

ASPECTS OF 'BRISBANE SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES

BY

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P R E F A C E

There is little need to justify historical research into the nature and development of urban society as it existed in the Australian colonies during the formative years of the nineteenth century. Large areas of ignorance exist in relation to this theme and rectification of such a state of affairs is only beginning with the work of men like N.G. Butlin, Dr. Nadel, Dr. Gollan, and Bernard Smith. Only now are the full economic implications of colonial urbanisation being realised. With this realisation the need for a re-appraisal of social and cultural concomitants has become more urgent. It requires little enough economic knowledge to appreciate the critical social importance of a process of urbanisation which included the numbers it did under its environmental aegis. Large numbers of the colonial population were domiciled in cities and experienced a city way of life. They lived under a peculiar industrial and economic organisation which dictated substantially the social and cultural status quo at any one point in time. Such organisation dictated job patterns and socio-economic conditions, determined the institutional characteristics of city life, and conditioned relationships between men. Employer-employee relationships, trade union organisation and ultimately the political interaction of classes were coloured in different ways by the urban context of their occurrence. The urban environment constituted a limiting framework and a moulding force for cultural developments, for educational advances, for domestic life, for leisure habits, for the whole social gamut from public health to public morality and religion. Upon the society it imposed its influences to varying degrees and in a variety of ways. The precise historical significance of urban social developments has, however, as yet been unassessed. We do not know how far urban developments were peculiar to the colonies, how far they were influenced by the need for environmental adaptation, or how far they borrowed from non-urban efforts at indigenisation. We do not know the precise contribution of the

cities, city culture and city habits of thought to the shaping of a national ethos. Nor are we sure of the exact political implications of urbanisation. But the effort to fill this vacuum must be made for the sake of historical explanation and understanding.

The present thesis cannot claim by any means to attempt so ambitious a project. It deals with only one urban society - Brisbane: and is focussed upon a limited period in time - the decade of the 1880's. It aims at elucidating certain aspects of the basic structure of the society and at highlighting some of its accompanying habits of thought, attitudes, ideas and beliefs. It is a preliminary investigation, which, it is hoped, will facilitate a later attack upon outstanding issues. A number of broad social aspects were chosen for treatment. Chapter I investigates the general institutional and economic characteristics of the urban process in Brisbane; Chapter II deals with the composition of the society in terms of the national origins of its population; Chapter III is concerned with the general occupational environment, Chapters IV and V with the educational and religious environments of the community. Primary emphasis was laid throughout on pinning down the precise structure of the society as it existed at this period of time, whether the structure be described in terms of the institutions of city life, in terms of migration data, occupational stratification, income differentiations, extent of educational facilities, or numbers professing religious adherence. For this reason the Votes and Proceedings loom large in the footnotes as a basic source of statistical material. Structure, however, achieves significance only when related to the norms and value system of the society, only insofar as it affected social behaviour of historical relevance. The attempt is made throughout therefore to relate statistics to ideas, the bare bones of structure to the current assessments, perceptions and attitudes which they either engendered or provoked.

To take an example from occupational stratification, the differentiation of the society in terms of occupations is related to traits of equalitarianism and perceptions of social differentiation

current at the time. Immigration data is discussed in terms of 'new chum'^{and} indigenous colonial values. Treatment of colonial religion is extended beyond mere Census figures of nominal adherence to the prevailing climate of ecclesiastical opinion. Even urban architecture can be fruitfully regarded as indicative of colonial values in its traits of conformity and ultimate derivation. This then emerges as the prevailing theme throughout the essay - the inter-relationships of social structure and the value systems, norms, attitudes, habits of thought erected upon structure or defined in relation to it. No attempt is made to deal comprehensively with the colonial value system - this is probably too elusive a task in the present stage of historical investigation - but rather are those values and attitudes discussed which follow naturally from the aspects of structure chosen for treatment.

Ambition did o'erleap itself in the original projection of the thesis, which envisaged research into urban 'culture' - Brisbane's art, literature, music, aesthetics and taste - into leisure habits, into domestic and family life and the home environment. Direct investigation of art, literature and music had early to be forsworn. Research was carried out on the other aspects of Brisbane's social life but limitations of time and the already great length of other chapters effectively precluded their direct exposition. The general impact of these investigations has been embodied into the present work as far as possible.

At least two method^{logical}~~typed~~ choices present themselves to the historian of social developments who has not a lifetime to devote to his study but yet aims at some comprehension of treatment. Limited aspects of society may be chosen for investigation and these followed through in detail for a prolonged period. Tawney's "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" is a good example. Alternatively broad aspects of society may be studied at a point in time or during a limited time interval. The present work follows the second rather than the first method. The 1880's were chosen as a loosely defined time period, particularly suitable for social investigation for a variety of reasons.

The decade was, as the various chapters indicate, one of substantial economic development and consolidation, of flux and change within a context of social crystallisation. It saw the city's institutional maturation from frontier beginnings, it witnessed the diversification and sophistication of urban society, and it experienced the birth pangs of nationalist and labour movements, whose social implications were manifold. Generally the city's social structure was being laid down in a recognizable way during the 'eighties, so that an historical appraisal of social development during this period appeared a profitable endeavour. This type of approach is, as the writer is painfully aware, vulnerable to all, or most of, the well-known criticisms levelled at the Burchhardtian cross-sectional treatment of the Italian Renaissance. It runs the risk of neglecting or under-rating change as an historical factor and can easily become static, isolated and therefore unhistorical. It requires ultimately comparison and integration with developments over a longer period. It nevertheless enjoys the advantage of establishing a broad pattern of social inter-relationships not easily attained by other methods. We may remember the Crocean postulate that time can never be stilled, that phenomena change whilst under microscopic as under macroscopic view, but yet retain in mind the substantial advantages implied in adoption of cross-sectional techniques. This thesis is offered in the hope that some of these advantages will accrue to its benefit, and in the belief that its shortcomings will provoke rectification.

BRISBANE -- AN URBAN SOCIETY.

Brisbane society in the '80's of the 19th Century would have presented to the observer certain manifest characteristics. It was an urban society and as such it reflected the traits generally exhibited by such societies in this period of their development - a concentration of population and the evolution of secondary and tertiary industries, with all their economic concomitants of finance, banking, public and private investment, employment and the rest. It had evolved forms of municipal organisation, and all the patent institutions of city life as they had emerged in the colonies - town halls and tramways, gas and Mechanics' Institutes, bridges and Exhibitions, theatres and cathedrals, libraries, tabernacles, Fire Brigades, electric light and water supply, hotels, classic city architecture and unclassical domestic architecture. In all this there was constituted a city 'way of life' not so different from the urban way of life in most parts of the European world, but just as determinant in defining for a large section of the colonist population its material conditions of living and everyday mode of life. As an environmental process urbanisation constituted a continuing frame of reference for a very large number of people. It set down the vocational pattern of the city from which emerged master-servant, employer-employee relationships, conditions of pay and standards of living, job and home environments, and the differentiation of men in economic, educational and cultural terms. As such it evoked its reactions in men's minds in terms of ideas, values, beliefs and tensions.

The process of urbanisation was clearly operative in Queensland in the 'eighties. The colony in fact was participating in a general Australia-wide process of urbanisation, culminating in this decade, and constituting a centrally important, although often unrecognised, element of the national economy emerging in the latter half of the 19th Century. "Australian economic development" writes N.G. Butlin, "is mainly a story of urbanisation. The building of cities absorbed the greater part of Australian resources diverted to developmental purposes; the operation of enterprises in the towns employed most of the increasing population engaged in work".^{1.}

1. Butlin N.G. "The Shape of the Australian Economy 1861-1900".p.8.(photostat copy of notes presented at Historians' Conference 24-27th. August, 1957, A.N.U. kept at U. of Qld. Library); hereafter Butlin 'Notes'. This theme of economic development will be expanded later in the chapter.

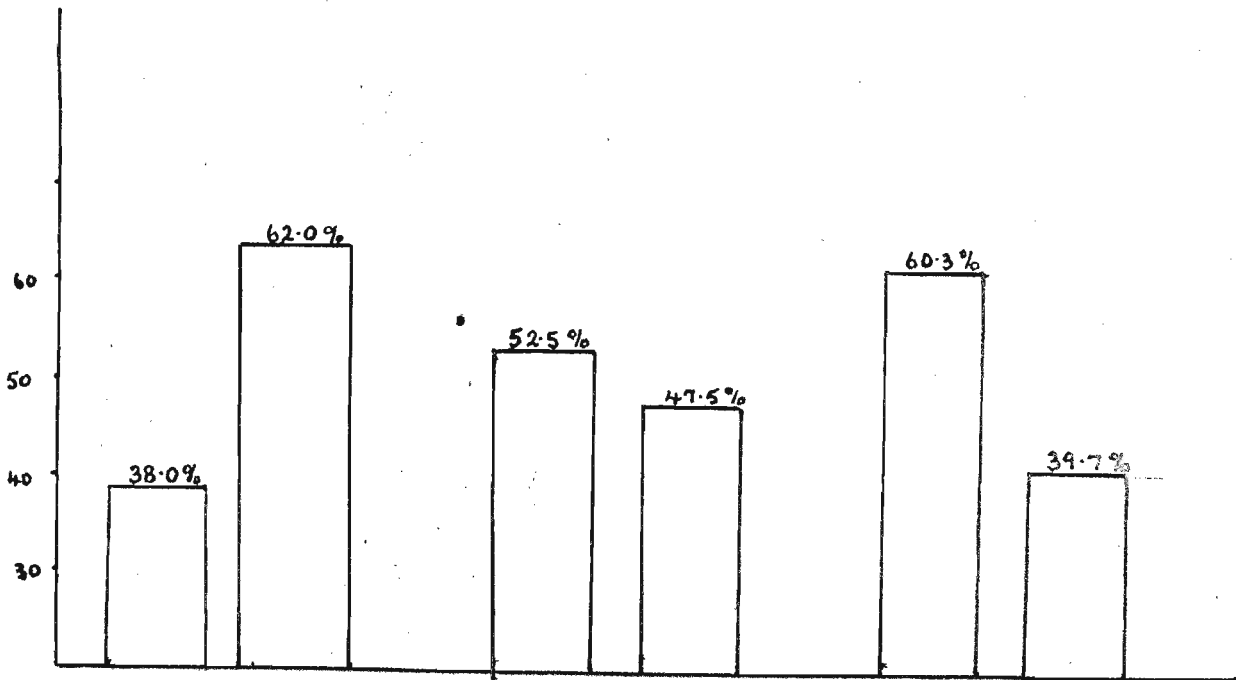
The boom years of the 'eighties were the culmination of thirty years of "sustained, stable and rapid" economic development, of which urbanisation constituted an integral factor. Urban aspects of manufacturing, building, tertiary industry, private and public capital formation and investment were crucial elements in this economic matrix.

Population trends were perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this general socio-economic process. Within a context of economic consolidation and development - with exceptions the substantial theme of the 'eighties - urbanisation was reflected in the drift of populations to the towns. The concentration of population within the cities of Queensland, and especially in the capital, was a continuing trend during the decade. It may have been less marked in Queensland because of the strength of rural industries, which had experienced intensive development during the 'seventies.^{2.} Nevertheless it was sufficient to provoke alarm in certain quarters. Thus a religious newspaper compared the process to that of a "huge wen sapping the vitality of a ricketty child" and was reluctantly forced to admit that "the present is pre-eminently the age of great cities"^{3.} The comment would have been even more pertinent ten years later. More and more people in proportion to the total population in Queensland came to live in towns and cities, more and more people came to be engaged in urban rather than rural pursuits. True of the whole state, this was particularly the case in that southern portion of the state which included the capital. The following figures and graph illustrate the urban tendencies in the Southern Division during the 'eighties:^{4.}

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2. Again the existence of a number of fairly large coastal towns tended to draw population away from Brisbane to Rockhampton, Townsville, Maryborough, etc. - although this was of course still an urban process.
 3. The Australian (editorial) 18/10/79.
 4. Abstracted from Votes and Proceedings of Qld. Parliament (hereafter V. & P.) Vol. I, 1882, p.880; V. & P. 1892 Vol. III, p.798.

SOUTHERN DIVISION						
	1881	%	1886	%	1891	%
URBAN POPULATION	57,290	38.0	116,454	52.5	162,157	60.3
RURAL POPULATION	93,472	62.0	105,239	47.5	106,627	39.7

TABLE 1 -- URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS 1881-1891,--Southern Division.



GRAPH I RURAL & URBAN PROPORTIONS SOUTHERN DIVISION 1881-91

Not only was the increase in relative urban proportions of the population for this area during these ten years to be noted, but a distinction with earlier years also to be drawn. This revealed that whilst the later 'seventies might well be characterised, in population terms, as a period of rural development, the subsequent decade could be differentiated as an age of urban development. Thus the 'seventies saw a sharp increase in the relative proportion of rural inhabitants in the colony as a whole. The relatively high urban proportion of the population existent in 1876 (55.3%) had dropped by 1881 to 46.8% concomitantly with a rise in rural proportions from 33.02% to 42.09%.⁵ This was the product of a period of intensive rural development which included the consolidation of the sugar-growing

5. Goldfields population was separately recorded in V. & P. until 1886, three classifications - urban, rural and goldfields - being maintained until that year. However Census Report also calculated direct urban-rural ratios for the early years, placing goldfields into the rural classification - see. V & P., Vol. I, 1882, p.880 for rationale.

industry and the extension of Queensland's railway systems. The 'eighties saw a dramatic reversal of this rural trend. The reversal was most marked in the Central and especially the Southern Division, as already pointed out, but was reflected generally in the state figures. The following table isolates the increasing drift to the towns that characterised the 'eighties.

% OF TOTAL QUEENSLAND POPULATION LIVING IN

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>URBAN AREAS</u>	<u>RURAL AREAS</u>
1876	55.27	44.73
1881	46.76 (99,840)	53.24 (113,685)
1886	50.9 (166,724)	49.1 (156,129)
1891	58.3 (229,624)	41.7 (164,094)

TABLE 2. URBAN-RURAL PROPORTIONS 1876-1891.⁶

Urban population was clearly in a state of rapid increase and by 1891 enjoyed both a relative and absolute superiority over rural population. Thus whilst rural population increased by over 42,000 in the first five years of the 'eighties, town populations rose by over 66,000 to take the lead, a lead which was heavily consolidated in the latter half of the decade. By 1891 nearly 60% of Queensland's population was domiciled in towns and cities, an increase of almost 12% in ten years.

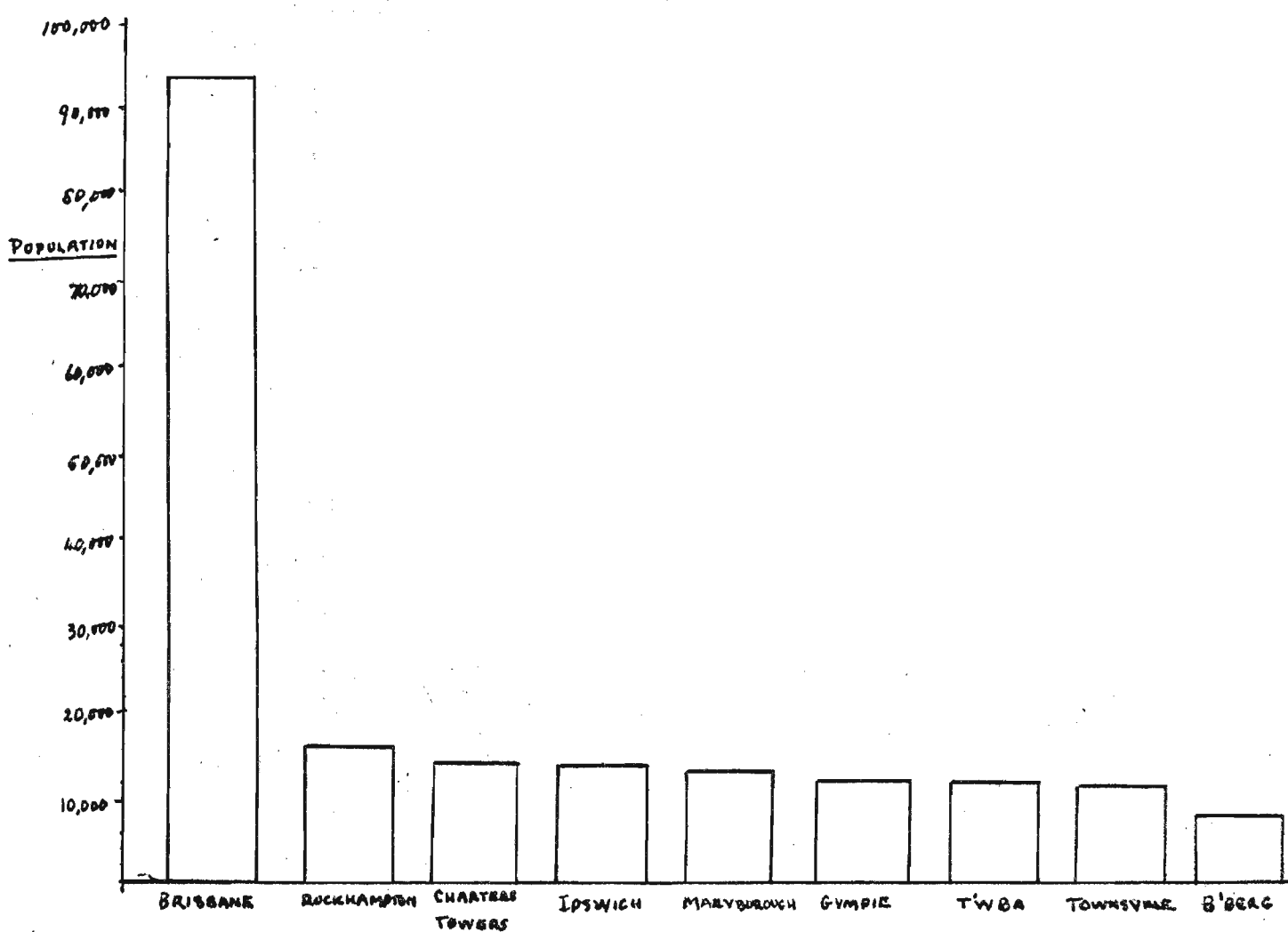
This population incidence was greatest in the capital. The number of people living in Brisbane and its suburbs increased over 2½ times during the 'eighties. Brisbane's population of almost 40,000 in 1881 was thus well over 90,000 ten years later. Such was this increase that the capital came to include a constantly expanding proportion of the colonial population. This tendency is apparent in the following demographic data for Brisbane and suburbs within a five-mile radius from the G.P.O.

6. Abstracted from data in V. & P., 1880, Vol I, p.880 ft; 1892, Vol.III p.798 ft. Various criteria for urban and rural areas were put forward but the above ratios seem as nearly comparable as possible.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>POPULATION OF QUEENSLAND</u>	<u>POPULATION OF BRISBANE</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL POPULATION IN BRISBANE</u>
1881	213,525	37,053	17.4
1886	322,853	73,649	22.9
1891	393,718	93,657	23.8

TABLE 3: POPULATIONS OF BRISBANE AND QUEENSLAND COMPARED 1881-1891.⁷

This analysis reveals the increasingly important role of Brisbane as a centre of population within the state.⁸ Its relative superiority over other urban centres in numerical terms was quite marked by 1891, as the following graph represents:⁹



GRAPH II POPULATIONS OF PRINCIPAL OLD TOWNS 1891

- 7, Population of Qld. from Census findings. Population of Brisbane = population of City and Suburbs of Brisbane within a 5-mile Radius from the G.P.O. Brisbane figures for 1886 & 1891 abstracted from V & P, 1892, Vol.III, p.915; Brisbane figure for 1881 from V & P, 1882, Vol.I, p.882. The latter was not specifically tabled as 5-mile limit population, but was calculated separately to include all important suburbs of Brisbane including the municipal population, the suburbs within the Census District, the Brisbane Suburbs at Toowong Shire, & the Brisbane Suburbs of certain sub-divisions of the Oxley District.
8. This tendency is strikingly revealed in the disproportionate numbers contained in the Brisbane Census district compared with other Census districts - see an excellent graph in V & P, Vol.II, 1887, p.946. The Brisbane figure of over 51,000 was well above the next highest - a little over 20,000 (and this in the Oxley district, in fact a suburb of the capital).
9. All figures represent population resident within a five-mile radius of the centre of the respective municipalities see V & P, 1892, Vol.III, p.799.

<u>TOWN</u>	<u>POPULATION WITHIN FIVE MILE RADIUS</u>	<u>NO. OF INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE</u>
BRISBANE	93,657	1192.5
ROCKHAMPTON	14,392	183.2
CHARTERS TOWERS	13,320	169.6
IPSWICH	13,059	166.3
MARYBOROUGH	11,724	149.3
GYMPIE	10,972	139.7
TOOWOOMBA	10,936	139.2
TOWNSVILLE	10,356	131.9
BUNDABERG	7,423	94.5

TABLE 4 : NUMBER AND DENSITY OF POPULATION IN QUEENSLAND TOWNS - 1891.

If population incidence marked Brisbane's urban development, the process was evident in other no less noticeable ways. Forms of municipal organisation had been evolved¹⁰ and were constantly being expanded to meet new needs, whilst the institutions of city life were emerging as testimony of growth. Brisbane had been a primitive pioneering 'frontier' town in the 'sixties, lacking even the most rudimentary amenities of sanitation, drainage or a satisfactory water supply. There was no Town Hall, public transport, street lighting or sewerage. A central area of the city included Frog's Hollow, a "lethiferous sink - a forcing bed of disease"¹¹, whilst even the most elementary refuse facilities were lacking. By the 1880's, via municipal organisation, a good many of the amenities and services of civilised urban life had been substantially provided. Roads had been built and metalled, city transport vastly improved. The earth-closet system of sanitation had been introduced, scavenger services instituted, and a Board of Health established.¹²

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10. The history of local government is under preparation in the History Dept. of the U. of Qld. For details of municipal development John Laverty's work is important. That author kindly lent the writer 2 Vols. of his projected thesis. It is as yet untitled, but the chapters include general surveys of city development (especially up to 1870) and topical treatment of water supply, lighting, sanitation, drainage & sewerage, roads & streets, market & port development, city transport, etc. (The main emphasis however is on the period preceding the '80's).
11. Brisbane Courier 16/9/64, quoted in Laverty *ibid* p.279, Vol. II, as a result of unhealthy conditions "the air that we breathe is poisoned, the miasmata of the marsh & of the accumulated filth of months reek throughout our dwellings & threaten with fever & death the infirm & the weakly". The existing high mortality rate was commonly attributed to unhealthy sanitation.
12. Laverty *ibid* pp 300, 308. The Central Board of Health was established in 1872, its functions modified by the Health Act of 1884. 14. V & P, 1880, Vol. II., p.150.

Cesspools and unsanitary street and dwelling conditions were being gradually eliminated and health regulations enforced for the cleansing, purifying and ventilation of buildings. Drainage systems had been provided for the main city streets¹³ whilst a fall in the infant mortality rate by 1880 bore witness to the growing effectiveness of these measures.¹⁴ Municipal pride was capped by the erection of a Town Hall in 1865, an event which was regarded by the Courier as "the commencement of an era of unprecedented progress in civilisation and refinement"¹⁵ whilst the construction of a new and larger Town Hall was mooted in the 'eighties.¹⁶

Gas lighting had been extant in Brisbane since 1866. By 1880 gas streeting lighting was normal in the city area, and was being extended to the suburbs.¹⁷ By 1885 two gas companies existed in Brisbane - the original Brisbane Gas Company and the newly established South Brisbane Gas Company, whilst the latter 'eighties saw the introduction of electric lighting in the streets and buildings of the city. The Government Printing Office in 1883 and the Courier office in 1884 were the first establishments in Brisbane supplied with electricity, but by the early 'nineties electricity was beginning to supercede gas for lighting purposes.¹⁸

The development of public transport facilities constituted another index to the increasingly important urbanisation process. The evolution of a tramway system was largely the work of the 'eighties. The arrival in 1885 of the German sailing vessel 'Von Moltke' carrying as cargo nine tramway cars built by Stephenson and Company of New York and nine built by

13. A sewer was constructed to cater for Queen, Eagle, Elizabeth & Edward Sts. in the early '70's; pipes for Mary & Elizabeth Sts. in the '60's. See Lavery pp.321 ft. The main storm drainage system for the inner city was completed during 1877-8.
14. V & P., 1880, Vol. II, p.150.
15. Brisbane Courier 29/1/64 (laying of foundation stone). Later developments, which included heated controversies over jobbery and a suspected instability in the structure, may have caused reservations. Lavery pp. 244-74.
16. A Town Hall Committee was appointed to investigate this question in 1884 but the project was shelved. *ibid* p.272 ft.
17. Lavery Vol. I, P.121.
18. J.J.Knight: "Brisbane: a Historical Sketch of the Capital of Qld.; giving an outline of Old-time Events, with a description of Brisbane of the present day, and a Municipal Retrospect". (Brisbane, Biggs & Morcom) 1897 p.76. See also Lavery *ibid* pp.109-124. An electric light was demonstrated in Brisbane as early as 1878. In 1882 an exhibition of electric lighting was given in Brisbane, during which Queen St. was lit by a dynamo. This public demonstration was subsequent only by a few months to the first public demonstration of electric light, given in the Crystal Palace in England.

Brill and Company of Philadelphia ushered into Brisbane the era of the horse-drawn tram.¹⁹ Under the auspices of the Metropolitan Tramway and Investment Co. Ltd. (est.1883) Brisbane's first tramway was opened in 1885.²⁰ "The cars", according to the Courier "are constructed of cedar and mahogany, highly polished, and are fitted with all the latest improvements. They are mounted on steel springs, making the motion almost imperceptible...Two horses were used on each car, but an extra 'tip horse' was attached to assist the double-decked cars up the steep grades to New Farm, the Exhibition and on the Dock Hill in Stanley Street".²¹ Carrying sixteen passengers seated on a single deck car, and forty on a double-decker, trams in 1885 ran from Victoria Bridge to the Exhibition and Breakfast Creek, whilst 'feeder' lines were subsequently established to the outer suburbs. It was the feeling of the time that at least in this respect Brisbane was participating in an age of rapid development.

"The adoption of this new system" commented the Telegraph, "marks a new era in our history, and should go to prove that Queensland does not intend to be behind in this very fast age".²² On these lines the Tramway Company in 1887, aware of the now extensive use of electric power on the tramways of Europe and America, applied to the local authorities for permission to use electric motor power in trams. Approval was given but financial difficulties prevented the displacement of the horse-drawn system until electrification ten years later. The 'eighties saw also an extension of the suburban railway system. The Brisbane-Ipswich Line, belatedly opened in 1876, connected Milton, Toowong, Taringa, Indooroopilly, Sherwood and Oxley, thereby representing the beginning of suburban train services.²³ During subsequent years Brisbane was connected to Sandgate (1882), the South Brisbane - Oxley line opened (1883), Brisbane and Logan districts joined by rail (1885), and Central Station completed (1885). Duplications of the Brisbane-Ipswich and Sandgate lines were completed during 1886, work commenced on the Fortitude Valley line, and a number of further suburban connections projected on the basis of preliminary surveys.

19. See Steer, G.R. "Brisbane Tramways: Their History and Development" - J. of Hist.Society of Qld. Vol.III, No.3., 1946.

20. Transport prior to the tramway consisted of hansom cabs, waggonettes and omnibuses (horse-drawn). In 1879 licensed passenger vehicles included 70 cars & waggonettes, 43 hansom cabs, and 35 omnibuses. Laverty, Vol.II,p.384.

21. Quoted *ibid* p.210.

22. *Ibid* p.210. Tram travel was not always safe. The first tram was derailed whilst the Telegraph stated that "drivers will have to be warned not to raise their whips too high, as this constitutes a danger to passengers travelling on the top". The trip from S. Brisbane to the Exhibition took 14 minutes.

23. Laverty *op.cit.* pp.396-400 for details.

Other municipal developments of the period included the creation, maintenance and extension of municipal markets and saleyards, public baths and port facilities. The Gold Creek reservoir was completed in 1885, and constituted an important supplement to the existing Enoggera water supply,²⁴ whilst the erection of extensive works at Mt. Crosby in 1891 facilitated a "perfect and abundant"²⁵ supply of water. Other indices of urban development were the creation of parks and recreational reserves, improvement of city and suburban streets,²⁶ growth of the Fire Brigade,²⁷ even the increasing alienation of land by cemeteries.

Brisbane then was emerging as a city of pre-eminence in the colony, as witness its population incidence and its municipal development. Visitors to the Antipodes saw fit to include it in their itinerary, although comparison with overseas and southern cities rarely resounded to Brisbane's credit.²⁸ Contemporary comment also indicated that acquaintance with Brisbane's urban development was not universal. English business houses, even in 1891, still at times addressed their correspondence to "Brisbane, South Australia", or worse to "Brisbane, N.S.W., Tasmania", whilst a 'Geographer-in-Ordinary to Her Majesty' located Brisbane in Southern N.S.W., bounded by the Hunter and Goulburn Rivers.²⁹ Nevertheless the city was evolving a set of urban institutions and a city way of life of its own as a product of general socio-economic development.

Anthony Trollope noted the evidences of this process in the early 'eighties. Brisbane he observed was "a commodious town, very prettily situated on the Brisbane River...with courts of justice, houses of parliament, a governor's residence, public gardens, and all the

24. *ibid.* pp.343 ft. see also Gregory A.C. "Supply of Water to the City of Brisbane" read before the Qld.Philosophical Society, Brisbane, 8/8/78. By 1887 the Brisbane Waterworks had an effective storage capacity of 1300 million gallons, capable of delivering nearly 3 million gallons per day to the city.

25. Knight *op.cit.* p.79.

26. For a typical account of suburban development see Prof.Crombrae Stewart 'Some Notes on Coorparoo' *Hist.Soc.of Qld.* Vol.III No.2. 1940, p.62 ff.

27. In 1882 the Fire Brigade owned a manual engine, 2 horse reels, various appliances and 1200 ft.of leather hose. For day calls cab-horses had to be hired whilst for night calls a carter was paid to stable his horse on Brigade premises. Between 1885-7 two horses were purchased, whilst in the latter year 2 steam fire engines were acquired. (Pamphlet held in Oxley).

28. Percy Clark *The 'New Chum' in Aust.* (London 1886) "The approach to
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requirements of a capital for a fine and independent colony."²⁰ These requirements were proliferated during the period in the number of public and private buildings erected during one of Brisbane's biggest building booms. The size, architectural splendour and functional variety of such buildings bore testimony to the city's growing institutional sophistication.

The 'eighties saw the consolidation of what was an early trend in Brisbane viz. the raising of buildings which were imposing when considered in relation to the pioneering condition of the colony.³¹ The 'Old Colonial' public buildings of an earlier Brisbane - the William Street Commissariat Stores and the Wickham Terrace Windmill -- were being supplanted even in the 'sixties by Italian structures of sandstone and Brisbane porphyry which were to proliferate with the Renaissance complex of the 'eighties.³² Queensland's first Government House was completed in 1862, resplendent with ball-room, piazzas, internal courtyard, cedar linings and all the symbolism of Classic Renaissance design.³³ Charles Tiffin, Colonial Architect, in submitting the winning design in an Australia-wide competition for a blueprint of Parliament House, drew for his inspiration upon French Renaissance architecture as exemplified in the Paris Louvre and Tuileries. The George Street wing, completed in 1868, with its curved mansard roof, symmetrical layout and grand staircase was to cost over £65,000;³⁴

28.cont.

Brisbane lacks dignity..a straggling town you will say, when you learn that it covers an area the size of Birmingham and has about 30,000 inhabitants..and you will confirm your statement when you hear that the thirsty stranger wants at least three long drinks of some sort or other on his way to the ordinarily remote suburbs..the scenery..has not the variety of Sydney, with its harbour, sea-coast and river views, but it has many charms unknown to Melbourne".pp247-8. see also Trollope, A. 'N.S.W., Qld., Vic. and Tasmania' (Ward, Lock & Co.) 1884? p.118 ft. for general impressions of Brisbane at this time see the year books of A.U.S.N. (Austrian United Steam Navigation Co.Ltd.) and B.I.S.N. An emigrants' reaction is given in "Missing Friends" - Being the Adventures of a Danish Emigrant in Qld. 1871-1880" (Long) 1892, p.273. An impressionistic account of early Brisbane is given in Bartily, N. 'Opals & Agates or Scenes under the Southern Cross etc.' (Brisbane, Gordon & Gotch, 1892) pp.89-98.

29. Knight, op.cit. pp.45-47.

30. Trollope, op.cit. p.118.

31. I am indebted for advice upon Brisbane's architectural development to Mr. Hitch of the Architecture Dept., U. of Qld., who kindly permitted access to the collected materials and theses held in the Architecture Library.

32. The best account of some of the main public buildings and churches erected in Brisbane between 1824 and 1891 is a Bachelor of Architecture thesis by Gibbins, R. 'Ten Brisbane Historic Buildings' (U. of Q. 1953). for an exhaustive account of structures utilising sandstone & Brisbane porphyry - the most important building stones used in the 19th Century - see Frouten N.A. 'Sandstone and its use in Brisbane Buildings'

(cont. overleaf)

The erection of a Supreme Court completed a triumvirate of governmental buildings.³⁵ Pride of civic buildings was the first Town Hall, completed in early 1866 at a cost of £25,000. Despite its genesis amidst controversy over jobbery and slovenly workmanship, engendering public misgivings about the stability of the building,³⁶ the civic centre was regarded at the time as one of the finest examples of the Italian Renaissance style. 1½" thick cedar linings, stained glass windows, and 36 Peterhead red granite polished columns imported from Britain graced the main entrance, hall, staircase and facade. Other public buildings of the earlier Victorian period, although products of the Italian Revival - that "queer, sterile movement which never captured the spirit of the proto-type, never came really alive, but nevertheless found wide favour"³⁷ - were also reflections of economic and material optimism. A General Post Office was built between 1871-79, and the New Museum (now the Public Library) was finished in the latter year, at costs of almost £27,000 and £11,000 respectively.³⁸

Building activity flourished during the boom years of the 'eighties as an indication of the vitality of urbanisation. The number of practising architects more than trebled in eight years, whilst the numbers of builders and contractors increased from 16 in 1882 to a peak 87 in 1887 and 1888.³⁹

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32. footnote cont. (B. Architecture thesis, 1954) and Brammer, F.C. & Pestorius G.W. "Brisbane Tuff - and its Use in Brisbane Buildings" (B. Architecture thesis, 1954).
33. For ground plan & photograph, account of alterations, etc., see Gibbins & 4 History p.24-30. The building was built of Goodna sandstone (base course) and Helidon sandstone.
34. Also built of Goodna, Murphy's Creek and Helidon sandstone.
35. See Clarke op.cit. p.247. The Supreme Court was a "dazzling white building standing amid a few borders of semi-tropical flowers and shrubs; its great feature a long corridor and roomy courts; its offices being on the multum in parvo principle". Embodied a double frontage, George St. & the river. See also Knight, op.cit. p.94.
36. A history of the scandal is given in Laverty Vol.II, op.cit. pp.249-262. Because of doubts as to the hall's stability a ball to welcome Prince Albert in 1868 was held elsewhere, and not until 80 firemen and volunteers were marched into it were public doubts dispelled. (Laverty p.260). Deterioration of the building was rapid in subsequent years.
37. Morton Herman 'The Early Australian Architects and their Work' (Angus and Robertson) 1954, p.39.
38. Andrew Petrie was architect for the G.P.O., the sandstone coming from the Breakfast Creek quarry. Murphy's Creek sandstone was used for the Museum.
39. Pugh's Almanack for relevant years, see Appendix. Brisbane had 10 architects in 1882, 32 in 1891. Best known architects were probably J. Hall (who later became associated with Qld.'s first architect of note, Robin S. Dods) and F.D.G. Stanley, a Scot, who designed the Supreme Court, the Queensland Club, and the Queensland National Bank.

The Queensland Institute of Architects was founded in 1888⁴⁰. The feverish building of the period, quite out of proportion with the population resources constituted in some ways the robust end of an era - the era of architectural classicism - especially in the orbit of public buildings. A present-day architect has noted this phenomenon in these terms :

"By 1891 the Queensland population had risen to a mere 394,000, but buildings, mighty in their day, still bulk large in city-scope and townscape. There is quality and dignity in these buildings, both government and commercial, and as they rub shoulders with the all-too-shabby newness of their neighbours, they exude an atmosphere of scornful tolerance."⁴¹

Structures looming large in the city-scape of Brisbane were multiplied during the 'eighties. Amongst public buildings of note there rose the Government Printing Office, the Customs House, the first wing of the Treasury Building, and the Alice Street facade of Parliament House, whilst the South Brisbane Town Hall emerged resplendent of municipal development. Building styles were as indicative of optimistic expansionism as the size and costs of erections.⁴² The 'Battle of the Styles' - coarsened Renaissance versus Gothic Revival - was never as pertinent to semi-tropical Queensland as it was to the southern colonies, hence the 'Italianate of the Eighties' merely consolidated the earlier pre-eminence of the Mediterranean style. The Classic 16th century Roman style claimed the Customs House, for example, and screened its walls on four sides with Corinthian pilasters in the tradition of Palladio's Churches.⁴³ The Alice Street extensions to Parliament House, completed in 1891, preserved the picturesque combination of Gothic and Roman inherent in the early French Renaissance style of the original wing, whilst the new Treasury Building presented a "restless forest of columns

40. Only qualified architects could belong to it (until 1935 only a diploma course in architecture was available at the Technical College). Such a course was recognised by the Board of Architects as qualification for registration but it was not sufficient for admission to the Institute). It is not known whether printed transactions, minutes, etc. of the Institute are extant, all efforts expended to the end being unproductive. Reference to the Institute is made by K. Lynth, article in J. of Hist. Soc. of Qld. Vol. V., No. 3., 1955.

41. 'Architecture in Australia' Vol. 47, Jan-Mar, 1958. J. of Royal Australian Institute of Architects, p. 73.

42. For the relevance of architectural orthodoxies in an assessment of colonial society see 'Urban Architecture', pp. 31 ff.

43. see Gibbins op. cit. p. 55 ff. for description, plan & sketch. The
(cont. overleaf)

and architectural detail"⁴⁴ reminiscent of Inigo Jones' Whitehall Palace design⁴⁵ The later South Brisbane Town Hall, although essentially in the classical idiom, introduced various extraneous elements. Stone pilasters and pediments, and a classical Roman Arch on the Vulture Street elevation were combined with the red brick influence of the Queen Anne style. Red terra cotta panels constituted a concession to current fashion, the L'Art Nouveau movement impressed itself upon metalwork, and the fluid designs of plaques and leadlight windows were indicative of the symbolic 'Picturesque' then supplanting eclecticism.⁴⁶

The building boom was reflected most characteristically perhaps in commercial building. ^{commercial premises were erected to accord with the property} A product of urbanisation, the prestige and the potential felt to accompany private enterprise. Ostentatiousness was extended not only to city offices and retail stores but also to banks, hotels, warehouses, insurance offices and theatres. If architecture was any index of the character of the society, it was also worth noting that conformity constituted the norm of the period in commercial building. Here more pertinently than in public building, which embodied in Brisbane a rare restraint adding dignity and some authenticity to classicism, was it true that the revival movement religiously covered Brisbane as it covered Victorian Australia "with a plethora of horrible buildings".⁴⁷

Least offending in this respect were possibly the banks. The Queensland National Bank, completed between 1881 and 1885, was a monument to the optimism of the time and to the orthodoxy of architectural practice. With a frontage of 114 feet to Queen Street

43. Footnote cont.

pediments on either side of the Portico (carrying the Australian Coat of Arms), the repeating pattern of pilaster and window, the curved classical staircase, and the copper-sheathed dome were all symbolic of the Italianate period.

44. Courier Mail 21/11/54.

45. Built on the site of the old military barracks, it was designed by the Colonial Architect of the time. The first sections, begun in 1886 and completed in 1891, comprised the William St. & Elizabeth St. facades, part of the George St. facade, and a short frontage in Queen St. The final section was completed 36 years later. Highfield and Helidon sandstone was used. See Prouten op.cit. pp.14 ff. The Govt. Printing Office was completed between 1885-9 and was also in the Italian style.

46. See Gibbins op.cit. p.54-63 (including blueprints).

47. Herman op.cit. p.39.

and using for its construction over 39,000 feet of Queensland sandstone and 160,000 feet of timber it was hailed at the time as one of the finest examples of banking architecture in the world. "Our London bank buildings cannot, as a rule, compare with those of Australia" wrote a British banking authority in 1888, "and here is one of the finest in Australia".⁴⁸ In the Classical Italian style, with an eight column colonnade and an arched Italian ceiling, the building was massively framed in cedar,⁴⁹ replete with spacious board-room, cream and buff walls, mahogany furniture, and a marble and tile fireplace decorated with the Cross of Queensland's Coat of Arms.

Victorian opulence was manifested in other directions - directions which indicated Brisbane's urban maturation. In a period which opened with prodigal loan spending, the inflation of land values, and an influx of private capital from the United Kingdom, wholesalers erected four and five story warehouses⁵⁰ and imposing insurance buildings rose in architectural competition with palatial banks, newspaper offices and a host of hotels.⁵¹ The A.M.P. Society's offices were erected in 1885 at a contract price of £37,500 whilst that 'lofty and commanding pile'⁵² occupied by the Brisbane Newspaper Co. housed retail stores and constituted the headquarters of the Pastoralists' Association, Chamber of Commerce and the National Agricultural and Industrial Association. The top and basement floors saw the production of the Courier, Queenslander and Observer. The Telegraph buildings producing the Telegraph and Week were regarded as "among the architectural features of the thoroughfare".⁵³

48. Robert Lucas Nash, 1888, quoted by Richards A. "The Boom of the '80's" in Courier Mail, 21/11/54. See also Prouten, p.24. The building was erected on the site of the old School of Arts of Murphy's Creek sandstone, F.D.G.Stanley was the architect and the cost of the building £60,000.

49. Cedar was commonly used as a lining material at the time. Out along the Coomera, Nerang, Albert & Canungra rivers it became standard for interiors, and so gleamed in the newly constructed Leg.Council Chambers that Sir Charles Nicholson quipped that it gave the illusion of 'sitting in a forest of polished cedar'. op. ibid. Courier Mail, 21/11/54.

50. Knight op.cit.p.62
51. After the economic depression of the '90's the next commercial building spree began in the late '90's and early 1900's, chief architect being Robin Dods who designed such buildings as the N.Z. Insurance Building (Queen St., 1908), Aust. Mercantile Land & Finance Co. (Creek St. 1913) Engineering Supply Co. of Australia Building (Edward St. 1915), see Lund. N.H. 'The Life and Work of Robin S. Dods A.R.I.B.A.' (B. Architecture thesis, 1954).

52. Knight op.cit.p.62-Knight wrote in 1897. "The best equipped newspaper offices in Australia."

53. ibid. In 1897 the Courier etc. employed modern typesetting & printing machinery & was regarded as one of the largest & finest equipped newspaper offices in Australia.

Brisbane by 1892 was liberally endowed with hotels, which included the Gresham, Imperial, Grand, National and Victoria Bridge. Choice of guide books and, according to its own advertisement "favourite resort of Tourist, Squatters and Commercial Men"⁵⁴, the Belle-Vue enjoyed surroundings which were "aristocratic and perfect to a degree"⁵⁵ (all these are matters of import in the semi-tropics"). Squatters and aristocrats were equally conspicuous at the Queensland Club, elegantly situated alongside the Botanical Gardens. The Exhibition buildings in Bowen Park completed in 1891 and thus one of the last projects of the decade, constituted an interesting exception to the inevitable Renaissance architecture of the era of public buildings. It displayed a strong Moorish strain in its checkered arches, in its buttressed red brick construction, and in its alternate light and dark horizontal stripes, three brick courses deep. Urban functions were obviously becoming refined when organ recitals could be given every Sunday in such a building, and inter-colonial cricket played in its grounds. Characteristic perhaps of the optimism of the 'eighties by which "each new block of sandstone lowered into place was a gesture of optimism, each completed building an act of faith"⁵⁶ was the grandly impressive conception of a City Hall put forward in the projected plans of the Messrs. Clark Bros. in the early 'nineties.⁵⁷ In the Italian style with French Renaissance influences it was planned on the grand scale and was less than the present City Hall only in the height of its tower.

In building terms at least Brisbane was never behind the ecclesiastical door. The Old St. Stephen's Chapel, serving as the Cathedral Church of the Roman Catholic Diocese until 1874, was built by Andrew Petrie in 1848-9. Designed by Augustus Wilby Pugin, who was

54. advertisement in A.U.S.N. Year Book, 1892, p.85.

55. ibid.

56. Richards in Courier Mail 21/11/54 "These sandstone structures, brave with colonnades and balconies, often fronted on muddy and unpaved roads and had for neighbours shops with flimsy verandah posts used for tethering horses..In the circumstances each fine new building could only be justified by the future growth of Brisbane".

57. For photograph see S.W.Jack's Cutting Book No.26 in Oxley Library. The City Hall was planned for the present site.

a leading spirit in the Mediaeval Revival movement and who published, with his father, "The True Principles of Gothic Architecture", the church, in the early Tudor style, is still regarded as one of the finest colonial examples of authentic Gothic architecture.⁵⁸ St. John's Protestant Cathedral, standing on the site of the present Queen's Park, was consecrated in 1854 and served as the early headquarters of the Brisbane diocese. One of the first churches erected in the Anglican diocese, and third in the city area, was All Saints, Wickham Terrace, opened in 1869. With a double hammer-beam roof, rough-textured Porphyry stonework and rectangular plan, the church conformed to Early English (13th century) and Anglo-Saxon (5-11th Century) traditions with overtones of Norman Architecture (11-12th century).⁵⁹ St. Mary's Church, Kangaroo Point was consecrated in 1873 and was built of porphyry in the Early English 13th Century Gothic style - with narrow lancet openings, projecting buttresses, Gothic porch and English bell-tower.⁶⁰ The erection of a Roman Catholic Cathedral, St. Stephens, in 1874 was an intimation both of diocesan development and of the evolution of Brisbane as an urban society. Of brown, rough-faced Brisbane tuff, the Cathedral was of early Gothic character with some Romanesque influences. Its twin turrets, huge Gothic arched tracery window, carved mouldings and pierced parapets preserved traditional church forms.⁶¹ The 'eighties again witnessed an extension and consolidation of earlier developments. During the decade at least three important ecclesiastical buildings were erected - St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Fortitude Valley; St. Andrew's Church of England, South Brisbane; and St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Spring Hill. An Italian architect, Signor Stombuco, the man who designed St. Joseph's, Gregory Terrace, and All Hallows, planned both St. Patrick's and St. Andrew's. The foundation stone of the former was

⁵⁸ Pugin (1812-52) designed the building whilst on a visit to Australia. It has a traditional & beautiful tracery window, but used Goodna sand-
⁵⁹ *ibid* pp.30-35. // stone which has deteriorated extensively. See

Gibbins *op.cit.* p.15-18 for sketch & plans, etc.
⁶⁰ see Brammer & Pastorius *op.cit.* p.22 for use of porphyry & photos; Gibbins *ibid.* pp.50-55, both All Saints & St. Mary's were designed by R.G. Suter. Other early Anglican churches in Brisbane included old St. Thomas's in South Brisbane & the Holy Trinity Anglican Church in the Valley.

⁶¹ Architect was R.G. Suter who took over from Benjamin Backhouse (the latter prepared the original designs but only the existing foundations were used).

laid by Bishop O'Quinn in 1881, and the completed structure, of excellent porphyry stonework and Gothic design, was reputed to cost over £6,000. St. Andrew's was opened in 1883, standing in the traditional Gothic idiom with rough-faced porphyry rubble, heavy buttresses and pointed entrance porch. Construction on St. Paul's Presbyterian Church was begun in 1887 and completed in 1889. Designed by F.D.G. Stanley, who planned the Q. N. Bank, it cost £11,000 and embodied in its 150 foot spire, stained glass windows,⁶² door and window mouldings the vigorous beauty of traditional Early English Gothic architecture. Although St. John's Anglican Cathedral was not begun until the 1900's, it owed its inspiration to the 'eighties and to its chief advocate, Bishop Webber, who was reported to have died surrounded by its plans.⁶³ The building boom extended to another field - education, the growth and diversification of which stood as a manifestation of urban development. Between 1860 and 1880 the number of schools in Queensland had extended from 41 to 420, inclusive of State Schools, Non-Vested Schools, Provisional Schools, Private and Grammar Schools.⁶⁴ A spasm of school building in the 'eighties saw this number rise to 757 by the close of the decade.⁶⁵ Secondary education was gradually extending, as witness the erection of a number of traditionally styled Grammar Schools and denominational secondary schools. Four such schools provided extended educational facilities for the capital during the 'eighties - All Hallows Convent (established in 1863), the Brisbane Grammar School (1869), Gregory Terrace Christian Brothers (1875), and Brisbane Girls' Grammar (1875).⁶⁶ Characterised by a traditional ecclesiastical influence, expressing itself in a cruciform plan and in a dominating Great Hall, the Brisbane Grammar School followed the architectural lines of its prototype - the English Public School.⁶⁷

62. A set of four stained glass windows was presented to the Church in 1878 by Sir Thomas McIlwraith; St. Patrick's imported from France a fine stained glass window at a cost of £400. Prouton op.cit. p.22. See also Brammer and Pectorious, op.cit.

63. St. John's Cathedral, commenced in 1906, was designed by Pearson, Pearson & Dods in 12th Century Gothic style reminiscent of the Cornish Cathedral of St. Truro, contract price over £49,000.

64. Statistics 1881, V.& P., Vol. I, pp.873, 1054-6. Attendances rose from 1890 to 47,455 in the same period.

65. Statistics V & P, 1891, Vol III, p.325-6, 580-3. ^{47,455 to 83,463 " 1920-21 "}

66. The question of education will be dealt with later ^{in more detail.} overleaf.

The present Girls' Grammar School, erected in 1883-4, was built in the design of the English Board School, its classrooms centering around a Central Hall for administrative facility.⁶⁸ The denominational schools - All Hallows and St. Joseph's Christian Brothers - added a further element to school design - viz. the Chapel, focal point for religious and moral instruction. Signor Stombuco, the Italian architect who was commissioned to design All Hallows in 1878 and inspired its traditionally religious orientation, also dictated the multi-storied style of St. Joseph's.⁶⁹ Another Italian, the Reverend Father Canali, designed the striking and classical arched gateway to the convent, whilst the detailed porphyry almshouse imparted a Mediterranean flavour to its Ann Street facade.

The elevation of public, commercial, educational and ecclesiastical buildings constituted then one manifestation of increasing urban expansion and sophistication. So did the expanding facilities for leisure. The discriminating theatre-goer of the 'eighties could choose between a number of theatres and various modes of entertainment. At varying times throughout the decade there existed the Gaiety Theatre, His Majesty's Opera House, the Theatre Royal, the Alexandra, the Oxford Music Hall, the School of Arts and the old Town Hall offering everything from Shakespeare and Offenbach to glove fights and mesmerism. During 1886 Holloway played "Romeo

66. Ipswich Boys' Grammar was erected in 1863, Maryborough Boys' in 1880-1, Maryborough Girls' in 1882-3, Rockhampton Boys' 1881, Toowoomba Boys' 1875-6, Townsville Boys' 1867-8. V. & P. 1891, Vol. III, p.582, see also A. McNamara 'The Development of Secondary Schools in Queensland' (B. Architecture Thesis, 1956, U. of Qld.)
67. The present building was erected in 1880. V. & P. ibid. p.582. McNamara, & Bean C.E.W. 'Here My Son' (Sydney) 1950, describe the development of secondary schools on English public school lines. See Fig. 5., McNamara, Appendix Ch. 5. for plans & photo of Brisbane Grammar.
68. See Fig. 6., Appendix Ch. 5. McNamara. Knight writes of the Grammar schools: "both buildings are very large, & being architecturally of pleasing design, they present in their well-kept grounds an imposing picture to the visitor". op.cit. p.70.
69. Stombuco founded his design upon the parent house of the Christian Brothers in Melbourne - see Brammer & Pestorius p.31. The foundation stone was laid in 1875, the plan Elizabethan at the cost of £4,000. The main building was designed by Canali in 1879 in a Tudor style.

and Juliet", "Merchant of Venice", "As you Like It" and "Twelfth Night", to enthusiastic Brisbane audiences, to be followed by Leake, and later Creswicke, with "Hamlet", commonly accompanied by the incidental music of Rossini's "Barber of Seville", Verdi's "Il Trovatore" and D'Albert's "Uhlan". The Brisbane Musical Union, established in 1872, plied the city with Mendelssohn, Handel, Haydn, Romberg and Beethoven whilst their frequent concerts - most popularly "The Messiah", "Elijah", "The Creation", "The Seasons", "Acis and Galatea", "Samson" and "Eli" - created, if not a financial return, a "never-ending source of refined and exquisite enjoyment"⁷⁰ for Brisbane's citizens. Opera companies found Brisbane a popular venue and throughout the 'eighties a whole string of operas were presented ranging from Offenbach, Verdi and Donizetti to Gounod.⁷¹ Plays, differing in quality from Ibsen's "Doll's House" to Harvey's "Wages of Sin", and farces such as "The Strategist" and "The Private Secretary", offered to city audiences the whole gamut from drama to pathos and Victorian sentimentality. At the same time those who preferred entertainment of a different order could enjoy Variety at the Oxford Music Hall, witness prize fights at the Alexandra; or, should their tastes accord, pay 2/- to watch Professor Fernandez, "The Most Famous Aeronaut in the World", ^{undergo,} as a Special Attraction, a Balloon Ascent and Parachute Leap over the Brisbane Aquarium and Zoo.⁷² The School of Art movement catered for leisure according to its specific objective - the social, moral and intellectual elevation of the community. New Schools of Arts were erected at Bulimba and West ^{End} in 1887 and 1889 so that by the end of the decade Brisbane enjoyed the facilities of five such institutions including North Brisbane School of Arts, the South Brisbane Mechanics' Institute and the Valley Free Reading Room.⁷³ The Kangaroo Point School of Arts was under construction in 1891, whilst by that year a sum total

70. Pamphlet (Oxley) 'A Reprospect and Resume of the work done by the Brisbane Musical Union 1872-1906'. p.7.

71. See e.g. Theatrical news-sheets such as 'Chorus & Dramatic Index' (1883-5) in Oxley. Such was the popularity of opera in Brisbane, and so continuous the offering of operatic production that the city could well claim to have established itself as the premier

"city of opera" in the latter half of the 1900's.
72. Courier 23/5/91.

73. Dates of establishment - Nth. Bris. 1856, Sth. Bris. 1860, /cont.
VALLEY (1865) BULIMBA (MAR. 1887) WEST END (JAN 1889) - See V. & P. 1892, 1893, 1894 overleaf

over £750 had been spent in Brisbane in the purchase of nearly 28,000 volumes and a good number of newspapers and periodicals. Lectures, sponsored both by Schools of Arts and other bodies and conducted upon social, religious, scientific and literary topics were popularly attended, and designed, as they were, "to meet the needs of such as are not in the habit of attending the churches" and to facilitate "mental and social elevation".⁷⁴

A wide range of social, humanitarian, cultural and political interests was implicit in both the number and the titles of societies and clubs existing in Brisbane during the 'eighties. A representative sample might include, alongside the older-established Queensland Club, Philosophical Society, Johnsonian Club, Royal Society of Queensland and Chamber of Commerce; humanitarian bodies such as the Brisbane Charity Organisation Society, Female Refuge and Infants' Home, Poor Relief Board, and the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society. Sport was represented by societies including the Brisbane Bicycling Club, the Queensland Cricket Association, the Breakfast Creek Rowing Club, the Queensland Football Association, the Brisbane Driving Park Club and a host of others which represented everything from swimming, sailing and polo to punting, chess, whist and hurling.⁷⁵ Art was represented by the Queensland Art Society (1890), the professions by such bodies as the Medical Society of Queensland, the Pharmacy Board, and the Queensland Institute of Architects, and the Churches in the Association of Christian Workers, the Y.M.C.A., the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Sunday School Union.

Brisbane then was experiencing not only urban sophistication but also diversification. Growing up as a product of social consolidation were a myriad of interest and pressure groups, illustrating the multi-aspects of urbanisation, and representing both sectional differentiation and cross-sectional communication. Just to note the existence of a Scandinavian Union, a Scottish Association or a Protection of Native Birds Society concomitantly with a Queensland Employees' Union, a Master Printers' Association, a Typographical Association and a Shop Assistants' Early Closing Association was to illustrate the point.

74. Chorus & Dramatic Index, op.cit., March 1883, (Advertisement).

75. See Fugh's Almanach, 1880-1890. See also Appendix.

Brisbane in the 'eighties then was undergoing a transformation from frontier town to colonial city, and it was doing it in much the same way as frontier towns in pioneering states all over the world were evolving into cities - population incidence, the development of urban institutions, building booms, social sophistication and diversification emerging as universal manifestations of the same trend. There were many identities, for example, between developments in Brisbane and urban aspects of the evolution of what one writer calls a "chromo civilisation"⁷⁶ in America of the late 'seventies. He describes this social process and it is a familiar one to Australia of the 'eighties:

"One golden railway spike had linked two oceans and soon an iron network laced the continent...American ingenuity shrank distances and changed the habits of thousands.. Brokers could exchange news in seconds through the telegraph which Morse had once demonstrated to Van Buren's doubtful Cabinet; city families read their Ladies Home Journal by gaslight;.....sewing machines and bathrooms were no longer curiosities; and the descendants of those fire worshippers for whom Hawthorn had spoken warmed themselves with that 'cheerless and uncongenial' enormity, the airtight stove. The citizen of the larger town could put his neck into the photographer's iron clamp and emerge with his image on a card tactfully re-touched and feverishly coloured in imperial size...In the great inland valley which was now America's industrial heart, row upon row of ungainly wooden boxes housed the citizens of sprawling towns".⁷⁷

The same process was occurring in the Australian colonies. By 1881 in Queensland only 800 miles of railway line had been laid. By 1891, 2,205 miles had been laid and the beginnings at least of an 'iron network lacing the continent' substantially laid down.⁷⁸ The 'eighties in fact constituted the greatest period of railway activity in Australia in the 19th century, and at least to 1907 -- the average annual length of line opened for traffic being 594 miles for all colonies

76. Larkin O.W. 'Art and Life in America' (Rinchart) 1956. p.235.

77. *ibid* pp.235-6.

78. Statistics from 'OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTR.' - STATISTICS FOR 1901-1909, NO. 1910. G.M. 1910:100

COMMONWEALTH STATISTICIAN. p.688. MILEAGES IN RAIL FOR PERIOD 1861-1909 WERE: 1861-1880; 1881-1890; 1891-2,205; 1901-2,904; 1908-9 - 3,864 miles.

during the years 1881 to 1891, in comparison with lower figures of 342 miles and 340 miles for subsequent periods 1891-1901 and 1901-1907.⁷⁹ The telegraph system was in operation in Brisbane before the 'eighties, cable news appeared in the Press, and the Torres Straits Mail service brought mail from Europe every ten days.⁸⁰ The steamer 'Rajpootana' was the first vessel in the 'eighties to link Brisbane with Indian ports in a direct service. Distances were shrinking and this was particularly relevant, in its immediate impact, to urban rather than rural life. Gaslighting was normal over an extensive city and suburban area, whilst social comment was available in such publications as The Queenslander 1866-1939), The Week (1876-1905), Queensland Punch (1878-9), Queensland Figaro (1885-9), The Boomerang (1887-8) and the various denominational journals - The Queensland Evangelical Standard (1876-1886), The Queensland Guardian (Anglican, 1883-4), and The Australian (Roman Catholic, 1879-1897). Sewing machines were being advertised in the 'eighties as "the acme of perfection, the most elegant, ornamental machines in the world..... extreme simplicity, capacity, durability, speed, ease of management..etc!"⁸², whilst the fashion-conscious ladies of Brisbane could for 7d. obtain latest styles from Madame Weigel's monthly Journal of Fashion and run them up from Madame Weigel's Paper Patterns of Dresses.⁸³ The Sydney Exhibition of 1879-80 in the Garden Palace displayed new stoves, washing machines, and a revolving washboard, whilst the labour-saving gadgetry that it glorified soon found its way into stores throughout the colonies.⁸⁴

79. ibid.

80. The telephone system was in operation by 1897 - see Knight op.cit. p.76 - a telephone conversation costing 6d. for 5 minutes. 169 miles of telegraph line existed in the Qld. of 1861, 9,973 miles by 1891. V.& P. 1892, Vol III, p.303.

81. There were of course also the daily papers - Brisbane Courier (est. 1846), Telegraph (est.1872), the Evening Observer (Jan.1886- Oct.1887) and the weekly Worker from March, 1890.

