Congregational Union began a concerted move, along with others of a similar mind, to secure the repeal of the Acts and to make all gambling on horse racing illegal. A motion to this effect was passed by the Annual Assembly of the Union in April 1883. It protested against the legal sanctions which allowed the use of the Totalizator. *The Totalizator Repeal Act, 1883* introduced by William Gilbert, a Baptist, and

⁷⁹ *Ibid* 1 November 1882. Cols 1430-1435.

⁸⁰ *Ibid* 1 November 1882 Col 1435

⁸¹ 45 & 46 Victoria 1882. No. 263. *An Act To Amend Act No. 161 of 1879, Intituled An Act to Remedy Some of the Evils Arising from Betting at Races.*

⁸² *Register* 2 November 1882.

supported by other Nonconformist members, removed the sanctions on the machine. It passed through both Houses with unexpected ease.⁸³

Section 2 made illegal:

Every person betting, or offering to bet, by way of wagering, or gaming, in any public place, or in any place to which the public are or shall be permitted to have access, whether on payment of money or otherwise, or in any such place getting up or taking part in any sweepstakes, or publishing, or causing to be published in any newspaper, or by circular, inviting the public to subscribe to or take part in any bet or sweepstakes.

A person so offending would be fined for the first offence and deemed a 'rogue and vagabond', within the intent and meaning of the *Police Act of 1869*, for subsequent offences.⁸⁴

The banning of both the Totalizator and bookmakers from race meetings had a swift and deleterious impact on the racing industry and underlined the interrelationship between racing and gambling. Crowds fell away from race meetings. Revenue from admission charges and from the Totalizator fell sharply reducing prize money and lowering the standard of competition. One of Adelaide's courses closed for a period. Unemployment in the industry grew and for a time, the Adelaide Cup was run in Melbourne.⁸⁵ The bookmakers however found new avenues to promote their trade. They devised ways of easy identification at race meetings, such as standing on stools under umbrellas with leather bags slung over their shoulders; by such means their services could be offered discreetly to patrons. Away from the course, working class bettors were again the major sufferers. 'Clubs' appeared with low subscription fees, giving shelter for would-be bettors, and the use of the back rooms of shops and the bars of hotels and public houses, either by the bookmakers or their agents, increased. The satirical weekly,

⁸³ 45 & 46 Victoria 1883. No. 282.

Among several petitions lodged with the House of Assembly during the progress of the Bill was one from the Wesleyan Conference supporting the appeal for the repeal of the Totalizator Act. See SAPD 4 July 1883 Col 365.

⁸⁴ *Ibid* Section 2.

⁸⁵ O'Hara. Op Cit. p. 97.

The Lantern, was moved to write in 1884 that the Repeal Act 'is diametrically opposed to the wishes of the people, and the anti-betting clause is as useless in conception as it is abortive in enforcement.'⁸⁶

The Lottery and Gaming Act, 1888

The Nonconformist lobby, opposing gambling in all its forms, was on its guard to resist the inevitable attempts by the horse racing lobby to restore the Totalizator and other gambling at race meetings. Bills to this effect were promoted in 1886 and 1887; but the anti-gambling lobby stood firm and both were defeated, albeit by small margins. They were helped by a pattern of the mid-1880s, reflected in other campaigns to eradicate 'social evils', of organisations with a common goal, particularly those with a Nonconformist affiliation, coming together to increase their effectiveness. As one example, no fewer than 108 petitions, 90 of them from Nonconformist churches, were mustered when a third Bill was tabled in 1888.⁸⁷ However, elections earlier that year, coupled with retirements, saw the balance of members in both houses, change considerably. Key proponents for the anti-gambling cause in the debates of earlier years were no more and the Bill became law as *The Lottery And Gaming Act, 1888*.⁸⁸

The 1888 Act laid down several new conditions for the operation of the Totalizator. The machine was to be licensed by the Commissioner of Police. Among other matters the Act decreed a minimum membership and subscription total for Clubs using the machine and set down the number of licenses to be allowed in any one year on courses within the Adelaide metropolitan area and on country courses. A portion of the seven and a half per cent levy paid to the licensed racing club was required to pass to charitable organisations. Persons under 21 were banned from using the machine. Introducing the debate on the second reading of the Bill, Rowland Rees pointed to the anomalies in the current betting scene:

⁸⁶ *The Lantern* 17 May 1884. p. 8.

⁸⁷ Phillips Op Cit. p. 83.

⁸⁸ 51 & 52 Victoria 1888. No. 426.

He had seen hairdressers and others locked up for holding totalizators, detected by that disgraceful system of espionage which the police were compelled to employ, and they had had the spectacle of one police magistrate with dignity refusing to impose a fine, and stating to the court that he would not do so, because nearly every man in the room was addicted to gambling.⁸⁹

The inequitable treatment of gamblers drawn from one section of society, as opposed to another, was one theme which came through strongly in the parliamentary debates on the Bill. Another was the general acceptance that gambling, especially on horse racing, was widespread in the colony, crossing all classes. The divergence of views centred on those who felt that gambling was a social evil and that legislation could and should be used to eliminate it, and those who accepted it as a normal activity and only excesses threatening public order required legislative measures.

The failure of the anti-gambling lobby to prevent the return of the Totalizator did nothing to diminish their energy to wage the war on gambling on other fronts. Indeed, it served as a stimulus to bring the organisations who shared comparable goals more closely together. In 1891 the Congregational Union determined to protest at the government's proclamation of Adelaide Cup Day as a public holiday, as 'young men would be out of employment for the day and would be thrown into the midst of gambling.'⁹⁰ The Union Secretary was asked to communicate with religious bodies to plan a united course of action. The Wesleyan, Bible Christian and Presbyterian churches, as well as the Young Men's Christian Association, agreed to co-operate with the Union and to take action to prevent the further proclamation of a holiday on future Cup days. They were unsuccessful in securing a meeting with the government. In April 1892, on the eve of the running of the Cup, the several organisations organised a meeting with the purpose of running an anti-gambling crusade, including measures to ban the Totalizator and to end the observance of an Adelaide Cup public holiday⁹¹ They had no success with the

⁸⁹ *SAPD* 4 July 1888. Col 235.

⁹⁰ *Minutes of the Congregational Union* 29 October 1891

⁹¹ *Register* 5 April 1892 p. 4 and p. 7.

former, but the Kingston government did end the practice of the Cup holiday some three years later.

This experience in united action, however, quickened the movement towards a more formal inter-denominational agency in South Australia to press for what the Nonconformist churches regarded as social reforms. The union came into being as the Council of Evangelical Churches in June 1896. The member churches were the Wesleyan, Baptist, Congregational, Primitive Methodist, Bible Christian and Churches of Christ. The central object of the Council was to consult and cooperate on matters affecting the religious, moral and social interests of the community. The Nonconformist Conscience now spoke with a more united voice in South Australia in its war against social evils, as it perceived them.

The Gaming Further Suppression Act, 1897

Complaints about betting on the streets continued, in particular on race days outside newspaper offices which were receiving results and starting prices as they were 'wired' from the course.⁹² Government itself began to be swayed by arguments that betting was out of control and that some additional constraints were required. The Council of Churches continued to lobby hard on the issue and they were joined by other organisations which had come into existence around specific social or moral issues of the day; among them were the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Christian Endeavour Society.⁹³ The lobbying of these three organisations was a major factor in the decision of the Liberal government in 1897 to introduce a Bill *For The Further Suppression Of Gaming And For Other Purposes*.

Moving the Second Reading, the Premier Charles Kingston stated that the measure was designed for what he perceived to be 'the purpose of coping with the

⁹² *Ibid.* 6 March 1897. Correspondence from *W.T.S.*

⁹³ Late in the century the Woman's Christian Temperance Union added smoking to the list of causes which it campaigned against. See Tyrell, I. 'The Anti-Tobacco Reform And The Temperance Movement In Australia: Connections And Differences.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*. Vol. 84. Part 1. June 1998. pp. 111-12.

evil which was resulting from the undoubted increase of gambling in our streets, and amongst our juveniles.⁹⁴ His government did not propose to repeal the use of the totalizator on race tracks, but to stop its indiscriminate use in shops and on the streets. The Council of Churches had placed on record 'their conviction that evils which threaten to work irreparable harm and injury to the social and moral life of the nation are at the present time resulting from the spread of gambling in our city and our colony'.⁹⁵

The Premier also drew on the opinions expressed by the Police Magistrate and the Commissioner of Police. Quoting directly from the Commissioner's report of a few weeks earlier, the Premier expressed the view that:

Wagering on horse races has assumed vast proportions, and is permeating all classes, and includes amongst its devotees persons of all ages of both sexes, and unfortunately many of our children. This I ascribe almost entirely to the existence of the street and shop totalizators, against which every effort has been made by the police, but with results not very encouraging, as although in every case the fact of wagering or investing has been proved, in many instances, principally on appeal, the cases have gone against us on technical points. I would respectfully point out the urgent need of fresh legislation on this question, as betting with the so-called totalizators was not foreseen and therefore not provided for when the Lotteries and Gaming Act was passed in 1875'.⁹⁶

The Council of Churches and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had submitted to the Premier the need for the existing laws to be strengthened. The Bill extended existing provisions making it an offence for any minor to bet or gamble, or for any adult to bet or gamble with a minor. It gave powers to the police to arrest any person suspected of gambling in any street or public place and to enter any place where gambling was known or suspected to be operating. It provided that, if in the opinion of the magistrates trying any case for breach of any of the provisions of the law against gambling a *prima facie* case should be made out, the onus of proof should be on the defendant. For the purpose of the Bill, a minor was defined as any person under the age of twenty one.

⁹⁴ SAPD 27 October 1897 Col 682.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Col 683

⁹⁶ *Ibid* Col 682.

The Act, short-titled *The Gaming Further Suppression Act, 1897*⁹⁷ was taken to include *The Lottery and Gaming Act, 1875*, *The Totalizator Repeal Act, 1883* and *The Lottery and Gaming Act, Amendment Act, 1888*. For the overall Act, 'place' was defined to include any house, office, room, tent, ship, building, erection, road, street, thoroughfare, alley, right-of-way (either public or private), and all land (whether public or private), enclosed or otherwise.⁹⁸

Section 3 of the Act prohibited all forms of betting, even in private, by persons under the age of twenty one. As Rendell points out, this broke new ground. People of all ages had always had the right to bet in private, even when betting in public was banned in 1883, but young people had now lost that right completely.⁹⁹

Section 2 prohibited any person betting with a person under the age of twenty one; any person found guilty of the offence was liable to a penalty of not more than one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for any term of not more than six months.

Other Sections prohibited totalizator agents and the promoters of sweepstakes.

The licensing of race meetings where the Totalizator was allowed was to be more tightly administered with the Commissioner of Police required to publish each year particulars of all licences granted for that year.

Other than the ban on all gambling by persons under twenty one, perhaps the most contentious part of the Bill was Section 10, dealing with the powers of the police. It made lawful for any Special Magistrate or Justice of the Peace:

upon complaint or information upon oath that there is reason to suspect that an offence is being or is about to be committed against this Act ... to give authority To any constable, with such assistance as may be necessary, to enter into and upon and search such place at any time of the day or night, and if necessary by the use of force ... And seize all such lists, cards, papers, documents, or things found therein ... as may reasonably be supposed to have been used or designed for use in connection or related to such suspected offence.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ 60 & 61 Victoria 1897. No. 685

⁹⁸ *Ibid* Section 1.

⁹⁹ Rendell Op Cit. p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ 60 & 61 Victoria 1897. No. 685. Section 10.

An analysis of the arguments put forward in the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly is revealing. Some thirty five members participated over three sittings. Twelve were of the opinion that the present state of gambling in the colony posed a threat to young people and supported the thrust of the legislation. However, four of this number, together with four other members felt that the age for the total banning of all gambling was too high. Nine members were of the view that gambling was a part of the way of life of any community and could not be suppressed by legislation. Several of this group argued that the trait should be recognised, and that gambling should be allowed, with safeguards and constraints to prevent its intrusion into public places. Two members, with considerable prescience, suggested that the shops which were currently centres of illicit gambling should be legalised and allowed to operate under strict public control.¹⁰¹

A considerable number of members, both directly and indirectly, said that the legislation essentially was an attack on working class gambling. Confining legal betting on horse racing in the colony to the use of the Totalizator on specific race days had the effect of including only those who were able to pay the entrance fee to the enclosed area of the racecourse where the machine was situated. Once there, the minimum bet allowed was £1. Seven members argued that the working classes had every right to bet with their sixpences and threepences. The statute would be very difficult to enforce, since many would regard the new law as unjust, favouring the rich and penalising the poor.¹⁰² The Premier came close to conceding the point in his closing remarks to the debate. Noting the charge, he differed from those:

who advocated more particularly the interests of the poorer classes, and with whom he had often worked, and would continue to work, in sympathy. Gaming, either by betting with a bookmaker or through the medium of the totalizator, was not the way to earn a living. In ninety nine cases out of 100 the persons lost their money, and he was a better friend to the poor man,

¹⁰¹ *SAPD* 27 October 1897 p. 688.

¹⁰² *SAPD* 27 October 27 pp. 682-690, 3 November 1897 pp. 727-735, 4 November 1897 pp. 741-748 and 9 November 1897 pp. 750-762.

whose investment might mean the price of his children's boots or of bread and meat for his own family.¹⁰³

A little earlier in his closing speech, the Premier had conceded that the idea which 'animated' his government to introduce the Bill 'was to stop the evils in connection with betting and gaming in our midst'. The sentiment would have pleased the Council of Churches, though they would have preferred the Act to have also made the Totalizator illegal. Members closely aligned to the Council pressed the idea in both the debate and the Committee stage, but the Government held firm, mainly to protect the racing industry which depended on the income to improve bloodstock and the facilities at racecourses. As predicted by some, after the passing of the Act, there followed a period of underground betting activity, particularly among working class men and women. This in turn led to further statutory measures early in the new century to strengthen the powers of the police as they endeavoured to press home laws which many felt were unjust.¹⁰⁴ For working class bettors, it is difficult not to believe that the excitement of placing their modest bet via a number of illegal avenues, forced upon them by the stringent limitations of the 1897 Act and other legislation which followed, as well as the betting activity itself, were both recreational.

Intemperance

The campaign waged to promote temperance in the colony in the late nineteenth century, particularly by the alliance of Nonconformist churches, has frequently been termed 'The Great Crusade.' It consumed the energy of thousands of South Australian men and women during the last quarter of the century and beyond.¹⁰⁵ It carried both a direct and an indirect negative impact on community recreational activity.

¹⁰³ SAPD 9 November 1897. p. 758.

¹⁰⁴ 2 Edward VII 1902 No. 891 *Lottery and Gaming Act, 1902*; 4 Edward VII 1904 No. 874 *The Police (Amendment) Act, 1904*; and 7 Edward VII 1907 No. 943 *The Gaming Further Suppression (Amendment) Act, 1907*.

¹⁰⁵ Hunt. Op Cit. p. 189.

The public house and the hotel were for many the centre of much recreational activity, especially for the working classes. Directly, they provided an outlet for social drinking, generally in a warm and congenial environment as compared with the bleakness of many working class homes; they also sold alcohol, particularly beer, for consumption in the home. Indirectly, they were the centre of a great deal of community activity, much of which was of a recreational nature. They provided meeting rooms for the committees of sports clubs and other recreational groups. As the century progressed, they sometimes provided specialist facilities for activities such as billiards, quoits and skittles. They promoted dances and other entertainments and catered for balls and celebratory dinners. Publicans sponsored local events, ranging from horse races, and wrestling and boxing contests, to the annual picnics of local benevolent societies. Thus, while to some, publicans were the purveyors of the devil's work, others in the same community viewed their role as providing a useful, even valuable, community service.¹⁰⁶

There were changes in drinking tastes and conventions among the Australian colonial population in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Blainey notes the switch from spirits to beer in the years following the gold rushes of the 1850s, as brewers adapted European brewing methods to overcome the challenging heat of the Australian summer. Another development affecting intemperance was the growing custom among groups of males of 'shouting'. One man would pay for the drinks of every member of the group, and then the next person would take his turn to pay for a round. Each member of the group felt honour-bound to drink until the full round of drinks was completed. 'Shouting' had the effect of encouraging excessive drinking. Heavy drinking did, in effect, 'snatch food or shoes from the shouter's own children'.¹⁰⁷ Drinking alone and not in the company of a group, tended to be viewed disparagingly, which added to the pressure to 'shout' in a drinking school.

Hunt reminds us of the intensity with which the temperance alliance, in which the Methodists played a leading role, fought its great crusade:

¹⁰⁶ See also. Adair, D. Op Cit. pp. 282-283.

¹⁰⁷ Blainey. Op Cit. pp. 349-351.

Anyone who works his way through the hundreds of items in the Methodist papers dealing with intemperance and the liquor industry from 1870 onwards is likely to suffer from a great weariness of spirit. It is a journey through a labyrinthine maze of expostulation and exhortation on every aspect of the sale of liquor in South Australia, and especially on the measures introduced from time to time into parliament and there debated and finally adopted, rejected, or amended by one or both of the chambers of the legislature. In the last quarter of the century, drink became Methodism's arch-enemy, and each year Conferences declared war upon it; it was the worst form of social sin, 'the cause of the nation's greatest suffering' ... Methodism produced many warriors for whom the fight against liquor was the ruling passion of their lives. It was a conflict in which there could be no truce, and in which, considering the amount of energy poured into the struggle, there were few notable and lasting triumphs.¹⁰⁸

The alliance justified its war on the 'liquor traffic' on social, moral, medical and ethical grounds. It was not only damaging to individuals, but brought poverty and suffering to their families. It led to crime. In all of these matters it clashed with the teachings of the church. Medically, it was argued that it was damaging to the digestive, circulatory and nervous systems, leading to lunacy and a foreshortened life. Finally, drunkenness was seen as degrading and a threat to public order and the safety of property. While strategies could be developed to counsel and dissuade individuals from this social evil, legislation, it was firmly believed, could rein in the liquor traffic. A contemporary writer argued that while abstinence would keep people away from drink, legislation would keep drink away from people.¹⁰⁹ Some believed that government, through legislation, could achieve the greatest victory of all – complete prohibition.

In the meantime, strategies would concentrate on limiting and reducing the sales and service outlets for alcoholic drinks, by assisting local communities to express the desirability or otherwise of having a licensed public house or hotel in their area (the 'local option'); reducing the opening hours of licensed premises, especially on a Sunday; and restricting the purchasing of drinks by juveniles for their parents'

¹⁰⁸ Hunt. Op Cit. p. 189.

¹⁰⁹ Boyce, F.B. *The Drink Problem In Australia Or The Plagues Of Alcohol And The Remedies*. Edwards, Dunlop & Co. Sydney and Brisbane. 1893. p. 109. See also Mitchell, K. *The Drink Question. Its Social And Medical Aspects*. London. British Women's Temperance Association. 1891.

consumption. There were other strategies, but in one way or another, these three had the greatest negative impact on recreation activities in the colony. No fewer than ten statutes touching on these issues were passed by the South Australian parliament during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ The temperance alliance, as reflected in the two houses of the South Australian parliament, regarded all strategies as a series of fronts in the great crusade against the social evil of intemperance. If some of the battles were lost, the troops withdrew, regrouped and returned to the struggle when a new opportunity presented itself.

The South Australian temperance struggle was not fought in isolation; there were comparable battles in other Australian colonies. Moreover, the colony was in close contact with similar crusades in Britain and the United States. The South Australian Alliance, established in 1884, carried the name and objectives of the comparable Alliance in Britain; from Britain, too, came the example and experience of benefit societies where temperance was required of members – the Independent Order of the Good Templars, the Rechabites, the Salvation Army and the children's movement, the Band of Hope; from America, in 1886, it welcomed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and aspects of the Blue Ribbon movement.

Local groups, affiliated to either the South Australian Alliance or the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, came into existence in the mid and later 1880s. In its annual report for 1866, the SAA listed forty one local branches which carried a total membership in excess of 3,700.¹¹¹ The growth of the WCTU in the colony was particularly significant, since its membership was drawn from persons who were more likely than most to have felt the excesses of intemperance.¹¹² Women were to play a major role as the foot soldiers of the temperance movement gaining

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 3.

¹¹¹ *Annual Report of the South Australian Alliance for 1886*. Adelaide. 1887. p. 6.

¹¹² The WCTU was active in a range of other causes centring on the health and welfare of women, children and families, including the working conditions of factory operatives and barmaids, women's restrictive clothing and, in the closing years of the century, the anti-smoking issue. See Tyrell, I. 'The Anti-Tobacco Reform And The Temperance Movement In Australia: Connections and Differences.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*. Vol. 84. Part 1. June 1998 pp. 11-12.

signatures for petitions, helping in the organisation of rallies and lobbying politicians and government ministers.¹¹³

The Local Option

The local option strategy was a key part of the *Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1876*,¹¹⁴ introduced by David Nock, a Methodist champion of the temperance movement. It gave the option to local residents to deny the granting of a licence if a petition, signed by at least two thirds of the ratepayers in the immediate neighbourhood, was presented to the Licensing Bench. 'Resident' was defined as a person whose name appeared on the assessment book of the Municipal or District Council and resident within a radius of 200 yards from the front door of the public house. In more remote areas, the boundaries were set as not more than one mile from the front door.

The local option was well known to temperance advocates in the Australian colonies. A similar measure had been introduced as a private member's Bill in the British parliament several times, the first occasion in 1863; none had been successful. Introducing the second reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly, Nock argued that 'if public houses were diminished, drunkenness and crime would diminish in the same ratio'. He enlarged by quoting freely from the British arguments:

the liquor traffic, and particularly the retail branch of it, is a public nuisance in all three respects – physically, economically, and morally. By its physical consequences it causes death to thousands, reduces thousands more to madness or idiocy, and afflicts myriads with diseases involving the most wretched forms of bodily and mental torture ...in its economical (*sic*) results ... it indirectly causes three-fourths of the taxation required of pauperism, by criminal prosecutions, and prison expenses; and further, it diminishes the effective industry of the working classes ... in its moral operation, it is the

¹¹³ Allen, M. 'Woman's Christian Temperance Union'. Entry in Prest, W. (Ed) *The Wakefield Companion To South Australian History*. Wakefield Press. 2001. pp. 587-588.

¹¹⁴ 39 and 40 Victoria 1876. No. 52.

cause.... of two thirds of the crime committed ... it leads men to ill treat and starve their families, and sacrifice domestic comfort to riotous debauchery.¹¹⁵

Counter arguments questioned whether the closing of public houses, and even abolishing the liquor traffic entirely, would remedy the excesses of intemperance. 'When they saw men sacrificing their wives, children, character, and everything else to obtain drink, did they expect that they would be able to make them forget and forsake drink by means of legislation?'¹¹⁶

The initial local option success paved the way for clauses in later licensing Bills to utilise this local vote strategy. It was employed by the temperance lobby in successive Bills, first to limit and then to deny completely the opening of licensed premises on a Sunday, other than for *bona fide* travellers. This was especially so from the time of the consolidating *Licensed Victuallers Act, 1880*.¹¹⁷ Eleven years later, an Act to amend the 1880 Act, *The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1891* constituted each Municipal Corporation and each District Council as a Local Options District. Henceforth, all licences within each District were not to be renewed as a matter of course. If one tenth of persons resident in a District petitioned the Governor, a poll should be taken to determine whether any new publican's wine or storekeeper's colonial wine licence should be issued in that District, and whether the total number of licences should be decreased below the existing number or not.¹¹⁸

Part III of the 1891 Act was devoted to 'Objections To Licences'. As well as those causes for denying licences which had been present concerning the character and reputation of the publican, new denial opportunities were included involving the actual siting of the premises. Section 8b allowed for an objection to be raised to an application for premises not previously licensed, if the premises were in the immediate vicinity of a church or other place of public worship, hospital or school,

¹¹⁵ *SAPD* 2 August 1876. Col 632.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid* Col 639.

¹¹⁷ 43 & 44 Victoria 1880. No. 191.

¹¹⁸ 54 & 55 Victoria 1891. No. 540. Sns 9, 10 and 11.

and would, if licensed, be the cause of inconvenience and annoyance, or if the quiet of the locality would be disturbed. If two fifths of the ratepayers voted in a poll on these grounds, the new application would be refused.¹¹⁹

Further refinements to the overall number of licences were introduced in *The Licensed Victuallers Further Amendment Act, 1896*.¹²⁰ Part III allowed a petition to be taken on whether or not new licences should be granted in any particular licence class and whether the number of licences in any class should be reduced or not.

Club Licences

The temperance lobby was forced into a new strategy to counter the development of those 'working men's clubs' which came into existence as licensed clubs, but which were primarily a method of overcoming the growing number of drinking restrictions and were simply an outlet for selling liquor.

Section 4 of the 1891 Act required that a bona fide club should have a membership of not less than fifty persons, if established in Adelaide, and not less than twenty five persons elsewhere. It should have a management committee and a steward or manager. Its rules had to be approved by the Licensing Bench. It should be established on premises where a club was the *bona fide* occupier and which was maintained by the joint funds of the club; under the new rules, no person was entitled to derive any profit, benefit, or advantage from the club, or from the sale of liquor, which was not shared equally by every member. The amending Act of 1896 imposed a still tighter constraint on licensed clubs established away from Adelaide, requiring a membership of not less than thirty five.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Ibid* S 4.

¹²⁰ 59 & 60 Victoria 1896 No. 666

¹²¹ *Ibid* S 7.

Sunday Opening

The temperance lobby drew a major part of its support from sources which not only viewed intemperance as a social evil, but also regarded patronising a public house on the Lord's Day, the one free day of the week for the great majority of working men, as a cardinal sin. It mattered not that the hours of opening allowed patrons adequate time for church worship. A series of statutes in the closing decades of the century first limited Sunday opening, and finally succeeded in closing all licensed premises on a Sunday.

Successive licensing Acts through the 1860s contained comparable clauses regarding the hours of opening on Sundays; hours were limited to the afternoon from one to three and the evening from eight until ten and for *bona fide* travellers 'not being person resident in the town or places where such licensed premises are situate, or within a mile thereof' seeking refreshment. The outer doors of the licensed premises were to be kept closed throughout Sunday; *bona fide* travellers were required to enter through a private or side door.¹²²

The constraints began to accumulate in the 1870s. Section 29 of the amending Act of 1872 excluded a person holding a publican's licence from being compelled to open his house during any hour on a Sunday, except to *bona fide* travellers, provided that a notice to that effect was posted on the front of the premises. The amending Act of 1877 reduced the hours of opening on a Sunday to two hours, from 1 pm to 3 pm. The same Act deemed a *bona fide* traveller to be a person who resided at least five miles from the licensed premises.¹²³ However, stories persisted that the law regarding Sunday opening was being widely abused and that a 'sly grog' trade thrived in many areas. The police were of the view that the only way they could secure a conviction was by sending a spy into the offending public house, which they were loathe to do.

¹²² 26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 9 *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1863*.

Sn 62 and 32 & 33 Victoria 1869 No. 16 *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1869*. Ss 73 and 74.

¹²³ 40 & 41 Victoria 1877 No. 68 *The licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1877*. Ss 4 and 5.

Two years after the passing of the 1877 Act, the government established a Royal Commission to inquire into the past and present working of the liquor laws in the colony. Among the several objects was one specifically directed to the question of Sunday opening. The Commissioners were asked to consider: 'Is public opinion favourable or otherwise to the entire or partial closing of the licensed houses upon Sundays? If in favour of partial closing only, during what hours should they be opened?' The Commissioners professed to being unable to report conclusively on the matter. The general tendency of the evidence brought before the Commission was that there had not yet been sufficient time for the hours of Sunday opening contained in the Act of 1877 to be fully tested. Moreover, the evidence brought before the Commission by both the temperance party and the brewing trade was conflicting and 'bewildering'. Both sides had conducted polls in the Port Adelaide area and both claimed a substantial majority for their case. The majority of the Commissioners reported that they:

would be very glad indeed if public opinion in South Australia were ripe for Sunday closing, but they are not of opinion that the people are prepared for such a step at present and would recommend that, in recognition of the reasonable rights alike of the publicans and the public, the former should be at liberty to close entirely on Sundays on indicating such intention publicly, or to open their houses from 1 to 3 pm and from 8 to 9 pm.¹²⁴

Two of the Commissioners, John Carr and David Nock (the author of the 1876 Act), demurred from this part of the report and entered a 'protest' against opening public-houses for any longer period on Sundays than the current law allowed. They also protested in favour of the local option system to determine local licences, rather than the current mode of granting licences through Licensing Benches.¹²⁵

The Commissioners were agreed, however, on the difficulty of defining a '*bona fide* traveller.' They noted that a recent House of Lords Committee examining licensing laws in Britain had encountered the same experience of the police finding

¹²⁴ GRG 67/80 *South Australia Report of the Commission Appointed to Report on the Liquor Laws together with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices*. 1879. p. iii.

¹²⁵ *Ibid* p. ix.

great difficulty in enforcing this aspect of the law. Neither the Lords Committee nor the colony's Royal Commission were able to come forward with a recommendation on 'this vexed question.'¹²⁶

In the event, the majority recommendation of the Royal Commission regarding Sunday-opening was ignored. The consolidating *Licensed Victuallers' Act, 1880*, which followed the Commission's report, did not extend Sunday-opening hours and they continued to remain from 1 to 3 pm for another eleven years. The abstainers won another victory in the 1880 Act. Section 98 allowed any ten ratepayers within the same ward of a Municipal Corporation or District Council to petition for a poll to be taken to determine whether licensed premises in the ward should be closed on Sundays, except to *bona fide* travellers. The poll required a simple majority provided at least one third of the ratepayers on the electoral roll exercised their right to vote.¹²⁷

As Close notes, the local option strategy to decide Sunday-opening, as well as the number of local licences, kept the South Australian Alliance busy in the later 1880s, sometimes with paid canvassers, leading local teams to search out signatures to support local petitions.¹²⁸ However, as far as Sunday-opening was concerned, *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1891* made the task of the temperance movement a great deal easier achieving as it did, the major objective of Sunday-closing. Section 30 decreed:

It shall be unlawful for any licensed person to sell or supply any liquor whatsoever at any hour on a Sunday to a person not being a *bona fide* traveller calling for liquor on his journey, and who is within five miles from his usual place of abode, or not being a *bona fide* lodger living or staying in the licensed premises.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ *Ibid* p. xiv..

¹²⁷ 43 and 44 Victoria 1880 No. 191 Section 98.

¹²⁸ Close, S.E. *Social Attitudes To Liquor And Liquor Legislation In South Australia. 1876-1917*. B.A. Hons Thesis in History, University of Adelaide, 1961. p. 38.

¹²⁹ 54 & 55 Victoria 1891 No. 540. Section 30.

The Licensed Victuallers Further Amendment Act, 1896 tightened the regulations in favour of the temperance lobby still further. It placed greater onus on the publican to determine the legality of those who claimed to be *bona fide* travellers or lodgers, as well as lightening the requirements of clubs. It also banned the supplying of liquor to a child under the age of fifteen and imposed a penalty on any person sending a child under the age of fifteen to licensed premises for the purpose of procuring intoxicating liquor.¹³⁰

Again there was no doubting that the main target of the temperance lobby was the working-class drinker. The public house was central to the drinking ethos of the working classes. Closing the options for Sunday-opening struck the working classes most strongly, as did the banning of the custom of allowing young persons to collect ale for their working class parents. In a remarkably frank passage of the Report of the Royal Commission into Liquor Laws accompanying their recommendations, the Commissioners acknowledged as much. They were:

able to report, on the evidence throughout, that, as a people, South Australians are less intemperate than in other English-speaking communities, and but for the prosperity of the working classes, high wages, short hours, increasing the temptation and opportunities to drink, a still higher standard might be attained. The evidence before them was conclusive on the point.¹³¹

William Sandover, a Member of the Legislative Council and a Congregationalist, appearing before the Royal Commission, was more sensitive to the feelings of the working classes on this issue. In response to questioning about Sunday closing he responded: 'I do not think that the working classes like to be prevented from getting their Supper beer on Sunday evenings Cottagers in this colony have, as a rule, no cellars or other places for keeping the beer fresh and cool. Beer is never so good as when it is drawn fresh from the cask ...'¹³² Asked to comment on the observation of several witnesses that the laws regarding Sunday-closing were being broken on a wide scale, he observed: 'there is a considerable portion of the

¹³⁰ 59 & 60 Victoria 1896. No. 666

¹³¹ GRG 67/80 Op Cit. p. xiii.