82. Advertisement in The Queensland Entr'Acte, Oct.29.,1880 (Oxley) - a theatrical news-sheet. Time payment was accepted - 10/- deposit, 2/6d. per week.

83. Illustrations and Directions 6d. - 2/- . ibid 10 March, 1883.

84. See Boyd, Robin. "Australia's Home - Its Origins, Builders & Occupiers" (Melbourne University Press) 1952, p.42.

John Verge's Sydney Mansion 'Camden Park' enjoyed a bathroom as early as 1837,⁸⁵ whilst by the 'eighties they were an integral part of domestic architecture in all but most primitive dwellings. The phenomenon of 'ungainly wooden boxes' which housed the citizens was, to most observers, the characteristic which typically distinguished Brisbane from the other colonial capitals. Of 5,814 inhabited dwellings in Brisbane in 1881, wooden structure made up 4,789, brick 799 and stone only 148,⁸⁶ although a correlation between the use of wood as a building material and 'ungainliness' was not a necessary one. By the end of the decade the number of inhabited dwellings had risen sharply to 10,321 of which 8,808 were of wood, 1053 of brick and 128 of stone.⁸⁷

If the growth of towns in England of the early nineteenth century conditioned governmental interest in public health, and stimulated the creation of such bodies as Chadwick's central board of health in 1848, it is probably significant of the urban process in Queensland that by 1891 governmental aid of the order of £58,000 per year was being spent on hospitals, total expenditure of the order of over £100,000 annually was being made for hospital purposes, whilst the number of charitable institutions in the colony had increased from 6 in 1860 to 63 in 1890.⁸⁸ In the latter year five hospitals were in operation in Brisbane - the Brisbane General Hospital, the Sick Children's Hospital, the Lady Bowen Lying-In Hospital, the Victoria Park Scarlet Fever Hospital and the Lock

85. *ibid.*

86. 1881 Census Results, V. & P. Vol.I., 1882.

87. V. & P., Vol.III, 1892, p.909. Census. The % of brick structures declined during the period from 13.8% to 10.2%, probably due to the cheapness of wood, greater rapidity of erection, and its suitability to climatic conditions. Building Societies, builders etc. could be expected to get a quicker turnover in boom times by erecting wooden structures. Photography incidentally was always popular in Qld. and Australia. In 1883 photos could be had for 7/6 per dozen, whilst the number of photographers in the city increased from 21 to 52 between 1881 & 1886. Census.

88. Statistics for 1890 in V. & P. 1891, Vol. III, pp.325, 533. Charitable institutions including hospitals, orphan and benevolent asylums, blind institutes, etc., increased from 36 in 1880 to 63 in 1890.

Hospital. A Benevolent Asylum existed at Stradbroke Island, a Protestant Orphan Asylum at South Brisbane (the Diamantina), a Brisbane Infants' Home, and two Roman Catholic orphan asylums at Meteor Park and Nudgee. The Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution at South Brisbane, the Lunatic Asylum at Woogaroo, bodies such as the Female Refuge, the Salvation Army Rescue Home and the Relief Board bore testimony both to private and governmental involvement in social/humanitarian services and to the process of urbanisation giving rise to their need.

The aspects of city life discussed in the preceding sections - institutions, municipal development, public architecture, and population incidence - were obviously rooted in an economic process of consolidation. N. G. Butlin, from a study of Australian national product, denotes economic growth in the thirty years 1861-90 as "sustained, stable and rapid"⁸⁹. Apart from a number of minor recessions - those of 1878-9 and 1885-6 are relevant to the 'eighties - "the estimates of Australian national product fit well the existing belief in a strong and remarkably well-sustained process of expansion over the thirty years after 1860"⁹⁰. Butlin suggests that net national product rose from about £60 million in 1861 to about £200 million in 1900 - an increase of about 250% in forty years.⁹¹ In many ways it would seem the 'eighties, for Queensland and Brisbane as well as for Australia, constituted the culmination of this period of economic expansion.⁹²

RAPIDLY RISING POPULATION PROVIDED ONE FACTOR UPON WHICH RESTED THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

Between 1860 and 1890 in Queensland the population rose from 28,056 to 422,776. Between 1880 and 1890 there was an increase of 196,699 persons resident in the colony, whilst the centesimal increase of 51.2 between the 1881 and 1886 Censuses was the highest since 1864.

89. Butlin 'Notes' *op.cit.* p.1.

90. *ibid.*

91. *ibid* p.2. Ranking Australia with a group of other fast-growing countries - the U.S. (5½% growth per annum), Canada & Germany (4%), Britain (3%), France (1½%), - "Australia emerges among the front rank of leaders in growth over this period" (1860-1900), with an annual growth of 4½% putting her in 2nd place.

92. Although Butlin suggests that the '60's may have been underestimated in their economic importance.

The following table illustrates the tremendous population increase of the 'eighties, especially of the early 'eighties:

<u>Census Period</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Numerical Increase on Previous Enumeration</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE Numerical Increase on Previous Enumeration</u>
1861	30,059	—	—
1864	61,467	31,408	104.48
1868	99,901	38,434	62.53
1871	120,104	20,203	20.22
1876	173,283	53,179	44.28
1881	213,525	40,242	23.22
1886	322,853	109,328	51.20
1891	393,718	70,865	21.95

TABLE 5. Queensland POPULATION DATA 1861-1891.⁹³

There was a general feeling amongst men in the 'eighties, and especially during the boom years 1881-3 and 1887, that the colony was experiencing a justified prosperity. The myth of illimitable resources was operating at full capacity, and the colony's Silver Jubilee in 1884 was welcomed as a monument to progress, progress which was manifested in other ways than population growth. To Fox, the historian of Queensland, it was manifested "in the millions of stock depastured on runs, rivalling in size many a principality in the Old World; in the long stretches of land won by the plough for the uses of man; in the waving cane-fields, and the cities and towns, populous and prosperous; in a happy and satisfied people, enjoying a climate unsurpassed in the world; in railways linking vast distances; in an extended telegraphic system..."⁹⁴ Easily apprehended was the visible expansion of primary production. Although probably declining in importance as contributors to the national output, the pastoral and agricultural industries continued during most of the 'eighties to ring up increases in output and acreage under crop. The tapping of the artesian basin which began with the sinking of the first artesian bore

93. Source - 1891 Census, V. & P. 1892, Vol. III, p. 875; for Brisbane figures & comparisons see p 5 supra. See also Allen R. 'Population Trends in Queensland 1861-86' (History Honours III, 1956) & accompanying maps.

94. Fox M. J. "History of Qld. - Its People & Industries" (Gillingham, Swann & Co.) Adelaide 1923. Vol. III p. 32.

in 1881 facilitated the extension of pastoral holdings so that between 1880 and 1884 the area of crown lands leased increased from 238 million acres to a peak 316 million acres.⁹⁵ During the decade the number of sheep increased from nearly 7 million in 1880 to over 20 million in 1891, and the number of cattle from a little over 3 million to a little over 6 million for the same period. There is a story of general consolidation mixed with considerable seasonal variation in the following figures and in the record of wool exports depicted in Graph No.V. overleaf:

	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
AREA CROWN LANDS LEASED (in '000's of acres)	238,739	273,763	306,516	311,528	316,114	307,291	302,260	295,265	292,949	289,787	289,703	280,536
NO'S of CATTLE (in '000's)	3,163	3,618	4,325	4,246	4,266	4,163	4,072	4,474	4,658	4,872	5,558	6,193
NO'S of SHEEP (in '000's)	6,936	8,293	12,043	11,507	9,309	8,994	9,690	12,926	13,444	14,470	18,507	20,290
NO'S of SQUATTING RUNS	6,599	7,506	8,751	9,243	9,542	9,292	8,550	7,365	6,836	6,547	5,930	5,213

TABLE 6. INDICES OF PASTORAL DEVELOPMENT 1880-91.

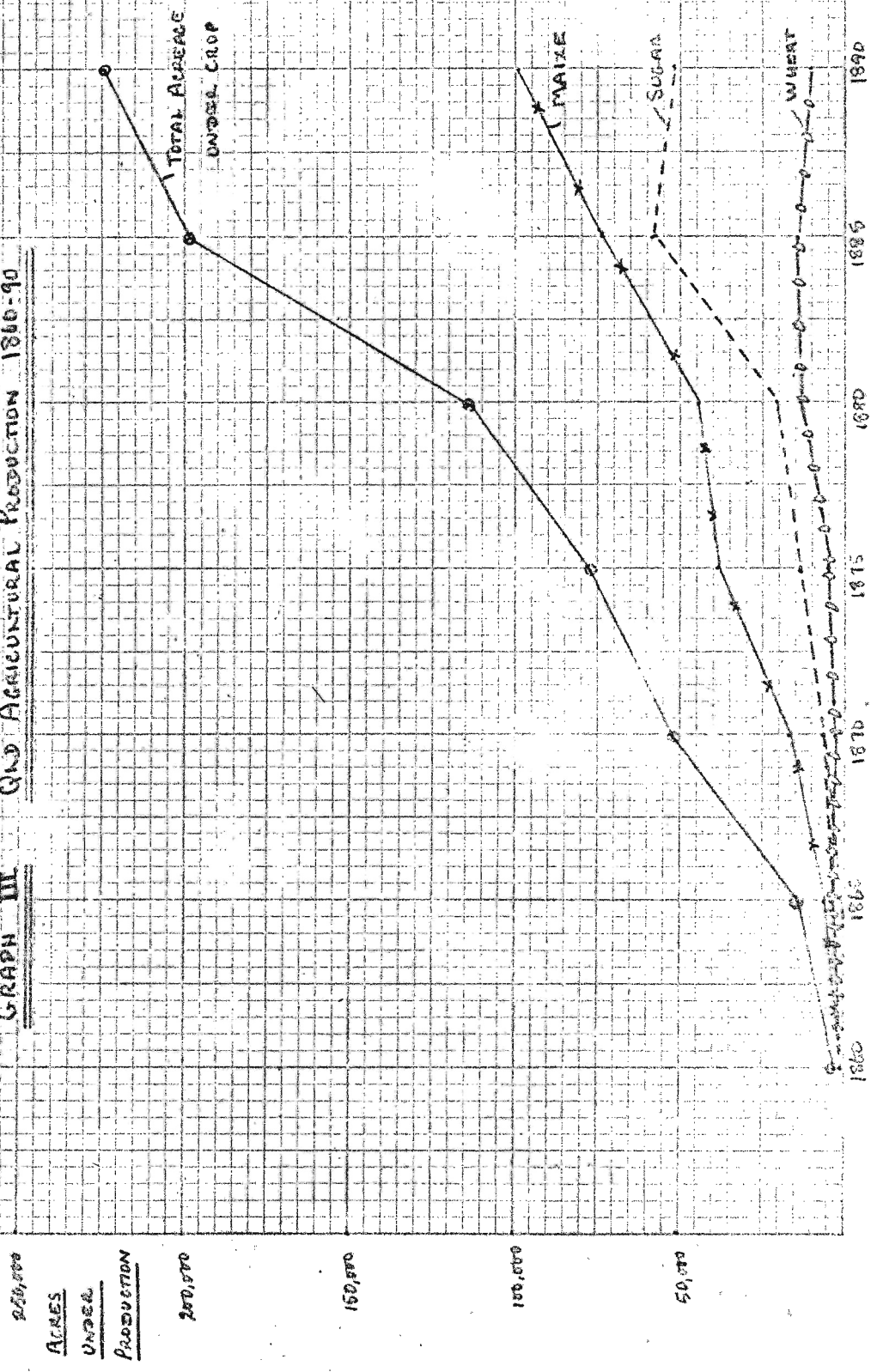
Agricultural production too expanded in this period, as witness the doubling of total acreage under crop from nearly 114,000 acres to over 242,000 acres in eleven years. The culmination of earlier agricultural developments in the expansion of the 'eighties is clearly revealed in Graph No.III overleaf (recording total acreage, and areas under maize, sugar & wheat between 1860 & 1890). A more detailed record of agricultural production for the 'eighties follows in Graph No.IV.

The growing importance of the colony both as a market and as

95. V. & P., 1892, Vol.III, p.303. The following figures are from the same source, as are the subsequent graphs.

GRAPH III
QND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION 1860-90

○——○ Total Acres Under Crop
 ○—x—○ Acres Under Maize
 ○—-—○ Sugar
 ○—|—○ Wheat



a source of raw materials was reflected in exports, which constantly rose during the decade, and in imports, which reached a peak value in 1888 (see Graph V). Shipping was improving, refrigeration being introduced by the early 'eighties, with the result that embryonic industries such as meat preservation and export could exist and flourish⁹⁶ and the number of cattle double in a decade. The sugar industry boomed in the early 'eighties (area under cane increasing from approximately 20,000 acres in 1880 to a peak 59,186 acres in 1885), whilst the value of gold produced in the colony reached an all-time high of over £2,580,000 in 1888.⁹⁷ Over all consolidation then marked primary production, although this was not to neglect some adverse tendencies. A slackening of sugar and wheat production during the latter half of the 'eighties, the dropping of imports from 1888, the shrinkage of pastoral holdings from 1884 and the decline of copper and tin production throughout the decade were signs presaging the great depression of the 'nineties.

In, "a generation during which children grew to middle age without personal experience of economic depression",⁹⁸ development depended upon a fast rising stock of capital equipment, "the product of a sustained and increasing investment expenditure over the years between 1881 and 1889".⁹⁹ Butlin, treating aggregate national product,¹⁰⁰ discerned an acceleration in the growth of capital equipment from the 'seventies such that investment absorbed a high 20% of net national product until the end of the 'eighties. He describes the character of capital inflow:

"In the expansion of capital equipment, financing of investment

96. The value of meat exports from Qld. rose ^{from} £77,599 in 1880 to £222,358 in 1891. V. & P., 1892, Vol. III, p.303.
97. The largest diggings by 1891 were at Gympie, Charters Towers, Palmer, Ravenswood, Croydon, Mt. Morgan, Clermont, Etheridge and Eidsvold.
98. Fitzpatrick, B. "The British Empire in Australia" Melb. 1948. p.193.
99. Butlin - 'Notes' - p.3.
100. pp.3-4 and tables. Butlin has been criticised for his concept of an Australian economy in the 19th century, but it will be noted that the divergencies of Western Australia in the '90's, South Australia in the '80's & Tasmania rather than Qld. are preferred in criticism, whilst aggregation is defended as a summary of regional movements closely linked by labour & capital flow. See Summary of Discussion in Notes, p.1.

depended heavily on foreign supplies of funds. Capital imports between 1871 and 1890 accounted for between half and two-thirds of new capital formation, leaving Australian savings to provide the minor part. This supply of funds seems to have borne comparatively little connection with the course of events in the British economy and only a limited connection with over-all short-term movements in British foreign investment. If this is a correct picture it helps to explain something of the stability of the Australian economy in the 'seventies and 'eighties. The willingness of British investors to supply increasing amounts of capital to Australia freed the economy from overseas fluctuations".¹⁰¹

At the present stage of economic history in Queensland it is difficult to ascertain how far this general process extended into the colony. Estimates of net product for the state do not exist, but it is unlikely that any wide regional divergence from aggregate tendencies took place in terms of capital formation and importation. Public capital formation tended to increase, if sporadically, during the 'eighties. During the McIlwraith administration (1879-1883) loans amounting to £5,553,000 were floated, a loan for £11,419,000 was authorised in 1884, whilst in 1890 and 1891 public borrowing accounted for £1,554,834 and £3,704,800 respectively.¹⁰² Public revenue increased during the decade from a little more than £1½ million to almost £3½ million. Coghlan estimates that between 1876 and 1880 £8 millions were introduced into Queensland through public and private channels, and that from 1880 to 1885 £20 millions ~~were introduced into Queensland through public and private channels, and that from 1880 to 1885 £20 millions~~ were introduced from the same sources.¹⁰³ Again the record of bank assets, deposits and advances

101. Butlin - Notes p.3. continuing; "but it created a fingernail dependence which, in the end, was felt when financial pressure contributed to the cessation of growth and the downswing of 1891-4".

102. V. & P., 1892, Vol.III, p.303 - unless otherwise stated the following figures are from this source.

103. Coghlan T.A. 'Labour & Industry in Australia' p.1514.

was one of steady accumulation and growth until 1888 and 1889.
 (See Graph V ^(overleaf)). The following table gives some indication of
 the development of the colony in terms related to capital
 formation :

	1860	1870	1880	1885	1890
No. of Savings Bank Depositors	163	5,821	17,339	36,175	45,885
Assets of Old Banks (Value in '000's of £.)	575	1,725	5,487	13,528	20,907
Note Circulation (Value in £.)	42,765	146,921	338,683	661,168	683,897
Government Revenue (in '000's of £.)	179	743	1,825	2,841	3,260

TABLE 7. FINANCE AND ACCUMULATION: 1860-1890.

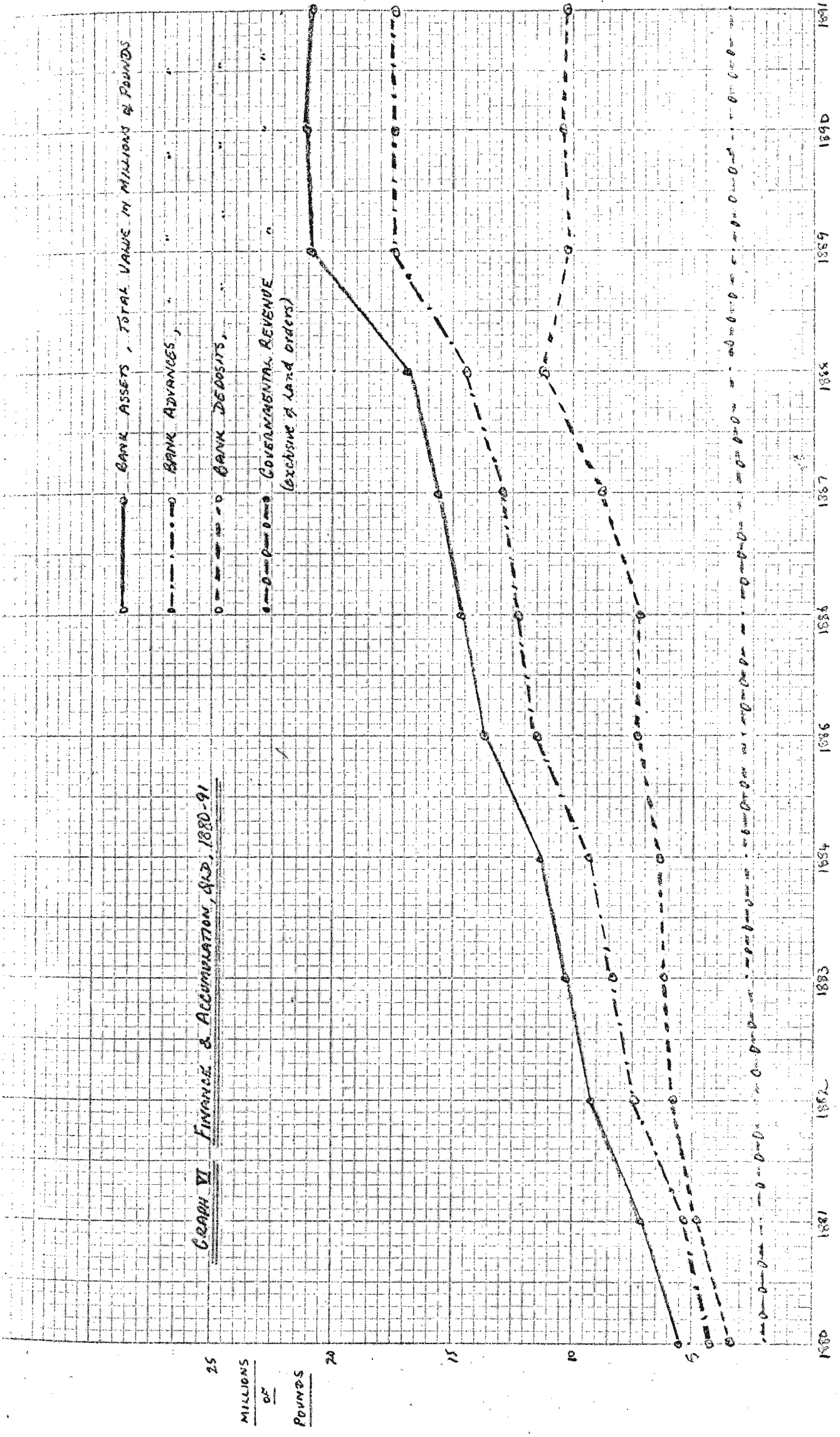
There is a good deal of truth then in the conception of the 'eighties as a boom era. It was a period of economic consolidation, but economic consolidation with a peculiarly urban relevance. Butlin's re-interpretation of the traditional economic account puts the relative importance of primary production at a discount in comparison with urban manufacturing, and urban aspects of the building industry, railway transport, and personal service.¹⁰⁴ "Australian economic development" he writes "is mainly a story of urbanisation. The building of cities absorbed the greater part of Australian resources diverted to developmental purposes: the operation of enterprises in the towns employed most of the increasing population engaged in work."¹⁰⁵ Secondary industry rose from about 10% of net national product in 1861 to about 25% in 1881. Manufacturing constituted the fastest-growing segment of the Australian economy, its share in net national product rising from less than 5% in 1861 to between 12½% and 15% in 1881.¹⁰⁶ The relevance of these factors

104. Butlin-Notes pp.7 ff. The share of primary production in net national product fell from 40% in 1861 (maintained till 1875) to 30% in 1888.

105. ibid p.8.

106. ibid.

GRAPH VI
FINANCE & ACCUMULATION, 1880-91



MILLIONS
OF
POUNDS

BANK ASSETS, TOTAL VALUE IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS

BANK ADVANCES

BANK DEPOSITS

GOVERNMENTAL REVENUE
(exclusive of land orders)

1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891

to Brisbane is evident. The concentration of population in the capital has already been noted. The evolution of secondary industries and manufacturing was a concomitant of the same urban process. Thus the number of mills, factories and industrial works increased in Queensland from a mere 13 at the colony's inauguration to 1,328 in 1891.¹⁰⁷ Brisbane's share in this industrial development was a disproportionate one, and was a consolidation of early trends. In the 'sixties Brisbane could boast a brewery, iron-foundries, an ice company and embryonic coach-building, cabinet-making and soap-making industries.¹⁰⁸ Hand-sewn shoes were manufactured by 'out-labour', treadle machines were being introduced in many branches of labour, and various establishments produced saddlery, templates, brushes, biscuits and brass. A meat preserving factory was opened at Bowen Park in 1873 (tinning everything from turtle soup to luncheon beef), Pettigrew's of William Street were emerging as the largest timber merchants in the colony, whilst in 1874 £4,000 worth of work passed through the Brisbane Iron and Brass Works. Perkins' Brewery was in operation by 1875, by which time Smellie's were manufacturing steamers, tugs, boilers, engines and cylinders. So impressed were the legislators of the day with the need for industrial expansion that a bonus of £1,000 and a land grant of 1,000 acres were offered by the Legislative Council in 1869 for the first 5,000 yards of woollen and cotton cloth to be manufactured in the colony.

By 1891 the number of factories, mills and works had proliferated in the capital, the Statistics of that year enumerating 319 - an increase of 128 over the 1881 figure of 181.¹⁰⁹ The list included six

107. V. & P., 1892, Vol. III, p. 303 - see also Commonwealth Year Book 1901-1909 op. cit. p. 538. It would require a separate economic investigation to assess both the relative importance of manufacturing in Qld's net product, and to compare the importance of secondary & tertiary industries with that of the other colonies.

108. The brewery was at Breakfast Creek, one foundry was that of Smellie & Co. in Alice St. The ~~Milton~~ brewery was operating by 1872. Information regarding these early industries was abstracted from notes kindly lent by John Laverty, U. of Qld.

109. V. & P., 1892. Vol. III, pp. 650-1; V. & P., 1881, Vol. I, pp. 1088-9.

breweries, three licensed distilleries, three biscuit manufacturers, five tobacco factories, two meat-preserving establishments, seventeen tanneries, nineteen cordial manufacturers, four jam factories, nineteen brick-yards, eight saw-mills, twenty foundries, twelve steam engine and agricultural implement factories, twenty-two printing works, twenty-three coach & wagon-makers, ten boat-builders and sixty wine-makers.¹¹⁰ At the close of the decade a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the conditions of work in the shops, factories and workshops of the colony.¹¹¹ This fact alone bore witness both to the growing economic importance of secondary and tertiary industries, and to the increasing recognition that they constituted a continuing environmental framework for a substantial portion of the working population. These themes will emerge again in discussion of urban working conditions and occupational stratification.

Urban economic development was reflected in other ways. The establishment in 1881 of Edwards and Lambs was representative of the growth of tertiary industries. Land values in the city rose astronomically ^{so} that in 1885 two Queen Street allotments cost £43,000, and the South Brisbane Gas Company's three acre property cost £100,000. One of the Queensland National Bank's Creek Street allotments was purchased for £18,750, whilst lots in the Milton Estate brought £33,512.¹¹² The capital value of rateable land in the metropolitan area rose to a figure in 1890 ~~was~~ not again approximated until 1925. Meanwhile municipal revenue increased six-fold in ten years, reflecting both inflated land values and the general prosperity of an era of urban consolidation. These tendencies are inherent in the following statistics, which highlight the period against the deflation of the 'nineties:

1882	1885	1890 ^X	1891	1895	1900
£	£	£	£	£	£
6,272,040	11,465,946	23,558,159	19,145,200	12,144,157	11,858,817

TABLE 8: CAPITAL VALUE OF RATEABLE LAND IN METROPOLITAN AREA
1882 - 1900.

110. For full list see V&P 1892, Vol. III, p.650-1 & p.633-see also Louis Green 'The Qld. Attitude To Federation' (Thesis U. of Q.) Ch. II 'The Metropolis & the Nascent Manufacturers' p.36 ff.

111. V. & P. 1891 Vol II, p.927 ff.

112. Fox op. cit. pp.34-52.

^X Table gives total capital value until 1890-from 1891 onwards the table employs unimproved capital value.

	1880 £	1885 £	1890 £	1895 £	1900 £
GENERAL RATES	15,627	38,993	67,034	60,398	65,970
TOTAL RECEIPTS	51,213	162,807	337,375	170,788	233,567

TABLE 9: RECEIPTS OF TRADITIONAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES OF METROPOLITAN BRISBANE - 1880-1900.¹¹³

This then was the economic and institutional background of Brisbane urban society of the 'eighties. In the process of development from small and rough frontier town to large and urbane colonial city the decade of the 'eighties constituted a period of flux and spectacular consolidation. To state this is not to deny that substantial unemployment existed at various times or to suggest that seasonal variation was inoperative in its deleterious effects for a decade. General prosperity was not universal prosperity (as a glance at the number of insolvencies during the period indicates),¹¹⁴ and it was certainly the contention of men like William Lane that if prosperity existed it was unequally distributed. Nevertheless there was a current spirit of restless progress abroad in the colony which was rooted in those material advances suggested above. Thomas McIlwraith's energetic commercialism in many ways typified the process, but it extended also to the ranks of organised labour. Could not the authors of that weighty History of Capital and Labour in all Lands and all Ages symbolise material progress, as well as nationalism, in these phrases?

"In his "Areopagitica", Milton, with prophetic precision, has unconsciously forecast Australia's future when he likens a young nation awakening to a fine sense of its destiny, to a young man rousing himself after sleep: and to the soaring eagle mewing her mighty youth in the ethereal regions of light and liberty...In population, wealth, and freedom, America stands at the head of nations, the greatest, richest and freest nation of modern or ancient times. Australia, her

113. Abstracted from Qld. Statistics & Council Minutes by John Levery, who made available the tabulations. Not until 1925, with over £17 million, did capital value of rateable land approach the 1890 figure. Not until 1915 was the 1890 level of receipts again reached.

114. There were 191 insolvents in 1880, 220 in 1884, 377 in 1886, 249 in 1888, 335 in 1890 & 300 in 1891. Statistics for relevant years.

younger sister, standing on the very threshold of her glorious career, already bids fair to equal if not surpass her...she is now undisputed mistress of the Southern Hemisphere and in all things that go to constitute a great and prosperous nation, she is the successful rival of nations her seniors by centuries, not excepting the mother-country herself..."115

The myth of illimitable resources was constantly expounded in these years - the colonies were inexhaustible in area and resources, facilities for the agricultural and pastoral industries were unbounded, maritime and commercial potentials unlimited. From observation of Brisbane's urban development, James Inglis, an English visitor in 1880, cast prophecies in similar coin. He wrote :

"only fifteen years ago this city was a waste of dense jungle, reeking swamp, and barren hill-side, and now it is the progressing capital of a great colony, destined, I firmly believe, to be one of the mightiest cities of the future, as Queensland, if wisely governed, cannot fail to become one of the giant states of the world, when the genius of our race shall have developed her boundless resources and settled a teeming population over her ample and prolific expanse"116

With such a background of prevailing optimism, and in a period which witnessed in many ways the culmination of the socio-economic process of urbanisation in the 19th Century, Brisbane could evolve its city institutions, its Houses of Parliament, its public buildings, its churches and schools, its societies and its interest groups. Economic consolidation enabled ^{and} stimulated social crystallisation and diversification. Sophistication followed and with it all the institutions for its expression, ranging from the erection of a town hall in a Classical cum L'Art Nouveau idiom to the reception of opera companies and the use of washing machines.

115. 'The History of Capital & Labour in all Lands and all Ages' (Oceanic Publishing (Cobb) Sydney and Melbourne 1881) ony.

116. Inglis, James 'Our Australian Cousins' London, 1880, p.41. (Mitchell)

It was symbolised by the holding of a successful colonial Exhibition under the auspices of the National Association in 1878 and in the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in Brisbane in 1887 - replete with sightseers and illuminations, the 'golden cord in the colourless web of everyday life'.¹¹⁷ Thus was evolving an urban way of life, based upon material consolidation, characterised by all the patent institutions of governmental and private enterprise, and increasingly including under its aegis a more numerous section of the community. Granted the dictum that environment conditions thinking,¹¹⁸ then the economic and intellectual, vocational and cultural by-products of the urban process must have increasingly moulded social values and mores, and determined in some respect not only the way of life but also the ~~latest~~ ^{habit} of thought of the community.

117. See Fox op.cit., p.52. Its venue in Brisbane recognised the pre-eminence of the city within the colony.

118. C/F Sorokin "the economic position, wealth or poverty of a man exerts an enormous influence on his body and soul, his behaviour & psychology, & his relationships & destinies". Sorokin & Zimmerman 'Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology' (1929)p.61.

If the character of a society is written in its stone, and architecture seen as an expression of a civilisation,¹²⁰ it may be possible to put forward some tentative hypotheses about Brisbane society in terms of its public architecture. If environmental adaptation manifestly characterised certain political and social aspects of the colonial way of life of the latter 19th Century, it was, and is, the consensus of opinion that architecture was not essentially moulded to this indigenous framework. Conformity to Italian and Gothic prototypes constituted the architectural norm and architects stood or fell by their adherence to classical standards. It was as true of the 'eighties as of an earlier period that Tuscan, Ionic and Corinthian columns, with their variants and attendant details, "were arranged by very rigid architectural rules, and an architect who transgressed any one of them was accused of being 'not Classical', a description that today is meaningless but that once was damning".¹²¹ The 'eighties constituted the age of Gothic and Greek Revivals, and saw the 'Battle of the Styles' resulting in the Italianate of the Eighties'. The earliest and most successful indigenous style of architecture - that of the 'Colonial Period', of Macquarie and Francis Greenway¹²² - was based ultimately upon English models and influenced by developments in Colonies such as India, but in answer to existing building techniques and limitations of material it evolved an economy in design and a simplicity which "if sometimes naive, is fundamentally sound and has an honesty of expression of high architectural worth".¹²³ 'Colonial' architecture however had been rejected by the 'eighties. With the flowering of optimism and general prosperity of a decade typified by a spasm of public building, an

119. This section is offered in elaboration of an important aspect of the urban process - the building boom - and as a general index of colonial values in this respect.
120. See e.g. Pevsner, N. 'An Outline of European Architecture' (Pelican) 1957, described as "a history of Western architecture as an expression of Western civilisation" (dust jacket).
121. Morton Herman 'The Early Australian Architects & Their Work' (Angus & Robertson) 1954, p.37.
122. See Ellis, M.H. 'Francis Greenway: His Life & Times' (Syd.) 1949, & Herman ibid. p.119 ff.
123. Herman ibid p.119. In this section he argues (1) that the style was derivative & one of a family of Colonial architecture (2) that it was "perceptual men such as Greenway & the unknown designer of Bungarribee who gave the purely Australian soul to buildings" (p.120) & (3) that characteristics of the style - 'earth-clinging', wall-expression, simple statement of basic elements - were primarily due to the dictation of material limitations & climate.

abundance of building material enabled either expensive expression of classical styles or an ostentatious display of current stylistic fads. Climatic considerations, and tendencies towards the evolution of indigenous styles based upon them, were relegated to the background. Although in Brisbane adherence to classical prototypes produced some fine buildings which captured to some extent the spirit of the originals - Parliament House, the Treasury, Government House, Customs House, Supreme Court and South Brisbane Town Hall - it was always apparent that they were ultimately derivative. A visitor to Queensland in the 'seventies noted this fact and decried the lack of environmental adaptation: he wrote:

"In many instances you are forcibly struck with the absurd manner in which English architecture is copied, particularly in public buildings. On arriving in Ipswich I was astonished to see, perched on a hill-top, a red-brick Gothic building, with the high pitched roof and narrow windows which characterise such buildings in cold countries. Not only were there no verandahs to protect from the sun's rays, but the bed-rooms were up-stairs, just under the roof, and, having scarcely any windows, were hardly ever cool."¹²⁴

The early victory in Queensland of the Italian Renaissance style for all but ecclesiastical building (traditionally Gothic) was a part concession to climatic necessities, but the internal design of classical public buildings was rarely functional or determined primarily by environmental considerations. The plan of the Customs House, for example, was generally symmetrical and derived from the Renaissance Church Plan with a circular apse, a dome and Nave - conforming certainly to current architectural norms but hardly to the requirements of the Custom Department.¹²⁵ The descriptions already given of some of Brisbane's main governmental, commercial, educational and ecclesiastical buildings¹²⁶ illustrate the over-riding conformity to overseas and classical standards and the inhibition of any indigenous variants

124. Allen, Ch. H. 'A Visit to Qld. and her Goldfields' (London, 1870) p. 162. An eminent critic of the period was constrained to remark upon another functional defect of the revived Gothic style that 'a man who remains for any length of time in a modern Gothic room & escapes without being wounded by any of its minutiae may consider himself extremely fortunate' & by Herman op.cit. p. 39 from Dulton 'The English Interior' p. 166. Herman summed up: "Style was everything (cont. overleaf)

upon this theme.

The greater availability and variety of building materials in use by the 'eighties led to greater ornamentation, a trend which was particularly noticeable in domestic architecture but which also made its impact upon public architecture. Glass had become increasingly available in a variety of sizes since the first extensive use of plate glass in 1817 and the production of two foot sheets for ordinary building purposes in 1844.¹²⁷ The widespread manufacture of tiles, wrought iron, beading and panelling, cast-iron and plaster facilitated ornamentation. So did the increase in numbers of skilled workmen. Brisbane in 1881 had nearly 500 carpenters and joiners, 216 painters, paper-hangers, plumbers and glaziers, 127 cabinet makers, 117 bricklayers and 100 masons, plasterers and tilers¹²⁸ - and their numbers continued to increase, especially during the first half of the decade.¹²⁹ As a result Brisbane too experienced in its architecture the deterioration of standards accompanying the slavish imitation of 'exotic' styles embodying ostentatiousness, over-decoration and vulgar display of opulence. Terra cotta gargoyles, over-elaborate cast-iron decoration, statuettes and aspidistra urns were manifestations of a style in public architecture which paralleled closely the current Boom, Queen Anne and slightly later L'Art Nouveau styles in domestic architecture.¹³⁰ The South Brisbane Town Hall has already been noted for traces of this influence whilst the elaborate Italian facade of His Majesty's Opera House, erected in 1885 at a cost of over £18,000, could be excused only in terms of its light-hearted public function. An architect of the period wrote, with regret, of the current tendencies towards over-decoration: "Better taste" he felt "appears to be gradually prevailing" (a prophecy unfulfilled in the

124 footnote cont.

and comfort - even safety - nothing" p.39.

125. see Gibbins op.cit. p.56-9 - in recent years the Basement, Ground and First floors were completely re-planned internally.

126. pp.11-17 supra.

127. Herman op.cit.

128. Census 1881, V. & P., 1882, Vol I.

129. Corresponding numbers for 1886 were 1346 carpenters & joiners, 589 painters etc., 304 cabinet makers, 322 bricklayers, 273 masons etc. Census 1886, V. & P., 1887, Vol. II.

130. see Boyd, R. "Australia's Home - Its Origins, Builders & Occupiers". (Melb.) 1952, pp.54-78.

'eighties) "though a few feet of plain wall surface, such as contributes so greatly to the beauty of buildings like the Pandolfini or Farnese palaces seem to be regarded by some of our architects much as a red rag to a bull. Difficulties of design, too, might almost have been created purposely, to be left unconquered; and the height of some ambitions must surely be to besmear a facade with so-called ornament, much as a perverted ingenuity does that direct of human perpetrations - the bride cake."¹³¹

Public architecture then would seem to have been in substantial unaccord with its peculiar colonial environment, in terms both of climatic necessity and function. This applied whether the architecture was traditional Italian, Gothic revival, French Renaissance or a decorative variant upon these themes. Conformity to current overseas architectural dicta and derivation from environmentally alien rather than indigenous sources summed up colonial architecture, and this was as true of Brisbane as of Sydney and Melbourne.¹³² The tentative hypothesis is fairly readily made of a colonial society where such a state of affairs existed that a derivative element was persisting in social areas not immediately amenable to the corrosive influences of nationalism and national prestige. A manifest environmental adaptation, it may be argued, characterised various political movements ("the discovery and settlement of America and Australia are the two most important events of modern times"¹³³ says the History of Capital and Labour in 1888-), and typified various social traits (egalitarianism, independence, unintellectualism etc.), whilst a genuine adaptation to a new way of life may have been inherent in the developing ballads, songs and folkways of the

131. J.G.de Libra 'Architecture in Sydney' in Once a Month - an Illustrated Australasian Magazine Vol.IV, Jan.-June 1886, p.23. (published in Melb.) (Oxley).

132. Two virtues at least can be isolated for Brisbane public architecture - the use of local stone in a competent and aesthetically pleasing manner; and a restraint & authenticity about the existing public structures which bore testimony both to the training of her architects & the skill of her workmen. For typical account of the training & background of architects see Courier 25.11.54; for E.D.G. Stanley & Lund op.cit. for Robin Dods.

133. 'The History of Capital & Labour in all lands & all ages' (Oceanic Publishing Co.) Sydn.& Melb. 1888, p.(v).

colonies, but adaptation did not characterise public architecture. It drew for its inspiration upon the past and tended to neglect modern structural developments. Architects, frustrated by the ugliness of industrialisation, and foiled in their attempts to give it architectural expression, failed to come to terms with it, and regressed back to a traditional and comfortable past. The process had been described thus:

"The towns expanded aimlessly into cities. The tempo of living quickened....Graciousness tended to give way to ugliness. With this ugliness, in many architects' minds, became associated things mechanical and industrial, and the new building materials - iron, steel, and glass sheets - which industry offered. A divorce took place between architecture and engineering. Relief was sought in exotic things - in the Occident and in the more colourful periods of the past. Chinese architecture was copied..red and green plush cloths appeared on dining room tables, the faces of English buildings bore witness to Classic and Gothic 'Revivals'. Architectural training began to neglect materials and construction for the reproduction of details from these periods, for applied ornament...The appearance of a building had begun to be regarded as a thing apart from its basic materials, its construction, its purpose."¹³⁴

The paths of science and the arts had diverged.¹³⁵ The cast-iron column had been evolved in 1780, but one hundred years later it was still in use in Brisbane's Government House as a classical column. Iron columns were also cast in the form of their stone predecessors in the South Brisbane Town Hall. New methods were used to produce old effects, and "all the important buildings appeared in elaborate historical dress"¹³⁶ Not until Robin Dods produced the New Zealand Insurance Building in Queen Street in 1908 - a building unhampered by classical restrictions and erected directly in the media of brick, stone and copper - was the gap between

134. Aust. Junior Encyclopaedia, Vol.2 pp.680-1.

135. see Gibbins op.cit. p.14 ff. for a general argument along these lines.

136. ibid p.14.

architecture and science beginning to be closed.¹³⁷

Deductions from this architectural impasse to the nature of colonial society should be qualified in various ways. The phenomena of conformity to classical prototypes, the resort to European inspiration, false aestheticism and structural maladjustment were not peculiar to Australia. This was also the Age of the Renaissance complex in America, when the Yankee Croesus combed Europe in search of inspiration for his home mansion; when Richard Hunt re-designed 'The Breakers' of Cornelius Vanderbilt as a mammoth Italian villa at a cost of three million dollars; when "the brusque forms of quattro-cento palaces rose on Madison Avenue, the Vatican murals were quoted on the walls of the better clubs, and Verrocchio's angels fluttered within a few blocks of Washington Square"¹³⁸ Ostentation became a byword in American art and architecture for "the great American fortunes, having been spectacularly made, were conspicuously spent"¹³⁹ Again despite the exhibition of iron by Joseph Paxton at the Crystal Palace in 1851, and its triumphant expression in the Eiffel Tower of 1889, and in the Chicago buildings of Root and Richardson of the same period, examples of conformity to traditional structural practices were still legion as late as 1900 in both England and America. Pugin's 'True Principles of Gothic Architecture', Ruskin's 'Seven Lamps of Architecture' (1849), analytical and descriptive works upon mediaeval art and architecture, Burckhardt's study of the Renaissance, followed by the accounts of Pater and Symonds and a host of revivalist scholars exerted a world-wide influence in retaining traditional forms of architecture at the expense of the new science of steel, glass and concrete until at least the close of the 19th Century. There were obviously pit-falls in the simple ascription of architectural stultification to peculiar characteristics of Australian colonial culture.

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137. see N.H.Lund 'Life & Work of Robin S.Dods, A.R.I.B.A.' (B.Arch. thesis, 1954, U.of Qld.) p.29 & Plates 18, 19 & 20. Dods was obliged by his commissions to retain a traditional arched entrance - and this factor, the conservatism of clients - could well have been important in the maladjustment of architecture to structural developments.

138. Larkin, Oliver W. "Art & Life in America" (Rinehart) 1956 p.296. Pt.3. gives a colourful & convincing account of the force of the Renaissance in the U.S. of the '80's. 1880 in fact was compared with 1480, the Morgans to the Medici, whilst artists felt themselves to be Italians not Yankees.

139. Larkin *ibid* p.293. One ball in the 80's cost over 100,000 dollars, the iron gates of Frederick Prince's marble palace kept 50 craftsmen busy for a year, whilst men of wealth lined Fifth Avenue with chateaux....

CHAPTER 2.

The Anglo-Saxon Nature of the Society:

Although the fancy that colonial society was '98 per cent British' may have been "of a piece with a number of useful conceits by the aid of which Australians have jollied and jockeyed themselves into accord with their natural environment"¹; it has nevertheless a basis in reality when related to the structure of Brisbane society during the 'eighties. Racial homogeneity characterised the society. Whilst the social significance of minority groups of non-British origins - Germans, Danes, Swedes, Chinese and Polynesians - was not to be denied, especially in terms of assimilation problems and group interactions, a preponderance of British-born and British-descended constituted the norm. Thus in the ten years 1881-91 the proportion of the Brisbane population born outside the Australian colonies, Great Britain and Ireland constituted on average only 6.3%, whilst in no one year did it exceed 6.6%². This proportion dropped further to an average 5.5% if those born in New Zealand and America were excluded. Assuming those of Australian birth to be of predominantly British Isles descent³, the proportion of Anglo-Saxon/Celtic stock in relation to the total Brisbane population during the 'eighties was a mean 93.7%.⁴ The tables ^{and} of diagrams on the following pages bear out this point.

The fact of colonial derivation from Britain in terms of national origins and ancestry of the population is fundamental and vital from a social as well as a cultural and political standpoint. Stanner has gone part of the way in making tangible some of the contributions of the British tradition to the Australian way of life:

"The first was a certain kind of 'outlook'. One might think of it as the sum of the 'idea-systems' widely recognized as

1. Fitzpatrick, B. "The Australian People 1788-1945" (Melb. University Press) 1951, p.25.

2. Census results 1881, 1886 and 1891, see Votes & Proceedings 1882, Vol. I, p.1182 ff; 1887 Vol. II, p.1304ff; 1892 Vol. III, p.1328 ff for raw data. Proportions calculated in Appendix p.11A. See also Table 10, p.2.

3. Coghlan, T.A. A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia (Govt. Printer, Sydney) 1890, p.15. He states this as a fact - "The great bulk of the Australasian-born population is of British descent."

4. The proportions for 1881, 1886, & 1891 are 93.5%, 93.4% & 94.1% respectively.

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>% OF QUEENSLAND POPULATION BORN IN RESPECTIVE BIRTHPLACES.</u>		
	<u>1881.</u>	<u>1886.</u>	<u>1891.</u>
AUST. COLONIES	47.11	45.56	51.79
ENGLAND & WALES	17.51)	20.45)	19.77)
SCOTLAND	4.65)	6.18)	5.69)
	22.16	26.63	25.46
IRELAND	13.25	12.51	10.96
GERMANY	5.45	4.41	3.79
OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	2.22	2.38	1.82
THE AMERICAS	0.41	0.41	0.36
AFRICA, ASIA, POLYNESIA	8.59	7.17	5.21
OTHER COUNTRIES	0.81	0.93	0.61
	<u>1881.</u>	<u>1886.</u>	<u>1891.</u>
% IN QLD. BORN OUT-SIDE AUSTRALIA, GT. BRITAIN OR IRELAND	17.48	15.29	11.83

TABLE 10. NATIONAL ORIGINS OF QUEENSLAND POPULATION 1881-91.⁵

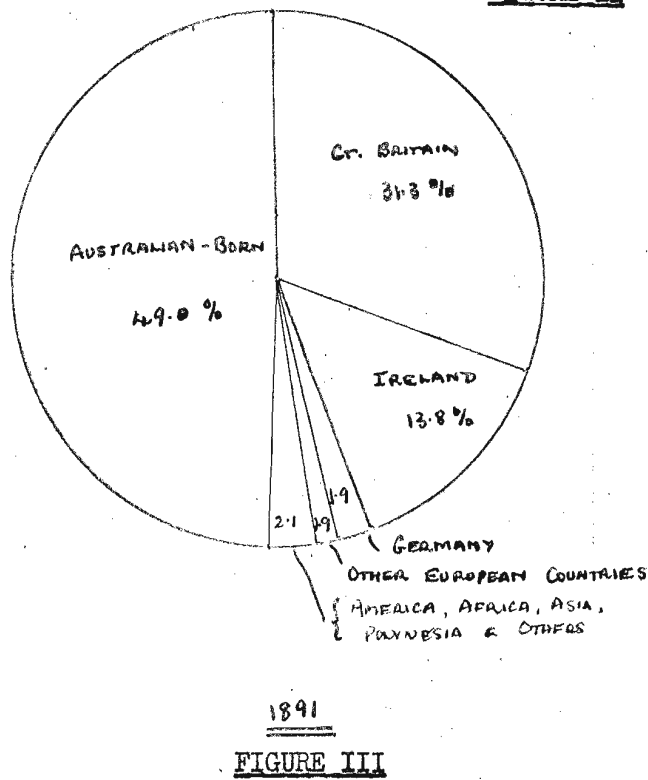
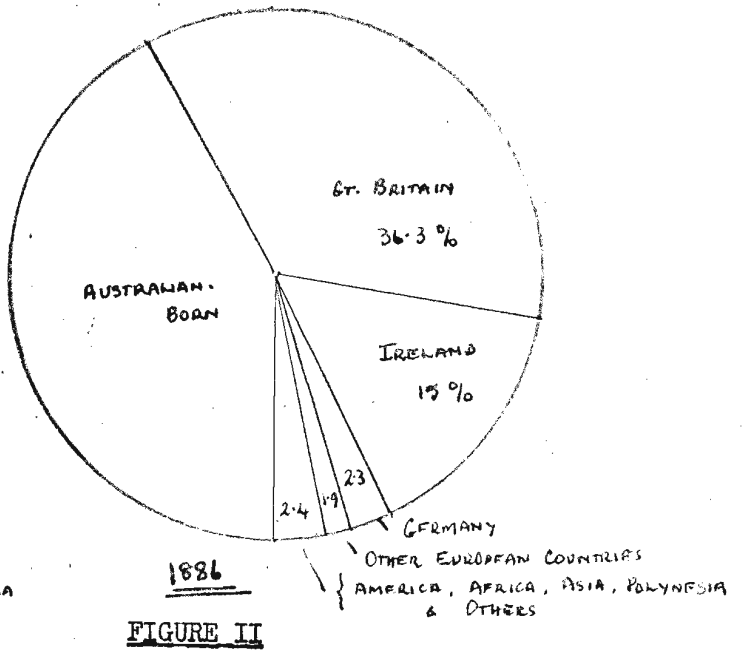
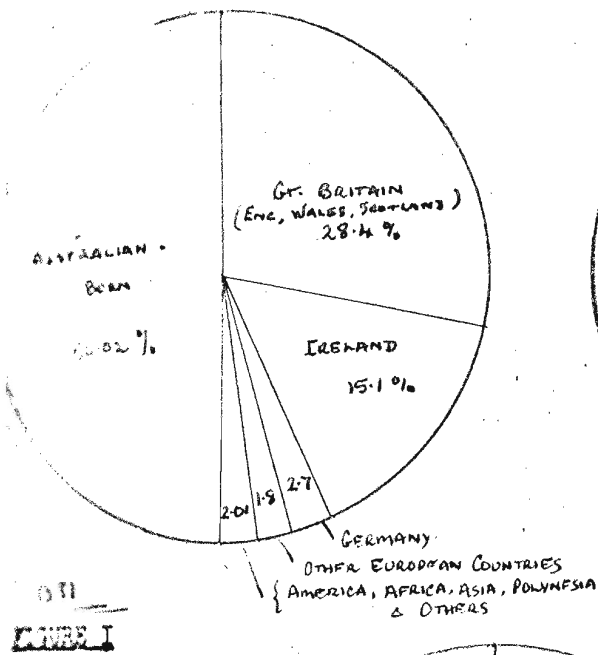
<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>% OF AUSTRALASIAN POPULATION BORN IN RESPECTIVE BIRTHPLACES: 1881 CENSUS.</u>
AUSTRALASIA	60.80
ENGLAND & WALES	18.23
SCOTLAND	5.51
IRELAND	9.55
GERMANY & AUSTRIA	1.59
CHINA	1.58
OTHER BRITISH POSSESSIONS	0.51
SCANDINAVIA	0.51
U.S.A.	0.23
FRANCE.	0.16
OTHER COUNTRIES	1.33

TABLE 11. NATIONAL ORIGINS OF AUSTRALASIAN POPULATION: 1881.⁶

5. Census Results 1881, 1886, 1891 V. & P. as in footnote 2.

6. from Coghlan 'Statistical Account of 7 Colonies' op.cit. p.15. for Comparison with other States ibid p.15.

NATIONAL ORIGINS OF BRISBANE POPULATION 1881-91.



BIRTHPLACE.	% OF BRISBANE POPULATION BORN IN RESPECTIVE BIRTHPLACES.		
	1881	1886	1891
AUSTRALIAN COLONIES	50.02	42.1	49.0
GREAT BRITAIN (ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND)	28.4	36.3	31.3
IRELAND	15.1	15.0	13.8
GERMANY	2.7	2.3	1.9
OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	1.8	1.9	1.9
THE AMERICAS	0.42	0.46	0.39
AFRICA, ASIA, POLYNESIA	0.64	1.16	0.99
OTHER COUNTRIES	0.95	0.78	0.72

characteristically British, ranging from the conceptions of common law to the notion of what good poetry was; from the idea of sportsmanship to that of Parliamentary democracy; from the concept of the 'gentleman' to the understanding of empirical science; from established decencies in the use of power to the sanctity of a man's home.

The second was a kind of structural 'framework' underlying social life; the forms of all our social groups, family, church, and Parliament among them.

The third, putting it broadly, was familiar social habit, that is, our 'institutions', the valued aims and patterns of individual and group behaviour in every important field of life."⁷

This comment was equally pertinent of colonial society in the 'eighties.

On a more particular plane, however, there still remained an assimilation process as between the immigrant from the British Isles and the environmentally-adapted colonial born. Basic homogeneity of racial origins did not obscure differences of values and attitudes between the immigrant and the natural born Australian. Both had experienced distinctive environmental conditions which had engendered divergent values, habits, and characteristic ways of life. The resultant interaction between the old and the new in colonial society thus formed an important constituent of the social milieu, and an understanding of the latter requires an examination of this interaction. The social material on which the colony continuously drew through immigration - its social status, its national origins and characteristics, its religions - was obvious important for the new society. The immigration process will therefore be examined with a view to investigating its social implications for colonial society, and hence for urban society.

Queensland in the 'eighties was essentially a pioneering

7. Stanner W.E.H. 'The Australian Way of Life' in 'Taking Stock' (ed) Aughterson, W.V.(Cheshire) 1953, p.7.

community, in a process of establishment and social crystallization, but still drawing on external sources for its sinews of population. The new still depended for sustenance upon the old. As an advocate of immigration to Queensland succinctly stated it in this period:

"The current of life and the material prosperity of a new country like this is fed by a constant and regular stream of suitable immigration from our fatherland, and from the kindred nations of Europe."⁸

The colony had in its short history derived the great majority of its population from this stream of immigration in three great bursts - during the early and mid-sixties, between 1874 and 1877, and in the early 'eighties.⁹ By far the most spectacular contribution was that of the 'eighties. Favourable economic conditions in the country of destination combined with depressed conditions and distress in the countries of source to facilitate a great spasm of emigration. Whilst Queensland experienced the boom years of the early 'eighties, the industrial and commercial depression of 1875 in the British Isles converted the lull in emigration of an earlier period into a sustained exodus after 1878.¹⁰ Emigration from the British Isles and immigration into Queensland both attained a peak in 1883 - net emigration 246,341 from the British Isles, net immigration into Queensland 34,000.¹¹

The Queensland community then owed its main population increase to emigration in a situation of flux attaining greatest mobility in the 'eighties. During the period 1860-1888, whilst excess of births over deaths contributed 103,079 to the colony's population, migration contributed 256,328. This was an extremely high proportional increase of 71.32%, well above the mean proportional increase for Australasia of 41.79%, and by far the highest rate within the colonies, as the following table indicates:

8. Allen, W. 'Immigration & Co-operative Settlement' (Brisbane) 1881, p.1. This text is in reality a collection of press cutting and statements of Allen's own viewpoints upon the desirability of private schemes of emigration to the colony.
9. This is clearly revealed in Tomkeys' graphical presentation of the annual additions to the Qld. population of Net Immigration c/L Natural Increase: see Tomkeys R.L.L. 'Qld. Immigration' 1859-1901 (M.A. thesis, U. of Qld., 193), pp.6-7. The other secondary source is Kleinschmidt M.A. 'Migration & Settlement Schemes in Qld.' (Final honours thesis, U. of Qld.)
10. See Carrothers, W.A. 'Emigration from the British Isles (Lond.) 1929
11. Tomkeys op.cit. p.63 - European immigration contributed / pp.229 ff. 26,000; 22,823 being despatched via the Agent-General's Office.

<u>COLONY</u>	<u>PROPORTIONAL INCREASE DUE TO</u>	
	<u>EXCESS OF BIRTHS %</u>	<u>PERMANENT IMMIGRATION %</u>
QLD.	28.68	71.32
N.S.W.	56.25	43.75
VIC.	78.00	22.00
S.A.	79.26	20.74
W.A.	50.14	49.86
TAS.	90.33	9.67
N.Z.	49.66	50.34
AUST./ASIA	58.21	41.79

TABLE 12: PROPORTIONAL INCREASE OF POPULATION 1860-1888.¹²

Immigration as already suggested retained this pre-eminence in the 'eighties, contributing predominantly to the rapid rate of population increase. Thus between 1883 and 1888 Queensland's rate of population increase was a high 6.15%, of which 4.10% was the proportion due to immigration. This was the highest single percentage rate of increase due to immigration within the Australian colonies, and was second only to Western Australia in its obtained superiority over % increase due to excess of births. The following table illustrates these trends:

<u>COLONY</u>	<u>% RATE OF INCREASE</u>	<u>PROPORTIONAL INCREASE DUE TO</u>	
		<u>EXCESS OF BIRTHS %</u>	<u>IMMIGRATION %</u>
QLD.	6.15	2.05	4.10
N.S.W.	4.83	2.31	2.52
VIC.	3.43	1.67	1.76
S.A.	0.56	0.56	—
W.A.	5.86	1.88	3.98
TAS.	2.97	1.96	1.01
N.Z.	2.40	2.40	—
AUST/ ASIA	3.65	1.90	1.75

TABLE 13: RATE OF INCREASE OF POPULATION & RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF EXCESS OF BIRTHS OF IMMIGRATION 1883 - 1888.¹³

12. see Coghlan T.A. 'A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia' (Govt. Printer) Sydney. 1890. pp.9 ff. Strictly speaking the 256,328 represents the survivors of immigrants who permanently settled in the Colonies in the period, less the Aust.-born population which migrated: for a graphical presentation of the relative importance of immigration & natural increase see Tomkeys R.L.J. 'Old Immigration' 1859-1901 (M.A. Thesis) graphs pp.6-7 / Footnote 13 overleaf)

The picture presented is one of rapid flux of population increase, with Queensland, in marked contrast to the other colonies,¹⁴ largely recruiting her population from abroad by means of assisted migration.¹⁵ During the decade of the 'eighties, 109,556 emigrants of all descriptions were despatched to the colony in 267 vessels,¹⁶ the peak of emigration being attained between 1882 and 1884. The emigration pattern for the decade is substantially represented in Figure No. IV ^(overleaf) and in the associated table:

	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
<u>NO. OF EMIGRANTS</u> (All descriptions)	3190	5115	14,089	22,823	12,775	11,620
<u>NO. VESSELS</u> <u>DESPATCHED</u>	11	15	36	50	33	30
	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	TOTAL
<u>NO. OF EMIGRANTS</u> (All descriptions)	10,630	11,715	7983	6515	3101	109,556
<u>NO. VESSELS</u> <u>DESPATCHED</u>	25	26	19	14	8	267

TABLE 14: NUMBERS OF EMIGRANTS & VESSELS DESPATCHED FROM THE AGENT-GENERAL'S OFFICE 1880-90.¹⁷

The volume, rate, and nature of emigration to the colony as a whole were of peculiar relevance to urban development and social structure. The great majority of emigrants were unloaded along the coastal urban centres - Brisbane, Rockhampton, Townsville and Maryborough. Thus between 1883 and 1890, of the total number of emigrants of all descriptions despatched to the colony via the Agent-General's Office an overall proportion of 60.2% was disembarked at Brisbane.¹⁸ The main destinations of

13. Coghlan op.cit. p.9 ff.

14. W.Australia most closely approximating Qld.

15. For a treatment of Government-sponsored & private schemes of migration see Kleinschmidt, M.A. 'Migration & Settlement Schemes in Qld' (final honours thesis, U. of Qld.)

16. Abstracted from the Agent-General's Reports, V. & P. 1880-91.

17. Abstracted from the Agent-General's Reports, V. & P.; 1880-91; whilst emigration via the Agent-General's Office was not total emigration to the colony, as the great proportion it constitutes a reliable guide to European immigration.