¹³² *Ibid.* Responses 1239 and 1240

community who consider the law bears tyrannically upon them, and therefore they do not mind resorting to petty expedients to break or evade it'.¹³³

Statutes Supporting Recreational Activity

In considering the legislative measures implemented in regard to recreation it is important to remember that the colony also enacted others, in the second half of the century, which were supportive of both formal and informal activities.

Beginning with the *Act establishing the Municipal Corporation of the City of Adelaide* in 1854, through the *Municipal Corporations Acts* of 1861, 1880 and 1890, the theme empowering local authorities to effect improvements to their park lands 'for the purposes of public recreation, amusement, health and enjoyment' was writ large increasing in sophistication to reflect the growing demand for different team sports and other activities.¹³⁴ Bathing and swimming were other activities which councils were allowed to provide for, with model By-laws to regulate bathing and to set apart any place for the sole use of either sex.¹³⁵

Recreation in Adelaide also benefited directly and from other statutes which supported the creation of new facilities. They included the Botanic Garden, the Victoria Park racecourse, the Adelaide Oval, the Torrens Lake and the Zoological Garden;¹³⁶ while the emphasis of the former was on botanical scholarship, for the great majority of visitors the layout of the grounds, the exhibits and the band concerts were sufficient attraction in themselves. Outside of the capital city some communities, not planned with open space for recreation purposes, such as Port

¹³³ *Ibid.* Response 1237.

¹³⁴ 17 Victoria 1854 No. 23; 24 & 25 Victoria 1861 No. 16; 43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 190 and 53 & 54 Victoria 1890 No. 497.

¹³⁵ 50 & 51 Victoria 1887 No. 419 *The District Councils Act, 1887.*

¹³⁶ 23 & 24 Victoria 1860 No. 8 *The Botanic Garden Act, 1860.*

26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 14 *An Act To Empower The Corporation Of Adelaide To Lease A Portion Of The Park Lands As A Racecourse.*

34 & 35 Victoria 1871 No. 2. *An Act To Enable The Corporation Of Adelaide To Lease A Portion Of The Northern Park Lands For A Cricket Ground.*

32 & 33 Victoria 1869 No. 13 *An Act To Provide For The Improvement Of The River Torrens, 1869- 70.*

Adelaide, negotiated with the Crown to acquire land for this purpose.¹³⁷ Indeed, the movement by both tiers of government to acquire and develop land for both formal and informal recreation purposes, gathered pace during the last two decades of the century. *The Ornamental Grounds Act 1881* empowered Municipal and District Councils to lay out, plant, improve and maintain land for ornamental gardens for use as public walks or pleasure grounds.¹³⁸ *The Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1886* consolidated the law relating to the sale, lease and occupation of Crown Lands in the province. It set out eleven purposes for which Crown Lands could in future be designated; four, directly or indirectly, touched on recreation:

- for park lands or places for the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants of any city, town or place
- for institutions for public instruction or amusement
- for quays, wharves, or landing places
- for any purpose of public safety, convenience, health or enjoyment.¹³⁹

This swing to an acceptance of a public responsibility to provide a range of specialist and general amenity open space for its citizens, is perhaps well-illustrated in the colony's establishment of a 'national park' at Belair in the last decade of the century. *The National Park Act, 1891* created the park from the then Government Farm and Forest Reserve. Its purpose was to 'establish a national pleasure ground as a place for the amusement, recreation, and convenience of the inhabitants of the Province of South Australia.'¹⁴⁰ It received the enthusiastic support of both Houses of the colony's parliament. During the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill in the Legislative Council, the Hon J.J. Duncan, commented on the foresight of the colony's pioneers in creating reserves in different parts of the country:

in the early days the reserves were of little value, but they were now becoming more valuable to the people, and in the near future would become of great importance to the community. It was desirable that they

¹³⁷ 41 & 42 Victoria 1878 No. 91 *An Act To Provide A Public Recreation Ground For The Inhabitants Of The Town Of Port Adelaide And The Neighbourhood Thereof, 1878.*

¹³⁸ 44 & 45 Victoria 1881 No. 234. *The Ornamental Grounds Act, 1881.*

¹³⁹ 49 & 50 Victoria 1886 No. 393 *The Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1886.* Section 6(d).

¹⁴⁰ 54 & 55 Victoria 1891. No. 528 *The National Park Act, 1891.* Preamble.

should dedicate those lands to the general public It was the duty of Parliament to tie up, as far as they possibly could, the colony's park lands.¹⁴¹

There were other developments in the building of facilities which had a direct or indirect recreational role for the colonists. Although the creation of the Museum and of the Art Gallery on North Terrace, made possible by the Act of 1884,¹⁴² was the fulfilment of a long-term educational objective of the Board of Governors of the then South Australian Institute, for others their establishment carried a strong recreational component, as visitors enjoyed the exhibits. The Act acknowledged the dual role as much requiring that exhibits were to be directed towards 'purposes of public education and enjoyment.'¹⁴³

The Free Libraries Act, 1898 signalled the opening of another recreational opportunity for many South Australians. The Act gave permissive powers to Municipal and District Councils to establish free libraries within their authority and laid down the parameters for their development.¹⁴⁴ The great majority of colonists had been unable to avail themselves of the subscription libraries which developed through the Institute movement from the early 1860s on; many of these libraries began to be taken over by the local authority and become more freely accessible to more of the local citizenry.

Finally, mention must be made of governments' concern for the safety of participants at recreation venues. By 1881 statutory measures had come into being exercising crowd controls and requiring fire safety measures for facilities where spectators or participants gathered in significant numbers. These included theatres, concert halls and dance salons.¹⁴⁵ A year later the Act was enlarged to include skittle and bowling alleys, and circuses.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ *SAPD*. 3 November 1890. Cols 1808-1809.

¹⁴² 46 & 47 Victoria 1884 No. 296 *Public Library, Museum, And Art Gallery Act, 1883-84*.

¹⁴³ *Ibid* Section 16(v).

¹⁴⁴ 61 & 62 Victoria 1898 No. 700 *The Free Libraries Act, 1898*. Sections 2 and 7

¹⁴⁵ 44 & 45 Victoria 1881 No. 230. *An Act To License Places Of Public Amusement, 1881*. Ss 1, 2 and 7.

¹⁴⁶ 45 & 46 Victoria 1882.No. 260. *Places Of Public Entertainment Act, 1882* Ss 2, 3, 7 and 8.

Conclusion

Statutes discussed in this chapter were directed predominantly towards constraining the recreation of the working classes. As the nineteenth century progressed, so too did the material standing of the working classes; the gradual improvement of their position included an increase for many in personal disposable income. The increase in leisure as well as disposable income brought new opportunities, not only to enjoy the traditional recreation outlets of drinking and gambling, but to venture further afield to access new activities and recreation venues, making full use of cheapening travel opportunities by rail, tramway, omnibus and steamship. Among them were increased opportunities to gamble and to imbibe. The traditional middle class fear that the working classes were unable to accommodate any new opportunities to improve themselves appropriately – according to middle class values – became linked to a new morality, forged by the Nonconformists, which determined that intemperance and gambling, among other ‘social evils,’ had to be constrained and ultimately expunged from society. Where previous middle class leadership had seen statutory measures as a means of defending public order and controlling behavioural excesses, the new morality looked to legislation and its strict implementation as a major tool in achieving the ultimate goal of eliminating the practices completely.

This repressive approach to significant elements of working class recreation was resented and resisted by those at whom it was directed; though normally law-abiding, they were of the view that the statutes were unfair and discriminatory. Some of their number had no compunction in finding ways and means of circumventing the legal constraints. They had considerable support from other sections of society. Several witnesses to the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws were critical of Nock’s Act and felt that the two sessions of Sunday opening should be restored. Even the Police Magistrate agreed that the law bringing in intended constraints was broken every Sunday.¹⁴⁷ However, the evidence offered by one J.D. Woods was perhaps most understanding of the shift in cultural mores

¹⁴⁷ GRG 67/80. Op Cit. Response No. 805.

resulting from the constraining measures being forced on working class drinking. In his view, the majority in South Australia were against Nock's Act. 'If you make a law which people find oppressive, they will evade it and treat it with contempt ... Every law that is passed should command respect.'¹⁴⁸

However, as has been noted, the moralists won the day, not only in their determination to continue the crusade against drink, but also in their struggle to constrain gambling. The first two decades of the twentieth century were to bring no relief in the campaigns to eliminate gambling from the back rooms of shops and houses, and from street corners, and to constrain still further the weekday opening hours of licensed premises. The campaigns had the effect of consolidating a sub culture of working class recreation in which gambling and social drinking played significant roles. It was to be well into the new century before working class gambling and social drinking were given legal acceptance in South Australia. In contrast, the middle class punter and drinker was able to operate with little threat in the exclusivity of a club, or the grandstand and betting ring of a racecourse.

Concern by the middle classes, and by others holding authority in the colony's communities, over the ability of the working classes to handle their new leisure appropriately, expressed itself in other ways. There were some who felt that just banning or limiting activities through legislation was not enough. Alternative programs had to be developed to counter the 'social evils' which were proving so attractive to many persons, particularly working class men. Their recreation had to be rationalised and activities encouraged which were both appropriate and educational.

The next chapter considers these developments.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Responses 909, 920, 964 and 975.

4 THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

The forces in the South Australian community which fought to secure legislation to constrain or severely limit certain recreation activities they regarded as great social and moral evils, also recognised the need for programs and other initiatives to fill the void left as a result of their statutory successes. Others in the community held broader views reflecting a responsibility to support local community initiatives which, whether through activity programs or the provision of physical facilities, would attract into acceptable activities those they regarded most at risk in particular young working class men. By these means, it was contended, existing and potential dangers arising from their increased leisure and growing personal disposable income would be better controlled. New values – middle class values – would be encouraged and danger to public order and private property reduced, if not eliminated.

This chapter considers this struggle for control with some programs involving initiatives aimed directly at populations regarded as at risk, and others which had an indirect, but similar intent. Not unnaturally, with British migration to South Australia running at ninety per cent throughout the Victorian era, British experiences and attitudes - well known among the migrants themselves - continued on through the social, educational and religious contacts which existed between the colony and the Mother country. The struggle for control in the colony was to assume an impetus of its own; but by the end of the century there were differences, as well as similarities, in the programs and strategies being attempted in Britain and in South Australia. However, it was in Britain where the problem of lewd, cruel, unruly, drunken leisure behaviour first appeared in towns and cities, an inheritance of traditional rural festivals. As time passed, the new industry-based economy brought small increments of additional leisure hours to many of the working classes; they related to the working week and not to agricultural seasons. Many, particularly those from the new and growing middle classes, doubted the ability of the working classes to manage their new found leisure in a peaceful and orderly fashion. New approaches were needed to encourage adult education projects and other orderly uses of the new leisure. Such programs came to be

termed 'rational recreation'; they were essentially middle class inspired and directed at the working class. 'Ordered, disciplined, improving, educational leisure was what the rational recreationists hoped for.'¹

The great majority of these programs came to be rejected by those to whom they were directed. What did emerge by the end of the century, unrelated to these initiatives, was a new popular culture of working class activities, some shared with middle class adherents, but most developed and accommodated separately. With few exceptions, this new pattern of activities was devoid of any threat to public order or private property. Some of the activities were condemned by the proponents of rational recreation, while others sufficed as acceptable and productive uses of leisure hours. Many of these activities came to be accommodated in Institute facilities which had been constructed for the working classes, and for purposes within a narrow interpretation of 'adult education'.

The chapter begins with an examination of the term 'rational recreation', its origin and early developments in Britain leading to programs aimed at social control, especially through the Mechanics Institutes, the Club and Institute Union and other adult education initiatives. This provides a clearer understanding of the background of early comparable initiatives in the province of South Australia, leading to the South Australian Institute Act, 1855-56. It proceeds to examine measures implemented by the Board of Governors of the South Australian Institute, empowered by the Act, to influence the use of personal free time through the developing Institute movement in the colony. These were direct social control measures, as were the opening hours of Institutes and other public amenities which sprang up throughout the colony such as art galleries, museums and Institute facilities.

There was also a range of indirect measures, many church-based, aimed at degrees of social control. They included improvement societies, literary societies, some benevolent societies, Christian Endeavour, the Young Men's Christian

¹ Cunningham, H. *Leisure In The Industrial Revolution c1780 – c.1880*. Croom Helm London. 1980. p. 91.

Association and its women's equivalent, the children's and juveniles' Bands of Hope and the movement to establish Temperance Hotels and Coffee Palaces as alternatives to public houses. The chapter notes these and other influences which supplemented the programs aimed at rational recreation including British public schools' concepts of 'Muscular Christianity' and 'manliness', and the military volunteer movement. It concludes with an overview of the diverging emphases of the movement at the end of the century as between the colony of South Australia and the Mother country.

Rational Recreation

The term 'rational recreation' came into use in Britain in the early 1800s. As Cunningham points out, the term evolved at a time when the emerging middle class was itself coming to terms with new hours of leisure achieved through more efficient hours of work and new industrial work practices. The term:

was not invented by the middle class for imposition on the working class. Its roots lay in middle class experience itself, in the problem felt by that growing eighteenth century leisure class which had an excess of time on its hands and yet wished to avoid aristocratic dissipation. Rationality implied both order and control.²

In the 1820s, middle class advocates in Britain began to argue the need of rational recreation programs for the working classes to counter a popular culture whose emphasis was on drink, on spontaneity, on emotional involvement, on physical contact. Rational recreation, it was hoped, would bring 'ordered, disciplined, improving, educational leisure' to the working classes.³ In a word it would rationalise their use of leisure and lift them up to middle class standards of behaviour.

The rational recreation imperatives of this period in Britain were born out of concern, fear and a sense of guilt for the plight of the urban poor. This was the

² *Ibid* p. 90.

³ *Ibid*. p. 91

outcome of the drift of working class families from the seasonal rhythms of an agricultural economy, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to the intense weekly routine of the mills, mines and factories and the unsanitary living conditions of increasingly overcrowded towns and cities. These were the products of recently industrialised Britain. For many working class families, the seasonal rhythm of their previous rural life was severely disrupted and replaced with a new regimen tightly governed by the manning of machines and the rigid, inflexible discipline of the clock. The pattern of local seasonal recreational activities, previously enjoyed by the working classes on feast days and holy days, was largely lost. The recreational activities that remained were condemned for their cruelty and crudity associated with drunkenness, brawling, gluttony and sexual excesses.⁴ Such behaviour was unacceptable to a growing middle class who increasingly lived in new and sheltered suburbs, but whose industrial investments were often threatened by excessive behaviour at times of working class leisure and by absenteeism leading to lost production.

Thompson notes that the middle classes, labelled in this context as the 'comfortable classes', held several different attitudes towards the changing pattern of working class leisure:

There was a strong, puritanical, strand of moral disapproval of idleness as a source of temptation and cause of depravity and disorder, which held that there was too much of it. There was a commercial view which did not object to the amount of leisure so much as to its irregular and unpredictable incidence that disrupted the efficient flow of business. And there was a welfare view, not unconnected with the enlightened self interest of some employers, that the physical health and well-being of the workers required adequate leisure and relaxation, that the general working patterns of the early nineteenth century allowed pitifully insufficient free time, and that more of it would amply repay through more productive workers any loss of working time.⁵

⁴ Golby, J.M. and Purdue, A.W. *The Civilisation of the Crowd. Popular Culture in England. 1750-1900*. Batsford Academic And Educational London.1982. pp. 22-29.

⁵ Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Victorian Britain*. Fontana Press. 1988. p. 274.

All views could empathise with the direction which proponents of rational recreation was to take. The direction was essentially educational. The word 'education' appears with increasing frequency in the literature as the century progressed, often associated with revealing qualifiers such as 'moral education', 'self education', 'adult education, 'social education'. A range of programs and activities were advanced as rational recreation; one institution which all reformers targeted was the influence of the publican and the brewer:

Whatever the rivalries over its direction, the general strategy of rational recreation was clear: new amenities would divert the working man from the pub and provide the proper environment for his exposure to the superior example, whose values would be internalised.⁶

Some who held the puritanical view were of the opinion that the working classes were incapable of handling their leisure in ways which were acceptable to the more respectable sections of society. Unless something was done to ameliorate their situation, there would be continuing outbreaks of violence, damage to property and breakdowns in law and order. Those holding more humanitarian views, tinged with some sense of responsibility for the conditions under which many of the urban masses existed, were moved to be active in local reform initiatives. All reformers recognised that there was need for a new beginning if rational recreation was to take root in struggling urban communities. Open spaces were needed for public walks and athletic games. District libraries, museums and art galleries should be created, where they did not already exist; more particularly, they should be opened to the public on Sundays and public holidays.⁷ These facilities would offer opportunities for the working classes, in their limited leisure, to enjoy enlightening and uplifting experiences. They would be the means of renewal for the more important role of work, for in no way was the concern for the productive use of working class leisure to be equated with the importance of the discipline of work. The model which rational recreation should aspire to was

⁶ Bailey, P. *Leisure And Class In Victorian England. Rational Recreation And The Contest For Control, 1830 – 1885*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1976. p. 41.

⁷ *Ibid* pp. 38-39.

'basically and relentlessly didactic';⁸ essentially the example to be followed was the one developed by the middle classes – respectable, self-improving and educational.

Early Developments in Britain

There were a number of limited successes in Britain. Some citizens made donations of land or of money.⁹ There were occasional developments by industrialists, most notably Robert Owen's New Lanark mills, to promote acceptable activities through the inclusion of recreation facilities on their new estates. What may be significant is that the majority of these cases were established in the countryside, away from the urban squalor.¹⁰ Local authorities were given permissive powers to establish public libraries after the passing of a private member's Bill in 1850.¹¹ Similar provision came to exist for public open space. Authorities were slow to utilise these permissive powers. Overall, physical provision for rational recreation activity, through parks and other facilities, gained little momentum in Britain as a whole.

Of more relevance were actual programs designed to effect behavioural change, including those emanating from the working classes themselves. It was the Chartist leader, William Lovett, who in 1876 argued for a broad adult education program, which would bring libraries to towns and villages in every district and public halls doubling as schools for the people:

Such halls to be used during the day as infant, preparatory and high schools ... and used of an evening by adults for public lectures on physical, moral, and political science; for readings, discussions, musical

⁸ *Ibid* p. 54.

⁹ Molyneux, D.D. *The Development Of Physical Recreation In The Birmingham District, 1871-1892*. pp. 158-159 and Appendix H pp. 286-288. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Birmingham 1957. The references show the growth of open space through donations to and acquisitions by the City of Birmingham following the passing of an 1854 Act of Parliament Establishing Parks In or Near To The Borough of Birmingham . The Preamble to the Act declared that '*..it would be greatly for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Borough of Birmingham that there should be provided for their use parks and gardens for the purposes of healthful and pleasurable resort..*'

¹⁰ Cunningham. Op cit. p. 83

¹¹ Bailey. op. cit.p 39.

entertainments, dancing and such other healthful and rational recreations as may serve to instruct and cheer the industrious classes after their hours of toil, and prevent the formation of vicious and intoxicating habits.¹²

Mechanics Institutes

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century in Britain, great hopes were held by the reformists that the movement to establish local mechanics institutes would be a means of pushing forward the cause of adult education. Mechanics Institutes had begun to appear in British towns and cities by the early nineteenth century. As the term implied, their programs were directed specifically at working men. By mid-century, the local institute had evolved to be:

a voluntary association of a portion of the humbler classes of a town or locality, assisted by a few of the leading and wealthy inhabitants, to raise, by means of small periodical contributions, a fund to be expended in the instruction of the members in science, literature and the arts, to the exclusion of controversial divinity, party politics, and subjects of local dispute, by means of a library of circulation, lectures, evening or day classes and a reading room.¹³

However, many questioned whether the Mechanics Institutes were succeeding in their central objective. Though they did have some educational success, it was in areas outside of what was originally intended. They were seen to be providing an elementary education for young people rather than a scientific grounding for working class men. Moreover, with few exceptions, the majority of students were not mechanics, but rather members of the middle class, the respectable class. The classes offered by the institutes were failing to attract working men. Subscription rates for the libraries were often prohibitive, though the newspapers and journals available in some of the reading rooms – when well lit and heated – did prove attractive to some working men.

New strategies were devised to counter this situation. The programs offered by the

¹² Lovett, W. *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*. 1876. Vol. II. Reprint 1920. p. 254.

¹³ Royle, E. 'Mechanics Institutes And The Working Classes 1840 – 1860.' *Historical Journal* 14: 1971. pp. 305-320.

Institutes would be lightened by including social events. Excursions (on the growing network of railways), tea parties and soirees would prove attractive to the working classes. As one observer of the contemporary scene observed:

By such means a taste for rational enjoyment may be produced, and those hours generally spent in listlessness and in foolish amusements, may be converted into periods rendered precious by the inculcation of enlightened and elevating principles. Habits of order, punctuality, and politeness would be engendered and flow from thence into all the other relations and departments of life.¹⁴

Such was the vision. This view of the role which Mechanics Institutes could play suggests that the middle classes held a strong say in the content of programs, as well as in shaping the environment in which they were conducted. In so far as recreational activities entered into the classes offered, they were those which were regarded as having an intellectual value, such as musical activities, especially choirs, which developed repertoires drawing strongly on sacred music.

There were other movements fashioned by the reformers and directed specifically at young working class men, which carried the same stamp of middle class hegemony. Many were closely linked to church organisations. The Young Men's Christian Association, established in 1844, was one such organisation, while 'self improvement' and 'mutual improvement' societies, sponsored by all church denominations, particularly those with Nonconformist affiliations, grew significantly. Yet overall, very few of the organisations fashioned by the well-meaning reformers could lay claim to winning the whole-hearted support of the working class clientele who were central to their programs. Most simply failed to comprehend that the attraction of the public house included elements other than the alcohol imbibed – that they were centres of conviviality and social intercourse in warm comfortable surroundings, in marked contrast to squalid homes, and away from the domination and authority of employers.

¹⁴ Hudson, J.W. *The History of Adult Education*. London. 1851. Reprinted. The Woburn Press. 1969. p. 55.

In mid-century Britain there emerged an organisation reflecting a new community landscape which contained clear elements of a working class recreational culture. This was the growth of the working men's club movement and the formation in 1862 of the Club and Institute Union, largely through the efforts of the Reverend Henry Solly, its founder and for several years its Secretary. Solly included the two terms "club" and "institute" in the title quite deliberately. The former conveyed a centre where working men could relax and in so doing create a climate where informal teaching could be gradually introduced; the latter indicated the continuing serious educational intent of the movement. However, as the CIU evolved during the first twenty years of its existence, its working class members gradually asserted themselves to take over and manage their own affairs, finally casting off the paternalistic and controlling influence of the middle class, temperance reformers. The determining point came in the struggle for control centred on the issue of allowing social drinking in the clubs, "The Great Beer Question".¹⁵ Solly, himself a total abstainer, was finally persuaded that the major impediment to working class attendance at clubs created for their special benefit was the total denial of all beer drinking. He wrote:

After close observation, much thought, and varied discussion, we are satisfied that the rigid rule at first applied to the case of all Clubs must unquestionably be relaxed, and that in a great many cases the Clubs would be largely benefited, the public houses and beer shops materially injured, and the working men as a class immensely improved, if beer could be sold at a bar in the entrance to the Club, in limited quantities and never taken into any room except a dining and supper room, perhaps even then under some limitation.¹⁶

The 'sale of beer' question was important, not only in terms of the overall control of the Clubs, but in assisting them to be self-supporting, for the sales provided valuable revenue. Those Clubs who wished to remain teetotal did so; however, there was no doubting the significance of the win over the beer question leading to the growth of working men's clubs in the late 1870s and through the succeeding

¹⁵ Bailey. *Op Cit.* pp. 110-114

¹⁶ Solly, H. *Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes*. London: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Second Edition 1904. p. 76.

decade. In 1874 membership was at 90,000 in 1878 at 150,000, in 1880 at 320,000 and by 1883 was estimated to have passed the half-million mark.¹⁷

The Institute Movement in Colonial South Australia

Few of the adult British migrants to South Australia in the Victorian era, whether they arrived as labourers, mechanics, shopkeepers, clerks, merchants, entrepreneurs, or as members of the professions, would have been without some knowledge or practical experience of one or more of the adult education movements prevalent in Britain, and particularly the Mechanics Institutes. The colony's planners had personal contacts with supporters of Mechanics Institutes, well before the *Buffalo* fleet set sail to establish the new colony. In August 1834, two weeks after the passing of the South Australia Act, the South Australian Literary Association had been formed in London with objectives not dissimilar to those of the Mechanics Institutes. Indeed, it later changed its name to embrace *literary and scientific* in its title. It accumulated a small library assembled in London, mainly through the personal donation of Robert Gouger, with a view to early shipment to the new province, being a visible expression of the literary and scientific purposes of the Association.¹⁸

The Association never met in South Australia. However, in June 1838, a meeting was convened 'for the purpose of establishing a Mechanics Institution in Adelaide.'¹⁹ The move indicated an intention of winning popular support for an organisation which would reach out to a wide section of the community with practical classes, lectures and a lower subscription rate than the former Literary and Scientific Association. The initial committee of over twenty persons included a builder, a painter, a grocer and a publican. The subscription was set at twenty four

¹⁷ Bailey. Op cit. pp. 118-119.

¹⁸ Talbot, M.R. *A Chance To Read. A History Of The Institutes Movement In South Australia*. 1992. pp. 6-7. The Association met frequently in London and held a range of lectures. The lectures focussed on issues of interest to intending migrants about to enter a new life in a land, on the other side of the world, about which they knew very little. The Association, however did place some financial and social barriers on membership with a ten shillings entrance fee and a two guineas annual subscription payable in advance; in addition, prospective members had to be introduced by two existing members.

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 10.

shillings a year payable at six shillings a quarter. Eighty members joined and a series of eight lectures was delivered before Christmas of that year. The subjects included 'Science And Revelation', 'Animal Mechanics' and 'Mental Philosophy'.²⁰ However, after twelve months, the new organisation was languishing again. The Institute was subjected to a further overhaul. Measures were taken to ease the financial burden on members and the program of lectures continued; but the organisation failed to survive the colony's economic crisis of the early 1840s. Eventually, its library passed to a newly formed South Australian Subscription Library, who paid off a debt owing for the accommodation of the library.²¹ The subscription rate of two guineas a year, paid in advance, with admission by ballot, backed by blackballing measures, ensured that the library was essentially an exclusive reading club for the well-to-do.

The Institute re-emerged in 1847, encouraged by Governor Robe's decision to grant State aid for education, by gentlemen who desired the stimulus of books and lectures, and by mechanics, some of whose needs were more basic. Classes were offered in writing, arithmetic, geography, Latin, botany, French, drawing, music, chemistry and navigation.²² The new committee included strong representation from clerks, smaller merchants and tradesmen; William Smillie, Advocate General became President and a Dr Cotter, Secretary. The first of what became quarterly *conversaciones* was held within a few weeks of the new organisation coming into being.

In May 1848 the amalgamation of the two organisations produced the South Australian Library and Mechanics Institute. It was this body which was to be the organisation around which the forthcoming government-supported South Australian Institute was to be fashioned in the mid 1850s. But the amalgamation was not a happy one. The two wings of the 'mechanics' and the 'gentlemen' were

²⁰ Bridge, C.A. *A Trunk Full Of Books. History of the State Library of South Australia and its Forerunners*. 1986. p11. The books which had been transported from England, were handed over by the old Association to the new Adelaide Mechanics Institute and housed in a prefabricated timber hut located on North Terrace, opposite the colony's first and newly constructed Holy Trinity Church. For a time, the hut also served as a school room.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 12-14.

²² *Register* 9 October 1847

frequently in conflict. Claims were made that the Institute was being swamped by clergy, landowners and employers and that its 'aristocratic tone' was discouraging the 'people'.²³ Others complained of the interruptions to lecturers. There was criticism of the content and conduct of the library. While the reading room accommodated the interests of the 'mechanics' with purchases of popular journals, there were limitations on the acquisition of popular fiction by the library.²⁴

Other Early Institutes in the Colony

The first two decades of the new colony's existence saw other Mechanics Institutes come into existence in communities close to Adelaide and others much further distant where new communities came into being. Close to Adelaide they were reported in Hindmarsh and Bowden, Norwood and Stepney, Magill, North Adelaide, Glen Osmond and East Torrens. Further out from the city, by the late 1850s, organisations bearing the word 'Institute' came into existence, or were in process of formation, at Salisbury, Sturt, Munno Para West, Glenelg, Willunga, Port Adelaide and Onkaparinga. More distant from Adelaide were the Institutes at Angaston, Burra, Port Elliot, Gawler and Kapunda.²⁵ In many instances there were difficulties in maintaining initial enthusiasm and Institutes began to founder when faced with difficulties such as accommodation and the staffing of facilities. Membership invariably was drawn from skilled tradesmen, clerks, shop assistants, merchants and professionals; labourers and others involved in long hours of physical work were conspicuously few in number. Another noticeable development in the reporting of the movement in the colony was that the word 'mechanics' was increasingly dropped from the title of the various local Institutes.

The initiatives for these early Institutes varied. Most grew from the body of the new communities, generally led by a group of the leading citizens and churchmen. The mining communities of Burra and Kapunda found support forthcoming from the

²³ *Ibid.* 6 September 1848.

²⁴ Bridge Op Cit. pp. 17-20.

²⁵ Talbot Op Cit. Chapter Three pp. 14-26.

Register 23 January; 5 February; 16 April; 7 May; 18, 22 and 28 June; 6 and 11 July; 4, 5, 8, 14 and 16 September; 12, 22, 27 and 29 October; 3 and 4 December 1857.

mining companies. Elsewhere, the driving force for two of the early Institutes came from the initiative of individuals. In 1854, Arthur Hardy, a Unitarian, concerned that the only venue for evening recreation for his local workers at Glen Osmond was the local hotel, built a large room on his property and stocked it with books and journals for the benefit of his own employees – and others who cared to use it. Later the facility for subscribing members was further developed to a lending library. Hardy's selflessness did not extend to allowing the users unfettered management of the facility; he installed himself as President, imposing the condition that no one could join or remain a member without his consent. He had in mind the development eventually of a full range of Institute activities including classes for music, education and mutual instruction and lectures on popular entertaining subjects, such as the electric telegraph. He was not averse to amusements such as chess and draughts being played.²⁶

The local schoolmaster in the new community of Sturt, James Willshire, was another individual enthusiast anxious to see the creation of an Institute locally. Unable to secure a community response to work towards the opening of an Institute, in April 1856 he made his own books available to the local community and opened the schoolroom in the evening as a library. What subscriptions he was able to secure went to the purchase of more books and periodicals. He carried subscribers who were experiencing bad years and allowed free use of the amenity to clergymen, who deserved some reward for their selflessness over the years. Lectures were also arranged. Willshire's benevolence continued for seventeen years until he left the district in 1873. His library went with him.²⁷

Accommodation was the major challenge for most of the early Institutes set up as they were in new and developing communities. Space was needed for their local library, as well as a reading room; and a larger space for lectures and the occasional *soiree* or *conversazione*,²⁸ particularly when these events were thrown

²⁶ Talbot. op. cit. pp 22-23.