18. This figure is calculated from the Brisbane total emigrants notices from 1883-1890, using statute adults in both cases for the year 1884. This data is given in the Agent-General's Reports for those years, tabled in the relevant vols. of V. & P.

emigrants, indicating the relative importance of Brisbane as a migrant depot, are given below:

	1880	1881	1882	1883 ²⁰	1884 ²¹	1885	
TOTAL NO. OF EMIGRANTS			NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE ¹⁹	22,823	4864	11,620	
QUOTA FOR BRISBANE		"	"	15,289	3434	7,636	
QUOTA FOR ROCKHAMPTON		"	"	2464	552.5	1,267	
QUOTA FOR TOWNSVILLE		"	"	2487	473	1,295	
QUOTA FOR MARYBOROUGH		"	"	—	—	922	
	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	TOTAL	% of total
TOTAL NO. OF EMIGRANTS	10,630	11,715	7983	6515	3101	79251	100
QUOTA FOR BRISBANE	6,656	7,069	3206	2849	1589	47728	60.2
QUOTA FOR ROCKHAMPTON	868	992	1050	1038	405	8636.5	10.9
QUOTA FOR TOWNSVILLE	1,185	1,543	1263	1149	416	9809	12.4
QUOTA FOR MARYBOROUGH	1,199	1,202	844	463	171	4801	6.1

TABLE 15:

Whilst it was the declared policy of Queensland Governments that immigrants should engage in agricultural and rural pursuits, thereby adding to the prosperity of the colony, it was the general comment of observers that most immigrants tended to remain in urban areas, if they remained in the colony at all.²² The Rockhampton Bulletin, for instance, complained of migrants that "the bulk of them hang about towns, clamour for Government employment, or as soon as they have the means, cross into the adjoining colonies"²³ Mechanics and those sub-sumed

19. These figures were not compiled until 1883. The Immigration Agent gives an indication of the importance of Brisbane in the 1881 returns. Of an estimated 7497 immigrants arriving in Qld., 3802 disembarked at Brisbane, 1141 at R'hampton, 943 at Townsville & 923 at Maryborough. See V. & P. p.882.

20. Percentages only given by Agent-General. Brisbane-66.9%, R'hampton-10.8%, T'ville-10.9%. Maryborough is not mentioned as a destination in 1883 but it is likely that, as occurred in 1884, Maryborough's figures are included with Brisbane's. See V. & P. Vol. II, 1885, p.779.

21. The only figures available for 1884 are statute adults - the only case in which this measure has been used, all other figures being total souls. see V. & P., Vol. II, 1885, p.779. Maryborough's figures for 1884 were included with Brisbane's, as steamers in that year did not leave passengers at Maryborough but carried them on to Brisbane. ibid p.779 ff.

22. The large leakage of migrants from Qld. to the other colonies was a scandal of the time, and provoked measures for its prevention in the 1882 Immigration Act. See debate on this Bill, especially

under the classification 'general labourers' were recruited from urban areas in England and "working in the towns, they would not be so likely or willing to go up country, but apt to swell the population of the coast towns".²⁴ Gore, the Immigration Agent in 1884, noted this tendency amongst female domestic servants - "like the men they prefer remaining in the larger towns to accepting employment in country places."²⁵ The urban tendencies of migrants from the British Isles were reflected in the Census results. Thus urban areas in general during the 'eighties contained significantly greater numbers of persons born in the British Isles than did rural areas. Brisbane, for instance, in 1881 derived 43.5% of her population from persons born in the British Isles (England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland), in contrast to Queensland as a whole which derived only 35.4% from the same source.²⁶ The heavy immigration of the early 'eighties aggravated this tendency, whilst clearly indicating that more migrants were remaining in the large urban centres than were filtering to rural areas. In this way whilst the proportion of the Brisbane population born in the British Isles rose steeply to 51.3% by 1886, the concomitant increase from the same source for Queensland as a whole attained only to 39.1% of the population. Thus an increase of 7.8% of the proportion of English, Scots, and Irish to the Brisbane population was matched by a much smaller increase of 3.7% for the same people in the total colony. Even by 1891 with the decline of immigration the proportion in Brisbane from the above sources constituted 45.1% of the population, in contra-distinction to a parallel 36.4% in Queensland. The concentration of migrants in city

22.cont.footnote

McIlwraith in Q.P.D.Vol.XXXVII,1882, p.109. The Victorian policy of opposition to assisted migration was cited by speakers as facilitating the emigration of persons desirous of entering Victoria via Qld.'s convenient system of assisted migration. Coghlan *op.cit.*p.9.notes that N.S.W.had since 1860 exhibited a greater power of attraction & absorption of the permanent element of immigration than the other colonies-a fact reflected in the leakage of migrants from Qld. See also Kleinschmidt *op.cit.*p.94.,p.89; V.&P.1885,Vol.II,p.667; QPD Vol.XXXVII 1882, p.119; the Northern Argus 23.2.81 q.in Allen W.'Immigration & Co-operative Settlement'(Brisbane) 1881. p.15.

23.Rockhampton Bulletin 24.2.81, extract in Allen *ibid* p.20.

24.Agent-General in V. & P., 1886, Vol.II, p.898.

25.V. & P.1885, Vol II, p.791.

26.See Table 10, and Figures I-II. The following data on national origins is calculated from the 1881, 1886 and 1891 Census findings.

areas was even more marked with those of English origins. In the capital a high 28.4% of the total population in 1881 representing persons born in England and Wales compared with a much lower 17.5% in the whole colony and 18.2% for Australasia,²⁷ whilst by 1886 the Brisbane figure had risen to an extreme 36.3% in comparison with the Queensland figure of 20.45%. The relative proportion of the Brisbane population derived from English sources was therefore a good deal higher than the parallel proportion in the wider colonial limits, a situation which was still operative by the close of the decade. (31.3% for Brisbane c/£ 19.8% for Queensland).²⁸

The 'eighties then was a period of tremendous flux in migration, which contributed predominantly to the high rate of population increase. Reaching a peak around 1883, when nearly 34,000 migrants entered the colony, this migration was most relevant in its numerical and social impact to urban rather than rural areas, and especially to Brisbane. Urban areas received and retained the majority of migrants, and insofar as Queensland, in marked contrast to the other Australian colonies, was far more dependent upon migration for population recruitment, the implications for urban social developments were deep-rooted.²⁹

What then were these implications? What were the economic conditions, national backgrounds, social status, religious affiliations, 'character' and characteristics of migrants, and what was the impact of all these things upon the social milieu as it existed? This is, of course, a suitable subject for a separate thesis, but some facts and some suggestions can be put forward. The relative proportions of the Brisbane population derived from respective birthplaces have already been noted for the eighties,³⁰ Of those born outside the Australian

27. See Tables 10, 11, 11A p. 2 ff.

28. See Tables 10, 11A p. 2 ff.

29. This is the justification for the following treatment of immigration in terms of Qld. rather than of Brisbane. Separate statistics for Brisbane are not available, whilst the urban tendencies of migrants, and their relatively high concentration in the capital, make relevant more general comment on the immigration process.

30. See Table 11A p. 2A. see also Appendix Table 11A.

colonies, the English-born constituted the largest single group at any one period during the ten years 1881-1891. Thus in 1881 21.93% of the population of Brisbane were born in England or Wales, 27.4% in 1886, and 23.3% in 1891 - concentrations which, as already discussed, were relatively higher than for the colony at large. The Irish, who constituted the second largest group born outside the Australian colonies, remained numerically stable in relative proportion to the population during this period, settling around the 15% mark. The third largest group of Scots-born made up approximately 6 to 8% of the Brisbane population. All British Isles groups were concentrated more densely in the capital than in the colony at large, as the following Table indicates:

BIRTHPLACE	1881 %		1886 %		1891 %	
	Brisbane	Qld.	Brisbane	Qld.	Brisbane	Qld.
ENGLAND & WALES	21.98	17.5	27.4	20.45	23.3	19.8
SCOTLAND	6.4	4.65	8.9	6.18	7.95	5.7
IRELAND	15.1	13.25	15.0	12.5	13.8	10.96

TABLE 16: PROPORTIONS OF BRISBANE & QLD. POPULATIONS BORN IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Figures I, II, and III represent the composition of the Brisbane population graphically in terms of national origins. It emerges with homogeneity of racial stock a primary characteristic, provided homogeneity is defined in terms of congruity between groups from the British Isles. Such homogeneity was greater than for Queensland as a whole, where other racial strains assumed more importance. The only national groups in Brisbane of any significance in terms of numbers, apart from British Isles groups and colonial born, were those of German and Danish origin, whilst even here their numerical significance was far less than in the rest of the colony.³¹ Whereas Germans in Queensland outnumbered Scots in 1881 (5.45% c/4 4.65% respectively), the latter far outweighed the former in the capital (Scots 6.4%, Germans 2.7%).³² Again Brisbane lacked the

31. See Appendix Table p. IIIA.

32. See Table No. 10, p. 22. The situation had, however, changed in the colony by 1886. The German proportion of the total population had declined to 4.41% in contrast to an increase of Scots to 6.18%. The 1891 figures for Qld. are - Scots 5.69%, ~~at~~ Germans 3.79%.

substantial concentrations of Chinese, Polynesians and Danes which featured the racial matrix of the total colony. (See Table below):

	<u>GERMANS</u>			<u>CHINESE</u>		
	<u>1881</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1891</u>
% OF TOTAL QLD. POPULATION	5.45	4.41	3.79	5.27	3.25	2.17
% OF TOTAL BRISBANE POPULATION	2.7	2.3	1.9	0.37	0.55	0.45
	<u>POLYNESIANS</u>			<u>DANES</u>		
	<u>1881</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1891</u>
% OF TOTAL QLD. POPULATION	2.99	3.14	2.68	1.04	0.89	0.75
% OF TOTAL BRISBANE POPULATION	0.15	0.3	0.16	0.7	0.72	0.71

TABLE 17:

It is substantially true to say therefore, of the racial structure³³ of Brisbane society in the 1880's, subtracting for the moment the colonial-born, that it was English, Irish and Scottish - pre-eminently English and substantially Irish.- Insofar as these national groups were concentrated more highly in the capital than in the other parts of the colony, the city emerged as more English, more Irish and more Scottish than the remainder of the community.

The relationship of these facts to immigration is obvious and borne out by the returns of the Agent-General for the period 1880-90. English migrants constituted the large majority embarking for Queensland, the Irish and Scots the most substantial minor groups. The national origins of emigrants despatched to Queensland in the 'eighties are as follows:

	ENGLISH	SCOTS	IRISH	OTHERS	TOTAL
NUMBER	60,295	16,889	26,253	6,119	109,556
%	55.03	15.4	23.9	5.67	100

TABLE 18: NATIONAL ORIGINS OF EMIGRANTS TO QLD. 1880-1890³³

33. Abstracted from Agent-General's Reports for the ten years in relevant Votes & Proceedings. The complete figures for all years are given in Appendix II B, page .

There is a good deal of evidence in support of the hypothesis that these large groups in the migrant stream - the English, Scots and Irish - were largely city people with city ways and attitudes. The first piece of evidence in support of this view is the established fact of the assimilation and residence of these groups in urban rather than in rural areas. Thus whilst both these groups and non-Britishers were disembarked at the same destinations - the coastal cities - the British migrants, as already observed, tended to remain in these areas, the non-Britishers to establish themselves upon the land.³⁴ The most obvious explanation is that of previous environmental experience, given equality of opportunity in city and rural districts for all groups of emigrants. Thus the remarks of Dickson in 1882 with respect to Scandinavian and Germans would seem to indicate that agricultural experience was the norm for these groups, with the implication that other types of immigrants did not display such simple rural virtues. In his words:

"They found German and Scandinavian immigrants to be amongst the most bona fide settlers. There was not much necessity for penal enactments against them for leaving the colony; once they came they settled and remained fixed to the soil, and, so far as his observations went, they were a most industrious and useful class of settlers. While improving their position they were content to make a steady progress without attempting those great leaps to fortune which some of their own countrymen endeavoured to make, not satisfied with small accumulation."³⁵

Contemporary comment did not lend credence to the view that British migrants were of pre-eminently agricultural experience. The Minister for Lands in 1882 specifically denied that the class of immigrants received up to that time were of the agricultural class,³⁶ whilst his

34. Only the first point has been really established, the second point rather strongly suggested from the figures & certainly commented upon by observers; see e.g. Lyng, J. 'Non-Britishers in Australia - influence on population & progress' (Melb. Uni. Press) 1927.

35. Q.P.D. Vol. 37, 1882, p. 116. Macdonald-Paterson in the same debate advocated, for much the same reasons, a 10% admission of migrants from the Continent; and a regulation of the relative proportions of U.K. migrants.

36. Q.P.D., Vol. 37, 1882, p. 119.

description of migrant capabilities was hardly applicable to experienced agriculturalists. "The new arrivals were of little or no use to themselves until they had been here a year or two, and it would be a great injustice and cruelty to force them to go upon the land at once".³⁷ Critics of the system were more outspoken upon this theme. The Northern Argus - at the time of controversy over William Allen's abortive scheme for the emigration of Primitive Methodists³⁸ deplored the assisted migration of those "who, instead of being farm or other labourers, have, at least 75 per cent of them, been picked up in the streets and alleys of the large manufacturing towns..."³⁹ Most of the female immigrants, claimed the critics, came from the same source.⁴⁰ There is a good deal of support for these claims in the returns of the Agent-General describing occupations of emigrants.⁴¹ Of the 65,737 passengers of the assisted, free, and remittance class whose occupations were recorded for the ten years 1880-1890, 54.9% had previously engaged in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labour of predominantly urban character. Emigrants labelling themselves farm labourers and shepherds constituted in comparison 38.3% of the group. The following Tables, indicating the occupational stratification of emigrants of the assisted, free ^{and} remittance class, bear out the predominantly urban character of emigrant occupational experience:

	<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>	<u>SEMI-PROFESSIONAL</u>	<u>BUSINESS</u>	<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>	<u>SKILLED</u>
NUMBER					5,049
% OF TOTAL					7.7

	<u>SEMI-SKILLED</u>	<u>UNSKILLED MANUAL+DOMESTIC</u>	<u>FARMING & RURAL</u>	<u>OTHERS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
NUMBER	1,329	7,818	22,587	25,167	3,787	65,737
% OF TOTAL	2.0	11.9	33.3	38.3	6.8	100

TABLE 19: OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION OF ASSISTED, FREE, & REMITTANCE PASSENGERS. 1880-1890.⁴²

37. *ibid* p.119.

38. For details see Allen, W. "Immigration & Co-operative Settlement" (Bris.) 1881 (Oxley), and Kleinschmidt *op.cit.* p.117 ff.

39. Northern Argus 23.2.81, q. in Allen *ibid* p.15.

40. *ibid* p.15, p.23. See later section for description of the social status of immigrants.

41. There are some doubts as to the complete validity of these figures

<u>FARMING & RURAL</u>	<u>NO. IN EACH GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF GRAND TOTAL</u>
FARM LABOURERS	25,096)	25,167	38.63%
SHEPHERDS	71)		

UNSKILLED

(a) <u>MANUAL:</u>	<u>NO. IN EACH GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF GRAND TOTAL</u>
GENERAL LABOURERS & NAVVIES	7100)	7818	11.9
GARDENERS, SAWMILL HANDS	718)		

(b) <u>DOMESTIC:</u>	<u>NO. IN EACH GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF GRAND TOTAL</u>
DOMESTIC SERVANTS	22,587	22,587	33.3

SEMI-SKILLED

	<u>NO. IN EACH GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF GRAND TOTAL</u>
MINERS	1,329	1,329	2.0

SKILLED

	<u>NO. IN EACH GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% OF GRAND TOTAL</u>
CARPENTERS	2,279)	5,049	7.7
BLACKSMITHS & WHEELWRIGHTS	751)		
ENGINEERS	552)		
BRICKLAYERS, MASONS, PLASTERERS	815)		
PAINTERS, PLUMBERS	474)		
OTHER SKILLED TRADESMEN	178)		

TABLE 20: MAIN OCCUPATIONS OF ASSISTED, FREE, & REMITTANCE PASSENGERS 1880-1890.

From this analysis the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled classifications emerge as predominantly urban in character. Possible exceptions

41. footnote cont.

especially in the occupational incidence of emigrants briefly summarised in each report for the period 1860 to the year in question. The yearly returns are probably more accurate, although there are some minor changes in classification from year to year. Occupations of all assisted, free & remittance passengers were not obtained for the '80's, but compilation for 65,737 such passengers is probably representative of the total, and as such worthy of comment.

42. Figures from Agent-General's Reports, V. & P. for relevant years; for rationale of classification see section on occupational stratification see section on occupational stratification of the Brisbane population Ch. 3. The numbers of emigrants in occupational groups for each year 1880-90 is given in the Appendix page .

are sawmill hands (only 83 in ten years) and miners (1,329 or 2% of the grand total), although the latter under English conditions were more likely to have experienced an urban rather than a rural orientation. General labourers were almost certainly town workers,⁴³ government policy facilitating the inclusion of doubtfully urban workers under the classification 'farm labourers'.⁴⁴ The actual urban experience of emigrants was quite likely higher than the figures cited above indicate in view of Kleinschmidt's observation that "the designation 'farm labourer' had been made to apply to tradesmen of all description"⁴⁵ a state of affairs that probably lingered on after 1879. The limitation of free passages to female domestics and farm labourers certainly did little to inhibit impersonation of tradesmen and town labourers as rural workers.⁴⁶ However, regardless of the bona fides of so-called agricultural labourers,⁴⁷ there remains a strong case in favour of an urban incidence of occupational experience among emigrants of the assisted, free and remittance class. Unfortunately no information regarding occupations was compiled for emigrants of the full-paying class, but is unlikely that farm labourers constituted a substantial proportion of this group. The Despatching Officer in 1885, for example, ventured as his opinion that the bounty system, in tending to exclude agricultural labourers who could not afford their quota of the passage money, aggravated urban tendencies.⁴⁸ His comment that the system,

43. See Kleinschmidt op.cit.p.101. V.& P.,1885, Vol.II,p398. The Agent-General described the activities of philathropic bodies in assisting persons out of work to emigrate and commented:"No doubt many of these would make good colonists,but being usually of the class termed 'general labourers',working in the towns, they would not be so likely or willing to go up country".(my emphasis).

44. Many bona fide members of the latter class in any case took up urban occupations in the colonies. Thus Irish agricultural labourers became generally notorious for their domicile in cities after emigration. "The temperament of the Celtic Irish" writes an historian "did not fit them for the lonely life of the pioneer settler...the Irish peasant finds social life in the community rather than in the home. He is a communist socially,& has not developed that strong individuality which is necessary to maintain existence on the isolated homesteads of a newly-opened country". Thus as the Irish in America & Canada tended to drift to the towns & find no attraction in the prairies,so was their experience probably the same in Australia. (-see Carrothers op.cit. pp 166,204).

45. Kleinschmidt, op.cit. p.89.

46. This restriction was removed in 1882-henceforth the Govt.could introduce any description of immigrants as free passengers-see Kleinschmidt op.cit.p.93.Restrictions were reimposed in Nov.1883 ibid.p.97.

47. And there is certainly an emphasis in the Agent-General's reports

whilst attracting the best class of immigrants, was further calculated to supply an undue proportion of mechanics,⁴⁹ suggests at least that the less impecunious emigrants were also largely of urban origins.

The question of occupational experience leads naturally to a consideration of the general social status of emigrants to the colony, and hence to the large cities including Brisbane. This issue has obvious implications in any consideration of social structure, assimilation processes, and the inter-action of migrant and colonial value systems. Emigrants generally ^{it} would seem were of lower rather than upper social status, of working and lower middle class rather than of upper middle or upper class; as George Nadel, in referring to the general character of assisted migration in 19th Century Australia, concisely summarised, it was "remarkably homogeneous not only in the fact that it was solidly British, but also that it represented chiefly the lower stratum"⁵⁰ When lower social status became identified with poverty, as so frequently occurred, it was only natural that the existing immigration process should be deplored by men who landed, with Henry Jordan, "those high virtues and qualities which are generally found to exist in the highest degree in what is called the middle class of England, Ireland and Scotland."⁵¹ Thus a correspondent to the Courier in 1881 stated that "the object of assisted immigration was to import the impecunious only,"⁵² whilst the Northern Argus editorially attacked the provision of special facilities to a mixed

47.footnote cont.

upon such bona fides e.g.in 1884" the Despatching Officer invariably reported in the highest terms of the selection of single men who were all bona fide agriculturalists in possession of good certificates from their last employer".(V.& P.,1885,Vol.II,p.780); and in 1885 - the Despatching Officer assessed free single men favourably" usually describing them as a strong, healthy body and evidently accustomed to working on the land".(Agent-General's report,V.& P.,1886,Vol.II,p.898)

48.V.& P., 1886, Vol.II, p.898.

49. ibid.

50. Nadel G. 'Australia's Colonial Culture' (Cheshire) 1957, p.27.

51. Q.P.D., 1885, Vol.XLVII,p.1109. Jordan was a former Emigration Agent.

52. Extract in Allen op.cit. p.11. Jordan in 1885 also commented upon this aspect of immigration, which he claimed was almost entirely an immigration of poor people. (Q.P.D., 1885, Vol.XLVII, p.1106.)

number of immigrants "who have not perhaps £100 among them, who, as colonists, are utterly useless, and who wander over the length and breadth of the colony, half their time idle"⁵³ Attacks upon financial status very easily became attacks upon the character of emigrants to the colony. Thus according to one newspaper, "The character of immigrants of both sexes is, in a majority of cases, worse than indifferent"⁵⁴ The Rockhampton Bulletin, in 1881, after deploring the idleness of immigrants, commented;

"It would be a good thing for the colony to have families of industrious, respectable, God-fearing people coming out to make homes for themselves in the colony. They would be much cheaper than the hundreds of careless, thriftless, heedless individuals landed on our shores at present."⁵⁵

The view in 1879 of the Roman Catholic newspaper, The Australian, was a comparable one, deprecating as it did the burdening of the colony with "sallow factory hands, paupers from workhouses, or still worse, of the off-scourings, male and female, of dissolute seaport towns"⁵⁶ Six years later Jordan was still maintaining in the House a correlation between the poverty and the indifferent character of the great class of emigrants to the colony. He advocated "that instead of having an immigration consisting entirely of the labouring class - and some of them the very lowest and most ignorant people - we should adopt a system whereby a proportion of the people would be likely to bring money with them"⁵⁷ Crime and larrikinism he also attributed in part to the social degradation of new arrivals:

"For the last sixteen or seventeen years we have been expending enormous sums of money in sweeping together..the poorest of the people of England...and bringing them out to this colony..

I protest against the importation of mere labourers, who come

53. Northern Argus 23.2.81, extract in Allen ibid p.15. The conditions of immigrants in respect of employment in the colony, idleness, conditions of work, etc., will be dealt with in another section.
54. Northern Argus 23.2.81, ibid p.15.: or again on the 26.3.81, q in Allen ibid p.27, "Qld. has received a great deal of the refuse of the U.K.; & her people have objected to it, not only on account of occupation but also of character. With regard to the former they were useless when they landed, and as to the latter it would be judicious not to enquire too closely into the subject".
55. Rockhampton Bulletin 24.2.81. q. by Allen, p.20.
56. The Australian 11.10.79.
57. Q.P.D. 1885, Vol. XLVII, p.1107.

in shiploads, month after month and year after year. To that kind of immigration is to be attributed the larrikinism in our streets".⁵⁸

The character of female immigrants, claimed the opponents of the existing system, was such as to increase rather than decrease the incidence of crime and vice. The Northern Argus portrayed THE characteristics of female immigrants, "many of whom have shown directly upon their arrival that they have come direct from the streets; from reformatories, without reformation; or were girls from country towns and villages, who having made themselves disagreeably conspicuous in some shape or other, were packed off to London to a labor agent..it is not necessary to insist upon what is know to be a fact, namely, that many of our female immigrants become charges upon the public, either by their being compelled to seek assistance from the Benevolent Society, or by becoming inmates of our Hospital or Gaol".⁵⁹ Support of the moral degradation of female immigrants is to be had from such widely differing sources as William Allen and William Lane, although they drew separate conclusions from the fact.⁶⁰

The conclusions of commentators respecting the moral character of immigrants must be qualified in various ways - by the conditioned social perception of middle class observers, by the interest of critics such as Allen and his supporters in emphasizing the defects rather than the virtues of the system, by the humanitarian orientation of Church bodies, and by the political side-issues involved in Parliamentary comment.⁶¹ Acceptance of these views was never complete,⁶² the

58. *ibid* p.1108 - he continued: "I am also told on the best authority that the police of this town know where to find more than 100 persons who are living by their wits and preying on the public, and that a large proportion of them are recent arrivals in the colony".

59. Northern Argus 23.2.81, extract in Allen Op.cit. p.15 ff.

60. Allen, a prominent Primitive Methodist, was concerned to attack the existing social status of emigrants in order to facilitate his private scheme for the emigration of Primitive Methodists-who he claimed were of a more desirable social status. On female immigrants see his letter to the Courier, q.Allen op.cit. p.23, in which he claimed that single girls were supplied from 'female refuges' of the large English cities, & in some cases direct from gaols. He gives an interesting example from one immigrant ship, bound for Rockhampton but forced to refit in Mauritius-"during her stay in port, the ship was no better than a common brothel-it was Pandemonium let loose". (*ibid* p.23.)

61. eg. Jordan in emphasising the moral limitations of migrants was concomitantly criticising the modes of selection & current policy of the Griffith administration, whilst the resurrection of the land-order proposals in 1885 evoked political partisanship related to an earlier political issue in the colony.

62. See e.g. the criticisms of Jordan's views that arose in debate -
/cont. overleaf)

Agent-General's reports in particular asserting the opposite view, viz. that, despite a few 'black sheep' escaping inspection, ^{persons} availing themselves of passages were basically of a desirable class.⁶³ Nevertheless, despite debate over the moral character of immigrants, there was little dispute over the relatively low social status they enjoyed. Emigrants were predominantly working class or at best lower middle class. This was brought out in terms of income by the widespread concern in the colony over the impecuniousness of emigrants, and the parallel advocacy of policies designed to attract here a wealthier class. This concern constituted one of the main motivations behind the rationale of assisted migration and land-order schemes, whereby the potential of the colony for men of means should be emphasised and conditions made as lucrative as possible in the face of the rival attractions of the New World. The failure of such policies in securing for the colony any great number of emigrants of independent means was reflected in disillusionment and criticism of the system. "The crying necessity of this colony" according to Jordan "is the importation of capital - a great accession of money-bringing and money-producing people from the old country".⁶⁴ His proposed remedy - "that a proportion of the people coming out should cost us nothing, should bring moneymoney with them, should be of a superior class"⁶⁵ - implied that the current type of emigrant displayed no such virtues.⁶⁶ The present system, according to the Northern Argus, "was not attractive to small capitalists"⁶⁷ a state of affairs which provoked a number of proposed solutions. These included private schemes for the promotion of a

62.footnote cont.

Griffiths supporting the view of the Agent-General ^{re-}suspecting the bona fides of most settlers (APD ibid p.1110); another speaker attributing crime rather to the social phenomena associated with the development of large cities rather than to immigration.(p.1112 ibid).

63.see e.g.Agent General's report for 1883-4,the height of immigration, for the favourable reports of despatching officers on the class of emigrants brought forward. Randall considered the persons selected 'as a whole,a decidedly superior lot of people from beginning to end, two or three very large but good families,& one or two exceptional cases". V.&P., 1883-4, p.1374.

64.Q.P.D.1885, Vol.XLVII, p.1106.

65.Ibid p.1109-to be furthered via the free-granting of land or the remission of rent to full-paying passengers from Europe.

66.Brookes in 1882 argued similarly,charging the administration with bringing out paupers & failing in any serious attempt to bring out people with independent means. Q.P.D.Vol.37, 1882, p.110.

67.24.2:81 q. Allen op.cit. p.20.

better class of settler, more endowed of private means.⁶⁸ Allen and others favoured migration of communities,⁶⁹ and the attraction to the colony of a 'yeoman' class of prosperous agriculturalists.⁷⁰ There was general agreement that in terms of capital possession and material well-being most emigrants commenced their colonial life at a substantial disadvantage.

This tendency was reflected in the immigration statistics of the period. Only a very small proportion of the total number of emigrants despatched from the Agent General's office paid their full fare to the colony. The overwhelming majority (92.2%) were assisted, free, remittance and free nominated passengers, as the following table indicates:-

	<u>FULL-PAYERS</u>	<u>ASSISTED</u>	<u>FREE</u>	<u>REMITTANCE</u>	<u>INDENTED & TOTAL</u>	
				<u>& FREE NOMINATED</u>	<u>OTHERS</u>	
				<u>ED.</u>		
NUMBER	8,544	24,116	41,618	34,403	875	109,556
%	7.8	22.0	37.1	32.3	0.8	100

TABLE 21: TYPES OF PASSENGERS DESPATCHED AS EMIGRANTS 1880-1890⁷¹

The largest single categories despatched were those of free passengers, constituting 37.1% of the total over ten years, and remittance passengers (32.3% of the total). There is little evidence to suggest that emigrants of the assisted, free and remittance class were in the upper echelons of social status. Most could not afford passage money to the colonies but were dependent in this respect upon Government assistance.⁷² Occupationally there was a marked incidence of these emigrants in the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled classes of labour.⁷³ According to the records of the Agent-General's office

68. See Kleinschmidt op.cit.6h.VII. The motivations of the promoters of these schemes varied of course but this constituted the most popular rationalisation for convincing governments of the worthwhileness of schemes.

69. See also the Queenslander, 29.1.81.

70. Letter to Courier, q.Allen, op.cit.p.11. "We require an intermediate class if we mean to build up a nation. A few hundred God-fearing men who have saved money under the disadvantageous circumstances of an English agriculturalists' life would be a very valuable acquisition."

71. Abstracted from Agent General's Reports, 1880-1890 in relevant V. & P. for full details of each year, see Appendix.

72. Kleinschmidt describes a current view of free passengers at the time: "Free passengers were not looked on very favourably at the time. Many felt that once they had received Govt. aid they would
/cont. overleaf

no emigrants of this type had previously engaged in professional, semi-professional, business, managerial or white-collar work. On the other hand the most common occupational groups were farm labourers, domestic servants, general labourers, miners, carpenters, blacksmiths, building workers and other skilled tradesmen.⁷⁴ Thus whilst the upper occupational strata were practically unrepresented, the lower strata - skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled labour, predominantly wage-earning - encompassed the great mass of migrants. The social implications of these facts were extremely important and emerged both in the class stratification of Brisbane's urban society and in the process of assimilation between immigrants and colonial-born.⁷⁵

It has become usual for writers of Australian history to designate the Irish element of the community as of lower social status than other groups. Fitzpatrick does this from the 1933 census;⁷⁶ Ward suggests the same tendencies existing during most of the 19th Century.⁷⁷ Arguing that professed religious affiliation is a guide to "racial" ancestry,⁷⁸ Fitzpatrick points out the comparative economic superiority of Scots over Irish descended. The Presbyterian section of the community in 1933 was better educated, more prosperous, including a greater relative proportion of university students and employers, and a lesser proportion of unemployed, than the Roman Catholics in the population. Ward confirms, from the 1947 census returns, that Catholics and Presbyterians were not evenly distributed throughout the occupational strata of Australian society.⁷⁹ He comments:

"Even today, in proportion to their numbers in the total population, there are a great many more Catholics than there are Presbyterians in the less highly skilled and lower paid

72. footnote cont.

never want to do without it". op.cit.pp.90-1. See also p.96 "the remittance and free nominated immigrants were poor" and often defrauded the colony.

73. See Table 20,, p.13 supra.

74. See Table 20, p.13 supra. A strict interpretation of occupational strata would probably include 5 soldiers in the semi-professional category. See Appendix for full data. The existence of a fairly large group designated only as "others" (6.8% of total) is unfortunate, but the group is probably representative, & hardly likely to be upper class.

75. These themes will be dealt with more fully in later sections.

76. Fitzpatrick, B. 'The Australian People 1788-1945' (Melb) 1951, pp.26-31.

77. Ward, R. 'The Ethos & Influence of the Aust. Pastoral Worker' (thesis; A.N.U.) p.155 ff. see also his article in 'Aust. Journal of Politics & History - 'Social Roots of Australian Nationalism' p.179 ff. vol. 2, 1926.

78. Fitzpatrick op.cit. pp.28-29.

79. Aust. J. of Politics & History op.cit. p.187, Tables V & VI.

sections of the Australian community. Conversely, disproportionately large numbers of Presbyterians are to be found among the higher income groups".⁸⁰

It is extremely unlikely that this phenomenon is a recent one, and the probabilities are high that it existed in an even more aggravated form during the 'eighties. Evidence of a convincing nature in adducement of this proposition is, however, very difficult to secure. Occupational information in the 1881, 1886, and 1891 Censuses was uncorrelated either with professed religion or with national origins of the population. The unemployment statistics recorded for 1891 were undifferentiated with respect to either religious affiliation or national ancestry. Lack of reliable statistics combine with a good deal of prejudice in contemporary comment to make a differential assessment of the social status of national groups difficult.

The evidence adduced by other social historians supports the thesis of a lower social status of Irish emigrants earlier in the 19th Century. Margaret Heddle titled her seminar paper to the A.N.U. "Irish Paupers! 1830-1850";⁸¹ whilst in an investigation of the experience of Scottish Lowland farmers in the same period she noted the industriousness and success of a very high proportion of Scottish immigrants.⁸² Russel Ward, from an extensive coverage of the current literature, concluded:

"Generally speaking Irish convicts and immigrants became unskilled labourers in Australia, while an extraordinarily high proportion of Scotsmen, even of those who landed with little or no capital, became rich, or at least successful."⁸³

One observer in N.S.W. in 1862 succinctly stated a related phenomenon:

"The Roman Catholics constituted not only a majority of the poor, but, for want of means, a majority of the uneducated poor, to a disproportionate degree."⁸⁴

80. Ibid, p.187.

81. Kiddle, M. "Irish Paupers! 1830-1850. A.N.U. Seminar Paper, 20.5.54. q. by Ward op.cit. p.186.

82. Kiddle M. "Scottish Lowland Farmers' c 1830-1850 " " ,13.5.54. q. by Ward op.cit. p.187.

83. Ward, R. (thesis) op.cit. p.157.

84. q. R. Flanagan 'History of N.S.W. etc.' 2 Vols. (London) 1862, Vol. I pp. (cont. overleaf)

This state of affairs was probably but the logical consequence of social conditions in Ireland and Scotland respectively. Although emigration from the British Isles as a whole from about 1878 to 1897 can be seen essentially as 'famine migration', a function of economic depression, this characteristic attached more closely to Irish emigration.⁸⁵

In this way Irish emigration of the 'eighties paralleled that of the 'thirties,' for in both cases emigration was perceived in the homeland as an avenue of escape from conditions of distress and poverty. Wages in Ireland were lower than in England and the conditions of labourers wretched in the extreme.⁸⁶ Consequently only a reduction in the number of Irish labourers, via emigration, could raise living standards in Ireland, whilst preserving those in England. The reports of the Commissions on the conditions of the poorer classes in Ireland, 1835 and 1836, embodied such conclusions. George Nicholls, an expert on the Poor Law system in England, endorsed the recommendations of the commissioners in these terms:

"The Irish population seems to be excessive as compared with the means of employment the country affords ... Emigration not only may, but I believe, must, be had recourse to whenever the population becomes excessive in any district...the evil is pressing, and emigration seems to be the only immediate remedy, or rather palliation, for the state of things existing in Donegal and in other parts of the west and south"⁸⁷

"Emigration can be employed", wrote George Cornwall Lewis, "as in England, in addition to the workhouse; only that which in England is partial must in Ireland be made general, and that which in England is acted on to a small extent must in Ireland be acted on to a large extent".⁸⁸ When the motivations behind Irish emigration

84. footnote cont.

379-380. q. Ward (thesis) *op.cit.* p.162. The statement was made in a memorial sent to Governor Bourke in 1832 by Roman Catholics.

85. Carrothers' book 'Emigration from the British Isles' (Carrothers W.A.) London, 1929, is based upon the inter-relations of emigration and economic conditions in the British Isles. For Irish conditions see especially pp.45, 177, 201-7.

86. Report of Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland 1830 p.49 & Second Report of Select Committee on Emigration from the U.K. 1827 p.7.q. Carrothers *ibid* p.45-6. See also p.177: 'Throughout the greater part of the year they had to subsist on one meal of (Cont. over

were such as these it was not surprising that in Australia Irish Roman Catholics constituted "a majority of the uneducated poor, to a disproportionate degree". Although a heavy famine exodus from Ireland up to 1853 tended to alleviate labouring conditions there in subsequent decades, the 'eighties ushered in a period of economic distress in the British Isles comparable with that of the 'twenties and 'thirties⁸⁹ Again the failure of crops and incidence of agricultural depression in Ireland⁹⁰ provoked emigration, and again emigration became the 'safety-valve' for internal distress.

In Scotland, on the other hand, whilst economic dislocation resulting from the Industrial Revolution was by no means non-existent, and undoubtedly provoked emigration in the same way as in England and Ireland, the degree of disturbance was never so great as in the neighbouring communities. New industries were established in districts already densely settled (i.e. in the Lowlands) minimising dislocation of populations. Existing population pressures were typical of the Highlands rather than of the Lowlands⁹¹ - and apathy to emigration was common in the Highlands⁹²

86. footnote cont.

potatoes a day..They could not afford to have milk, & their one meal of potatoes had to be 'kitchened' with water & salt. Begging was almost universal.."

87. q. by Carrothers *ibid* p.178.

88. q. *ibid* p.178. Nassau Senior, expert economist, stated as his belief that "in the present state of Ireland, where accidental causes have created an excessive population, it (emigration) is not only an expedient but a necessary measure of immediate relief.

89. The industrial & commercial depression, largely a function of U.S. & German economic ascendancy & competition, commenced *circa* 1875, the great flood of resultant emigration lagging until 1879; 1883 saw the peak with a net emigration from the British Isles of 246,341. See Ch. XII Carrothers, pp.227-8.

90. The distress in Ireland in 1880, due to the failure of crops, was such that assistance from Poor Law funds was inadequate. Carrothers p.280. The Roman Catholic-Irish paper 'The Australian' in Brisbane figured prominently in its pages the economic disorganisation at that period in Ireland. See 10.1.80.

91. The result of the break-down of the clan system in the latter 18th Century, of a wasteful system of tillage, and a change in rent systems, the failure of the kelp manufacture, of herring fisheries after 1815 etc., crofters thus sank almost to the level of the Irish peasantry in conditions. See Courier 12.2.87 for a description of crofter conditions. Report of Select Committee on conditions in Scotland, 1841, cited Carrother op.cit. p.173.

92. Two private schemes for the emigration of Highland crofters to Qld. fell through during the '80's; the second scheme in 1886 especially meeting with strong opposition on the part of Highlanders - an Immigration lecturer was treated with suspicion, the people were found to be deeply attached to the soil, whilst family & communal organisation (clannish & centering about the fishing industry) was inimical to emigration. See Kleinschmidt op.cit. pp.127-9 - states that emigration from the Highlands to Qld. was very small (p.129). Immigration statistics did not differentiate Highlanders from Lowlanders, but the point is crucial for determination of Scots social & economic status.

If Scottish emigrants to Australia were typically Lowlanders, the likelihood of their success in the colonies was greater than the Irish for various reasons. Ward puts forward three such reasons, viz., that a high proportion of Scottish migrants were middle-class or of tenant-farmer stock; that the Scots enjoyed a higher standard of education than either the English or the Irish;⁹³ and that the Presbyterian faith instilled habits of hard work and frugality in Scots' minds.⁹⁴

These conclusions must be qualified somewhat in view of the paucity of evidence available. Not until the exact proportions of Scots, English, and Irish coming out as full-paying passengers is ascertained can real insight be gained into the relative prosperities of migrants. Not until the real wealths of assisted, free, and remittance passengers are correctly hazarded, or until the proportions of Lowlanders, Highlanders, Dubliners, Donegalians and the rest are isolated, will the picture be accurate. The case has already been presented that the great majority of migrants were importunate and of low social status. If this is so, differentiation between Scots and Irish must be attempted within this framework. Given this fact explanation of the observed success of one group rather than another (which has yet to be more fully substantiated) will probably come to revolve about 'intangibles' such as national characteristics, previous environmental experience and its relevance to indigenous Australian conditions, the group cohesiveness, 'clannishness', and social structure of migrant communities, the educational experience of national groups, the pioneering orientation of various religious denominations, and so on.

Observing these qualifications, some suggestions may be advanced.

93. See Ward (thesis) op.cit. p.160. Scotland enjoyed the highest standard of education in the British Isles, England the second-highest, and Ireland the lowest.

94. Ward, ibid, pp.159-160.

Whilst English & Scots emigrants were probably poorer than some people liked to make out, there were very few denials of Irish poverty. The operation of Emigration Societies, such as that set up under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Quinn (or O'Quinn as he later dubbed himself) in 1862, was designed to facilitate pauper emigration and to fulfil the objectives set out by the English Commissioners in 1835 and 1836. "The principal object of this society" ran its constitution "is to alleviate the misery which eviction and famine have caused in Ireland, by affording the sufferers an opportunity of emigrating to this colony"⁹⁵ Such was the success of the society in promoting immigrants, often disease-ridden, from famine areas that Government regulation of the immigration process was provoked.⁹⁶ Yet the action of Benevolent and Emigration Societies in promoting emigration from England also elicited criticism.⁹⁷ Such societies it was claimed, by their very humanitarian nature, assisted poverty-stricken and undesirable types to emigrate. Truly "there is little doubt that had it not been for this assistance many of the unemployed would not have been in a position to provide for their passage"⁹⁸ but many disputed the desirability of such a course of action. The Agent-General, for example, criticised the bounty system as "dangerous in affording opportunities to philanthropic bodies to assist persons who are out of work for some cause or other"⁹⁹ Gray, the Under-Colonial Secretary, was also impressed by these humanitarian activities. He instructed the Agent-General to maintain definite rules of inspection "considering the danger of philanthropic and similar societies taking advantage of the existing laxity of inspection to send to the colonies imbeciles, criminals, and other objectionable characters"¹⁰⁰ The emigration to Queensland of paupers was obviously not a strictly Irish phenomenon.

95. q. by Tomkeys *op.cit.* p.25. A scandal arose over the appropriation of land-orders by this society. See *V. & P.*, 1863, pp.430-31.

96. Tomkeys *ibid* p.26. A proposed scheme for the assisted emigration of distressed Irish was similarly rejected in 1884 because of the fear of pauper emigration. Kleinschmidt, p.130 - *op.cit.*

97. For an enumeration of such societies operating in 1886-see Carrothers *op.cit.* Appendix XIIa, p.319. There were over 60 such societies directed to general emigration & emigration of women & children.

98. Carrothers *ibid* p.228.

99. *V. & P.*, 1886, Vol.II, p.898.

100. *V. & P.*, 1883-4, p.1381. Similarly in 1886 a scheme for the assisted emigration of mechanics, artisans & labourers out of employment in the U.K. was rejected by the Qld. government. Suspicion of pauper-dumping was always operative in Queensland.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from the relative national proportions of passengers despatched to Queensland. Details of full-payers, who were presumably the more prosperous class, were not recorded, whilst government policy restricted the numbers of national groups who were assisted in their passages. Insofar as they give some partial expression to the relative prosperities of different national groups the figures are useful: Records were kept only for the years 1880, 1888, 1889, and 1890. The national origins of free passengers were also recorded for 1885.

	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>SCOTS</u>	<u>IRISH</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FREE PASSAGES	6992	1541	2922	17	11472
%	60.9	13.4	25.5	0.2	100
ASSISTED PASSAGES	1135	224	1135	2	2496
%	45.5	8.9	45.5	0.1	100
REMITTANCE PASSAGES	2739	915	2355	430	6439
%	42.5	14.2	36.5	6.8	100

TABLE 22: NATIONAL ORIGINS OF FREE, ASSISTED, & REMITTANCE PASSENGERS - 1880, 1888, 1889, 1890.¹⁰¹

The data reveals a preponderance of English migrants amongst the free passengers, equal proportions of English and Irish within the assisted class, and substantial proportions of both groups in the remittance category. Scots migrants tended to emigrate as free and remittance passengers. Interpretation is difficult, but the relative concentration of Irish in the assisted class, in comparison to the other national strains, perhaps indicated that this means of emigration constituted the most convenient alternative for impoverished Irish barred by existing practices from full representation in the free class.

101. Abstracted from relevant V.X.P., Agent-General's Report. The partial nature of these figures is again emphasised, especially as no records were kept for the peak years 1882-4. The data is probably more representative of existing selection practices of the Agent-General's office (particularly in selecting free passengers) and of government policy than of the natural economic distribution of emigrants.

Generalisation upon existing data can only be doubtful, but there is at least a case for the low social status of a majority of migrants, more especially Irish emigrants.¹⁰² Emigrant ranks almost certainly included Fitzpatrick's "migrant capitalists",¹⁰³ who traced lines of material development on the community map. They also included a great number of the penniless who might or might not make good in pioneer conditions. Queensland had its McIlwraiths and McEacherns,¹⁰⁴ whilst the Roman Catholic Church could conduct a successful Irish Famine Relief Fund amongst its following.¹⁰⁵ But the immigration statistics testify to the predominantly working-class character of over 90% of emigrants, contemporary comment emphasised the improvidence of emigrants, and 'famine emigration' was an economic axiom in the British Isles. Whilst only a meagre 8% of emigrants paid their full fare to the colony, Benevolent Societies had to be restrained from unloading paupers and unemployed upon the Queensland coast towns. English commissioners, visitors to the colonies, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane, social historians, and the compilers of the 1947 Census added testimony, in various ways, to the depressed economic and social status of Irish emigrants. The task remains for others to investigate more fully the nuances and variances within these frameworks, to trace more closely the origins of emigrants, their social and community backgrounds, and to assess the determinants of their subsequent success or failure in the colonies. The broad picture has then be drawn of the immigration process as it existed in Queensland in the 'eighties. Queensland was the migration state of the colonies, with the heaviest relative population recruitment from abroad. It had a significantly lower proportion of colonial-born than the other colonies.¹⁰⁶ How did this affect assimilation? What was its implications for the colonial way of life and value system? As has been already pointed out, the immigrant and the natural born

102. As Nadel writes of 19th Century migration "redundant artisans, dispirited unskilled labourers, unwanted females, orphans, & victims of Irish distress, formed the bulk of the human cargo". Nadel op.cit. p.26.
 103. Fitzpatrick, op.cit. p.21.
 104. For details of McIlwraith's extensive holdings & interests see Dignan, D.K. Sir Thomas McIlwraith-His Public Career & Political Thought. (Final honours thesis, U.of Qld.) Appendix I, i-v, ii, iii, iv ff.
 105. See the R.C. newspaper 'The Australian' 10.1.80.
 106. The Figures for Australasian born were NSW 62.18% Vic. 57.89% Qld. 40.39% SA 59.83% W.A. 59.83% Tas. 69.13% N.Z. 45.6% Coghlan, T.A. Statistical Account of 7 Colonies of A/asia op.cit. p.15.

Queenslander had experienced distinctive environmental conditions engendering divergent values, habits and characteristic ways of thinking and living. It is natural to expect that in the colony deriving its greatest population increase from migration, the values of the immigrant should have played a more formative part than in the other colonies, in comparison with colonial values. This was probably true in many ways, and in many situations, but it was not immediately obvious. There was in Queensland an apparent dichotomy between the greater incidence of migration and the strength of the national ethos. "Queensland", according to the Bulletin "was the most 'Australian' and the most nationalistic of all the colonies..beyond question lusty young Queensland holds the field in the matter of Australian Nationality"¹⁰⁷ An English visitor was impressed by the absorption of 'new chum' values into the national ethos rather than by the reverse process -- "The Englishman in Queensland is, like the sheep, developing into a different species"¹⁰⁸ The community which owed its main population increase to migration was also the community which saw the production of the ultra-nationalist Boomerang and Worker under William Lane, and beheld the organisation of the A.L.F. and the Queensland Shearers' Union.¹⁰⁹ Queensland was, too, a rich field for the evolution of indigenous folksongs and ballads. These ranged from convict songs such as Moreton Bay to colonial "trades" balladry - drover and shearer ballads such as Banks of the Condamine; the Queensland Drover, Farewell to the Ladies of Brisbane and the Overlander.¹¹⁰

Thus at any one stage during the decade of the 'eighties it would probably be an exaggeration to describe the contribution of the immigrant recruitment to the society as determinant in its way of life. Current colonial values were the product of the indigenous population which constituted the established social group, and the influence of immigrants tended to be defined in reference to this existing situation. The continuing crystallisation and definition of

107. Bulletin, 17.9.88.

109. One of the best treatments of the nationalist awakening of the '80's & '90's, as operative in Qld. as elsewhere, is Palmer V. The Legend of the Nineties (Melb.) 1954.

110. Various versions exist of Farewell, Overlander & Qld. prover. John Manifold kindly supplied information of Qld. folksong & balladry.

colonial society was determinant rather than the fluidity and mobility of immigration. Although the proportion of colonial-born to the total population varied, of course, with the incidence of migration, at no stage during the 'eighties was there a real swamping of the former by the latter. In 1881 a little more than half of the Brisbane population had been born in the Australian colonies,¹¹¹ whilst even after the peak of immigration in 1882, 1883 and 1884¹¹² a substantial 42.1% of the population remained colonial-born. By 1891 with the gradual decline of immigration in the late 'eighties this proportion had almost regained its 1881 level (rising to 49.0%). If the mammoth immigration to Australia of the gold rushes, and the influence of the diggers' era "left a fainter impress on Australian life than the first ten years of the squatting age"¹¹³ then it was unlikely that the relatively slighter migration of the 'eighties should divert the main course of social development already established. Various factors support this view. A good percentage of those enumerating themselves at the censuses as English, Scots, or Irish born had lived a considerable number of years in Queensland and could be ^{1a} classed as assimilated. Three years, it was considered, were sufficient to transform an immigrant into an 'old hand' during the gold-rushes in Victoria. Henry Stuart Russell, writing in the 1880's, preferred a longer period but the process was the same. According to Russell, "the 'new chum'...after his conventional seven years, was emancipated, which meant acclimatized, like the surrounding iron-bark trees"¹¹⁴ The acceptance of current colonial values by such acclimatized immigrants - 'old chums' as Twopeny dubs them¹¹⁵ was frequently more emphatic than that of the colonial born, and militated against any really pervasive influence of 'new chum' ideas. It was probably as true in the 'eighties as in the 'fifties

111. See Figure I .p2A.

112. See Figure II [1886] p2A.

113. Greenwood G.(ed.) 'Australia-A Social & Political History'(Angus & Robertson) 1955 - Ch.III, p.98.

114. Russell. H.S. 'The Genesis of Qld.'(Sydney) 1888. p.183.

115. Twopeny R.E.N. 'Town Life in Australia' (Lond.) 1883. p.97.

that "it was and is a constant source of ambition among 'new chums', especially the younger ones, to be taken for 'old hands' in the colony, and they endeavour to gain this point by all manner of expedients..."¹¹⁶ These expedients included imitation of dress, speech, manners and values, and these things were not characterised by pro-immigrant bias. National song and literature made the new chum raw and gullible and a figure of fun,¹¹⁷ whilst the terms "choom" and "pommy" were ones of opprobrium. If an immigrant was of a class with educated and prosperous visitors, conscious of the cultural superiority of English ways and manners in comparison with frontier colonial condition,⁶ he might refrain from imitation of colonial ways. Otherwise there was little inducement to retain 'new chum' ways and a good deal of advantage in embracing colonial values. He would avoid, as one instance, the active antipathy to immigrants which Fowler observed in Sydney in 1859:

"The young Australian is systematically insolent to the new-chum; so is everyone indeed. How I, who had pretty well run the gauntlet of London life, was branded and fleeced during the first three months of my residence in Sydney! A new chum is fair game for anyone"¹¹⁸

Rarely were the experiences and skills acquired in the 'old country' as useful in the new as those which had been evolved directly in interaction with existing conditions. Thus again the need for environmental adaptation facilitated the acceptance of a way of life and a set of values which had its heritage in the convict origins of the colonies.¹¹⁹ Especially in the bush was the new chum made to feel his deficiencies in adaptive skills. A German visitor to Queensland described lightly his experiences in this respect. He relates how the coach-driver on

116. Rev. Arthur Polhampton 'Kangaroo Land' (London, 1862) pp. 60-1, q. by Russell Ward 'The Ethos & Influence of the Australian Pastoral Worker' (thesis, A.N.U.; microfilm copy sighted).

117. Lawson's "A Word to Texas Jack" & the traditional 'Paddy Malone' are perhaps typical.

118. Fowler 'Southern Lights/ etc.' London, 1859. q. by Ward, op.cit. p. 193.

119. See R. Ward (thesis) 'Social Roots of Australian Nationalism' in Aust. Journal of Politics & History Vol. I, No. 2.

the Cooktown to Maytown run, unaware his listener is a new chum, spins a yarn: "the driver of the mail coach seemed pleased with the reception of his yarn; he loosened up a bit, and treated me thereafter more like a fellow on his own intellectual level. It made me proud. But it was no time before my friend realised that I was after all only a new Chum. I had asked some questions which gave me away. He must have thought he had been hasty in crediting me with intelligence. He tried to rectify it. I pondered about the fact that those who live in the bush such hard lives like bushmen, should be so jealous of their profession. A new chum who seeks their company is treated with contempt, probably arising from an inferiority complex. How differently men in other strata of society receive newcomers..."¹²⁰

In the face of national attitudes of this kind, established firmly in the colonial culture, immigrant influences with a chance of penetration had to be peculiarly persistent, pervasive, and oriented away from sacred colonial susceptibilities. This was especially so when the unifying force of nationalism combined with labour prejudice against immigrants, grounded upon economic considerations. The new chum was suspected as one who might help to break down living standards. In such a situation preservation of colonial labour traditions precipitated resistance to 'alien' ideas and influences. Under such conditions the despondency expressed by Paddy Malone in a traditional ballad is perhaps explicable:

" 'Tis twelve months or more since our ship she cast anchor
 In Happy Australia, the emigrants' home,
 And from that day to this there's been nothing but canker,
 And graft a vexation for Paddy Malone.
 Oh, Paddy Malone! Oh, Paddy, Ohone!
 Bad luck to the agent that coaxed ye to roam." ¹²¹

120. Kotze, S. 'Australian Sketches' (translated & adapted by L.L. Politzer, written originally around 1890) (Pan Publishers) Melb. 1945. p.15.

121. Traditional. q. in Wannan, Bill. 'The Australian' Melb. 1954, p.230.

There is in this melancholia a symbolism of the impotence of the immigrant in environmental adaptation which is more than passing. Adherence to old ways, traditional values and New Chum habits inhibited adaptation. Flexibility and a willingness to embrace new ways and colonial values made for satisfactory assimilation.

Various of the characteristics of immigrants already noted facilitated their absorption into the new way of life. In view of their low social status, and predominantly working class, usually urban, origins most new chums found affinities with an Australian social outlook saturated with ex-convict and lower class attitudes.¹²² Social traits of egalitarianism and levelling, the independence of labour, democratic and liberal sentiment, the peculiar combination of Utopianism and materialism characterising Labour movements' in the later 'eighties, the cult of the common man, even the anti-authoritarianism which venerated bushrangers owed much to the permeation of lower class values.¹²³ As such they were likely to appeal more strongly to migrants of working and lower middle rather than upper class.¹²⁴ Just as in the formative period of colonial evolution "convicts, emancipists, Irishmen, native-born Australians, and working-class people generally, tended to acquire this distinctively Australian outlook much more rapidly than did the more respectable of the free immigrants,"¹²⁵ so in the 'eighties working class emigrants succumbed to the same influences. Previous environmental experience, in itself inadequate for satisfactory adjustment to colonial life, at the same time facilitated acceptance of current values and accelerated assimilation.

Thus, especially in the boom years, new chums soon perceived the advantages of conforming to current labour practices. A speaker

122. See Ward, R., Social Roots of Australian Nationalism in Journal of History & Politics, May.1956. op.cit.

123. "In early Australia convict and working class attitudes strongly influenced those of the whole community. These attitudes, modified and often accentuated by the new environment, early came to be considered distinctively 'colonial' or Australian".ibid p.177. Thus the successful colonists tended to cultivate the British connection & maintain, with few modifications, the values of contemporary British society. Their sons were educated there, they often aimed to return there themselves. An English observer speaking of Old squatters & other 'good fellows' in the '80's wrote that "every other man is an Englishman, and nearly all intend to go home some day". Stirling, A.W. The Never-Never Land: a Ride in N.Old. Lond.1884, p.21 q. Ward (thesis) op.cit. p.98.

124. An important work upon this theme in an earlier period, cont. overleaf

in the House in 1882 lamented this "Australianising" of newcomers: "at the present day immigrants utterly incompetent, and without any experience of colonial work, refused 25/- a week and made conditions that their food was cooked for them..."¹²⁶

The Irish were easily assimilated into a national (nationalist) ethos to which Irish attitudes, prejudices, and presuppositions had substantially contributed.¹²⁷ This factor was especially important in view of the disproportionate representation of Irish in Australia compared with their distribution in the whole British Isles.¹²⁸ Particularly in Queensland was the concentration of Irish high. Thus in 1881 Queensland's population was made up of over 13% born in Ireland, whilst the comparable proportion for Australasia was only 9.55%.¹²⁹ The Irish were an even more important element in the Brisbane population - constituting over 15% in 1881, and a mean 14.6% over the ten years, 1880-90.¹³⁰ This transplanting to a colonial setting of a traditional anti-British, rebellious, pro-republican orientation from Ireland almost certainly leavened existing nationalist tendencies in Queensland. Heavy Irish immigration to the colony provoked resistance in various quarters, whilst the objections advanced were couched in terms not only of religious objection but frequently in terms of political and social inimicability. Thus fear of Fenianism motivated the Queensland Evangelical Standard's attack upon the Irish influx in the early 1880's. As it gloomily warned the government, "when 'dynamite rule' shall commence, then perhaps they (the Ministry) will understand the foblishness of that policy of immigration which lands

footnote 124.cont.

is "Alexander Harris" (pseud?) 'Settlers & Convicts or Recollections of 16 Years' Labour in the Australian Backwoods' by An Emigrant Mechanic (Melb.) 1954, first printed London, 1847. For upper class reactions to colonial life see Twopeny R.E.W. 'Town Life in Aust.' (Lond.) 1883.

125. Wardon.cit. p.177.

126. QPD., Vol.37, 1882, p.113 - speech by Brookes.

127. See the following: Ward's article & thesis (op.cit.); Kierman, T.J. 'The Irish Exiles in Australia' (Burns & Oates) 1954. (Both trace Irish influences in the earlier colonial period, prior to 1850 especially); Hogan 'The Irish in Australia' (Oxley)

128. See Fitzpatrick op.cit. p.29. In 1933 "The Australian % of 20 Roman Catholics compares with not much more than half that % in the combined populations of Britain & Ireland, & the 11% who are Presbyterians are about 2/3 as great again a proportion as Presbyterians are in the whole of the British Isles.. In Australia the three nations meet in an amalgam which does not occur in the mother-

129. See Tables 10, 11 p.p. 2ff supra.

130. See Table 11A, p. 2A supra. The Qld. figure was the highest of the colonies. Proportions of Irish in the colonies were: (cont. overleaf)

three Irishmen to one Englishman or Scotchman on our coasts."¹³¹ Such foreboding was not lessened by the continued emphasis on the part of the organs of Irish expression upon conditions at home. Thus the Roman Catholic paper in Brisbane - The Australian¹³² - each week devoted at least eight pages out of twenty-eight to Irish news and happenings. Irish distress was continually deprecated, and English perfidy never spared. One example may suffice. In 1883 J. E. Redmond - Irish representative in the Commons - visited the colonies on behalf of the new Irish National League, and thereby provoked a storm of controversy. One product of this storm was a letter by 'Irish Patriot' to The Australian attacking the anti-Irish biases of a certain portion of the Brisbane press. He wrote: "while Russian despotism is prominently held up by these journals for merited approbrium, that other mis-rule - which strangles the liberties and stifles the free aspirations of the Irish people - is a tabooed institution which it would be profanity and treason to mention. Rampant oppression may hold sway, landlord tyranny may smile and goad, the Irish peasantry may be mercilessly lashed - but they may not, must not complain!"¹³³ The Anglo-phobia of Irish emigrants readily became channelled in nationalist directions. Ward describes the general process:

"In the nineteenth century Australian patriotic sentiment was usually more or less deeply tinged with 'disloyalty' - with radical notions of complete republican independence... To love the new land more seemed often to mean loving the old one less, insofar as Australian national sentiment was felt.

130.footnote cont.

N.S.W. 9.21%, Vic. 10.06%, Qld. 13.25%, S.Aust. 6.52%, W.A. 10.01%, Tas. 6.21%, N.Z. 10.08%; Coghlan op.cit. 15.

131. Qld.Evangelical Standard (Q.E.S.) 13.8.81 (a violently anti-Catholic, Protestant newspaper. Its rival the R.C.Australian was as frequently violently anti-Evangelical Standard). In its heat the Q.E.S.was led a little in error-the actual figures despatched from Agent-General's office in 1881 were 2095 English,1894 Irish and 527 Scots.

132.Housed in Parliamentary Library-issues from 1879-1889 (1882 missing) Q.E.S. held from 1876-1886 (1883 missing).