²⁷ *Ibid* p. 23

²⁸ The colony, naturally, followed contemporary British use of the two terms viz a *soiree* was an evening party, gathering or social meeting and a *conversazione*, a refinement of a *soiree*, where a

open to the wider community. Such occasions were as much social events for communities as educational. The Kapunda Institute may have been launched as ‘a means of promoting morality and the diffusion of useful knowledge and rational amusement’,²⁹ but the *soirees*, particularly those involving the local Mine’s Band, suggest that entertainment drew large numbers of non-members, as well as the families of members. In these early years, reports show that Institutes met in a variety of indoor spaces – schoolrooms, church facilities, public houses, court houses and industrial premises. Quite simply, at this stage of the colony’s development, indoor meeting spaces in most communities were at a premium.³⁰

Facilities apart, a second challenge for each Institute was to establish and build their library stock and to maintain a supply of local and British newspapers and journals. The manning and operation of the subscription library and a reading room, where it existed, were also matters of concern. A meeting of the members of the Port Elliott institute in September 1857 established a group to meet several of these challenges. It was charged with undertaking repairs to rooms, securing a supply of periodicals, investigating possible exchanges of books with other institutes and, for good measure, ‘getting a lad to deliver books on Saturday afternoon’, presumably to more distant subscribers.³¹

To Improve and Elevate the Mind and Moral Condition

As the Institute movement in the colony continued to grow, it brought into focus a concern which was to beset government and some sections of the Institutes’ organisation. In essence, it centred on the interpretation of the term ‘adult education’. The issue came to the fore as the movement recognised that its future was increasingly in need of a degree of ongoing assistance from the public sector, if it were to develop further; it began to be recognised as discussions were held on the justification of financial support for both institute buildings and the content and

learned body illustrated and exhibited its work via specimens, experiments or demonstrations. See *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second Edition Vol. III. p. 869 and Vol. XV p. 945.

²⁹ *Register* 3 December 1857.

³⁰ See for example *Register* 16 April, 7 May, 8 September, 3 and 12 October 1857.

³¹ *Ibid* 14 September 1857.

administration of their libraries. Public money could only be justified in terms of 'adult education' and how that term was interpreted. In practical terms, the questions posed were: what activities should be allowed in an Institute building financed in large part by public money and, similarly, what categories of books should be purchased and circulated?

In South Australia, by the early 1850s, pressures were mounting to establish a 'national institute' which would accommodate a library and a museum and also serve as a home for the several societies laying claim to serve a scientific or cultural purpose. These had emerged since the colony's establishment. They included the Philosophical Society, the Medical Society, the Choral Society, as well as the South Australian Library and Mechanics' Institute.³² Late in 1853, a memorandum prepared by Benjamin Babbage on behalf of the South Australian Library and Mechanics' Institute, which had previously established a small committee to establish the case, was lodged with the Governor. It argued that the collections and exhibits could form the basis of the new national Institute. The property of the individual societies, including the Institute's considerable library, would become public. Book loans would be kept to one per subscriber; half of the receipts after rent would be spent on new books and the subscribers would meet quarterly to keep an eye on the Institute. The Governor took advice on the memorandum from his Executive Council and directed it on to the Colonial Secretary with a supportive note expressing general support for the proposal, but seeking more details, including costs. The outcome was a motion, moved in the Legislative Council, that a select committee should be set up to 'report if it be expedient that a Bill to establish a National Institute should be introduced'.³³

Evidence was gathered by directing a series of questions to four persons – Benjamin Babbage, John Clark, Charles Mann and George Stevenson – who were known to have considered views on the various avenues a National Institute could take, and who, over a number of years, had been closely involved in local Institute developments. The questions centred on whether any new organisation should be

³² The South Australian Society of Arts began meeting in 1856.

³³ Bridge Op Cit. pp. 27-30.

of a 'public' or 'private' nature. Stevenson favoured a public library, whose proper function was education and not amusement. He recommended a fully public institution without subscribers, run by government trustees, and a completely separate reference library whose books 'should not be circulated at all, but accessible only in the Library for perusal and extracts'. All 'light literature' should be 'excluded from the Library altogether'. His plan would require a large sum for a building and a 'liberal annual grant'. Stevenson made no mention of the learned societies. The other three put forward views which, with small variations, advocated a continuation of the subscribers' circulating library. No mention was made of the cost of subscription rates to those with limited means, while the emphasis clearly favoured serious application focussing on scientific and cultural interests. Nor was there any reference to the role of the growing number of country and suburban Institutes. Mann, however, did argue that 'circulation' was necessary since in the colony:

the population is scattered – its leisure less – the employments less divided – its social pleasures necessarily home pleasures. To ask men of this class to give up home for the book at a public reading-room would be absurd, and not desirable ... Home and the books, in a new country should be one.³⁴

The select committee reported in October 1854 and came out in favour of an Institute (it favoured the qualifier 'South Australian' to 'National'), for the promotion of literary and scientific pursuits, and for the collection and preservation of specimens in the different branches of Natural History, the Arts and Manufactures, established and supported at the cost of government. It also held no objection 'to the circulation of books ... but persons having the privilege ... should deposit a sufficient sum or an annual subscription'.³⁵

The South Australian Institute Act, 1855-56

The South Australian Institute Act 1855-56 had as its central emphasis 'adult education'. Its lofty aspirations were to create a new public institution which would:

³⁴ *Ibid* pp. 27-30 and *SAPP* (1854) No. 80.

³⁵ *SAPP* (1854) No. 80.

comprise a Public Library and Museum, and by means of lectures, classes, and otherwise, to promote the general study and cultivation of all or any of the various branches or departments of art, science, literature and philosophy: and whereas certain Associations or Societies have been or may hereafter be established in the Province of South Australia, for the cultivation, by and amongst the members thereof respectively, of different branches or departments of arts, science, literature, and philosophy, and for extending the means at the command of such members respectively for such cultivation, and for other purposes tending to improve and elevate the mind and moral condition of such persons as may come within the influence of such societies respectively, and it is desirable to afford such societies every legitimate encouragement and assistance:³⁶

The Act established a Board of Governors, some appointed by the Colonial Government, others elected by the several affiliating societies. The Board was given responsibility for the monies made over to the Institute annually, for its administration and for building and other special purposes; and for the erecting, renting and hiring of halls, lecture-rooms and class-rooms and other buildings. The Act, and the consolidating Act of 1863,³⁷ made no specific mention of country Institutes which were also experiencing problems of accommodation and administrative support. As Talbot notes, in the debate on the second reading of the 1855-56 Bill, the Advocate General made it clear that the House should not look upon the South Australian Institute as a body which would benefit only the inhabitants of Adelaide. He envisaged that 'a vast amount of good might reasonably be expected to accrue to the colony at large.' In the event a central servicing role by the SAI to the local Institutes evolved out of need.³⁸

In the late 1850s and early 1860s, and particularly after the arrival of Robert Kay as Secretary in 1859, the Board secured a number of gains for the country Institutes. They included grants for the administration of local Institutes, assistance with book purchases, the development of a panel of visiting lecturers, and the introduction of a travelling book scheme. The number of Institutes receiving grant

³⁶ 19 and 20 Victoria No. 16 *The South Australian Institute Act, 1855-56*. Preamble.

³⁷ 26 and 27 Victoria No. 19 *The South Australian Institute Act, 1863*.

³⁸ Talbot Op Cit. pp. 34-35.

assistance increased from 31 in 1862, to 96 in 1883 and 147 in 1900.³⁹ The roster of visiting lecturers, developed through the 1860s, and backed on occasions with scientific or technical apparatus, brought entertainment as well as adult educational services to small, remote communities. The dissolving view apparatus offering a pictorial representation of distant countries was especially popular and in great demand. The lecturers might perform with a professionalism more appropriate for the stage, but they had all been subjected to the scrutiny of Kay, or of one or more of the Board's Governors.

The travelling box scheme, introduced in 1859, saw the creation of carefully constructed boxes, each containing 30-40 books, sent to country and suburban Institutes thereby supplying valuable supplements to the limited stock of many of their libraries. After three or four months, the boxes were passed on to another Institute as directed by the SAI. The only cost to an individual Institute was the onward freight cost. The number of boxes in circulation grew from 8 in 1859 to 60 in 1870, 144 in 1880 and 199 in 1895; of these 17.5% contained books in German to cater for the increasing number of German migrants.⁴⁰

The central Institute also offered assistance with rules and regulations which country and suburban Institutes were requiring to achieve the smooth running of their local operation. By 1863, their experience of several years' operation of the initial 1855-56 Institute Act, aided by the acquisition of copies of a recently published British manual on the development of mechanics' institutions, the Board had moved to the development of a set of rules and regulations for the conduct of all Institutes in the colony.⁴¹ The 1863 consolidating Act included under Schedule B a set of statutes and rules for the operation, not only of the SAI, but of all country and suburban Institutes. In December of that year they were issued verbatim to all Institutes. Section 11 of the Act of 1863 empowered the Governors:

³⁹ GRG 19 Series 355. *Minutes of the Governors of the South Australian Institute* 14 October 1862, 18 May 1883 and 14 May 1900.

⁴⁰ Talbot Op Cit. pp. 53-57.

⁴¹ *Ibid* p. 36.. The manual referred to was by W.H.J. Traice and entitled *Hand-book of Mechanics' Institutions, with priced catalogue of books suitable for libraries*. It was published in 1856.

to extend the advantages of the Institute, so far as they may deem it expedient, to all suburban and country Institutes, established for the promotion of similar objects;

provided they conformed to certain regulations, which included:

I. The rules of such Institute shall be subject to the approval of the Board of Governors, and a copy thereof be deposited with the Secretary of the South Australian Institute.

and

III. Full statistical returns, upon a form to be provided by the Board, shall be forwarded half-yearly by such Institute to the Board of Governors.⁴²

Thus the Schedule gave the central Institute, through its Board of Governors and their energetic Secretary, considerable influence over the operation of individual Institutes. The Schedule was helpful to a new and developing local group, but could be subject to sanctions if they failed to conform, including the suspension or termination of the government grant. Conversely, there were also opportunities for the Board to promote measures designed to influence the reading interests of subscribers. One instance of this was what has been frequently referred to as 'recreational reading.'

Recreational Reading

The question of fictional material in public libraries was a matter of considerable debate in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was argued that only reading which stimulated the mind and developed the mental faculties should be encouraged. The Nonconformists, and particularly the Methodists, were strong in their support of reading. 'We are not patrons of ignorance. We desire the diffusion of useful knowledge. We would have our people a reading, as well as a praying people'. But care was necessary in the choice of reading material because 'light, frothy, vapid novels' could easily destroy 'all taste for solid, healthy, instructive

⁴² 26 and 27 Victoria 1863 No. 19 Op Cit. Schedule B. *Statutes and Rules*.

literature'.⁴³ Hunt writes of an occasion at Wistow, in 1863, when the Primitive Methodists organised a public burning of novels.⁴⁴

There was concern also that public money expended on light romantic novels – 'recreational reading' - could not be justified. Institutes were developed as centres of adult education. It followed that they required intellectual rigour in the choice of books. The argument was accentuated when the substantial grants by the colonial government for the creation of new Institute facilities were taken into account. Yet the overwhelming evidence from all of the colony's Institute libraries was that their subscribers' major reading interest was fiction. Country and suburban Institute libraries could not exist without the support of subscribers whose major reading interest was light, fictional material.

Schedule B of the consolidating South Australian Institute Act of 1863, leading to the formalisation of the set of statutes and rules governing the regulation of all Institutes in the colony, included a measure designed to influence the reading of subscribers. Section 7 dealt with the requirements of subscribers using the Institute library. Sub section IV imposed the regulation:

Subscribers to the library shall be allowed to take out one or more volumes of a single work, or of two separate works, at one time, for a fixed period ... provided that only one of such works shall belong to class M in the library catalogue.

Class M, in the cataloguing of the period, embraced works of fiction.

After several years operation of the Statutes and Rules arising from the 1863 Act, the Librarian of the central Institute, Richard Benham, was moved to write directly to the Board that Section 7 IV had:

practically been a dead letter – many people being subscribers to the library only for the purpose of amusement and objecting to being obliged to take out books in Classes they have no interest in.

⁴³ Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference 1861. p. 47.

⁴⁴ Hunt, A. *This Side Of Heaven. A History Of Methodism In South Australia*. 1985. p. 169.

Benham's letter to the Board went on to say that he and the Assistant Librarian had been in the habit of allowing such subscribers to take out two works in Class M only insisting upon them not being recent books. He respectfully recommended that when the Board next amended the statutes and rules that this clause be altered:

to make the written law accord with this practice as it seems impossible by any Statutes to regulate or improve the public taste in the matter of reading and as I am afraid that a strict enforcement of this rule as it at present stands, would only lead to a diminution in the number of subscribers.⁴⁵

The Librarian's letter was noted and the opening four lines of Section 7 Sub section IV redrafted to read that subscribers would be allowed to take out up to three separate works. At the end of the century, even country Institutes with large holdings had quantities of fiction running at over 50% of their total stock. In some of the smaller libraries, the figure exceeded 80%.⁴⁶ The *Kapunda Herald* religiously printed the monthly return of books issued to subscribers at the local Institute library and, on occasions, the yearly totals reported at the annual meeting of subscribers. The issues for fiction were always above 65% and, frequently, exceeded 80%.⁴⁷

Other Sanctions

Useful Knowledge and Rational Mental Recreation

The Board of Governors of the SAI, through the responsibilities it carried on behalf of the Minister of Education, was able to exercise other controls on the recreational activities permitted at country institutes. Section 2 of the Model Set of Rules set down that:

⁴⁵ GRG 19 Series 185. *Letter from Librarian to Board of Governors, 7 January 1869.*

⁴⁶ Talbot Op Cit. 49-50.

⁴⁷ The percentage figure of fiction issues for 1884 was 82% (see KH 1 February 1884) and for 1891 68% (KH 1 April 1892).

The objects of the Institute shall be the promotion of useful knowledge and rational mental recreation amongst its members, by the following means. As far as may be practicable, viz. – the establishment of a library and reading room, lectures, conversaciones, classes, &c.⁴⁸

However, others had in mind a broader interpretation of the potential value of the facilities which might emerge through local initiatives. The Mount Lofty committee were looking to build a facility suitable ‘for an Institute, a schoolroom and a public room – a place much needed in the locality’. The committee at Wilmington had in mind that their newly opened Institute would be a centre for instruction and for entertainments, a view shared with the committee at Payneham in the planning of their facility.⁴⁹ Commenting on the issue in 1872, the *Register*, in a leader on Country Institutes, remarked:

It is true that they may be used by many to supply means of mere amusement rather than instruction. The books most read in their libraries may be intended to while away an idle hour than to extend the sphere of knowledge. Their lectures and entertainments may sometimes be of the lightest kind. But even then they are not without their usefulness. Harmless amusement is needful to the health of the mind as wholesome food is to that of the body ... Thus merely as caterers for the public amusement the country Institutes fill no unimportant in the community.

The leader found some comfort in noting that:

While the real students may be few, there are numbers who by means of the Institute extend their thoughts and their knowledge far beyond the narrow circle of their daily life, and thus find both occupation and instruction through many a long hour that would otherwise be ill spent.⁵⁰

The more formal activities envisaged for Institutes failed to attract those for whom they were primarily intended. Where classes were offered, they almost always failed to attract sufficient numbers, particularly from among the working classes, to make them viable. There were complaints that membership fees – generally of the

⁴⁸ GRG 19 Series 224. *Model Set Of Rules For Country Institutes*.

⁴⁹ *Register* 10 December 1862, 17 December 1872 and 5 January 1882.

⁵⁰ *Ibid* 16 September 1872

order of one pound per year though sometimes set at five shillings a quarter – were prohibitive for the average working man, that the library and reading room facilities were open at inconvenient times and that many of the lectures were unattractive in their title and presentation. The Highercombe Institute, reporting limited progress on the issue of classes after the first few months of its existence, regretted the lack of interest among the working classes, but held out hope for an improvement. The *Register* concurred: the ‘innocent amusements provided by Institutes always have a beneficial effect by elevating the moral tone of the people’.⁵¹ The SAI itself experienced the same response early on in its existence. The annual report for 1862 regretted that their attempt to establish evening classes had not met with the support which might have been expected. Of the eight classes offered in French, German, English Language and Literature, Latin, Modern History, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Vocal Music, only those for French, German and Vocal Music drew sufficient enrolments to justify their continuation. Of these Vocal Music was by far the most popular with some 30 enrolments. The popularity of the class was such that two further Vocal Music classes were commenced. The first class clearly enjoyed the experience and presented a silver baton to their teacher; it went on to form its own choral group, perhaps conveying a strong message about the latent attractiveness of some activities over others.⁵²

The introduction in the late 1850s of a scheme whereby the colonial government began to subsidise, on a pound for pound basis, local initiatives to create Institute buildings began a steady development of Institute buildings across the province, which continued for the remainder of the century. Even small communities aimed to provide a minimum accommodation of a lecture hall, library and reading room. Many, either initially or in the fullness of time, added meeting rooms, a kitchen, and, occasionally, a museum, art gallery, prosceniums, changing facilities and storage spaces; these made the Institute attractive for activities considerably

⁵¹ *Ibid* 2 October 1872.

⁵² *SAI Annual Report, 1862*. GRG 19 Series 355 *Minutes of the Governors of the South Australian Institute* 29 July 1861, 10 February 1862, 8 June and 14 December 1863, and 21 March and 27 December 1864.

removed from the adult education objectives of promoting 'useful knowledge and rational mental recreation'. Dances, a range of club and society activities, receptions, band rehearsals, entertainments, touring professional theatre companies - made possible by the increasing network of railways with coach services linking communities from the railheads - could all be accommodated. The Board was frequently approached by local Institutes for guidance as to what activities were appropriate and acceptable; other Institutes acted on their own initiative and were sometimes brought into line by the Board after being found to have infringed previous Board rulings. The Board held the ultimate sanction since it could advise the Minister to withhold the government grant-in-aid if the recalcitrant Institute persisted. On several occasions it employed this sanction.

Card playing was for several decades completely off limits because of its association with gambling. When one of the Board Governors, the Hon Lavington Glyde MLC, a Congregationalist, became aware in 1881 that Institute facilities were being used by some local communities for the playing of card games, he quickly persuaded the Board to recommend to the Minister that the activity should be prohibited. The Board and the Minister complied and in March of that year all Institutes were circularised to that effect:

The Board desire it to be known that they regard such a practice as objectionable and altogether foreign to the purposes for which those Institutes are intended.

All persons concerned are therefore requested to take notice that the Board will not recommend the payment of the annual grant-in-aid to any Institute which authorises or allows Cardplay (*sic*) in its rooms.⁵³

The issue of card playing at Institute facilities remained contentious for the following two decades, particularly as in many cases the use of the facilities was requested at times when they were under-utilised. By the 1890s, many communities had developed strong followings for the card game of whist. The Hanson, Tanunda, Mallala, Windsor and Wallaroo Institutes were among those

⁵³ GRG 19 Series 224 *Card Playing In Suburban and Country Institutes*

who, over the years, corresponded with the Board on the issue.⁵⁴ There was some relaxing of the regulation in a circular at the turn of the century which withdrew the 1881 Circular and issued the following in its place:

I. Card-playing is strictly forbidden in any of the rooms belonging to, or occupied by an Institute, while such rooms are occupied for Institute purposes.

II. Institutes are not allowed to let their rooms to Societies or Clubs established or carried on for the purpose of Card playing.

III. When Institutes let their rooms for social purposes, the host and invited guests are at liberty to play cards, provided that they do not play for money.⁵⁵

Billiards also created some difficulties for the Board, it being argued that the activity had strong associations with gambling and intemperance. Decisions made in respect of inquiries from the Penola Institute in 1889 led to a clear response from the Board that they did not object to the provision of a billiard room in connection with the Institute 'on the distinct understanding that no gambling is permitted there.'⁵⁶

Until the late 1870s, the Board appears to have denied local committees the use of Institute facilities for dancing. Letters published in the *Register* late in 1877 protested that at the Nuriootpa Institute there was a ban on dancing (as well as difficulty in gaining access to the piano), while at Truro the complaint was that the Institute Committee has accepted a substantial donation towards the construction of the Institute building, conditional on the banning of all dancing.⁵⁷ Similarly, the interpretation of the use of an Institute hall for dancing was made easier by the Board in August 1878. It followed the recommendation of a Committee established by the Board to consider the letting of portions of Country Institute buildings for

⁵⁴ GRG 19 Series 355 Op Cit. 18 February 1881, 18 March 1881 and 3 June 1881. GRG 19 Series 356. Minutes of the Country Institutes Committee 10 September 1886, 18 November 1895, 15 May 1896 and 22 January 1900.

⁵⁵ GRG 19 Series 224. Op Cit

⁵⁶ GRG 19 Series 355 op. cit. 12 September 1889.

⁵⁷ *Register* 23 October and 3 November 1877.

other than Institute purposes. The recommendation of the majority of the Committee was:

that quadrille parties and balls may be allowed in the halls or rooms of the country Institutes in localities where there are no other suitable rooms to be obtained, under special regulations to be approved by the Board of Governors.⁵⁸

The letting of the Port Augusta Institute hall weekly to a local quadrille club and for a quarterly ball was approved by the Board late in 1878 and, in the following year, permission was granted to the Payneham Institute to promote a weekly dancing class.⁵⁹ The strictures against dancing eased further in the early 1880s. In 1882, following a fund-raising concert in the Strathalbyn Institute hall, ‘the hall was cleared and dancing followed.’ In the same year, press reports revealed that quadrille clubs were being accommodated at the Hindmarsh and Gawler Institutes, the latter at a hiring cost of 30 shillings for an ordinary night and 40 shillings ‘for a long night.’⁶⁰ In 1883 the management committee for the Kapunda Institute, somewhat reluctantly, authorised a letting of the hall for a quadrille class ‘.. without piano, for the sum of 15s per night, subject to the room not being wanted for other entertainments.’⁶¹ The Uraidla Institute received permission in 1885 to let its hall for a quadrille party ‘it being distinctly understood that intoxicating liquors are not to be used on the Institute premises’.⁶² By the early 1890s, there were reports of regular gatherings in the Institute halls for quadrille classes and quadrille balls in the *Kapunda Herald* from correspondents at Koolunga, Freeling and Riverton as well as the Kapunda Institute itself.⁶³

During the nineteenth century, the banning of intoxicating liquors at all activities promoted by the Institutes and in all lettings of their facilities appears never to have been waived.

⁵⁸ GRG 19 Series 206 *Recommendations For Letting Portions Of Country Institute Buildings 1878.*

⁵⁹ GRG 19 Series 355 Op Cit. 20 December 1878 and 7 March 1879.

⁶⁰ *Register* 25 February, 25 April and 6 July 1882.

⁶¹ *KH* 10 April 1883.

⁶² GRG 19 Series 355 Op Cit. 4 November 1885.

⁶³ *KH* 11 July 1890, 22 July 1892, 3 April and 17 July 1894

The Sunday Opening of Public Institutions

Many of the forces which campaigned for the increase of opportunities to improve and elevate the mind, and more specifically to control the working class use of leisure, found themselves in some difficulty about the opening of public amenities on Sundays. Nonconformist denominations held strict views about the sanctity of the Sabbath. For the Methodists, the denomination with the largest following among the Nonconformists in the province, the focal point in the observance of Sunday was religious worship. It was also a day of rest binding on everyone and not just on those who chose to go to church. It was the duty of Methodists to resist the practices of others which eroded the sanctity of the Sabbath.⁶⁴ This view translated into such extreme practices as preventing children using the swings in a public park (or their own backyard) on a Sunday, and requiring ministers and church members not to use public transport on a Sunday. In the latter case, it was argued that the use of public transport on a Sunday prevented the driver and any other employee involved in providing the transport service from observing the Lord's Day and, in particular, from attending church.

The difficulty arose when amenities created for the edification of the community, and particularly for the education of the working classes, such as parks, galleries, libraries and adjoining reading rooms, remained closed totally, or for substantial periods, on a Sunday, the one day of the week when the great majority of working men and women were free from work. Nonconformists were active in the enquiry leading to the model adopted to establish the South Australian Institute; they may well have been involved in the drafting of the Act which brought the SAI into being in June 1856. The Schedule Of Statutes And Rules governing the operation of the Institute set down that the public should be admitted daily to the reading room, Sundays excepted.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Hunt, A. Op Cit. pp. 199-201.

⁶⁵ 19 & 20 Victoria 1956 No. 16. *The South Australian Institute Act 1855-56. Schedule Of Statutes And Rules. No. 3.*

This control of the Sunday opening hours of libraries, reading rooms, museums and art galleries remained in existence for nearly twenty five years. Complaints were made and at least one unsuccessful effort attempted in the House of Assembly in 1874 to move an amendment to open government-supported Institutes (inferring both their libraries and reading rooms), and museums throughout the colony.⁶⁶ The Board of Governors asked the Minister to oppose the motion as, 'without entering on the general question involved', they considered that such a change would require additional staffing and they did not suppose that the majority of the Country Institutes would be able to make a change in their arrangements.⁶⁷ The amendment was dropped and the need to enter into the general question thereby avoided.

Three years later a well-attended meeting of the subscribers of the Port Adelaide Institute was held to consider the advisability of opening the reading room on Sunday afternoons between the hours of 2 and 6, provided that the Librarian was relieved of Sunday attendance. It was contended that there was a chance that readers would be inclined to attend church in the evening if they had been reading during the afternoon, while there was none if they went to the public house. Interestingly, both the proposer and the seconder of the motion were church ministers – as was the proposer of an amendment that the present rule be retained. The Secretary having referred to the possibility of there being a legal question on the proposition, it was decided to take legal advice and both the motion and the amendment were withdrawn.⁶⁸

However, the pressure for the Sunday opening of Institute reading rooms continued. In 1879 another similar parliamentary motion was flagged as likely to be debated in the House of Assembly and a special meeting of the Board of Governors was called to discuss the matter. On this occasion it was 'the general feeling' of the Board to support the motion, though formulating a precise response

⁶⁶ *SAPD* August 12 1874 Cols1276-1277.

⁶⁷ *GRG* 19 Series 355 Op Cit. 31 July 1874.

⁶⁸ *Register* 28 February 1877.

was delayed until the detail of the parliamentary motion was made clear.⁶⁹ In the event, a motion was moved in the House:

That it is desirable that the Reading-rooms and Museums of all Institutes receiving aid from the Government should be opened and available to the public between the hours of 1 p.m. and sunset on every Sunday.

Among several issues raised in the debate, it was pointed out that, for some twenty years, the Botanic Garden had been open to the public on every Sunday afternoon for several hours and more people visited the facility than on any other day of the week; that, excepting Sunday schools, there were no other religious organisations meeting during these hours; that the number of those who make Sunday a day of innocent recreation and who did not chose to attend church was steadily increasing; that the work involved in opening Institutes and museums on a Sunday was as nothing compared to those employed on the buses and railway trains or in the tobacco and fruit shops on a Sunday. Those arguing for the *status quo* brought several petitions before the House; suggested that very few working men would avail themselves of the opportunities of using the facilities on Sundays; could not be implemented by the majority of country Institutes who depended on voluntary effort to operate their existing opening hours; would deter people from attending evening services; and would be the first steps on the slippery slope leading ultimately to the 'Continental Sunday'. At the conclusion of the debate a compromise resolution was passed by 23 votes to 5. It read:

That it is desirable that the Reading-rooms and Museums of the Adelaide and Port Adelaide Institutes should be opened and available to the public between the hours of 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. on every Sunday, and that it is desirable as regards all other Institutes that it be in the discretion of the majority of the Committee of each Institute whether their Institute shall or shall not be opened on Sundays.⁷⁰

No reason was given for the new stance adopted by the Board of Governors before the parliamentary debate, as compared with the position taken five years

⁶⁹ GRG 19 Series 355 Op Cit. 18 July and 1 August 1879.

⁷⁰ SAPD July 23 1879 Cols 464-469 and August 13 1879 Cols 610-620

earlier. One must conclude that the majority of the Board, if not the total Board, had come to the conclusion in the interim that the case for opening was overwhelming and that the facilities should be made available, provided the staffing problem could be overcome. Interestingly, although there was a considerable number of Nonconformist members in the parliament at this time, their votes were very divided with a majority of them supporting the final resolution. Overall, it was an important milestone in the struggle to increase Sunday recreation options in the colony.

Programs Affecting Indirect Social Controls

Improvement Societies

There were numerous other groups, mostly church-based, which operated programs designed to attract people, particularly working class males and juveniles, away from the lure of drink and gambling. They developed strategies to influence the leisure options of young people, but were without the authority given by statutory powers. Most notable of these were the 'improvement societies' and 'young men's societies', promoted predominantly by the churches. However, it was not uncommon for individual societies to be non-sectarian in their membership, especially those associated with the Congregational Church. These societies frequently carried a variety of qualifiers in their titles such as 'self improvement' and 'mutual improvement'. Improvement societies were in existence in Britain in the 1840s. Reporting on a *soiree* staged by the Adelaide Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society held in 1867, the *Register* noted that 'they were first established to obviate a difficulty raised by enemies of the early closing movement in the old country'.⁷¹

Improvement societies in South Australia in their early years offered programs not far removed from those of the Institutes, such as lectures and classes in subjects deemed to be 'useful knowledge'. Some offered access to a small library

⁷¹ *Register* 2 March 1867.

developed through the society's membership with help also from the church members. They held the occasional *soiree* or *conversazione*. Societies were operating in the colony in the late 1850s and by the early 1860s there were reports of their existence in Adelaide and some of its neighbouring villages, based on Pirie Street Wesleyan Methodist, North Adelaide Congregational, Trinity Church of England, Norwood Wesleyan, St Francis Xavier Catholic, Brompton Wesleyan, Clayton Congregational and Adelaide Wesleyan. There were also reports of similar societies operating further afield at Kadina, Port Adelaide and Mount Gambier.

As with the Institutes, the classes offered by the improvement societies attracted few enrolments, but programs evolved to include elocution, recitations, debates, musical items which offered some variety and even entertainment, while staying well within the purview of rational recreation. The annual general meeting of the Norwood Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society held in July 1865 reported that in the year under review, 48 meetings and 3 soirees had been held. There had been several public lectures and eleven essays prepared by members. Eleven evenings had been devoted to the scriptures, and twelve to meetings and recitations. They had also held 'two very interesting and well conducted' debates. The report concluded:

We are more than ever persuaded that Mutual Improvement associations, under effective supervision, are calculated to do a large amount of good among our young people. They are an excellent training ground for youth.⁷²

The Adelaide Young Men's Society, based on the Stow Memorial Church, at its annual general meeting in 1877 – the Reverend Fletcher in the chair – reported 132 members on its books with an average attendance of over fifty at its meetings. The society had a library with some 200 volumes. Their programs in phonography, elocution and 'vocal music' had all been well supported. A book club and a cricket club had recently been formed.⁷³

⁷² *WM* July 1865 p. 130.

⁷³ *Register* 27 March 1877.

Certainly, the church-based improvement societies aimed to achieve effective supervision; the guiding force in the majority of cases was the local pastor, priest or minister, who frequently was the President of the Society. The church authorities were firmly in control of any improvement society they sponsored. The target group for society membership were young men, and not only from their church; several societies sponsored by the Congregational Church operated a non-sectarian policy regarding membership. The *Methodist Journal* reporter commenting on the progress of the Unley Mutual Improvement Society's progress, was moved to write:

There can be no doubt that as associations bringing young men together in intelligent pleasures and useful pursuits, these societies call for the utmost encouragement for all who have at heart the welfare of young men, while in the most critical period of their lives.⁷⁴

One very 'effective supervisor' was the Reverend James Jefferis, minister of the North Adelaide Congregational Church at Brougham Place and for nearly twenty years President of the North Adelaide Young Men's Society based at that church. In 1860, shortly after his arrival in Adelaide, Jefferis established the society and was active in formulating its programs. The society held lectures on historical, social, political and scientific subjects given by Jefferis himself or by visiting speakers. Jefferis also gave practical classes in geology and botany as he led members on bush walks in Adelaide's hinterland. There were also classes in shorthand. In an address at one of the early *soirees*, Jefferis set out his philosophy for the society. He believed its members should aim at advancing themselves 'in every department of useful knowledge, and giving to religion a wiser, healthier, and more social aspect than is generally presented'.⁷⁵ The society held *conversazioni* when scientific exhibits were displayed, along with other entertainments, as a further adult educational extension to their program. At the

The cricket club played to a high standard of the game in the late 1860s. Phillips, in his biography of James Jefferis, notes that, in cricketing circles, the team was known among other clubs as the 'holy boys'. Phillips, W. *James Jefferis Prophet Of Federation*. Australian Scholarly Publishing Melbourne. 1993. p. 44.

⁷⁴ MJ 19 October 1877.

⁷⁵ Phillips, W. *James Jefferis. Prophet Of Federation*. 1993 pp. 43-44.

opening entertainment of its thirteenth year in 1872, with Jefferis in the chair, the society reported that it had three distinct departments of instruction – the monthly lecture, a meeting a month directed to elocution and a third devoted to essays and discussions.⁷⁶

It was almost certainly Jefferis who led the move for church-based improvement societies to encourage a non-sectarian membership. One also detects his involvement in the moves, late in 1872, to establish a magazine for the young men's societies. Certainly, delegates assembled at a meeting in his church facilities - the North Adelaide Congregational Church in October of that year. They determined to go ahead, appointed an Editorial Committee and decided on its name – *Young Australia*.⁷⁷ The Journal appears to have been running at least until January 1875, in which year the *Kapunda Herald* reported on an article in the current edition entitled *The Educational Status Of Young Men's Societies*.⁷⁸

There was no doubting the popularity of the societies' occasional *soirees* and *conversaziones*. These were occasions when family and friends, including 'the ladies' or 'members of the fair sex', as they were frequently reported, attended to support the male members. They were also important nights in the local social calendar when songs, instrumentals, duets, choral items, readings and recitations, and sometimes scientific experiments, entertained packed audiences. The local paper reported on the entertainment by the Watervale Young Men's Improvement Society in 1869, when Mr Cole's schoolroom was filled to overcrowding. The program included songs, duets, piano solos and recitations and an exhibition by Dr Bewicke of magnesium light.⁷⁹ The *soirees* in the early years of the movement were generally interspersed with at least one, and sometimes two, addresses or homilies from the presiding cleric. Thus, even at gatherings which were essentially social and when the emphasis was on entertainment, the direction remained firmly in the control of the sponsoring church authority.

⁷⁶ *Register* 6 February 1872.

⁷⁷ *Register* 28 October 1872.

⁷⁸ *KH* 15 January 1875.

⁷⁹ *Northern Star* 23 April 1869.

Self improvement was the corner-stone of these societies and the church authorities took every opportunity to underscore their value to young people. Reporting on the paper presented to the Kapunda Young Men's Society in 1873 by its President, Reverend M. Williams, entitled *Benjamin Franklin: An Example Of Self Improvement*. The local newspaper observed:

The paper gave an abstract of the life of Franklin, referred to the many difficulties with which he had to contend, spoke of his perseverance in overcoming all obstacles, and commended his life as an example to be followed by all young men who desire to improve their minds.⁸⁰

The newspaper went on to report that the speaker was listened to intently and that the reporter's firm would be printing the paper.

In the late 1860s and through the closing decades of the century there developed a greater sophistication in the entertainments offered at *soirees*. A hand bellringers group emerged in Adelaide in the seventies and was pleased to respond to requests from various societies to perform for them. Minstrel groups emerged, following the craze in America and, to a lesser extent, in Britain. They performed under a variety of names – among them the Court Minstrels, the Black Star Minstrel Group, the Buffalo Minstrels and the St. Crispin's Minstrel Company – with new groups appearing well into the 1890s.⁸¹ Another group of entertainment companies – the Lifeboat Crews – were closely connected to contemporary temperance movements. The Havelock, Excelsior, Parkside and General Gordon Lifeboat Crews were among those groups who entertained through song, instrumentals, recitations and comic sketches and conveyed temperance and other social messages in their programs.⁸² Glee - a form of harmony singing – became popular and led to the formation in some societies of Glee Clubs which participated in the entertainments of other societies as well as their own. Suburban and cross city evening travel became possible for increasing numbers of people as the century wore on, enabling entertainment groups to visit a broader catchment

⁸⁰ KH 23 May 1873.

⁸¹ Register 24 August 1882, 16 March 1887, 30 March 1892 and 15 April 1897.

⁸² Ibid 2 May 1872, 26 August 1882, 19 November 1887 and 13 February 1892.

area. While the churches and other community leaders held control on the general direction of these societies, the memberships, such as they were, found the means of making their program content more recreational and enjoyable – but within the bounds of acceptable rational recreation.

Literary Societies

The move towards entertainment groups from within the young men's improvement societies' movement took on new dimensions with the appearance and development of literary societies. The programs of the literary societies contained many elements of the entertainment programs of the young men's improvement societies, including recitations, songs, instrumentals, debates and impromptu speeches; these were given a new focus and emphasis, through competition - first among members of an individual literary society and then between the literary societies themselves.

Literary societies were in existence in the colony at least by the early 1870s. In mid 1872, the *Register* reported an entertainment given by the St Luke's Literary Association in the Lecture Hall at Whitmore Square, with men and women performers. In December of the same year The North Adelaide Literary Society, closely connected with the North Adelaide Baptist Church, celebrated the close of its seventh year with its annual *soiree* and a program which included glees, songs and recitations. A minister, presiding at a similar function some five years later, urged members 'individually to throw their energies into the work of self improvement'. In the same year the literary society linked to the Flinders Street Baptist Church boasted over forty members.⁸³ By this time literary societies had come into existence in communities well away from Adelaide.⁸⁴

The programs of the literary societies began to include new areas of activity such as elocution, essays, poems, short stories, solo and part singing. Clubs began to

⁸³ *Ibid* 20 June and 18 December 1872, 7 March 27 and June 1877.

⁸⁴ A *Register* report of 4 June 1877 covered an entertainment by the Port Elliot Literary Society at the Port Elliott assembly rooms.

produce and print their own magazines with contributions from members. These too became subject to competition through the auspices of the Literary Societies' Union which had come into being in 1882. By 1887 the Union found it necessary to hold preliminary competitions in five divisions because of the number of competition applications that year.⁸⁵ By 1892 the Union had a membership of 39 societies; its yearbook, as announced in the *Register*, contained not only reports on the Union's activities, but also reproduced the prize essays, poems, novelettes and impromptu essays.⁸⁶

Several issues are worthy of note in this development of literary societies. First, many of the literary societies appear to have emerged as extensions, or replacements, of existing young men's improvement societies. Certainly there was a distinct falling away of reports of improvement society activities during the later 1880s and through the 1890s, a period when the reporting of literary society activities increased. The retiring Secretary of the Union in 1892, replying to a testimonial presentation, was moved to state that on leaving school he had become a member of a literary society through membership of a mutual improvement society.⁸⁷ As has been noted, many of the literary societies were linked to churches, as were the improvement societies. Second, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the activities of the societies were somewhat elitist and that few working class men or women would have been comfortable in their company. A leading article in the *Register* wrote warmly in support of the activities of the Union, engaging as they did 'gentlemen representing all professions'. The article went on to claim that the work of the association was 'only a proper complement of our numerous athletic societies. It does for mental culture what they do for physical exercises'.⁸⁸ Like the improvement societies before them, the literary societies had very limited attraction for young working class men. Reports in the *Kapunda Herald* over the period 1864 to 1890 show no fewer than

⁸⁵ *Register* 9 September 1887. They included 27 entries for elocution, 26 for extempore speaking, 19 for singing, 25 for reading at sight, and 30 for impromptu essay. The Union also received 17 essays, 23 poems and 12 novelettes, all intended for competition.

⁸⁶ *Ibid* 12 July and 1 September 1892

⁸⁷ *Register* 3 February 1892.

⁸⁸ *Ibid* 16 September 1892.

five attempts to establish a Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society in Kapunda and finally a literary society, all aimed essentially at working class men; all held a brief existence. However, in the context of their programs' relevance to adult education and rational recreation, the activities of the literary societies would have rated highly in the assessment of the period. For those who participated, the societies were self-improving, directed towards excellence and, overall, would have been viewed as an admirable use of disposable leisure hours.

Bands of Hope

There were other programs created by organisations in the colony with the objective of deterring young people from the perceived social evils of intemperance and gambling. The Band of Hope movement, directed predominantly towards children and juveniles, was taken up by Protestant churches in South Australia in the early 1860s. The origin of the movement was to be found in Britain where the first Band had been inaugurated in the city of Leeds in 1847. As Shiman has observed:

While the positive work of the Band of Hope was valued highly by many parents, the movement's role in keeping the children away from other, less desirable, activities was just as important to its supporters. There was a dearth of respectable pastimes for urban working-class children in the nineteenth century with the result that many became part of a street society. Here they learned drinking, gambling, and other equally unsavoury activities.⁸⁹

By mid 1866, it was reported that there were ten Bands in the colony. New Bands were mentioned frequently in the Methodist press.⁹⁰ They were to be found in country communities and not only in Adelaide and the city's satellite villages.⁹¹ Whilst their programs were directed to children and juveniles, the early Bands in the colony had adults among their membership. The meetings had entertainment segments – songs, recitations, readings, interspersed with homilies on the need

⁸⁹ Shiman, L.L. 'The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation For Working-Class Children' *Victorian Studies* Vol. XVII September 1973. p. 50.

⁹⁰ *WM* July 1866 p. 115 and January 1868 p. 197. *KH* 18 July 1873 and 29 June 1875.

⁹¹ *KH* 12 August 1873 and 29 June 1875.

for total abstinence, and temperance hymns. The festivals and anniversaries, generally marked with picnic outings, were major local community events, celebrated by parents as well as the children.

The movement was approved and adopted officially by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of South Australia in 1878, though Hunt has shown that individual churches had sponsored Bands well before that year.⁹² Bands carried objectives which spread much wider than the temperance issue. They were to educate the young in the principles and practice of sobriety and through regular worship to inculcate the moral duties of:

industry, honesty, truthfulness, kindness; the discouragement of the practice of smoking; and the creation of disgust for all bad or offensive habits – Sabbath breaking, swearing, gambling and such like.⁹³

The Conference advocated tight control over the programs of the Bands. Programs should include devotional exercises and two or three short addresses. Singing was encouraged, as was the formation of singing classes. The singing should be lively. Speakers should aim not only to interest and amuse, but also to instruct. However, 'If any recitations be introduced, nothing vulgar, or theatrical, should be allowed'. The Conference was also concerned to have the officers of local Bands in 'the discreet supervision of all festival arrangements.'⁹⁴ The resolutions of the yearly Conference show that control over the programs continued to be a major concern; the one at the Conference of 1888 appealed for more effort from the body of the Church:

A much more general and hearty co-operation on the part of adult members of our Church is required before the right standard of efficiency aimed at can be achieved.

And later in the same report:

⁹² Hunt, A. Op Cit. p. 157. The author reports that by 1894, the Wesleyans had 82 Band of Hope societies in the colony with 5,504 members.

⁹³ *SRG 1/1 Minutes Of The Wesleyan Methodist Conference Of South Australia*. 22 January 1878.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

It is also of the opinion that a more vigilant oversight is desirable in relation to the kind of programmes adopted in Band of Hope entertainments.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, for many children, despite the rigid discipline demanded by the organisers of the movement, the Bands provided opportunities to experience new recreational activities, particularly in the music field. Singing formed a major part of a Band's activities and there were volumes of temperance songs and hymns. Drum and fife bands introduced many children to other forms of music making; they were seen as valuable feeders into community brass bands.

Young Men's Christian Association

While the Band of Hope movement brought colour and drama into the lives of many children, it was also an example of a desire for a tight social control, perhaps inevitably because of the messages conveyed, the sincerity of the conveyors and the youthfulness of the captive audience. By comparison, the approach was much gentler in the programs developed by another religious-based organisation, the Young Men's Christian Association, which largely paralleled in time the growth in the colony of the Band of Hope movement.

The YMCA originated in Britain in 1844 and soon after made a stumbling start in the colony of South Australia. In Adelaide a branch was in existence from 1850 – 53, but succumbed, probably because of the gold rush when one third of the male population left the colony for the gold fields; and perhaps because of the type of activities offered which embraced weekly prayer meetings, public lectures on religious themes and devotional exercises. There was no relief by way of sporting or secular programs, and indeed many team games, other than cricket, had yet to be codified.⁹⁶ A Brompton Wesleyan YMCA was in existence in May 1865 and lasted for some five years. Its constitution indicated that its program was directed towards the 'spiritual and mental improvement of all its members by means of

⁹⁵ SRG 1/1 op. cit. 17 January 1888.

⁹⁶ Daly, J.W. *The Adelaide YMCA. Some Aspects Of Its Development*. B.A. Hons Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1972. pp. 5-6

essays, lectures, debates, elocution, study and scripture'. A program exists for 28 May 1869; its items included singing and prayer, Business Meeting, recitations, discussions, readings, Doxology and Benediction. The roll book showed a membership of 78 persons from which the average attendance was seventeen.⁹⁷

The present Adelaide YMCA was established in January 1879 through the initiative of a group of members of the Flinders Street Presbyterian Mutual Improvement Association. They may well have been encouraged by the success of the movement in Sydney and Melbourne through the 1870s. From the outset it was city-based with a majority of the 21 Board of Management drawn from local business men, the others being six clergymen, the Headmaster of Prince Alfred's College and two members of the Legislative Council.⁹⁸ While the focus of their programs was religious and spiritual, the Association recognised the attraction of social and recreational activities to many young people. At the first public meeting of the Association in April 1879, the President announced that:

the first aim of the Association should be to provide recreation for the young men of Adelaide ... they intended shutting out all dogmatism and all disputed creeds, and setting forth to young men the great principle of Christian manliness.

At the same meeting, the Chairman, H. Scott MLC, argued:

the advantages that would attend the enabling of young men to congregate together in some convenient place to assist each other in developing their moral characters, and enjoy themselves in a rational manner.⁹⁹

Their initial set of facilities included a gymnasium, a reading room, library and class room, a smoking room and a large social room; at their opening the Governor commented:

⁹⁷ SRG 90/22 *Young Men's Christian Association. Miscellaneous papers relating to the constitution, property, finance and special celebrations of the Association 1879-1929.*

⁹⁸ Daly, J.W. Op Cit. p. 8.

⁹⁹ Register 1 May 1879.

Associations of this sort are well calculated to improve young men in the various duties they have to perform not only mentally, but in what I call muscular Christianity, which I am glad to see is recognised in this institution.¹⁰⁰

'Rational recreation', 'muscular Christianity', 'athleticism', 'Christian manliness' – were all terms which came to be associated with the special claims made for team sports, including rowing. Properly administered, it was contended, they carried the potential for players to acquire valuable life experiences working with others, showing courage in the face of adversity, putting personal ambitions below the needs of the team, developing leadership skills, among others.

Certainly the range of recreational activities in the Adelaide YMCA grew markedly as was well illustrated in the 1892 annual report. Reporting on the religious, spiritual and community welfare programs - the central work of the Association - the report made mention of a Glee Club, a Musical Society, an orchestra of thirty five players, a Literary and Debating Society, as well as cricket, bicycling, swimming and lawn tennis clubs.¹⁰¹

Benefit Societies

Any coverage of organisations attempting to exercise degrees of control over the use of their members' leisure must take note of the temperance benefit societies of the period, and particularly the Grand Templars and the Independent Order of Rechabites. Both organisations required total abstinence of their members. It was a requirement of the Rechabites that all members should be active in guiding younger members into acceptable and rational forms of recreation. The local branches of the Order, or 'Tents' as they were known, supported programs of activities for the juvenile section of the Tent. In the process they were able to maintain the interest and involvement of their own members at the compulsory Tent meetings. The Sons of Freedom Tent No. 4, who in the late 1870s met in the

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid* 27 August 1879.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid* 6 April 1892.

Brompton Wesleyan School Room, had an entertainment segment of their own at most meetings, as well as running recitation competitions for the juvenile branch. Clearly, the segments were a welcome respite. 'This being competition night, the business was soon disposed of' reads one minute; and on another occasion 'Brother Gould enlivened the usual monotony of the Tent's proceedings by reading an amusing piece entitled '*A Mishap To A Witness*'.¹⁰²

Temperance Hotels and Coffee Palaces

There were continuing efforts made over the years to provide venues where no alcoholic drink was served, and which would be attractive to working men as an alternative to the public house. Noting the existence of Temperance Hotels in Britain, in 1876, the *Methodist Journal* reported on the opening of one such facility in Hindley Street while another was being planned at Kangarilla.¹⁰³ A year later the same journal developed the idea further and advocated a reading room and a smoking room for working men in the city; to succeed and to create the right social ambience, they would need to be located in a Temperance Hotel. The idea was being developed by a group of women.¹⁰⁴ The *Kapunda Herald* in 1878 included an advertisement announcing that Mrs E. Fry had taken over the Commercial Inn in Main Street Kapunda and that it was operating as a Temperance Hotel 'where Ginger Beer, Ginger Ale, and all kinds of syrups may be had.' Tea and coffee would be served from 6 am until 11 pm.¹⁰⁵ Four years later a 'Kapunda Coffee Palace' was advertised housed in premises in the same street serving tea and coffee 'at all reasonable times.'¹⁰⁶ Clearly the period was open to a range of initiatives by the temperance movement including a new *Coffee Taverns Company* which planned to open a series of Coffee Taverns in the city of Adelaide. 'Such places will check, in some degree, the habit young men too easily form of visiting the bar and parlours of the public houses'.¹⁰⁷ Among other temperance commercial ventures during this period was the advertising of a prospectus to establish a

¹⁰² SRG 164/4/1 6 June 1884 and SRG 164/4/2 13 November 1885.

¹⁰³ MJ 28 April 1876

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid* 27 April 1877.

¹⁰⁵ KH 26 April 1878

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid* 28 April 1882

¹⁰⁷ MJ 16 January 1880.

Temperance and Family Hotel at Nairne,¹⁰⁸ while the *Methodist Journal* continued to report the occasional opening of a new coffee facility.¹⁰⁹

The individual impact of these establishments is difficult to assess; but their existence underlines the presence of a body of opinion seeking to create alternative social meeting points for working class men as a control to counter the attraction of the hotel bar and the public house. At least one Nonconformist church organisation adopted a policy closely supporting the concept. The circuit organisation of the Wesleyan Methodist church had as one of its special objects the Promotion of Temperance: 'The encouragement of refreshment houses and reading rooms, in which strong drink should not be supplied'.¹¹⁰

There were contrary viewpoints. A letter to the *Register* in 1879, from "So Runs My Dream", pleaded for a different type of refreshment amenity, much more suited to the colony's climate and free from the restraint of temperance inspired coffee-palaces.

Supposing the promoters of the coffee-palaces were to turn their

attention to France or Italy as models ... Instead of coffee-palaces King William Street would show pleasant cafes, where light wines, beer and ices, as well as the delicious *cafe au lait*, could be obtained, and sipped at tables placed on the footpath with the protection of verandahs in hot or wet weather...¹¹¹

The two opposing viewpoints were unlikely to have found any common ground.

Acceptable and Unacceptable Rational Recreation Activities

As well as the direct and indirect social controls operating through specific programs, such as the Institutes and improvement societies, there was a discernible measure of acceptance (or denial) of specific activities as rational

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid* 4 January 1884

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid* 10 November 1892, 8 January 1886 and 7 March 1890.

¹¹⁰ SRG 4 Series 1/1 *Wesleyan Methodist Conference of South Australia. Minutes of the 1878 Conference*. p. 117.

¹¹¹ *Register* 1 May 1879.

recreation. This was especially so in the range of team sports which developed followings in the colony during the closing decades of the Victorian era. Much depended on an activity's perceived association with intemperance or gambling, and on the role which the gentleman class played in its governance.

Among all team sports, the game of cricket held pride of place as a rational recreation activity. It had been purified of gambling and corrupt practices of the Georgian period in Britain and assumed a special position among the growing band of team activities which developed among all sections of Victorian society from the 1860s on. The administration and conduct of the game rested in the hands of the upper middle classes and the aristocracy. It held a prime place in the extracurricular programs of team sports adopted in established and new British public schools mid-nineteenth century, and was reflected in the colony's equivalent education establishments in the last quarter of the century. It was further boosted by the growth of Muscular Christianity. Former pupils included many ministers of the church, who came to hold educational as well as community religious positions, regarded the game as the ideal form of recreation for the chivalrous Christian. 'The notion of the chivalrous cricketer was of paramount importance in an age completely dominated by the cult of Muscular Christianity.'¹¹² Socially, cricket was regarded as a game which brought all classes together and developed qualities of loyalty, co-operation and team effort; it had a particular significance in small developing communities. The ethos carried over to the Australian colonies. In South Australia the conduct of the game and its administration rested firmly in the hands of the gentleman class. The game passed the test of rational recreation comfortably, though some, particularly the Methodists, would have preferred the celebratory dinners which followed many games, and the accompanying toasts, some of which lauded the perceived virtues of the game, to have been free of alcohol.¹¹³

¹¹² Sandiford, K.A.P. 'Cricket And The Victorian Society.' *Journal Of Social History*. Vol. 17. Winter 1983. p. 304.

¹¹³ Among the special objects which the Wesleyan Circuit Organisation for the Promotion of Temperance required of each Methodist Temperance Society was No. 7 'The discouragement of the use of intoxicants in 'toasts' and 'drinking of healths'(sic). See SRG 4 Series 1/1 *Wesleyan Methodist Conference of South Australia*. Minutes of the 1878 Conference. p. 117.

The game of Victorian Rules Football, whose code of rules was adopted in the colony of South Australia in 1877 by a newly formed South Australian Football Association underwent a different history with its post school adherents. The game grew in the 1880s and developed to a position where, in Adelaide, leading teams frequently played before crowds numbering several thousands. However, the game also became open to gambling and to charges of rough play on the field,¹¹⁴ fighting among sections of the crowd and the invasion of the playing area by spectators.¹¹⁵ The payment of players, finally recognised in the late 1880s, was frowned upon by many and regarded as responsible for the occasional charge of 'throwing' matches.¹¹⁶ While the SAFA undertook measures to counter and offset these revealed weaknesses, the game experienced a degree of unwelcome publicity while the remedial measures were taking effect.¹¹⁷

Track cycle racing and athletics also came to operate under a cloud, with accusations of race fixing and associated gambling. On the other hand, cycle touring, which developed a considerable following in the last fifteen years of the century, following the introduction of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre, was free of such charges and recognised as a rational recreation and to be encouraged. Cycle touring anyway, with its requirement of club uniforms and other overheads, drew essentially on a middle class membership.

Working class activities associated with the public house, such as quoits, skittles and billiards, would have been condemned because of their strong association with intemperance and gambling, although one critic of billiards was accepting of its worthiness once a hall was established away from a public house. The Very Reverend Dean Russell, speaking in 1877 at the 37th anniversary of the temperance cause in the colony, said he was pleased to see that a billiard hall had

¹¹⁴ *Register* 18 April 1882 and 10 April 1897.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid* 2 June 1892.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid* 13 September 1892.

¹¹⁷ Surprisingly for a game involving considerable bodily contact, it was not until 1887 that SAFA required umpires to use whistles. *Ibid* 18 June 1887..

been opened in his district, unconnected with a public house and at a moderate cost.¹¹⁸

Boxing – or prize fighting refined by the Queensbury Rules – remained an unacceptable activity. In the Australian colonies, the gradual adoption of the Rules during the late 1870s and early 1880s, led to the opening of some public training facilities in the colony and, for a time, contests were held before a paying public.¹¹⁹ However, to a majority, the newly named ‘boxing’ was innately a cruel sport and to be condemned; moreover, the activity was further tainted because of its close relationship with gambling.¹²⁰ Interestingly, when the gentleman class displayed the activity it became more acceptable. In 1892, members of the South Australian Amateur Rowing Association were advertised to display the activity in a program entitled *Grand Assault At Arms* at the Jubilee Exhibition Centre. The display appears to have had the blessing of the Governor and was advertised ‘By Command and in the presence of the His Excellency, the Earl of Kintore.’¹²¹

In the main, activities which were practised and administered by middle class gentlemen – lacrosse, golf, polo, baseball, all with limited followings - would have been acceptable recreations. They were administered by the ‘right kind’ of men meaning public school educated;¹²² however, rational recreation was directed at the working classes who would have numbered very few, if any, in these activities. Similarly, rowing remained firmly in the control of the gentleman class; although there were upheavals for a period over the definition of an ‘amateur’, which resulted in the exclusion of ‘clerks, mechanics and artisans’ from the mainstream of competitive rowing. The issue is discussed more appropriately in Chapter 6.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid* 19 May 1877.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid* 19 December 1887.

¹²⁰ Vamplew, W. (Ed) et alia. *The Oxford Companion of Australian Sport*. OUP. 1992. p. 69.

¹²¹ *Register* 6 October 1892. The activities displayed included boxing, wrestling, club and axe swinging, lance, foil, sword, bayonet and cutlass.

¹²² Adair, D. et alia. ‘Playing Fields Through to Battle Fields: The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c. 1850-1918.’ *Journal Of Australian Studies*. No. 56. 1998. p. 53.

Outside of team games there were music and dramatic activities followed by an increasing number of South Australian working men and women as the century wore on. Much depended on the venue as to whether they were acceptable rational recreation or not. Choral activities were a case in point. Early migrants from England to the colony brought with them a strong choral tradition, reinforced mid-century by new methods of teaching singing, particularly the Hullah method. Choirs, large and small, many of them closely associated with church worship and with church social programs, thrived in most communities with a repertoire including hymns, anthems, cantatas and oratorios. Other choral activities emerged as groups singing popular songs of the period, or 'glees' as they were frequently known. Glee Clubs who performed in church extension activities, such as the *soirees* held by a young men's improvement society, were acceptable, but not if they also participated in public house 'singalongs'. Entertainment groups, such as the Christy Minstrels, also often faced this dilemma of performing in both camps. In both examples, the audience, as well as the performers, would be condemned. The Lifeboat Crews were sworn to temperance; they were born of the temperance movement and stayed firmly in that camp.

Brass bands would have been regarded as an acceptable rational recreation. The bandsmen were predominantly drawn from the working classes and every community of any consequence gave rise to a brass band. Bands were closely associated with their community and endeavoured to respond to a range of community calls - the local carol service, temperance rallies, the annual visit of the circus into town, accompanying the touring theatre company in their performances, sessions before and during the interval of local football matches, and open air concerts. Their activity required its own form of discipline and valuable experiences in working together. They were supportive of their local community; in return, they looked to the community for help with storage and rehearsal space, and periodically, for assistance with instruments and uniforms. They turned to local middle class professionals for management and financial advice. Their musical performance may not have been judged of the highest standard by some, but they gave of their time in the service of their community and in terms of rational

recreation, they aimed at promoting activities which were 'respectable' and 'improving' while aspiring to these qualities themselves.¹²³

One activity which grew rapidly in the 1860s and which, because of the background which brought it into being, fitted comfortably as a rational recreation, was rifle shooting. It, too, was to be the subject of a form of middle class control. The starting point for the surge of interest in the sport in the colony was the founding of the volunteer movement in the Mother country in 1859, created in response to the perceived threat of an invasion by France.¹²⁴ On the other side of the world, South Australia, out of a sense of loyalty and patriotism, felt the need to implement a similar defence force. Its officers were drawn from the middle or gentleman class and the other ranks from among clerks, artisans, farmers and labouring classes. A report the *Register* in March 1862 noted that there were 32 companies in existence in the colony totalling in all 2,096 men.¹²⁵ The companies were established in all parts of the province. Kapunda laid claim to the two strongest companies outside of Adelaide – the Mines Rifles and the Kapunda Rifles. They served local emergencies and 'could turn out, fully dressed and equipped, within thirty minutes of the alarm being sounded'.¹²⁶

The training of the volunteers fell broadly into two parts – drill and rifle shooting. Officers and other ranks entered into the rifle shooting with great enthusiasm, so much so that the drill element was often neglected.¹²⁷ By early 1862, scarcely a week passed without some report in *The Register* of a shooting match between two or more volunteer companies. Shooting butts sprang up in many communities. In Adelaide's South Park Lands, there were several butts, the largest extending over 800 yards. Some competitions attracted several hundred marksmen and extended over several days.

¹²³ Herbert, T. "Victorian Brass Bands: The Establishment Of A Working Class Tradition.' *Historic Brass Society Journal* Vol. 4 1992. pp. 2-3.

¹²⁴ Cunningham, H. Op cit. p. 182.

¹²⁵ *Register* 31 March 1862.

¹²⁶ Bettison, I.J. *Kapunda: A Study Of A Community In Rural South Australia*. B.A. Hons Thesis in History. University of Adelaide. 1960 p. 49.

¹²⁷ The ignoring of the drill element of training brought new regulations in April of that year. Drill had to be undertaken at least twice a month; penalties for absences included exclusion from shooting matches. See *Register* 26 April 1862.

The movement in South Australia retained a British class division with the officers drawn from the gentlemen middle classes and the other ranks from the working classes. They had a common bond in that all were volunteers, giving up their leisure in the service of the Mother country; but many also shared a love for the new sport of rifle shooting. Moreover, the modern rifle, although invented before 1860, was closely bound up with the volunteer movement. It was the technical expertise and design of the post-industrial world which brought the rifle into being, but it had to be matched by skill in use.¹²⁸ Shooting practice was an essential part of the training of all ranks of the volunteers. It required a strict discipline, with all ranks participating in the same exercise. In addition, the training programs of the volunteer companies kept the working men among them away from other possible deleterious alternative activities. The shooting and the competition at the butts kept all the men together, but with the middle class officers among them in control. It was an admirable example of rational recreation.

The volunteer movement in South Australia appears to have peaked in the mid 1860s. Companies of volunteers declined in number. Shooting clubs replaced some of the volunteer companies and remained very popular, drawing their membership from all classes. The original South Australian Rifle Association was replaced in 1887 by a new association bearing the same name, formed for the sole purpose of encouraging rifle shooting throughout the colony, but having 'no military or quasi military status or function whatsoever'.¹²⁹

Conclusions

In both the Mother country and the colony of South Australia there were forces at work which regarded the Institute movement as a major means of influencing the leisure of working class men; but there were marked differences in the approaches adopted and the outcomes achieved. The most obvious difference was the scale

¹²⁸ Cunningham, H. *The Volunteer Force. A Social and Political History 1859-1908*. Croom Helm London. p. 113.

¹²⁹ *Register* 4 March 1887.

of the two operations. Britain's challenge was to counter overcrowded industrial towns and cities. The colony's challenge was to support and nurture new and remote communities, some several hundred miles apart and with very limited communication.

A further marked difference concerned the overall governance of the Institute movement in the colony through the Board of Governors of the South Australian Institute, with its great antipathy towards all drinking, as compared with the general direction of the Club and Institute Union (CIU) in Britain. The CIU's win in allowing Clubs to choose whether a degree of drinking would be allowed, thereby assisting the creation of a relaxed working class climate in which more serious informal teaching could progress, had no equivalent in the colony. Very few Institutes in South Australia could lay claim to capturing a working class following for their instructional classes.

On the question of Institute facilities and services, however, the colony possessed a remarkable record. By 1900 around 124 of the 158 country and suburban Institutes owned buildings.¹³⁰ The building of Institute facilities, stimulated by a substantial subsidy from the colonial government, led to a wave of facilities being established throughout the colony, in communities large and small – many much larger than the original schedule of a lecture hall, class room, library and reading room. The addition of museums and art galleries, kitchens, meeting rooms, changing and storage facilities, and especially prosceniums, led to the potential for a wide range of entertainments and other community activities, many of them recreational, once the limitations of the colonial government control through the Board of Governors of the South Australian Institute had been clarified. Some became true community centres, serving social and recreational needs, as well as more limited adult education requirements. The travelling box scheme – an idea again adopted from Britain - brought books to more remote communities, German as well as English speaking. It was a significant achievement. In Britain, the

¹³⁰ Talbot. Op Cit. p. 62.

development of facilities was dependent on the initiatives of individual local authorities, with no central government grant to match the local initiative.

As the century progressed, there were successes for those who struggled to overturn the more rigid control policies of the regime of rational recreation which some in the colony were trying to foster. Harmless versions of activities, such as dancing and card games, which brought pleasure to many, were finally rung from the grip of the Board of Governors of the central Institute. Similarly, the Librarian of the central Institute succeeded in persuading his Board that their policy of coercing subscribers away from certain areas of reading might well deter some from reading altogether.

In the countryside especially, Institutes became the centre of much communal activity over and above adult education programs. The Institute building at Yacka, opened in 1876, appears to have been the home for the local community's amateur talent which performed variously under the names of the Yacka Christys, the Yacka Dramatic Society and the Yacka Amateur Comedy Company. In 1890 the annual sports day in Yacka was devoted as usual to raising funds for the Institute. It was followed by a concert when the hall was 'almost uncomfortably full The ball which followed the concert lasted until the dawn'.¹³¹ Writing of the Institutes which emerged in the townships of Goolwa, Port Elliot and Middleton in the last two decades of the century, Linn mentions the variety of local purposes they served including dances, concerts, political meetings, fundraising events, meetings of literary societies and of local and professional entertainers.¹³² Reports in the *Kapunda Herald* over three decades reflect the same experience in Kapunda and other neighbouring townships.