133.The Australian 10.3.83.

to weaken the attachment to Crown and Empire. For English and Scottish working-class immigrants, patriotic and class feeling seemed often to pull in opposite directions. For Irish-Australians the reverse was true. To love Australia more was also to strike a blow for 'Old Ireland', just because the development of Australian national feeling was felt to weaken the British connection".¹³⁴

Australia was also loved because of its more amenable economic conditions, and its comparably more tolerant and less repressive political atmosphere. These virtues were extolled by an Irishman in the following way; "There is no Coercion Act in force on Australian soil; the Press, although to a certain extent, gagged by partial and arbitrary laws, is not liable to be swooped upon by the mymidons of an irresponsible authority, and blotted out of existence without appeal or protest. English, Scotch, and Irish here rub shoulders on theoretically equal terms, and although the theory is sometimes belied on its practical application, the blame for the inconsistency rests with individuals, and not with our social system."¹³⁵

Improvident Irish emigrants filled with anti-British bitterness and motivated by ideas such as those expressed above would perceive little advantage in resisting the mores and values of a fluid colonial society. They were basically assimilable material.

The urban tendencies of migrants might also tend to preserve the national ethos, granted the latter was a typically, up-country, bush orientated phenomenon.¹³⁶ If the 'typical' Australian, the 'true' Australian, was a bushman (or romanticised as such), he was unlikely to be affected in his social habits and characteristics (or perceived to be affected) by the concentration of alien 'new chums' in city enclaves. If "townspeople in Australia do not differ very much from their compners at home"¹³⁷, whilst Australian cities were not readily

134. Ward, J. Hist. & Politics, op.cit. p.189. he adds that rarely were these considerations held consciously.

135. The Australian, 10.3.83.

136. This is the whole burden of Ward's thesis, op.cit. see also 'Harris' op. cit. and Adams, F. The Australians, A Social Sketch (Lond.) 1893.

137. G. Ranken, Wyndabyne or etc..q. Ward (thesis) op.cit. p.577.

distinguished from cities elsewhere,¹³⁸ it little mattered for the preservation of colonial values that a greater proportion of migrants streamed there. The plains, the inland life and climate were felt to produce typical Australians,¹³⁹ whilst the emigrants who penetrated to these regions experienced greater environmental pressures favouring adaptation to the colonial mode of life. "The Anglo-Saxon", wrote Adams, "has perished or is absorbed in the Interior much more rapidly than on the sea-slope and in the towns".¹⁴⁰ A threat to the national mystique must cut it at the roots viz. its basis in the romantic symbol of the bushman and his nomad values of mateship and the rest. Immigration did not constitute such a threat. The acceptance of the national mystique on the part of townsfolk as a form of national heritage was a phenomenon of the 'eighties and 'nineties - but any subversion of it could hardly come from the cities.¹⁴¹

138. see Clarke op.cit. the 'New Chum' in Aust. p.26 ff. He describes the English-like character of Melbourne in the '80s, which impressed him on his first day of arrival. "The 12,000 miles of separation from the old country was annihilated that night by the English-like reception in an English like suburban villa by an essentially English-like matron & children, and the full tide of civilisation was at its height." Melbourne appears in a great many points to be aping her mother metropolis at the other end of the globe".

139. Adams op.cit. p.144 ff. "The gulf between colony and colony is small and traversable compared to that great fixture that lies between the people of the Slope and of the Interior. Where the marine rainfall flags out and is lost, a new climate, and in a certain sense, a new race begin to unfold themselves..it is not one hundred but three & four & five hundred miles that you must go back from the sea if you would find yourself face to face with the one powerful and unique national type yet produced in the new land". Ranken, op.cit. p.577. "the inland life & climate tend to produce a peculiar type, distinct altogether from their northern kinsmen." Clarke op.cit. p.26. noted the greater ease with which new chums could be distinguished in the bush. "Up country the strangeness of the scene and life makes the 'new chum' declare himself in a thousand actions; and he betrays himself by speech and by the cut of his clothes. Down in the towns, however, where Brittanic fashions arrive in all their Brittanic folly almost as soon as they come out in England, a new chum is more readily told by the colour of his face". Kotze's experiences (q.supra p.31) were significantly bush located, near Cooktown.

140. Adams p.166.

141. There is a good deal of truth in this argument, but it can become too facile & surface. It tends to neglect the more difficult task of really ascertaining if a unique & indigenous value system & characteristic way of life was being evolved by townsfolk in Aust. cities. It too easily ignores the emerging habit-systems & working-class traits of urban labour movements, tendencies of social egalitarianism only remotely connected with nomad values, & other social traits - independence, materialism, even gambling, drinking & sport-loving - that were becoming accepted as national characteristics by this time. Some of these will emerge in Ch.3., but resolution of the basic difficulty must await further investigation.

This, briefly, was immigration. It deposited in the colony a set of people, or peoples, with peculiar national backgrounds, socio-economic status, religious affiliations,¹⁴² and value systems. In environmental interaction with colonial conditions these migrants met a colonial people sharing with them a basic homogeneity in stock and essential culture patterns, but evolving an indigenous and adaptive way of life. The product of the interaction was colonial society as it existed at any one point in time. It was conditioned by many factors, whether by the 'pauper principle' of immigration - "that obsolete, virtually extinguished and utterly abolished system of Gibbon Wakefield"¹⁴³ - which yet found expression in the 'eighties, or whether by conditions of economic depression or prosperity at home or in the colonies.¹⁴⁴ It was conditioned by the sheer volume of the migrant stream in the early 'eighties and by the developing national movements of the latter 'eighties. The structure and ethos of town and city society were particularly affected by an immigration process with an urban orientation. The social characteristics of migrants - their relatively low social status, the incidence of poor English and poor Irish, the number of skilled and unskilled workers, the disproportionate representation of Irish, the communal background of the Scots, their religions - coloured both urban and rural society. These characteristics also facilitate explanation of the limited contribution of emigrants to the national ethos. Essentially they had little new, or of real use, to add to a society already based upon fundamentally

142. The religious issue will be the subject of a separate chapter. Generally English religions were transplanted by those emigrants who went forth "from the dear old land to subdue the wilderness, & found homes in the new world, carrying with them their bibles, their religion, & their ecclesiastical system". Allen, op.cit. p.9.

143. QPD. Vol.37., 1882, p.110.

144. Thus immigration depended upon these conditions and the colonial reaction to it was defined in relation to them. Therefore in the boom years immigration was almost unanimously accepted, being embraced by a parliamentarian in these terms: "An influx of 100,000 immigrants within the next six months would not be sufficient to develop the vast resources of the colony. In the interior men could not be obtained to shepherd sheep, erect fences & do the ordinary work on stations. A similar stagnation prevailed on the tin-fields, the sugarlands, & the goldfields - in fact everywhere - & the necessity for a large increase of immigration was painfully evident to everyone. ibid p.113. In depression years as will be seen this necessity was by no means perceived as self-evident.

Ango-Saxon-Celtic values and mores, and beginning to display aggressively its peculiar adaptation to a new environment.

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CHAPTER THREE.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE :

"Tell me what is the occupation, economic status, and the socio-political position of a person or of a group and I will tell you the principal peculiarities - behaviour, psychology, antagonisms, and solidarities - of the person or of the group...." (Sorokin)

The occupational pattern of a community is clearly a crucial constituent of its social fabric. The changing social and political face of England after 1815 has been commonly explained as a function of an Industrial Revolution which innovated a new occupational pattern in the experience of the nation. Occupational innovation provoked social tension and conflict and stimulated ultimately an organised reaction on the part of those labouring under new impositions. The tensions associated with new conditions of production found their way into all sorts of social, political and religious movements so that the rise of unionism and the Labour Party, the emergence of a 'social conscience', the character of non-conformism, even the 'perversions' of public taste characteristic of the 19th century were variously traceable to this earlier period of social and economic dislocation. In Australia social conditions were as inextricably bound up with changing vocational environments, whilst especially in the 'eighties could political developments be interpreted as part manifestations of this general social process. Robin Gollan has argued the latter case, viz., that the failure of small scale land settlement schemes and the 'proletarianisation' of colonial labour in cities during the second half of the 19th century conditioned political movements of radicalism and socialism and helped structure the politico-social characteristics of trade-union organisation¹

Examination of Brisbane's vocational environment during the 1880's

1. Gollan, R. 'Radicalism & Socialism in Eastern Australia 1850-1910 -- A Study in Political Ideas in relation to Economic Development.' (Ph.D. Thesis, London) 1950.

leads to essentially the same conclusion. In the context of an emerging and crystallising stratification of the society occupationally, perceptions of social differentiation were rendered easier, and political responses to such a situation intensified.

An earlier chapter of this ^{the} thesis illustrated some of the more general urban characteristics of Brisbane during the decade of the 'eighties. The present chapter will attempt to pin down more precisely the existing vocational environment, broadly defined, of the city. It will ~~be~~ in this way also elaborate in greater detail the general socio-economic conditions which faced emigrants arriving in the colony, and thereby make more precise the modes of adaptation available to them. The stratification of the society in terms of occupation and income will be described, whilst an attempt will be made to investigate the general conditions of strata at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Suggestions as to the impact of this environment upon the values, mores, attitudes and ideas of different groups and individuals in the community will be incidentally and tentatively made.

As would be expected of an urban society displaying all those institutional and economic characteristics described in Chapter I there was a significantly higher incidence of occupational concern in professional, commercial and industrial pursuits in Brisbane than in the state generally. Thus according to the criteria accepted by the Census authorities 9.5% of employables in Brisbane in 1881 were engaged in professional pursuits as compared with only 4.3% comparably engaged in the overall Queensland population². In the same way significantly higher proportions of the Brisbane working population were employed in commercial, industrial and domestic branches of labour

2. These & following figures are abstracted from the Census results for 1881, 1886, & 1891 - V. & P., 1882, Vol. I, p. 1062 ff. V. & P., 1887 Vol. II, p. 1122 ff; 1892, Vol. III, p. 1070 ff. 'Employables' or 'total employed' equal total population of Census district of Brisbane minus dependents (wives, children, etc.) - see Appendix IIIA - Notes on Use of Census results, note 4. The criteria employed by the statisticians for definition of "classes", more accurately branches of labour, are discussed in this Appendix. (All Census results are for the Census district of Brisbane). Each branch of labour included employers, employees, and frequently foremen, salesmen, managers, etc., engaged in the one particular line of business e.g. under drapery are included owners, employees; tradesmen and salesmen.

than were comparable proportions in the colony at large. Conversely agricultural/rural pursuits constituted a relatively non-significant component of the city's labour force, comparing spectacularly with the colony as a whole. These tendencies are apparent in the following table:

		BRANCHES OF LABOUR ACCORDING TO CENSUS CRITERIA					
		PROFESS- IONAL.	DOMESTIC	COMMERCIAL	AGRICULT- URAL.	INDUST- TRIAL	INDEFINITE & NON- PRODUCTIVE
1881	(BRISBANE	9.5	16.8	16.7	3.2	42.8	11.0
	QUEENSLAND	4.3	10.47	10.57	32.7	32.55	9.42

TABLE 23: COMPARISON OF PROPORTIONS ENGAGED IN BRANCHES OF LABOUR FOR BRISBANE & QUEENSLAND - 1881.

It will be noticed that a total of over 59.5% - over half the city's employables - were by the beginning of the 'eighties engaged in industry and commerce. The early years of the decade saw a consolidation of this tendency, so that by 1886 64% of the vocationally active population was thus employed.³ The 1886 figures are given in the following table:

		PROFESS- IONAL	DOMESTIC	COMMERCIAL	AGRICULT- URAL	INDUST- TRIAL	INDEFINITE & NON- PRODUCT.
BRISBANE)	1886	7.9	13.9	18.9	3.4	45.1	10.8
QLD.)		4.2	10.0	11.7	33.1	30.5	10.5

TABLE 24: COMPARISON OF PROPORTIONS ENGAGED IN BRANCHES OF LABOUR FOR BRISBANE AND QUEENSLAND 1886.

The criteria accepted by the Census authorities in differentiating the occupations of the people are imperfect measures of occupational stratification as commonly understood at present in the social sciences. By classifying in accordance with branch of industry and method or material of work, no consistent delineation

3. 1891 figures are not strictly comparable with previous censuses due to changes in classification accepted at the 1890 Hobart conference of statisticians. Comparisons will emerge in a later section of this chapter.

is made of a hierarchy based upon degree of responsibility, work status, ownership independence, or degree of skill involved. The 1881, 1886 and 1891 Census data was therefore re-arranged to accord with the latter criteria, as accepted in general sociological research and classification.⁴ The sub-divisions of the Census "classes" and "orders" were examined and re-classification made into the standard occupational strata - professional; semi-professional; business (proprietors, managers, officials); white collar; skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled labour; farming and rural. Because of the changes in classification accepted at the 1890 Hobart conference of statisticians, the 1891 Census data had perforce to be separately re-arranged to accord with the 1881 and 1886 Censuses. Again limitations were introduced via inadequacies in the early 1881 Census, necessitating some estimating in accordance with subsequent tendencies.⁵

The general picture emerging of occupational stratification in Brisbane of the 'eighties was one of social crystallisation in a framework of dynamic development. It was a picture, which, despite continuous illustration of progressive and rapid expansion, exhibited surprising constancy as a major characteristic. The relative proportions of occupational strata within the Brisbane working population ~~was~~ ^{were} substantially maintained during the decade, so that in effect the occupational distribution for 1891 was little changed from that of 1881 and 1886. The percentages of Brisbane employables subsumed under the various occupational strata during the 'eighties illustrate this phenomenon. They were:

4. For typical sociological treatment of occupational data see Bendix R. & Lipset, S.M. 'Class, Status and Power - a reader in Social Stratification' (Glencoe) 1953. pp.411 ff., 426 ff, 442-65. The keys for the re-arrangement of Census occupations are included in Appendix, IIIB; whilst some of the difficulties encountered & general rationale are summarised in Notes on the Use of Census Results, Appendix IIIA. Again ~~all~~ results are relevant only to the Brisbane Census District.

5. Discussed more fully in Notes, ibid. Appendix IIIA.

	<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>	<u>SEMI-PROFESSIONAL</u>	<u>BUSINESS PRO- PRIETORS, MANAGERS OFFICIALS</u>	<u>WHITE COLLAR CLERKS SALESMEN</u>
1881	6.6	0.7	13.2	7.2
1886	4.9	0.95	13.05	8.4
1891	5.2	0.76	14.6	8.4

	<u>SKILLED</u>	<u>SEMI-SKILLED</u>	<u>UNSKILLED</u>	<u>FARMING, RURAL</u>	<u>UNPRODUCTIVE</u>
1881	35.3	2.0	27.6	2.5	4.9
1886	38.1	1.9	26.7	2.4	3.6
1891	35.7	2.3	26.9	2.04	4.1

TABLE 25⁶ PROPORTIONS OF BRISBANE WORKING POPULATION IN
OCCUPATIONAL STRATA 1881 - 91.⁶

The relative definiteness of occupational stratification is apparent in the following graphs: (overleaf)

6. Actual numbers, and subdivisions of white collar workers into government & non-government, unskilled workers into manual and domestic, are given in Appendix IIIC. The 'Brisbane working population' is equivalent to the total Brisbane population minus dependents.

TABLE III
 OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION
 BIRMGHAM 1981
 DATA - CENSUS 1981 REARRANGED
 MPO STANDARD CLASSIFICATIONS

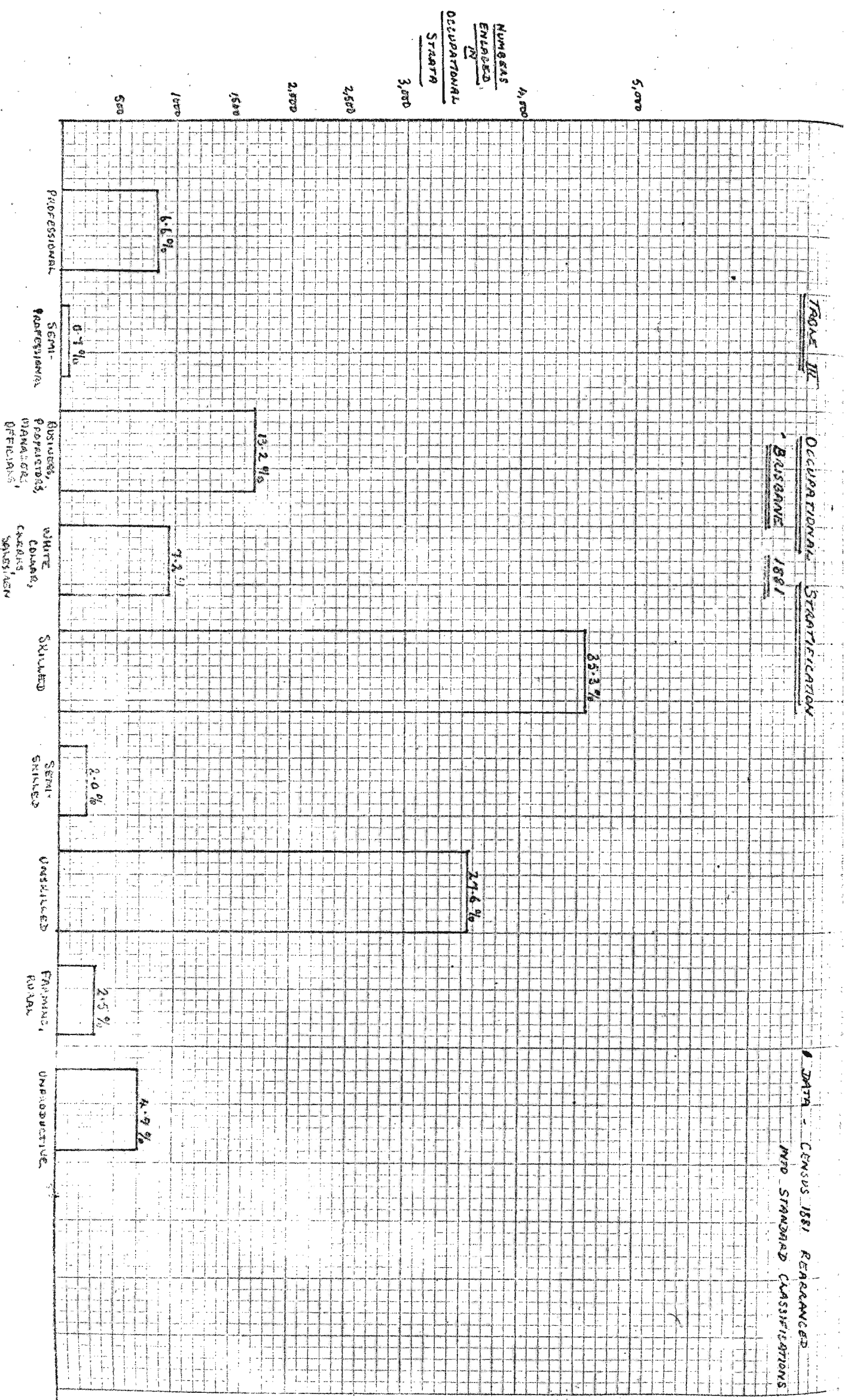


TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION
- GRISWANE 1986

DATA - LEVOS 1986, REARRANGED
MFO STANDARD CLASSIFICATION

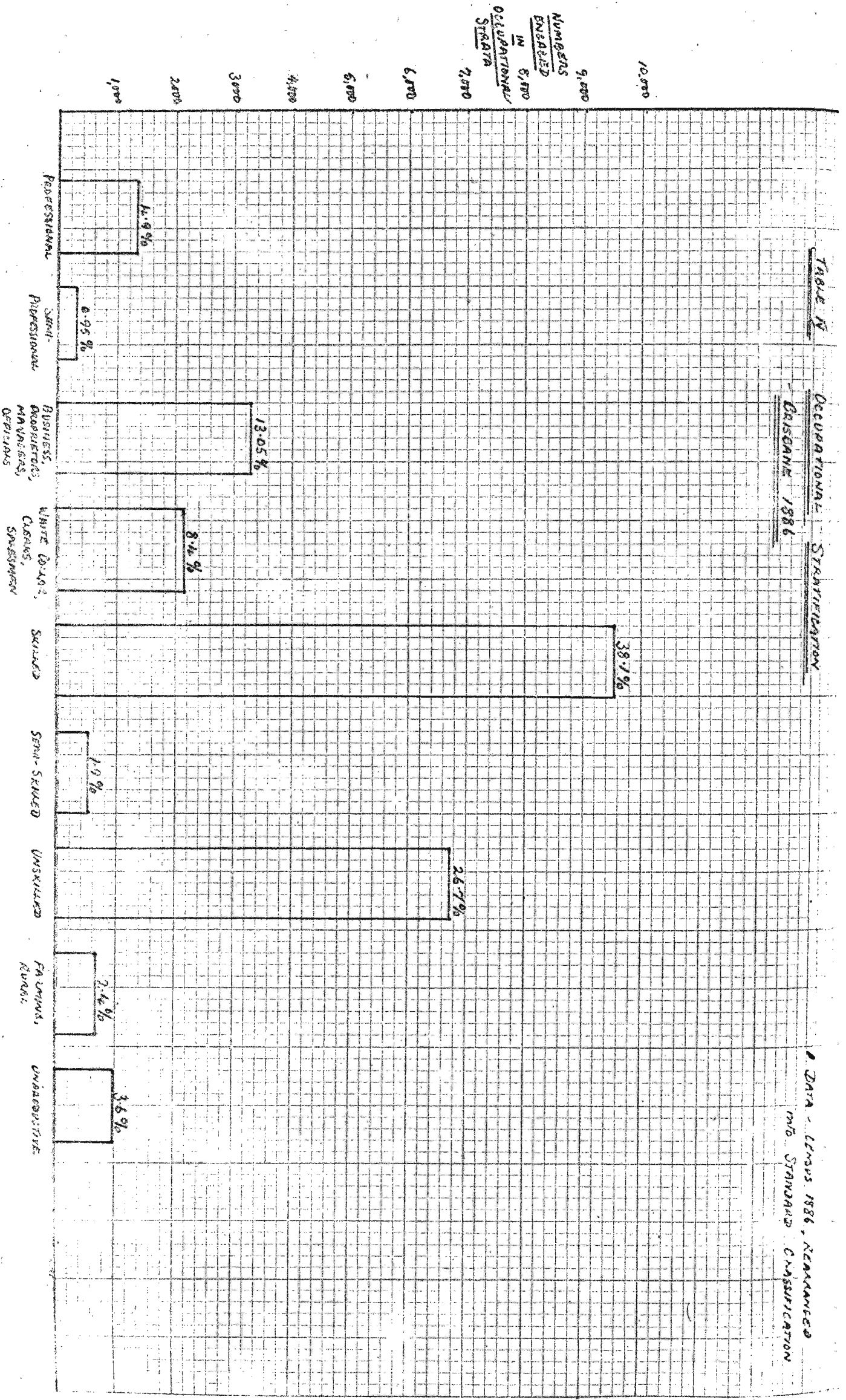
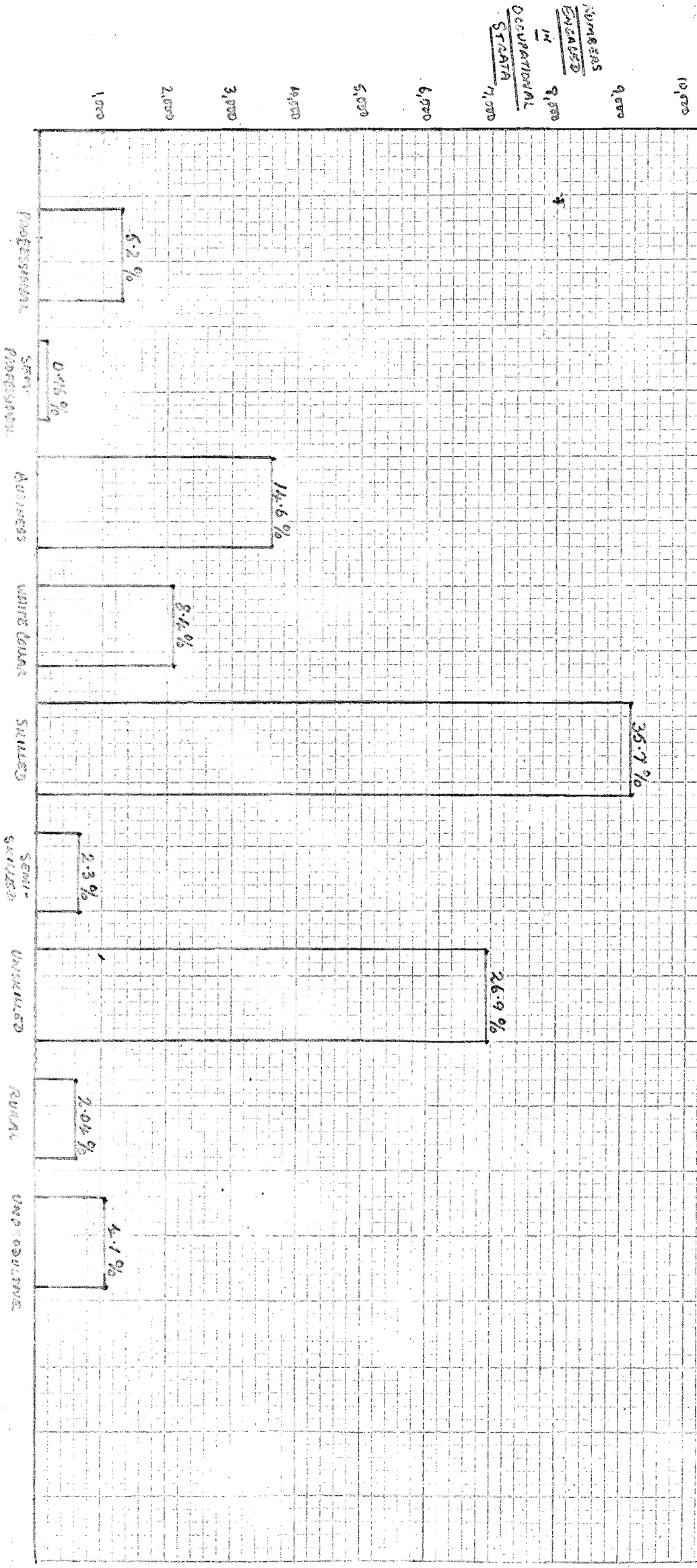


TABLE V
OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION

BAISSENE 1891

DATA, CENSUS 1891, REARRANGED
INTO STANDARD CLASSIFICATIONS



NUMBERS
CLASSIFIED
IN
OCCUPATIONAL
STATISTICAL
7,000

10,000
9,000
8,000
7,000
6,000
5,000
4,000
3,000
2,000
1,000

The occupational pattern of the city was becoming settled by the 'eighties, the various occupational strata exhibiting a surprising constancy of relative proportions during the decade. The professional class was beginning to stabilise itself at between 4 and 6% of the working population, white collar workers at between 7 and 8%, whilst the business group was consolidating itself at between 13 and 14% of the same population. This crystallisation of the social structure was occurring concomitantly with a 'proletarianisation' of the working population, as revealed by an examination of the remaining strata. Substantial sections of the population tended towards wage dependency. As early as 1881 wage-earners and employees constituted a numerical preponderance of the vocationally active, whilst skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers together constituted 64.9% of those earning a living in Brisbane. This preponderance was maintained during the decade so that in 1886 66.7%, and in 1891 64.9% were thus employed. Skilled workers constituted the largest single occupational stratum throughout the period. (35.3% in 1881, 38.1% in 1886, and 35.7% in 1891) unskilled workers the second largest (making up approximately 27% of the working population). Again general stability characterised this aspect of the vocational pattern.

If the 'eighties saw the jelling of a recognizable occupational pattern, its development was dynamic, not static. This was more evident in the first rather than the second half of the decade. In the five years 1881-1886 the vocationally active population in the Census district of Brisbane increased from 12,743 to 24,984, a high proportional increase of 1.96 (comparing with a proportional increase of 1.66 for the overall population rise in the same area.) All occupation strata shared in this expansion, as the following table indicates:

		PROFESSIONAL	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	BUSINESS	WHITE-COLLAR
NUMERICAL STRENGTH	) 1881	833	90	1683	924
	) 1886	1244	237	3259	2104
PROPORTIONAL INCREASE		1.49	2.63	1.92	2.27

		<u>SKILLED</u>	<u>SEMI-SKILLED</u>	<u>UNSKILLED</u>	<u>RURAL</u>	<u>UNPRODUCTIVE</u>
NUMERICAL STRENGTH	) 1881	4500	247	3523	320	623
	) 1886	9506	468	6669	602	895
PROPORTIONAL INCREASE		2.11	1.9	1.89	1.87	1.43

TABLE 26: POPULATION INCREASE IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA 1881-1886.⁷

The most significant expansion occurred in the white collar and skilled worker classifications, with high rates of increase prevailing for unskilled worker, business and professional groupings. A breakdown analysis of specific occupational strata reveals the more important sources of numerical expansion. The numbers of persons engaged in skilled labour rose in five years from 4,500 to 9,506 - by far the greatest numerical increase for any one stratum. Contributing most importantly to this expansion was the consolidation of labour in the building industry, the numbers engaged in the latter rising from 1,052 in 1881 to 2,834 in 1886.⁸ (This development included a spectacular rise in the numbers of carpenters and joiners from 492 to 1,346). The clothing industry constituted another important source of employment for skilled labour, the number of milliners, dressmakers, tailors, seamstresses and machinists in 1881 totalling 909, a figure which was to rise to 1,599 by 1886. Printers, blacksmiths and ironfounders, boot-makers, butchers and seamen made up further substantial trade enclaves within the skilled labour classification. An increase of over 3,000 in the unskilled classification in the first five years of the 'eighties was concentrated in two large groups - general labourers and domestic service, the numbers engaged in the former occupation totalling 593 in 1881 and 1153 in 1886, whilst 1,856 employed in 1881 in the latter occupation had risen to 3,071 by 1886. The majority of those persons subsumed under the general classification of 'business' appear to have been engaged in small business pursuits, the numbers of large entre-

7. For a detailed analysis of increases within strata & a general description of the main groupings within strata. See Appendix III D.

8. The importance of building workers as a component of the urban working force is consonant with Butlin's emphasis upon the role of the building industry in the secondary sector of the Aust. economy. See Butlin, N.G. "Notes on the shape of the Australian Economy 1861-1900", op. cit. Chp. 1., p. 7. (Hereafter Butlin's 'Notes').

preneurs and those of the capitalist class apparently constituting a relatively small, if vital, section of the community. The largest sub-classifications in this stratum included grocers and tobacconists, general shopkeepers, hotel proprietors and boarding-house keepers. In an era of general prosperity and expansion the numbers of persons engaged in pursuits of this nature proliferated, so that in five years the number of shopkeepers and general dealers more than doubled whilst substantial increases marked all groups (e.g. grocers and tobacconists rose from 241 to 411, hotel and boarding-house proprietors from 175 to 333 between 1881 and 1886). Similar expansion characterised these sub-classifications which included or tended to include the large businessmen and capitalists, although their numbers were a relatively minor component of the stratum numerically conceived. Thus in 1881 merchants, factory owners and large-scale dealers made up 96 of a stratum of 1,683. Brokers and financiers totalled 27, builders and contractors 45, officers and managers of public companies 26.⁹ The proportions and numerical increase of some important business sub-classifications are illustrated in the following table:

<u>OCCUPATION.</u>	<u>1881.</u>	<u>1886.</u>
MERCHANTS, FACTORY OWNERS, LARGE-SCALE DEALERS	96	132
BROKERS, FINANCIERS, SHARE & STOCK BROKERS	27	31
OFFICERS & MANAGERS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES	26	59
COMMISSION AGENTS, LAND/ ESTATE AGENTS	71	164
BUILDERS, CONTRACTORS	45	121
HOTEL, BOARDING HOUSE PROPRIETORS	175	333
SHOPKEEPERS, GENERAL DEALERS, GREENGROCERS, FRUITERERS, GROCERS & TOBACCONISTS, IRONMONGERS	546	1027

TABLE 27: NUMERICAL STRENGTHS OF SUB-CLASSIFICATIONS OF BUSINESS STRATUM¹⁰

9. It is of course very possible that members of sub-classifications other than these included successful and wealthy businessmen e.g. in such groups as land/estate agents, hotel proprietors, newspaper proprietors, timber merchants etc. The degree of affluence may well have varied considerably in those groups cited e.g. builders & contractors almost certainly included members who could only be classed as small businessmen.

10. For full details & other classifications, Appendix

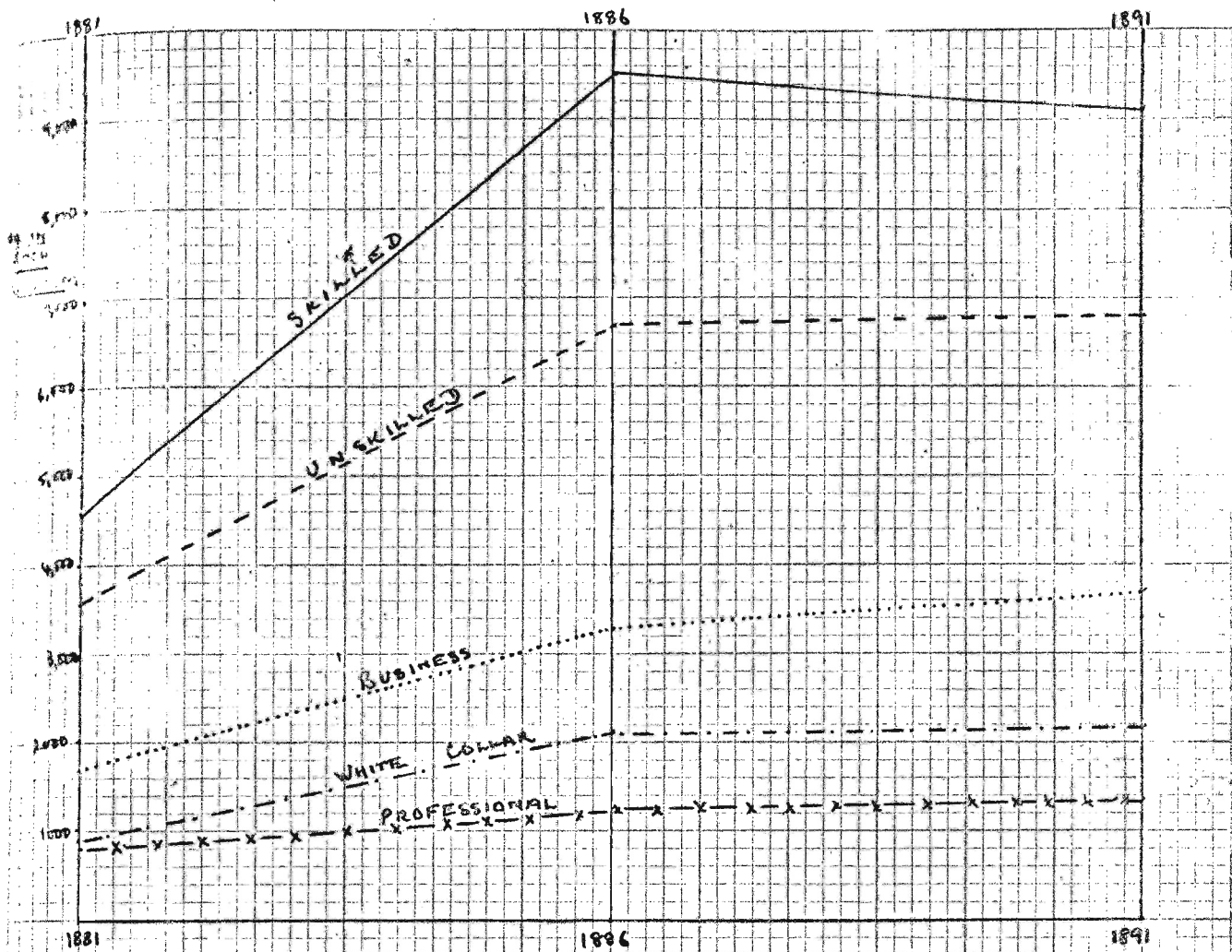
The figures indicate both the general predominance of small businessmen, and the prevailing expansion of the early 'eighties. The latter characteristic attached especially to the occupational stratum of white collar workers - clerks and salesmen. Increases in the numbers of government civil servants and clerks employed in commerce contributed to the significantly high rate of proportional increase occurring in this classification. Thus the number of clerks and accountants employed in government service rose rapidly during the decade from 180 in 1881, 364 in 1886, to 520 in 1891. Bank officers and commercial clerks constituted a main element of the white collar group, totalling 369 in 1881 and a peak 874 in 1886. Professional workers, making up approximately 5% of the working population of the capital, increased steadily from 833 in 1881 to 1,244 in 1886, school-teachers, architects, engineers, clergy, and practitioners in medicine and law constituting the largest groups. The surprisingly large numbers of professional photographers, musicians, music teachers and artists bore testimony to the growing social sophistication of the city. Some of the main groups of professional workers are given below:

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1881.</u>	<u>1886.</u>
SCHOOLTEACHERS	262	394
ARCHITECTS, CIVIL ENGINEERS, SURVEYORS	83	189
MUSICIANS, MUSIC TEACHERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS, ARTISTS	93	187
CLERGY	49	54
MEDICINE, LAW, CHEMISTS	125	201

TABLE 28: NUMBERS IN SUB-CLASSIFICATIONS OF PROFESSIONAL STRATUM.

If a dynamic expansion of all important occupational groups was characteristic of the early 'eighties, the Census findings indicate a check to this steady upward gradient during the latter years of the decade. Proportional rates of increase were universally checked, whilst in three occupational strata an actual numerical decline was

registered in 1891. The working population resident within the Census district in fact increased by only 260 in the five years 1886,1891, reflecting a general slowing of population increase in the city area. (The Brisbane Census population rose by only 4,386 between 1886 and 1891, a proportional increase of 1.08 compared with 1.66 for the preceding five years). The following tables and graph illustrate the numerical deceleration within occupational strata by 1891;



GRAPH VI NUMERICAL INCREASE IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA 1881-91

INCREASE	PROFESSIONAL	SEMI- PROF.	BUSINESS	WHITE COLLAR	SKILLED	SEMI- SKILLED	UNSKILLED
1881-6	1.49	2.63	1.92	2.27	2.11	1.9	1.89
1886-91	1.05	0.79	1.13	1.01	0.95	1.22	1.02

	RURAL	UNPRODUCTIVE
1881-86	1.87	1.43
1886-91	0.85	1.15

INCREASE	POPULATION (BRISBANE)		TOTAL EMPLOYED	
	NO. INCREASE	PROPORTION	NO. INCREASE	PROPORTION
1881-6	20,580	1.66	12,241	1.96
1886-91	4,386	1.08	260	1.02

TABLE 28A : PROPORTIONAL RATES OF INCREASE COMPARED FOR PERIODS 1881-6 AND 1886-91.

A numerical decline was evident in the rural, semi-professional, and skilled worker classifications, the numbers employed in the latter category falling to 9,022 from 9,506 at the previous Census.¹¹ Contributing most significantly to this tendency was the sharp fall from 2834 to 1876 of those engaged in the building industry. Merely nominal increases were registered for professional, white collar and unskilled categories (proportional rates of increase of 1.05, 1.01 and 1.02 respectively). Various interpretations can be essayed from this data. A possible explanation of the process of deceleration described above is that a population spread occurred to areas of Brisbane external to the Census district. It is perhaps significant in this respect that a population increase within the Census district of 4,386 between 1886 and 1891 was matched by a much larger rise of 20,008 for the city and suburbs within a five-mile radius from the G.P.O.¹² A proportional rate of increase of 1.27 for the more extensive area compared favourably with a lower rate of 1.08 for the Census district. Important sections of the city work force may well under such circumstances have been resident outside the Census district, a fact which would tend to impose an artificial pattern upon real expansion in the smaller area. Again conditions of economic depression existing at the time of the 1891 Census undertaking were almost certainly operative in checking expansion. Population tendencies in the capital were in this respect reflecting to a certain extent state-wide developments based upon economic conditions. Thus lower rates of increase in Brisbane reflected the overall slackening of population pressure in the colony during the latter half of the 'eighties - a relative increase of 21.95 between 1886-91 comparing with the larger 51.2 for the first five years of the decade.¹³ The decline in the numerical concentration of skilled workers may have reflected the susceptibility of various groups within this category

11. See also Appendix IIID for details of variations within strata.

12. See Chapter 1, p.5.

13. V.& P., 1892, Vol III, p.876. THE relative increase of 51.2 for years 1881-6 was incidentally the highest rate of increase since 1861-4 (62.53).

to fluctuations in economic conditions. Thus the 1891 Census recorded an unemployed 1071 persons engaged in the building trades, whilst an overall decrease in the numbers employed in such occupations in the colony between 1886 and 1891 suggests that migration from Queensland was commonly perceived in these occupational groups as a possible solution of economic difficulties. If this is correct then the decline in the numbers of carpenters and joiners in Brisbane from 1,346 to 842 in the five years 1886-91 was simply paralleling an overall colonial tendency by which 4,922 of the same group were reduced to 4427 in the same period. Declines in other occupational groups similarly paralleled state-wide trends.¹⁴ The evidence seems compelling in favour of existing economic conditions as production of a general deceleration in development as conceived in terms of numerical concentration within occupational strata.¹⁵ It also suggests the possibility that such deceleration was largely a product of the very late 'eighties and early 'nineties rather than of the whole five years 1886-91.

If groups in the community were becoming differentiated occupationally they could frequently be differentiated also in terms of wealth distribution. A concomitant of the capitalist system of economic organisation and laissez faire principles, inequality of wealth distribution was recognized as an operative fact of society by widely different social groups. If the A.L.F. condemned an industrial system "which compels the toiling many to surrender the greater part of their wealth production to the few"¹⁶ even Samuel Griffith had perforce to admit that "the great problem of this age is not how to accumulate wealth but how to secure its more equitable distribution"¹⁷ Manifestations of

14. e.g. in the business stratum a fall in the number of timber merchants & firewood dealers from 116 to 40 in the period 1886-91 reflected a general decline in this class in Qld. from 1410 in 1886 to 125 in 1891. Similarly with builders & contractors, coach-makers etc. see Appendix IIID.

15. The dynamic developments of the early '80's was of course equally bound up with conditions of economic expansion as suggested in Ch.I.

16. Worker, 1.9.90.

17. Griffith's 1884 Election Manifesto, quoted in Dignan, D.K. "Sir Thomas McIlwraith" (B.A. thesis, U. of Qld.) p.117. Griffith, as Premier, in his famous Boomerang article in Christmas, 1888, accepted as a Marxian interpretation of labour-capital relations which illustrated the theoretical origins of the inequality of wealth distribution: "in order that additional wealth or capital might come into existence

inequitable wealth distribution were apparent throughout the decade, and if Fitzpatrick's calculation with respect to England between 1840 and 1919 - viz. that half the national income went regularly to a tenth of the population, the other half to the remaining nine-tenths¹⁸ - cannot be immediately tested for Brisbane of the 'eighties, there is no lack of evidence that certain sections of the community shared more directly in colonial wealth than did other sections. Current wage and income levels gave some indication of this fact. Even amongst skilled and unskilled labour - those groups whose individual share in overall prosperity was almost certainly the smallest - considerable variation of wage levels was normal. Taking 1880 figures as a sample, annual wages fluctuated for these strata between £20 and £150.¹⁹ Unskilled labour received as a rule lower rates, general labourers obtaining 6/- a day average wage, lacking the margins for skill that enabled artisans to earn approximately 10/- a day. Variations within the latter strata, however, were not inconsiderable so that a brickmaker received only 1/- a day more than general labourers, whilst cabinet-makers and brass founders enjoyed a more aristocratic rate of 12/- per day. Minimal rates of pay were unfortunately the lot of female labour - nursemaids receiving £18-25 per annum; housemaids £20-26, laundresses £30-50, and barnmaids £40-75. Salaries amongst white collar workers varied along traditional public service lines. Thus messengers and office-keepers received commonly between £25-£130 per annum, ordinary clerks between £100-£400, and the upper echelons and administrative heads up to £700 or £800 yearly.²⁰ Labourers and artisans on 6-10/- per day might look enviously upon the rates of remuneration enjoyed by service chiefs and politicians.

17. footnote cont.

labour must be applied to raw material in such a manner that the value of the resulting product is greater than the value of the raw material together with that of the things consumed in the process of production. Such new value created should, however, belong not to the employer nor to the owner of the raw material, but to the labourer himself. In practice, the employer expropriated a large proportion of the new value created; hence arises the unequal distribution of wealth within the community".

18. Fitzpatrick 'Short History of the Australian Labor Movement' (Melb. 1944) p.217.

19. V. & P., 1881, Vol.I, p.959. Subsequent figures taken from this source unless otherwise indicated.

20. for full details of public service salaries see Blue Books of Qld. in relevant V. & P.

In 1880 Gray, the Under-Colonial Secretary received annually £800, the Under-Secretary for Public Instruction £700, the Collector of Customs £700, Under-Secretary for Public Lands £800, Commissioner of Police £700 and so on. Palmer as Colonial Secretary in that year collected £1000 per year, Macalister as Agent-General received £1300 annually, Lilley as Chief Justice £2,500, the Attorney-General £1000, Secretary for Public Lands £1000, Secretary for Public Works and Mines (Macrossan) £1000, whilst McIlwraith added to his private earnings £1000 per year as Colonial Treasurer. The Governor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, received an annual salary of £5000.²¹ Dower class envy was directed typically, however, at the concentration of wealth in a few hands in the business sector of society. The non-existence of income tax records inhibits a precise detailing of economic inequalities in this stratum, but the Census almost certainly designated the Croesuses of colonial society under its classifications of "capitalists", "merchant", "factory owner", "broker", "large-scale dealer" and "financier". The wealth of such men - McIlwraith is a good example - stood in contrast not only to that of the lower stratum but also to the modesty of achievement of many another member of the same stratum. Economic inequality could be as operative between capitalist and storekeeper, financier and fruiterer as between business and working class strata generally.²² These facts of colonial life viz. economic inequality within and between strata were recognised and generally accepted as axiomatic in large sections of the community, whilst constituting a conditioning framework for any social or political reaction against such a state of affairs.

The emergence ^{and} of consolidation of a definite occupational structure in Brisbane during the 'eighties had its social implications. The characteristics of the frontier were being

21. Blue Book 1880, in V. & P., 1881, Vol i. pp. 779 ff.

22. Income differentiation for the professional class is suggested from the Blue Books of the decade e.g. salary rates for medical men in the Colonial Secretary's Dept; see V. & P., 1881, Vol II p. 802; for judges, solicitors & lawyers in Attorney-General's Dept., ibid. p. 809 ff; for schoolteachers in Dept. of Public Instruction, p. 815 ff. For draftsmen & surveyors under the Secretary for Public Lands p. 835, etc.

displaced in favour of social order in a broad sense. There was a new 'settledness' and definiteness in social life which tended to arise as a function of the consolidation of the city's vocational pattern. Whilst it is naive to suggest that this situation arose in vacuum during the 'eighties, the process of social crystallisation attaching to these ten years certainly facilitated its development. There was a recognizable order about the way people earned their livings, contributed to the economy, spent the greatest proportion of their waking time, and this fact was almost certainly reflected in their resultant style of thinking and modes of behaviour. The skeleton was laid down for class differentiation on the substantial basis of occupational DIFFERENTIATION, FOR WITH THE EMERGENCE of STABILISED OCCUPATIONAL strata, and in the context of a 'proletarianisation' of a majority of the working population, perception of differentiation was rendered as simple as perception of order. This process was undoubtedly dependent upon the degree of social mobility existing in the community, especially in a context of rapid and dynamic development, and the absence of data relevant to this factor in the colonial statistics constitutes a large drawback to social analysis²³ Nevertheless the relative stability of occupational stratification during the period indicated that vocational mobility occurred, if it did occur, within a framework imposed by the existing work pattern. No radical subversion of the relative proportions of occupational strata occurred during the 'eighties to indicate a qualitative change in the city's social structure. The latter remained differentiated into its groupings of skilled and unskilled workers, white collar workers, business and professional groups in substantially the same relative proportions, and the increasing perception of social differentiation which characterised the last twenty years of the 19th century seemed not unassociated with facts of this kind.

23. We lack here the techniques of investigation available to the sociologist via questionnaires & more detailed occupational data (e.g. record of father's occupation facilitates assessment of social mobility.) see part IV Bendix & Lipset *op.cit.* p.371 ff. & especially pp.442-454 for current techniques.

The strength of Australian democratic sentiment, and the social traits of egalitarianism and independence frequently regarded by observers as typical of Australian society are, it is suggested, to be interpreted against the background of social stratification within the community. If the facts of colonial history militated against the erections of class barriers on the same basis as in the old world, new criteria for social differentiation were emerging by the 'eighties and aggressive social traits of independence and egalitarianism may be regarded in part as reactions to this situation. Thus the Australian myth that denied the existence of class barriers as significant social phenomena and tended to proclaim, in contrast with the old world, the egalitarian nature of colonial social relations stood rather as an emotional rejection of existing social and economic differentiation than as a reflection of social reality. Levelling tendencies in social behaviour partook of the same character whilst Labour's idealisation of social and economic equality was typically an aspiration rather than a defence of the status quo.

In cities where wage dependency constituted the norm for a large majority of the working population, and where 'proletarianisation' of this population was an operative process, social differentiation on the basis of wealth could become an issue of sensitivity. Twopeny put forward an analysis of urban society in Australia which is supported by the facts of occupational and income stratification and re-emphasises that view of egalitarianism given above. He wrote:

"Already each Australian capital has its 'society' distinguished almost as clearly as in London and Paris. In their own way indeed these societies are more exclusive than those of the older metropolises, which from their very size obtain a certain breadth of view. For obvious reasons the component parts are not altogether similar, but their governing idea is as much the same as the difference of circumstances will permit. It would be difficult to define exactly what opens the doors of Australian society, but is the shibboleth any more definite in London? Distinction of some kind or other must be pre-supposed. If that of birth, it must either be

allied to rank or have strong local connections. If that of wealth, it must storm the entrance by social expenditure and pachydermatousness to rebuff. Wealth is, of course, the predominating factor here, as rank in London."²⁴

Under such conditions the emergence of class antagonisms based upon economic inequalities was not surprising. "Even to a stranger" wrote a religious paper "the disharmony existing between various classes of the population is a marked feature of Queensland, which a more intimate acquaintance serves only to confirm."²⁵ The same impression conveyed itself to James Inglis, an English visitor to the colonies in 1880 - "I have spoken with all classes and conditions of ^epeople since my arrival in the colony, and the evidences of mutual jealousy are very painful."²⁶ The intensified organisation of the working classes during the 'eighties and its culmination in industrial conflict in the 'nineties constituted political manifestations of underlying social tensions. So were the doctrines of socialism and utopianism which were in vogue during the late eighties, especially when they envisaged a situation in which "the workers will no longer squabble for the buttermilk of their wealth production while the idle cunning glut themselves with cream."²⁷ Again there was a direct and aggressive response to social differentiation. "We want no monarchical institutions here with their accompaniments of licentious castes and grovelling masses" wrote Lane.²⁸ His exhortation to the workers in 1890 to "take all social injustices and industrial inequalities and vested principles, and strangle them one by one with your million-muscled hands"²⁹, provided another sample of this same reaction to differentiation.

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24. Twopeny R.E.N. 'Town Life in Australia' (Lond.) pp.104-5(my emphasis) Other sources emphasised the relative unimportance of birth as a social criterion in Australia e.g.E.H.Parker of the China Consular Service wrote of the colonies: "What appear to be lacking is a leisured & lettered class sufficiently numerous & disinterested to work upon the heavy masses as a leaven, sufficiently distinguished either by birth, learning, or public service to be above the petty mercenary jealousies which actuate local men, and to exercise a sort of calmative imperial "in fluence on the spot".Enclosed in Confidential Despatch from Secretary of State 4.3.1889.
25. The Australian 15.11.'79. The same sentiment was being expressed over 20 years later when an English visitor to Aust.wrote: "It is sometimes said that in Australia there are no class distinctions. It would probably be truer to say that in no country in the world are there such strong class-distinctions in proportion to the actual amount of difference between the 'classes'"...quoted in Palmer.V. "The Legend of the Nineties" P.109.
26. Inglis,J. "Our Australian Cousins" (London 1880) p.79.
27. The Worker, 1.3.1890. 28. Boomerang 28.1.88. 29. ibid:

What then were some of the more specific vocational conditions which might stimulate the perception of social differentiation within the community? Were social tensions generated through economic depression of the lower class strata or were they a product of an economic consolidation? To what extent did the perception of these conditions on the part of various sections of the community reflect reality or represent social or theoretical predilections?

If the testimony of contemporary observers and commentators were to be accepted as a valid criterion, the existing economic conditions experienced by Brisbane's lower occupational strata during the 'eighties would be most difficult to gauge. In fact a general dichotomy of opinion can be distinguished in this respect. If different commentators were led by their separate interests and outlook to emphasise different aspects of existing conditions, such commentators could be generally differentiated into two amorphous groupings; namely those who took a broadly optimistic, even roseate, view of colonial working conditions, and those whose assessment of such conditions was correspondingly morose. The first was usually a middle or upper class viewpoint which emphasised high standards of living and the general prosperity of the lower orders. It appeared in typical form in the writings of such English visitors to the colonies as Anthony Trollope, James Inglis, and Mr. R. E. N. Twopeny. The second viewpoint was usually sympathetic to labour aspirations and treated with suspicion optimistic middle class views of working class prosperity. Its proponents were diligent in discovering and exposing depressed conditions wherever they be found, whilst criticisms of a social structure which could generate such distress not infrequently accompanied such activity. William Lane and the labour sympathisers typified this standpoint, although the church in its humanitarian role was not insensitive to the issue of social distress. The intensity of both views was of course dependent upon many factors, including the state of the colonial economy at different points in time, the incidence of immigration, and the stage of development of the incipient labour movements. It is intended to state both viewpoints for they were indicative of two things - current perceptions of the vocational

environment in different social sectors, and the social reality which such views reflected. An assessment of the dichotomy will be subsequently attempted.

Few commentators would have concurred completely with the rosy view of colonial conditions put forward in the following immigration notice, claimed to have been posted in English villages. It read:

"Immigrants wanted for Australia - a land flowing with milk and honey - there to gain our independence. All that is wanted is the will."³⁰

English visitors were however especially prone to draw favourable conclusions about Australian working class conditions in comparison with those overseas. "The Australian artisan", wrote James Inglis in 1880 "is infinitely better fed, better housed, and better paid than his brethren in the old country".³¹ Queensland he noted as "a fine poor man's country" wherein "for an honest, industrious, patient working man there is always employment..he can earn good wages, and save money, and eventually own his own house and garden, and certainly never know want".³² The novelist, Anthony Trollope, visiting Queensland and the other colonies in the mid-eighties, was also impressed by the high rate of wages, which were "very tempting to the would-be English emigrant".³³ An author, he ventured, would be usefully employed in 'getting at' the English labourer and his sons and informing them "what would really befall them if, through friends, or by colonial bounty, or State aid, or by personal industry, the...could manage to be landed on the shores of Queensland".³⁴ C.H.Allen, a visitor to Queensland and its goldfields, had elaborated similar praises of working conditions in the seventies:

"With a house of his own building...no rates to pay, and no

30. Quoted by Wannan, W. 'The Australian' p.252. The 'Quetta' scandal arose over similar false enticements-over 100 British immigrants in 1887 being unloaded at Rockhampton & finding work only months afterwards burr-cutting at £1 per week. The Sandy Creek camp passed a resolution over this case denouncing the misrepresentations of the immigrant authorities in England, & cabled it to Reynolds' newspaper in London.

31. Inglis, J. 'Our Australian Cousins' (London) 1880 p.179.

32. *ibid.* pp.43, 76.

33. Trollope, A. 'N.S.W., QLD., Victoria & Tasmania' (Ward, Lock & Co.) 1884 ? p.184.

34. *ibid.* p.185 (see also Twopeny *op.cit.* pp.96-7 for similar views).

Trollope was not an uncritical optimist in this respect however & warned of the difficulties of earning a good living by education or wit. The horny-handed son of toil he saw as most likely to succeed.

taxes except what are levied on the goods he buys, the life of a working man is, in most respects, vastly superior to what he must endure in England".³⁵ If cases of economic hardship in the colonies were not ignored by these almost universally middle or upper class observers they were usually ascribed to pernicious habits and faults of the sufferer. Those who aspired could ultimately achieve. Thus R.E.M. Twopeny argued in 1883 that "every man has it in his power to earn a comfortable living, and if after he has been some time in the colonies the working man does not become one of the capitalists his organs inveigh against, he has only himself to blame".³⁶ Granted reasonable forbearance, assiduity, and patient diligence, all could rise in the society. As an ex-planter observed:

"Many come out with the idea that they will get rich all at once. This is nonsense. A man must patiently plod, and trust to build up a good connexion, and lay by surplus savings, here as elsewhere; but at the end of ten years, if the artisan be steady and saving, he will be in a better position pecuniarily than he would be at the end of twenty years at home. Education for his children, thanks to our public schools, is everywhere available, is cheap and excellent. His political status is infinitely superior to what it would be at home. He has a glorious climate. He need never want work. Food is fairly cheap, and always abundant, and all that is wanted is pluck, perseverance and thrifty self-denial".³⁷ Habits of sloth and over-indulgence

Habits of sloth and over-indulgence were commonly interpreted as almost sole barriers to social and economic improvement. Twopeny put this view in rather an extreme form in the following terms:

"When the colonies were so badly in want of population, they could not stop to pick and choose. Hence there arose

35. Allen.C.H. 'A Visit to Queensland..etc'(London) 1870. p.74.

36. Twopeny *ibid* p.97.

37. Inglis *op.cit.* p.179. Inglis had been a planter in India, was an ex-journalist and newspaper manager, secretary of an insurance company in Australia.

a large influx of loafers, men who, without any positive vice, will do anything rather than a hard day's work... under the name of "the unemployed" they are a constant source of worry to the Government, whom they consider bound to give them something light and easy, with 7/6 or 8/- a day, and give rise abroad to the utterly false impressions that there are times when it is hard for an industrious man to get work in Australia."³⁸

The characteristics attached by James Inglis to labour agitators and 'clap trap orators' were those usually agreed upon in 'respectable' circles as typical of the able unemployed. "I do believe" wrote Inglis "that a more improvident, lazy, self-indulgent, impertinent set of fellows never cursed a colony with their present... They will not work, they are irreclaimable loafers, and their chief aim is how to secure a wage that will keep them in grog and tobacco, and administer to their sensual appetites, without the penalty of giving an equivalent of fair labour in return."³⁹

A further component of this type of argument was the assumption that labour agitation and organisation aiming at improved conditions was directed from a basis of economic consolidation. This at least was Twopeny's assessment of social conditions in Melbourne in the early 'eighties:

"The working men are dressed much more expensively than at home, and there are no threadbare clothes to be seen. Everybody has a well-to-do look. There is not so much bustle as in the City, but the faces of "all sorts and conditions of men" are more cheerful and less care-worn and anxious. You can see that bread-and-butter never

38. *ibid* pp.97-98, he added: "Of course many of our immigrants have become first-rate workmen, but such men soon rise in the social scale".

39. Inglis op.cit. p.76. Troploue also emphasised the dangers of drink as a consolidator of economic dependence. *op.cit.* p.197. "For a labouring man, such as I have described, life in Qld. is infinitely better than at home. It is sometimes very rough & must sometimes be very solitary..but there is plenty to eat & drink, work is well remunerated, & the working man, if he can refrain from drink, may hold his own in Qld., and may enjoy as much independence as is given to any man in this world."

enters into the cares of these people; it is only the cake which is sometimes endangered, or has not sufficient plums in it".⁴⁰

If such assessments of existing social conditions tended to be expressed by those of other than the lower social strata, they were not restricted to the overseas variety of this particular class. Thus the Queensland Figaro in 1883 emphasised the laudable conditions of labour-"the working man in Australia generally, and in Queensland particularly, is pretty nearly master of the situation. Capitalist and workman divide the land between them...The workman here is better off in all respects - that is, he gets far better proportionate remuneration for his skill or his labour than any other workers in the community."⁴¹ A parliamentarian in 1882 put forward views in a similar vein which were to be frequently re-iterated during the decade. In Queensland, he opined, "there was work for all those who like to labour. Of course there were idlers in nearly every community, but there need be none in Queensland. Any man who was inclined to work could find employment at a good rate of wages".⁴² The Queensland Illustrated Guide, a publication furnishing information about colonial conditions for potential immigrants, concluded on an optimistic note in its survey of 1888:

"There are many who grumble and complain, but they know perfectly well that they could never have been, and never have had, in Great Britain what they are and what they possess in Queensland..(it is) a community in which the highest positions and honours are open to every man; a land where comfort and true enjoyment of life are possible to all, and where riches and honour are impossible to none."⁴³

Again the same elements of analysis emerged - emphasis upon the relative prosperity of working conditions, the attribution of individual failures to personal dereliction rather than to circumstances, and the description

40. Twopeny op.cit. p.18. c/f Marjorie Barnard: "Revolution is bred not from destitute & oppressed people but from those subjected to sudden changes from plenty to hardship". Sydney: The story of a City (Melb. Uni. Press) 1956, pp.54-5. Twopeny put the same view again in these terms: "The only grievance the Aust. democrat can bring forward is that having attained the necessities, he cannot without extra labour obtain also the luxuries of life" Twopeny op.cit. p.110.