There were other instances where recreation seekers shook off restrictive controls. The predominantly Nonconformist lobby; strong though it was, was forced to give

¹³¹ Ellis, J. *Hard Yacka. The Story Of A Mid North Town In South Australia*. Yacka Historical Group. 1995. p. 27 and p. 37.

¹³² Linn, R. *A Land Abounding. A History of the Port Elliot and Goolwa Region, South Australia* Alexandrina Council. 2001 .

ground, particularly on issues of Sunday observance. Open air brass band concerts became popular in the last two decades of the century, as open space was increasingly developed for parks and other amenities, including bandstands and rotundas. They were extremely popular with individuals and families alike. One device, which was employed by organisers in an endeavour to overcome local Nonconformist objections to band concerts being held on a Sunday, was to assemble a program of 'sacred music' items. The term was widely interpreted and added to the list of examples, such as back shop gambling on horse racing and secret drinking on a Sunday described in Chapter 3, of a society rebelling against over-bearing controls on their lives.¹³³

The reality was that although there were organisations pressing programs to counter activities which they perceived to be social evils besetting the community, there were other social forces at work, mainly of a commercial kind, which were making the tasks of the moralists increasingly difficult. Mid-century saw most working men working a ten-hour day, as well as walking to work and walking home at the end of a hard day of physical labour. What leisure they had was spent in the limited confines of their immediate community. They had no personal transport and other means of transport were minimal. By century's end the working man had access to several new modes of personal travel including horse omnibus, trains, horse tramways and coastal steamship; he could acquire his own personal transport – a bicycle - if necessary by hire purchase. Substantial numbers had won a Saturday half holiday. His disposable income had increased significantly and he was in a position to access and choose from a widening range of recreational activities – both of a formal and an informal kind. The family could journey to the beach or the countryside on a Sunday by rail, train or omnibus and commercial carriers were there to make the option even more attractive by offering excursion tickets. Men could opt to try several team sports on the newly won Saturday afternoon, and there were commercial outlets at hand to offer them the required clothing and equipment. Or they could attend the elite levels of cricket, football,

¹³³ For examples see *Register* 10 February 1892 Item Sunday Concert at Gawler and the second leader in the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* 7 March 1890 congratulating the Premier for refusing the request to allow the Police Band to play on a Sunday at the Semaphore Rotunda.

cycling and athletics as spectators, with transport specials to assist them. Saturday evenings provided a range of entertainment outlets; catering options developed, licensed and unlicensed, and were at hand for the visitor, player, supporter or ticket holder. The recreation opportunities for the working man at the turn of the century were considerably different from those of forty years earlier.

Where previously social controls, exerted by those who were critical of the leisure behaviour of the working classes, operated at a local level, the challenges late century were of a greater magnitude, both in number and scale. How could one control travelling and informal recreation on a Sunday? Or gambling and drinking, when the response to legislation seeking to quell both, from those at whom it was directed, was to develop clandestine industries to circumvent the legislation? Were those seeking to influence the pattern of recreation activities of the working classes aware of an existing and developing popular culture and the activities it included? The paradox of the period was that while the social forces seeking to control the leisure behaviour of the working classes grew stronger in the closing decades of the century and developed influential alliances, most notably the South Australian Alliance which embraced juvenile, youth and women's organisations as well as the major Nonconformist churches, their effectiveness was quite limited. The major reason for this was that the working classes themselves were increasingly able to make their own recreation choices, free from middle class controls – and did so.

Against the background of increased leisure hours, vastly improved travel options and growing disposable income a new and modern popular culture - a working class culture - was evolving in which rational recreation played a very limited role and where the middle class influence was consciously curbed. It included such activities as loyal (almost tribal) support for the local football team, brass band music, choral activity (both social, round the family piano and at the public house, and religious); growing vegetables and flowers (supported by local and regional horticultural shows and societies); membership of a range of animal and bird societies which emerged (homing pigeons, budgerigars, poultry, canaries and dog groups); attendance and some participation in local athletics, cricket, football and

cycle racing events, generally as a spectator; whist drives and quadrille dancing. A few were shared with the middle classes, but in general only in the activity itself and little in the social life surrounding the activity.

The public house continued to be a centre of recreational activity and social interaction within the working class community, though for only six days a week; as well as drink and food it accommodated meetings of benevolent societies and often trade union branches, for companionship, for a variety of entertainments, both inside (billiards, card games, skittles, quoits, dancing and singalongs) or outside (quoits, skittles and occasionally, boxing and athletics), as well as for a social drink and the illegal wager, predominantly, but not solely, on horse racing. While the life style continued to be criticised by many, it posed little threat to public order. The local Institutes were used selectively by the working classes – attending occasional amateur and professional entertainments, whist drives, quadrille classes and balls, and using journals and newspapers provided in the reading room; classes and lectures offered for their edification continued to be ignored.

The gentleman middle class enjoyed a pattern of more private and costly recreation activities, practised in new suburban homes and gardens, or on private grounds and in club premises located where possible well away from the working classes.¹³⁴ By the end of the century the working classes had limited need of middle class leadership; they were not averse to middle class patronage, providing it did not intrude on their overall control of the activity.

¹³⁴ Daly, J.A. *Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*. See especially Chapter 5 *Play and Display: The South Australian Gentry*. pp. 122-142.

5 MRS GRUNDY AND THE TYRANNY OF CONVENTIONS

Mrs Grundy was the surname of an imaginary personage who was referred to by nineteenth century social commentators as the personification of the tyranny of public opinion in matters of conventional propriety. Certainly, conventions loomed large in limiting the participation of many South Australians as recreation opportunities opened up in the later decades of the nineteenth century. In mid-May 1877, the *Register* carried a leading article entitled *Mrs Grundy In South Australia*. It highlighted a number of conventions current in the colony which the leader writer regarded as having a negative effect on the lives of South Australians. They included marriage conventions of the period, dress (for both men and women), the format of funerals, lawyers wearing wigs and the late hours of dancing parties. There was need of reform, the writer argued, in these and other conventions. The leader concluded:

Mrs Grundy, in short is the opponent of all improvement, and all social reformers have been people who have despised, dared, and vanquished her. We would not advocate a contempt for public opinion... But it should be our friend and not our tyrant.¹

Conventional propriety was a major obstacle to many South Australians, particularly the small percentage of middle class women who found themselves with the time and the wherewithal to venture out and experience the growing range of social, artistic and sporting activities which became available. However, there were to be significant changes for the better during the last fifteen years of the century. The picture for men, as will be shown in the following chapter, was considerably different.

Conventions, defined as 'a rule or practice based upon general consent, or accepted and upheld by society at large,² change imperceptibly over time. They are challenged by groups or individuals. New behavioural expectations emerge, become accepted as the new norm and the cycle continues. This chapter explores

¹ *Register* 14 May 1877.

² *The Oxford Dictionary Second Edition*. Vol. 3. p. 864.

the negative conventions affecting women's participation in the growing range of formal and informal activities in colonial South Australia and the struggles which, in some cases, led to their overturn or significant amelioration in the closing years of the century. It considers first the general conventions which affected women's participation including dress, attitudes towards women exercising strenuously, the appropriateness of women exercising in public and other behavioural expectations of women seeking to achieve and retain the status of respectability. It goes on to examine the limited role accorded to women in community recreation matters in a period when the expectation was that males would lead and administer and women would adopt minor roles supporting their menfolk. The exceptions to this general pattern are noted. The chapter moves on to assess a softening of these negative conventions in the last fifteen years of the century and the social, political, educational and technological influences which assisted these shifts in public attitude; they affected not only women's participation in sport and other physical activities, but also widened opportunities for administrative and organisational, as well as performance roles, in community musical and literary activities.

Negative Conventions Affecting Women's Participation in the 1860s and 1870s

Society served women badly in recreation matters during the 1860s and 1870s when so many opportunities began to open up for men. Few women shared in the increase of hours free from work which were won by substantial sections of South Australian males. Most worked long hours of drudgery and were expected to fulfil a role of piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity.³ The chances of colonial housewives and domestic servants winning an award to enforce a shorter working week were remote. The largest category of female employment - domestic servants – saw women scattered in households and farm holdings throughout the length and breadth of the colony. They were in no position to organise and bargain for a decrease in working hours. They gained little as compared with the

³ Bacchi, C. 'The 'Woman Question' In South Australia.' In Richard, E. (Ed). *The Flinders History Of South Australia. Vol. 2. Social History.* Wakefield Press. 1986. pp. 403-405.

successes won by the men, trade by trade, region by region, during the 1860s and, more particularly, the 1870s.

For the minority of women, drawn predominantly from the middle and upper classes, who did find themselves with the time and the inclination to share in the growing range of recreational activities in the colony, Mrs Grundy's conventions loomed large; they had to be confronted and somehow overcome. The conventions drew heavily on those operating in Britain for the great majority of colonial women had either migrated from Britain or were the daughters of migrant British parents.

First, upper and middle class women had to contend with dress conventions which restricted or inhibited any strenuous physical exercise, including on occasions the holding or use of any implement, such as a racquet or an oar. A strict dress code required clothing to extend to the wrist and the ankles. The period also required voluminous underclothing for women. In fashionable circles by the late 1860s, the vogue of crinolines had virtually passed, but the fashion of yards of petticoats and underskirts remained. The materials and the heat of the South Australian summer made them both uncomfortable and unhygienic. Until the end of the century and the arrival of cotton materials, women had to do without knickers and the like because of the perpetual threat of thrush.⁴ Dress conventions also required a tight fitting bodice to be worn at all times, when exercising or at rest, and to crown everything, a wide- brimmed hat.

A partial exception to the dress convention was allowed for swimming. Here convention accepted a bathing suit for women which extended to the elbows and calves, while a bonnet replaced the wide-brimmed hat. However, in the 1860s and 1870s propriety required an additional strongly held convention, to be observed. Women and girls should not swim or bathe with the male sex; additionally, it was quite improper for males to watch women bathing. This provided another obstacle

⁴ Akers, M. 'Crinolines and Red Knickers.' *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria*. Vol. 55 No. 4 1984. pp. 15-25. J. and P. Phillips.' *History From Below. Women's Underwear and the Rise of Women's Sport.* *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. 27 (2) 1993. pp. 128-148.

to be overcome, since public swimming facilities which were coming into existence, had to be time-tabled for specific use by the female sex. Inevitably, women's allocation of time at public bathing facilities was more limited than the time offered to men and boys.

The challenge spread over to the seaside. As the attraction of the beaches at Glenelg, Brighton and Semaphore developed, and with it the ability of more and more persons to access them through constantly improving transport services, so the bathing conventions were tested. The Glenelg authority allocated sections of the beach to men and to women at particular times to enable each to bathe separately. Over the years, there were occasional outbursts of letter writing in the press, each side accusing the other of breaking the arrangement to the detriment of public taste and decorum. This suggests that, on occasions, neither the spirit nor the letter of the arrangement was being met.⁵

Shortly after the first city baths were opened in Adelaide in 1861, the *Register* offered an opinion which reflected the same viewpoint. It felt sure that the public would agree that:

swimming is now an essential branch of a lady's education ... and ... it was a desirable thing that every young lady should learn to swim. It would add to her comfort and increase her safety. We hope, therefore, the Corporation will as soon as convenient enlarge the efficiency and utility of the baths by providing a swimming bath for ladies.⁶

A separate swimming bath for female bathers did not emerge at the complex, but the management of the swimming centre, nevertheless, was sensitive to contemporary conventions over the years, while endeavouring to promote the facility for women and girls. Advertising the new season in October 1872, the Baths Manager and 'Swimming Master' announced that the City Baths Swimming School - *Patronised by the Families of His Excellency The Governor and of His*

⁵ See for example *Register* 9, 10 and 12 February 1857, 21 January and 2 and 3 November 1865, and 13 and 15 February 1877. See also Brown, T. *Glenelg: Growth And Function Of An Urban Village*. History Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide. 1970. pp. 40-41.

⁶ *Register* 16 January 1862.

Honour Judge Wearing - would commence courses of swimming instruction on the following Saturday - *Young Ladies Classes, Tuesdays and Fridays*. And finally ...*Patterns of Ladies' Bathing Dresses to be seen with Mrs Bastard* ... the wife of the Baths Manager, suggests a desire to convince the parents of girls and young women that all proprieties demanded by these conventions were being closely observed.⁷ The convention of not allowing males to observe females swimming was still in existence in the late 1870s. Women's swimming had progressed to a stage in 1877 when a ladies gala was held at the city baths; however, the races and demonstrations were watched by women only. Not even the Baths Manager was present. The events were to be held 'under the superintendence of Miss A. Bastard (The Manager's daughter)'. 'As a matter of course only ladies will be admitted.'⁸

Women and Strenuous Physical Activity

There were other social conventions which impinged upon the freedom of women to exercise freely. Etiquette mid-century frowned on women showing visible signs of having taken strenuous physical exercise. Pink cheeks and a fulsome glow were just acceptable, but to perspire and sweat was unacceptable. Fashion columns of the period and fashion commentators re-enforced this convention. This same convention carried other dimensions for women keen to play one or more of the sporting activities which emerged in codified form in the later decades of the century. It was feared that such indulgence would leave women with a masculine musculature which would be quite out of keeping with women's essential grace and femininity. Activities which carried a hint of physical danger to women, or left them open to the charge of losing their essential feminine decorum, were also a matter of concern. Daly draws attention to a case in point – the decision of the Gawler Racing Committee in 1859 to advertise a ladies race for their autumn meeting. The matter prompted a leader in *The Register* on feminine amusements. It regarded the proposal as a 'degrading spectacle', which would be 'vulgar delectation..' and '..capital sport for the gaping crowd'. Above all else, such a race

⁷ *Ibid* 1 October 1872.

⁸ *Ibid* 16 February 1877.

was seen to be unfeminine. The leader went on to call for 'our spirited young country ladies ... to reflect before they give their sanction to this indelicate proposal'.⁹ The correspondence which followed generally supported the view that the proposed race was inappropriate because it was competitive and therefore unfeminine. It mattered not, as the Secretary of the Racing Committee pointed out, that some women followed the hounds and were not subject to this scale of criticism. The committee failed to convince their detractors and the proposed race was withdrawn from the card.

Perhaps this correspondence was linked to another convention, seldom raised openly, that strenuous physical exercise might impair women's perceived main function in life, to bear and nurture numerous children and maintain a respectable home. Working class, and many middle class, women of the period spent many hours undertaking backbreaking work, yet they were considered in great danger of harm if they exerted themselves in any strenuous sport or recreation. As King notes in her study:

The only sports acceptable for women were those concerned with their health, hygiene, and reproductive functions; serious competition was to be avoided and girls were to be kept girls.¹⁰

These were strongly held conventions, particularly among men.

Young middle class women – the group most likely to be in a position to challenge for a position in the burgeoning recreation field – were further inconvenienced by one other convention; this was the expectation that a male member of the family, or an older female companion, should accompany them whenever they ventured away from the home during their leisure hours. For a young woman wishing to attend a group activity, or a gathering of other young people, it was one more obstacle which had to be overcome or circumvented.

⁹ *Ibid* 15 and 27 January 1859.

Daly, J.A. *Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*. Adelaide 1982. pp. 82-83.

¹⁰ H.King. 'The Sexual Politics of Sport: An Australian Perspective.' In R.Cashman and M.McKernan *Sport In History*. University of Queensland Press. 1979. p. 70.

Women and Communal Musical Activity

Outside of physical activities, women struggled with other conventions which limited their roles in other community-based recreation. In musical activities they were, of course, accorded clearly defined part pieces in opera, operettas, oratorios and the many ballads so popular at public entertainments (as the number of halls grew in local communities) and at family gatherings. Choirs existed in the colony from an early date, particularly among mining communities, but they were predominantly all male. The repertoire of sacred music reflected male dominance as did the lighter glee songs. It was to be much later in the century before female players would form significant numbers in local orchestras. The growing number of local brass bands followed the British tradition and had no positions for female players. Only late in the century, with the arrival of the Salvation Army street missions did females begin playing in the Army bands.¹¹ Nor did women have any substantive roles in the administration and further development of these groups and societies; officers and committee members, and in some cases membership itself, were essentially all male preserves.

The Subservient Position of Women in Recreation Matters

Other community societies and organisations active in the 1860s and 1870s reflected the same convention, whether they were a chess club, a literary society, a local floriculture group or a mutual or self improvement society. Males dominated the membership, officer roles, committee membership, and hence the general governance and direction of local community clubs and societies. Even in the membership of local subscription libraries, which grew rapidly during the period as the Institute movement expanded, males heavily outnumbered women though this may have been an economic measure with some females using a husband's or brother's ticket to obtain their own reading material. The impression from the substantial evidence available, and particularly contemporary newspaper reports,

¹¹ Herbert, T. 'Brass Bands And Other Vernacular Brass Traditions.' In Herbert, T. and Wallace, J.(Eds) *The Cambridge Companion To Brass Instruments*. C.U.P. 1997. pp. 177-192. In America, there were female players in bands long before the breakthrough coming with the arrival of the Salvation Army bands in the colony. *Ibid* p. 185.

is that with few exceptions, the over-riding convention governing recreation activity in the colony was that it was inspired and led by males.

Moreover, the great majority of women were happy to accept a situation whereby their lives centred on a domestic role governed by responsibility to family and home building. Outside of the home, if time and home duties permitted, middle class and some working class women were active in local philanthropic and church activities. Insofar as recreation activities were concerned, women's role was seen as one of supporting their menfolk – as spectators at events, fulfilling clearly defined roles in music and dramatic activities, making items for sale at fund raising events (as well as staffing the stalls on the day), and providing refreshments whenever occasions demanded. Women remained passive and feminine. The convention was re-enforced by religious teaching and the popular reading of the day, particularly the novels of Charles Dickens. Fathers, husbands or brothers, regarded it as their duty to protect their women from stressful administrative and leadership roles. Churches hallowed their devotion to family and home. Dickens' novels became increasingly available and accessible to a growing number of literate middle and working class readership. He 'enjoyed unprecedented popularity and renown as a wholesome, family writer.'¹²

Exceptions to the General Pattern

There were some exceptions to this general pattern of negativity in the social conventions of the period affecting women. A select group of women, drawn from the elite of the colony's upper class, made up a substantial part of the Adelaide Archery Society and were competing members at least as early as 1857. In that year, a gold brooch was reported as the first prize in an archery competition for lady members.¹³ For many years the Society met on the grounds of St Peter's College. At other times they competed in the East Parklands and, occasionally, at Government House. In 1862, the Society's membership included a daughter of the

¹² Fenstermaker, J.J.. 'Using Dickens to Market Morality: Popular Reading Materials in the *Nickleby Advertiser*'. *Journal of Popular Culture* Vol. 28. 3 Winter 1994 p. 11.

¹³ *Register* 2 February 1857.

then Governor, Sir Dominic Daly, himself a bowman; Miss Daly was a frequent competition winner. There was a strong social side to the Society's programs. Bands were hired to play incidental music during the competition and then to lead dancing which was held on the lawns of the venue after the competition had been completed. For a time, the Governor's wife was Chairman of the Society and meetings were conducted at Government House.¹⁴ Croquet was another activity played by some of the women of the colony's elite families. As with archery, it was requiring of private open space. It also required a neatly manicured lawn; few of the great houses of the Adelaide gentry were without such a facility.¹⁵ Croquet was also played in country venues; Canon reports croquet activity at Kapunda in 1869.¹⁶ Horse riding was also enjoyed by women from upper class families, though the convention required that they sat side-saddle.

Another exception were women from country communities, who, at this period of time, appear to have been less tied to dress conventions than those in urban communities. Country women were often faced with practical needs which demanded solutions running counter to some conventions. They were fishing, hunting, and riding astride with divided skirts long before the fashion was adopted in the colony generally. Frequently, in country communities, women were welcomed to make up the teams for occasional cricket matches.¹⁷ Maynard also notes this occurrence with some young country women of the period:

she was often little more than a surrogate man – a tomboy or a girl clever with horses. The occasional appropriation of men's shorter hairstyles, more casual mannerisms and riding astride, allowed Australian young women in rural areas to pass more easily in a man's world.¹⁸

¹⁴ Daly Op Cit. pp. 131-132.

Register 9 June and 1 September 1862, 20 April 1863, 12 March 1872.

¹⁵ Daly Op Cit. p. 132.

¹⁶ Cannon, M. *The Long Last Summer. Australia's Upper Class Before The Great War*. Nelson. 1985. p. 79 and p. 125.

¹⁷ Waterhouse, R. 'Representation of the Bush, 1813-1913.' *Australian Historical Studies* Vol. 31 No. 115 October 2000 pp. 218-220.

Waterhouse, R. "The Vision Splendid: Conceptualising the Bush, 1813-1913.' *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. 33 No. 1 Summer 1999 p. 30.

¹⁸ Maynard, M. 'Australian Dress: Perceptions and Stereotypes.' *The Journal of Australian Studies*. No. 41. June 1994. p. 5.

Finally there was the exception of women pianists. The period saw a marked increase in the family ownership of upright pianos, an instrument less demanding of space as well as cost. Industrial processes in Britain and America, led to the design of the upright piano, its mass production and ultimately, its accommodation in an increasing number of middle and working class homes. The introduction of hire purchase systems in the commercial field further assisted the increase of piano ownership. In many homes it became the centre of a family's musical entertainment. Doting fathers delighted in the talent revealed by pianist daughters: 'It was the pinnacle of working-class aspirations'.¹⁹ Women, young and old, came to recognise that versatility as a pianist was not only a social accomplishment; it could also lead on to extensions beyond the home where the piano proved to be 'essential to many a social function.'²⁰ The more accomplished female pianists were in demand at local *soirees*, concerts and entertainments, as accompanists and occasional soloists.

Informal Outdoor Recreation

Women, including some working class women, also enjoyed the new opportunities for informal family recreation which were opening up in the 1860s and 1870s as land, long set aside as future public open space, finally began to be developed. During the early years of the colony, the Adelaide park lands had been stripped bare of their native trees. The Botanic Garden, opened in 1857, commenced the retrieval. Though there was some tree planting in the 1860s it was not until the late 1870s that determined efforts were made to renew and replenish the park lands with large scale tree planting and other beautification works. They included the creation of the Torrens Lake and the Elder Rotunda, making them more accessible and attractive for the citizens they were always intended to serve.²¹ Similarly, the

¹⁹ McQueen, H. *A New Britannia. An Argument Concerning The Social Origins Of Australian Radicalism And Nationalism*. Penguin Books 1970. p. 118. McQueen states that about 700,000 pianos were brought into Australia during the nineteenth century. *Ibid* p. 117.

²⁰ Rickard, J. 'From Pianos To Panto. Aspects Of Music And Theatre In Colonial Victoria'. *The Victorian Historical Journal* Vol. 49 No. 1 1978. p. 6. See also Helen Rice Hollis. *The Piano. A Pictorial Account Of Its Ancestry And Development*. David and Charles. 1975. p. 63 and Van Barthold, K. and Buckton, D. *The Story of the Piano*. B.B.C. 1975. p. 40.

²¹ Morton, P. *After Light. A History Of The City Of Adelaide And Its Council, 1878-1928*. Wakefield Press. 1996. pp. 160-166.

Aldinga and Glenelg authorities attempted to respond positively with amenity development to cater for the increasing influx of families seeking informal recreation at the seaside.²² It was the period when bandstands and rotundas began to appear, often the gift of a local citizen. They, and the attraction of the newly landscaped areas, were particularly appreciated by the families of the working classes, who had limited means to recreate outside of their immediate locality.

As well as the informal recreation of family outings, women enjoyed the respite of the occasional communal picnics which became a feature of colonial life from the mid-nineteenth century on. Warburton conveys the attraction of the picnic to the Adelaide community of this period:

With seaside and hills close by, and holding tentative rights to a few days' pleasure annually, beyond the fifty-two sober holidays sanctioned by the pattern of the Lord, they quickly formed the pic-nic (*sic*) habit.²³

As well as the religious holidays, communal picnics included trade days (drapers' assistants, butchers, taxi drivers – with their families), Benevolent and Improvement Societies similarly, Sunday School anniversaries (frequently in country communities including families), and other church groups. Some used religious holidays, others Public Holidays which grew in number and came to include New Year's Day, the Queen's Birthday, her Accession to the throne, and late in the century the birthday of the Prince of Wales and the Eight Hours Day celebration. Occasionally, an employer would host such a day outside of the Public Holidays for his employees and their families. Fleets of vehicles, from drays to omnibuses, set out with flags and streamers flying, frequently led by a vehicle housing a brass band. Favourite venues in the Adelaide Hills included Waterfall Gully, Morialta Falls and Norton Summit; and on the coast, Brighton, Glenelg and Semaphore.²⁴ Groups might also be granted a venue at the estate of a leading

²² For reports of improvements in bathing facilities at Glenelg see *Register* 31 January, 3 April, 26 July and 4 August 1877 and at Aldinga. *Register* 22 August 1872.

²³ Warburton, E. 'Picnic In The Hills'. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* No. 6 1979. p 47.

²⁴ *Ibid* pp. 48-52.

citizen. Country communities also had their favourite localities for their communal picnic. Women may have laboured hard preparing and catering for the picnic, but when the day arrived they would have shared in the day's events and, for a few hours, been free from their normal long day of drudgery.

The 1860s saw an upsurge in excursion trips in the colony, which would have assisted some women to experience informal recreation visits, particularly to seaside resorts. As one example, rail, steamship and omnibus options were offered to visitors to Glenelg for Proclamation Day celebrations in both 1862 and 1863; a *Register* reporter in 1868 was convinced that the reduction of the return coach fare to sixpence in 1867 had resulted in more people making visits to the coastal town than formerly.²⁵ In November 1877, the Port Elliot correspondent of the *Register* reported that on the recent Prince of Wales Public Holiday, 'the tramway fares having been reduced to holiday rates induced many persons to visit the South coast. Picnic parties appeared to be the order of the day.'²⁶ Housewives and other women would have been among those who, in some measure, benefited from these informal recreation opportunities. However, the major breakthroughs in local recreation travel were to come in the 1880s and 1890s.

The 1880s and 1890s Bring a Softening of the Conventions

Social conventions change imperceptibly over a period of time. There is seldom any precise year or event which mark the change, but rather a series of happenings which indicate a new momentum, a shift in attitude from a previously held position and an acknowledgment that a change has occurred. Certainly, in the last two decades of the century there was a significant softening of several social conventions which previously had impacted negatively on women's participation in recreation activities. While obstacles still remained at the end of the Victorian era, substantial progress had been made in breaking down the negative conventions concerning dress, levels of physical exertion, involvement in the organisation and development of recreational organisations, and degrees of

²⁵ *Register* 27 December 1862, 26 December 1863 and 19 March 1867.

²⁶ *Ibid* 16 November 1877.

freedom to venture forth in pursuit of their chosen activity. However, before examining these happenings, it is necessary to take note of several contemporary social, political, religious and educational developments of the period which were impacting on the lives of South Australian women generally at the close of the colonial era, and which touched also on the narrower field of recreation opportunities.

The first of these was the widening role of women in local community affairs, particularly through church organisations and especially those of the Nonconformist churches. Whilst the role had long been entrenched in sustaining the poor, the elderly and the sick, the late 1870s and 1880s saw women involved increasingly in local programs directed at the 'social evils' – as they were termed – of intemperance and gambling, activities which they and their families, more than most, were likely to have suffered at first hand. These programs took women outside of their normal accepted role of mother and home maker, for many perhaps for the first time; in the process, the new experiences in the broader community gave them opportunities to acquire new skills in group administration, public speaking and meeting organisation.

The second development was the growth of women's organisations and what came to be termed the 'first wave' of the feminist movement in South Australia; it argued the right and the value of women to represent a feminist viewpoint on the issues of the day. Of particular importance among these organisations was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organisation born in America and taken up enthusiastically in the colony in 1886. Although primarily a temperance organisation, the WCTU fought for the rights and privileges denied to many nineteenth century women and against the prevailing attitude that women were inferior to men. It campaigned for issues much broader than intemperance and had policies for the control of gambling, smoking, the establishment of civic rights for women and children, public positions for women on the boards of institutions where women and children's affairs were dominant, the abolition of the term 'age

of consent' and the protection of girls to at least the age of eighteen.²⁷ It quickly established a network of active local groups both in Adelaide and in country communities across the state. The groups were further proving grounds for women, drawn predominantly from the middle classes, but including a fair sprinkling of working class members, to acquire organisational techniques and experiences from which leaders emerged, skilled in the arts of debating, lobbying and petitioning.

The Union soon began to assert a female point of view on contemporary social issues and, in the process, challenged traditional thinking – and some current conventions. By 1896, having discussed the issue for several years, the Union was advocating dress reform for women, including the abolishing of that 'instrument of torture' the corset. It also argued that mothers should dress their daughters in such a manner as to ensure freedom of movement, as enjoyed by boys.²⁸ In all of its programs and operations it consciously attempted to promote the talents of its members and to limit the participation of men in its affairs. Men were allowed only honorary membership of the Union and were denied voting rights.²⁹

A major political development of the period, in which women's organisations were to the fore, was the passing of the 1894 Adult Suffrage Act which gave women the vote. Again the WCTU played a leading role among several other women's organisations, including the Women's Suffrage League and the Young Women's Christian Association. The development further increased the fund of women's self esteem and self respect.

Finally, there was the advance which middle class women achieved in accessing higher education. The proponents of South Australia's first university had in mind the inclusion of women students, even though there was no specific mention of

²⁷ *Alliance and Temperance News*. March 1 1896. SRG 186/103/21.

²⁸ Craig, M. *Of Lengthening Cords And Strengthening Stakes. The Women's Christian Temperance Union of South Australia, 1886-1896*. Hons Degree Thesis in the Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1983. p. 17.

²⁹ *Ibid* p. 4.

them in the 1874 Act of Incorporation for the University of Adelaide. The first matriculated woman student to enrol at the new university did so in 1879. This was the same year that the colonial government opened an Advanced School for Girls. In the following year, the University of Adelaide Degrees Act was passed; among other matters, it gave to the Council and Senate the specific power to confer degrees on women.³⁰ Fourteen women graduated between 1885 and 1898, of which thirteen had been students at the Advanced School. The school had been set up on systematic, academic lines; girls progressed through a secondary education at about the age of thirteen and leaving, in some instances as late as aged nineteen or twenty.³¹ The route to higher education had been established and the families of the growing middle class in the colony particularly, came to regard the new institution of higher learning as an opportunity for wives and daughters, as well as for sons; young women came to recognise it as offering a route to a fuller role in life:

Middle class women, the wives and daughters of the professionals and business men who made up groups such as the University Association, were often particularly anxious to play a part in the larger world. They envied their brothers' opportunities to be active in society and to shape its future. Their role seemed passive and circumscribed. They desired the educational opportunities which seemed to lead to greater participation, not necessarily for self-aggrandisement, but so that they could be of service.³²

For many of these young women students, the convention that the dominant female role in society was as nurturer of the family and builder of the respectable home began to be refined. It was not that the traditional role was to be discarded, but that it should be modified to allow for some variations. They were influenced by the writings and the example of Catherine Helen Spence, among others, and had the backing of a group of liberal-minded men in the colony. They recognised that training for a professional career could lead to financial independence, thereby making women less dependent on others. It provided an alternative to the

³⁰ 37 & 38 Victoria 1874 No. 20 The Adelaide University Act, 1874.

43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 172 *The University of Adelaide Degrees Act*, 1880 Sn 3.

³¹ Mackinnon, A. *The New Women. Adelaide's Early Women Graduates*. Wakefield Press in association with the University of Adelaide Foundation. 1986. p. 26 and Appendix One pp. 215-216.

³² *Ibid* pp. 23-24.

conventional route to marriage which expected a union where the dependent woman was blessed with a providing husband. The woman graduate had options which allowed her to make choices. She could forego marriage and family as one of those choices, or postpone the choice for a period, whilst pursuing a career.³³

It was against this background of social, political and educational change that a number of previously noted conventions affecting women's participation in recreation activities underwent significant change. Middle class women, and an increasing number of working class women, had the burden of their lives made lighter through the steady stream of home improvements and house-work aids – improved sanitation, running water, gas lighting and cooking and, late in the century, the arrival of electricity into an increasing number of homes. The washing of clothes became a simpler operation. An increasing number of labour-saving aids designed to further ease the burden of housework came on to the market, including the sewing machine. Fast developing industrial systems and marketing strategies brought these aids within the purchasing power of more and more families. The trend was helped further by the variety of hire purchase options which became available at larger retailers. Overall, the opportunities for women to recreate improved to a degree where some, mostly drawn from the growing middle class, were able to challenge conventions which previously limited their options and opportunities.

Technological and industrial advances also delivered direct benefits to women's participation in physical activities. Commercial acuity brought the manufacture of rubber from Brazil to Ceylon and Malaya, via Britain, leading to a major breakthrough in the manufacture of rubber and its subsidiary product – elastic. The popularising of elastic allowed experimentation with women's under garments, including the bra, or to give it its full name, the brassiere, which came into vogue in the 1890s. These developments assisted easier and more comfortable participation in physical activities, especially those involving a degree of strenuous exercise. The cost of manufacturing cotton fell markedly in the closing years of the

³³ *Ibid* pp. 201-204.

century and with it the cost of creating under garments from materials more appropriate to those wishing to exercise, especially in a hot climate. Until this breakthrough, the majority of women were unable to purchase underwear made of materials appropriate for different seasons.³⁴ However, perhaps the technological advances which, above all others made the most immediate positive impact on recreational activity for women in the colony in the closing years of the century, as will shortly be shown, were the development of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre; their social impact on women's cycling was to challenge several existing conventions.

Women and Lawn Tennis

Slowly, but discernibly, women began to participate in activities, including sports involving some degree of exertion and in activities previously regarded as being an all male reserve. The new game of lawn tennis reached the Australian colonies in the late 1870s and began to be played by women as well as men in the gardens and private estates of middle and upper class families. It provided great opportunities for social intercourse and was well suited to Australian climatic conditions. The game soon developed its competitive side, for women, as well as for men. Reports of the activities of lawn tennis clubs in the colony first appeared in the early 1880s, including some in country communities.³⁵ Inter-club matches involving women progressed from mixed doubles, to ladies' doubles and finally to ladies' singles. Reports in the *Register* during 1887 reveal that clubs existed in Glen Osmond, Semaphore, Kensington, College Park and Gawler; ladies' doubles matches were part of the overall inter-club competition.³⁶ The College Park club had accepted women into their administration; at its annual general meeting of that year, three were elected on to the club committee.³⁷ Other lawn tennis clubs were

³⁴ Phillips, J and P. Op Cit. pp. 136-137.

³⁵ The *Kapunda Herald* edition of 4 October 1882 reported the existence of a lawn tennis club in the town in 1882 which was seeking access to establish playing facilities on the land recently donated to the township for recreation purposes. There were also reports about this time of a club at Gawler.

³⁶ See for example *Register* 17 June, 10 and 31 August 1887.

Scoring at the time was the summation of the games won by players of a club in each set which they played, rather than the results of sets played.

³⁷ *Ibid* 19 October 1887

playing matches where there was no mention of women's participation. Indeed, in the closing weeks of 1887, the *Register* reported the emergence of a new tennis organisation, the Adelaide and Suburban Lawn Tennis Association, whose clubs were among those which did not include ladies' matches in their Inter-club contests.³⁸ Whether this development signified any hidden antipathy towards women's participation, or a view that women should not play competitively, it is difficult to determine.

By 1892 the South Australian Lawn Tennis Association was promoting a ladies' singles championship, run in conjunction with the men's titles.³⁹ In the following years, the number of ladies' events at the colonial championships had grown to include ladies' singles, ladies' doubles and mixed doubles, played on the grass courts of the Jubilee Oval. By 1897, ladies' singles matches were part of most inter-club matches. In this year too, the *Register* reported the existence of a lawn tennis club – the Halton club – whose membership was confined to women only; a report recorded that the club had lost to the Baskerville club, after which they entertained their opponents to afternoon tea and 'a very enjoyable time was spent'.⁴⁰ These developments suggest that some women players were seeking and achieving a degree of separate identity within the game and showing a determination for their playing performance to be taken seriously. By 1897, South Australian women players were travelling interstate to compete in the New South Wales championships.⁴¹ The players at this stage of the sport's development were drawn predominantly from the middle and upper classes.

Women and Rowing

By the early 1880s women were rowing with a degree of regularity on the Torrens Lake which, with the completion of the weir in 1881, had led to the growth of a number of new rowing clubs with boatsheds on the banks of the lake. In October

³⁸ *Ibid* 31 October 1887.

³⁹ *Ibid* 7, 14, 19 and 21 March 1892

⁴⁰ *Ibid* 27 April 1897.

⁴¹ *Ibid* 3 April and 6 May 1897

1883, the Committee of the I Zingari Rowing Club, later to become the Adelaide Rowing Club, passed a motion that:

ladies crews be allowed the use of the shed and boats between the hours of 9.30 a.m. and 4.30 pm., Saturdays, Sundays and Holidays excepted, in consideration of a sum to be approved by the Committee⁴²

There appears to be no record of what transpired from this resolution.

More precise evidence of women's participation in competitive rowing is a report of the Aquatic Carnival on the Torrens in April 1887. The program included a Ladies Pair Oar Race and a Ladies Single Sculls. The winners of the Pairs event each received a gold watch. The Single Sculls' winner was given a Jubilee brooch (it was the year of the Queen's jubilee on the throne) and ear rings.⁴³ The ambience of the Carnival itself and the nature of the prizes suggest that the women rowers were drawn from the upper echelons of Adelaide's society.

Ten years later, a leader in the *Register* on *The Rowing Season Of 1896-7* noted:

Several ladies' clubs patronise the Torrens, the members of one of these riding to and from the river on their 'bikes'. They exhibit wonderful aptitude for acquiring a knowledge of the rudiments of the art of rowing, and indeed the boatman's diction, and some of them learn to 'feather their oar' at least as quickly as men ... There certainly is no good reason why boys and girls and men and women should have no other sports than the feminine game of croquet and the fascinating pastime of lawn tennis.⁴⁴

Women and Swimming

The stringent conventions surrounding female swimming also eased considerably during the last two decades of the century. The program of swimming events at the gala organised in honour of the Baths Manager at the Adelaide city baths in 1882 included several women's races. Moreover it was a mixed audience which watched the races, presided over by the Mayor.⁴⁵ Two weeks later, a 'Ladies

⁴²Richardson, R.W. *Adelaide Rowing Club. The First Hundred Years. A Narrative History*, 1982. Published by the Adelaide Rowing Club 1982. p. 18.

⁴³ *Register* 30 April 1887.

⁴⁴ *Ibid* 17 March 1897.

⁴⁵ *Ibid* 14 February 1882.

Water Party' was held at the same venue. The program included a series of girls' as well as women's races and other events showing the aquatic capabilities of women in the water, perhaps challenging those of men; they included jumping into the water and divesting themselves of clothing while treading water, spinning like a top and swimming the length of the pool with ankles tied together. Style and manner of performance continued to be a matter of importance; the reporter noted that the winner of several races 'was also one of the most graceful swimmers of the evening'.⁴⁶ By 1882 mixed audiences at meetings which included female swimmers had become the norm. Late in the century there was a general acceptance that women and girls could swim competitively and indeed, should be encouraged to do so. Commenting on the forthcoming swimming demonstration by sixteen of the colony's public schools, the *Register* noted that the program included a swimming race for girls and observed that it 'will prove that swimming is as easily acquired by girls as by boys'.⁴⁷

Women and Cycling

However, the activity which was to provide the greatest challenges to contemporary conventions affecting women's participation in recreational activity and which was to have a wide ranging impact on the recreational life of the colony generally, was cycling. Cycling brought new opportunities for women to question attitudes towards dress and to exercise lightly or energetically, as they so wished; it was a new form of personal transport taking women to and from a range of recreational activities; it created a new milieu for young men and women to meet socially; it led to the development of a large following of enthusiasts, men and women, who cycled for recreation, particularly in local touring; and it continued to be questioned by some as both dangerous and unfeminine.

These changes in the social lives of women who were able to acquire the bicycle came about over a short span of years starting with the revolution in cycle design in the late 1880s. The Ordinary or 'penny farthing' bicycle had a small but growing

⁴⁶ *Ibid* 28 February 1882

⁴⁷ *Ibid* 26 March 1897.

male following soon after its introduction into Australia in the late 1870s. The machine required a degree of athleticism both to mount and to control. It would have been positively hazardous for women to mount and ride given the dress convention requiring long and voluminous dresses, skirts and petticoats. In addition, the sight of women exposing ankles and lower legs two and three feet off the ground would have brought further criticism and broken a further convention. By the early 1880s, the contemporary view was that if women were to take up the activity it should be on the tricycle specially designed for the crankshaft to be low to the ground and with dresses and undergarments covering the ankles. Another option of the period was a shield covering the ankles and lower leg at all times, as shown in an advertisement of the period.⁴⁸



FIGURE 1 The Beatrice Tricycle Shield

⁴⁸ Molyneux, D.D. *The Development of Physical Recreation in the Birmingham District from 1871 to 1892*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. University of Birmingham. 1957. p. 195. The accompanying caption to the Shield stated that it 'had been specially designed to meet a long felt want' and could 'be applied to any kind of double or single Tricycle.'

The cycling columnist of the *Register*, mid 1882, in his *Bicycling Notes* recommended tricycling to his readers. Quoting the English *Sanitary Record* for January of that year the columnist enthused:

Every one in ordinary health and possessing the use of limbs can without effort and without previous instruction learn to use a tricycle. A pace of from seven to ten miles an hour is easily attained on a tricycle, and maintained for several hours in succession without effort. The exercise is distinctly healthful, and the mere rapid motion through the air is of itself invigorating and refreshing; ...The facilities for covering an extent of ground and getting quickly out into the country or the most pleasant suburbs of great cities are so great that we cannot too strongly recommend our readers generally to try for themselves the advantages of the tricycle.⁴⁹

However, women tricyclists during the 1880s in the province appear to have been very few in number; but with the arrival of the light tubular-framed with the 'step through' version, chain guard and adjustable spring saddle in the late 1880s, and the pneumatic tyre in 1890, women cyclists were to grow in number rapidly.⁵⁰ These developments quickly overcame many of the staid and negative attitudes towards women cycling. Dress conventions had still to be overcome, but the step through safety bicycle and the chain guard lessened considerably the danger of clothing being caught up in the chain or the spokes. The machine with the pneumatic tyre was easier to propel. It could be ridden over rough roads and tracks, while falls and spills could be accommodated with fewer ill effects, as the rider was so close to the ground. Moreover, the safety bicycle was lightweight and proved strong, durable, reliable (including tyres) and capable of operating with a minimum of maintenance'.⁵¹

The popularity of the safety bicycle caught on in both urban and rural Australia, especially during the 1890s:

The country found itself in the mainstream of the world cycling boom, with machines being imported along with cycling journals, social attitudes and accompanying debates. By mid decade, among other things, cyclists (as female riders were then commonly described) were not unusual on the

⁴⁹ *Register* 20 July 1882.

⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick, J. 'The Spectrum of Australian Bicycle Racing: 1890-1900'. In Cashman, R. and McKiernan, M. (Eds). *Sport In History*. University of Queensland Press. 1979. pp. 326-327.

⁵¹ Fitzpatrick, J. *The Bicycle and the Bush. Man and Machine in Rural Australia*. O.U.P. 1980. p 10.

streets; churches still questioned the morality of Sunday cycling; doctors debated the effects of riding; numerous Australian cycle journals were about to get under way; bicycle dealers were gaining reputations attributed to horse dealers, and dogs chased everyone.⁵²

As the decade wore on, the price of safety bicycles tumbled, sometimes because of over-production by overseas manufacturers, particularly from the United States and Britain; many cut prices in order to maintain sales. Roadsters and touring bicycles, the models most commonly purchased, were costing between £25 and £30 in the early 1890s. By 1900, these same models were selling at a quarter of the price, for as low as £6 to £7. Although there was variation between rural and urban communities, for ordinary workers, this was the equivalent of three or four weeks' wages. However, a second-hand market was quick to develop, together with a range of hire purchase schemes for both new and used machines alike.⁵³

Ownership of the safety bicycle extended rapidly across a wide spectrum of the colony's population during the closing years of the century, including a significant number of young middle class women. Earlier conventions restricting women's fuller participation in the activity began to crumble. More female cyclists were noted in the towns of the colony and in Adelaide and its suburbs. Increasingly, they were unchaperoned and cycled alone, or in the company of other cyclists, male or female, often as members of a local cycling club or, in one or two instances, their own ladies' cycling club. They shared in local touring trips and other social activities which were the practice of cycling clubs at the time.⁵⁴ As the contemporary photograph below shows, there were lamps (most probably acetylene) on the bicycles confirming that women were also cycling at night.

By the early 1890s, the marketing of women's cycling had become a serious component within the total development of the activity, albeit with a degree of paternalism from the protective male. In mid-1892, Wheelmarks, the cycling commentator for the *Register*, commented on how the transition to pneumatic

⁵² *Ibid* p. 33.

⁵³ *Ibid* pp. 42-43.

⁵⁴ Photograph of the North Adelaide Cycling Club in 1896, including its ladies' section.

tyres, which was occurring at that time, had helped the process. This, together with the lightness of the frame, had further reduced the possibilities of physical harm. The columnist added: 'besides being light, they are easy running and simple to learn, a number of ladies having been taught to ride within thirty minutes'.⁵⁵ The interest and enthusiasm continued on and would appear to have been strongest among young middle class women. Five of eleven cycling advertisements in an edition of the *Register* in early 1897 made mention of machines or services specifically targeting women. Three of these referred to 'Bicycle Schools', where 'Ladies and Gentlemen could be taught to ride by professional cyclists'. If required, a 'Lady Attendant' could be provided for 'Lady Pupils'.⁵⁶ A few weeks later, a photographer was offering 'every facility for photographing Lady Cyclists' including 'New backgrounds and accessories'.⁵⁷ Clearly, the commercial world at this time was noticing a change of attitude towards women's cycling, though the demand was drawn predominantly from the upper and middle classes.



North Adelaide Cycling Club 1896

S.A. Archives

FIGURE 2 The North Adelaide Cycling Club with ladies' section to the fore

⁵⁵ *Register* 2 July 1892.

⁵⁶ *Ibid* 2 January 1897.

⁵⁷ *Ibid* 2 February 1897.

There were other developments in South Australian cycling which suggest a new and growing confidence among women cyclists to enjoy a degree of separate identity and to run their own affairs. By early 1897, the North Adelaide Cycling Club included a ladies' branch which held separate runs some weeks and combined runs at other times; of the Club's total membership in excess of 120, some 17 ladies were honorary members.⁵⁸ Among the combined runs was 'a *social ride*' with '12 ladies and 50-60 of the sterner sex' to Port Adelaide, where they were met by the Port Adelaide Club, and made their way to Torrens Island for a picnic.⁵⁹ A few weeks later, the combined run was to Belair National Park, again for a picnic, while the ladies section was active with a moonlight run 'escorted by a contingent of gentlemen'. The committee of the ladies' section advised their members that a programme was being planned to include a run every Saturday commencing at 2.30 pm. There were reports of runs to Henley Beach, to Brownhill Creek and to Waterfall Gully, among other places, always accompanied by a small contingent of male cyclists.⁶⁰ Mid-year there was a report of a run by another women's club, the Eastern Suburban Ladies' Cycling Club, which cycled to Henley Beach, where some of the members 'rode on the sand for the first time'.⁶¹

During 1897 the ladies' section of the North Adelaide Cycling Club was holding monthly business meetings in the club's social rooms. A report for the year reveals that the ladies' section had decided to limit its membership to 25. Further, non-attendance for three consecutive meetings would leave a member liable to be struck off the membership list. The same meeting decided that the club costume should be slightly altered to a 'fawn skirt, white blouse, green belt and tie, straw sailor hat with club ribbon (green and gold)'.⁶²

These examples of separate women's cycling clubs, or women's sections in male-led clubs, provide further evidence of women, drawn predominantly from the upper and middle classes, challenging the all powerful convention that the organisation

⁵⁸ *Ibid* 4 February 1897.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* 25 January 1897.

⁶⁰ *Ibid* 22 March and 18 May 1897.

⁶¹ *Ibid* 29 July 1897.

⁶² *Ibid* 6 September 1897.

of recreational activities was a male preserve. Taken against the contemporary movement of first wave feminism, they were significant. Whether the male escort on separate runs was requested by the ladies, or was a necessary acceptance by them of the degree of independence currently possible, it is difficult to determine. One suspects the latter was the case. But conventions were being challenged. Certainly, there was still plenty of support for the view by men that females were physically and temperamentally inferior to males in the handling of the bicycle and required special safeguards and protection. A correspondent to the *Register* in 1897 suggested that policemen should shoot all dogs without a collar as they were very dangerous rushing out after cyclists:

If one of these brutes should rush out at a lady who has just learned to cycle, we know very well what would be the result, as ladies are not as active as gentlemen on the machine.⁶³

In a leading article 'Cycling For Ladies' in the *Register* in the same year, prompted by a recent lecture to the South Australian Cyclists' Touring Association by a medical practitioner, the writer concluded that the activity carried many positives for women:

a woman has, generally, few resources outside her home, and if the brain be allowed to dull and blood impure, domestic duties fall to the level of the merest drudgery, and home becomes like a prison. Then it is that the exhilarating exercise of gliding through the crisp air along some bright country road, acts like a sedative to the brain and a tonic to the nerves ... Those ... who are normally constituted will find that that it is a form of exercise which, so far from being unwomanly, is one of the best antidotes to the unnatural conditions which modern civilisation enforces upon the gentler sex. The fashion for cycling in France has already administered the *coup de grace* to the fashion for tight-lacing, and that in itself is an almost priceless boon to those women who consider it is a duty to dress smartly. Objections to fresh air and lung-filling exercise are only another phase of that narrowness and misconception.⁶⁴

Previous negative conventions were slowly changing. As to the other dress conventions, women cyclists in the colony appear to have shunned the bloomers

⁶³ *Ibid* 2 April 1897.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* 28 July 1897.

approach, which was to cause so much controversy in America and Britain; they opted instead for the less controversial divided skirt. The mode created little controversy. Skirts had been raised a couple of inches. The corset was being discarded by some women who felt more comfortable wearing a bra and a blouse, particularly when exercising. Women's health failed to suffer as predicted by some. In the space of a decade, considerable progress had been achieved in the liberation of women who had elected to take up the activity of cycling. Stell was moved to summarise the importance of the cycling boom of the 1890s to women:

The bicycle brought many changes to Australian society, the most significant of them for women. To women, bicycles represented transport, independence, rational clothing, travel, exercise, competition and fun.⁶⁵

Women's Participation In Other Community Activities

There was progress too, by middle class women particularly, in involvement in other community recreational activities. After a struggle, they became more visible in previously held all male preserves. They were seen increasingly as players in music ensembles. A report of a Handel Concert given by the Adelaide Philharmonic Society in 1887 commended the performance of the orchestra, led by a Mrs Alderman.⁶⁶ In the same year, a report on the activities of the Hindmarsh Choral Society made mention of women committee members, albeit on the wardrobe committee.⁶⁷ Officer roles had still to be won. Scholefield's study conveys some idea of the conventions women had to overcome to achieve some status in the operation of a local society. The study included an analysis of the early years of the Kent Town Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society, part of a mainstream rational recreation movement of the period in the colony.

⁶⁵ Stell, M.K.. *Half The Race. A History Of Australian Women In Sport*. Angus. 1991. p. 20. The comparable experiences of American women cyclists during this period are described in Aronson, S. 'The Sociology of the Bicycle'. In *Journal of Social Forces* Vol. 30. March 1952. pp. 307-308. See also Rubinstein, D. 'Cycling In The 1890s.' *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 21. No. 1. 1977. pp. 47-51.

⁶⁶ *Register* 25 June 1887.

⁶⁷ *Ibid* 4 June 1887.

Kent Town Mutual Improvement Society

(Became Kent Town Literary Society in May 1887)

Dates Indicating Changes in Women's Participation:

1879	May	Society founded with 16 members (all male).
	June	Motion to admit women as associate members paying fees, but with no voting rights, defeated.
1880	April	20 women (including 7 married) admitted on the above basis
1882		Women have a brief part in entertainments in singing roles. Literary contributions confined to male members only.
1883		First of what were to become regular Associates' nights.
1884		Motion passed that Associates should have voting rights.
1887		Society follows recommendation of the Union of Literary Societies that women should hold the same rights and privileges as male members.
1892		Ladies Nights where program and all items are conducted by women members. ⁶⁸

These developments suggest that women members of some literary societies were gaining confidence and acquiring the ability to strike out for an equitable place in the movement both in terms of offerings and recognition as equal members in the organisation.

The Emergence of the 'New Woman'.

By century's end, the women of South Australia had begun to turn back the tide of some of the negative conventions which had prevented their sharing in the wide range of recreational activities which opened up in the colony from the 1860s on.

⁶⁸ Adapted from Elizabeth M. Scholefield. *The Ladies Kindly Visited. Women And Philanthropy In Kensington And Norwood, S.A., In The Nineteenth Century*. Hons Thesis in the Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1981. p. 35. In 1892, the society was among several who supported an application by the all female Girls Literary Society to be given membership of the Literary Societies' Union.

Modest gains had been achieved, though Mrs Grundy's presence was destined to delay progress through the decades which followed. In the main, the early victories had been won by, and for, only a section of women drawn from the upper and middle classes. Croquet and lawn tennis in the early years of their development, required private open space, mostly provided in the private gardens of more advantaged families. Those women who had taken up rowing were dependent on the equipment and facilities of male clubs.

Elsewhere, dress conventions had moved. Society had come to accept dresses being raised marginally, necklines lowered fractionally, corsets and bodices replaced with more comfortable attire, particularly when women were participating in activities calling for a degree of physical exertion. The uniform adopted for young women's callisthenics and for swimming broke free from some of the conventions; it extended to the elbows and calves, and replaced the wide brimmed hat with a bonnet. The next major challenge to dress conventions by a new wave of sportswomen would come through female hockey enthusiasts.⁶⁹ In the opening years of twentieth century, the skirts of women hockey players in South Australia shortened to some four inches (ten centimetres) off the ground, which still gave offence to some observers.

It was to be many years before the population at large would feel comfortable with women exercising strenuously to improve their fitness for a particular sporting activity; 'glowing' was still the acceptable limit in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Twenty six years after the advertised ladies' horse race by the Gawler Racing Committee at their 1859 meeting, the issue of women competing in public in a race remained very much alive. There was scathing criticism of a tricycle race for ladies promoted by the South Australian Bicycle Club in their 1885

⁶⁹ A playing area in the north park lands, off Tynte Street was leased by the City of Adelaide to the Waterhouse Hockey Club in the year 1900 and indicates that women were playing hockey in the colony by the turn of the century. The three Waterhouse sisters brought women's hockey from London to the Methodist Ladies College and thereafter were strongly involved in the formation of the North Adelaide Ladies Hockey Club in 1901. The women's game grew rapidly and by 1905 there were two Ladies Hockey Associations with a combined total of seventeen clubs in existence in South Australia. See H. Jaensch, S. Jones and V. Nairn. *From Hat Pins To Bodysuits. Women's Hockey In South Australia. The First Hundred Years*. Published by the authors. 2003. pp. 1-7.

championship meeting in Adelaide. The race was over three miles and the winner covered the distance in 9 minutes and 43 seconds off a handicap of 395 yards.

One cycling journal was moved to comment:

Where we would ask is the man who would care to see his sister, or maybe his mother-in-law, straining her muscular energy tricycle racing before an assemblage of people? What amount of modesty could a lady possess to undertake such performances? And how edifying to the public mind.⁷⁰

Hidden away from the gaze of sporting crowds, women cyclists were undertaking considerable feats of endurance, particularly through long distance cycling journeys.⁷¹ But men and most women were more comfortable with women performing in activities which carried an aesthetic appeal, requiring grace, rhythm and balance.⁷² Reporting on a callisthenics demonstration by a private girls school and the current teaching of girls in private schools in Adelaide in general at the turn of the century, the *Register* was moved to comment:

Young ladies were taught the three “Ds” – deportment, decorum and dancing – with the strictness with which a drill sergeant handles the raw recruit They learn these and other things now, but their freedom is greater and their sphere more extended – and who shall say that it is not to their advantage? In most of the leading educational institutions for girls, the athletic exercises suited to them form part of the curriculum and the *fin de siecle* maid feels emancipated from the backboard and the duenna.

The demonstration itself:

was carried out ... with commendable precision, and consisted of exercises in the pose of the body, walking, dancing, marching evolutions, and other movements tending to promote a graceful carriage and command of muscle. The girls went through their rhythmical exercises with that ease and grace that can only be acquired by early and judicious training.⁷³

⁷⁰ *Australian Cycling News* 24 October 1885, quoted in Dunstan, K. *Sports*. Cassell Australia. 1973. p 255.

⁷¹ Fitzpatrick. *The Spectrum of Australian Bicycle Racing: 1890-1900*. Op Cit. pp. 336-337 and Dunstan Op Cit. p. 257.

⁷² Coles, L. *Leisure in Australian Society*. AGPS. 1973. p. 288 and King Op Cit. p. 69.

⁷³ *Register* 18 September 1897. p. 7.

When allowed and given the opportunity, women had revealed that they possessed the skills to organise and administer recreational activities at both local and regional levels; however, with the exception of the social programs of the YWCA, women's involvement in the programs of the literary societies and in local branches of the WCTU, they were given few opportunities to demonstrate their abilities as organisers and administrators.⁷⁴ In the main, they continued to play supportive roles to male-led programs and activities.

There was also some concern at the speed of the progress which young middle class women were achieving in breaking down long-established conventions. The *Adelaide Observer*, late in the century saw fit to reprint an article – written by a male doctor – taken from the official journal of the Mothers' Union entitled 'Can there be a Nice New Woman?' While praising the advances which had already been achieved, he counselled care by young women over the speed of change, advising them not to be over-zealous in pressing for further changes. Perhaps there was a speed beyond which conventional change could not be achieved without an adverse reaction? He argued:

The sensible new woman can ride, and swim, and run, and row, and her nobly developed limbs are clad in garments of becoming looseness and shortness when she takes her exercise, the bounds of womanly modesty not being overstepped; but the silly new woman will exaggerate everything, will 'cut off her petticoats up to her knees' ... and will ape manliness in dress, and speech.⁷⁵

The 'new woman' – of mainly middle class background – had been warned. She must be patient. Perhaps she had been proceeding too quickly in her efforts to break down existing negative conventions. Was there a pace beyond which change could not be achieved without serious community concern, even among those who were generally supportive of women's participation?

⁷⁴ Blainey reminds us that it was the ability of women, utilising skills acquired in the campaign leading to the suffrage success of 1894, which were brought to bear in the marshalling of votes in local option cases leading to the closure of many public houses. Blainey, G. 'The History Of Leisure In Australia. The Late Colonial Era.' *The Victorian Historical Journal*. Vol. 49. No. 1. 1978. p. 18.

⁷⁵ 'The Nice Young Woman' by Dr Maitland published in the official journal of the Mothers' Union and reprinted in the *Adelaide Observer* 1 August 1896.

Others have interpreted this period of change differently. Simpson sees the comparable improvement in attitudes towards women's cycling in the last fifteen years of the century in New Zealand as reflecting the theories of Erving Goffman on the structure of social encounters: initial resistance, followed by conditional acceptance and eventual assimilation into the mainstreams of the activity.⁷⁶ Certainly, by the end of the Victorian era, women cyclists in South Australia had achieved considerable acceptance by the community at large, but were some way from full assimilation. Society still shunned the idea of women cycling competitively or touring with other women cyclists without a male escort. However, in the circle of literary societies, they were much closer to achieving full assimilation.

⁷⁶ Simpson, C.S. 'Managing Public Impressions: Strategies Of Nineteenth Century Female Cyclists.' *Sporting Traditions*. Vol. 19 No. 2. May 2003. pp1-15.

6 MECHANICS, ARTISANS AND GENTLEMAN AMATEURS

Conventions affecting men's participation in recreation activities in the province of South Australia during the later decades of the nineteenth century were fewer in number and of a totally different kind from those affecting women. They impacted on a limited number of men and were heavily class-based.

As has been shown in Chapter 1, considerable numbers of working class men, mainly tradesmen, frequently referred to in the literature as '*mechanics*' or '*artisans*', won significant new hours of leisure during the period; for many, this included the regular Saturday half-holiday. Many also achieved a significant increase in real wages which for some led on to increased disposable income. They were able to avail themselves of opportunities to explore and experience new and older established community activities, particularly team sports, whether as a player or a spectator. In this they were greatly helped by an ever-improving transportation system. However, there were some negative conventions experienced by working class males. They differed significantly from those directed towards women; for mechanics and artisans they centred on occupation and social class and operated in a narrow band of activities. They can be traced in large part to the educational claims made for the cult of athleticism which evolved in British public schools¹ from the mid-nineteenth century and which flourished, not only in Britain, but in many of its dominions and colonies in the last three decades of the Victorian era.

It is necessary to outline the history of British public schools' athleticism and with it the concept of the 'gentleman amateur' in order to appreciate the conventions which reached out to restrict participation by working class men in certain activities, most notably in rowing. In addition, growing commercialisation in some

¹ In this thesis the definition of a British public school is that developed by Vivian Ogilvie in *The English Public School*. (1957) namely '*an independent, non-local, predominantly boarding school for the upper and middle classes*'. In Mangan, J.A. *Athleticism In The Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence And Consolidation Of An Educational Ideology*. Cambridge University Press. 1981. pp. 1-2.

sports, particularly those which had the capacity to attract large crowds, led to the emergence of the paid player, the 'professional', a development unloved by the middle classes and completely at odds with the concept of the gentleman amateur.

The Growth of Athleticism

Athleticism, as developed in British public schools from 1850 was the purposeful inclusion of team activities, particularly cricket, rowing and various versions of 'football', as a major element in their extra-curricular activities, to a stage where headmasters insisted on the involvement of all pupils as well as staff, and where facilities were increasingly provided to accommodate the programs. The activities originally were intended to encourage more meaningful employment of boarders' leisure hours and to confine them within the school premises; they were intended to replace the hunting, poaching and other uncontrolled, often lawless, activities operated in the neighbouring countryside of several of the schools.² The team games, administered by the boys with the agreement and support of a growing number of schools and their Headmasters, came to be regarded as nurturing qualities of leadership, self-reliance, ability to work together and respect for discipline, as well as a sense of fair play.

The development of athleticism has been loosely attributed to Thomas Arnold during the time of his Headship at Rugby School (1828-1842); however, there is no evidence to support this contention other than his determination to stamp out lawless behaviour by the boys outside of the school boundaries. Physical activities were not mentioned in his written contributions to educational theory. Allowing team games at Rugby was a minor part in Arnold's determination to stamp out lawless behaviour of the boys under his charge during their leisure hours much of which was spent in questionable activities in the neighbouring countryside. The end product of Arnold's reforms was the grooming of a Christian gentleman; it is highly doubtful that he would have supported the direction taken by the movement in the generation following his death in 1842, when team games came to be

² McIntosh, P.C. *Sport In Society*. London. C.A. Watts & Co 1963 pp. 66-67.

developed as a major element in the extra curricula programs of both established and emerging public schools. Some of these schools came to be led by former pupils and masters of Rugby school and claims began to be made for the educational merits of team games as well as their disciplinary value.

The qualities ascribed to the encouragement and teaching of team games began to be regarded as those required for administrators, entrepreneurs, army officers and other upper and middle class leaders in Britain, her colonies and dominions. Athleticism grew to assume the qualities of a cult. It was glorified in the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* written by Thomas Hughes, a former pupil of Rugby school, and published in 1857. It became further entrenched and consolidated at the tertiary level after association football was codified in 1863 and rugby football in 1871, both through the efforts of former public schoolboys. These two team games, together with cricket and rowing, for which laws and rules of competition had been long established, became much more than social appendages to academic studies at the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge:

the compelling ideology of athleticism had captured the public school system, and its strongly indoctrinated products moved en masse into the ancient universities and shaped them in their image.³

The writings of Hughes and those of Charles Kingsley gave rise to a new interpretation of athleticism - 'Muscular Christianity'. Ministers of all denominations, many experienced in the ideology through their school and university experiences, led local community initiatives to establish cricket and football clubs in villages, towns and cities. Many clubs came into existence in this way in the last three decades of the century, though a good proportion of them soon shed their early links with the church.⁴

Late in the century, against a background of growing imperialism, athleticism evolved to a position where imperialist considerations, including military prowess,

³ Mangan, J.A. 'Lamentable Barbarians And Pitiful Sheep: Rhetoric Of Protest And Pleasure In Victorian And Edwardian "Oxbridge".' In *Victorian Studies* Vol. 34 No. 4 Summer 1991. p. 477.