41. QLD Figaro 13.1.83. It continued: "We begrudge him none of his comforts or gains, only we object to the crawlers who, professing to speak in the name of the working class persist in whining about the 'poor working man'"

42. Minister for Lands - QPD, Vol.37, 1882, p.119. 43 footnote overleaf

of the society as a fluid one permissive of social mobility.

The roseate interpretations of social standards outlined above were of course closely related to concepts of existing economic development. Commentators however were impressed not only by their perception of the 'eighties as a boom era, but also by their evaluation of the colony's potential resources. The myth of illimitable resources was operating at full force prior to the 'nineties and was influential in determining estimates of social prosperity. The sort of viewpoint made explicit in the Annual Report of the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce as late as 1891 implied an almost pre-determined attitude to social conditions viz. that they must be favourable, whilst exceptions were inexplicable except in terms of personal inadequacy. The report read:

"Untold wealth abounds in the colony on every side. A vast area of fertile land awaits willing hands to convert it into a smiling paradise. We can produce with little effort all the fruits grown in tropical, semi-tropical, and temperate climates, and on ~~our~~ higher lands we can grow fruits of the cold climate. We can grow an abundancy of the world's requirements in agricultural products, and grow quantity and quality. Resources abound on every side which only demand man's labour for their ample realisation"⁴⁴

In such a perceived environment unemployment could be understood only as the result of idleness, indulgence or profligacy.⁴⁵ Unemployment was seen by some as the unnatural result of urbanisation. Here the myth of illimitable resources operated in an indirect way - it was the failure of urban populations to develop rural resources which resulted in enclaves of unemployment in cities, and such unemployment was sometimes regarded as a useful stimulant for a possible rural migration. Inglis for instance qualified for urban cases his statement that wages ruled high in the

43. The Qld. Illustrated Guide (Govt. Printer Bris.) 1888 p.86. (Oxley). The early portion of the article was, however, more cautious & restrained. See p.27, this chapter.

44. Annual Report of Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, 1891, p.15. (Oxley). see also Ch.I., p.29 for other examples of prevailing optimism with respect to economic resources.

45. e.g. Inglis: "It is a very common charge against Australians, that of extravagant habits & spendthrift propensities. To some extent, doubtless, it is true, and especially as regards workmen of the lower classes. The bulk of the people undoubtedly spend more freely & indulge in more luxuries than come within the reach of corresponding classes in more densely peopled countries." p.187. Again the Qld. Illustrated Guide

colonies and unskilled labour universally enjoyed an active demand: "where skilled workmen congregate in masses in the towns, as is the too common tendency, of course there is apt to be a glutted market".⁴⁶ Trollope advised workmen to save sufficient money to go on the land as independent owners,⁴⁷ rather than to remain in the cities. An immigration journal emphasised the general viewpoint -

"We wish to impress the fact deeply on the mind of the reader that the capital (Brisbane) cannot absorb all the people who would prefer to remain in it. The pressure of necessity which exists in England, and without which there would be no emigration at all, or very little, exists in a milder form in Brisbane also; if it were not so, little prospect would there be of the cultivation of Queensland's fertile regions beyond".⁴⁸

If the views expressed by those commentators quoted above revealed not only aspects of social reality but also the influences of social background and status, examination of the opposite viewpoint might be contemplated as a corrective. Such a corrective was a drastic one, however, and the dichotomy of opinion over the issue of social conditions became increasingly apparent as the decade wore on. It was the viewpoint of labour spokesmen and supporters especially that diverged from the middle class assessment of industrial conditions. The existence of poverty, want and distress in the community was emphasised, the practices of exploitation exposed, and if economic prosperity in the colony was not completely denied, the whole phenomenon

45. footnote cont. "the people (of Qld.) spend their money freely, live well, dress well, indulge in frequent holidays, & do not stint themselves in recreations, amusements, and pleasures". (pp.88-9)
46. Inglis op.cit. p.178. The Australian put forward similar views-an editorial of 18.10.79 criticised the "chronic accumulation of surplus labour" in Australian capitals, a process closely connected (it thought) "with the gregarious tendencies of their population".
47. Trollope op.cit. p.197.
48. Qld.Illustrated Guide op.cit. p.87. Continued residence in the city, according to this writer, merely inhibited one's chances of social advancement: "if a man hangs about the streets & lodging houses, sans money, sans courage, sans energy, sans everything-he can just as easily become a loafer, a pauper, a drunkard, or a criminal in Brisbane as in any other city, for the same temptations exist, & the victims of indolence, drunkenness and vice are not few". (ibid)

of economic inequality was questioned.

Henry Lawson typified the labour rejection of roseate views of society when he wrote:

"They lie, the men who tell us in a loud decisive tone

That want is here a stranger, and that misery's unknown"⁴⁹

William Lane delighted in exposing such misery. He wrote of unemployment, of long working hours and 'sweating', of pittance wages, slum living, and their accompanying social manifestations of disease and vice. He too rejected any optimistic view of existing social relations, for as he was to write in 1890 in the first number of the Worker, "because there is sunshine here instead of fog, and fever instead of rheumatics, it does not follow that therefore the law of supply and demand....would reverse its invariable process here, and cover the worker with a blessing instead of with a curse".⁵⁰

As the view of labour sympathisers were to become more vociferous with the later 'eighties and the emergence of such newspapers as the Boomerang and Worker, evidence for depressed conditions is more easily available for this period. Nevertheless examples of economic hardship in the earlier years of the decade are not wanting, being usually cited as concomitants of the assisted immigration scheme. The Church, in its humanitarian role, was perhaps more sensitive to social distress than other quarters of the society, and religious newspapers can be read in the early 'eighties almost as a passing commentary on economic developments. A Roman Catholic paper in 1879 described conditions of hardship accompanying a glut in the labour market:

"If we make every allowance for the tendency to grumble, there is sufficient evidence at this moment that Christmas Eve finds a vast number of poor and destitute able-bodied men who have been reduced to such straits by the force of circumstances rather than through any fault of their own. To such any

49. "Faces in the Street" (1888) (Fryer) see also his "Army of the Rear" (1888)

50. "The Worker" Vol.I., No.I, 1.3.90 p.9. (Mitchell)

forced attempt at festivity and mirth seems a cruel mockery".⁵¹

Again the giant influx of migrants in 1883 created condition wherein it was not difficult to isolate cases of want and suffering. The Queensland Evangelical Standard described immigrant conditions in these terms:

"The appearance on our streets of an almost daily augmenting crowd of new chums scanning the advertising columns of our newspapers, or plodding wearily along our streets, indicates a glut in the labour market which the Government and the Municipality and the Divisional Boards ought by some means of co-operation to alleviate as far as possible. We are daily in the homes of recent arrivals whose husbands have for weeks been travelling around the neighbourhood in search of employment. In several cases positive want and suffering already beginning to manifest themselves..."⁵²

The same newspaper described in the following year a case of suicide on the part of an immigrant who failed to obtain employment to maintain himself and his family⁵³, and commented:

"it is at the commencement of a colonial career that hardship, heavy toil and privation are experienced..The roseate pictures that are depicted by some lecturers and journalists should be viewed with distrust..."⁵⁴

In 1887 the Daily Observer, under the initiative of William Lane, quoted a letter despatched by a Queensland immigrant to the English papers that reflected a bitter disillusionment at variance with

51. The Australian 27.12.79. for description of the conditions of depression which led up to the cessation of immigration in Feb. 1879 see Kleinschmidt M.A. "Migration & Settlement Scheme in Qld (Thesis B.A.) p.79; V. & P., 1879, pp.169-171. It will be noticed that in this quotation the force of circumstances rather than personal dereliction is described as productive of distress. c/f Twopeny, quoted p.20 supra.

52. Qld. Evangelical Standard, quoted in Qld. Guardian (Anglican) 8.11.83. The Standard called for united church action to provide 'spiritual supervision' for these thousands, for 'friendless young men & especially young women are exposed in this colony to many temptations'. This provoked a Church of England reply pointing out that denomination's contributions to this cause, especially in the securing of accommodation & employment. Trenmar's claim that he had been instrumental in gaining some 62 persons employment is especially interesting as an indication not only of existing distress but also of the traditional role of the church

optimistic views of the colonial paradise of labour. The letter read:

"I can truthfully say that ever since I landed in Brisbane hundreds of men of all trades and professions have been out of employment and consequently utterly destitute. Still the Government keeps pouring them in to swell the list, and add to the distress. Had I the faintest idea such a state of things existed, believe me, I would never have set sail for Queensland, but would rather have submitted to the meanest drudgery to obtain a livelihood at Home".⁵⁵

Even the publicisers of Queensland as an immigration colony had perforce to qualify their praises in the face of existing unemployment at various periods during the 'eighties. As one emigrant's GUIDE warned of Brisbane prospects in 1888:

"He (the immigrant) may search all over, and ask everywhere, and be willing to work at almost anything for almost anything, and yet he may be unable to get a 'billet' of any kind in the capital. There is no scarcity of shop hands, accountants, clerks, artisans or labourers in Brisbane".⁵⁶

If the unfortunate condition of immigrants sprang more readily to public notice as an indication of social distress, it became the dedicated task of such men as William Lane in the later 'eighties to expose squalor, poverty and misery wherever they be found and to subvert journalistically the general phenomenon of social and economic inequality.⁵⁷ "In Brisbane" wrote Lane in the Daily Observer "genuine

52. footnote cont. / in poor relief. The Standard's appeal for govt. assistance is equally indicative of developing tendencies towards govt. social services. For a description of social service provisions & measures of unemployment relief during the 1866 & 1892 economic crises see Pearson J. "The Growth & Development of Social Services in Qld." (thesis, U. of Qld. 1953) pp. 35 ff.

53. Qld. Evangelical Standard 3.5.84 - "he had walked the streets hoping to get some employment & had again & again returned home disappointed..it is difficult to fathom the misery of such distressed and desperate souls".

54. ibid.

55. Quoted in Labour Notes by Sketcher (alias W. Lane) in Daily Observer 25.6.87.

56. The Qld. Illustrated Guide op. cit. p. 87 - it continued, "The new arrival may obtain, but should not depend upon obtaining, employment in Brisbane".

57. For general accounts of Lane's life & views see Ross, Lloyd "William Lane & the Australian Labour Movement", & Matthews, J. "The Influence of William Lane on the Qld. Labour Movement 1885-93" (B.A. thesis U of Qld. 1954)

cases of dire distress are known to almost every workingman".⁵⁸ He rejected the view that wages were universally high or adequate. He wrote:

"In spite of the increasing number of recipients of poor relief in Brisbane....many of those who are blessed with this world's goods still persist in the insane notion that things are lovely among the Brisbane masses. These people loll back in their easy chairs and talk indignantly about the monstrous wages demanded by the man who makes all, declaring that if wages were lowered everybody would be happy and prosperous...The man who flings away 10/- a day for pocket money is often the loudest in asserting that half that amount is sufficient for an artisan or labourer and those whose so-called necessities are usually absolute luxuries are always the first to cavil at the little comforts of the man who toils. But nowadays with very many it is not a question of luxuries, or even of wages. They have no work, and they have nothing".⁵⁹

In later articles Lane was to re-emphasise these points. Conditions of sweating were exposed, the eight-hour day claimed as largely illusory,⁶⁰ and exaggerated estimates of wage earnings attacked. In the latter respect Lane claimed the average Queensland wage to be under 30/- per week and suggested that "those who consider the pay exorbitant ought to be made to keep their families on it for a whole year - only, perhaps, the common worker is not supposed to have a family or anything else that is luxurious"⁶¹

Criticisms of particular conditions were synthesised into general socialist criticisms of the existing social order. Agreement was extended to Francis Adams' generalisation of the problem of the under-privileged that "all society groans under the slavery of

58. Daily Observer 2.7.87 he continued: "The police tell pathetic stories of strong young fellows whom they meet at night asking to be locked up. They say they are starving & yet do not want to steal. And any man can know something of this distress who will look out for hollowing eyes & pinched faces on Queen St." see also the series of articles in Courier (e.g. 15.12.85, 20.8.86) portraying unemployment, disease, and prostitution.

59. Daily Observer 2.7.87. Lane claimed that wages in the carpentering, painting & other trades had been reduced to "less than comfortable rates", whilst the pay of saw-mill workers & other unskilled labourers in Brisbane had been reduced to 'a pittance'. *ibid.*

60. e.g. Worker 1.3.90 "this is called an eight-Hour (cont. overleaf

stupendous toil and a pittance wage"⁶² Even should the argument be granted that colonial working conditions were superior to those in England (and it is not clear that this was always granted), discussion around this point was seen as irrelevant to the operative issue in the society, viz. the existence of social & economic inequality. That prevailing concept of social progress, dear to the heart of Sir Thomas McIlwraith, which took as its means of attainment the techniques of large business enterprise was seen by Lane to take as its end the same goal of efficiency unlightened by social foresight.⁶³ Sir Samuel Griffith's was the view more acceptable to the socialists when he wrote:

"The great problem of this age is not how to accumulate wealth, but how to secure its more equitable distribution..I maintain that it is our duty to use every effort to prevent the creation in this new land of the terrible inequalities of condition as are seen in the Old World and even in the United States"⁶⁴

Applause of conditions in the colonies only served then to mask the underlying issue, which was seen by the theoretical socialists to involve essential inequality and to require an ultimate change in the system of social relations. Whilst the gulf between classes in Queensland may not have been so abysmal as those existing in Britain, a structure of social inequality had been raised upon the basis of economic organisation which was seen to offend

60. footnote cont. / Country, but how many work 8 hours? Twice as many wage-earners work Ten & numbers Twelve right here in Qld." This will be supported in a later examination of sweating conditions in Brisbane, see p.39 supra.

61. ibid. These sentiments will be recognised as a reaction to the views put forward in an earlier section viz. that habits of extravagance alone inhibited social welfare. This reaction was expressed more directly in a later article in the Worker. The middle class viewpoint was expounded "that all the teaching of the inspired of the ages simply means that competition is sacred & profit-mongering holy, & that those whom the sorrows of the world drive to Socialism are lazy scoundrels who want to loaf at the expense of the hard-working sixty-per-center". (4.6.90)

62. quoted in Ross, op.cit. p.10.

63. See Dignan, D.R. "Sir Thomas McIlwraith" (thesis, B.A.u. of Qld.) pp.117, 123, for McIlwraith's viewpoint.

64. Griffiths' 1883 Election Manifesto, quoted ibid p.117.

against humanitarianism and to bode ill for the future of the new Australian nation. All these elements were apparent in Lane's thinking and as he drew his examples predominantly from Brisbane they may plausibly have reflected to ^{A SUBSTANTIAL} some extent the nature of that society.

Dissillusion with existing conditions was inextricably mixed with a utopian view of the future in Lane's writings and was difficult to understand apart from this idealism.

Aspirations towards a working-class utopia served only to intensify dissatisfaction already provoked by the shortcomings of a capitalistically organised society - "it is not good enough to build here a nation whose head of gold shall be the private property of monopolists, and whose feet of clay shall be crimson with the blood of ill-paid toilers who suffer and die. It is not good enough to drift on to the slums and the workhouse. It would be better to shake this civilisation to pieces as the Goths and Vandals shook the rotten civilisation of Rome, than to see in Brisbane and Townsville the sights one sees in English cities.."65 If there were indications here that the evils of older system had not yet fully developed in this new world, their manifestations were sufficient to breed a large fear for the future in the mind of the idealist. Were not politicians and plutocrats interested to graft the iniquities of the old world in a new nationality?

"Their Australia is to be an America of millionaires and misery, a republic of rent-robbery, a democracy of diamonds, and destitution and despair; the workers are to be its beasts of burden, and the rich its aristocrats, and there is to be no thought for the helpless, and no sympathy for the poor"66
 Whilst the later 'eighties and early 'nineties saw an intensification of these feelings, similar sentiments were being expressed in the

65. Worker 1.3.90.

66/. ibid.

Boomerang as early as 1887. After deploring the prevalence of poverty and hardship and the pernicious effects of the system of supply and demand, Lane in a typical article warned:

"Was this to be our Australian life? Were we indeed as blind Samsons bound to the mill of civilisation? Were we to repeat in the Southern land the misery and mistakes of the North? Was progress to mean with us poverty, and was Queensland's greatness to be cemented with the tears of millions who must weep and toil?"⁶⁷

The political manifestation of this general attitude was the advocacy of a unity of working class activity, directed towards a rectification of inequality, and increasingly resorted to as a utopian solution of social problems in the later 'eighties. Thus in the first number of the Worker Lane appealed for co-operative action on the part of the under-privileged in terms illustrative of socialist disaffection with capitalist organisation. Addressing the working classes he wrote:

"Together you can be free men and women, citizens of a free land, never needing to crave from a fellow man permission to earn a bare living by making somebody else richer, never needing to shrink at the thought that those you love may want. Together, by standing together, you can insure that your boys and girls will have opportunities now denied them - opportunities to be strong and learned, and honoured and happy; that in old age you and those who come after you will have enough; that in sickness or in death there will be no thought of destitution; that the workers will no longer squabble for the buttermilk of their wealth production, while the idle cunning glut themselves with cream..You can take all social injustices and industrial

67. The Boomerang, 26.11.87. Aspects of social inequality were emphasised in Lane's essays in fiction. Thus in one of his series 'Brisbane Saturday Nights' the poor conditions of tramway employees were highlighted, and comparisons drawn with the wealthy class. The hero-a poor tramway employee-after having been splashed by a rich man's carriage obtained a glimpse "of a gentleman in evening dress who had a pew in a church & various other outward & visible signs of respectability, & of the bare flesh of fashionable women, flashing with jewels & voluptuous in silks & laces, a tenth of whose needless luxury would have made him & his content". *ibid.* 26.11.87.

inequalities and vested privileges and strangle them one by one with your million-muscled hands..."⁶⁸

The political intensification of this working class movements and its culmination in the '91 strikes is well-known. During 1890 criticisms of existing evils and attacks upon the social system proliferated. "Men hunger now in the Australian land" wrote Lane, "They hunger because the workers are robbed just as they are in the old lands, because between the labourer and the land stand the land-holder and the machine-holder, bloated with the wealth his work won for them; denying him leave to work except as it pleases them. By hunger is the Australian worker forced down to degradation..."⁶⁹ The A.L.F. platform, published in September 1890, embodied an indictment of the prevailing system:

"Little indeed can be done so long as industry is conducted solely for the profit of the few, and not for the good of all; so long as society neglects the duty of enforcing social justice, and of reforming an industrial system which compels the toiling many to surrender the greater part of their wealth production to the few. The General Council is individually and collectively convinced and believes, as the vast majority of thinking workers are coming to believe, that social misery, poverty, vice, and enmity are the natural fruit of the industrial system as it exists today, denying to the workers the liberty to work and live except by the permission of a class which is permitted to hold for its own advantage the means of production and distribution...."⁷⁰

68. The Worker Vol.1. No.1. 1.3.1890.p.9. "Singly, individually", he continued "you are really as powerless..as the slum-soaked slaves of modern Babylon." The workers' motto, as set forth in Lane's 'Labour Notes', was to be "Organise, Educate, Agitate, Arbitrate". see Daily Observer, 3.4.86.

69. Worker, 1.4.90.

70. Quoted in Worker, 1.9.90 p.9. It went on to describe "the present industrial system, commonly called the competitive system" as "destructive, pernicious & altogether evil" (ibid). Feeling against existing conditions became heightened in this period, with more than one indication of the possibility of a coming revolt e.g. a poem in the Worker in Nov., 1890 addressed to the Son of Mamma:

Why shouldst these alone have power in Earth's Paradise
to dwell,
(cont. overleaf)

The capitalist system was felt to bar the way to Labour and to the utopia of social equality. "Capitalism" summed up Lane "has proved its incompetence to direct industry; it has shown that 'supply and demand' its godless principle is unworkable; it has had full swing and today the world stands on the verge of upheaval.."71

This then was the dichotomy of opinion which existed over the nature of colonial working conditions. Both sets of views were explicable in the context of the social backgrounds and predilections of their exponents. Faced with the same social phenomena they arrived at vastly different conclusions. The view typical of Inglis and Twopeny was written from a middle or upper class standpoint and embodied an implicit acceptance of the prevailing social system. It tended therefore towards an emphasis of general economic prosperity and towards a favourable comparison with depressed conditions in England. Exceptions to general prosperity, if they were ~~not~~ noted, were rationalised in terms of pernicious social traits in the persons involved. The second viewpoint typically written at the working class level by labour sympathisers tended to question the whole basis of existing social and economic relations. Social distress was publicised in all its forms and any roseate view of existing conditions rejected. The social system received most blame as a cause of economic distress, unemployment being perceived as the fault of circumstances rather than as the personal fault of the unemployed. The unequal distribution of wealth and privilege was perceived as the operative fact of the existing society, a fact in substantial unaccord with the new aspirations of the lower strata within the community.

If these were the differing perceptions of social phenomena what was the reality? How is one to account for such widely diverse

70 footnote cont./

Whilst thy poorer brother groaneth in the gloomy vaults
of hell?

.....

Therefore, O thou slave of Mammon in thy majesty and might,
Take thou heed unto this warning e'er the coming of the night!
For thy ears may soon be ringing with red Revolution's call -
Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.
Again 'Mudgee' Taylor, proprietor of Sydney Truth, put violent views
at this time at a public meeting in Bourke. "The time might come
when the people will hang each capitalist to his / cont. overleaf

assessments of the same social situation? It is generally arguable that the views expounded above, if apparently dichotomous, were not completely incompatible. The differences arose as it has been suggested, because different commentators with different viewpoints and different interests focussed their attention upon separate aspects and areas of the total occupational continuum. Both sorts of view had a basis in reality and could be supported by considerable evidence. Social distress did exist in Brisbane and it was natural that both labour sympathisers and Church humanitarians should note and condemn this fact. But a good case can be made for substantially high standards of living current amongst most groups in the lower occupational strata consequent upon general economic prosperity in an era of boom, and it was not unnatural that this aspect of the social situation should impress itself upon middle class observers. The task in this respect then becomes one of rejecting over-simplified interpretations, of avoiding the exaggerations implicit in interested contemporary comment, and of modifying emphasis.

In the first case the socialist resentment at social and economic inequalities, and the labour condemnation of a concentration of colonial wealth in a few hands were attitudes not unbased in fact or essentially incompatible with the middle class viewpoint. It was argued in the earlier portion of this chapter that a definite occupational stratification, involving wage dependency for a substantial portion of the population, was emerging in a

70. cont. footnote. / own door-post, when the Australian people will tear down the flag under whose shadow all these iniquities were perpetrated, and in its place hoist the flag of Australia". (quoted in Worker 1.11.90).

Edwin Brady's poetry reflected similar anarchistic strains:

"Tyrants flee and cowards falter -
 For a lamp-post and a halter
 Wait for every tyrant at the corner of the street
 In the hour of retribution
 In the night of revolution".

See also Lawson 'Faces in the Street'.

71. Worker, 1.9.90 p.9. Gilbert Cassey expressed similar despondency at the evils of the existing system in an article labelled 'Is Life worth Living?' in Worker 21.2.91. He commented "Look around through our civilisation of today; see the ever-increasing misery & destitution; see our hordes of unemployed; note the selfishness & greed; mark the brutal struggle in which helpless women and children, virtue & honour, love & humanity/ctd. overleaf

period of economic consolidation. The perception of this process of occupational differentiation, with all its concomitants of inequality of wealth distribution, monopolistic economic organisation etc., it is suggested lay at the basis of the socialist viewpoints of Lane and the others. The tacit acceptance of this process as a natural fact of life on the part of Inglis, Twopeny and Trollope explained their different emphases. Thus for Inglis the aggressive aspirations of the working class are to be deplored - they have not a sufficient concept of their correct role in society: "the majority of the white working men" he wrote "have exaggerated ideas of their own importance. They want large pay for little work"⁷² Describing the same aspirations Lane could write that "purse proud plutocrats sneer at the complaints of the workers and bid them be thankful if all their labouring gives them enough of bread."⁷³ One accepts existing social relations, the other questions them. Obviously social conditions need not be radically different for the elicitation of different views and perceptions.

Provided a somewhat restricted focus was taken of specific aspects of the total occupational pattern, the case for depressed conditions could claim a reasonable basis in fact. Enclaves of unemployment and conditions of social distress undoubtedly accompanied the existing system of economic organisation. The scourge of poverty and the disadvantages of low estate were especially emphasised during periodic economic recessions, and were invariably highlighted when gluts of labour were precipitated in times of heavy assisted migration.⁷⁴ (The years 1879-80, 1883, & 1887 would seem to be of particular relevance in this respect). Depressed working conditions

71. footnote cont./ are trampled underfoot in the mad, insane struggle for a bare existence.. Nothing but fraud, hypocrisy, and deception visible everywhere. Doubt, denial & distrust whichever way you turn..".

72. Inglis op.cit. p.79. Sir Gilbert Parker, visiting Australia prior to the 1891 crash was impressed by similar tendencies in Australian workmen: "I merely point out" he wrote "a characteristic and a fact, & say that there is at present not the same strenuousness of achievement in Australia.. Men do not work so long or so hard as they do elsewhere". quoted in Barnard op.cit. pp.54-5.

73. Worker 1.3.90.

74. That immigration was closely linked with conditions of working class prosperity & unemployment seems self-evident in view of the general acceptance of this thesis by both governments & the lower classes in this period. The cessation of immigration

and the characteristic abuses of the factory system - long working hours, low pay, 'sweating', unsanitary conditions, exploitation of child and female labour - were concomitants of the city's manufacturing and retail industries, as they were of such other other sectors of industry, ^{especially those that} that lacked effective labour organisation. Concentration of attention upon these aspects of the total picture was calculated to ensure pessimism.

The existence of such charitable bodies in Brisbane as the Salvation Army Rescue Home, the Female Refuge, the Brisbane Charity Organisation and the Brisbane Board of Outdoor Relief,⁷⁵ testified to the existence of some measure of distress and destitution. So did the promulgation of such schemes as the State Assisted Village settlement scheme, directed towards the vitiation of the unemployment and immigration problems.⁷⁶ Even the middle class English visitor was forced to admit that immediate success in the colonies were rare, whilst perseverance and patience were invariably mentioned as necessary ingredients for social achievement.⁷⁷ The ~~woman~~^{rk} who wished to succeed had to be "industrious and careful",⁷⁸ "honest, industrious, patient"⁷⁹, whilst "the old, the idle the reckless, and the soft-handed will only come to worse grief in the colony than the grief they will leave behind them."⁸⁰ Both Inglis and the immigration pamphleteers had perforce to mention the periodic labour gluts which recurred in urban areas.⁸¹ All of which suggests that labour conditions were not always rosy, or that unemployment was always negligible.

The investigation of the 1891 Shops and Factories Commission revealed the difficulties of generalising too readily about standards

75. See Pugh's Almanack; V. & P. 1892, Vol. III pp. 284 ff. for benevolent societies, refuges, homes, relief board. See pp. 25-8 supra for descriptions of immigrant unemployment. *give article page in this*

76. See Matthews *op. cit.* pp. 68-99 for summary of the aims of his scheme.

77. See Inglis *op. cit.* p. 179.

78. See Twopeny *ibid.* of *cit* p. 51.

79. Inglis *op. cit.* p. 76.

80. Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 188.

81. see pp. 23-24. *refer to article page here*.

74. footnote cont./was brought about almost invariably because Govts. felt that continued migration intensified conditions of economic emergency. e.g. in 1879-80, see *Courier* 10.2.79. Working-class opposition to assisted migration was normal, & intensified in periods of recession. e.g. the T. & L.C.'s opposition to immigration in 1866 (*Courier* 9.4.86), the action of workmen's deputations to Griffith in 1891/over

of living, rates of pay and working conditions operative in Brisbane at the time. Considerable diversities between particular occupations and trades were isolated in these respects, and the myth of universally ameliorated conditions exploded. Rates of remuneration were found to depend upon both degree of skill enjoyed and branch of industry worked in. Thus although artisans generally received a margin for skill, wages obtained by workers in this classification varied widely between £2 and £4 per week in those establishments investigated by the Commission.⁸² Unskilled workers obtained lower average rates ranging from £1.10.0 to £3 per week. Further variations were imposed in both skilled and unskilled trades via the current practice of piecework - most common in the tailoring, boot-making, and mercery trades and very prevalent in Brisbane's factories (especially in tobacco and confectionery manufacturing). Striking inequalities existed with respect to the wages of female workers and youths, which were depressed in comparison with adult male rates. Thus whilst a male factory hand might expect £3 per week in 1891, girls employed in biscuit manufacturing received between 6/- and 18/6 per week and youths 6/- per week. Large variations in working hours enormously complicated any assessment of living standards. The 8-Hour day, as Lane pointed out, was by no means normal, at least in Brisbane shops and factories, and hours of work ranged from 40 hours per week in many of the skilled trades to the 52 hours worked by hands in biscuit factories, 57 hours worked by waitresses, and 60-90 hours worked by bakers. Some current rates of pay and prevailing hours of work in different occupations are given in the following table:

74. cont.footnote./

protesting against assisted immigration and Italian migration. (Worker 10.1.91).

82. See Report of Royal commission of Inquiry into Shops, Factories, and Workshops; V. & P., 1891, Vol.II, p.927 ff. The Commission investigated 64,shops, factories and workshops, mainly in Brisbane, and interviewed a large number of witnesses. The following data is abstracted from this source unless otherwise indicated.

<u>STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>RATE OF PAY (RANGE)</u> per week	<u>HOURS (RANGE)</u> per week
<u>UNSKILLED</u>	<u>FACTORY HANDS</u> ⁸³		
	ADULT MALE	35/- to £3 per wk.	40-51 $\frac{1}{4}$
	FEMALE	5/- to £1.10.0 per wk.	40-51 $\frac{1}{4}$
	BOYS, YOUTHS	6/- to £1.12.0 " "	40-51 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<u>DRAPERY:</u> ⁸⁴		
	GIRLS	5/- to £2	48-67
	BOYS	10/6	48-67
	<u>STOREMEN</u>	£2.10.0	45 $\frac{1}{2}$ -50
	<u>WAITRESSES</u>	12/- to 16/- (& board)	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ -57 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<u>SALESMEN</u> ⁸⁵	£2 to £5	45-67
<u>CLERKS &</u>	<u>SALESWOMEN</u>	15/- to £2	45-67
<u>SALESMEN</u>	YOUTHS & JNR. SALESMEN	15/- - £1.17.0	45-67
	JUNIOR SALESWOMEN	19/- to 23/-	45-67
	<u>TAILORS</u> ⁸⁶	£1.5.0 - £2	40-45
	BAKERS	£2.15.0 - £3	60-90
	BOOTMAKERS ⁸⁷	£2 - £2.10.0	44-52 $\frac{1}{2}$
	BUTCHERS	£1 to £3	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ -87 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>SKILLED</u>	PRINTERS & COMPOSITORS ⁸⁸	£3 to £4 (with piecework)	42-65
	FRENCH POLISHERS	45/-	40
	TINSMITH	£2.2.0 to £2.14.0	40-44
	WATCHMAKERS	£2 to £4	39-47

TABLE 29: RATES OF PAY & HOURS OF WORK IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS: 1891.⁸⁹

83. including biscuit, cordial, jam, tobacco, confectionery manufacturing. Rates of pay are not all inclusive e.g. tobacco-twisters on piecework received between 35/- to £3 on average, but exceptional work could attain £6-7. Confectionery factory hands on piecework sometimes attained £4 per week. Similarly hours depended upon the type of factory employed in-cordial factories worked 8 a.m. till 5 p.m. for a 40 hour week. Tobacco factories commonly worked from weekly 8 till 6, with 4-5 hours work on Saturdays.

84. Finney Isles, Edwards & Lamb.

85. in boot trades, drapery, hardware & including counter-hands (latter usually £2 - 3.10.0).

86. working piecework-10d. hour for each garment, £1-£1.5.0 for coat, 18/-, 10/- for trousers etc. Tailoresses received lower rates- 8/6 for coat, 3/- for trousers, 3/6 for vests, dressmakers-9/- to £1 per week.

87. Piecework-9/- to £1 per doz. boots. Female machinists received
/cont. overleaf

If it was apparent that quite wide variations of working conditions accompanied industrial development in Brisbane, the findings of the Commission also confirmed many labour allegations of the existence of abuses in certain sections of industry. The prevalence of long working hours, child exploitation, "sweated labour" and unsanitary conditions, not essentially different from the accompaniments of the factory system in England, qualified optimistic views of a colonial working class paradise.⁹⁰

Although long working hours were not uncharacteristic of the skilled trades, they were especially prevalent in retailing and in specialised trades such as bakery. The hours worked in retail shops ranged from eight to eleven hours on week-days and from four to fourteen hours on Saturdays, exclusive of time for meals.⁹¹ Butchers worked commonly over 80 hours per week, hours of daily work in some cases extending from 4.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m., with seventeen or eighteen hours worked on Saturdays. Brisbane bakers had engineered a strike in 1886 aiming to reduce working hours to ten hours per day.⁹² by 1891 they were still working 'stretches' of 13 hours on week-days and eighteen hours on Friday nights for their £2-3 per week. Various factories worked over 50 hours weekly, whilst many draperies and retail stores worked sixty-seven hours. "The evidence taken" according to the Report "goes strongly to prove how enervating and injurious to the constitution of both male and female employees in retail shops is the habit of keeping the assistants at work during such long and late hours in a climate so trying as that of Queensland, while the ill-effects are aggravated where the work has to be carried on under gaslight as is necessarily the case when shops are kept open at night."⁹³

87. footnote cont./ 5/- to £1.10.0 per week, boys - 5/- to 25/-, girls 7/6 - 10/- per week.

88. Girls employed bookbinding received only 3/- to 5/- per week, machine boys 10/- to 12/-.

89. for full details see Commission Report, Appendices, V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, pp. 1311-1317.

90. It is possibly unwise to use the rates of pay obtained by the Commission as indications of actual prosperity or non-prosperity during an earlier period, for as the Commissioners noted their investigation was held "during a period of great commercial depression & general stagnation of business in all trades" (p. 957). Expenditure, & hence wages and staff, were reduced & "possibly therefore the evidence obtained may not in reference to workers in some occupations show the actual amount that would be earned in more prosperous times." However it was clear that existing practices with respect to the pay of children & women, & with respect to the existence of unhealthy conditions & other factory abuses, were the product of long habit and were certainly prevalent in the 'eighties. // footnote 91 overleaf

The evidence elicited by the Commission in respect of the exploitation of women and children in industry lent weight to Anthony Trollope's observation seven years earlier, that "cheap labour, or at any rate labour as cheap as possible, is in Queensland as much regarded as elsewhere".⁹⁴ Child labour was found to be extensively used in Brisbane factories and workshops, and in numerous cases children of ten, eleven and twelve were discovered in employment. Working the same length of time as adults, they were commonly paid a pittance wage, the evils of the system reaching their nadir in apprenticeship practices. Exploitation of young girls "indentured" to the tailoring, dressmaking and millinery trades was especially pernicious. For periods of up to twelve months pay was commonly withheld from apprentices, after which (provided the 'contract' was not terminated) wages rose to an average 5/- and thereafter increased "at no stated period and by no rule so far as your Commissioners were able to discover".⁹⁵ Similar malpractices were normal in other trades. Agreements were generally verbal with no guarantee of security on the part of the employee. Training of apprentices in a knowledge of their trade would appear to have been hazardous.⁹⁶ Women were popularly employed in shops and factories as a pool of cheap labour, but there was no evidence of an amelioration of their conditions consequent upon this fact, as the commissioners pointed out:

91. Report on.cit. V. & P., p.958. Meal times ranged from half an hour to one hour, with no specified time in some shops.

92. Daily Observer, 22.3.86, p.3. Hours varied in 1886 from 12-18 hours per day. One baker claimed that he began work at 5 p.m. & finished at 1 p.m. next day on every week-day except Saturdays -for which he received 30/- per week & 'found'. (ibid)

93. Report, V. & P. p.958. The Shop Assistants Early Closing Association, begun in 1889 under Frank McDonnell, had taken up this cause in preceding years. For a brief history of the early closing movement see McDonnell's evidence before Commission, V & P p.1973. In an attempt to attain their objectives via 'moral suasion' deputations were sent to Brisbane employees, who generally favoured the move. Of one or two exceptions (opposed to general closure at 6 p.m.), "one was a draper in Queen St., who said that if there were eight days in the week he would work his assistants on all of them"(McDonnell V.& P.p.974). Such attitudes led to the failure of 'moral suasion' & helped provoke the convocation of the Commission.

94. Trollope, op.cit. p.188.

95. Report, V. & P. p.960. Some prevailing apprentice rates of pay were: boot trades - 5/- for 1st year; 7/6 2nd year; 10/- & 12/6 for 3rd & 4th drapers - 3/- to 13/6 (no salary 1st 6 months), dressmakers /years. 5/- -30/- (no salary 1st 12 months), printers-7/6 (to begin) up to £1, tailors - 5/- (to begin) up to 12/6, tinsmith 8/- (to begin) to 16/-.

96. the majority report recommended ~~written~~ ^{written} trade agreements/ cont. overleaf

"We desire to draw particular attention to the fact that women and young girls are working in factories the same number of hours as the men, whilst the wages paid them barely reach one-half of the amount earned by their stronger co-workers."⁹⁷

The conditions of child and female labour revealed by the Commission's investigations served only to confirm the impressions conveyed by Lane in an article in the Boomerang three years earlier. He had attacked existing abuses in these terms:

"The position of working women in the cities of the colony is becoming worse and worse every year as the struggle for existence deepens around us, and as grinding avarice is thus enabled to make more and more advantage of the necessities of those who must live. They are becoming herded in stifling workshops and ill-ventilated attics; they are dragged back to work late on summer nights; and they are forced to stand all day behind the counters of the large emporiums that are the boast of great towns. They are 'sweated' by clothing factories and boot factories; they are housed, when servant girls, in disgraceful kennels; they are used in this fair Australian land, well nigh as badly as they are used in the modern Babylon of Wealth and Want...And the children too are being dragged into the slave-house of toil; little ones who should be at school, or at play, are working in factories and shops, and the law, instead of rescuing them..stands by to ply the whip on their backs if they revolt."⁹⁸

The employment of "sweated labour", by which Brisbane manufacturers purchased "outwork" at subsistence rates, aroused resentment in those who saw the process as subversive of working conditions.⁹⁹

96.cont. & suggested that "employers should be bound, as part of this bargain, to impart a thorough knowledge of the trade or employment". V. & P., p.960. Attention was also drawn to the long hours imposed upon apprentices working on bi-weekly & tri-weekly newspapers, viz. 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. the following morning with only 2 or 3 breaks interposed - "In most offices the work is done almost entirely by boys, apprentices being discharged on the completion of their indentures". Report V. & P. p.960.

97. Report ibid, p.959. See Table 29, p.38 supra for evidence of lower female rates.

98. Boomerang 7.1.88. The substance of these charges is borne out in /cont.overleaf

More tangible abuses of the factory system were, however, present in the existence of generally unsanitary working conditions.¹⁰⁰ Overcrowding, ineffective ventilation, bad lighting, inadequate sanitary facilities, and lack of protection against the dangers of machinery constituted normal conditions in a host of small Brisbane factories. The City Inspector's description of a Charlotte Street tobacco factory gives some indication of prevailing conditions in the worst type of establishment. He reported:

"The workshop measures 50 feet x 52 feet x 15 feet and is engrained with filthy and greasy matter, from which smells of a most offensive character exude. There are thirty-two male and female workers, but the place is so overcrowded with trade appliances that there is not even an ordinary free passage for the persons employed. The available space for the workers is absurdly small and the air is not pure. There is one closet for the males and one for the females, both being of very small dimensions, and situated too closely together. The closet for the girls is also used as a cloakroom which is exceedingly objectionable..The smells from the urinations and otherwise are most offensive. One of the female workers is employed all day in close proximity to this abomination. The factory is never washed..¹⁰¹

Disapproval was also extended by the investigators to the existing practice of "boarding-in" of employers, to the continuous use of treadle machines by female employees, and to the prevalent lack of sitting accommodation afforded female counter assistants.¹⁰²

98.cont. / in the detailed minutes of Evidence attached to the Commission's Report. For a typical example of conditions in clothing see Minutes, V. & I. op.cit. p. 1197 ff. Girls were not paid for 6 months, trainees being employed for 3 months & then put on piecework. Many such girls were ignorant of the conditions of their contract. A girl was lucky to earn 5/- a week at current rates, whilst "outwork" was common & frequently deprived indoor hands of work.

99. 'Sweating' & the cheap production of 'slops', as they were called, prevailed in the tailoring industry alongside the system of piecework. One witness before the commission expressed strong objections to 'sweaters' - "The sweater is a man who has got a little inkling of the trade & is not fit to work among tailors. He takes work of an inferior class & gets a less price for doing it than journeyman tailors..if the inhabitants of Qld. could only know the degradation to which sweating reduces people in the old country I am quite sure they would wipe the sweaters out of existence altogether". Minutes of Evidence, V & P. OP. CIT. P. 1187.

100. for full reports of conditions & workshops visited by the Commission see reports of Mr. Lee-Bryce, City Inspector of Brisbane municipality, Appendix A., V. & P. op.cit. p. 1300-1309.

The findings of the Commission then indicate that there were important enclaves within Brisbane's industrial organisation wherein a case could be made for depressed working conditions -- conditions which if not inferior to those associated with the factory system in England at least closely approximated them in some respects. It is evident too that these conditions, exposed in 1891, had been in most of their aspects characteristic of the earlier decade. Long hours in factories and retail stores were no new phenomena of the 'nineties, as the general tenor of evidence adduced at the investigation suggested. Similarly it was apparent that the defects of the apprenticeship scheme, the exploitation of child and female labour, of "sweating" and unsatisfactory working conditions were long-standing and typical of the 'eighties as of the 'nineties.¹⁰³ Certainly evidence is not wanting of distress in particular industries and trades in the earlier decade. Whilst the demand for domestic servants in the 'eighties ensured them a relatively high rate of remuneration,¹⁰⁴ it was commonly observed that it did not ensure adequate or satisfactory living conditions. It was not William Lane but a Brisbane lady of the middle-class who in 1886 condemned existing servant facilities in these terms:

"How many are there who will even go to the length of giving the servant a comfortable healthy sleeping apartment? It is generally any room not required for the family; too close, too small, or too insecure for any other member of the household, but quite good enough for the servant - and yet she, of all in the household, is most in need of a little comfort when her long day's work is ended. Many, many many indeed, of the rooms reserved for the servants in this colony are totally unfit to be occupied by any human creature-

101. *ibid*, p.1904.
102. Report, V & P., p.961. The voluminous evidence collected in the Minutes of the Report constitutes a veritable mine of information regarding the conditions & practices of employment current in industry in Brisbane at this period.
103. it may even be argued that the rise of the labour movement & humanitarianism in the late '80's & 90's may have facilitated an amelioration of such conditions in the later period. It is certainly difficult to envisage the calling of a body such as the Commission ten years earlier.
104. see Daily Observer 9.3.86. "every servant, whether good or bad, is snatched up the moment she offers". General servants were paid 10/- 15/- per week, housemaids 10/- to 12/-, private cooks 15/---18/-, hotel cooks 20/---25/-: "servants' wages" wrote an irate mistress "are far too high in Qld: but so long as mistresses will pay anything to get a good servant all will suffer". (*ibid*)

as often as not the servants' room is some outhouse or a room next the stable; I have even known of a girl being put to sleep in the saddle-room"¹⁰⁵

Such conditions may well have contributed to and intensified "the idea of degradation attached to the position of a 'slavey' in the minds of the lower classes"¹⁰⁶ Similarly the bakers' strike of 1886 was largely successful because public sympathy was aroused over treatment which constituted "an outrage upon common decency"¹⁰⁷ The claims of the Operative Bakers' Association were largely directed towards a redress of depressed wages and inordinate working hours. Amongst their aims were included the restriction of hours to 10 per day or night, the provision of a minimum wage of £2.10.0 for journeymen (paid weekly), and the institution of a proper indenture system for apprentices.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile William Lane took as his particular interest the exposure of depressed working conditions in the tramways¹⁰⁹ whilst his writings had since 1885 revealed a sensitivity to all forms of child exploitation and abuses associated with female employment. ^{Similarly} Again unskilled workers, general labourers, and skilled workers employed in the building industry constituted sectors of the industrial community especially susceptible to economic fluctuations in the colony. Thus of the unemployed registered at the 1891 Census the largest single group included general labourers, factory workers, carters, waggoners, horse-drivers and mechanics,¹¹⁰ whilst artisans engaged in the building industry constituted a substantial proportion of the urban unemployed.¹¹¹ Such groups were almost certainly amongst the first to be adversely affected by the minor recessions of the eighties.¹¹²

105. Daily Observer 9.3.86.

106. Twopenny op.cit. p.59, quoting from the Melbourne 'Argus'. The article argues mainly however that the discipline & lack of independence associated with the position of a servant offended primarily against Australian traits of egalitarianism. See p.61 *ibid.*

107. Daily Observer 22.3.86, report of a speech by Hiley of the Trades & Labour Council. The strike had been successful, claimed the Observer, "because the demands of the men were quite just and reasonable... & because the people and Press of this city sympathise as strongly with Unionism when it is in the right as they oppose it when it is in the wrong." *ibid* 19.3.86.

108. The Waged of Workmen Bill, 1880, was introduced as a security against default of wages, & for the ensuring of wage debt payments. Allegations were made in debate that defraud of workmen's wages by sub-contractors was common, whilst the expenses of legal action effectively prevented redress. Cases were cited wherein railway employees were defrauded out of 3 months wages. See Q.P.D., Vol. XXXIII, 1880, pp.1039-41. The question of payment of weekly wages was still operative by 1886 - see report of

Further variations of working conditions and living standards were imposed by another factor in the occupational environment - the degree and effectiveness of trade union organisation present in any specific trade or sector of industry. The connection between this factor and existing conditions of work was necessarily close, and it was not fortuitous that those sections of the industrial community experiencing depressed wages, long hours, poor working environments and highest incidence of unemployment characteristically lacked effective labour organisation. Where standards of living and working conditions were recognised to be superior in the colony this was correspondingly felt in many quarters to be largely the result of trade union activity. "No reasonable man can deny" wrote the Daily Observer in 1886 "that the modern trade unions have wonderfully improved the condition of the artisan class"¹¹³ This became an axiomatic article of faith on the part of labour leaders and sympathisers who almost invariably attributed high standards and ameliorated conditions to the efforts of the working class itself. Lane did not share James Inglis' confidence in the essential benevolence of employers¹¹⁴ when he stated the case for labour organisation in these terms:

"Those who profit by the work of others object to solidarity; it is for their own pecuniary advantage that they endeavour to persuade the workers that it is far better to beg for enough to live on, cap in hand, than to march up like men and demand it. And this they reiterate regardless of the fact that only in those occupations wherein are societies able and ready to fight are there to

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108. cont. footnote. a conference between the Builders' and Contractors' Associations & a T. & L.C. deputation in Daily Observer, 22.3.86. A contractor on the hospital fever ward job had paid only 1/- in the pound wages on his insolvency, which had provoked the conference.
109. see E.G. Boomerang, 26.11.87; Worker 1.3.90, p.9.
110. Order XX in the Census classification totalling 3,535 in Qld.
111. Over 1071 such artisans were unemployed in Qld. see V.& P.1892, Vol. III, p.831.
112. Thus the Qld. T. & L.C. in 1887 reported considerable unemployment among general labourers & some unemployment among skilled artisans. See Matthews op.cit. p.27.
113. Daily Observer, 10.4.86.
114. Inglis, op.cit. p.179.

be found the Eight Hours and 'fair wages'¹¹⁵

The correlation between the existence of depressed conditions in shops, factories and workshops and the absence of any wide-spread labour organisation in these sectors of industry lends credence to Lane's contention.¹¹⁶

Trade union organisation with an urban relevance in the 'eighties was characteristically organisation of skilled rather than unskilled trades. Whilst this was especially so in the first five years of the decade, it was also typical, if to a lesser extent, of the latter half of the 'eighties for the great federated organisations of unskilled labour which loomed large in labour history in the years immediately preceding the 'nineties were typically of rural rather than urban significance.¹¹⁷ The existence of wide variations of working conditions in different areas of industry, and especially in unskilled compared with skilled trades, was dependent upon this, as upon other, factors.

Trade union organisation in Brisbane had of course preceded the 'eighties. The Queensland Typographical Union for instance was established in 1873. The 'eighties however witnessed an intensification of the process so that by the time the decade had worn half away a high proportion of workers in secondary industry and the skilled trades were union members.¹¹⁸ In September 1885 a Trades and Labour Council, soon consisting of a federation of seventeen unions, was organised in Brisbane. It comprised some 6000 members, the vast majority of whom were of the skilled trades - 'typos', seamen, boilermakers, coachmakers, carpenters, ironmoulders, masons and engineers.¹¹⁹ The Australian Labour

115. Worker, 1.3.90.

116. Lack of organisation within the ranks of female labour certainly added to the attractions of this type of labour in employers' eyes. Similarly the "wretched" organisation of the bakers was probably not a chance factor, in their deplorable conditions- see Daily Observer, 19.3.86.

117. For a history of trade unionism see Sutcliffe, J.T. A History of Trade Unionism in Australia (1921); Fitzpatrick, B. A Short History of the Australian Labor Movement (Melb., 1944); The History of Capital & Labour in All Lands & Ages..etc. (Oceanic) 1888, esp. pp217 ff.

118. By 1890 there were estimated to be over 20,000 unionists in the colony - Boomerang 18.10.90.

119. The Qld. Typographical Association was established in April, 1884, and by 1886 included 201 of 217 'typos' in Brisbane (the older Union became defunct). Its funds were sound, & Lane described it as the 'strongest trade society in the colony'. It obtained a minimum wage of 52/6 for a 48 hour week in 1885, see Daily Observer 20.3.86. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers constituted a local branch of the English society and was 86 strong in 1886 out of

League, merged in 1887 into the Workers' Political Reform Association, constituted, alongside such bodies as the anti-Chinese League and the Queensland European Labourers Protection Society, further forms of labour organisation directed towards a safeguarding of the interests of labour, predominantly skilled labour.¹²⁰

The organisation of the skilled trades in the early 'eighties meant as a rule that standards of living rose and working conditions improved in those trades. The primary activity of such unions was directed towards the defence of their specific interests. This entailed the maintenance and improvement of prevailing rates of pay, and resistance, via the strike and black ban, to any attempted lowering of conditions on the part of employers. It also frequently entailed opposition to unskilled workers who tended to encroach upon the preserves of the skilled worker. Lane described some of the existing attitudes of the artisan to the unskilled labourer:

"The tradesman, the artisan, has been called 'the aristocrat of labour' and indeed he has been to blame for a certain lack of consideration for his unskilled brother. He has had a notion, too often, that because he has acquired skill and because from the need of skill he has a greater chance to control the labour in his particular market, that he is somewhat better than his mate who works for a shilling or two less, and who has only strength or unskilled intelligence. This is wrong..it is the great flaw in the labour movement and the workers will never do very much until they stand together as one man."¹²¹

It was the objective of the Queensland labour movement in the late

119. footnote cont./ 200 engineers eligible for membership. Daily Observer 27.3.86. In 1887 the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters was ~~invalled~~ by a new Local Society of Carpenters, largely because the high fees of the former body inhibited extension of organisation. In order to minimise 'cut-throat competition' in an overstocked market (resulting in wage drops & low margins for skill) the Local Society was set up with a 5/- entrance fee and a weekly due of 3d. Daily Observer 9.7.87, 16.7.87. for proposed organisation of drivers, conductors, & busdrivers in the tramways - see *ibid* 9.7.87. A separate Qld. branch of the Federated Seamen's Union of Australasia was organised in 1885.

120. The object of the Labour League was "to so amalgamate the strength of organised unions as to ensure as far as possible fair consideration & satisfactory settlement of all disputes concerning work & wages, to protect members against black-listing & to substitute fair industrial arbitration for strikes". quoted in Matthews *op.cit.* p.70. For an indication of traditional craft union attitudes towards organisation see accounts of the Intercolonial Trade Union Congresses in History

'eighties to rectify this defect, and the ideal of complete solidarity lay behind such important organisational developments as the formation of the Australian Labour Federation.¹²² But if trade unionism was characteristically extended in these years to unskilled and semi-skilled workers,¹²³ this development was more relevant to rural rather than urban labour. Of the three key Federal unions which had evolved effective inter-colonial organisations by the 'nineties - the pastoral workers, seamen and miners - only the seamen could lay claim to an urban domicile. The wharf labourers in Brisbane were effectively organised by the 'nineties, but large enclaves of the city's unskilled, semi-skilled and white collar workers - general labourers, navvies, factory hands, female labour, clerks, salesmen and shop assistants - remained substantially unaffected by trade union activity.¹²⁴ In view of the numerical significance of these strata in Brisbane's occupational organisation - unskilled constituting approximately 26% and white collar workers at least 7% of the total working population - it would have been surprising if observers who were so orientated had not discovered substantial evidence of depressed conditions accompanying lack of union organisation in these particular labour enclaves.

Concentration of attention then upon specific aspects and areas of the occupational continuum - upon unemployment associated with heavy assisted migration, upon conditions in Brisbane's factory system, in

120 footnote cont./ of Capital & Labour op.cit. pp.53-68.

121. Daily Observer 9.7.87.

122. see Boomerang 3.11.89 for a typical expression of this solidarity theme. Again the Builders' Union in 1888 was censured for non-attendance at the Intercolonial Trades & Labour Congress - "all notions of caste, all thoughts of superiority, all forms of 'respectability', all so many barriers to the brotherhood of labour". Boomerang, 21.1.88. Lane described the motivations behind the A.L.F. organisation - "men of diverse callings & distant dwellings, but of common thought & aspirations, have realized that under the Federation flag they can stand linked in unbreakable phalanx together". - Worker, August, 1890.

123. The organisation of the bush workers, & especially that of Spence's Amalgamated Shearers' Union, are usually cited as the outstanding examples of this development. In this respect the Qld. Shearers' Union attained separate existence in 1886 - the same year that Spence's union was organised in Victoria.

124. e.g. the shoe trade was unorganised in 1886 - an attempt at organisation 14 years earlier collapsing in an attempt to oppose automation in the form of the sole-stitching machine.

specific industries and trades, amongst the unskilled and unorganised - could prove productive of pessimistic assessments of working class conditions. Wide variations within the same industrial organisation facilitated such despondency should the observer's focus of attention be directed towards the negative variations. It was apparent, however, that a wider view of the ~~total~~^{total} situation entailed a tempering of pessimism, if it did not necessarily invalidate the socialist interpretation of social relations. In view of the economic development of the decade and the generally ~~rated~~^{valid} characterisation of the 'eighties as the "boom years",¹²⁵ the roseate impression of Queensland working conditions put forward in various quarters were not completely unjustified. Although 'real wages' have yet to be estimated for the period it seems certain that standards of living in Queensland for the 'eighties were at least as high as for the 'seventies and almost certainly higher than in the 'nineties.¹²⁶ It seems evident that large sections of the working population enjoyed a certain constancy of employment consonant with economic development, whilst the general standard of living was very probably higher than in most other countries.¹²⁷ Economic distress and unemployment occurred primarily as a function of minor recession,¹²⁸ which arose in a period of general economic consolidation, and which were intensified by heavy assisted immigration.¹²⁸ Periodic gluts of labour consequent upon seasonal variations and over-migration were productive of substantial scales of unemployment, but periodically rather than constancy of economic hardship seemed the norm of the 'eighties. This was recognised at the time, and the Queensland Evangelical Standard in 1880 assessed the situation in terms which probably approximated actuality. After quoting conditions of poverty in England at the time

125. See Ch.1. pp 22 ff.

126. see B.g. Fitzpatrick, "A Short History of the Aust. Labour Movement" (Melb.1944) pp.216-9. 'Real' wages in Australia, argues Fitzpatrick, probably followed the English pattern of development viz. an increase until the 90's when the rise stopped. Butlin argues for the period, 1860-90: "while output per head scarcely increased, domestic expansion occurred within a context of falling world prices, affecting both imports & exports &, exposed to the deflationary pressure of imports, domestic prices remained more or less constant throughout the expansion. Money wage rates rose, sufficiently rapidly to offset any fall in hours of work; real wages rose modestly, but steadily". Notes, op.cit. p.10.

127. Coghlan gives some partial evidence in support of this contention. See "A Statistical Account of the 7 Colonies of Australasia" (1890)

and lamenting the ineffectiveness of benevolent activity in touching any but the fringes of English pauperism, the Standard was led to comment:

"On reading such a record we are led involuntarily to compare our more highly favoured circumstances with the lot of our starving brethren at home. We have a poor class which frequently furnishes deserving objects for Christian benevolence, but rarely is the destitution so extreme or so widespread as to cause dismay in the hearts of those who attempt to grapple with it..Our poverty, even at the worst, is manageable, and is usually traceable to removable causes. It is seldom prevalent enough to cause any lasting decline in the rate of wages..What we want to point out is the fact that the scarcity of employment in these colonies is so limited that a very slight revival of activity in any branch of trade is generally sufficient not only to absorb all the idle labour available, but to create a difficulty from the want of suitable men".¹²⁹

Periodical^{ity}, rather than prevalence characterised conditions of acute distress and widespread unemployment, whilst there was no overwhelming evidence that such conditions were continuously "unmanageable" in the 'eighties.

Such a point is supported by an examination of the recorded level of unemployment registered at the 1891 Census. During the period of the '91 strikes and in the midst of the heavy economic crash unemployment was extended to only 2.7% of the Brisbane population. On the day of the Census 1,557 persons in Brisbane returned themselves as unemployed, representing 6.2% of the vocationally eligible population.¹³⁰

127. footnote cont./ pp.69-77. Judging by food consumption "the population of Australasia must appear remarkably prosperous compared with that of other countries"(p.70). (see figures for thermodynamic energy capable of being generated by foods consumed in Australia-3,179 tons c/£ 2,695 for Great Britain, 2,797 for Germany, 1,931 for U.S.A.). The daily expenditure per head in N.S.W. in 1890 was higher than in other countries - 30.1 pence c/£ 20.8 in U.K., 15.6 in U.S.A., 15.4 in France etc.(p.76). Few countries approached Australia in the small proportion of income absorbed in procuring food. (37.8% of N.S.W.earnings for food c/£ 37.0% in U.S.A., 27.3% in U.K., 51.8% in Germany, 60.2% in Russia etc. Table p.77). Coghlan claimed also (p.71) that the average amount of work performed by individuals in the community was less than elsewhere, that the proportion of women & children engaged in laborious occupations was far less than in Europe or America, & that the hours of labour of all persons were lighter.

128. Butlin "Notes" op.cit., p.2. cites the years 1878-9 and 1885-6 as occasions when net national product failed to expand. None of these /cont. overleaf

Granted the greater severity of the 1891 depression, it is extremely unlikely that the unemployed in the preceding ten years constituted any numerically significant sector of the total Brisbane population.¹³¹

Fluctuations in the degree of existing economic severity accompanying immigration and seasonal variations during the 'eighties may have led then to varying assessments of the magnitude of social distress. It was not a simple product of chance that roseate interpretations of Australian conditions were frequently put forward by visitors in the boom years 1850-4, whilst Labour denunciations of existing social inequalities became more fiery with the decline of the late 'eighties and early 'nineties. Similarly publicity of the unemployment problem, especially as it related to the difficulties of the new chum in the new society, invariably intensified during periods of heightened immigration with their almost inevitable economic dislocations.

Such facts have led to the postulation of economic consolidation as the basis of working class aspirations during this period of the 19th Century. In view of rising real wages, argues Butlin, "Australian wage-earners were in a strong position to seek gains in the form of increased leisure, and were pre-occupied with preserving rather than improving wage standards... in general terms, any suggestion of a struggle of the down-trodden as the theme of labour history is to be rejected."¹³²

128 footnote cont./ recessions he claims could match the depth and duration of the 1890 crash.

129. Qld. Evangelical Standard 3.4.86. "Emigration" it continued "would remove families from a country where the struggle for existence is intense to one where it is moderate". The destitution of English conditions was illustrated from the experiences of a London clergyman who gave the following description of a morning's visitations: "1. have just visited-1. a tradesman overcome with grief at late losses; 2. a master carpenter in hospital through some cause; 3. a soldier's family without a bed to lie on; 4. six children huddled over a coke-fire, two nearly destitute of clothing; 5. an aged couple with widowed daughter all wasting away; 6. a descendant of French Huguenots all but broken through want". (ibid). See also "Nineteenth-Century Opinion", extracts from the Nineteenth Century 1877-1901 (Penguin) 1951, for further examples e.g. pp. 19-26.

130. V. & P. 1892, Vol. III, p. 631-3. The number registered as unemployed in Qld. was 11,263 (including strikers).

131. Some data on out-door relief may be of partial use as an indication of unemployment & social distress during the '80's: (See Statistics of Qld. in relevant V. & P.).

YEAR	NO. OF APPLICATIONS	OUTDOOR RELIEF	
		TOTAL NO. RECEIVING RELIEF	EXPENDITURE BY BOARD (£)
1880	2689	10,483	1,546
1884	2395	7,096	1,478
1886	1986	7,029	1,453
1888	2623	9,179	1,636
1890	2525	8,651	1,744
1891	3082	9,186	2,038

132. Butlin 'Notes' op.cit. p.10.

According to Rabin Gollan by the mid-eighties "a working-class had been created but decisive sections of it had attained sufficiently high standards to aspire to something better. The political and industrial struggles that occurred in the following years were not the product of starvation or desperation but were the result of the fact that a working class had come into being which was capable of organisation to improve its position and on the basis of experience take to heart contemporary socialist ideas which both justified its claim for a seat a little nearer the sun and provided an ideal to work towards".¹³³ Such aspirations could be interpreted as a fight for the "plums" and cake of society (as Twopeny saw it), as a claim for a seat nearer the sun, or as an attempt to redress social inequality on humanitarian lines (as Lane saw it). The basis of economic consolidation behind such claims, however, could not be denied for "decisive sections" of the working class, whilst such an element constituted an important part of labour ideology.

When Lane wrote "it is not good enough to drift on to the slums and the workhouse" and feared for the grafting of old world iniquities upon the new nation, he implied that slums, workhouses, and old world iniquities were less pernicious in their incidence in the colonies, with the corollary that working class conditions were correspondingly superior.

In the same way those sectors of the industrial population which shared more directly in the economic prosperity of the colony - typically the skilled trades and craft unions whose viewpoint was put so pointedly at the Intercolonial Congresses - tended to concentrate organisationally upon preservation rather than improvement of standards. The argument can be pushed too far, however, and it is necessary to emphasise that Butlin's assessment was stated "in general terms" and Gollan's interpretation applicable to "decisive sections" rather than to the totality of the lower orders. A good deal of attention has been devoted to

133. Gollan, R. "Radicalism & Socialism in Eastern Australia 1850-1910" (Ph. thesis, London) 1950, pp.147-8. See also Clark C.M.H. "Documents" Vol.II, p.660 for a similar view.

establishing the existence in Brisbane of enclaves of labour wherein economic prosperity did not constitute the norm. It is clearly meaningless to describe the aspirations of these groups - female labour, unskilled adult and youth labour in factories and retail stores, specific depressed trades - as a product of economic consolidation when wage rates in such sections of industry were frequently little above subsistence levels, when long hours, little leisure and oppressive working conditions were normal. The organisational concern of these groups could only be directed towards an improvement of conditions and a redress of grievances, and when organisation did ultimately penetrate to these areas of industry it was directed to these ends, as witness the activity of the Early Closing Association and similar bodies. In the urban context, it is suggested, the Butlin-Gollan thesis is applicable in broad terms rather to skilled than unskilled sectors of industry.¹³⁴ If such a thesis is a generally plausible one in a period of dynamic economic expansion, it too, like the observations of Trollope and Inglis, could easily attain an unwarrantable and uncritical universality.

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134. It has been perhaps only doubtfully established for rural unskilled, although a greater plausibility attaches to the ascription of economic consolidation to pastoral workers, and miners than to urban unskilled such as general labourers, carters, transport workers, factory hands and shop assistants. Again wharf labourers are excepted, whilst certain skilled trades - tailoring, butchering, boot-trades, even building workers - commonly experienced an occupational instability at odds with any interpretation of universal economic consolidation.

CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION.

The Availability of Education:

If the withdrawal of government aid to non-vested schools in January 1880 marked the inauguration of the 'free, secular and compulsory' system of education in Queensland, the extension of this system in the subsequent decade increased the general availability of primary education in the colony. The dictum was granted that "it is the interest, as well as the duty, of the State to educate the whole people"¹ and if the demand for educational facilities outran their supply in the eighties, the achieved expansion was not unimpressive. The number of teachers and instructors employed by the Department of Public Instruction increased in the ten years from 989 to over 1500, primary education was extended in the period to a further 29,970 pupils, the annual enrolment in state and provisional schools increasing from 43,305 in 1880 to over 73,000 in 1890. The 621 public schools supervised by the Department in the latter year constituted a total almost double that of ten years earlier (345)²; whilst government expenditure on education rose during the decade from £104,920 to £202,568. This general expansion was characteristic of the capital as of the colony so that by 1890 the city's 29 state schools enrolled for the year 16,763 pupils.³

Granted that literacy constitutes a legitimate criterion of the extension of education, it would appear evident that elementary schooling was more generally available at the close of the 'eighties than at any PREVIOUS stage in the colony's history. Thus in the ten years 1881-91 the proportion of the colonial population able to read and write rose from 63.3% to 69.8%, peak figures in comparison with the 57.1% literacy re-

1. Joint statement by Lilley and Douglas, 1874 Royal Commission on Education, Report of Proceedings, V. & P., 1875, quoted by Myeth, E.R. 'Education in Qld.' (A.C.E.R.) p.123. A summary of the administrative characteristics of Qld's educational system is given in the latter text. The other secondary source is Rayner, K. "The Attitude & Influence of the Churches in Qld. on Matters of Social & Political Importance 1859-1914" (B.A. thesis, U. of Qld.) 1951, especially Ch.2.

2. V. & P., 1891, Vol III, p.581, 1039. V & P., 1881, Vol I, p.1054. The 1890 total was constituted of 332 state schools, 286 provisional schools, & 3 reformatory & penal schools. The 1880 figure included 221 state schools, 102 provisional schools, 21 non-vested schools, & 1 reformatory. The large increase in provisional schools was a characteristic development of the period, see Report of Secretary for Public Instruction 1890 in V. & P. 1891, Vol. III, p.1026. (hereafter 'Education Report').

3. V & P., 1891, Vol. III, p.1040. Primary schools with largest attendances were: Central, Bowen Bridge, Portitudo Valley, S th. Brisbane, W'gabba, Ithaca Ck., Kangaroo Pt., Kelvin Grove, Leichardt St., Milton & Petrie Terrace.

gistered at the 1861 Census. Literacy rates for the thirty years 1861-1891 embodied a sustained improvement closely connected with education. The following table illustrates this tendency:

<u>PROPORTION OF COLONIAL POPULATION WHO COULD</u>			
<u>CENSUS</u>	<u>READ & WRITE</u>	<u>READ ONLY</u>	<u>COULD NOT READ OR WRITE</u>
1861	57.1	12.2	30.7
1864	62.5	11.3	26.2
1868	63.7	9.3	27.0
1871	61.8	10.0	27.3
1876	63.9	8.0	26.8
1881	63.3	6.3	29.4
1886	67.8	4.7	26.9
1891	69.8	3.7	25.9

TABLE 30: PROPORTION PER CENT OF COLONIAL POPULATION LITERATE
1861-1891.⁴

If the expanding education movement produced as a corollary a heightened literacy in the colony as a whole, the process was more clearly operative in the capital where for various reasons connected with population concentration educational penetration could be greater. Thus throughout the decade of the eighties literates made up well over 70% of the city's population, a higher proportion than the colonial figure and one which steadily increased with time. The following table illustrates the greater degree of literacy in Brisbane - (c/p table above):

<u>CENSUS</u>	<u>READ & WRITE</u>		<u>READ ONLY</u>		<u>CANNOT READ OR WRITE</u>	
	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
1881	22,572	72.6	1,843	5.9	6,612	21.3
1886	39,679	76.7	2,126	4.2	9,836	19.0
1891	43,014	76.7	1,777	3.2	10,896	19.4

TABLE 31: DEGREE OF LITERACY IN BRISBANE CENSUS DISTRICT
1881-91.⁵

4. Census findings, summarised in 1891 Census, V & P., 1892, Vol. III, p.1280. This table leaves unstated those whose degree of education was unspecified, an extremely small proportion of the population.

5. Abstracted from 1881, 1886, 1891 Censuses in relevant V. & P's. The figures are representative of the total population, all ages.

Omission of children from the above data served to highlight Brisbane's high literacy rate, so that by 1891 the vast majority of the city's adult population, 94.2%, could read and write, and a mere 3.3% remained illiterate. The tendency towards increasing literacy constituted a marked and intensifying development of the eighties, as the full figures for Brisbane's adult population indicate:

<u>PROPORTION OF BRISBANE'S ADULT POPULATION WHO COULD</u>			
<u>CENSUS</u>	<u>READ & WRITE</u>	<u>READ ONLY</u>	<u>CANNOT READ OR WRITE</u>
1881	90.2	5.0	4.8
1886	92.7	3.0	4.3
1891	94.2	2.5	3.3

TABLE 32: ADULT LITERACY IN BRISBANE 1881-91.⁶

If the above data indicated that the Brisbane population had available to it educational facilities of at least a rudimentary nature, the colonial statistics revealed the actual sources of such education. As the tenor of controversy over the religious issue in education would suggest the most significant enclaves of pupils came under the aegis of the 'national' and Roman Catholic denominational systems. Of the 7,119 children between the ages of 6 and 12 in the Census district of Brisbane in 1891, 5,076 attended public schools under the centralised administration of the Department of Public Instruction, whilst 1,183 attended Roman Catholic denominational schools. The main sources of primary education in Brisbane in 1886 and 1891 were as follows:

<u>CENSUS</u>	<u>STATE SCHOOL</u>	<u>GRAMMAR SCHOOL</u>	<u>PROVISIONAL SCHOOL</u>
1886	4501	12	—
1891	5051	5	21

<u>DEMINATIONAL SCHOOL</u>	<u>PRIVATE SCHOOL</u>	<u>TAUGHT AT HOME</u>	<u>RECEIVING NO EDUCATION</u>
<u>R.C.</u>	<u>PROTESTANT</u>		
(1886)			
1886	33	355	164
(1891)			
1891	36	284	251

TABLE 33: SOURCES OF PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BRISBANE CHILDREN AGED 6 TO 12, 1886-91.⁷

6. Calculated from Census data-tables of literacy at different age-levels.e.g. V.& P., 1892, Vol.III, p.1290-3.

7. V.& P., 1892, Vol.III, p.1298; 1887, Vol.II, p.1278. 1881 data was unrecorded.

Education was extended primarily under the administration of the Department of Public Instruction and according to the precepts of the State Education Act of 1875. Accepting in theory if not in complete practice the principles of 'free, secular and compulsory' education, the 1875 Act provided the legal basis for a centralised system of educational administration, which provided the facilities and set out the conditions of primary education. Education was to remain free, insofar as no admission fee was charged for State schools,⁸ and the 1875 Commission's view of secular education accepted "that dogmatic religious instruction is the business, not of the State but of the several churches; and that the State is neither entitled nor required to undertake the teaching of the distinctive doctrines of any sect or to contribute funds for that purpose."⁹ The principle of compulsory education was embodied in the Act so that parents were required to send to school all children between 6 and 12 years of age for at least sixty days each half-year. The latter provisions remained however in the realm of theory and were not invoked, during the 'eighties, continuing inoperative until 1900. Departmental regulations imposed conditions for the appointment, training and promotion of teachers,¹⁰ set out school curricula¹¹ and provided for inspection. Under both the virtues and defects of this system of public education, elementary instruction could be extended to an ever-widening section of the populace.¹² The low numbers of those receiving no education indicated the general availability of education in Brisbane and seemed to brand as exaggerated those claims which dramatised the plight of 'neglected children' in the community. The Queensland Evangelical Standard had, in 1881, noted the incidence in the city of 'young arabs' who were totally uneducated, a fact which it attributed to the non-enforcement of the compulsory clauses of the 1875 Education Act - "Our streets would furnish

8. It was doubtfully free according to another provision of the Act providing that one-fifth part of the estimated cost of erecting new school buildings should be raised by the community before the Dept. could ensure their establishment. The objections of Lilley & Douglas in this respect were pertinent: "It seems to us" they stated "that the spread of schools over the country wherever they are needed is a matter of national, & not of local concern, & where they are most urgently required in the form of primary schools, either from ignorance or poverty, the inhabitants of the locality are least likely to be interested in or moved towards their establishment, or to be able to contribute funds for that purpose", quoted by Wyeth, op.cit. p.123. For policy fluctuations on this point during the '80's see ibid p.133.

9. Royal Commission, Report of Proceedings, 1875. Thus aid to non-vested schools was withdrawn in 1880, affecting 20 n.c. schools & 1 C. of E. school.

10. For classifications of teachers see V & P., 1891, Vol. III pp.1028-1030 FOR
(cont. overleaf

a little army of children who never go to school and who never will until the compulsory clauses of the Act are enforced...Our legislators seem indifferent to the fact that we have in our midst a number of idle, uneducated children, the development of many of whom into criminality is a matter of certainty".¹³ If street arabs and 'larrikins' still constituted a prominent element of the colonial scene by the close of the eighties, the statistics revealed that they were not completely uneducated. Many were, however, only partially educated - 4845 children in Queensland in 1890 did not attend 60 days in the half-year - whilst a growing concern in the community for the enforcement of compulsion underlined the point. The 1890 Education Report indicated a sensitivity to this issue:

"There are two classes of parents "it read "for whom stringent legislation on this matter is needed: the apathetic, careless of anything but self-indulgence and freedom from worry; and the brutally selfish, who barter their children's future welfare for the pittance they drive them to earn in the present. The State has a proprietary right in its future citizens, and must take steps to assert it, or accept the responsibility of fostering a social substratum of ignorance, poverty, and crime. There are also, of course, the unhappy waifs and strays of the community, the outlook of whose life is bleak, indeed, unless they are seized with a gentle violence and forced for their own good to participate in intellectual training".¹⁴

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10. footnote cont./ promotion & examination pp.1030-2. For examination papers of teachers see *ibid* pp.1149-1179. for salaries & classifications of teachers during '80's see Blue Books - Report of Sec. for Public Instruction - in relevant V. & P.
11. The 1875 Act set out the following subjects of instruction - Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History, Elementary Mechanics, Object Lessons, Drill & Gymnastics, Vocal Music.
12. Denominational schools will be treated in another part of the chapter. For defects of the state system see the 1887 Royal Commission in the Civil Service, V. & P. 1889.
13. Old Evangelical Standard 6.8.81. The Dept. of Public Instruction in 1880 estimated 'neglected children' to constitute 1.5% of the total population. In 1890 599 children in Qld. were recorded as totally neglected educationally - Education Report 1891; V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, p.1027.
14. V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, p.1022.

Whilst those whose education was totally neglected in Brisbane constituted a negligible proportion of the population, those who received only a partial education may be estimated at between 7 and 10% of the total enrolment. The following figures are calculated from the Inspector's reports for the metropolitan districts:

DISTRICT	ENROLMENT ON DATE OF INSPECTION.	CHILDREN BETWEEN 5 & 13 WITHIN 2 MILES OF SCHOOLS WHO DID NOT		% THOSE ATTENDING LESS THAN 60 DAYS TO TOTAL ENROLMENT
		ATTEND ANY SCHOOL	ATTEND AT LEAST 60 DAYS PER HALF YR.	
METROPOLITAN ¹⁵ NORTH-EAST DIVISION)	8325	9	764	10.8
METROPOLITAN ¹⁶ SOUTH-WEST DIVISION)	5191	37	661	7.9

TABLE 34: ATTENDANCE IN BRISBANE SCHOOLS - 1890.

A strong case can be made for the general availability of primary education from the level of literacy in the community, from the extension of the free, secular and compulsory system and from the low incidence of educational neglect. R. H. Roe, leading educationalist and headmaster of Boys' Grammar School during most of the 'eighties, may justifiably have felt that one of his stated aims of education - "the spread of a good average knowledge over all individuals of the body politic"¹⁷ was being attained in the colonial setting. Popular education stopped short, however, at the primary level. This fact was not always recognised in an era which saw an acceptance of egalitarian democracy. Thus even Roe was led to make concessions to democratic sentiments, and had perforce to synthesise them with his concepts of a natural aristocracy based on intelligence and training. "Let us have the absolute rule of the majority" he wrote, "only let us spare the effort to make that majority wise and public-spirited, and let us still have the rule of the best, the true aristocracy, but let those best be

15. Includes all schools in this division, largest being Bowen Bridge, Central (boys and girls), Valley, Ithaca Ck., Kelvin Grove, Leichardt St., Petrie Ter. Partial attendance was more prevalent at Valley, Ithaca & Bowen Bridge - figures from V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, p. 1087.

16. Omitting provisional schools (2), and state schools on the Downs; includes Milton, St. Brisbane, Toowong, Wiggabba, Indooroopilly, Coorparoo. Partial attendance was more prevalent at Toowong, Wiggabba & Indooroopilly. Data from V. & P. 1891, Vol. III, p. 1092.

17. Article on 'Education & Democracy' in Boomerang, 19.11.87.

drawn without favour from all classes of the community, supported by the voluntary confidence of an intelligent people"¹⁸ Such a synthesis, whilst it may have represented an admirable aspiration to both Roe and the editor of the Boomerang, could not reflect actuality. Secondary and tertiary education were in practice unavailable to large sections of the colonial population, more specifically to a majority of the working class and lower social strata. If Roe advocated as a second aim of education "the highest mental development of our natural leaders and the ready supply of means by which these may come to the front", the lack of the latter provisions in the 'eighties ensured that the 'true aristocracy' should not arise from the whole community.

Brisbane had by the 'eighties four secondary schools providing extended education - All Hallows' Convent for Girls (established 1863), the Brisbane Grammar School for Boys (est.1869), Gregory Terrace Christian Brothers (est.1875), and Brisbane Girls' Grammar (1875). The activities of these schools were extended during the decade. The Brisbane Grammar School, beginning the period with seven teachers and 127 pupils, employed by 1890 ten teachers to instruct 249 pupils.¹⁹ The staff of Girls' Grammar doubled in the period to cope with an increase in students from 67 to 140 in ten years.²⁰ All Hallows, which admitted 22 girls in 1880, allowed the entry of 63 twelve years later.²¹ By 1890 secondary schools were developing to cater for the growing urban population, there was little evidence that the extension of higher level education penetrated very deeply into the lower strata of the society. The seven to eight hundred pupils who received secondary education in Brisbane in 1890 constituted in fact a relatively minor proportion of the 3968 persons under the age of 20 resident in Brisbane, whilst there were many indications that children from the numerically larger social strata - unskilled and skilled labour - were under-represented upon

18. *ibid.*

19. *V. & P.*, 1881 Vol. I, p.1055; 1891, Vol. III, p.582. Expenditure increased from £2564 in 1880 to £5661 in 1890. By the latter date Government aid to the tune of over £20,000 had been extended to B.G.S. whilst voluntary contributions totalled almost £54,000.

20. *ibid.* The staff numbered 4 in 1880, 8 in 1890. Expenditure increased from £1542 to £5,831 in the period. £9625 had been provided governmentally by 1890 & £20,795 subscribed voluntarily.

21. All Hallows rolls. The numbers admitted during specific years were: 1881-43; 1882-39; 1883-63; 1884-48; 1885-40; 1886-40; 1887-49; 1888-66; 1889-59; 1890-70; 1891-56; 1892-63.

secondary school rolls. Fees at the Grammar schools were high in comparison with the earning power of skilled and unskilled labour. Thus in the 'eighties day scholars of over 12 years of age at Girls' Grammar were liable to a fee of £4 guineas per quarter²² or a total of 16 guineas per year, almost equivalent to the annual earnings of female domestic labour and a more than substantial proportion of the £80-£150 wage range of skilled workers in 1880.²³ The prevailing fees for boarders - 18 guineas per quarter for girls over 12 - were obviously prohibitive for those of working class origins.²⁴ Scholarships for the remission of fees were extremely limited in number (5 was the largest number offered at Girls' Grammar during the eighties), whilst eligibility was dependent upon a minimum period of attendance at the school, rarely less than three years.²⁵

The issue of lower class participation in higher level education could have been easily settled should detailed records of the occupational status of parents sending children to secondary schools have been maintained and preserved. Unfortunately the records of the Grammar Schools were particularly inadequate in this respect, and useful data was obtained only from the rolls of All Hallows. Granted that the social origins of girls attending the latter school reflected to some extent a prevailing tendency in secondary education as a whole, the All Hallows' data can be used to support the contention that higher level education was typically the preserve of the upper echelons of the social order. The daughters of many a leading citizen - Protestant and Catholic - obtained a broadly cultural education under the Sisters of Mercy. The roll of prominent parents during the eighties included a President of the Legislative Council (Palmer), the Town Clerk, an officer of the Supreme Court, a judge,

22. Annual Reports (1884-91) B.G.G.S. (held at the school). Girls under 12 who were day scholars paid £3.3.0 per quarter.

23. See Ch.3. pp. 13 ff. for details of current wages. Grammar school fees remained constant during the 'eighties.

24. Annual Reports 1884-91 B.G.G.S. Girl boarders under 12 paid 17 guineas per quarter. Various reductions were made if 2 or more members of the same family attended the school but they were ineffective in bringing rates down to working class levels (fees were reduced by 10/6 for 2, £1.1.0 for 3 attending Grammar schools).

25. Scholarship offered at B.G.S. including the Trustee's Scholarship, entitling the holder to a year's remission of fees, & open to girls of 16 & over who had been 3 years at the school. Three to four School Scholarships were regularly awarded, entitling remission of fees for 2 years. 3 years attendance was required, & the awards were made for special merit in Foreign Languages, Maths, and General Knowledge.

the Minister for Works (Macrossan), the managers of Cobb & Co. and the Q.N. Bank, the Commissioner of Police, the Parliamentary Librarian, the Collector of Customs, a partner in Finney Isles and even an administrator of the 'godless system' - Inspector McGroarty of the Department of Public Instruction. Publicans, merchants, squatters, solicitors and doctors were especially prominent in ensuring their daughters the advantages of this type of higher education. Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers were noticeable only by their absence from the records. Reduced to statistics the occupational incidence of parents for the ten years emerged as follows:²⁶

YEAR	OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS													
	PROFESSIONAL		BUSINESS		WHITE COLLAR		SKILLED		SEMI SKILLED		UNSKILLED		FARMING & RURAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1880	4	23.5	11	64.7	-----		1	5.9	-----	-----		1	5.9	
1881	10	29.4	16	47.0	4	11.8	4	11.8	-----	-----				
1882	6	23.1	6	23.1	4	15.35	4	15.35				6	23.1	
1883	13	27.1	16	33.3	6	12.5	7	14.6	1	2.1		5	10.4	
1884	8	25.0	14	43.7	2	6.3	4	12.5				4	12.5	
1885	6	20.0	11	36.7	5	16.7	4	13.3				4	13.3	
1886	5	15.6	15	46.9	3	9.4	6	18.7				3	9.4	
1887	6	13.9	14	32.6	8	18.6	7	16.3				8	18.6	
1888	7	14.0	22	44.0	7	14.0	7	14.0				7	14.0	
1889	5	11.4	23	52.3	6	13.6	4	9.1				6	13.6	
1890	2	5.6	17	47.2	6	16.6	7	19.4				4	11.2	
1891	4	10.5	22	58.0	4	10.5	4	10.5				4	10.5	
1892	9	18.4	17	34.7	9	18.4	4	8.2				10	20.3	
TOTAL														
NO.	85		204		64		63		1			62		
MEAN														
%		17.7		42.7		13.3		13.1		0.3			12.9	

TABLE 35: OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION OF PARENTS OF PUPILS ADMITTED TO ALL HALLOWS' CONVENT 1880 - 1892. 27

26. The data refers to occupations of parents of new admissions in each year. Thus in 1880 the table lists the occupational classifications of the fathers of 17 pupils out of 22 admissions, 5 entries leaving this information unrecorded.
27. Calculated from ALL HALLOWS' ROLLS 1880-92 (held at school). The table omits entries where occupation of parents was unrecorded. The mean number of entries unrecorded for the 12 years was low - 5.3 entries per year. For full details of specific occupations of parents reference is made to the Rolls.

The concentration within upper socio-economic strata was obvious. Over 60% of pupils came from middle class homes, their parents belonging to the professional and business occupational strata. 13.3% came of parents in the white collar class, a large sprinkling from the upper echelons of the public service. The 'rural' classification was composed almost entirely of landowners, squatters and graziers, their children constituting a large element of the school's boarders. Only 13.1% of parents came of the ranks of skilled labour and a good proportion of this group was typically composed of independent (and probably prosperous) tradesmen - 1883 for example saw the inclusion of two butchers, two blacksmiths, a bootmaker, plumber and watchmaker. The non-representation of semi-skilled and unskilled strata in the school rolls constituted an obvious commentary upon the restricted social composition of the institution. Archbishop Duhig was speaking truly when he claimed in the 1930's that "sixty years and more ago All Hallows' School was educating the elite of Brisbane - Catholic and Protestant alike".²⁸ It was a generalisation which could probably have been extended in substance to the operation of secondary education in general in Brisbane.

Tertiary education, by its very nature in Queensland of the 'eighties, could pose no solution to the problem of popular education. In fact only a sprinkling could enjoy a University training, and that, of necessity, in one of the other colonies or overseas. Queensland despite the appointment of University Commissions in 1874 and 1891, lacked during the eighties, and was to lack for many years to come, a seat of higher learning.²⁹ The Sydney University had extended its examinations to Brisbane in 1876, whilst the Queensland government awarded State Exhibitions to Grammar School pupils from 1878, but the contribution of these

28. All Hallows Annual School Magazine, Nov. 1933. Brisbane Grammar School records are inadequate in the recording of fathers' occupations, but some indirect references were made. In 1880, for example, fathers included 3 station-owners, 3 businessmen, 1 warehouse proprietor, 2 storckeeper, 1 wine & spirits merchant. One student, subsequent to his schooling, travelled Europe with his father - all of which, if indicating little other than the fact that some prosperous men sent their children to D.G.S., tends to support rather than oppose the hypothesis put forward.

29. see V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, p. 319 ff. for Report & Evidence of the University Commission of 1891. The history of the University movement is treated in Dryan, II. 'The Establishment of the University of Qld.' Journal Hist. Soc. Qld. Dec. 1952.

measures to popular education was inescapably microscopic. The State Exhibitions were an example. Each year pupils of the Grammar Schools became eligible to sit for examination papers prepared by the Sydney University for the granting of Exhibitions. Those candidates showing sufficient merit were awarded exhibitions of the value of £100 per annum, ⁿteable for three years at an approved University. During the 'eighties, under this system, the state was instrumental in facilitating the higher education of a mere 30 pupils, 3 exhibitions being awarded regularly each year. The University education and special training acquired by exhibitionists was frequently excellent - the most popular Universities attended were Sydney, Melbourne, Oxford, London, Cambridge and Edinburgh³⁰ - but it was obviously restricted to Roe's "aristocracy of ability", and a small aristocracy at that. Tertiary education by other means was available, as the 1891 Commission adequately pointed out,³¹ only to those in fortunate financial circumstances. If the "remedy of all Society's evils", according to William Lane,³² was to be found "in deep draughts of education and organisation", the former had to come for the working classes, in the context of the 'eighties, from primary rather than secondary or tertiary education.

The Aims and Content of Education:

The aims and nature of education in the colony were products of the prevailing values of a society just emancipating itself from the frontier and capitalistically organised, yet still conscious of ~~the~~ ^{its} British heritage and religious affiliations. The educational system in the 'eighties accepted those traits of utility and practicality characteristic of the frontier and the competitive system of economic organisation; it was affected by the current working class

30. See V. & P., 1891, Vol.III, p.1069, Table O., for a very detailed account of the numbers, names, schools, & University record of successful competitors for exhibitions from inception to 1890. During the period 1880-90 the following numbers of exhibitionists attended specific Universities as follows: Sydney - 7, Melbourne - 15, London - 2, Edinburgh - 2, Oxford - 4, Cambridge - 3.

31. e.g. Report, Evidence V & P., 1891, Vol.III, p.1835. "We have now to send those who desire special training away to other universities, & this, in the first place confines such knowledge really to the wealthy, or else to the very few who are able by eminent ability to win the State exhibitions that are offered for annual competition. We want to put such special knowledge within the reach of all, however small their purses may be". See also those sections of the report discussing free tertiary education e.g. Report ibid. p.828-29.

32. Daily Observer 12.2.87. He also wrote: "muscle, pure & simple /overleaf

reaction to economic imposition and by the nationalist, and egalitarian values accompanying this movement; it reflected the increasing secularism of the nineteenth century. Yet the reactions of minority groups to prevailing social and educational precepts contributed more than subtly to the final tenor of the educational totality, as the bitterness of the religious issue testified.

If the characteristics of utility and practicality attached naturally to the system of primary education with its teaching of the 3 R's and the elementary facts of history and geography, the head of Brisbane Grammar found the popular pressure behind such values as criteria of secondary education difficult to resist. "The teacher in modern times" he wrote in 1885, "is almost bewildered with the multitude of useful subjects which claim recognition in his course"³³ In answer to the new and growing range and variety of subjects which claimed recognition in the school's curriculum Roe raised two objections, the latter of which embraced a view of education enjoying only limited acceptance in the colonial environment. He wrote:

"There is so much that every boy is expected to know, and which it is regarded as most unprogressive to omit, that there is a danger of the pupil's mind being over-burdened by the weight of additional subjects or the soundness of his knowledge impaired by their diversity. We are apt to forget that the object of education is not so much to impart useful facts as to develop the mental powers, and in our endeavour to manufacture the largest possible quantity of goods we run the risk of wearing out the machine"³⁴

The B.G.S. curriculum was balanced perhaps a little in favour of that view of education which regarded it as a discipline first, a dispenser of information second. Ancient and modern languages were taught (including Latin, Greek, French and German, the modern languages being

32.footnote cont./will stand right up against the wall for ever..muscle is a brute; it is only brain that is a man..what will help the labourer is education itself". ibid. 16.10.86.

33. Annual report, 1885, quoted in Comrier, 19.12.85.

34. ibid.

introduced conversationally only in the mid-eighties) and tuition provided in English, History, Geography, Literature, Mathematics and Science.³⁵ The demands for a practical education found more obvious expression in the facilities provided for technical education, the training of mechanics, and the instruction of girls in the domestic sciences. The Brisbane School of Arts' report on technical classes for 1885 emphasised the widespread recognition in the community of the usefulness of its endeavour - "The great importance of Technical Education is now so generally acknowledged that it is unnecessary to point out the enormous disadvantage any country suffers where means are not provided for this special instruction."³⁶ Thus by the close of the decade over 500 students were being instructed in such 'useful' subjects as drawing, geometry, machine construction, the sciences, mathematics, engineering, commerce, and practical carpentry.³⁷

Only in the cultural education of 'young lady pupils' could the dictates of the useful education be relaxed in favour of general cultivation. All Hallows Convent took as its specific aim the provision of a broad cultural education for its pupils, so that the usual subjects of instruction - Grammar, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic - were supplemented by the classics - Latin and Euclid, Roman History - by French History, English Literature and Political Geography.³⁸ Instruction was provided in musical training (harp and piano), singing, choral and orchestral work, painting, dancing, conversational French, lace and needlework, and clay modelling. Such an education, shaping manners as much as it imparted facts, led even Protestant parents to believe (according to Bishop O'Quinn) "that their girls have advantages, especially under the training of our nuns, which they cannot get

35. B.G.S. rolls. Girls' Grammar curriculum included; Latin, German, French, English, Ancient & Modern History, Geography, Drawing, Literature, Natural Science, Sewing & Cutting-Out, Political & Social Economy was added in 1886, Practical Geometry & perspective included in the Honours List subjects in 1889. Extra subjects - Instrumental Music, Painting & Dancing - were given for an extra fee - e.g. instrumental music £2.12.6 per quarter. B.G.S. Annual Reports.

36. V. & P., 1885, Vol. II, p. 775.

37. Classes were divided into six groups of subjects in 1890 - art, technical-drawing, scientific, commercial, literary & practical. Mineralogy & mensuration were included in the 'scientific' subjects, shorthand & bookkeeping under 'commercial', Latin, history, jurisprudence & elocution under 'literary'. Elementary training in writing & arithmetic were provided for night classes. For details of curriculum & occupations of students see V & P, 1891, Vol. III p. 1221. Report on Technical Classes.

38. All Hallows' Annual Reports, (held at the school).

elsewhere."³⁹ The general system was laid open, on the other hand, to the criticism that it was practical only in circumstances where the genteel were enabled to forswear in later life the irritating demands of everyday life and domestic management. There was an element of the alien in the provision of "accomplishments" which rang discordantly on colonial ears, despite (perhaps because of) English precedents. Thus the sentiments of an article in the Queensland Guardian in 1883 were more likely to appeal to the colonial instinct for practical virtues. The writer objected:

"The girls of the middle and upper ranks, carefully guarded from almost all direct participation in the practical work of life, and often kept at school till a very brief time before their own marriage - what chance have they of becoming acquainted with a housewife's duties?..and though few young ladies are like that one of whom we have heard, who took "twelve lessons in singing" as her only preparation for the cares of a married life, yet the amount of ~~rast~~ ignorance displayed by young housekeepers is at once astonishing and appalling..A day is necessarily inelastic, and when, out of its hours sufficient time has been taken to ~~gave~~ to music.., to drawing, to French, to German, what time is there for any schoolmistress, however much she may wish it, to give to the instruction of her pupils in matters connected with the technical work of house management?"⁴⁰

The colonial premium upon the virtue of utility was not ineffective in shaping attitudes to another important aspect of education - the issue of religious training in schools. The 'perishable success of this brief existence' found a widespread emphasis in the colony which was at odds with the religious concern for a future moral and spiritual well-being. Religious instruction in schools earned no immediate material return, and might in fact unfit boys for the hurley-burley of a competitive

39. The Australian 24.1.80.

40. Old Guardian 5.7.83. The ages of students at All Hallows varied between 5 and 20, primary education being provided at lower age levels.

society. The Roman Catholic schools in particular encountered such opposition,⁴¹ an opposition couched in terms of this sort (as parodied by a Catholic supporter).

"Look here, I've travelled, and I've kept my eyes open, and I've always found that the boy who gets kicked out of shape, and who has to rough and tumble through his childhood, generally goes ahead; he grows smart and spry and wins the race by lengths against the namby-pamby little chap who is brought up on his great-grandmother's principles, and prayer-cramming, and the 'goody' business!"⁴²

Impatience with 'prayer-cramming' and the 'goody' business, conditioned by a perceived need for earthy practicality in a colonial society was undoubtedly instrumental in framing attitudes to the secular issue in schools and thereby helped translate into educational terms more generalised social traits.

It was in the abortive attempts to establish a university which might constitute a "life-giving centre of higher thought and culture in our community"⁴³ that the pioneer values of down-to-earth practicality were seen to further disadvantage. Just as Roe was led by the prevailing currents of labour democracy to modify his assessment of the desirable ends of education, so had the protagonists of the University idea to make their concessions to the utilitarian view of education. They might praise in a laudable way the eternal values of higher education, but the most telling arguments for and against the proposition were felt to be those couched in the terms of material advantage. The report of the 1891 Education Commission was lauded with materialist considerations. The view was put that: "merely literary instruction, highly desirable in itself, and therefore not to be neglected as contributing to the grace, enlightenment, and enjoyment of life, is not of such primary necessity in

41. The Australian 1.11.79.

42. ibid. Mrs. Constable, a leading R.C. supporter, quoted this passage in a School of Arts lecture as an example of a common view of education.

43. Courier, 19.12.85.

a newly-settled country as the knowledge and practical arts which sustain existence, and upon which life is really based"⁴⁴ The aims of the University were to be essentially utilitarian:

"The University will give the highest instruction in all those scientific principles which are necessarily applied in the industrial arts. It will also furnish the more ornate literary culture for those who desire it. But experience shows that what is most needed is generally first sought, and in a new community men address themselves perforce to industrial pursuits in the first instance".⁴⁵

The economic value of tertiary education was directly appealed to⁴⁶ and the general concept accepted of the University as a "factory for the professions, with the higher things of life as an incidental and fortunate accompaniment"⁴⁷ Ultimately it was the cold water practicality and utilitarianism of an opposition arguing the inopportunity of the move and the alternative virtues of a strictly technical education that won the day.

If education accepted general utility as a criterion of value during the eighties, it was also increasingly leavened by the social outlook of incipient labour movements directed towards working class emancipation. Education was commonly perceived by the leaders of such movements as an instrument for the attainment of the social Utopia. As such full support was extended to the principle of free and compulsory education - "it is the interest, as well as the duty, of the State to educate the whole people" - and concern was felt only for the attainment of this aim via the provision of equal educational opportunities for all. William Lane pleaded the case for working class education - "for it is only education that separates men from brutes and the

44. V&P., 1891, Vol. III, p. 820. University Commission of 1891. Report.

45. *ibid.*

46. *ibid.*; "on economic grounds alone, then, the University would be profitable to the country; the waste in mining work alone through ignorance shows the economic value of knowledge". The university, it was claimed, would provide a more efficient extension of the work performed by the Technical College.

47. Harrison Bryan "The Establishment of the University of Qld." *Journal of Historical Society of Qld.*, December 1952, p. 640. For a treatment of earlier attempts to establish a university see Lynch, K. 'Cultural Developments in Qld. 1880-1930' (B.A. thesis, U. of Qld.) p. 6 ff. A further practical argument for a university was that it would render more efficient & simple the system of State Education, & supplement the work of the Grammar Schools. See Roe's evidence, V&P. *op. cit.* p. 835.

intelligent trades unionist from the industrial slave,.."⁴⁸ "We must stamp out ignorance for with ignorance we shall stamp out poverty, shame and crime".⁴⁹ To this end Lane supported the establishment of free libraries, and such other institutions that encouraged the profitable use of leisure-time: "it is knowledge which the masses can get at that the workingman, who are the masses, want, and nothing will give it them like a free library..a man who reads is higher and nobler and better than the man who drinks; the woman who can set her children's feet in the paths which the men of letters have cleared, is rearing a superior brood to the woman who dulls the young intellect with ignorance and superstition; and if civilisation is ever to give the toilers some return for the miseries it has heaped upon them, it will be when the worker knows how to think and knows how things should be."⁵⁰ Education generally could take on a ⁿview and formative role in Australia for here there was an increasing realisation "that the true worship of the Supreme Being is to seek the elevation of the imbruted and not to inculcate the outrageous doctrine of blind submission to unmistakeable wrong..We realize in the fullest sense that knowledge is the key to happiness."⁵¹

Other sections of the community could not ignore the educational implications of a vocal working class movement. Roe, as we have seen, found not a little difficulty in reconciling the claims of class and democracy with those of an aristocracy of intellect. He rejected that view which advocated the ending of class distinctions via social egalitarianism, and sought in its place rule by the best, a Platonic viewpoint whose only real concession to the new democracy lay in the

48. Daily Observer 17.4.86.

49. Boomerang 26.11.87. See also p.10 supra.

50. Daily Observer 28.5.87. Muscle alone wrote Lane was inadequate "it is only brain that is a man; & muscle must toil for others without hope or relief..what will help the labourer is education itself. When the schoolmaster has taught the world to read & think; when the brute muscle is laid aside at 8 o'clock,& when man-brain walks home without muddling itself with liquor; then there will be no man better off than the labourer - and no man worse". ibid. 16.10.86.

51. Boomerang, 28.1.88.

proviso that the aristocracy should be drawn without favour from all classes. Roe was concerned for the democratic attitude towards education for upon it, he felt, "will depend whether the rule of the many shall prove for us the rule of the ignorant and selfish in place of the more intelligent, of the political mountebank in place of the statesman, or whether it shall mean wise government by a thinking people in the interests of all, and the substitution of the born leaders of men drawn from the whole community in place of the nominees of a class"⁵²

Education must adapt to the new environment of democracy - "Change and Progress is its motto; looking forward with a cheerful hope to the perfectability of human life instead of deploring our decadence, it is ever ready to adopt new methods, or to adapt the old to altered conditions"⁵³ - but adaptation did not require complete egalitarianism or need to ignore the claims of intellectual ability. Putting a rather individual view of the new democracy Roe argued for the training of an elite:

"It need not be imagined" he wrote "that the democratic spirit in its call for equality is opposed to the highest training of the select few. It only demands that this training shall be open to all who deserve it, that it shall keep in touch with modern wants and human interests, instead of burying itself in past traditions and verbal quibbles..it calls, indeed, for greater equality in the conditions of life, but it seeks to attain this end by offering to all, to the poorest if he will have it, the rich inheritance of the fulness of knowledge."⁵⁴

If such sentiments represented theory and aspiration rather than practice, at least in the spheres of higher education in the eighties, they also reflected a sensitivity to the values and general social outlook of the labour movement indicative of its penetration and strength.

52. Boomerang 19.11.87. See also quotation p.6 supra.

53. Ibid.

54. ibid.

This sensitivity extended to other sections of the community and to other aspects of education. Lane was not alone in his acceptance of education as an instrument for working class elevation. Roe had envisaged such an elevation on two levels - the provision of 'good average knowledge' at a primary level, and the fullest education of 'the more active and intelligent minds of the working class' with secondary education and the establishment of a 'truly popular' university.⁵⁵ All that was needed for this development he wrote, was "a desire for such higher knowledge and the awakening of such a degree of intelligence amongst the working classes as shall enable them to remember the facts and grasp the reasoning. The training of our primary schools should effect the latter end; interest in current politics the former..."⁵⁶ Similarly paternalistic concern for the moral, social and intellectual elevation of the lower orders constituted a main theme in the controversy over religious instruction in schools, and provided a primary justification of the denominational system in the eyes of its supporters. Whereas this sentiment was inspired essentially by the secular issue, similar expressions of concern in other quarters constituted a more direct reaction to working class aspirations and organisation. The 1891 Report of the University Commission was led to justify tertiary education in terms which were explicable only in the context of the later 'eighties and early 'nineties, years of the vibrant culmination of labour organisation:

55. Roe had noted some current objections to the limitations of university training for those of the lower orders, which indicated some perception on the part of the community of the actually restricted character of higher education: "it is objected" he wrote "that the working classes would derive no benefit from a University; that it would only be another means of making the state pay for the higher education of the well-to-do; that in the first place, it would not supply such knowledge as the working classes need; and secondly, from want of pecuniary means they could not avail themselves of its advantages". (*ibid*) His suggested solutions - omission of the classics from tertiary education, the holding of evening classes, & the provision of scholarships - constituted a practical approach to the problem, but one which was neither adequate nor rooted in the present. See also *Courier* 19.12.85. One of the dissensions in the 1891 University Commission Report put further objections - "So long as society continues in its present state the advantages of higher education, & especially of University education, must mainly be limited to persons wealthy enough to permit their children & pursue their studies long after the age at which others are compelled to earn their own livings. We see no reason why higher education should be afforded without expense until it is reasonably certain that all classes of the community will take advantage of it". *V&P*, 1891, Vol. III, p. 828-9.

56. *Boomerang*, 19.11.87.

"From the workers" read the Report "we have received a large number of our most important epoch-making discoveries, and wealth-creating, useful, and comfort-giving inventions and appliances. By widening their knowledge, and giving an intelligent direction to their energy in developing the natural resources of the country, individuals are benefited, the wealth of the community is increased, the level of general comfort is raised, and national prosperity is induced and more securely founded and assured. It is an important matter, too, that the worker's toil is eased when his mind goes with his hand; and his inventive faculties are stimulated when he understands the scientific principles which underlie his manual art and practice."⁵⁷

If the elevation of those who laboured constituted an element in middle class as of working class assessments of the desirable ends of education, Lane and the educationists took different views of the social implications of such a development. For a non-doctrinaire socialist of Lane's stamp the education of the masses constituted a desirable, even a necessary, condition for the attainment of the idealist Utopia. It would facilitate the perception of existing social differentiation and the inequalities of a capitalistically organised society and therefore lead to more effective working class organisation. More importantly it could provide the only adequate means by which the perfection of human nature, necessary for the fulfilment of the colonial social destiny, could be attained.- Such elements of thought were naturally absent from the middle class view-point, which could only regard with disfavour the proposition that elevation of the working man would lead to a disintegration of the social status quo in a radical direction. There was more than a suggestion that 'elevation' in their view meant the acquisition of a social perspective less dangerous than that held by labour leaders and more sympathetic to the traditional

57. Report of University Commission 1891; V. & P., 1891, Vol. III, p. 820.

doctrines of Adam Smith and the utilitarians than to Marx and Henry George. One witness before the 1891 Commission ventured as his opinion that "it would be a great thing for the leaders of the working classes if they were within reach of good lectures on political economy"⁵⁸, whilst Roe's views were illustrative that "we should try by liberal concessions to bring under scientific training the more active and intelligent minds of the working classes, who will guide their comrades' opinions on such vital questions as the relation of capital and labour, free trade and protection, and the limits of Government interference"⁵⁹. Labour insistence upon the extension of education to society's underprivileged had resulted in a conservative middle class reaction which spoke the language but changed the ends of the new educational aspirations.

If the aims and current assessments of an educational system derived from British prototypes were moulded by the values of the frontier and capitalism, and catalytically shaped by the social outlook of developing working class movements, they were also conditioned in a characteristic way by the 19th century clash between religion and secularism. The norms and values of religion, expressed frequently in a context of controversy and heat, came to be inseparably identified with the issue of colonial education, and the varying emphases with which they were invoked or rejected constituted important variables in the total educational environment. This was certainly the case during the 'eighties. The 1875 Education Act may have enshrined the victory of the secularists and the triumph of the National over the denominational system of education,⁶⁰ but the accompaniments of the issue - the attitudes of both sides to education, sectarianism and acrimony - were extended, developed and modified in the subsequent fifteen years.

58. V. & P., Vol. III, 1891, p. 836.

59. Boomerang 19.11.87. (my emphasis).

60. For details of the early clash, & the relation between education & religion from 1859-75 see Rayner, K. 'The Attitude & Influence of the Churches in Olden Matters of Social & Political Importance 1859-1914'. (B.A. thesis, U. of Qld.) 1951, pp. 26-47.
See also Wyeth op.cit. Part II, pp. 79-125.

The governmental attitude to education, although based on different assumptions from that of the advocate of religious education and derived ultimately from a different interpretation of the role of the Church in Society, was never officially anti-religious. The Queensland Act of 1875 followed the Victorian Act in its rationale, and of the latter it had been written: "The evident intention of the framers was to sever the State schools and school teachers utterly, unmistakeably and for ever, from the various religious denominations, rather than to exclude religious ideas and motives as an element of the education of the country"⁶¹ The official Queensland view, according to the report of the 1875 Royal Commission was "that dogmatic religious instruction is the business, not of the State but of the several churches, and that the State is neither entitled nor required to undertake the teaching of the distinctive doctrines of any sect or to contribute funds for that purpose"⁶² An attack upon religion was not implied, as another Commission sixteen years later was at ponderous pains to point out: "We apprehend" stated the commissioners "that in the establishment of education as a Government institution on a secular basis, the people of Queensland in no way intended to discourage religious teaching by others as a matter of the deepest interest to humanity in the conduct of life in the home and in public action in the outer world."⁶³ In general the secularist approach was a neutralist one; its protagonists were unwilling to be committed to a judgment upon religion, but even more unwilling to be committed to any one denominational view of the place of religious instruction in education. The Reverend Colin McCulloch, a leading Presbyterian who was to lead a minor non-conformist reaction against the secular system during the 'eighties, put a fairly just, if slightly critical, summary of the motivations of 'National Educationists' in these terms:

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61. Donald Cameron's impression of Victorian system in 1875 Royal Commission - quoted in Wyeth op.cit. p.120. See also p.4 this chapter.
 62. Commission Report, quoted *ibid*, p.122.
 63. 1891 University Commission, Report, V.& P., 1891, Vol.III, p.821.

"The arguments employed were the plausible and well-known ones, founded on the diversity of beliefs and the impossibility of giving any one religion a preference over others, the rivalry of various sects, and the prompt spirit of jealousy which any interference of the State would fan into a blaze. Accordingly it was thought the simplest way of dealing with the question was to have nothing to do with so explosive an element as religion, but to hand it over, if people insist on having it, ^{to} the guardianship of parents and Sabbath schools and the ministers of religion...they knew the inflammable properties of this moral dynamite, and thought it the wiser course to relegate it to the skilled artisans of the cloth, to manipulate as they best could; and then claimed credit for masterful inactivity and non-intervention."⁶⁴

If such a policy provided at times a thin veil for sectarianism and out and out secularism,⁶⁵ it became nevertheless the standard rationale for the existing system.

At the other pole, and the strongest advocates of an integration of religious training and education, stood the Roman Catholics. It became a doctrinal necessity for this denomination not only that religious instruction constitute an inseparable element of education but that such instruction, to accord with the dogmas of the Church, be imparted only by the Church. Education for the Roman Catholic Church was an essentially elevating process, but an elevation on a spiritual and moral plane. Instruction in the absence of religious training was unthinkable for Catholic children, and any completely secular system of education therefore to be deplored. As the Catholic organ, the Australian, asked rhetorically of its 'narrow-minded opponents':

"Do they forget, or do they ignore, or did they never learn that the chief object of man's existence, as appointed by Almighty God himself

64. The Old Review, August 1885, article 'Religious Instruction in State Schools' pp.17-18. (Mitchell).

65. Rayner has noted some of the anti-clerical and anti-Catholic motivations behind early opposition to state aid to non-vested schools, especially with respect to the first Board of General Education and the Press. See Rayner, op.cit. p.33 ff. p.38.

is to learn and to practise the great teachings of Divine Faith which are absolutely necessary for the attainment of the end for which he was created? Do they not know that such teaching to be effectual must, in practice, spirit, and example, be an integral part of the child's daily learning? How can such a teaching be obtained in mixed schools, from which all religion is excluded?"⁶⁶

The great teachings of the Divine Faith could be spread only by the Holy Catholic Church in its perceived role as sole teacher and interpreter of the Bible. Substitutes were rejected, as instruction in 'Common Christianity'⁶⁷ in Vested Schools had been earlier rejected. For a Roman Church, accepting only its own interpretation of the Bible and Faith as valid, any religious instruction offered by the State as 'undenominational' was therefore by its very nature deviationist. It followed as a logical consequence that a satisfactory education for Roman Catholic children could be provided only in schools belonging to the Church.⁶⁸ The history of Catholic education up to 1875 was the story of an attempt to consolidate the basis of such schools - thus the provision of government aid to non-vested schools was strongly advocated, its attainment in the early 'seventies celebrated, and the threatened cessation of aid as strongly opposed. Catholic educational activity, after the ⁸1875 Act and the withdrawal of aid in 1880 was directed towards essentially the same ends - the consolidation and extension of Catholic schools upon a new and independent financial basis.

If the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were to react upon education in the 'eighties by stimulating the erection of an alternative system of primary education to which a large section of the community was expected to extend allegiance they also coloured current assessments of the secular system. The Church's peculiar view of the virtues of religious education implied as a corollary a fixed and antipathetic attitude to secular

66. The Australian 27.1.83.

67. A subject claimed to include those religious elements acceptable to all denominations. See Rayner op.cit. p.28 for treatment of R.C. objections to this provision. Such objections extended to the teaching of religious lessons by Protestants who, it was claimed, were often biased against the church.

68. The possibility of religious training in pre & post-school hours was never seriously regarded by any denomination. Anglican Bishop Tuffnell's campaign for a reduction of hours devoted to secular instruction in vested & non-vested schools was more practical & partially successful in the early '70's, but such efforts were doomed to failure with the growing intransigence of the secularists up to 1875 - see Rayner ibid. pp.38-47.

education for Catholic children. The system was not condemned out of hand at an official level, and in fact the later 'seventies and early 'eighties, saw the adoption of a studiously tempered approach to the secular issue on the part of the Church hierarchy. Thus in 1878 Bishop O'Quinn circulated his clergy to the effect that withdrawal of state aid from non-vested schools should not be made an election issue. The traditional attitude was maintained that the enforced establishment of Church schools at denominational expense constituted a 'gross injury' and a transgression of the taxation power,⁶⁹ but this attitude could exist alongside a tolerant official view of the secular system as an institution for other than Roman Catholics. Thus Bishop O'Quinn in 1880 condemned secular education only should it be advocated for the purpose of abolishing religion:

"Others advocate it" he wrote "for the purpose of excluding proselytism from schools in which children of different religious denominations are assembled. In that sense I approve of secular education given by the state in this colony, because children of different denominations necessarily frequent the public schools, and no system of religion could be taught in them which would represent the tenets of the whole body of pupils."⁷⁰ approval was qualified, however, should extension of the system to Roman Catholics be suggested, for "it is equally clear that it would be unlawful for Catholic children to frequent these schools, except in cases of necessity; because they could not receive that religious training which their pastors and their parents were bound to give them."⁷¹ Such temperance of utterance, did not extend to all disciples and followers of the Church. The pages of the Australian⁷² in the early years of the 'eighties were full of moral indignation against the withdrawal of state aid and loaded with foreboding over the evil effects of a state system of education which, consciously or unconsciously, tended to perpetrate the

69. For summary of the Catholic attitude to taxation for educational purposes - see Rayner, op.cit. P.30. Catholics-duty-bound to support Church schools-had yet to pay taxes for the upkeep of secular schools. The Church it was argued saved the state expense by the provision of secular education in its own schools -there was therefore no justification for a system by which Catholics were forced to pay twice over for educational purposes.

70. quoted in The Australian, 24.1.80.

71. ibid

72. Held in Qld.Parliamentary Library from May 1879 - Dec.1889 (1882 missing).

secularism of the age. It was all very well, argued the Australian, for secularists and non-conformists to protest their neutrality and to claim that the state system was simply a-religious, but in fact any system which excluded from its curriculum moral and religious instruction could lead only to 'godlessness' and must ultimately subvert the authority of the Church in the society. The Roman Church, alone providing a truly spiritual education, must emerge as a lone bastion of the faith in a new age of irreverence. These attitudes and arguments emerged clearly in the campaign to remove Catholic children from the undesirable environment of state schools. Thus a correspondent to the Australian put the Catholic view of the secular system in a not untypically extreme form:

"Catholic parents cannot supply food for their children's minds and leave their souls famishing. They are bound, as good Catholics, to remove their children - wherever it be possible - from these infidel schools where the name of God is tabooed, and where Christ's teaching is vetoed. They must endeavour, at any personal sacrifice, to establish schools in which their little ones can be taught a sound, thorough Catholic education, so that when man's folly and wickedness, and his so-called philosophy shall have swept all reverence from the land, the Catholics may remain firm and true.."73

Secular education was commonly described as a system productive of moral fragmentation and sectarianism. It was claimed to cause a disintegration of home influences,⁷⁴ and to produce such manifestations of social disorder as 'larrikinism'. The Catholic press described this process:

"New forms of vice make their appearance among the representatives of the coming generation, and the hideous social phenomenon known as 'larrikinism', which endangers life and property in our large cities, has sprung into life and grown

73. The Australian 1.11.79. The Courier 12.11.79, claimed that Catholic parents were threatened with a denial of the Sacraments should they fail to remove their children from State schools to Church schools; quoted in Rayner, op.cit. p.48. See also The Australian 9.7.81.

74. e.g. Alexander Gordon wrote: "Protestant religious teachers may, if they please, ignore the fact that public school teaching is unfavourable to impressing on the minds of children truths on which they profess to set a very high value; but R.C. religious teachers would be blind indeed if they did not perceive that public school training (cont. overleaf)

up side by side with the development of secular education"⁷⁵

Justification of a system of education directed towards moral and spiritual elevation and rejection of a system claimed to embody the negation of these values could therefore centre about the manifest defects of the society. They could be further strengthened by reference to the malevolent secularism and sectarianism seen to motivate opposition to the Catholic standpoint. Assessment of the secular system in various quarters of the society must necessarily have been coloured by prevailing inter-denominational tensions. The Catholics saw the hand of religious opponents and the influence of prejudice at work behind such moves as the withdrawal of aid, and their disavowal of the national system was thereby intensified. How could such a system be tolerated when sinister Orange forces were seen to underlie its support? A quotation from the Australian in the year of aid withdrawal reveals the strength of such Catholic attitudes:

"When it is remembered that the zeal of the Secularist party is assiduously fanned by the emissaries of Orange lodges and similar secret associations for the promotion of discord among fellow citizens, some conception may be formed of the frame of temper in which the representatives of the popular will are about to approach the question of State education. Where passion usurps the place of deliberation, and unreasoning fear or blind prejudice overrules every consideration of justice, the most specious measures are tainted with the impurity of their source".⁷⁶

The opposition of the various non-conformist sects to denominational aid and their support of the national system in the 'seventies and early 'eighties was similarly imputed by the Catholics to anti-Papist predilections rather than to conviction. Protestant acquiescence in the secular system, according to the Roman press, was motivated by anti-Catholic bias:

74. footnote cont./ is antagonistic in every way to their religious influence over the children of the members of their communion..If the house of a R.C.child is conducted on religious principles,the teaching of the school is most markedly antagonistic to the home influence"The Australian, 24.1.80.

75. The Australian 10.2.83. This attitude was not restricted to the Roman Catholic Church. Percy Clarke thought that larrikinism & the growing precocity of children were due in part to the lack of religious training and the absence of a State church, Clarke.P."The 'New Chum' in Australia"(london) 1886, p.263.

76. The Australian, 24.1.80.

"The demand for secular education was, over the greater part of the line, utterly and wholly insincere. It supplied a convenient battleground for fighting the one branch of Christianity against which all the ill-will and vindictive malice of the various Protestant schisms has invariably been directed; and was, therefore, by tacit consent, adopted as a blind, to be cast aside as soon as the grand aim of excluding the Catholic Church from participation in the State bounty should have been effected. Wonderful unanimity among the multitude of conflicting "isms", when it became a question of spitting the universal mother from whom, as rebellious and self-willed children, they have separated."⁷⁷

The 'universal mother' having been effectively spited found difficulty in viewing without distaste a state educational creation which had received the imprimatur of those 'rebellious and self-willed children'.

The intensity with which Roman Catholics held a peculiar view of the relation between religion and education had led them to the establishment and extension of a system of education whose ends were not those of the national system. It had also conditioned assessments of the desirability and otherwise of the latter system and its concomitant aims of education. The doctrines and traditions of other denominations, if they failed to precipitate alternate systems of denominational education, were instrumental in shaping individual attitudes to existing educational facilities and the ends to which they were directed.

It was not because the doctrines and traditions of the Anglican Church were essentially at variance with Roman Catholic views of religious education or that they were particularly favourable to a completely secular system of state education that no real system of Anglican primary education was set up in the 'eighties. Doctrinal predilections went in fact the

⁷⁷. The Australian, 10.2.63. It continued; "the mass of secularist rangers were but Protestant denominationalists in disguise, who scrupled not to borrow weapons from the armoury of irreligion, in order to fight the more effectually the common adversary of all sectarian aspirations".

other way and only organisational ineptitude and some schismatic opinion over aid to Catholicism inhibited the attainment of a separate system. The aim of education for the Church of England, as for the Catholics and most denominations, was moral elevation - the raising of a virtuous populace. To this end, and in line with that church's tradition as the English Established Church controlling parish education the Anglicans in an earlier period had accepted the need to create church schools,⁷⁸ advocated the extension of state aid to non-vested schools, and generally aligned themselves on the denominationalist side of the educational fence.⁷⁹ The conviction that religion and education must be integrally and necessarily related was not sufficiently intense, however, to survive the crisis for church schools^{precipitated} by the cessation of state aid. In a context of administrative turpitude⁸⁰ and with the departure from the colony of its strongest advocate of church schools - Bishop Tuffnell - the Anglican school system was allowed to disintegrate during the 'eighties.