⁴ McIntosh, Op Cit. pp. 72-73.

stoicism, courage and leadership on the games field were widely believed to pass over to the battlefield. Sir Henry Newbolt's 'Vitali Lampada' describing the last wicket stand on a worn pitch in blinding light, juxtaposed with the last stand of British soldiers in a remote colonial outpost, came to carry real meaning and substance for supporters of the system. It gave public expression to the absolute belief that training for:

conquest took place on the football pitches and the cricket squares of the English public schools. In this he merely reflected the personal convictions of scores of public schoolboys and their masters ... For the initiated, there was an uncomplicated relationship between courage with the leather ball and valour with the sword.⁵

Athleticism and Manliness in Elite South Australian Boys' Schools

The component parts of British public schools' athleticism as developed in the second half of the nineteenth century were well known to a growing middle class in the Australian colonies. Many fathers of middle class families who had migrated to the colonies had experienced the system at first hand. Some chose to send their sons to British public schools, others to boys' schools established in the Australian colonies with curricula and teaching methods strongly influenced by their British counterparts, including the growing cult of athleticism. In South Australia such schools included St Peter's College, Prince Alfred College and Whinham College, particularly the first two. The team sports of cricket and the Victorian Rules version of football figured large in the schools' extracurricular activities, as well as the Speech Day reports of the respective Headmasters. Rowing entered strongly on to the scene with the successful completion of the Torrens Lake in 1881, though St Peter's College, occasionally, had been contesting events prior to that date off Port Adelaide.⁶ The Governor of South Australia, Sir William Jervois, at the St Peter's Speech Day in 1884 expressed his satisfaction at the progress of the College 'which might be called the Eton or Harrow of South Australia.'⁷ Certainly contests between St Peter's and Prince Alfred's College in cricket and football

⁵ Mangan, J.A. *The Games Ethic And Imperialism. Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. 1986 p. 45.

⁶ See for example, the race between the Pelican Rowing Club and St Peter's College reported in the *Register* 18 April 1862.

⁷ *The St Peter's School Magazine* Vol. 1. No. 3.1884. p. 4.

attracted large 'fashionable' crowds; for a time cricket matches extending over several days were played at the Adelaide Oval.

The schools engaged some staff directly from Britain and their experience of athleticism at first hand or an ability, or coaching experience, in one or more of the team activities had clearly influenced their appointment. The Head Master of St Peter's in his Speech Day Report of 1884 noted:

Mr Inkersley, who had joined the staff a few weeks after the beginning of the half-year, brought to our help Oxford distinctions, and the boat club should profit by his experience as an old Oxford oar.⁸

In 1896 the School Magazine reported the arrival of a new staff member who was educated at Reading School and Magdalen College Oxford – Captain of his College boat club 'and just missed his place in the Oxford eight of 1883'.⁹

If any doubt existed that the spirit of athleticism and manliness was not present at St Peter's in the closing years of the century, it would have been dispelled by the spirited poetic offering of one correspondent to the school magazine in 1894; writing under the *nom de plume* of *Hugh Kalyptus* he composed *Brain And Muscle*. The stanzas included:

Few men of the mountain are stronger in pace,
We never lag backward in football or race;
Though distant the prize that we struggle to gain,
We shall reach it by virtue of muscle and brain.

Look! Look! At the scrummage close up to the goal,
Each player plunged deep in it, body and soul;
See how the ball's taken again and again!
Who says we've not plenty of muscle and brain?

⁸ *Ibid*

When Bishop Kennion cabled Adelaide from England in 1884 with the news that Canon Girdlestone had been appointed Headmaster of St Peter's College, the telegram ran: '*Excellent man, Girdlestone, Stroke Oxford Eight, Honours Maths and Science.*'

Sporting prowess seemingly took precedence over academic honours. See *Daly, J.A. Elysian Fields. Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*. 1982. p. 73.

⁹ *Ibid* Vol. VI No. 24 March 31 1896 p. 381.

As British born youths, though colonial bred,
 No danger can daunt us, no trouble we dread;
 Not here nor in England is pluck on the wane;
 Here still exists plenty of muscle and brain.¹⁰

The rivalry between St Peter's College and Prince Alfred's College was waged across a range of activities, but the contests in cricket and football surmounted all others in importance. In his 1897 annual report, as reported in the *Register*, the Head Master of Prince Alfred's College referred to 'the two great events of our athletic year, cricket and football' in which 'we have no success to record. But we made a good fight of both. In the minor contests – running, tennis, bicycling and swimming – we have had clear wins'.¹¹ At St Peter's, tennis was offered to the boys in 1898, largely through the interest of the Headmaster and his family in the game; the School Magazine noted the introduction with the comment 'due care will be taken that it does not unduly trespass on the more important branches of rowing, cricket and football'.¹²

The element of physical strength and contest became more pronounced as the century wore on. The 'major' team sports had always been regarded as 'manly', but during the last two decades of the century, the manliness element increasingly assumed a militaristic and patriotic tone, with an emphasis on physical fitness as preparation for any imperial call to arms should the colony or the Empire so require. Athleticism in the Australian colonies evolved to a position where considerations of military training began to intrude on the movement.

Sports and the new priorities of loyalty to country and empire were also reconciled through discursively modifying the purposes of sport, investing it with the qualities of preparing boys for war, likening the battlefield to the games field, and playing up the connections between loyalty to team and loyalty to monarch, country and empire.¹³

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. IV No. 19 1894 p. 301.

¹¹ *Register* 15 December 1897. p. 9.

¹² *St Peter's School Magazine* Vol. 8 No. 3. 1898. p. 2.

¹³ Crotty, M.' The Making of the Man: Australian Public Schoolboy Sporting Violence 1850-1914.' In *International Journal of the History of Sport* Vol. 20. No. 3. September 2003. p. 9.

At St Peter's a drill instructor was appointed in 1897 and military drill became compulsory for all boys a few years later. Gymnastics was also taught at the school under the direction of the respected Leschen family.¹⁴ However, team games continued to hold pride of place in the extracurricular activities of both 'Saints' and 'Princes'.

The Boer War was soon to bring a new reality to the martial element of team games and other inter-school rivalries in South Australia. The Prince Alfred College Chronicle ran a special edition to commemorate the departure of past students, who, together with former students of St Peter's College, made up the greater part of No. 3 Troop in the South Australian Mounted Regiment and were shortly leaving for South Africa. The Editorial proclaimed:

Those who have promoted, and those who have taken part in the many contests between 'Saints' and 'Princes' in examination room and playground must feel that these contests are fulfilling their *raison d'être*; that they are like the tournaments of chivalry, wholehearted and thorough battles while they last, yet ever wielding more firmly the bonds of friendship and making the jousts fitter to fight side by side in the higher common cause.¹⁵

The Bunday Lecture

There were some occupying high positions in the colony who envisaged the movement of athleticism benefiting a broader section of the community than the boys of private schools. In August 1880, William Bunday, the Attorney General in the Morgan ministry, addressed a public meeting in the Adelaide Town Hall, convened by the Young Men's Christian Association on the subject: *Manly Sports, Exercises, and Recreations*. He argued that 'manly sports' should be recognised 'as auxiliaries to, and necessary for, the health of an industrious race.' Further,

¹⁴ *St Peter's School Magazine* Vol. VI No. 25. June 18 1896. p. 397. A report on recent changes at the school notes: 'additional times have been devoted to the Gymnasium Classes during the term, Mr Leschen having found it impossible to get through the work without the extra time.'

¹⁵ *Prince Alfred College Chronicle* Vol. VI. No. 64. March 30 1900.

they enabled participants to 'be frequently reinvigorated and better able to perform their undertakings'.¹⁶ They were important too, for mental health and

one of their greatest charms ... They level all social distinctions We do not stop to inquire whether he is a blacksmith or a professional man; we applaud because we recognise him as a man among men.¹⁷

Bunday went on to list the sports which he commended. They included hunting, rowing, football and 'the noble game of cricket'. Football (the Victorian Rules version) was:

manly in the extreme; it can be played when other outdoor games cannot be engaged in; it is inexpensive, and it is a recreation in which a large number of young men can take part at the same time.¹⁸

Cricket was:

The prince of all games. Nothing can be more manly or less open to objections of any kind. It is free to all ranks. Upon the field the best man is the one who shows the most skill and endurance. All meet on equal terms, and many a sincere and lasting friendship has been brought about through its means Like football it is an inexpensive amusement, and engages large numbers at a time.¹⁹

Bunday concluded:

the encouragement and practice of these sports are justified and desirable upon much broader and higher grounds than mere amusement, and ... systematically and properly pursued they are grand auxiliaries to the performance of men's duties, and to the formation of their characters ...

¹⁶ Bunday, W.H. 'Manly Sports, Exercises, and Recreations; and the Beneficial Effects of Their Practice within Reasonable and Proper Bounds.' The fourth in a series of lectures in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. 1880. *South Australiana Pamphlets Z 790 Bunday*. The published lecture reports that, on the occasion of the event, the organ galleries were occupied by some 70-80 members of various cricket and football clubs, yachtsmen, riflemen and a few volunteers, 'all of whom appeared in costume'. The front of the platform was used for the display of several pictures illustrating the various manly sports of which the lecturer spoke. The Mayor of Adelaide presided over the meeting.

¹⁷ *Ibid* p. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid* p. 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 8.

Let us by precept and example do our utmost to keep alive, foster, and encourage sports and pastimes worthy of the descendants of a manly, renowned and adventurous race.²⁰

The Gentleman Amateur

Products from those schools which followed the cult of athleticism, whether educated at private colonial schools or British 'public' schools, would at least have been aware of the conventions surrounding the style and manner in which young men were expected to conduct themselves when participating. The schools were the training ground for the behavioural expectations of those young men who wished to continue playing after their formal education had been completed. It was the world of the British 'gentleman amateur'; he played strictly to the spirit and letter of the laws or rules of the activity, was courteous at all times towards his opponents, accepted the decisions of adjudicating officials without demur, and was humble in winning and gracious in defeat.

The gentleman amateur received no fee or payment for playing, though he was not averse to being reimbursed for his expenses in circumstances which took him away from his home district. He viewed disparagingly any payment to players over and above legitimate expenses. There were three categories of player in his eyes: the pure amateur, the expenses amateur and the paid performer. He was suspicious of those who received payment of any kind in return for playing or competing, or who competed for cash prizes. He did not bet on contests, though he might have a wager with a colleague at his club on the outcome of some other contest in which he was not involved. He condemned gambling by the working classes; they were incapable of distinguishing what was acceptable wagering and what was not. He dressed to the highest standard of the activity for, in so doing, such occasions offered him the opportunity to display his status as a gentleman. He strove to uphold the highest ethical standards of performance expected by the activity's administrators – an attitude, if anything made more important if called upon to serve on club committees, or in a role in the governance of a particular

²⁰ *Ibid* p. 16.

sport, as its following grew in the last quarter of the century. He undertook such responsibilities in the sincere belief that only those who had experienced the system at first hand could interpret the true spirit of athleticism.

As team games expanded, some of them attracted working class participants and supporters; however, their governing bodies had to be administered by the 'right kind' of men, meaning those who had experienced the ethos of athleticism at first hand. Moreover, it had to be remembered that it was former British 'public' schoolboys who had drawn up the rules enabling competition and expansion to take place in the wider community in the 1870s and 1880s.²¹ An expanding rational recreation movement extolling the virtues of the amateur way of 'playing the game' for its own sake, without pecuniary reward, was the message to be conveyed to the newly leisured working classes.²²

Many of the new participants, drawn from the working classes, faced difficulties in measuring up to these conventions. In the first place, they had little or no direct experience of team sports during the period of their formal education and hence would have been ignorant of the conventions and behavioural expectations from those who participated in a particular activity. Second, their major motivation for participating may well have been quite simply the desire to improve and excel in the company of like-minded men in an activity which they found pleasurable and enjoyable. Humility in winning and graciousness in defeat were concepts which were difficult for persons new to an activity to appreciate. Third, there was the question of payment for playing; for the working man, the costs of participating and the loss of time from work were real and could not be met as easily as they appear to have been for the middle class gentleman amateur. For the gentleman amateur, payment of players in money or kind immediately raised questions of honesty and propriety. Finally, there was the question of gambling, particularly following the arrival of the bookmaker and his increasing presence at team matches, athletic

²¹ The exception was the of the version originating in Victoria in 1859 which later became established as Australian Rules football.

²² Adair, D., Nauright, J. and Phillips, M. 'Playing Fields Through To Battle Fields: The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in its Imperial Context, c.1850-1918.' *Journal of Australian Studies* No. 56. 1998. p. 53.

and bicycle race meetings, as well as horse racing and coursing meets, and events generally accommodated adjacent to public houses such as billiards, skittles and quoits. Gambling was rife among all classes in the colony, but the gentleman amateur questioned the ability of the working class player or competitor to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate gambling practices in activities in which they participated.

The playing convention of the gentleman amateur came to be severely tested in the colony from the late 1870s on. Football presented many problems, especially in the years following the adoption of the Victorian Rules. The leading sides came to assemble regular fixtures over an established season. Clubs were attracting patrons – noisy, local and partisan. Spectators increased in number. Grounds were enclosed, entrance fees charged and gate money accrued. There were reports of violence on the field of play, among spectators and as teams were leaving grounds.²³ Commentators warned of a fall in interest in the game unless rough play, bad language and the abuse of umpires were eliminated from the game.²⁴ By the late 1880s there were reports of payments to players and moves by some delegates within the South Australian Football Association ‘to restrict clubs playing professionals’.²⁵ A few years later, in 1892, South Australian players were applying to the Association for permits to play for a Victorian club having been attracted by the offer of a weekly payment and, in one case, a billet.²⁶ Later that year a report of the Association confirmed the action of the Port Adelaide club in disqualifying two of their players for life for taking money and ‘throwing’ a game.²⁷

²³ *The Register* of 7 August 1877, under a report entitled *Larrikinism At Football*, described letters it had received relating to incidents on and off the field at a recent match between two leading clubs culminating in ‘hooting, howling and throwing stones’ at the visiting team as they left the ground. In a report in the same newspaper on 2 June 1892, described an incident in a match at the Adelaide Oval when the crowd invaded the pitch, threatening the umpire. The Adelaide City Town Clerk complained to the South Australian Football Association about the incident. The Association responded assuring him that there would be no recurrence.

²⁴ *Ibid* 10 April 1897.

²⁵ *Ibid* 16 and 23 April 1887.

²⁶ *Ibid* 2 May 1892.

²⁷ *Ibid* 13 September 1892

Professionalism in the form of competing for money prizes came to be openly practised in athletics events; it evolved naturally from the long established occasional pedestrian events held in the colony in the 1840s and 1850s. The 'peds', as they were known, came to attract crowds, and bookmakers followed them. Daly notes that in the 1860s there were moves in Britain and the colony to counteract the appeal of 'the professionals' and to attract young men to train and compete as a 'healthy and manly' activity and for trophies. In South Australia the Adelaide Amateur Athletic Club was formed in 1864 by a group of prominent sportsmen in the city who were concerned about the association of footraces with gambling. The new Association had the Governor as patron and the Premier as President; judges and stewards at Club meetings were drawn from the notables of Adelaide society. Betting was banned at these meetings and, when other local meetings were held where the practice occurred, the *Register* was critical of the promoters.²⁸

However, the frequency and attraction of the Adelaide Club meetings declined in the late 1870s. They lost the limited appeal they had among working class men. Running races for money, however, still held their attraction at communities large and small around South Australia, and particularly *Sheffield Handicaps*. An increasing number of communities came to hold an annual sports meeting or 'demonstration', frequently sponsored by one or more of the local branches of benevolent societies – Druids, Foresters, Manchester Unity. The programs included a range of events and attractions; but for most, the central event and major attraction were the heats and final of a *Sheffield Handicap* run for substantial cash prizes.²⁹ 'Sheffields' attracted nominations from an area much wider than the immediate locality.³⁰ Betting and bookmakers attended many of the meetings. Circuits of local *Sheffield* events appear to have developed for the runners. In addition, in Adelaide a cinder track capable of staging *Sheffield* events was opened in 1886 close to the Maid and Magpie Hotel in Stepney; at one

²⁸ Daly Op Cit. pp. 86-88.

²⁹ A 'Sheffield' was a handicap flat race, generally run over 130 or 135 yards for cash prizes.

³⁰ When the Kapunda 1888 Sports Meeting struck bad weather and was facing abandonment competitors in the Sheffield Handicap insisted that the event should be run as they had travelled long distances for the event. The organisers consented. *KH* 22 June 1888.

Sheffield event run over two Saturdays in August there were 61 nominations. Some 2000 spectators were reported to have attended the finals.³¹

Reports on *Sheffield* events showed that promoters often faced difficulties in ensuring fair and honest performances from the runners. The winner of the *Sheffield Handicap* at the Balaklava Sports meeting in 1891 was subsequently disqualified for not revealing to the handicapper all of his previous performances.³² In the following year, forty one runners took part in an evening *Sheffield Handicap* run under electric lights at the Lord Melbourne Running Grounds in Lower North Adelaide:

Means were taken by the promoter to prevent as far as possible 'stiff' running. Each competitor, until they faced the starter, was kept unacquainted with the other contestants against whom he was pitted in each heat, so that he was unable to confer in regard to how he should run.³³

In the penultimate heat of the *Sheffield* run in conjunction with the fourth Nuriootpa demonstration, two runners were disqualified for interfering with another runner. With considerable foresight, the reporter observed that next year the Committee would have to have lanes or ropes placed for the runners to keep their places on the track.³⁴

By the early 1890s the new and rapidly developing sport of bicycle racing was rumoured to be facing similar difficulties. The sport was attracting large crowds and the bookmakers were busy with their trade. Officials began warning riders not to ride 'stiff' for the first day of a meeting, in order to secure better odds on the second day; if they judged a rider not to be trying, they would disqualify him.³⁵ A few years later, following the disqualification of a leading racing cyclist, the *Register* commented in a leading article:

³¹ *Ibid* 17 and 24 August 1886

³² *Ibid* 26 and 3 June 1891

³³ *Register* 22 December 1892.

³⁴ *KH* 4 January 1895

³⁵ *Register* 12 November 1892.

Cycle racing, like a magnificent plant of rapid growth, has astonished all beholders with its brilliancy, but now is in imminent danger of running to seed ... Pacing one another ... Is said to be of common occurrence among contestants in races where no pacing is supposed to be permitted; ... In the interests of the sport it is absolutely essential that everything in the shape of dishonest riding should be sternly suppressed.³⁶

Working Class Oarsmen

During this period of expansion in South Australian sport some of the new governing bodies were quite open in their objection to competing with or against working class participants. Rowing was such a body taking its lead from Britain where 'mechanics and artisans' had been denied membership of the newly established governing body for the sport on the grounds that they held an unfair advantage over other oarsmen because their daily occupation involved strenuous physical work. The major concern of middle class oarsmen was the professional scullers and the watermen who earned their living as boatmen. In Britain the Metropolitan Rowing Association, formed in 1879, (becoming the Amateur Rowing Association four years later) gave the lead and the Australian colonial and national organisations for the sport followed. Significantly the term 'amateur' was included in the title of the national and colonial associations. In August 1882 the recently formed South Australian Amateur Rowing Association announced that henceforth, it too would exclude membership to mechanics and artisans, thereby denying them access to competitions and representative crews, and clubs of membership. In so doing it fell in line with the eastern colonies.³⁷

Some of the correspondence in the *Register*, in the days which followed the announcement, questioned the fairness of the Association's decision and whether it fitted the convention of the gentleman amateur. One correspondent, who at the

³⁶ *Ibid* 10 February 1897.

³⁷ In the years that followed, although there was agreement among the colonial associations that all waterman should be excluded from membership on the grounds that their daily occupation gave them an unfair advantage, there was a distinct lack of agreement on the further extension of the ban. Some of the colonial associations were insistent that it should extend to all manual workers, including such trades as saddlers, barbers and boot makers. Divisions between the several associations appeared and remained for several decades. See *Lane, D.G. and Jobling, I.F.* 'For Honour and Trophies: Amateur Rowing In Australia, 1888-1912.' In *Sporting Traditions*. Vol. 4 No. 1 November 1987 pp. 2-26.

time was an officer of both the South Australian Football Association and the Norwood Football Club, noted that, of the SAARA's eight rowing clubs, the five supporting the new definition had a total membership of less than 200; the three admitting 'manual labour' working men in their ranks had more than 300. He went on to observe:

'gentlemen amateurs' in football and cricket are not afraid of any superiority in strength and skill on the part of mechanics, and those gentlemen who are anxious to exclude the latter from rowing as bona fide amateurs display an amount of 'funk' which is not creditable to their manhood.³⁸

A subsequent letter from *Universities* used the weapon of parody to suggest what many believed was the real motive behind the development:

I maintain that it is a necessity that class distinctions should be made for many reasons ... 1. Manual-labour men by their avocation are naturally more used to hard work, than gentlemen, and therefore find less difficulty in training and practising. 2. Amongst gentlemen, too much bodily exercise would be injurious to the brain power on which their living depends. 3. Continual rowing with manual-labour encourages familiarity on the part of the latter which is intolerable, and thus gives a gentleman the poor alternative of forsaking the exercise or rowing cheek by jowl with a mechanic. 4. Gentlemen would lose their caste in their set if they continually associated with those so much below them. 5. Gentlemen who compete with their equals for the higher aims of life can scarcely be expected to compete for amusement with even an honest mechanic.³⁹

The tenor of the letter was lost on several of the correspondents who were moved to reply; there were protests that the charge of division by social class was unjustified, that colonial rowing associations were endeavouring to respond to the requirements of the national association and that if the distinction was not applied, the amateur would be discouraged from rowing. The Editor acknowledged receipt of other letters on the topic which the proprietors did not think necessary to publish.

³⁸ *Register* 22 August 1882.

³⁹ *Ibid* 23 August 1882.

There was other evidence to suggest that working class oarsmen were shunned by some elements of the rowing fraternity on class grounds. The I Zingari Rowing Club formed in 1882 a few months after the opening of the Torrens Lake, and becoming the Adelaide Rowing Club in 1885, concedes in its official history that the practice of blackballing membership applications operated in the club during its early years.⁴⁰

The division between gentleman amateur and working class oarsmen remained within the sport of rowing for many decades and well into the twentieth century. Occasional races for working class oarsmen were reported, as for example the Port Adelaide regatta of 1892, where separate races were held for 'amateur' and 'working class' oarsmen; but the latter group continued to be excluded from officially recognised SAARA clubs, from SAARA events and from representative colonial crews.⁴¹ In the overall pattern of sports participation the number of working class participants affected was quite small, but the convention behind the exclusion was a pointer to other challenges faced by would-be working class sportsmen in particular activities.

Social Class in Operation

As Daly has shown, participation by social class was a major feature of the development of some sports in colonial South Australia.⁴² This was underlined when the costs of participating in an activity were considered; they included matters such as dress, equipment, access to facilities, subscriptions and, in some cases, the round of social expectations of a particular sport. At one extreme were activities such as polo requiring several horses to be acquired, trained and fed, a polo team uniform and a playing arena generally only available on a private estate; yachting required a boat to be acquired, accommodated and maintained and a sophisticated uniform; membership of the Adelaide Hunt Club required horses to

⁴⁰ Richardson, R.W. *Adelaide Rowing Club. The First Hundred Years. A Narrative History. 1882-1982*. Published by the Adelaide Rowing Club 1982. p. 11.

⁴¹ *Register* 2 January 1892.

⁴² Daly, J.A. *Op Cit*. See especially Chapter Five. 'Play And Display: The South Australian Gentry.' pp. 112-142.

be acquired, maintained and trained, and a well tailored uniform. All three activities were generally accompanied by a full social calendar. In the early 1870s the game of golf began to be played in the colony by an elite, led by the then Governor, using the Adelaide park lands; but the sport only began to develop fully when a club was formed, and land acquired and developed as an eighteen hole course. Lawn bowls initially had need of a carefully groomed lawn facility and would appear to have been developed in South Australia only by a direct appeal to a number of Adelaide's 'influential gentlemen'.⁴³ Other activities were more modest in their requirements. Croquet and lawn tennis were less demanding in clothing and equipment needs, but in the early years of their development could only be accommodated on the manicured lawns of gardens available in middle and upper class family homes. By the late 1880s tarmac and other tennis court surfaces had begun to appear and some progress was being made in widening access to the game of tennis through the growth of local clubs. Some of the clubs negotiated the development of courts on public land, but the game in its early years held little appeal for working class men.⁴⁴ Even the growth of cycling clubs in the 1880s with the development of the 'Ordinary' bicycle, involved not only the cost of the machine itself, but the purchase of a club uniform, a necessary requirement for all members when on a club run.

Subscriptions and the extraneous costs associated with the social life surrounding the existence of all of these clubs and groups were other costs which would have placed the activities beyond the reach of most working class men. The pricing of subscriptions was a device which could be used, if a club so wished, to exclude those whose membership was not desired and who were of limited financial means.

⁴³ *Register* 16 and 24 February 1897. They 'influential gentlemen' included Sir Edwin Smith, R. Barr Smith and W. Gilbert, M.P.

⁴⁴ The Kapunda Lawn Tennis Club came into being in 1883 and was accommodated almost immediately at Dutton Park. The park was donated to the town by Francis Dutton for development as an recreation amenity for the town. It also came to accommodate Kapunda's cricket and football clubs. See Charlton, R. *The History of Kapunda*. Melbourne Hawthorn Press. 1971 p. 138 and p. 151.

The foregoing assumes that working class men were clamouring to ride with the Adelaide Hunt Club, become members of the Royal Adelaide Golf Club and sail with the Commodore of the Adelaide Sailing Club. Evidence suggests the contrary applied; many of the activities and the associated social life had little or no attraction to mechanics, artisans and labourers. They regarded some of the activities as unmanly, even effeminate.⁴⁵ They preferred to recreate with their own and in activities which had limited call on their purse by way of equipment, clothing or subscriptions. Cricket, football, running and cycle races (especially after the arrival of the less costly 'safety' machine) were such activities attracting working class participants and spectators, with betting an added attraction for many. Betting was also an attraction in most of the activities offered by the public house – billiards, quoits and skittles among them. Betting accompanied many of the occasional wrestling and boxing promotions staged or sponsored by publicans. Above all, working class betting on horse racing flourished, despite the multiple efforts of parliament to legislate to constrain the activity. The improvement in transport systems brought more race meetings within the range of racing enthusiasts. The advances in the electric telegraph and, late in the century, the telephone, further accelerated the transmission of starting prices and results.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Conventions based on social class operated in the colony in marginal ways to the detriment of working class participation in some sporting activities. In one sport, taking its lead from Britain, the colonial rowing associations regulated specifically against membership from manual workers, thereby excluding them from many

⁴⁵ Conversely, the sport of rifle shooting continued to have working class participants through their ongoing involvement with the volunteer movement; it too, had been enlivened by the growing influence of imperialism during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Working men suffered the discipline of the required drill and military manoeuvres, and the middle class leadership and administration, in return for the opportunity for shooting practice and the growing opportunities for shooting competitions. They were also helped with the provision of rifles and uniform.

⁴⁶ Proprietors at other sporting events recognised the attraction of horse racing to many of their patrons. The results of race meetings were sometimes posted on the scoreboard of the Adelaide Oval when cricket matches were being played. The authorities, on the occasion of the match between the MCC and South Australia announced that 'Arrangements have been made to post the results of the VRC Races on the ground..' *Register* 29 October 1887.

competitions and representative crews. There is evidence too that some clubs operated blackballing policies which could have been used to exclude membership to others on the grounds of class; as such, they may well have been employed to deny manual workers access to clubs and playing opportunities. However, the costs of involvement by the working classes in most of these activities were prohibitive and there is little evidence to suggest that the working classes were greatly attracted to these socially elite activities. They remained the province of the colonial gentry.

Convention also limited and delayed opportunities for working class men to participate in the administration and development of their sport as the movement grew and was reflected in the need for local, regional and colonial structures. Gentleman amateurs had formulated the original rules and laws under which sporting organisations competed and developed; they were regarded as the natural guardians of a sport's welfare. They were traditionally regarded as best suited to interpret the spirit of athleticism, which, as the century wore on, grew to underline the expectations of sporting conduct generally. Again, there is little evidence of a working class demand for direct representation in the governance of their sport. The demand was slow in evolving. In the interim, traditional middle class involvement and control did much to steer the sport of cycle racing and the new game of Victorian Rules football through the difficulties on and off the field of play and of safeguarding what, at the time, was perceived as unsavoury charges of 'professionalism'.

The number of working class participants affected adversely by these conventions was quite small. Overall, increasing numbers of manual operatives secured new hours of leisure, including the Saturday half holiday, and working class participation in recreational activities, whether as players, officials or spectators, continued to increase. They formed part of a new and evolving working class pattern of recreational activity, the greater part of which was distinct and apart from the elitist model of the middle and upper class gentry. It embraced forms of musical activity, social dance, community entertainments, horticultural activities

and bird and animal care as well as some team games. The theme is the subject of development in the concluding chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

Forces of Restraint

The thesis has argued that in the closing decades of the nineteenth century the colony of South Australia experienced a wide ranging growth in both formal and informal recreation activities. This came about as a result of increased and more regular hours of leisure for substantial numbers of the male workforce; it was greatly aided by the growth of personal travel opportunities, the increase in personal disposable income, advances in communication systems and the development of facilities by clubs and societies, local authorities and commercial operators.

However, there were other forces – social, political and religious – operating in the province which were deeply concerned about aspects of this growth and determined to discipline them through strategies which constrained or limited the offending activities; they went on to encourage the provision of alternative programs which, in their eyes, were acceptable and self-improving. These programs were directed predominantly at working class men. They came to be termed ‘rational recreation’.

Over and above these identifiable social and religious forces there was the more silent discipline of contemporary conventions which worked to constrain access or engagement in other activities by some sections of the community. They were particularly severe on women, covering matters of dress and exercising competitively or strenuously, or in public. While most women who chose to exercise bowed to the conventions, some, in the last two decades of the century, chose to contest them. They achieved some successes. On a much smaller scale there were other conventions which prevented working class men from participating competitively in certain activities.

There were two main sources from which the forces seeking to discipline working class recreation drew their support. The first were the concerns of the growing

middle classes, both in Britain and the colony, that if the new hours of leisure were not employed appropriately, then disorder and disruption could break out. They felt some responsibility to mount reforms which would ameliorate the poor living conditions under which many working class families lived and urged the provision of amenity open space, public museums, art galleries and libraries to further these ends. The second force, again common to Britain and her colony, derived from the Nonconformist wing of the Protestant churches and in particular the Methodists and the Congregationalists; they came to regard matters of intemperance, gambling and Sunday observance as moral issues which could be corrected by rigorously enforced legislation. The movement was particularly strong in South Australia where membership of the Nonconformist churches was running at between 35 and 40% of all religious affiliations for most of the period, significantly higher than in Britain or the other Australian colonies. It developed a well-disciplined alliance with a vibrant political arm which mounted numerous petitions in support of its own legislation and organised mass rallies when a Bill, focussing on the elimination of one or other of the 'social evils' was before parliament.

Disciplining Recreation through Legal Constraints

Legislation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century limiting recreation activity, like that of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was directed strongly at the working classes, but with other objectives, namely the limitation and ultimate elimination of intemperance and gambling. For the moralists both were social evils which had to be constrained by laws followed by their rigid enforcement. During the last quarter of the century, no fewer than six statutes on gambling and ten on licences for the making or selling of alcoholic drink were passed into law by the South Australian parliament. The struggle on both fronts – intemperance and gambling – continued well into the twentieth century.