Whilst it was not believed in Anglican circles that a separate school system was a vital necessity as an alternative to the 'godless system", the aims of the latter were not uncritically accepted by the denomination in the 'eighties. In fact something of a recrudescence of the earlier antipathy to secular education took place in this period. It at no stage achieved such an intensity as to provoke the effective re-establishment of the Anglican school system but it certainly reflected a growing disillusion with an age of scientific secularism. That view particularly which espoused secular education as a general social panacea, a view which had never been strongly acclaimed in Roman and Anglican circles, became increasingly exposed to the pious suspicion of Anglican dignitaries in the 'eighties. Bishop Hale may have desisted from the public advocacy of a measure of prayer and Biblical instruction in schools because of its political implications,⁸¹ but the provision

78. By 1873 seven of the 27 non-vested schools in the colony belonged to the Church of England. V&P, 1873, p.927, quoted by Rayner, op.cit. p.42.
 79. The Church was not united upon this stand, however, the Bishop encountering considerable opposition from the laity, many of whom objected to any alliance with the Catholics, see Rayner, pp.38-40. op.cit.
 80. The 1875 Education Commission testified that religious instruction in Anglican schools had been allowed to lapse seriously-"So far as the evidence before us enables us to offer an opinion, the primary schools, both vested & non-vested, with the exception of the R.C. non-vested schools, have been allowed by the clergy of the several denominations to become secular in the sense that for years past little or no formal religious instruction has been given in them". V&P. 1875. Vol. II, p.113.
 /cont. overleaf

of such moral training and the supplementation of secular knowledge with religious truths continued to constitute desirable aims of education for the Bishop and Synod. Education in the absence of faith and moral instruction could only hasten the deplorable tendencies of a mounting secularism in the society. The Queensland Guardian, organ of the Anglican Church, was highly incensed at this dismal state of affairs:

"How far the secular spirit may be carried in our educational arrangements it is not easy to calculate, although it may be reasonable to suppose that the Christian religion being excluded and a Christian providence practically negatived by the State system, we may look in these days of progress to see in time all notion of a Creator or a Deity taking interest in the human race discarded as belonging to an exploded superstition"⁸²

The secular system stood in this view as a negation of Christian values and a harbour for doubters - "The scoffer and the infidel may find their vocation in the ranks of our paid teachers; the doubting speciousness of more polished assailants of our scriptures have prominent places on the shelves of our schools"⁸³ Such sentiments were translated into policy by the 1888 Synod which accepted officially the need for amendment of the 1875 Act "with a view to securing Bible Instruction in the State Schools of the Colony"⁸⁴ Bishop Webber's attempts in 1889 to stimulate inter-denominational activity directed towards a re-orientation of state educational aims underlined the point of Anglican unease over prevailing secularism in the National system.⁸⁵

Even those denominations which had supported or ^{ac}quiesced in the aims and organisation of secular education showed similar signs of unease in the 'eighties. The Romans had maintained that such support or acquiescence was dictated by anti-Catholic bias, that it was a 'blind' - "to be cast aside as soon as the grand aim of excluding the Catholic

80. footnote cont./ For differing attitudes to this commission finding see Wyeth, op.cit. p.122, and Rayner op.cit. p.45.

81. Synod Report 1881.

82. Qld.Guardian 8.11.83. -held in Parliamentary Library from Feb.1883-June 1884. A weekly Church newspaper the Guardian reflected closely the views of the Anglican Church hierarchy.

83. Ibid, 15.2.83.

84. Synod Report 1888, p.20.

85. Synod Report 1889, p.36.

Church from participation in the State bounty should have been fulfilled".⁸⁶

In this view Protestant denominations, having attained their aim of spiting the mother church, were having second thoughts about the secular creature they had created or helped to create. Such views were not absent in Protestant circles. "I am uncharitable enough to think" wrote a correspondent to the Presbyterian Austral Star in 1901 "that our action in supporting the adoption of the present system was actuated by an unworthy motive. Some, at least, thought they would thereby 'dish' the Roman Catholics, but I am afraid the pit we digged for others is that into which we ourselves have fallen".⁸⁷ Dismay centred again about those secular aspects of the national system which jarred against religious concern for growing irreligion and its attendant social diseases. The views and prejudices of that leading Presbyterian, the Reverend Colin McCulloch, who delivered public lectures and wrote articles for learned journals upon the religious issue in schools were illustrative in this respect. McCulloch's opinions may not have been always typical either of the Presbyterian Church or of the non-conformists but his comments were so pertinent to current Church ideas and to the non-secularist viewpoint as to deserve quotation. As early as 1879 McCulloch had publicly attacked the lack of Bible teaching in State schools.⁸⁸ In 1885 he set forth his views and assessment of the whole issue of religious instruction in schools in the August edition of the Qld. Review, a social and literary journal. The basic tenet underlying McCulloch's position was essentially that of the Roman and Anglican supporters of Church schools viz. that the aim of education was a moral one - spiritual elevation of the populace - and that this aim was incompatible with a secular system of education. McCulloch discussed the ends of education as something beyond the mere imparting of mathematics and 'mental culture' and asked: "Surely we want something more than that. It is not the citizens only that the State wants

86. The Australian, 10.2.83.

87. Austral Star, Oct., 1901, quoted by Rayner op.cit. p.30.

88. Public lecture - Rayner, op.cit. p.51 cites the Qld. Presbyterian Magazine & Sabbath School Messenger, Nov. 1879 in this respect.

to rear for its future service; no, nor merely citizens who can cypher well, gauge and measure and keep accounts. What the State wants, in educating its future citizens, is surely not merely clever mechanics, but a well-conducted virtuous population."⁸⁹ The consummation of such an end he could not envisage without a specific educational concern in religious and moral training, and ~~his~~ his views in this respect might have stood as the creed of the anti-secularist. He wrote:

"But how is it possible to raise up 'a virtuous populace' without the aid of religion? To cultivate the intellect alone, and not the conscience, is to arm the powers of evil with more formidable weapons. Such education is not to disarm the force of temptation but to weaken the faculty of resistance; not to deter the fraudulent person from his evil way but to augment his mental resources for compassing his ends; not to awaken the promptings of honest and heroic aspirations but to soften down the harsher features of vice and cast a glamour around the audacity of crime."⁹⁰

An extension of this logic produced criticism of a new social phenomenon attendant upon a system of secular education - the intelligent irresponsible.

"We might predicate beforehand from the absence of an educated conscience and the presence of an educated intellect the vicious aptitudes and criminal proclivities which the after experience of all nations and all times have never failed to proclaim. The uneducated ignorant boor is a very innocent compared with one whose intellect has been sharpened in the schools. The typical larrikin is not the youth who can neither read nor write, but the youth who by education and social surroundings should be expected to strike out for himself a career of virtuous and honourable endeavour. But the conscience has never been quickened, and is therefore no check upon the passions. There is no vicegerent of God in his breast to

89. Qld. Review, August 1885, p.21. (Mitchell).

90. ibid.

to deter from evil and so an intellect keenly strung, with unbridled passions goading him on and no counterpoise in the conscience makes the youth a Satan in power of a Belial in lust"⁹¹

Again excursions into the areas of social degeneracy had provided the anti-secularist with ammunition against the pernicious evils of a system which left consciences uninstructed and inactive. The state decision not to meddle in affairs of religion was brushed aside as in reality a decision to meddle - "it unluckily fell out that many, not without strong reasons, held the belief that to exclude religion is to meddle with it in a most offensive way, to the detriment of the very highest interest of the body politic"⁹² State policy in fact constituted a rejection of that view of education which postulated the necessary inter-relationship of education and religion as a means to the moral elevation of the population. McCulloch felt this as he also felt the 1875 Act to be anti-religious insofar as it questioned implicitly the doctrinal claims of religion to all-pervasiveness. The Church could claim education as it claimed the whole of human life for its prerogative, and the non-recognition of this principle in the system of free, secular and compulsory education aroused pious resentment - "it will scarcely be denied by any who acknowledge the divine authority of Scripture that the deliberate exclusion of Christian influence from human life or any department of affairs is reprobated as perilous presumption and wicked folly."⁹³

McCulloch then was led by a religious view of the desirable ends of education, by social evidences of the undesirable effects of the current system, and by doctrinal adherence to an unfavourable assessment of educational developments.⁹⁴ In this he was not alone. The Presbyterian

91. ibid. McCulloch continued: "the impure evil forces fermenting in society, & the wicked passions seething around us, to the prostrating of female purity of the leading captive of silly women laden with sins, are traceable, not to the brutal instincts of coarse, low, uncultivated animal natures, but to men moving in what is called 'good' society, & enjoying all the advantages which our Educational System can give."

92. ibid p.18. Such meddling was to McCulloch basically anti-religious in intent & thereby dangerous & not only to the Church but also to the State for "there is no force in nature so powerful & so utterly uncontrollable as religion. It has often been attempted to laugh it out of countenance, to banish it from the world by mockery & ridicule, but it always comes back unweakened & unabashed. Religion is an anvil on which many a hammer has been broken; & none who have rashly meddled with it have in the end escaped scatheless".(p.17)

93. ibid.

94. "Disturbing effects might in all probability flow from the introduction of religion (in schools), but not by any means so serious as in the end must flow from its exclusion". p.19. ibid.

Assembly had by 1880 modified its support of the state system and now advocated its supplementation by a degree of religious teaching. This policy was maintained during the 'eighties and the general Presbyterian demand for religious education in schools intensified.⁹⁵ Even the Congregationalists and Baptists - strongest supporters of the National system in the earlier period - were, as Keith Rayner has pointed out,⁹⁶ showing increasing signs of dissatisfaction with the purely secular system of education by the 'eighties. The Reverend W. Osborne Lilley brought the United Free Methodist Church into the fray during the decade in no uncertain manner. Aroused by the prejudicial effects of a system lacking biblical instruction, Lilley wrote and preached against this state of affairs. The young, he felt, "taught in public schools where the Bible and religion were ignored, would naturally draw the inference that these elements of education were to be regarded as of little consequence, and would become indifferent to them, and this indifference would affect their characters and lessen the moral stamina which has been such a striking element in the British people".⁹⁷ Such a catastrophe was, he felt, taking place as secular education precipitated social delinquency in the form of crime and 'larrikinism' - "There was a widespread loss of reverence for the sanctities of life; religion, to the rising generation, was 'rot'...and the sense of duty, which is a nation's strength and safeguard, was much impaired". In consequence Lilley fought for the inclusion of the Gospel in school curricula via the pulpit, pamphlet and pages of the press. His views were expressed in the Queensland Evangelical Standard,⁹⁸ his sermons reported in the Courier, whilst in the last year of the decade a pamphlet labelled 'Why are our Queensland children Bitterly Wronged?' - a plea for biblical instruction in schools - was circulated under his name. Largely due to his influence the Methodist

95. Minutes of Presbyterian Assembly 1880, 1890, cited by Rayner, p.51. e.g. the 1890 Assembly underlined "the absolute necessity for the religious education of children".

96. Rayner op.cit. pp.51-2. The 1883 Congregationalist jubilee conference held in Sydney avoided the Bible-in-schools issue as a 'vexed question'. Leading Baptist minister, Rev. W. Whale, in 1885 declared his enthusiasm for secular education diminishing by that year. "It was becoming clear" summed up Rayner "that the period of passive acceptance of the situation created by the 1875 Act was coming to an end" p.52.

97. W. Osborne Lilley 'Reminiscences of Life in Brisbane..etc'(Bris.)1913, p.26. for a treatment of the Bible-in-schools campaign & a statement of Lilley's general position see Ch.IV., pp.23-51.

98. e.g. 17.11.83.

Church was represented in Bishop Webber's 1890 attempt to form a League of those willing to restore the Bible to its place in education. By this year Webber had obtained the sympathy of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches to this end⁹⁹ so that McCulloch's assessment of the various denominational attitudes to the issue by the mid-eighties contained more than an element of justice:

"The leaders of the Roman Catholic Church denounced with fervent invective the whole 'godless' system, and are doing their level best to draw their children off from it into schools of their own. The leaders of the Church of England, if more polished in their language, are equally resolute in their adverse testimony. And the Protestant bodies, while twitting Romanists that it is not the Bible they want in the Schools but the Pope, are yet beginning to murmur in unmistakable terms against the rigid elimination of religious instruction"¹⁰⁰.

If the views of various groups in the community upon education and its aims were the product of strongly held religious beliefs, conditioned especially in the 'eighties by the clash of religion and scientific secularism, it was apparent that such views were in a sense 'specialist' views, defined in relation to a majority opinion which favoured and accepted without question both the organisation and principles of secular education. McCulloch's assessment was exaggerated, and explicable only in a specific context of religious adherence, when he ventured that the only parties content with the educational status quo were, "as might be expected, the Free Thinkers, whose loudly proclaimed antipathy to revealed religion, its officers and muniments, should

99. The Rev. W. Whale of the Baptist Church, and the Rev. L. L. Wirt of the Congregational Church subsequently joined the movement. Lilley op.cit. p.35.

100. Queensland Review, Aug. 1880, p.19.

nullify their clamorous partiality in favour of the 'godless' system"¹⁰¹ Many whose religious involvement was indescribably less than that of Free Thinkers, or of the faithful, extended as partial a support for secular education. McCulloch himself had earlier recognised the existence of a current and substantial satisfaction with the National system, a satisfaction which undoubtedly continued the norm for a large section of the community. The attractions of the system he described as follows:

"Our system, the offspring of Sir Charles Lilley's legislative genius, presented so many popular and attractive features that it took the country by storm. It was conceived in a spirit of such enlarged sympathy with the people; it displayed so genuine an appreciation of the difficulties to be surmounted, and it provided such facilities of expansiveness for town and country, and even the remote bush, that people, under the first emotion of gratitude and surprise, accepted it as a measure all but perfect, and as settling the question at least for generations to come."¹⁰²

Almost five times as many children came under the educational aegis of the Department of Public Instruction as received instruction in denominational schools in Brisbane by the close of the 'eighties.¹⁰³ Such a fact was not unrelated to a widespread acceptance of the secular system of the part of the colonial population. Nor was it unrelated to the particular emphasises and frequent vociferousness of minority views provoked in reaction to such a state of affairs.

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101. ibid.

102. ibid p.17. Wyeth sounds the praises of the system also - op.cit. p.128. In the 1875 Act "Queensland embodied virtually all the progressive principles of education of the day. It was an Act that placed the Colony, with Victoria, in the forefront of educational development and...one that deserves to rank high among its contemporaries..In 16 years the young Colony had bounded ahead of its parent. By invitation and experiment it had, in spite of tremendous opposition, evolved for itself almost the only system that could be relied upon to satisfy the needs of a growing colony with its diverse, sparse and scattered population!...

103. see p.3.supra.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Comments on Chap. 5 of "Aspects of Brisbane Society in the Eighteen-Eighties".

My first comment would be one of general agreement with most of the views put forward. The general picture of the Eighties as a time of religious negativeness is one which I would concur in.

There are, however, certain questions which I would raise:-

1. How much consciousness was there in Brisbane of a "crisis" in theology? My own impression is that while it is true that the religious journals quoted reports from English (or Irish) sources of the effects of Darwinism etc. on theology, there was so far little real awareness in Brisbane religious circles on the whole of the extent of the crisis (at least until the extreme end of the decade, and more so in the Nineties), and that the stage was scarcely reached in the minds of local church leaders (let alone the rank and file of church members) where the need of "reconciliation" of the divergent points of view was widely recognised. So far evolution etc. were scarcely regarded as real challenges because their impact was not yet very real in Brisbane. This was primarily due (a) to the fact that intellectual life here was inclined to be quite a few years behind that of England (b) the churches were so concerned with keeping their head above water in ~~xxxx~~ providing adequate ministrations and meeting economic difficulties that there was little time for more intellectual pursuits. I think the distinction between what was being said in a few newspaper articles and what was being widely thought in the churches might have been more seriously considered.
2. Has too much reliance been placed on the Queensland Evangelical Standard as representing a widespread point of view? My impression is that the Standard was an extremist anti-Catholic paper, of the type of the Clarion of more recent years, representing a negative point of view far to the left (or right) of typical opinion even in the "Non-conformist" churches. The pity is that few other religious journals seem to have survived from this period, and I think that perhaps we are in danger of getting an unbalanced view of the situation as a result.
3. A small point: I should question whether the figure of 44% church attendance in the C of E is not considerably exaggerated. The statistics are not very reliable, and as you say, there would be considerable overlap between morning, evening and Sunday School congregations. Also it is not clear to me whether you have adequately taken into account in calculating your figures the difference between the Diocese of Brisbane, covering all Queensland up to Mackay at that time, and the city of Brisbane on which census figures are based.

1. Census findings 1881, 1886, 1891 - V. & P. 1882 Vol.I. p.1171 ff.;
1887, Vol.II, p.1288-91. 1892 Vol.III, p.1309 ff.

CHAPTER FIVE:RELIGION - A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY?

Colonial society displayed at least two manifest characteristics in the latter half of the 19th century - it was patently Anglo-Saxon by composition and patently Christian by religious affiliation. Indigenous nationalist movements of the 'eighties and 'nineties conditioned the first colonial characteristic. Growing secularism conditioned the second. Churchmen of the 'eighties felt, whether rightly or wrongly, that religion faced a crisis in an age of secularism typified by Darwinist movements and rationalism, by the rise of a secular state and secular education. They felt popular apathy to the Church to be prevalent and irreligion, with its attendant social vices, to be intensifying. Labour movements in important ways advanced beyond indifference to established religion to active distrust of the Church as a social institution. Society appeared to many to be on the drift and the Church impotent to arrest it under the conditions of the age and under the particular difficulties of a frontier environment. This chapter will attempt to examine this question of religious adherence - nominal and real - in Brisbane society. In the absence of conclusive statistics upon this issue a good deal of attention will be devoted to the current perceptions of Churchmen and others to the issues of secularism and degree of religiousness within the community. An attempt at explanation of Church attitudes will be made.

In terms of nominal adherence colonial society was overwhelmingly Christian. 92.4% of the Queensland population over the ten years 1880-90 professed to be Christians at the various Census undertakings¹. An even higher proportion of the Brisbane population professed adherence to the various Christian sects - 97.8% in 1881, 95.8% in 1886, 95.2% in 1891. The Church of England numbered over 73,900 among its colonial adherents in 1881, over 142,550 in 1891 - 34.6% and 36.2% of

1. Census findings 1881, 1886, 1891 - V. & P. 1882 Vol.I. p.1171 ff.; 1887, Vol.II, p.1288-91. 1892 Vol.III, p.1309 ff.

the Queensland population respectively. Roman Catholics constituted between 23.6% and 25.5% of the colonial population during the 'eighties, their numbers increasing (but not proportionately) from 54,376 in 1881 to 92,765 in 1891. Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists and adherents of other Christian sects made up a further 30-34% of the total Queensland population. Non-Christians, those objecting to state their religion, and those with no religion made up a small 6 to 9% of the total - Mohammedans and Pagans constituting the largest elements, those professing no religion numbering at no stage more than 1.35% of the total figures. Most Christian denominations were more fully represented proportionally in the capital than in the colony. The following tables indicated the numbers and proportions professing religious adherence to the various denominations and sects in Brisbane and Queensland during the 'eighties:

Census	District	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Presbyterian	Wesleyan Methodist	Primitive Methodist, United Methodist, Free Church	Lutheran	Baptist	Congregational and Independent	Other Christian Sects	Hindoo, Mohammedan, Pagan	No Religion, Object to state, Unspecified	Total
1881	Queensland	73,920	54,376	22,609	10,918	3,433	16,889	5,583	4,764	1,264	17,328	1,083	213,525
	Brisbane	11,677	8,158	3,871	2,016	554	1,272	1,505	1,196	213	344	300	31,109
1886	Queensland	112,972	77,077	37,787	17,501	6,551	21,445	8,537	7,052	2,770	22,171	3,123	322,853
	Brisbane	19,053	12,382	7,081	3,135	1,160	1,831	2,216	1,873	846	806	1,304	51,689
1891	Queensland	142,555	92,765	45,639	20,917	9,211	23,383	10,256	8,571	3,242	18,243	6,708	393,718
	Brisbane	20,622	13,966	7,504	3,029	1,099	1,832	2,044	1,846	1,445	746	2,124	56,075

TABLE 36 NUMBERS IN VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SECTS, QUEENSLAND AND BRISBANE, 1880-90

Census	District	TABLE 37 RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF VARIOUS SECTS, QUEENSLAND AND BRISBANE, 1880-90												
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1881	Queensland	34.6	25.5	10.6	5.1	1.61	7.9	2.6	2.2	0.59	8.11	0.51	100	
	Brisbane	37.5	26.2	12.4	6.5	1.78	4.1	4.8	3.8	0.68	1.1	1.14	100	
1886	Queensland	34.99	23.9	11.7	5.43	1.99	6.6	2.65	2.2	0.86	6.82	0.96	100	
	Brisbane	36.9	23.9	13.7	6.1	2.2	3.5	4.3	3.6	1.6	1.6	2.6	100	
1891	Queensland	36.2	23.6	11.6	5.3	2.35	5.94	2.6	2.2	0.82	4.61	0.7	100	
	Brisbane	36.8	24.9	13.4	5.4	1.6	3.3	3.6	3.3	2.6	1.3	3.5	100	

Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists had all proportionately greater numbers in Brisbane than in the colony generally, a product of the lower concentration within the capital of Mohammedans and Pagans - Chinese and Polynesians congregating in rural rather than urban areas, in mining and sugar districts rather than in Brisbane. Thus adherents of the Church of England constituted 37.5% of the Brisbane population compared with 34.6% of the Queensland population in 1881; 26.2% of the Brisbane population were Roman Catholics compared with a lower 25.5% in the state; Presbyterians in capital and colony compared 12.4% to 10.6%. Hebrews, Mohammedans and Pagans made up only 1.1% of the Brisbane population although they constituted 8.11% of the Queensland population. Lutherans, too, were less highly concentrated in the capital - 4.1% c/f 7.9% for Queensland. These general proportions were not radically altered during the decade, as Table 37 indicates, although the proportion of non-Christians declined from 8.11% to 4.61% of total adherents in the ten years. The most striking characteristic of the census data was the almost homogeneously Christian religious affiliations of both colonial and Brisbane populations. Those professing lack of religious affiliations at no stage constituted a significant sector of either population.² In terms of nominal adherence the Church could harbour little complaint of an irreligious society.

Nominal adherence and real adherence were not, however, the same thing, as it was painfully evident to Churchmen of the 'eighties. Support of this contention must rest substantially upon an examination of the climate of opinion of the period for statistics upon Church attendances - one measure of real adherence - are incomplete and not to be fully relied upon. Nevertheless some indications of the existing

2. Whilst the capital registered higher proportions of the main denominations, it is interesting to note that it also registered a higher proportion of those professing no religion or objecting to state their religion - 1.14% in 1881 c/L 0.51% in Queensland; 2.6% c/L 0.96% in 1886; 3.5% c/L 0.7% in 1891. The same tendency is apparent in the 1st Table-e.g. in 1886 Brisbane registered 1,304 with no religion or objectory to state-more than 1/3 of the total Qld. figure of 3,123 in the same category. The main denominations in comparison constituted only an approximate 1/6 of their Qld. totals. There is some evidence then for a greater degree of irreligion in Brisbane than Qld., but the overall numerical significance of this nominal irreligion remained small.

situation arise from an examination of available Church statistics. The Church of England records for 1887 for example indicated strongly that professed adherence as set out in the Census findings was an invalid criterion of reality. According to the Census of 1886 the Anglican Church enjoyed a following of 19,053 adherents. According to the available Church records, however, active adherents must have fallen considerably short of this figure. In the Diocese of Brisbane 2,987 communicants were enrolled in 1887, the average Sunday School attendance attained 2,396, whilst diocesan confirmations totalled 931.³ Neglecting overlap, and assuming that attendances were approximately double, the number of communicants (probably an over-exaggeration)⁴ total Anglican attendance in the Diocese might be estimated at 6000 plus the Sunday School attendance - almost 8,500 in toto,⁵ or 44% of nominal adherents in the Census district. Real adherence obviously varied with different denominations - the Roman Catholic Church by common testimony (and according to modern sociological investigation)⁶ commanding a greater degree of lay participation in Church affairs, whilst many of the smaller sects (Baptists, Congregational, Lutheran) by their very nature suffered less from 'nominalism'. The Anglican Church particularly found itself the unfortunate harbour for many a Census day adherent, professing but not practising religion. The general phenomenon of 'nominalism' would seem to have been absent from very few denominations, however, and qualified immediately any assessment of the society as universally Christian and religious.

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3. Synod Report - Statistics. The Brisbane Diocese included the following churches - St. John's Pro.-Cathedral, All Saints, Trinity (Valley), St. Andrews (S. Bris), Holy Trinity (W'gabba), St. Phillips (Thom. Est), St. Mary's (Kang. Pt.), St. Andrews (Lutwyche), Grovely, Christ Church (Milton), St. Francis' (Nundah), St. Nicholas (S'gate), St. Matthews (Sherwood), Christ Church (Tingulpa), St. Thomas (Toowong). For full details of church accommodation, area populations, average attendance at Sunday Schools, Communicants on Roll. number of confirmations - see Appendix VA.
 4. The estimate is based upon the attendances at All Saints & St. Johns. Average Sunday attendances at these churches according to Synod Reports were between 400 and 500, which was approximately double the number of communicants (209 at All Saints & 180 at St. John's). City churches were most heavily attended and it is probably an over-estimate to put suburban attendances at twice the number of communicants.
 5. Other factors suggest that this figure is an over-exaggeration. Total Church accommodation in the diocese provided seating for only 4670 (see Appendix VA) whilst there was almost certainly overlap between normal service & Sundayschool attendance. The diocese in addition extended beyond the district (Census) so that the total no. of nominal adherents was probably a good deal greater than 20,000. / cent. overleaf

The Queensland Evangelical Standard, a Protestant newspaper with non-Conformist sympathies, put Church attendances at a low figure in 1879. Quoting an English report estimating that religious attendance accounted for only 15% of the United Kingdom population the Queensland Evangelical Standard went on to discuss "similar conditions" in the colonies, a situation which it naturally deplored:

"Scarcely any of our churches" it wrote "are crowded. Many have only one service that is at all well attended, and all are surrounded by a very large population which they do not reach... It constitutes one of the chief problems of the day, affecting not only the progress, but the very existence of the Churches. For if a Church or a denomination fails to touch the surrounding population, it is only a question of time for its vitality to be exhausted."⁷

The general climate of Church opinion was such as to support the statistical indications of nominalism. If the Census results pictured a society of almost homogeneous Christian affiliation, the views of various Churchmen and Church organs during the 'eighties would have indicated at times almost a reverse situation. A colonial society was depicted wherein irreligion and indifference were rife and wherein scientific secularism and agnosticism appeared as more typical manifestations of current opinion than religious conviction. Introspective concern was directed towards internal conditions in the Church which could weaken it in a struggle against the increasingly prevalent and hostile forces inherent in new ideas and old ideas revived in a colonial setting. There were other manifestations of such a clash. The colonial church, as churches throughout the world, felt obliged to synthesise (or

5. footnote cont./ (even neglecting population increase in a year from the 1886 Census).

6. See Current Affairs Bulletin Vol.22, No.4., 16.12.58 "Churchgoing in Australia" p.50 -52.

7. Qld. Evangelical Standard, (hereafter Q.E.S.) 8; 11.79.

publicise other syntheses of) its teachings with the principles and philosophy of Science, and especially Darwinian evolution. Where synthesis failed thinly veiled opposition was substituted. Various degrees of opposition were offered to perceived anti-religious developments such as the secular system of education or non-observance of the Sabbath. Suggestions were put forward for the revival and popularisation of religion. Perhaps most significantly the Church breathed forth a spirit of impotent frustration and heartburn indicative of a struggle in depth.

The church was felt in more quarters than one in the 1880's to be facing a crisis. William Lane perceived this to be so - "they tell us, and we see, that in these latter days the ancient faiths are shaking, that the dogmas of who this Jesus was and what his religion is are breaking down."⁸ But here was no admirer of the Church as an institution and ^{he} may have been over-impressed by the specific predilections of a labour movement in which he was so closely involved. It was therefore important that those who were as closely involved in Church affairs should extend substantial support to Lane's contention. The Reverend Colin McCulloch believed that the Church was passing through an age of secularism constituting a crisis for established religion. He joined in a common tendency of Churchmen to refer back to past ages of conflict for religion when he wrote in 1885..."the voices divine which all the ages have heard..forewarn all nations that the moment they put away religion their knell is rung. The man is deaf who does not hear the mutterings of a coming storm already in the land..."⁹ The Reverend Osborne Lilley, minister of the United Free Methodist Church and a leading protagonist of the Bible-in-schools cause in the 'eighties and 'nineties, voiced his alarm at colonial secularism which he saw as ultimately disintegrative of all religious influence. In an 1889 pamphlet he asked:

8. Boomerang -29.12.88, p.2.

9. Qld.Review, Aug. 1885, p.24.

"What kind of a nation are we rearing? Clever, doubtless; smart and keen, but without much conscience, and GODLESS. The consciousness of God is not awakened in them, the religious faculties from which a sense of duty springs are allowed to remain dormant; and, growing up in this callous condition, they are very unlikely to be moral and religious in their mature years. Can we wonder that the young colonial does not care for religion; that he regards it as of no importance; that he does not love to attend the churches, and appears to have little sensitiveness towards the saving and solemn verities of life? We have made him a 'secularist' by excluding the teachings of our religion from our schools. He lives for this world, and he does not believe in another. All that makes life worth living to the spiritual manhood in foolishness to him. In this we are only reaping the results of the wrong we have inflicted, and it is to be feared that the consequences will be more and more disastrous as time goes on. We are raising up a people who will be secular in principle, sensual in habit, and without God in the world...The battle for the future is not ever curiously - articulated creeds, but over no-religion and religion, Belial and Christ, Atheism and God!"¹⁰

The Queensland Evangelical Standard saw the issue in essentially the same terms (although it was a supporter of the state system of education). A leading article in 1879 was devoted to the theme of secularism in the society. Secularism, it was claimed, was extending to the Church and to church-goers in the garb of hypocrisy and cant, and under the influences of anti-religious social tendencies. The sentiments expressed were illustrative of a growing unease over the direction

10. pamphlet 1889 entitled "Why are our Old children bitterly wronged?" Long extracts printed in W. Osborne Lilley 'Reminiscences of Life in Brisbane' (Brisbane) 1913; above quotation from p.32.

of social development, and indicated doubt as to the energy and effectiveness displayed by the Church in opposition to encroaching secularism. "Is the sermon God's message & given as such?" it asked in a typical passage "do the congregations worship God? do sinners repent? Are the Church members blameless in their Christian lives.. Is the Church holy, devout, staunch to the faith, full of good works?"¹¹ If reluctant negatives were implied in answer, similar criticism could be launched against so-called Church adherents and the community in general:

"Look at the congregation as it appears in the solemn act of prayer to God. See how they sit erect. Most eyes are wide open and most of the features of all the faces are open full to view. Do these people repent, confess, and deplore their sin, and the sins of the nation? Are they seeking pardon of sin, preparing for the temptations of tomorrow, and getting ready for death and judgment? Are parents as anxious for the salvation of their children as for their respectable attire? Is not the Church melted into the world? and the world courted into the Church? Where is Church discipline gone to? When do we put out from us 'that wicked person'? Do not leading Church people show to children and to all observers that, practically, amusement stands equal to godliness? Are not the most cherished religious services often placed behind the concert and the theatre? Is it not now a dogma more positively asserted that the young must have their amusements than that they must know love, and obey their Maker? They must have story books, but they need not learn a catechism. In many families it is deemed more important that parents should go to parties than that the children should be kept from larrikins in the streets. Dress

11. Q.E.S. 1.11. 79.

is before honesty, show before cleanliness, pleasure more important than health, and the present fancy copes with our future well-being for this life, while faith in eternity is too weak even on the Sabbath-day and in Church to constrain some to wait the completion of the apostolic blessing"¹².

All of which indicated that the message of religion was only with difficulty penetrating the ranks of the faithful..let alone those who only professed - " 'The common people who heard Him gladly' have ceased to feel any interest in the message as delivered by the ministers of His Church..the sins and sorrows of mankind have no effective remedy if the Gospel does not reach them"¹³ And the Gospel according to the Standard was not reaching them - Church attendances were low, even the Bible Society suffered from the adverse effects of popular apathy¹⁴.

The Roman Catholic press was concerned with the same dismal social phenomenon. "There are thousands of people here" wrote the Australian of Brisbane in 1879 "who are mentally and spiritually groping in the dark"¹⁵ Prevalent secularism was cited as a potent reason for the establishment of a separate school system. The dismay of one lady correspondent was particularly intense in this respect:

"...irreligion of one kind or another is stalking through the land. Three men nearly out of every four you meet will scoff at belief in the Bible. They will begin to talk to you of the wondrous mysteries of Spiritualism - that horrible Spiritualism! ..or they will talk to you learnedly of the philosophical facts of Materialism. They will accept any new fangled belief rather than the old - old faith which their Saviour founded, and for which the apostles died. The very air is impregnated with

12. ibid.

13. Q.E.S. 8.11.79.

14. ibid 1.11.79 "it is most deplorable that out of the thousands in this city who profess to love the Bible only about six score can be induced to show their direct personal sympathy."

15. editorial - The Australian, 6.12.79.

danger to faith and morals; and it therefore behoves all Catholic parents to preserve their little ones from its contamination."¹⁶

Catholic attention too was directed towards a strengthening of internal organisation in the face of encroaching irreligion. The authority of the hierarchy was maintained against the deviationist tendencies of Liberal Catholics,¹⁷ especially dangerous in an era of 'unbelief and indifference' - "for this is a time when dogma and authority are assailed, when an attempt is being made to wipe out not only the distinctive doctrines of Catholicism, but the very name of Christianity itself from the records of the time"¹⁸

Such evidence as that cited above indicates a clerical concern for the existence of what was perceived to be dangerous secularism in the society. In itself it is doubtfully sufficient to establish the 'eighties as a period of crisis for the Church. Clergy are particularly sensitive to irreligion and indifference in all ages, and particularly prone to notice (and therefore exaggerate) the negative rather than the positive aspects of religious adherence in the community. The religious issue in schools could have provoked over-emphasis upon secular tendencies in the society both from Lilley, McCulloch and the Roman Catholics - all staunch supporters of moral and spiritual elevation as an element of education. The Evangelical Standard's diatribe against hypocrisy in the Church and generally, against amusements and the rest, might have been seen by some contemporaries as a typical example of puritanical intolerance - the non-conformist ostrich burying its head in the sands of evangelical rigidity, and refusing to recognise legitimate social advances. The evidence reveals an unease in religious quarters at current social developments, an unease expressed in quite strong, at times violent,

16. The Australian 1.11.79.

17. The Australian 6.12.79.

18. ibid.

language; but as yet there was little to indicate why current perceptions in the Church should have assumed such a form, little to indicate in what way such perceptions were specific to the period. For an understanding of the latter points it is necessary to make some cursory examination of a number of factors which help explain why the 'eighties should appear to constitute a period of challenge for the Church. One was the general climate of opinion existing in the latter 19th century. Another was associated with the ideology and leanings of the labour movement. Particular conditions within and between the various churches, and specific values of a frontier colony interacted to complete an environment which conditioned existing assessments of the society. In such an environment indictment of the age as one of secularism and corresponding unease within the Church became explicable.

In many ways the climate of theoretical and intellectual opinion of the latter 19th century was inimical to established religion. Vast energy was expended by clergy and supporters of the Church in attempting to reconcile new ideas of science and evolution with religious dogma. Vast energy was expended in opposing some of the tendrils of secularism which such ideas undoubtedly bred, tendrils which frequently embodied in new forms old growths such as rationalism and Free Thought. The boil-over from this ideological cauldron, centred in England and Europe and America, reached the colonies where it was to impress itself upon the clergy as one of the more highly educated groups in the society. Thus the pages of religious journals and newspapers were liberally sprinkled in the 'eighties with the theological reactions to science and Darwinian evolution. They contained also tolerantly critical accounts of Phrenology and astrology, whilst pouring vitriolic contempt upon movements of rationalism, free-thought and other manifestations of an age of 'mealy-mouthed agnosticism'.

Charles Darwin had published his 'Origin of the Species' in 1859. By the 1880's the doctrine of Darwinism, in its social as well as its scientific form, was in a process of transition from rank heresy

to established orthodoxy.¹⁹ The Church had concomitantly to revise its initial opposition in a direction of synthesis, a synthesis not unaccompanied by a good deal of indecision and spontaneous reversion to earlier antipathies.²⁰ Synthesis was indeed necessary. Geology had challenged the literal Biblical account of creativity. The Darwinian theory now postulated development as a function of inevitable, natural and discoverable laws of selection, and survival, whose operation could be conceived in the absence of such religious concepts as free will or purpose.²¹ The principles of evolutionary development were applied to man as to animals, and the religious dividing line between the two was thereby abolished. The creation of man was for Darwin a gradual not a sudden phenomenon, and the so-called 'fall of man', if literally interpreted, could be only a fiction. The dangers of evolutionary theories for the Church were appreciated in the colonies as in England, even if the accompanying literary and theological agitation reached colonial shores at one remove. Roman Catholic antipathy to the new doctrines was especially great, the Australian in 1883 dubbing geology and scientific Darwinianism as enemy No.1. - "the commonest and most popular arguments against revealed religion at present" it felt "are those derived from geology and the natural history of man".²² The general subject was very much 'in the air' by the 'eighties. Debate upon the issue was common and many a colonial lecturer took as his topic the relationship between Religion and Science, Geology and Genesis, Faith and Evolution. By no means all, or the most popular, took as their duty a defence of the Church. An American, Professor Denton, for example, toured the colonies, including Queensland, in 1883 delivering a lecture series upon science

19. see Marchant, P.D. 'Social Darwinism' in The Aust. Journal of Politics & History Vol.III, No.1., Nov.1957, pp.46-59.

20. for an account of Church reactions to the Darwinian theory in England prior to 1875, see Woodward, E.L. 'The Age of Reform 1815-1870' (Oxford, 1949) pp.553-7.

21. Darwin of course was chary of stating too strongly such unorthodoxies and, as Marchant points out (pp.51-2), his vacillation on the point provided - "whether inadvertently or in grudging concessions to orthodoxy - ammunition for those who would see conscious purpose in evolution as well as those who saw only a blind determinism." (p.52). Darwin was impressed by other factors in this respect - by the Lamarckian theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics, by certain geological evidence - all of which provided further opportunities for 'deviationist' theories, including religious synthesis.

22. The Australian, 17.3.83.

and religion in which he plumped heavily for the side of scientific enlightenment.²³ He challenged anyone to reconcile the facts of science with the Mosaic account of the Creation without effecting a distortion of the latter. In so doing he undoubtedly delighted a crowded audience but provoked the usually staid Anglican organ - the Queensland Guardian - into a vitriolic attack upon 'quack theologians' and 'nostrum-mongers', which was illustrative of a raw sensitivity to a living issue. The shafts of the Guardian were undoubtedly aimed also at the new doctrines of science and evolution when it condemned those who "speak in mocking derision about the world having been made in six days. They glibly glide through the labyrinthine mass of scientific jargon with parrot-like pertinacity. The silly public applaud their gushing rhetoric while they admire their defiant self-assertion. And the bantams who sneer at Incarnate Deity will chuckle and crow if some 'cute' irreverence - or to be more plain - some abominable blasphemy is hurled out of a vile creature's mouth into the canopy of ethereal beauty."²⁴

Against such a background it became increasingly urgent that the Church should attempt a reconciliation of its teachings with a body of scientific doctrine acquiring more than a modicum of respectability and prestige. Science and Darwinian evolution, it had to be shown, were not necessarily incompatible with the beliefs of revealed religion, and the decision to demonstrate this truth constituted a recognition of the dangerously corrosive and disintegrative potential of the new ideas. It was not easily that the literal truth of the Biblical account of creation could be brought into question, or the possibility granted that evolution and natural selection were in fact the subtle instruments by which God wrought his will. But this in fact was what took place, and the tensions thereby generated came to characterise the religious environment of the

23. Reported in the Australian, 17.3.83; Old Guardian 22.3.83.

24. Old Guardian, 22.3.83.

latter 19th century. The Derby Church Congress in 1883 took as an important topic 'the Harmony of Science and Faith', and its debates revealed that although intolerance and obscurantism had by no means departed the ranks of religious opinion, the force of scientific prestige was being felt in favour of reconciliation. Orthodox Christian belief was now on the way to an acceptance of a less rigid interpretation of the Bible and towards the revision of doctrines based upon the literal meaning of holy texts. The Congress, and the Queensland Guardian which reported in full its proceedings, accepted eagerly arguments which provided a synthesis of science and religion, and thereby offered a solution to popular intoxication with the former. Professor Stokes gracefully surmounted the literal difficulties of Genesis in the face of geological advance. One thousand years were as one day with God, and Creation could thereby be encompassed in six, provided a rigid view of a day as constituted of twenty-four hours was not held.²⁵ The Guardian warmly quoted, and set aside for further use in the domestic issue of colonial secularism, the essentially Spencerian view of evolution put forward by Stokes.²⁶ Evolution, with its laws of natural selection of fit species, remained a Divine tool - "the same Almighty fiat may cause Evolution to be the process by which the world was, during many ages, formed to be the habitation of a creature formed in the Divine image, as much as though He spake the whole earth and man upon it into being in one moment."²⁷

The anti-religious tendencies of a doctrine which placed great emphasis upon the operation of natural and inevitable laws were softened (if not reconciled) by a clerical re-iteration upon the importance in life of purpose and free will. Prayer, according to the Bishop of Bedford, was

25. Old Guardian, 24.5.83. This Anglican newspaper, with High Church leanings, kept in close touch with intellectual & doctrinal developments in England. Its pages were as closely filled with English reports as the Australian's were with Irish.

26. "Spencer explicitly accommodated the supernatural in his scheme. He distinguished between the knowable and the Unknowable, & by preserving the belief in an Absolute 'that transcends not only human knowledge but human conception' Spencer made his views acceptable to theists". Marchant, op.cit. p.53.

27. Old Guardian, 24.5.83.

not, as some claimed, useless in the face of a vast and unalterable system of laws. Prayer was not useless simply because of the existence of Will in man and God, a Will which could be effective in view of the fact (or claim) that God, who made Law, also made freedom.²⁸

As the Protestant, and especially the Anglican, Church in the colonies borrowed the doctrinal synthesis of dogma and science evolved overseas, so did the Roman Catholic Church incorporate new developments into its religious formulae. The orthodox Catholic view of the basic harmony of religion and science had been put forward by Cardinal Wiseman in his 'Lectures on the Connection Between Science and Revealed Religion'.²⁹ The grandest intellects of Science, according to the Cardinal, had been Christians - Copernicus, Galileo, Newton - and if science could never know the unknowable or investigate the first Cause, it might yet exist harmoniously alongside revealed religion. The Australian summarised the Church's attitude:

"The Christian Church teaches that science and religion are and must be in perfect unison, as God is the author of both one and the other. The deeper and fuller the knowledge of science is, the more it will be found in harmony with religion. It is only the hasty, crude, and imperfect beginnings of science which, in the hands of irreligious men, are made the weapons of attack against religion."³⁰

If such a position led to the ready criticism of all recent scientific endeavour with anti-religious potential, and if it bled only slightly the conscience of those genuinely impressed by legitimate scientific advances, it did provide a doctrinal basis for ultimate reconciliation and a ready standpoint for harassed adherents. In its suspicion of scientific endeavour it stood in marked contrast to the view of some

28. A doubtfully Darwinian view. Darwin opposed generally purpose & will as factors in the modification of species. Natural selection left little room for conscious striving with its emphasis upon chance variations. Darwin vacillated however & so religion, with Bagehot & others found cover under the 'capacious Darwinian blanket' - Marchant, op.cit. p.52.

29. The Australian, 17.3.83.

30. ibid.

intellectuals who saw with a real optimism the flowering of science alongside faith. A Mr. Petheridge, writing an article in the Queensland Review entitled 'The Theory of Evolution in its Social Bearings', did not share current religious misgivings about Darwinism. Evolutionary theory, he recognised, would continue to react upon religion,

"...but only in the way of rendering our ideas as to the scheme of the universe and knowledge of the power guarding man in his progress towards perfection, wider and grander. And there will still be room for a Church in the true sense of the term, which shall teach all that is highest in the conduct of life. No longer claiming to be possessed of knowledge derived from special and peculiar sources, and above experimental proof, and no longer the foe and opposer of scientific research, but moving hand in hand with it, and hailing each new conquest over nature as being one more great truth known and understood, and deducing lessons therefrom to train the minds of men to look beyond this life towards that which is highest."³¹

Reconciliation found here perhaps its completest form.

Petheridge had touched on a sensitive spot in the religious defence against the principles and findings of Science when he characterised real reconciliation as an aspiration rather than an achievement. The Church had indeed recognised, in the colonies as at home, that adjustment to the scientific facts of life was required in the fight against secularism and for the continued prestige of religion, but its attitude was frequently such as to render doubtful the genuineness of its belief in reconciliation and synthesis. Such attitudes varied of course with denominations and with individuals, but seemed particularly prevalent in the colonies where doctrinal adjustment was suddenly necessitated but where a prior period of

31. Old. Review, Aug. 1885, p.83.

heated and prolonged controversy, such as had existed in England, was lacking.³²

Even in England twenty-four years after the publication of the 'Origin' doubt prevailed in religious quarters over the authenticity of Darwin's claims. Doctrinal provision was made for the impact of evolution upon dogma and belief should its validity be sustained, but scepticism of new advances proved a more comfortable position for many a supporter of religion. Professor Stokes' was perhaps a typical, if finely wrought, viewpoint. The Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of London for 1883 retained for posterity his opinions. Although he believed Darwin's theory as yet unestablished from the evidence, he had reluctantly to admit that "there may, I will not say must, be nothing atheistic in the belief".³³ Science, however, would never disprove the truth of Revelation. As against the latter and the Bible, "so express, so closely bound up with man's highest aspirations", there was nothing to adduce on the side of science other than "an hypothesis of continuous transmutation incapable of experimental investigation, and making such demands upon our imagination as to stagger at last the initiated."³⁴ If such sentiments did little credit to the Professor's scientific acumen, their frequent re-iteration in the colonial setting revealed where clerical sympathies truly lay.

The Roman Catholic Australian for example found itself in close accord with Stokes' scepticism of the Darwinian theory. It ridiculed the latter in these terms:

"Jules Verne never, in all his flights of fancy, imagined anything so grotesque as this wonderful theory, and yet, with modifications, and reserves, and additions, it is a large part of the creed of popular science, and is the subject of innumerable books, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper

32. eg. The Australian in 1883 - "for years past the literary & scientific worlds have been agitated by discussions on the antiquity & descent of man. We in these colonies, so busily engaged in founding a new empire beneath the Southern Cross, have, until recently, heard but faint murmurs of the strife...at length the worn-out fashion has reached our shores." 17.3.83.

33. reported in Qld. Guardian, 29.3.83.

34. ibid.

articles. The whole theory is based on bare assumptions..."³⁵

Scepticism of the validity of scientific claims readily became scepticism of scientists and scientific ends. Present most vehemently in Roman Catholic discussion, such doubts were not absent from the Protestant camp. The Queensland Evangelical Standard had in the early years of the decade appealed beyond learned opinion to history for reassurance against an advancing and alien science:

"Christianity lived down the opposition of the early philosophers and won the allegiance of their successors for fifteen centuries. Are we then to suppose that, in the nineteenth century, a body of truth which has borne the brunt of every form of hostility without essential injury is now about to be exploded, because a few literary and scientific men who echo the utterances of a still smaller number of original inquirers, have gained the ear of a certain section of the public, and industriously circulate their opinions through a few influential channels? The teaching of all history forbids so absurd a supposition"³⁶.

If the motives of the 'original inquirers' were not directly imputed by the Evangelical press, the Catholic Australian did not feel impelled by a similar delicacy three years later. The anti-religious biases of science and scientists were scorned in a lengthy editorial in which reconciliation of opposing viewpoints constituted a very minor element.

The Australian on scientists:

"Now there is one very remarkable fact to be observed in regard to a large number of the scientific men of the present age. They are not content with the deepest study and most minute scrutiny of their special subjects...they are not satisfied with enriching science with new discoveries, and enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge. With many of them, the work seems incomplete if they fail to build up from their scientific studies an argument against revealed religion. The uniformity of this scientific tendency is certainly suspicious...The eagerness with

35. The Australian, 17.3.83.

36. Q.E.S., 17.4.80.

which a doubtful discovery, a half-formed conclusion or a plausible theory is seized upon, if it seems to bear in any way against Biblical revelation, makes the careful observer still more suspicious. Why this hurried eagerness to jump at conclusions adverse to revealed religion? Does it not seem as if the wish were father to the thought? and that the man of science is searching for arguments against revelation because he is the enemy of religion?...Indeed there is no room left for doubt on the subject, for the so-called religion of science announces its hostility to the very idea of revealed religion and God..."³⁷

Such hostility, engendered (according to the Australian) by the scientific enemies of religion, was embodied in the oft-times specious arguments and assumptions of science - that religion was supernatural and therefore unscientific, that the operation of regular laws in nature precluded a God, the thesis of Matthew Arnold that, whilst any new religion must be laid on a verifiable basis, the supernatural was not verifiable. Hostility was apparent in these as in the arguments "of all the Agnostics, Positivists, Pessimists, Secularists, the whole brood, in short, of sweet-singing, poisonous serpents that are now writhing about the Tree of Knowledge and tempting poor covetous Eve."³⁸ A substantial antipathy to the encroachment of a science with these sorts of principles and assumptions clearly shone through Church efforts at reconciliation and synthesis.

The colonial Church in the 1880's could perceive itself as facing a crisis because it existed in an intellectual and doctrinal atmosphere, absorbed from overseas and provoked in important ways by

37. The Australian 17.3.83 - it continued; "Some of its professors still speak of God, but their God is not the God of the Bible & Christianity. If they attach any meaning to the word, it is doubtless in the purely pantheistic sense, that the whole universe is God. It should be clearly understood that they do not mean God in the ordinary sense, as the Creator & ruler of the Universe, the rewarder of good & punisher of evil".(ibid.-)

38. ibid.

the scientific movement, which embodied conflict and tension as primary characteristics. Colonial churchmen were unavoidably caught up in the decision of the Church at this time to come to terms with such movements as Darwinian evolution and were as unavoidably conditioned by accompanying doubts, frustrations, and reversions. Rightly or wrongly Science and Evolution were perceived as potential enemies of revealed religion, and ^{as} ~~no~~ further catalysts in the colonial tendency towards secularism. The intellectual decision to synthesise Church dogma with the principles of science as a defence against secularism was only partially effective. It may have soothed the fears of the faithful, but was too often so finely wrought that it failed to combat uncritical acceptance of scientific implications - e.g. that the world was not made in six days a la Genesis; that if man was descended from apes how could he be cast in the maker's image?, etc. Again the emotional opposition of many clerics to science and scientists was not calculated to store up synthesis as a defence of the Church, or to soothe the breasts of those genuinely impressed by scientific advance.³⁹

Science, however, was supplemented in its secularist tendencies by a 'whole brood of sweet-singing, poisonous serpents'. For a capitalist society in an era of economic prosperity it was not strange that declines epitomising man as manipulator of his own destiny should invite acceptance. Rationalism and Free Thought figured as subjects of colonial debate in the 'eighties as they had never figured in earlier decades,⁴⁰ whilst the Queensland Guardian was led by developments

39. The teachings of the Church indeed offered little at this stage for such men. One reaction was that of Petheridge's - hope for future enlightenment. Another was scepticism of religion. The '80's in the colonies may have had some affinities with the 60's & 70's in England, when a profound change of mood & outlook, generated by science & Darwinism amongst other things, took place. Religion, in its maladjustment, offered little for a situation described by a participant as follows:

"The Origin of Species" inaugurated an intellectual revolution such as the world had not known since Luther nailed his theses to the door of All Saints Church at Wittenberg. The older folk as a rule refused to accept or to consider the new doctrine. The young men of the time grew up with the new ideas & accepted them as a matter of course. Our parents, who read neither Spencer nor Huxley, lived in an intellectual world which bore no relation to our own; and cut adrift as we were from the intellectual moorings of our upbringings, recognising, as we did, that the older men were useless as guides in religion, in science, in philosophy, because they knew no evolution. We also felt instinctively that we could accept nothing on trust

to condemn those who "flaunt the rotten theories of Paine, Voltaire and Bradlaugh before a novelty-hunting and (it is to be feared) indiscriminating public"⁴¹ Brisbane could even boast its own Free-thought Association, a "small and feeble community"⁴² which circulated its own free-thought journal, The Pilgrim, "a most disreputable publication" enjoying a brief, if spectacular, existence. Typical of its endeavours was the publication of a tract entitled "The Trinity: its absurdity and immorality" - "weak in argument, careless in composition, vile in sentiment, arrogant in spirit, and disgustingly blasphemous in language and statement"⁴³

Free-thought, if unquestionably a minor and not respectable element of community life, was yet one manifestation of the age as soon through clerical spectacles, and led the Standard to lament that "now-a-days blasphemy openly propagates its repulsive theories, and obscenity flaunts its vileness before the public eye."⁴⁴

The scepticism of Marcus Clarke was perhaps more positive and widespread than that of the free-thought advocates. His belief was in man rather than God, his prophecy of a civilisation minus Christianity:

"ManKind freed from the terrors of future torments, and comprehending that by no amount of prayers can they secure eternal happiness for their souls, will bestow upon humanity the fervour which they have hitherto wasted in sighs and hymns. The interest now felt in churchmen's disputations will be transferred to discoveries of science. The progress of the world will be the sole care of its inhabitants; and the elevation of the race the only religion of mankind"⁴⁵

Clarke's partisanship in favour of secularism was illustrative of one aspect of the collision between religion and unbelief in the

39. footnote cont./ from those who still believed in the early chapters of Genesis accurately described the origin of the universe". Quoted from Pease E.R., historian of the Fabian Society, by Thomson, D. "England in the Nineteenth Century" (Penguin) 1953, p.151.

40. see e.g. Q.E.S. 10.1.80. The '80's were a period when such publications as the "Freethinker", the "Fruits of Philosophy", even the "Comic History of the Life of Christ" existed in England. The Free Thought philosophy was "that there is no God, & that therefore morality is only conventional, & that the Ten Commandments are only convenient regulations made by the rich to keep down the poor". Quoted from the Spectator 11.3.83, by Old.Guardian, 216.83.

41. Old.Guardian, 22.3.83. 42. Q.E.S. 10.1.80. 43. ibid.

(Footnote 44. overleaf)

'eighties - the often intense involvement in the issue of the various protagonists. The Church might deplore the religious indifference of a large section of the colonial population but it also recognised the energy of its secular opponents, and did not lack violent adherents of its own cause. Lloyd Ross certainly exaggerated when he claimed that in Brisbane "simple evangelism and primitive rationalism divided the interest of the public"⁴⁶ but both causes were roundly publicised in the 'eighties and both stimulated emotional adherence. The debates which centred around the issues of evolution and the literal truth of the Bible have already been mentioned, but controversy ranged a wider field. Clerics and religious supporters put the defences of revealed religion publicly in debate upon such questions as "Is Christianity of Divine Origin?", "Is the Bible plenary & Divinely Inspired?". On the other side secularists and agnostics could hear sung the praises of their various viewpoints in the lecture halls. A Mr. Collins in 1887, for example, could hold the attention of a large audience for two hours on the subject of 'Herbert Spencer, the great Agnostic'⁴⁷ whilst in the Freethought Hall rationalists could lecture upon such topics as "The Popes of Rome - for men only"⁴⁸.

The Church in the 1880's could feel, not unjustifiably, that it was being forced into defence against the intellectual tendencies of the day - science and 'scientific secularism', evolutionary theory, rationalism and general scepticism. The State was imposing its secular system of education upon the society, 'nominalism' was common in most denominations, indifference to religion was felt to be growing in the community, whilst even within the churches hypocrisy was suspected. But yet another danger had to be faced - the increasingly hostile attitude of working class movements to institutional religion - a particularly subversive tendency in the social context of the colonies. The 'nineties

44. *ibid.* Government opposition to free-thought - heavy postage taxes were levied upon the inter-colonial transport of its journals - was perhaps representative of major & respectable elements in the community.

45. Reprinted from a pamphlet in the Victorian Review. Extracts & criticisms in Q.E.S. 17.4.80.

46. Ross, L. "William Lane & the Australian Labour Movement" 1934 (Mitchell) p33.

47. Reported in Daily Observer, 16.7.87.

48. Ross op.cit. p.33.

were to see the full culmination of working class disillusion with a Church which stood aside from the underlying issues of the strikes and depression, but the direction of developments was apparent for the acute observer in the 'eighties.⁴⁹ For the leaders of the working class movement, and presumably for many of their followers, the social doctrine of 'mateship' and the utopian aspirations of organised labour constituted a new religion to usurp the outmoded and class-riddled old 'mateship' according to the social historian of the pastoral workers, had by the 'eighties and 'nineties become a consciously-held substitute for religion.⁵⁰ Paterson's poem 'My Religion' typified what was probably a common attitude towards established religion within the ranks of a working class movement accepting the precepts of social egalitarianism:

"Let Romanists all at Confessional kneel,
 Let the Jew with disgust turn from it,
 Let the mighty Crown Prelate in Church pander zeal,
 Let the Mussulman worship Mahomet.

From all these I differ - truly wise is my plan,
 With my doctrine, perhaps, you'll agree,
 To be upright and downright and act like a man,
 That's the religion for me.

I will go to no Church and to no house of Prayer,
 To see a white shirt on a preacher.
 And in no Court-house on a book will I swear
 To injure a poor fellow creature.

For parsons and preachers are all a mere joke,
 Their hands must be greased by a fee;
 But with the poor toiler to share you last 'toke',
 That's the religion for me.

49. The Rev. Osborne Lilley noted anti-religious tendencies in the Labour movement during the early days of his ministry in Brisbane (circa 1883) Agreeing to a suggestion for the establishment of a society, upon a Socialist basis, put forward by 'a number of thoughtful young men in my parish', Lilley stipulated 'that nothing in the society formed should be inconsistent with the principles of Christianity or in opposition to it, for I knew that some of the leading advocates of Socialism were then antagonistic to the Churches & the Christian religion'. Lilley, *Op. cit.* p. 96.

50. Russell Ward 'The Ethos & Influence of the Australian Pastoral Worker' (thesis) p. 433.

But let man unto man like brethren act,
 My doctrine that suits to a T.
 The Heart that can feel for the woes of another,
 Oh, that's the religion for me." 51

Two elements emerged - disillusion with existing religion, and its replacement by a more acceptable creed of social brotherhood. The same elements appeared in the thought of William Lane, but in a situation where Socialism was just 'being mates' the new religion tended to assume a socialist form. Lane took essentially the same view of established religion as Marcus Clark, when the latter characterised it as moribund in the context of the latter 19th Century.

"The temples are still full of worshippers" Clark had written, "the offerings still tinkle in the plates, the confessionals are still thronged with breast-beating penitents, and the bedsides of the dying still cheered by the sweet delusions poured into too-willing ears. But go out into the world. Where is your religion then? Does it inspire the politician, assist the man of science, or aid the physician? No, it embarrasses them all. Do its teachings lighten the heart of the philosopher, or assist the efforts of the philanthropist? Read the literature of the day - sip the life-blood of the running age - and answer." 52

Lane's answer was basically the same as Clarke's - ancient faiths were shaking and dogmas breaking down in this age. The Church was a relic of the past and was being exposed as such. The mask was being stripped from hypocrisy and ignorance, science was riving asunder regardless of pre-formed thought, whilst a huge conflict was arising between the old creeds and new social doctrines - "between the Humanity that is and the psued-Christianity that is not" 53

Lane's antipathy, widely publicised in the Boomerang and Worker,

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51. quoted ibid p.433. A commentator in the '70's found considerable active unbelief & vigorous rationalism amongst workers in shearing sheds, the centre (according to Ward) of 'mateship' see Richmond, F. 'Qld. in the Seventies' p.7.
52. Marcus Clarke in a pamphlet 'Civilisation without Delusion', reprinted in Victorian Review & quoted in Q.E.S. 17.4.80.
53. Boomerang, 29.12.88.

was directed primarily against religion as an institution, against churches which had forsworn or perverted the simple faiths of a humanitarian Christianity in the interests of the dominant ruling classes in society. Lane retained a genuine sympathy for what he conceived to be the essential precepts of Christianity. "True religion" he believed "is something more than dogmas or creeds. It is the kernel to which dogmas and creeds are but the shell; it is contained in the undying teaching 'do unto others as you would they should do unto you'; it is crystallised in the new commandment 'that ye love one another'." ⁵⁴ Lane in 1887 had supported the general principle of religious instruction in schools ⁵⁵ and favoured the teaching of ethical morality for "without morality society must fall asunder". His whole criticism of the Church was that it had turned its back upon these simple tenets of Christianity and could thereby never attain that morality which was essential for society. The obvious corollary was that the instrument for a moral ordering of society should be sought elsewhere, and for Lane this meant in the organisation of the socially under-privileged.