There was considerable resistance to the class bias of these measures and to the 'crusades' which accompanied their process through parliament. The upper and middle classes were able to wager and to acquire drink in the shelter of their clubs. They could place their bets in an enclosed area on race tracks which also

accommodated the sole legal Totalizator, priced initially at one pound per ticket. They had the means to purchase beer and other alcoholic drink in bulk, or before a week end, and to store it in a cool area of their more spacious homes.

The working classes had little access to clubs though attempts were made to establish them in order to circumvent the laws designed to stamp out intemperance and gambling; the moralists were quick to legislate to make such clubs illegal. Few working men could afford the costs of accessing the betting enclosures at race tracks, the only areas where betting could take place legally. They were aggrieved that their threepenny and sixpenny bets could not meet the minimum legal wager on the Totalizator. They resented laws which increasingly limited, and finally excluded completely, the opening of hotels and public houses on Sundays, which for many of their number remained the one free day of the week. They resented the extreme measures taken to enforce them. The outcome was a working class which declined to accept that such laws were fair and reasonable and thought nothing of taking measures to circumvent them.

There were areas of recreation development which received general support from all sides of the parliament and the community most notably in the provision of amenity open space. From the early years of planning the colony in London, it had always been envisaged that parks and other amenity open space would be provided for the capital city of the new province, wherever it was sited, and in other communities which would emerge. Lands were set aside for this purpose, but not the resources to develop them. The powers given to local authorities through *The Municipal Corporations Act of 1861* enabled them to effect improvements 'for the purposes of public recreation, amusement, health and enjoyment';¹ but they were permissive powers and effective action was dependent on the availability of resources and the determination of an individual local authority to direct them to the development of amenities. As the 1870s progressed there was a discernible momentum developing in Adelaide and other authorities towards this end. The Mayor of Adelaide's Report for 1879/90 spoke of a 'grand scheme' for Adelaide's

¹ 24 & 25 Victoria 1861. No. 16.

park lands which included 'grounds for cricket, football, archery, lawn tennis, croquet' and other activities as well as tree planting and plans for other amenity open space.² The amended and updated Municipal Corporations Act of 1880 reflected the growth of team games in the colony and empowered local councils to establish By-laws to regulate the times and bounds or limits within which games and gymnastics should be permitted.³ The momentum was further aided by a section of the Crown Lands Consolidation Act of 1886 which carried the capacity in certain circumstances for the colonial government to aid those local authorities which were without land for amenity purposes to apply to the Commissioners to acquire it from crown lands.⁴ Finally the colonial government confirmed its support for the parks movement by establishing a first 'national park' at Belair declaring it to be 'a national pleasure ground ... a place for the amusement, recreation and convenience of the inhabitants of the Province of South Australia'.⁵

Fear of public disorder and damage to property from the assembling of large crowds at sporting events or celebrations proved to be largely groundless. Occasional scuffles among spectators at football matches and incidents of larrikin behaviour before and after games were dealt with by clubs and the governing body for the sport in conjunction with the police. Government was more concerned about the welfare and safety of patrons, especially those attending events at indoor places of entertainment, and took measures requiring them to be licensed for proper egress in the case of fire.⁶

The Promotion of Useful Knowledge and Rational Mental Recreation⁷

The second major initiative mounted by the moralists during the period was to create programs to attract young adults, especially working class males, away from perceived social evils into wholesome and instructive uses of their leisure.

² *City of Adelaide. Mayor's Report. 1879/80. p. 10.*

³ 43 & 44 Victoria No. 190. *The Municipal Corporations Act, 1880. By-laws.*

⁴ 49 & 50 Victoria No. 393. *The Crown Lands Consolidation Act 1886. Section 6(d).*

⁵ 54 & 55 Victoria. No. 528. *The National Parks Act, 1891. Preamble.*

⁶ 45 & 46 Victoria No. 260. *Places Of Public Entertainment Act, 1882*

⁷ The term was employed in the Preamble to *The Suburban and Country Institutes Act, 1874* setting out the relationship between the colonial government and country and suburban Institutes. 37 & 38 Victoria 1874. No. 16.

Their recreation would be 'rationalised'. The programs themselves would be educational.

Typical of these programs were the 'self-improvement' societies which were developed mainly among church congregations of all denominations, but especially the Nonconformists. As time passed, programs began to include debates, recitations, public speaking exercises and some musical activities. Many of the improvement societies evolved to become, or were replaced by, literary societies; they took elements of the improvement societies' programs and fashioned them into local, regional and colony-wide competitions. They were ideal forms of rational recreation but they held little attraction for the working classes; societies' membership was drawn largely from the middle classes.

The movement which in Britain and the colony was believed to offer the greatest hope of disciplining, if not controlling, the leisure hours of working class men by leading them to avenues of adult education and meaningful recreation – the Mechanics Institutes – proved to be a disappointment in South Australia. It was remarkably successful in establishing the physical facilities in communities large and small across the colony, each generally with a minimum provision of a lecture hall, library and reading room; many carried additional spaces for classes and other adult education programs. But the lectures for the most part were poorly attended and the classes and subscription libraries attracted few members, mostly drawn from the middle classes. The Board of Governors of the South Australian Institute, who were charged with operating the Act, interpreted their powers to include directly influencing the reading of its members, not only through the selection of book stock for the library and the travelling box scheme, but by limiting the number of books borrowed by subscribing members from the fiction category, by far the most popular reading category. The Board of Governors was forced to withdraw the measure.

As Institute buildings developed in the colony, aided greatly by the pound for pound subvention from the colonial government, so the Board of Governors of the central South Australian Institute endeavoured to dictate what activities should be

accommodated in them over and above their main function. Halls and smaller rooms invited other uses, particularly in those communities which were starved of indoor facilities. Initially activities such as dancing and card playing were excluded on grounds that the former stimulated immoral behaviour and the latter was always linked with gambling. As the century progressed local management committees, who were in need of income revenue to maintain their own limited programs gradually broke down these restrictions; some took initiatives to create a proscenium in their lecture hall to enhance the range of entertainments, amateur and professional, which could be accommodated. The lecture hall in one township in the late 1880s for a time was even made over to skating sessions and succeeded in clearing its remaining building debt.⁸

Developments with the Institute movement in Britain were in marked contrast to South Australia. In Britain, in the early 1870s, the middle class direction of the Club and Institute Union – the promotional organisation of the Mechanics Institutes – came to recognise that allowing a social drink in a club could be the means of creating an atmosphere where working men felt comfortable and relaxed and where more serious study could be contemplated. There were no such developments in South Australia. The Acts creating the SAI and the country and suburban Institutes proved to be middle class measures bringing benefits to a middle class clientele. Few of the working classes were attracted to their programs or were able and willing to take out membership of their libraries. Insofar as they made use of the facilities of their local Institute it was predominantly for recreational purposes – use of the reading room, attendance at the occasional performance of a visiting professional company or at a local fund raising entertainment, or membership of a club hiring an Institute facility. The working classes offered a stubborn resistance to efforts to rationalise their recreation and to discipline their leisure hours.

⁸ *K.H.* 17 May 1889.

Conventional Propriety

The least obtrusive disciplinary pressure on recreation activity during the period were contemporary conventions which exercised behavioural expectations on what was appropriate in society and what was not. They were particularly severe on those few women, drawn mainly from the middle classes, who had the leisure and the means to consider participating in the range of formal and informal activities which were becoming available. They first had to concede to or contest severe conventions involving restrictive dress, exercising in public, exercising strenuously and competing in physical contests against women or men. During much of the period other conventions limited women's full participation in more passive activities as, for example, the emerging literary, musical and dramatic societies. The patriarchal notion of the need for protection of the 'weaker' sex by males ran deep for much of the period.

There were two general exceptions to this pattern; women from the upper classes appear to have enjoyed greater freedom to exercise lightly in the privacy of the family estates through such activities as croquet and archery. Elsewhere, women of all classes who lived in remote rural areas often undertook activities normally regarded as outside their purview, including making up numbers in the local cricket team and riding astride to help in the mustering of sheep or cattle.

The last two decades of the century brought some easing of these conventions. Against a background of political and educational advances for women pressures were exerted for fuller roles for women in the community. Experience gained by such bodies as the Women's Suffrage Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Women's Christian Association in the campaign to achieve women's suffrage developed new leadership and organisational skills and a self-confidence to press for changes in community attitudes towards their position in society. Educational opportunities began to open up at secondary and tertiary levels. Technological advances assisted the new momentum. Clothing, with the arrival of elastic and cotton cloth, became less restrictive and more comfortable. The arrival of the 'step through' version of the Safety bicycle brought a new mode

of personal travel; women, if they were ready to press the issue, could travel independently to meetings, gatherings and activities.

Against this background during the last two decades of the century, some women, drawn predominantly from middle class backgrounds, began to challenge conventions which had limited their participation in the burgeoning recreation field. It was part of a much broader movement referred to as 'first wave feminism'. They sought and achieved full membership in a variety of recreational activities such as literary societies, orchestras and drama groups. They began to participate competitively against other women in a number of activities – rowing, swimming and lawn tennis in the late 1880s and, at the turn of the century, hockey and golf. Cycling in groups or as clubs became popular. The burden of overbearing conventions had begun to lift for a few women.

Men had no such gender conventions to battle against. However, for a small minority of working class men attracted to certain activities there were conventions of another kind to be overcome. A growing number of working class men in the last quarter of the century began taking up team games which previously had been the preserve of the middle classes. In the area of team activities they entered a world where middle class behavioural conventions dominated and the cult of 'athleticism' was carried forward by the 'gentleman amateur'. Played in the right spirit, it was contended, team games carried valuable educational experiences; but it required the direction of those who had experienced the system at first hand to ensure that the system had greatest effect. Others argued that team games, and particularly cricket, possessed the opportunity for all classes to come together; but the expectation and the hope was that the new working class participants would be led by those who were imbued with the spirit of athleticism and who would pass on its perceived benefits. In so doing, discreet controls would be exercised and valuable educational experiences passed on.

Football, cricket and, for a period, cycling and track and field events began to attract large crowds in enclosed areas, which sometimes gave rise to a degree of unruly behaviour often linked with betting. At cycling and athletics meetings reports

of 'arranged' races increased. Such practices were foreign to the spirit of athleticism; so too was the payment of players in the Australian Rules code of football, justified initially on the grounds of loss of income but soon revealed as payment for playing services. Professionalism had no place in the middle class world of athleticism and the gentleman amateur; they became active in endeavours to correct or contain the practices which were bringing their sports into disrepute.

There are strong grounds for believing that would-be working class participants in certain activities were deliberately excluded from membership on grounds of class and occupation. The South Australian Amateur Rowing Association in the early 1880s, taking their lead from Britain and the eastern colonies, excluded first watermen and later all 'mechanics' and 'artisans' from membership. Closer inspection of these developments makes plain that there was also a strong element of class exclusivity operating which clouded the noble sentiments of equality and classlessness claimed for athleticism and Muscular Christianity. The practice of 'blackballing' has been shown to have existed in at least one rowing club during the 1880s. Other practices which could be used to place a barrier before working class membership were the subscription fee, the cost of equipment and other accoutrements. The numbers of persons affected were small but the existence of such practices was significant.

Outcomes

By the end of the Victorian era a wide pattern of formal and informal recreation activity had emerged in the colony enjoyed by a growing number of persons. Much of the activity was conducted through clubs and societies; some, in particular those in team games, developed regional and colonial structures to ensure competition, conformity of rules, the training of officials, the selection of representative teams and other strategies designed to take their activity forward. There was also substantial growth in informal recreation as travel options and disposable income to exploit them increased. The demand for facilities grew and was met variously by private, public and commercial providers, or by joint ventures

from among the three. The private sector included activities practised in clubs on private estates and gardens, such as archery, croquet, golf, lawn bowls, lawn tennis (in its early days) and polo. Public sector provision, through a range of permissive legislation, and at a measured pace, developed parks and other amenity open space, swimming facilities and, occasionally, art galleries and museums. Some went on to establish free libraries. Local councils actively supported the growth of Institute facilities seeing them as having a wider function than adult education; but for some time most were reluctant to commit their rate-payers directly to the maintenance of these facilities and their recurrent costs. The commercial sector was alert to all possibilities to profit from services rendered. Locally they included variously the traditional services provided by publicans - for billiards, quoits and skittles, meeting rooms, gymnasia and other athletic facilities, and venues for dances and music hall. Other entrepreneurs developed theatres, assembly rooms, music halls and other specialist facilities such as skating rinks,⁹ and finally the *cinematographe*. Retailers were alive to the recreation boom and responded to the need for specialist items of equipment ranging from football socks and tennis balls to bicycles and pianos. Individuals and families could revert to purchasing more costly items by the new system of 'time payments' (hire purchase), or a developing second hand market. The growing range of personal travel opportunities by train, tram, omnibus, steamship and bicycle was another key element in this transformation of the recreation scene. The growth of communication systems from the emergence of local newspapers, the expansion of the electric telegraph to the arrival, towards the end of the period, of the telephone was another major factor.

The challenges facing those seeking to contain and control the widening pattern of recreation activity were considerable. It is true that the expansion of participation brought with it some increase in intemperance and gambling, both being

⁹ In the late 1880s the colony experienced a wave of enthusiasm for roller skating (or 'rinking' as it was sometimes called), spurred on by the Provincial Elite Roller Skating Company offering services to convert halls for the activity, to sell or hire skates and to introduce programs which could operate with success at a local rink. See for example *Kapunda Herald* 14 September and 13 November 1888, 10 and 17 May, 5 July 1889 and 21 May 1890.

peripheral to the social life accompanying many of the activities. Yet the concern that the arrival of increased leisure would lead to widespread public disorder and riotous behaviour among the working classes failed to eventuate. Similarly the powers constraining cruelty to animals were seldom invoked. Pigeon shoots, the traditional British hunt and other wildlife shoots by the colony's upper classes continued on unabated. The adoption of the Marquis of Queensberry's Rules for boxing by some salons lessened still further the frequency of charges being made of prize fighting. The law enforcing Sunday observance was seldom invoked; the Sabbatarians preferred to conduct local campaigns to overcome perceived breaches of the law.

Rational recreation programs introduced by the moralists to attract working class men in particular away from the attractions of the public house and the hotel were ineffectual. Improvement societies, even when they evolved to become literary societies, had no attraction; in the colony they were born of middle class parentage and attracted only middle class membership. Similarly, Institute lectures and classes failed to attract working class attendances unless the subject matter carried a degree of entertainment, such as the loan of the central institute's 'dissolving view' equipment or items of scientific apparatus. Some sporting clubs operating under middle class leadership attracted and retained working class members; they included volunteer rifle clubs and some cricket clubs. The genuine attraction of the activity itself and the company of other working class members in a relaxed atmosphere appear to have both been common elements in successful programs. Activities which were thrust upon them in a strictly controlled environment lacked both elements; both however, were present in activities offered by the public house – and in the British working men's clubs.

While the working classes suffered more than most from the constraints, controls and other negative attitudes towards their recreation activities the period also produced a number of positive outcomes. Increasingly they were able to take advantage of the contemporary communication revolution especially in the context of news information and personal travel; their recreation choice was no longer confined to their immediate locality. Next, though it was not planned that way, the

working classes were the major beneficiaries of the codification of the various versions of 'football' by the middle classes during the 1850s and 1860s and the subsequent decision by the newly formed South Australian Football Association in 1877 to adopt the Victorian Rules version. Thereafter, it was middle class direction which steered the game through the difficult formative years avoiding the worst charges of disreputable behaviour and professionalism. Similarly, the working classes benefited more than most from the amenity open space developments in a growing number of communities achieved by benefactors and local councils. The commercial operators increasingly were directing their products and services towards the working classes as well as the middle classes.

By the end of the Victorian era the working classes had established their own pattern of recreational activity. It included social drinking and a range of other activities offered in the warm and convivial atmosphere of the public house or hotel, the team games of football and cricket, choral and brass band music, quadrille dancing, local entertainment groups, the care and tending of birds and domestic animals, gardening and horticulture, whist drives, trips out for informal activities in local parks, the coast or the city. The activities were part of a broader range of community activities recognised, accepted and 'owned' by the community at large. Local correspondents in the *Register* and the *Kapunda Herald* came to use the first person plural when reporting on the activities of one of their clubs or societies. The working classes shared with others much of the cycle of yearly or seasonal events. In Kapunda it would have included the visit of the circus, the local race meeting, the agricultural and horticultural show, the benevolent societies' demonstration and sports day, the coursing meet, the visits of professional music, drama and entertainment companies and, at the end of the century, the *cinematographe*. It was not untypical of the pattern of activities which emerged in other South Australian communities of a comparable size. Though elements in the community would have preferred certain activities and venues not to have been on the list, they rarely gave rise to public disorder and each could lay some claim to contributing positively to the life and welfare of their community.

APPENDIX 1

South Australian Cricket Clubs mentioned at least once in match reports in the South Australian Register during the calendar years 1867, 1877 or 1887.

	1867	1877	1887		1867	1877	1887
Adelaide	✓	✓	✓	Dockyard			✓
Adelaide Artillery	✓			Employees			
Adelaide Boot			✓	Dulwich			✓
Factory				East Adelaide		✓	
Adelaide Centrals		✓		East Norwood			✓
Adelaide Juniors			✓	Eastern Suburban	✓		
Adelaide United			✓	East Terrace		✓	
Adelaide Young		✓	✓	Edithburgh		✓	✓
Men's Society				Edwardstown		✓	✓
Adelphians		✓	✓	Enfield		✓	✓
Admiral		✓		Etna			✓
Albert Central			✓	Excelsior			✓
Alberton &	✓			Fieldheim & Jacobs		✓	
Queenstown				Fifth Creek		✓	
Alberts		✓		Fulham			✓
Aldinga			✓	Forreston		✓	
Alliance	✓			Fowler's Employees		✓	
Alma		✓		Freeling		✓	✓
Angaston		✓	✓	Frewville			✓
Angle Vale		✓		Fulham			✓
Ardrossan		✓		Galatea	✓		
Ariel			✓	Garrick		✓	
Austral			✓	Gawler	✓	✓	✓
Avenue			✓	Gawler Alberts			✓
Bankville			✓	Gawler Union			✓
Barrabas		✓		Glenelg			✓
Barton Terrace		✓		Glen Osmond		✓	✓
Barunga		✓		Glenside		✓	
Belltoppers			✓	Goodwood			✓
Blue Ribbon			✓	Excelsior			
Botanic Parks			✓	Goodwood West			✓
Bowden Tyro		✓	✓	Goolwa			✓
Bridgewater			✓	Gouger Street	✓		
Brighton	✓	✓	✓	School			
Britannia			✓	Gov't Printing Office		✓	✓
Burge & Kestles		✓		Grange			✓
Employees				Grange Juniors			✓
Cambridge			✓	Gumeracha			✓
Carlton			✓	Hackney		✓	✓
Centrals		✓		Hahndorf			✓
Chain of Ponds		✓		Hamilton			✓
Charlestone		✓		Hardwick			✓
Cherry Gardens			✓	Havelock		✓	
City Commercial	✓			Heathpool			✓
Clare		✓		Henley Beach			✓
Clarendon	✓		✓	Highbury			✓
College Park		✓	✓	Hilton			✓
Colonial	✓			Hindmarsh	✓	✓	✓
Condowie Plains		✓		Hindmarsh Literary			✓
Coromandel Valley	✓	✓		Society			
Combined Banks			✓	Hotham			✓
Curramulka		✓		Hurtle Vale		✓	

	1867	1877	1887		1867	1877	1887
Hydraulic Engineers' Dept.			✓	North Park			✓
Imperial			✓	Oaklands		✓	
Imps			✓	Onkaparinga		✓	✓
Incogniti			✓	Orroroo			✓
Jamestown		✓	✓	Paradise		✓	
Johnburgh			✓	Payneham		✓	✓
Kadina			✓	Penola			✓
Kangarilla		✓		Pioneer		✓	✓
Kapunda	✓	✓	✓	Port Adelaide	✓	✓	✓
Kensington		✓		Port Augusta	✓		
Kent	✓	✓		Port Central		✓	✓
Kent Town			✓	Port Elliot			✓
Kent Town Albert		✓		Port Juniors			✓
Kingston Terrace		✓		Port Suburban		✓	
Knebworth		✓		Post & Telegraph Press			✓
Koolunga			✓	Prince Alberts			✓
Laura			✓	Prince Alfred College	✓	✓	✓
Little Hampton		✓		Prospect		✓	✓
Lobethal			✓	Prospect United			✓
Lochiel		✓		Pulteney Street School	✓	✓	✓
Locomotive		✓		Queenstown		✓	
Lower Mitcham	✓			Ramsay		✓	
Lyndoch	✓			Rechabites		✓	
Macclesfield			✓	Register		✓	
McLaren Vale		✓		Richmond			✓
Maitland		✓		Riverton	✓		
Mallala		✓		Rob Roy		✓	
Manoora			✓	Rosemont			✓
Maylands			✓	Rose Park			✓
Meadows		✓		Royal George		✓	
Middlesex	✓		✓	Royal Park			✓
Military	✓			Saddleworth			✓
Milang			✓	St Peter's Collegiate School	✓	✓	✓
Millicent			✓	Salisbury			✓
Minlaton		✓		Scribblers			✓
Mitcham			✓	Selicks Hill	✓		
Modbury			✓	Semaphore			✓
Moonta Mine			✓	Smithfield			✓
Morphett Vale			✓	Snowtown			✓
Mount Gambier			✓	South Adelaide		✓	✓
Mount Pleasant			✓	South Australian	✓		
Nantawarra		✓		S.A. Carrying Co.		✓	
Nairne			✓	S.A. Railway Office		✓	
Naracoorte			✓	Southern Tramway Employees		✓	
Narridy			✓	South Park		✓	
National Bank			✓	South Star		✓	
Nelson		✓		South Suburban		✓	
Neutrals			✓	South Terrace	✓		
Noarlunga		✓		South United			✓
Normanville		✓		South Wanderers			✓
North Adelaide	✓	✓	✓	Stansbury		✓	
N. Adelaide United Juniors	✓	✓		Stirling	✓		
N. Ad. Young Men's Society	✓			Stirling West			✓
Norwood	✓	✓	✓	Strathalbyn			✓
Norwood Alliance			✓				
Norwood Alberts		✓					

	1867	1877	1887
Sundridge			✓
Surrey		✓	
Tanunda			✓
Terowie		✓	
Theatre Royal			✓
Thebarton		✓	✓
Torrens			✓
Torrensside			✓
Trafalgar		✓	
Tritons			✓
Two Wells		✓	
Union		✓	
Union Jacks		✓	
United Commercial	✓		
United Tradesmen		✓	
Unity			✓
Unley Park			✓
Victorian		✓	✓
Virginia			✓
Virginia Tobacco Company		✓	
Walkerville			✓
Wanderers			✓
West Adelaide			✓
West Norwood	✓		
West Suburban			✓
West Torrens		✓	
Whinham College			✓
Willowie			✓
Wills & Co			✓
Willunga		✓	✓
Wilmington			✓
Windsor			✓
Yongola		✓	
Young Australians	✓		
Young Gawlers	✓		
Y.M.C.A.			✓
Zingari		✓	

APPENDIX 2

South Australian Football Clubs mentioned at least once in match reports in the South Australian Register during the 1877 and 1887 seasons.

	1877	1887		1877	1887
Adelaide	✓	✓	Norwood Albert		✓
Adelaide Juniors	✓	✓	Norwood Grammar School	✓	
Albert Park	✓		Payneham		✓
Albert Central		✓	Port Adelaide	✓	✓
Aldinga		✓	Port Adelaide Juniors	✓	✓
Ariel		✓	Port Elliot		✓
Austral		✓	Port Imperial		✓
Bankers	✓		Prince Alfred College	✓	✓
Betaloo		✓	Prospect		✓
Caltowie		✓	Prospect United		✓
Cambridge	✓		Queenstown	✓	
J. Colton & Co	✓		Rose Park		✓
Christian Brothers College		✓	Rosewater		✓
Creswick		✓	St Peter's Collegiate School	✓	✓
Crystal Brook		✓	Salisbury		✓
Donaldson, Andrews, Sharland		✓	Semaphore		✓
East Adelaide		✓	South Adelaide	✓	✓
East Adelaide Juniors		✓	South Park	✓	
East Park		✓	S.A. Railways		✓
East Norwood		✓	Strathalbyn	✓	✓
Edithburgh		✓	Terowie		✓
Falcon	✓		Torrens Park		✓
Fitzroy		✓	Victorians	✓	
Gawler	✓		Wilkinson & Co		✓
Gawler Albion		✓	Willunga	✓	
Gawler Union		✓	Willunga School		✓
Glenelg		✓	Woodville	✓	
Glenelg Grammar School	✓	✓	Woodville Juniors	✓	
Goode, Turrents, Tite & Co		✓	Yatala		✓
Goolwa		✓	Zingari		✓
Grampian		✓			
Hamleys	✓				
Harris Scarfe & Co	✓				
Hardwicke		✓			
Home Park		✓			
Honiton		✓			
Hotham		✓			
Imperial		✓			
Ironmongers		✓			
Jamestown		✓			
Kapunda	✓	✓			
Kensington	✓	✓			
Kingston	✓	✓			
Laura		✓			
Lefevre Peninsula		✓			
Magill		✓			
Medindie		✓			
North Adelaide	✓	✓			
North Parks		✓			
Norwood		✓			
Norwood Juniors		✓			

APPENDIX 3

Statutes touching on gambling and on the preparation and sale of intoxicating liquor passed by the South Australian Parliament over the period 1875–97.

38 & 39 Victoria 1875 No. 13. An Act For The Suppression Of Lotteries And Of Unlawful Gaming, 1875.

39 & 40 Victoria 1876 No. 52. The Distillers Act, 1876.

39 & 40 Victoria 1876 No. 53. An Act To Amend And Consolidate The Laws Relating To Distillation, 1876.

40 & 41 Victoria 1877 No. 68. An Act To Amend "The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1872" And "The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1876."

40 & 41 Victoria 1877 No. 69. An Act To Amend An Act Intituled The "Licensed Victuallers Act, 1869".

42 & 43 Victoria 1879 No. 161. An Act To Remedy Some Of The Evils Arising From Betting At Races.

43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 191. The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1880.

45 & 46 Victoria 1882 No. 263. An Act To Amend Act No. 161 of 1879 Intituled "An Act To Remedy Some Of The Evils Arising From Betting At Races".

46 & 47 Victoria 1883 No. 282. The Totalizator Repeal Act, 1883.

47 & 48 Victoria 1884 No. 319. An Act To Amend And Consolidate The Laws Relating To Distillation.

51 & 52 Victoria 1888 No. 426. An Act To Amend "The Lottery And Gaming Act, 1875" And For Other Purposes.

53 & 54 Victoria 1890 No. 484. An Act To Amend "The Distillation Act, 1884.

54 & 55 Victoria 1891 No. 540. The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1891.

57 & 58 Victoria 1894. No. 592. The Beer Duty Act, 1894.

59 & 60 Victoria 1896 No. 666. The Licensed Victuallers Further Amendment Act, 1896.

60 & 61 Victoria 1897 No. 685. The Gaming Further Suppression Act, 1897.

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22 George III 1781 CXIX *An Act for Preventing Certain Abuses and Profanations on the Lord's Day, called Sunday.*

3 George IV 1822 CXXI *An Act To Prevent Improper Treatment Of Cattle.*

3 & 4 William IV 1833 CXIX *An Act for the more effectual Administration of Justice in the Office of a Justice of the Peace in the several Police Offices established in the Metropolis, and for the more effectual Prevention of Depredations*

5 & 6 William 1835 CLIX *An Act to consolidate and amend the several Laws relating to the cruel and improper Treatment of Animals and to make other Provisions thereto.*

South Australian Statutes

7 & 8 Victoria 1844 No. 19 *Ordinance For Regulating The Police, 1844.*

12 & 13 Victoria. 1849 No. 14 *An Act For The Making And Improving Of Roads In South Australia.*

17 & 18 Victoria 1854 No. 23 *An Act Establishing The City Of Adelaide, 1854.*

19 & 20 Victoria 1956 No. 16 *The South Australian Institute Act, 1855-56*

22 & 23 Victoria 1859 No. 2 *An Act For Consolidating The Statute Law In Force In South Australia Relating To Indictable Offences Of A Pubic Nature, 1859.*

23 & 24 Victoria 1860 No. 8 *The Botanic Garden Act, 1860.*

24 & 25 Victoria 1861 No. 16 *The Municipal Corporations Act, 1861.*

26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 9 *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1863.*

26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 10 *An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Police of South Australia.*

26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 14 *An Act To Empower The Corporation Of Adelaide To Lease A Portion Of The Park Lands As A Racecourse, 1863.*

26 & 27 Victoria 1863 No. 19 *The South Australian Institute Act, 1863.*

32 & 33 Victoria 1869 No. 13 *An Act To Provide For The Improvement Of The Torrens, 1869-70.*

32 & 33 Victoria 1869 No. 15 *An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Police in South Australia.*

32 & 33 Victoria 1869 No. 16 *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1869.*

34 & 35 Victoria 1871 No. 2 *An Act To Enable The Corporation Of Adelaide To Lease A Portion Of The Northern Park Lands For A Cricket Ground, 1871.*

37 & 38 Victoria 1874 No. 20 *The University of Adelaide Act, 1874.*

- 38 & 39 Victoria 1875 No. 13 *An Act For The Suppression Of Lotteries And Of Unlawful Gaming, 1875.*
- 39 & 40 Victoria 1876 No. 52 *An Act To Amend The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1876.*
- 39 & 40 Victoria 1876 No. 53 *An Act To Amend And Consolidate The Laws Relating To Distillation, 1876.*
- 40 & 41 Victoria 1877 No. 68 *An Act To Amend "The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1872" And "The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1876."*
- 40 & 41 Victoria 1877 No. 69 *An Act To Amend An Act Intituled "The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1869."*
- 41 & 42 Victoria 1878 No. 91 *An Act To Provide A Public Recreation Ground For The Inhabitants Of The Town Of Port Adelaide And The Neighbourhood Thereof, 1878.*
- 42 & 43 Victoria 1879 No. 161 *An Act To Remedy Some Of The Evils Arising From Betting At Races. (Subsequently known as The Totalizator Act, 1879).*
- 43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 172 *The University of Adelaide Degrees Act, 1880.*
- 43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 190 *The Municipal Corporations Act, 1880*
- 43 & 44 Victoria 1880 No. 191 *The Licensed Victuallers Act, 1880.*
- 44 & 45 Victoria 1881 No. 230 *An Act To License Places Of Public Amusement, 1881.*
- 44 & 45 Victoria 1881 No. 234 *The Ornamental Grounds Act, 1881.*
- 45 & 46 Victoria 1882 No. 260 *Places Of Public Entertainment Act, 1882.*
- 45 & 46 Victoria 1882 No. 263 *An Act To Amend Act No. 161 Of 1879 Intituled "An Act To Remedy Some Of The Evils Arising From Betting At Races".*
- 46 & 47 Victoria 1883 No. 282 *The Totalizator Repeal Act, 1883.*
- 46 & 47 Victoria 1884 No. 296 *The Public Library, Museum And Art Gallery Act, 1883-84.*
- 47 & 48 Victoria 1884 No. 319 *An Act To Amend And Consolidate The Laws Relating To Distillation, 1884.*
- 49 & 50 Victoria 1886 No. 393 *The Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1886.*
- 50 & 51 Victoria 1887 No. 419 *The District Councils Act, 1887.*
- 51 & 52 Victoria 1888 No. 426 *An Act To Amend "The Lottery And Gaming Act, 1875" And For Other Purposes.*
- 53 & 54 Victoria 1890 No. 484 *An Act To Amend "The Distillation Act, 1884".*
- 53 & 54 Victoria 1890 No. 497 *The Municipal Corporations Act, 1890.*
- 54 & 55 Victoria 1891 No. 528 *The National Park Act, 1891.*
- 54 & 55 Victoria 1891 No. 540 *The Licensed Victuallers Amendment Act, 1891.*
- 57 & 58 Victoria 1894 No. 592 *The Beer Duty Act, 1894.*

59 & 60 Victoria 1896 No. 666 *The Licensed Victuallers Further Amendment Act, 1896.*

60 & 61 Victoria 1897 No. 685 *The Gaming Further Suppression Act, 1897.*

61 & 62 Victoria 1898 No. 700 *The Free Libraries Act, 1898.*

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