Lane's views received wide publicity in a leading article of the Worker in June 1891. Bishop Webber unwittingly provoked the issue when he "indulged in a few harmless platitudes about the industrial problem and vouchsafed a prayer that everything would be guided for the best". ⁵⁶ The Worker reacted by critically evaluating the ineffectiveness of the Church in facing or attempting to resolve current social issues, an ineffectiveness which led so many to "look upon church-going as a mockery and Religion as a mumbling of words." The poor, argued the Worker, were condemned for immorality and godless-

54. Boomerang 3.12.87.

55. ibid. It was significant that he extended this support so long as instruction was divorced from sectarianism—"if we go in for dogma we upset a hornet's nest of opposing dogmatists". In line with his general concept of Christianity, he supported the state policy of imparting a broad-based, generalised religious training. Lane pointed the danger of going to secularist extremes—"the danger of weakening or shifting the creed in which conscientious & sincere Christian parents are endeavouring to rear their children is ten times greater than any conceivable danger of undermining the stony axioms of modern materialism". Such views led The Rev. Lilley to speak of Lane's "sentimental humanitarianism & pseudo-religious philosophy". Lilley op.cit. p.101.

56. The Worker 18.6.91. subsequent quotations from this article unless otherwise indicated.

ness, the rich only for their failure to subscribe to church funds.⁵⁷

This, objected Lane in the terms of the Bible, was a gross departure from the ancient spirit of religion:

"It was not thus that the Master did before the chief priests and Pharisees hounded him to a cruel death; not that the men did who lifted the cross from the crimsoned floor of the arena; nor that the good priests did who broke the chains of the English peasantry...It was to the rich and powerful as well as to the poor and sad that the Great Teacher told the truth. It was Theodosius the Emperor whom the girdled monk bearded. It was the lord of the soil whom the priest refused to dissolve till he did what then seemed justice. It was the vices and wickedness of the great on earth that the Puritan declared to be hateful in God's sight. And this is what has endeared Religion to us in the past, that if it shamed us for our offences, as indeed we need to be shamed, yet it has stood between us and those who offended against us, that it has spoken in God's name to those who wrong the poor."

Such was not the character of modern religion, spiced as it was with hypocrisy and essentially ^{ie} an organ of the ruling class. "Now - why now the oath of a rich man is smiled at as a blessing, and his drunkenness is a proof of good-fellowship, and his adulteries do not bar him from the esteem of the parson he pays for and he may make the world an industrial hell, as far as he knows how, and the Synod is silent. It is only the poor whom the average parson will condemn. It is only the wickedness of the workers that he sees - for he is on the pay of Dives; he has taken the thirty pieces of silver to betray his Master."⁵⁸ The workers were invited to put their faith and their support behind a worthier cause than effete religion, to embrace in fact the new

57. For an example of latter see Anglican Synod Report, 27.7.80.

58. Worker 18.6.91-Lane continued in sentiments which probably enjoyed widespread working-class endorsement: "It does not pay for the average parson to tell the truth any more than it pays for the average newspaper which must depend on capitalistic advertisers- and since Bishop Webber needs a fine house & carriage, fine churches & a cathedral, & since the average parson would as soon dream of cutting his throat as of swagging it among the poor in apostolic fashion, what can one expect?" (ibid). For similar views of the clergy during the 1890's depression see Bulletin 13.5.93. extract in Clark.C.M.H. Sources of Aust. History (Worlds Classics) 1957, p.417-8.

religion of organisation -

"The Labour movement is an enabling movement and its effects are visible, wherever its waves reach, in a higher humanity and a stronger manhood and womanhood. It fights against the causes which make the thief, the harlot and the drunkard. It gives us a desire to be better men and true women...For the Labour movement brings us together in brotherhood to help and assist each other. It is a Religion in itself if we but understand it rightly, and we are understanding it more and more every day.."59

Christ was not to be renounced but was to stand as a symbol of social justice disassociated from the trappings of institutionalised religion. Lane had expounded this new conception in a Christmas issue of the Boomerang in 1888. "This Teacher of Galilee" he wrote "is more to us than the mere man Jesus. He means and is the incarnation of the struggling wherein the Right is ever trampled under the feet of Wrong and ever rises upward despite of fall...For around Jesus our race has wrapped its romance and its spirituality, in him it has ever seen the heart-fire burning brightest that beacons the world to a nobler motive than bestial love of self. In this he will be divine when the dogma of an offended deity and a sacrificial life shall have passed away into the darkneses."60

Lane's doctrines were perhaps most potent as they conditioned anti-religious attitudes amongst the working class followers of the Labour movement.⁶¹ They could not fail, however, to add to the sense of danger already present within the Church. Clerics had withstood the charge of being reactionary in the face of scientific advance; now they were subjected to further criticisms of insensitivity to pre-

59. Worker, 13.6.91.

60. Boomerang, 29.12.88.

61. How far these anti-religious tendencies clashed with the beliefs of the Roman Catholic element of the lower classes is no easy problem. Ch.2. indicated the prevailing tendency of Irish immigrants to be in the lower social strata. Their activity within the Labour Movement, and their affiliations & connections with the official hierarchy of the R.C.Church in the 1880's have yet to be fully investigated.

vailing social issues, hypocrisy and class allegiance. There was little comfort for Churchmen in the fact that Lane embraced publicly the simple tenets of Christianity, when the latter were employed to question the legitimacy of established religion and the modern Church.

In a wider context working class aspirations in the 'eighties, and the doctrines used to support them, were based upon a view of society which had substantial affiliation with such other intellectual movements of the age as embraced an optimistic view of man and his social abilities. Man, free of the restrictions of an irrational religion, could be master of his own environment and creator of utopias. In an era of economic prosperity in the colonies there was more than one indication from various quarters, of sympathy with this type of view. The age, it was felt, was one of enlightenment and there was an almost 16th Century emancipation of man from tyrannous religion. One correspondent to the learned Queensland Review put this viewpoint:

"So long as man was taught to believe that he had by disobedience to his Maker fallen from his original high estate, and labouring under a curse irremovable by any effort of his own, so long was the road to self-improvement and real social progress barred. But this idea removed from his mind, he is left free to force his way onward with entire independence, and to at last discern that misery, vice, and all other evils are not the mysterious results of one man's disobedience ages past (or an external power working for evils against him) but simply the result of his own neglect or opposition to the inevitable laws of the universe".⁶²

Such neglect, it was implied, could be remedied by social activity. Man, free of religious fetters, could realise his potentials by using for his own ends universal laws and thereby create a more satisfactory

62. Qld. Review, Aug. 1885.

social order.⁶³

If the attitudes and ideology of working class movements constituted specific conditions in the colonial environment which added to the weight of antipathy impressing upon the Church in an age of general unkindness to religion, colonial society could display yet other characteristics inimical to revealed religion. The materialism of a frontier and capitalist community was one such characteristic. Those institutional and economic advances described in Chapter one obviously absorbed the efforts of large groups in the community, groups which not unnaturally tended to place premium value upon material success and upon the virtues which helped attain it - practicality, application, and a modicum of ruthlessness in competition.

The criteria of utility and practicality, however, were not the standards by which religion invited or desired assessment (as they were not the criteria some educationists desired in the assessment of education). Neither were the extremes of economic competition, or the values they engendered, regarded unanimously in the Church as healthy social symptoms.⁶⁴ Here there was a schism, for many a Brisbane businessman, however unacquainted he might be with the niceties of evolutionary theory, could from experience judge as 'fit' a doctrine which postulated 'survival of the fittest' as a principle of life. This conception of social activity he undoubtedly reconciled with support of the church. But Churchgoing to the commercial and business men of Brisbane was too frequently a concession to basic materialism - its indulgence was good business, a price to be paid for social acceptance. Perhaps it appeared even a penitence for exclusive everyday concern with the effort at aggrandisement. Nevertheless a Church built

63. *ibid.* Escape from the rigid religious straitjacket would permit enlightenment & "one result of this knowledge will be the enforcing of the law that unless a man work neither shall he eat, with its logical outcome that if a man eats without working some other man must be working for him". - a view with socialist affinities.

64. The conflicting claims of capitalism & religion operated of course in wider spheres than the colonial, & were in fact the legacy of centuries. See Tawney, R.H. 'Religion & the rise of Capitalism' (Pelican) 1948.

upon the basis of such support appeared to many churchmen to be built upon sand. And the evidences of materialism abounded. The first issue of the Queensland Guardian took as an express aim the inhibition of its excesses: "We trust to imbue the 75,000 souls who belong to our communion with the strict principles of commercial integrity which have dignified the name of Englishmen all over the world and which, alone, give confidence in our race"⁶⁵ The Guardian aimed thereby at prosecuting a pernicious development for "now-a-days there is an unfortunate desire on the part of many to make haste to be rich - often, alas! at the expense of virtue. We shall fearlessly expose gigantic swindles, bubble speculations and rotten land jobbery."⁶⁶ Percy Clarke was impressed by the materialism of colonial society for "the average Australian, always busy, with a store of nerve energy never expended, has a secret contempt for the man of leisure who can find time to look about him, and has not to consider everything he says, does, and thinks in the light of l.s.d."⁶⁷ Even the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce was led in 1891 to comment that "money-making pure and simple appears to be the absorbing passion of a great many men who could and should do good service to the country"⁶⁸ Dr. Lockhart-Gibson testified to the same tendencies amongst medical men in a community, "where the chief object of the many is to become rich in money, leaving the mind to take care of itself and neighbours to worry on as they may"⁶⁹ James Inglis was impressed by the importance of monetary considerations as an element in servant-

65. Old. Guardian, 182.83.

66. ibid.

67. "The 'New Chum' in Australia" (London) 1886, p.242. Clarke gave an illustration "I remember once when on a sketching trip in N.S.W. being asked what I expected to make out of 'that there painting'. My self-attached interviewer on hearing my reply that I was working for love, not dross, replied, 'Look ye here, mister, ye may say so, but du ye think I take ye to be such a fule as that? Eh, ye must be a deep 'un but ye can't catch I! Over & over again, in different forms & from different mouths, generally male, and often from persons of good standing, have I received similar answers." (ibid - my emphasis).

68. Report 1891, p.15.

69. Dr.J.Lockhart-Gibson, article on 'The Relation of Medicine to the State & the People' in Boomerang, 3.12.87.

employer relationships,⁷⁰ as of colonial relations in general - "In all my observations of Australian life I am irresistably forced to the conclusion, that the belief in money being omnipotent is all prevalent".⁷¹ The importance of materialist values in education has already been discussed. In a society with little time for dilettantism and little use for the luxuries of a cultured education it was true, as Inglis observed, that "the gladiators of the intellectual arena are not greeted with the applause of the multitude".⁷²

The Church could not fail to perceive materialism, especially in its extreme forms, as anti-social and anti-religious in tendency. Materialist concern for pleasure and self-aggrandisement, it was suggested, frequently outshone concern for religious revelation, and and certainly concern for church finances. The Anglican Bishop and his Synod in the early 'eighties were especially vociferous in condemning the effectiveness of middle and upper class financial support for the Church,⁷³ a condemnation which ended usually in censure of the materialist values of the society. The Queensland Evangelical Standard was unfavourably impressed by the same social tendencies and drew the following comparisons: "It is the standing sin and shame of our community, that while thousands will be squandered on a race, many hundreds on a ball, and no stint exhibited in expenditure which ministers to pride and luxury, the efforts of the Church to spread the blessings of Christianity are crippled for lack of necessary means".⁷⁴ Religious dismay went beyond financial considerations however. The very morals of the society were being subverted, according to the churches, by

70. Inglis J. 'Our Australian Cousins' (MacMillan) 1880 p.341. He wrote: "In the relations between master & servant there seems to be incessantly put forward the idea that everything is to be reduced to a money test. The hire, wages, or pay is brought into undue prominence. The servant thinks, if she earns her pay, that is all she has to study. The employer fancies that if he or she pays the servant the stipulated wage, then he or she has only to see that the worth of the money is rendered in return. The servant is looked on merely as a hired assistant, or worker, the master or mistress as a convenient milch cow, & the element of mutual interdependence is scouted by both parties". The relationship of these tendencies to labour organisation will be recognized.

71. ibid, p.341.

72. ibid p.226. The vice of the colonial virtues of application & pioneering originality was, according to the Old Guardian "want of consideration, of matured & well-informed reflection". 21.6.83.

73. Synod Reports 27.7.80, 9.8.81. e.g. 1881: "a great effort must be made to awaken in the minds of the chief possessors of property in the

materialist concern for the pleasures and comforts of this rather than the next life. Vice was felt to be prevalent in Brisbane, and not least significantly amongst the so-called upper ranks. The 1868 Contagious Diseases Act (legalising the medical inspection of prostitutes and generally bringing vice under police surveillance) was still, despite religious opposition, operating in the 'eighties. It was felt to proliferate rather than diminish vice - "the city of Brisbane is unenviably distinguished by its prevalence" wrote the Guardian in 1883 whilst Bishop Hale was led in the same year to establish a Society for promoting Social Purity.⁷⁵ It was the philosophy behind the Act however that was particularly resented viz. that vice was a necessary evil, its regulation constituting society's best reply.⁷⁶ The Guardian in particular attacked the tacit acquiescence of society in the necessity for a tolerated and legalised prostitution; it seemed an acquiescence in fact in a materialist hedonism: "It seems to be conceded" lamented the Guardian "as almost a self-evident proposition that a natural propensity is a justification for its indulgence...Prostitution is no more to be justified by the overpowering force of individual licentiousness than theft and fraud by the strength of individual acquisitiveness".⁷⁷ However hateful, the rationalisations used to justify or excuse existing practices, the extent of their indulgence was felt to be alarming. So was the prevalence of such vice in ranks other than the lowest. It appeared that a social class, accepting as its own the tenets of materialism, sought pleasure as it sought success and disregarded the conventional morality of religion as a bar to the first as it disregarded social niceties as a barrier to the second. Lane was not completely correct when he charged the church as negligent of the shortcomings

73. footnote cont./ colony and more lively sense of their responsibility to God. We entertain most unreasonable expectations if we suppose that God will give His blessings to ourselves & to the social & political institutions of the country if those to whom He has entrusted the chief share of the wealth & power of the colony habitually & systematically withhold from Him that proportion of their worldly goods which is His due, & which he claims for pious & charitable uses." Report, 9.8.81.

74. Q.E.S. 13.8.81.

75. Old Guardian 28.6.83. The actual degree of prevalence is, not unnaturally, difficult to establish. The Census results are probably unreliable here, & may indicate the Victorian morality of either the interviewers or those interviewed. The numbers of prostitutes registered in Brisbane was unspecified in 1881 (but was less than 52, the total no. of criminals) was 26 in 1886, & was unspecified in 1891 (Estimate in 1886 tendencies equals 67). The statistics of the report of the Commissioner of Police are useful

/cont. overleaf

of the 'respectable' classes (other than their tendency to leave deplete church coffers). Various shafts had been hurled during the 'eighties against middle-class morality, and 'refined vice'. The Guardian in 1883 deplored the fact that "there is too great indulgence in a tone and in language in reference to the relations between the sexes, which is anything but creditable to the circles - respectable by position, in which they are tolerated. It is against these evils that the ecclesiastical fulminations might be directed and ecclesiastical censure enforced.. The coarseness of common obtrusive vice is repulsive.- Whether or not the hypocrises of licentious respectability are not infinitely more mischievous is unfortunately an unsolveable question."⁷⁸ The 'respectable' classes, according to the Guardian in another article, were too ready to extend a real toleration to licentiousness under a surface guise of horror - "unfortunately many who profess to shudder at the name of evil extend a considerable toleration towards the thing itself, and so long as what is called too great public scandal is avoided, readily condone the offence in the individual...we are to use a mild phraseology - to gild the pill - and while making wry faces at its supposed nauseousness treat it as a necessity."⁷⁹ Again large sections of society, felt the churches, were following the letter rather than the spirit of the teachings of religion.

The colonial trait of dependence upon government had also its anti-religious implications in a situation where government was too often identified with secularism. The State in Queensland had 'imposed'

75. footnote cont. / but unfortunately only relevant to Qld. Thus in 1881 e.g. in Qld. 408 prostitutes were taken into custody for various offences, 101 being charged as 'disorderly prostitutes'. V. & P. 1882, Vol. I, p. 425. Under the operation of the C.D. Act the actual nos. were probably greater - see Commissioner's Report ibid, p. 419.

76. For a typical attitude of this type, ibid, p. 419.

77. Qld. Guardian, 28.6.83.

78. ibid. The article contains bitter references to the social tolerance of vice, & attacked the law which 'condones the guilt & adds safety to secrecy'. The Rev. C. McCulloch put similar views in the Qld. Review Aug. 1885, p. 22.

79. Qld. Guardian 19.4.83. For Wm. Lane's views on prostitution & the social implications of a "fallen sisterhood" see Courier, 20.1.86. Lane related the phenomenon to the evils of a capitalistically organised society. Prostitutes were in this view the 'Ishmaelites of Society wringing from the community that scorns them the bread they eat.'

upon the society a system of education unacceptable to important sections of the colonial Church.⁸⁰ The State, according to the Anglican press, was perpetuating secularism in other ways - especially by its refusal to allow religious facilities in state orphanages, in benevolent asylums and prisons. The Guardian deplored such policies:

"The intolerant prescriptions of sceptical rationalism find other channels besides the educational ones. The state orphanages and the state benevolent asylums banish religious consolation, as the State schools exclude religious teaching. A childhood of irreverence, a maturity of indifference, an old age of both, form the series of results upon which gratuitous tuition may be congratulated...it is pitiable that we should carry our state aversions to creeds and gospels to such extremes. If, as we are told and believe, the influences of Christianity have been reformatory and beneficent...surely there is good reason why those influences should be employed in conflict with the hardening tendencies of association with criminals and practised crime...Was not the divine mission emphatically declared to be to bring sinners to repentance? But the modern materialistic Pharisee practically declares that the sufferer and the prisoner shall not be visited, and that repentance shall not be taught the sinner until eternity is opening upon him"⁸¹.

The 'materialistic Pharisee' also decreed the operation of a Contagious Diseases Act, opposed in many quarters of the church, whilst permitting such a "new desecration of the Lord's day"⁸² as the running of Sunday

80. See Chapter 4. e.g. the view of the Old Guardian that the state had propagated "that fashionable & incoherent cant of scepticism, which, beginning by deploring the asperity with which doctrinal views were sometimes unfortunately advocated, ended in excluding Christianity itself from our colleges & schools". 15.2.83. The 'imposition' of the system was, however, based on a substantial acceptance of its implications by large sections of the community see Ch.4. pp.32-3.

81. Old Guardian, 8.11.83.

82. Q.E.S. 1.11.79. "These utilitarian notions are expanding" bewailed the Standard "it would seem as if the Govt. has only to ask if it will 'pay' to justify it in pursuing any kind of business on public account. The law of God goes for nothing with these men of the world. If it will 'pay' to employ railway men, there is an end of the argument with them.. Have they any souls to be saved, or any bodies worth resting?.. The question arises whether public property is intended to be employed in direct opposition to the moral convictions of a large majority of those whose contributions to the revenue pay for its purchase".

trains. These secularist tendencies were the more obnoxious to the Church when large sections of the colonial population unquestioningly acquiesced in State action. The Roman Catholic reaction indicated a recognition of the dangers for the Church in this state of affairs. Thus the authority of the Universal Church in matters spiritual was emphasised in the face of State encroachments. Catholics were warned against the extremes of popular government and advised to place their trust in the Church which was neither awed nor deterred by the 'noisy clamour of the multitude'⁸³. The secularist tendencies of colonial governments led to a Catholic denial of State supremacy in affairs of the conscience. The Australian put its case in the following terms:

"The supremacy of the State - that is the one grand dogma of the secularist..You will be told that the supremacy of the State implies the absolute sway of the majority, whose authority you are bound to obey in all things spiritual and temporal. If the State is Buddhist, you must obey the Grand Llama; if it is Chinese you must bow to Confucius and attend the Joss-house; if it is Mahometan your cry shall be 'There is one God and Mahomet is his prophet'; and finally if the State is infidel you must not dare to think of anything but the creed of negation...It is simply the Gospel of brute force and imports the worst and most intolerant of all tyrannies - the tyranny of the many against the few - the tyranny of the mob...Such a system is the simple negation of individual freedom and liberty of conscience"⁸⁴.

Dependence upon the Church should obviously replace dependence upon the state as a desirable social trait in Roman eyes.

If the conditions facing established religion in the colony in the 'eighties constituted a challenge for the Church and led churchmen to believe, with the Guardian, that "scepticism and infidelity are to be met with on every side, and many and great are the hindrances to the spread

83. The Australian 6.12.79.

84. ibid 29.11.79.

of Christianity"⁸⁵ internal conditions within the various churches determined the strength and effectiveness of any reaction to secularism. In important ways the effectiveness of reaction was inhibited. All denominations suffered to some extent from financial difficulties attendant upon their colonial status. The inter-denominational tensions of English tradition were propagated in the colonial environment, whilst internal dissension prevailed over the possible avenues of escape for the church from its dilemmas⁸⁶

The Church of England during the episcopate of Bishop Hale (1875-1884) provided perhaps the most glaring illustration of denominational disorganisation in the face of external challenges. Led by a man, who, despite personal virtues, "had grown beyond the youth that sees visions"⁸⁷, the Anglican Church was plagued by financial difficulties, torn by a dogmatic division between bishop and clergy, whilst never really adjusting to a situation wherein it enjoyed no privileges of the Establishment; under such circumstances "a creeping paralysis gradually came over the corporate life of the diocese"⁸⁸, inhibiting the church in any resistance to secularism.

Financial difficulties within the denominations prescribed the limits of church activity and organisation by restricting available manpower, buildings and amenities. The number of clergy in Brisbane increased during the 'eighties by only 14 from 49 in 1881 to 63 in 1891, so that at the height of the boom, there were as many photographers as clergy in the city.⁸⁹ The increase in church manpower could not match increases in the other professions - schoolteachers increased from 262 in 1881 to 423 in 1891, even the number of musicians rose from 59 to 149 in the same period.⁹⁰ These facts were not un-

85. Qld. Guardian, 8.11.83.

86. The history of the various denominations in Qld. remains virgin territory, & nothing like comprehensiveness can here be attempted. The history of the Anglican Church in Qld. is expected in the sometime future from Keith Rayner, to whom I am deeply indebted for enlightenment & advice. Mr. Rayner kindly lent me a typescript account of the Bishop Hale period in Qld. Anglican history, a projected chapter of his thesis.

87. Rayner, K. typescript ibid, p.2.

88. ibid, p.2. Assessments of diocesan disorganisation should be qualified by considerable vitality at parish & personal levels. (Rayner typescript, p.13.)

89. Census Results.

90. ibid.

associated with the existence of substantial poverty in various denominations which crippled all efforts at expansion. The Anglican Synod Reports of the early 1880's told a doleful tale of the finances of that church.⁹¹ The colonial Church of England, heavily dependent upon the mother church for both men and money, suffered particularly because of its Bishop's loss of personal contact with England.⁹² By 1880 the General Church Fund was £1300 in debt. After four years' campaigning the debt remained more than £400.⁹³ "It was clear" writes Rayner "that the life and organisation of the diocese were being strangled by the constrictive effects of poverty...It was a degrading position for Bishop and Church. It was generally recognised that the Church of England was in a deplorably weak condition because of its shortage of clergy and lack of organisation".⁹⁴ The other denominations, as the Evangelical Standard recognised,⁹⁵ suffered from lack of means accompanying colonial status. The Roman Catholics perhaps attained the greatest success in organising a satisfactory support for the church within the colony⁹⁶ - witness its successful efforts in raising sufficient money to maintain and extend church schools after the discontinuance of state aid - but even the Australian could lament the disadvantages of colonial domicile in comparison with the exalted position of the Church in Ireland.⁹⁷

Inter-denominational tensions and rivalry were not dispelled when the religions of Britain were reproduced under Southern skies. Their evidences were many in the 'eighties and they operated generally in weakening the front presented by the church to antipathetic social movements. It was very difficult for general agreement to prevail

91. See Synod Report, 27.7.80, 9.8.81.

92. Rayner op.cit. (typescript) p.2. Finance had always depended on the resources of the Bishop & his English contacts. Hale had lost such contacts after a long sojourn in Australia. Money & men from English sources thereby 'dwindled to a trickle' during Hale's term.

93. Synod Report, 1885, p.iii. For criticism of diocesan financial policy see Week 17.11.77, Qld.Guardian 30.8.83. The Sec Endowment could not be built up (remaining £9650 in 1884) & the investment policy of the Diocesan Council was criticised.

94. Rayner, typescript, p.7. Clerical stipends ranged from £50-300, the latter more usual. see Synod Report July 1880, Appendix I. English clergy were guaranteed £300 p.a. & £75 passage money, although there was a synod proposal in 1881 to discontinue such guarantees in the face of pecuniary difficulties. Hale noted in 1880 the difficulties other than pecuniary, involved in the recruitment of clergy. Synod Report 27.7.80. / Footnote 95. overleaf

amongst the churches with respect to social issues, and almost impossible for co-operative action to be essayed, when included amongst religious ranks were Romans, Anglican High Churchman, Evangelists, and Dissenters. The difficulties of unanimous church activity were revealed over the educational issue when Romanism rather than secularism was perceived as the enemy by many a Protestant; but doctrinal differences and sectarianism imposed their restrictions in other fields of possible action.

Antipathy to the Roman Church was as violent in some sections of colonial society as it had ever been in England, and constituted the most fruitful source of internal dissension within the Church in Queensland. For those who believed that "the future of the Church rests on a solid foundation of evangelical truth"⁹⁸ no toleration could be extended to the traditional doctrines and organisation of the Catholic Church. The Queensland Evangelical Standard in particular was vitriolic in its sectarianism. Roman Catholicism it attacked as a "deadly tyranny exercised over body and soul by the most consummate system of priestcraft known to modern times."⁹⁹ It spoke of "accommodating communion" and "purchaseable absolution" and generally characterised the faith as "a religion laden with incredibilities"¹⁰⁰. Hatred of Popery, it felt, "conjoined with pity for its victims, would furnish ample proof of an intellect sane enough to see through the most subtle system of sophistry, based on historical forgeries and frauds, which has ever attempted to impose itself on the human mind."¹⁰¹ An historical sense of injustice rankled in evangelical breasts, and a leading article by the Australian on 'Freedom of Conscience' in 1880 provoked cynicism from the Standard:¹⁰²

95. Q.E.S. 14.8.81.

96. see e.g. Australian, 24.1.80.

97. The Australian, 24.3.83.

98. Q.E.S. 1.11.79.

99. ibid 8.11.79. Catholicism, the Q.E.S. continued, was "a faith which makes a paradise for priests & a purgatory for the people..its practical issue is always in one direction - to prostrate the people in abject submission at the feet of the priests."

100. ibid 1.11.79, 8.11.79.

101. ibid, 8.11.79.

102. ibid 18.9.80 "we are not a little curious" it wrote "to know what might be advanced by such an authority on this subject. It would be something like hearing the opinions of a cat on mouse-flesh /cont.overleaf

"We know that freedom of conscience has been strangled wherever the Roman Church has had the power to do it; that the advocates of such freedom have suffered every form of persecution at her hands; and that in the oaths of her bishops, the writings of her canonists, and the bulls of her popes, the duty of crushing it out of existence by exterminating all who presume to worship God in a way different to that commanded by Holy Church is enforced without compromise".

If the Romanist issue led to direct antipathy between the Roman Church and those outside the fold, it also provided the basis for dissension within Protestant ranks. The play within the Anglican Church of the forces of simple evangelicism, tractarianism, ^{and} ritualism could be and was interpreted in simple terms of a conflict between catholic and anti-catholic tendencies. As such it was productive of divisions within the denomination, whilst worsening relations between the Church of England and the dissenting sects. This might be illustrated from the period of Bishop Hale's episcopate. The Anglican Church in the early 'eighties was split into those, including a large section of the laity, who supported Hale in his devout Evangelicism and those, including a large section of the clergy, whose high church views accorded ill with those of the Bishop.¹⁰³ The Evangelical Standard interposed its support for Hale in opposition to the Papist tendencies of the high churchmen - "his sympathies appear to be more with Christianity than Romanism, which will be something new to us in the Anglican Church of Brisbane"¹⁰⁴ Many in the Anglican fold accepted this evangelical approach, and deprecated the high church emphasis upon 'mere externals' of the Christian life - 'externals' with Catholic reminiscence. Tractarian ideas were opposed and ritualism censured. The correspondence columns of the Guardian for example were filled with concern against the clerical use of the surplice-

103. Priests with high church views who placed themselves in substantial opposition to the Bishop included a number brought out by Bishop Tuffnell e.g. the rectors of St. John's & All Saints. Rayner (typescript) p.16.

104. Q.E.S. 9.12.75. Tuffnell had been high church so that in the earlier period the rift in the C. of E. had been between bishop and laity.

described by one writer as "unrubrical, uncanonical, unhistorical and for various reasons objectionable. When introduced it is an innovation which often points Romewards."¹⁰⁵ Any tendencies away from the 'simple worship of Protestantism', a simple worship becoming at times almost puritanical,¹⁰⁶ were deplored. Any co-operation with the Roman Catholic Church was as strongly opposed.¹⁰⁷ The 'Romanising' clergy responded by attacking dissenters in the terms of the Establishment, thereby fanning the flames of sectarianism and inhibiting Hale's attempts to achieve cordiality between the Protestant denominations.¹⁰⁸ The High Church Guardian in an article 'The Position of the Church in relation to Dissenters' put this revealing view of the history of dissent:

"In the earlier portion of the post-reformation period certain men thought they could no longer bear the wholesome restraints and uniform requirements which the custodians of Christ's Eternal Legacy sought to impose upon them. Thus began the Independents, many of whom lapsed into Unitarianism as they do now-a-days. And the Socinian vagaries of an ill-informed age were only the precursors of the agnosticism which flaunts itself in the latter half of the 19th century"¹⁰⁹

The dissenting sects were to the catholic-minded priesthood in the Anglican Church as the Protestant 'isms' and sects were to the Roman Church, "rebellious and self-willed children" whose separation from the parent church was to be deplored. Dissent, in this view had resulted in "the substitution of ill-considered nostrums begotten of

105. Old Guardian 8.11.83. Another wrote "My advice to the Protestant clergy would be not to yield to this Ritualistic innovation. Leave the surplice in the pulpit to the Romanising clergy. They have made it the badge of a disloyal faction.." (ibid).

106. The almost puritanical fervour of Brisbane evangelicism was highlighted in 1879 in the attitude of the Evangelical Standard to the theatre. Several of the Anglican clergy had been unwise enough to attend Hamlet rather than the annual meeting of the British & Foreign Bible Society, which provoked the Standard to indignation. "The thing is scandalous enough..The modern theatre cannot safely or consistently be patronised by clergymen. For one representation of Hamlet by Creswick there will be fifty pieces, the acting of which could confer no benefit whatever, but would prove morally damaging. The stage is no help to public morality, but the opposite. Besides its immoral influences, it fosters extravagance, late hours, frivolity, & irreverence for sacred things. In neither the Old nor New Testament is there any sanction for theatre-going.." Q1.d Evangelical Standard, 1.11.79.

107. As e.g. Tuffnell's brief flirtation with the Roman Church over the issue of State Aid to non-vested schools had been

self-importance and childish egoism, instead of reliance upon 'the pillar and ground of truth ' for the comforting assurance of an unchanging and ever-abiding faith."¹¹⁰ Such 'ill-considered nostrums' could not be tolerated, and it was a bitter pill for high churchmen to swallow that the society extended such tolerance. It was unfortunate, lamented the Guardian, that "many well-meaning, Christian-minded people think that there is nothing wrong, nothing sinful, and nothing objectionable in promoting hostile forms of Christianity to that propounded by the parent Church."¹¹¹ It was more unthinkable that members of the Church itself should flirt with dissenting sects, and the Guardian's diatribe against such activity was obviously directed against the Bishop and his pan-Protestantism. It asked:

"Is it not treachery of the most pitiable and humiliating kind for leading dignitaries of the Church to be pandering to the politico-religious idiosyncracies of what after all, numerically speaking, is a very insignificant fraction in our community? Socially the dissenters are important, because the shop-keeping propensities of the majority of them, together with exceptionally propitious times, have elevated many who were in poverty and obscurity into positions of comparative affluence and ease... But it is no part of the duty of Churchmen to be coquetting with the Church's inveterate enemies. We may tolerate, but can we conscientiously countenance the sects?"¹¹²

This was not a position facilitating co-operative inter-denominational activity in the face of secularism in the society. The Anglican Church was thus split by allegiance to evangelical and high church dogmas. The

107. footnote cont./ attacked by large sections of the Anglican laity. See chapter 4.

108. Rayner gives an account of the high church viewpoint (pp.4-5 typescript). These clerics were antipathetic to what they regarded as a tendency to pan-Protestantism in Hale's outlook, resulting in underlying tension between clergy and bishop. "The catholic-minded clergy, while appreciating Hale's zeal for his work, believed that he sat too lightly on things that were essential marks of the C. of E. Even apart from those who held strongly catholic doctrines of the Church there was a residual feeling from the days of the Established Church that the various protestant churches were dissenting bodies, sects with which the Established Church should have no truck."

109. Old Guardian, 1.3.83.

110. ibid.

111. ibid.

112. ibid. Toleration of dissent on doctrinal grounds involved a compromise of principle, according to the Guardian. No co-operation could be envisaged with those who rejected the Anglican doctrine of /cont. over

high Church clergy found wangelicism restrictive and dissent interolable. Evangelicals and non-conformists attacked high church adherents for their ritualism and generally Romanist tendencies. They supported the practice of a reformed Protestantism wherein "the simple worship of Protestantism is put in antithesis with the showy ceremonialism of the bastard Poperty (which is itself adopted Paganism) which is now being introduced into so many Anglican Churches in England."¹¹³ Anglo-Romans, attacked on this quarter, found no solace in the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church. Anglo-Catholicism in Roman Catholic eyes was in fact 'fence-sitting' in the wider issue of Catholicism versus Protestantism, and fence-sitters found little favour with either side in the colonies. "High Churchmen may be very sincere, earnest and good" conceded the Australian "but they are out of place in the Protestant system. Ritualism, at its best, is but a silly attempt to feist the semblance of Catholicism, without its vitality, on the public. So far it has been a humiliating failure, and the leaders of the party, one after another, have ultimately to submit to the Catholic Church..The lines between Catholicism and Pretestantism are sharply defined. Men of ordinary common sense can perceive that they have little in common and this surreptitious mode of introducing and minicking the forms of the Catholic Church does not seem to find favour with many Anglicans in Queensland"¹¹⁴

The various attitudes, both within and between sects in the colony, were then in important ways defined in relation to the central issue of Catholicism. Antipathy to Rome, whilst dividing the Anglican Church, constituted the norm in large sections of the Protestant population. The Roman Church was particularly sensitive to this antipathy, and felt acutely its minority status in the colony. Anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bigotry was felt to rival secularism as an enemy of the church whilst at the same time inhibiting any effective countering of

112. footnote sent./ admission to the 'order' on the basis of the Apostolic succession which "we thus profess to be essential to the full validity of a Christian ministry & to be the ground of our own"(Bishop Douglas). "Can we behave" continued Douglas "as if our orders were an unreality, & as if those who are otherwise ordained were as much ministers of Christ as ourselves without some betrayal of our trust? Or can we reject the visibility of the Church without v'ring on practical Heresy?" ibid.

113. A.E.S. 1.11.79. The view of Bishop Backer of Sydney was warmly approved when he advocated "that simple worship, the reformed Protestantism, which he desired to see in every Anglican Church, - a protest against Ritualism & what Ritualism led to - Romanism". ibid.

114. The Australian 8.11.79. it continued "We sympathise /cont.overleaf

of the latter. The experiences of the colonial Catholic church were such as to justify "the reluctance of Irish bishops and clergy to allow their people to emigrate to countries where they will be in a small minority, and where they must dwell in an atmosphere essentially non-Catholic, if not decidedly anti-Catholic"¹¹⁵ Schools, other than the Church schools of Rome, were felt to be riddled with anti-Catholicism, a fact which rivalled fear of secularism in motivating Catholic opposition to the national system of education.¹¹⁶ State aid to non-vested schools was lost, according to the Australian, because of antipathy to Rome, the secular issue providing a convenient battleground for opposing "the one branch of Christianity against which all the ill-will and vindictive malice of the various Protestant schisms has invariably been directed."¹¹⁷ The colonial press was controlled almost exclusively by alien elements (claimed the Roman Catholics), at best ignoring the Church, at worst revealing an iniquitous anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bias. The Australian, its own foundation a manifestation of this belief, warned against the dangers for Catholics implicit in an uncritical acceptance of journalistic views; "The constant reading of books, newspapers, and periodicals in which Catholic doctrine is misrepresented, belied, or sneered at, is one of the greatest dangers to which the Church is exposed in these colonies"¹¹⁸ Not least in these dangers stood the anti-Irish (and hence anti-Catholic) tendencies of the press and other sections of the colonial community. "The mass of Catholics in the British Empire" reminded the Australian "are Irish, or of Irish extraction, and Catholic and Irish are taken as very nearly synonymous." Under these circumstances the anti-Irish bias of the Press was particularly pernicious, for "an opportunity is rarely missed of publishing anything which reflects discredit on the Irish race, and consequently on

114. footnote cont./with conscientious Protestants who believe in the right of private judgment, when they resent innovations which, were they logically pursued, would certainly lead to the true fold".

115. The Australian, 24.3.83.

116. e.g. The Australian, 27.1.83 - "How can a Catholic child grow up in a mixed school without being contaminated by the anti-Catholic spirit, expressions, & petty persecutions of the non-Catholics around him?"

117. ibid, 10.2.83.

118. ibid 24.3.83. The reading of literature in which the church & her doctrines were ignored was the next danger "for ignorance is akin to negation". Catholics were referred to Cardinal Newman's warnings upon the dangers of the whole body of English literature which was essentially Protestant.

Catholics..This practice has been carried to such an extent in the newspapers and in current conversatimn, that the rising generation, the children of Irish parents, are almost universally ashamed of Ireland and the Irish, and are in danger of becoming somewhat ashamed of the Catholic religion, the religion of the Irish".¹¹⁹ The sense of isolation and persecution existent amongst Irish Catholics was clearly evidenced at the time of the Phoenix Park assassination, when the attempts of the Press (especially Figure) to associate the Irish patriot movement with the outrage aroused Catholic indignation. Catholic children who bore the ridicule of the society would be glad, claimed the Australian, "to forget the existence of Paddy and Biddy, and the 'dirty Irish', who are a nation of murderers and assassins.."¹²⁰ The charge was vehemently denied and censure turned instead upon the "dwarf-minded bigotry that utters a howl of sedition when the cause of misgoverned Ireland is pleaded here."¹²¹ The Irish, and thus the Catholics, felt themselves continuously on the defensive against dominant elements in the society. The constant stress upon the existence of sinister secret societies aligned against the Irish, and the felt need to publicise Irish news and grievances in the face of colonial neglect,¹²² were manifestations of a wider feeling of isolation and insecurity.

The colonial church was therefore deeply divided in terms of historical and doctrinal antagonisms. Romans felt themselves a church apart, sensitive to anti-Irish and anti-Catholic tendencies in the society, and unfitted doctrinally to join in united inter-denominational activity - "The Catholic Church is the mother and fountain-head of the Christian faith, and sectarians are not we, but those ^{who} we remained outside the original fold."¹²³ Only the Anglo-Romans of the Church of

119. ibid. 24.3.83. For attitude of Q.E.S. to Irish & Irish immigration see 13.8.81, 6.8.81. See Chapter 2 pp. 33ff for further Irish antipathy to the Brisbane press & its pro-English proclivities. 'Irish Patriot' in Australian 10.3.83 declared that "for some time back a number of local prints have been courting most ignoble notoriety by competing with each other for the vile distinction of flinging the deepest, the bitterest, & most intolerable insults in the face of Irish colonists & their race."

120. The Australian 24.3.83. Quoted a writer in the Telegraph who "informed his readers that he was a Protestant so far, but that possibly, by & by, he might become a member of the 'Inner Circle of Assassination' & a good Catholic" (Australian's emphasis).

121. ibid. It was the Australian's belief that a "rabid section of British colonists here-at the antipodes-become enraged at the bare mention of Irish grievances". / footnote 122. overleaf

England were willing to co-operate with the Church of Rome - as Tuffnell had co-operated over education in the 'seventies - but this group was neither warmly welcomed by the Romans nor enamoured of co-operation with the dissenting sects. It was not until 1891 for example that Bishop Tuffnell could stimulate Protestant unanimity on the education issue. Antipathy towards the representatives of papal infallibility on the part of large sections of the non-conformist population, especially that represented by the Queensland Evangelical Standard, effectively precluded any possibilities of reconciliation in that direction.

The difficulties of presenting a united Church front towards the secularism of the age were proliferated by doubt and indecision as to the best means of countering its effects. Most denominations recognised the dangerous implications of 19th Century developments for the Church and established religion, but agreement upon the underlying causes of secularism and the best measures for their liquidation was not so easily attained. Granted that the various churches had the financial support to further anti-secularist campaigns - which many had not as the Anglicans too well knew - the form and extent of such campaigns frequently escaped definition or varied immensely with sects. Too often suggested solutions could not be sufficiently divorced from doctrine to overcome inter-denominational differences. Thus some advanced as the panacea of all problems the active propagation within the colony of a 'simple and reformed Protestantism'; some advocated ritualism or commended a tractarian revival; yet others pushed their own particular doctrines as the means of salvation. The brightening

122. e.g. a correspondent 24.3.83: "Englishmen in Australia, unlike those at home, are afforded little or no journalistic information concerning the condition of the Irish people except what is antagonistic and defamatory. Take any no. of the metropolitan daily prints & note the enlightening character of their contents. Whole columns devoted at one time to scandalous gossip about a popular actress, at another to the demoralising details of a fashionable divorce in high life; here is an ecstatic deification of cricket..This contains accurate information on 'The Situation in Bulgaria'. You search in vain for a fair exposition of the situation in Ireland. That is excluded for want of space - not for a moment by back of 'English fair play!'"

123. ibid 6.12.79. For the split within Catholic ranks occasioned by the deviationist tendencies of 'Liberal Catholics' see ibid 6.12.79.

of Church services - a common suggestion for combating apathy in the 'eighties¹²⁴ seemed unexceptionable, but encountered ready opposition if 'brightening' became identified with 'showy ceremonialism'. Similarly that form of criticism which deprecated existing services as too formalised & dogmatic and suggested ecclesiastical concentration upon the content rather than the form of worship could smack too easily of evangelicism in high church Anglican eyes. The Evangelical Standard's advocacy of these sorts of reform was enough to raise antipathies in certain religious quarters. Typical of its exhortations was the following:

"There ought to be less formality and greater flexibility in the conduct of public worship..They (non-episcopal bodies) have the same set of prayers, often heavy, dull and monotonous; the various parts of the service pursue one another in one unvarying order, which fails to quicken attention or impart interest. Sermons are too often a dry discussion of some abstract doctrine which only remotely bears on the real wants and daily sins and trials of the audience."¹²⁵

Whatever the relevance of this assessment to an emerging secularism in the society and apathy in the church, it was obvious that its acceptance could have significant implications for doctrine, implications that by no means all denominations were willing to accept. Doctrinal considerations could condition not only the form of contemplated ecclesiastical activity directed against secularist tendencies but also their extent and genuineness. Thus, for example, the high church Guardian accepted in theory the need for religious unity in the face of prevailing scepticism and infidelity, whilst in practice its doctrinal predilections militated against compromise and co-operation - it was in fact not a practicable solution to suggest in the context of the

124. e.g. Old Guardian 8.3.83; Q.E.S. 8.11.79. A Guardian article put the case for a more attractive service: "Remembering that ours is a southern climate resembling Italy and Spain, we should not expect our young people to be like those of Scotland & the north of Europe. Music, flowers, pictures, short, stirring addresses - everything should be introduced that tends to make the house of God what it was in old Catholic times, the home of the people, and an agreeable change from the four-roomed cottage in a dirty back street."

125. Q.E.S. 8.11.79.

'eighties that unity could come only from a whole-hearted acceptance of the Guardian's particular conception of the true church.¹²⁶

The church in the colony had obviously not thought out coherently the social issues underlying secularism, and their ^{its} suggested remedies were thereby characterised by a lack of universality or system, were frequently sporadic and too often inconsistent. The education issue split ecclesiastical ranks, by no means all accepting the Roman Church's assessment that the school constituted the battleground against secularism. Indecision prevailed over the dangers inherent in science and evolutionary theories, whilst there was a lack of heart in the Church for reconciliation and synthesis of revealed religion and these new movements. It was the whole burden of Labour criticism of the Church that it stood ineffectively on the sidelines of the great social issues of the time, and the various moves within the Anglican Church for the abolition of pew rents, facilitating more popular participants,^{from 127} touched only the fringes of the wider question. The anti-social and anti-religious tendencies of a materialist and capitalist society were readily denounced by the churches, but a questioning of underlying causes or the postulation of an ecclesiastical alternative to the socialist assessment of the society remained unoffered. The age was felt to be one of scepticism and spirited opposition was advanced against its apostles - the rationalists, free-thinkers, agnostics and secularists - both from the pulpit and in public lecture. The same strictures could be laid against the Church efforts in this direction for rarely was clerical perception deep or clerical assessment of underlying social phenomena penetrative. Marcus Clarke's view of the maladjustment of the church in the latter 19th century received no telling reputation from ecclesiastical ranks.

126. Old Guardian, 18.11.83. It accepted the need for unity - "can nothing be done to enable Christians to appose a strong phalanx to the enemies of Christ?..All are agreed that divisions amongst Christians are contrary to the teaching of the Bible; contrary to common sense, and a real positive evil..divisions, now anti-Christian exist in her community..one of the best ways to appose infidelity & scepticism is to promote unity". For its dogmatic opposition to co-operation with dissenters see 1.3.83; For attitude to Protestantism in general & an attack upon the Salvation Army as anti-Christian in particular see 11.10.83.

127. see e.g. Guardian 8.11.83 describing the pew-rent system as a "wretched one which "is the curse of our Church today & keeps/cont-

The maladjustment and frustration of the Church in the face of a puzzling social secularism was indicated by a strong introspective concern for the spiritual health of the Church body. The fault for existing apathy and scepticism was looked for as frequently within the church as without it. The Evangelical Standard attacked existing ecclesiastical attitudes. A new proselytising spirit was required in a Church characterised by negativism and active hypocrisy. It was the mission of the church to crusade against enmity to religion - "she is not to sit supinely content with nourishing the spiritual life of a few adherents, but is to act as a might force on the unbelief and irreligion of the world. She has conquered these enemies in other ages, and if she does not do so in this the end will be that they will conquer her.."¹²⁸ Negativism was attacked - "The Christian Churches are far less aggressive in their action than they ought to be. They are content to wait until the people come when they ought to obey their Lord's command and compel them to come in."¹²⁹ Secularism was portrayed as a product essentially of a doctrinal decline in the church, of a failure to achieve a satisfactory resolution of Church teachings and practices with social challenges to religion. The Church was felt to be threatened by subversive tendencies within its fold, by "the weeds of formality, Church exclusiveness, Apostolic succession and showy rites"¹³⁰ The enervating doctrines of various churches were attacked and the general process of deterioration to secularism described:

"In other places came a flood of milk and water theology, effervescent revivals, making orthodox and silver-shod repentance, heartless faith in Christ, presumed assurance of pardon, followed by falling into sin for want of a real change;

^{127.} away thousands of the poor. "

128. Q.E.S. 8.11.79.

129. ibid. It attacked the attitude of adherents: "Christians who do not happen to be church officers fail to realize that they have a mission to the unconverted - they are passive recipients, not active benefactors."

130. Q.E.S. 1.11.79.

wholesome backsliding, doubt of all religion - and then our new-fledged free thought came on the stage and laughed at the whole thing, and continues laughing because of the little solid reality they see in us and in our Churches...Real godliness above all other realities is calculated to inspire awe, but the imitation inspires none."¹³¹

If doctrines were at fault in provoking secularism (and there was violent disagreement about this of course) hypocrisy within the church provided a further occasion for alarm, and one more generally recognised and deplored. The Standard asked "is the sermon God's message and given as such?...Are the Church members blameless in their Christian lives?...Is the Church holy, devout, staunch to the faith, full of good works?"¹³² The Guardian questioned the pious zeal of various clergy in the propagation of the Bible and its teachings and suggested that hypocrisy intensified current scepticism in this respect.

"The Bible" it wrote "is scoffed at, despised, hated and insulted by the apathy of professed belief and the heedless ignorance of too jealous apologists; it is perhaps now hindered in its work by the pastors and teachers who profess a Sabbatical worship of it in their pulpits, and in the work-day week, deny its efficacy to guide the course of daily life"¹³³

The classic statement of ecclesiastical hypocrisy and worldliness during the period appeared as a pseudo-advertisement in the Daily Observer in 1881 and was to provoke a libel suit between William Coote and the Evangelical Standard. It read:

"Wanted for the Christian Ministry -

Any number of applications for the Christian ministry will be received by Christendom in general. Special advantages are now

131. ibid 1.11.79.

132. ibid. see also pp.8-9 supra.

133. Qld.Guardian, 15.2.83.

offered to worldly-minded men to join the ranks of this excellent institution. The old landmark of entire consecration to the service of God is now no longer binding. Candidates are allowed to set their affections upon things of this world and to follow secular vocations ad infinitum. No necessity whatever for them to lay up treasures in heaven so long as they take good care to lay them up on earth. Men of business turn of mind specially eligible for this ministry and always come to the front. 'Fervency of spirit' not at all necessary. Shareholders in gold mines, tin mines, newspaper companies, fire insurance companies, land speculating, and such like heavenly pastures, will always be accepted as specially qualified by the managers of this institution."¹³⁴

For those who accepted this view of the Christian ministry it appeared that the vitality of the Church - so necessary in an age of worldliness and scepticism - was being sapped at its very roots.

These then were the current perceptions of Churchmen regarding the secularist issue in the community. For them any assessment of the society as homogeneously Christian could only be rash. The colonial community seemed rather on the road to an antithetic secularism, conditioned by the general intellectual climate of the latter 19th Century and attaining its peculiar local character via the influences of an incipient labour movement and a set of frontier-capitalist values. Ancient faiths seemed indeed to be shaking and dogmas breaking down in an age of crisis for established religion. Scientific scepticism, Darwinian evolution, free thought and rationalism, socialism, materialism were all manifestations of social developments antagonistic to the Church. So were the secularist tendencies of an increasingly dominant State which had imposed its 'godless' system of education upon the society. The external challenge of an age of 'scepticism and infidelity' found the organised defences of the Church in the 'eighties in a state of substantial disarray. The financial and organisational difficulties

134. Daily Observer 28.2.81. The advertisement concluded - "Applicants are requested to send in their applications to Worldly Wise-man Esq., Ease-in-Zion Hill, All-Over the World".

attendant upon colonial status and near-frontier conditions only emphasised a mental set of unreadiness in ecclesiastical circles for the implications of the age. Not unimpressed by the more obvious manifestations of social enmity to revealed religion, the clergy rarely exhibited depth of analysis in laying bare the root causes of this phenomenon. Suggested responses to the challenge of secularism lacked both coherence and universal acceptance. Old world sectarianism and inter-denominational rivalries, reproduced in the colonial setting, sadly inhibited co-operative endeavour or ecclesiastical unity. The Church, forced into defence against the tendencies of the age, and feeling acutely social antipathy, apathy and indifference, resorted to an introspective analysis of its own shortcomings. Such an analysis served only to intensify its sense of maladjustment, frustration and general impotence. The challenge had been thrown out to religion as an effete and discredited relic of another age and another social organisation. The Church in the 'eighties found no ready counter to hand. It floundered rather in the sands of indecision and dilemma.

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APPENDIX IIB

NATIONAL ORIGINS OF EMIGRANTS (ALL PASSENGERS)

	English and Welsh	Scots	Irish	Foreign (others)	Total
1880	1046	173	1752	219	3190
1881	2095	527	1894	599	5115
1882	6905	3173	3280	731	14089
1883	13663	4712	3423	1025	22823
1884	4457	818	1896	24	7195
	2582	516	1577	895	5580
1885	2597	561	896	7	4061
	3725	1011	2084	739	7559
1886	1344	493	545	2	2384
	5070	988	1633	555	8246
	6657	1598	2726	734	11715
1887	4787	1077	1869	250	7983
1888	3818	881	1632	184	6515
1889	1549	352	1045	155	3101
1890	60295	16889	26253	6119	109556
Total:					

* = bounty = bounty passengers

* = office = office "

APPENDIX IIC

TYPES OF PASSENGERS DESPATCHED AS EMIGRANTS 1880-90

Year	Full Payers	Assisted	Free	Remittance and Free Nominated	Total
1880	85	1191	1103	811	3190
1881	116	802	2494	1703	5115
1882	719	2525	8484	2361	14089
1883	1034	6485	11793	3399 + indented 112	22823
1884	918	6277	1136	3946 + 63 indented	7195
	365	70			5580
1885	644	3417	2603	4400 + 50 indented	4061
	501	5			7559
1886	344	2040	2555	4570 + 123 indented	2384
	998				8246
1887	1075		3584	6985 + 71 indented	11715
1888	771	521	3812	2769 + 110 indented	7983
1889	672	558	2783	2295 + 174 others	
1890	302	225	1271	1164 + 33 indented 124 others	6515
Total	8544	24116	41618	35278 (34103 + 875 indented others)	109556

APPENDIX IIIANOTES ON USE OF CENSUS RESULTS - OCCUPATIONS

1. Census "classes" as embodied not a real measure of occupational stratification as usually understood - classifies by branch of industry, type of industrial occupation, method and material involved in work, e.g. all those working in stone, clay, earthenware, etc. irrespective of work status (owner, foreman, clerk or manual, etc.), or of degree of skill involved. May be useful for differentiation and relative strengths of industries, branches of labour, commerce, etc.
2. Hence rearranged in standard fashion, according to labour hierarchy, skill involved, manual and non-manual; ownership, degree of independence etc. irrespective of branch of industry. "Classes" rejected, used suborders for new classes.
3. Difficulties -
 - (a) material not always sufficiently differentiated, e.g. owner frequently not distinguished from employees - thus drapers who own shops are included with their drapers' assistants, etc. and so for butchers, bakers, etc. and especially in clothing, tailors, boot-makers, small businesses on these lines. Result - as more employees usually involved than owners, usual to put into "skilled" or "semi-skilled" at expense of "business-proprietors" - hence possible over-weighting of former. Again clerks in establishments often undifferentiated from owners and artisans here - hence "clerks-salemen" may be under-weighted. Often difficult to distinguish "semi" classes from derivatives.
 - (b) inadequacy of 1881 Census results - suborders are in many cases not sub-divided into numbers as in 1886 Census. As suborders include frequently different "classes" (see note 2), they are useless as they stand. Only procedure where this happens to divide suborders in proportion to numbers ratios in 1886 Census - involves a loss of data but helps give a general picture to compare against Census type pattern (see graphs). One consequence - 1881 will tend (not in all cases, only with undifferentiated suborders, e.g. Domestic still valid) to resemble 1886 and changes in relative strengths of classes may be masked.
4. Only "employed" used, i.e. wives, children at school (Order III in 1881) excluded. Totals used for %'s also exclude dependents.
5. Reclassification in 1891 - due to Hobart Conference of Statisticians in 1890 - results in larger number of classification - different categories, etc. Needed new rearrangement key. Makes comparison with 1886 not strictly comparable, but attempt to minimise differences. Criticisms of 1886 given above still apply to 1891 classification. Quite difficult to compare 1891 classifications with 1886, e.g. in treatment of class compositions.

General headings such as "merchants" include some not included in 1886, whilst some included in 1886 classifications are reclassified in 1891. Any comparison between the two therefore must be imprecise, although the degree of precision varies with classifications, e.g. no. of clergy, or hotel-keepers probably quite accurate in both cases and comparable. More general headings "brokers, financiers", "commission agents", "merchants", much less comparable. Same trouble arises over continued tendency to classify employers, owners with employees, clerks, etc. in certain establishments, e.g. boot-trade, tailoring - hence almost impossible to give estimate of no. of tailors etc. owning businesses in Brisbane and business occupational class hence probably underweighted.

APPENDIX IIIB

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION - REARRANGEMENT KEY

1881.

1886.

Professional	Semi-Professional	Business men, Proprietors, Managers, Officials	Clerks & Salesmen Govt. Non-Govt.	Skilled	Semi- Skilled	Unskilled Man. Dom.	Farmin, & Rural
I, 1, No. 1	I, 3, No. 2.	IV, 1, No. 1	I, 1, No. 3.	II, 9, No. 2	IV, 2, No. 5	IV, 1,	VII, 1, Nos. 1-1.
No. 2	No. 4.	No. 2	No. 6	No. 3	No. 11	No. 11	VII, 2, Nos. 1-7
No. 4	II, 9 No. 1.	Nos. 3, 4	No. 11	IV, 1, No. 9	VI, 1,	VI, 1,	VII, 3, Nos. 1
I, 3, No. 1	II, 1, No. 5.	Nos. 5, 6	No. 12	VI, 2, No. 2	No. 4	No. 4	VII, 3, No. 5
No. 3	II, 2, Nos. 5 & 6	Nos. 7, 8	V, 2, No. 4	No. 3	VI, 3, No. 6	VI, 3,	No. 6
I, 2, Nos. 1 & 2	VIII, 7, No. 3.	No. 10.	No. 5	VI, 2, No. 7	VI, 4, No. 1	No. 8	
II, 1, Nos. 1-4	VIII, 8, Nos. 1-2		VII, 4, No. 4	VI, 3, No. 2	IX, 2, No. 2	VI, 3,	Unproductive
II, 2, Nos. 1-4	XII, 3, No. 10	V, 1, Nos. 1, 2	I, 2, No. 5	VI, 3, No. 2	No. 1	VI, 3,	XV, 1, Nos. 1-6
II, 3, Nos. 1-7	XII, 5, No. 3	3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9.	XIII, 2, No. 2	No. 2	No. 1	No. 10	XV, 2, Nos. 1-6
II, 4, Nos. 1-4	XIII, 2, No. 5.		VI, 1, No. 1	No. 5	X, 2, No. 7	VI, 4,	+ no occup.
II, 5, Nos. 1-4			No. 2	VI, 5, No. 3	XI, 1, No. 6	No. 2	
II, 6, Nos. 1-6			No. 3	VII, 4, No. 3	No. 7	No. 3	
II, 7, Nos. 1-5			No. 4	No. 7	No. 8	No. 3	
II, 8, Nos. 1-3			No. 5	No. 8	No. 10	VI, 5,	
VII, 3, No. 3.			No. 6	No. 8	No. 12	No. 1	
VII, 4, No. 2.			No. 7	VIII, 1, No. 2	No. 1	No. 2	
VIII, 13, No. 1.			No. 8	No. 3	No. 6	No. 4	
			No. 9	No. 5	XI, 2, No. 1	IX, 1,	
			Nos. 1-3	No. 5	XII, 1, No. 1	No. 1	
			No. 1	No. 7	No. 3	No. 4	
			No. 6	No. 8	No. 5	No. 6	
			No. 4	VIII, 2, No. 3	No. 6	No. 10	
			No. 9	VIII, 4, Nos. 1-5	No. 6	IX, 2,	
			No. 2	VIII, 6, 1-3	No. 6	No. 13	
			No. 1	VIII, 9, 1-2	No. 6	IX, 2,	
			No. 4	VIII, 10, no. 2	No. 6	No. 15	
			No. 1,	No. 3	No. 6	No. 16	
			No. 2,	No. 4	No. 6	X, 3,	
			No. 2,	VIII, 11, No. 4,	No. 6	No. 6	
			No. 1,	No. 7	No. 6	No. 7	
			No. 2,	No. 8	No. 6	No. 8	
			No. 3,	VIII, 12,	No. 6	No. 8	
			No. 4.	No. 4	No. 9	No. 12	
					No. 1	XI, 1,	
					No. 2	No. 1,	
					No. 3	No. 1,	
					No. 4	2, 3, 4.	

LEGEND: ORDERS I, II, etc. SUBORDERS 1, 2, 3, etc. NUMBERS 1, 2, 3, etc.

e.g. I, 1, No. 1 = ORDER I, SUBORDER 1, NUMBER 1.

cont. over

CONTINUATION OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION - REARRANGEMENT KEY, 1881 and 1886

Professional	Semi-Professional	Business men, Proprietors, Managers, Officials	Clerks & Salesmen	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled Man. Dom.	Farming & Rural
		VIII, 5, Nos. 1-4		VIII, 12,		XI, 2,	
		VIII, 7, Nos. 1, 2, 4		Nos. 5, 6, 7		Nos. 9, 10,	
		VIII, 10, No. 1		VIII, 13,		12, 15, 16, 17.	
		VIII, 11, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8		Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9		XII, 2, Nos.	
		VIII, 13, No. 2		10, 13		2, 4, 5, 6	
		No. 3, 4, 11, 12		VIII, 14, Nos. 1,		XII, 3, Nos. 1,	
		VIII, 14, No. 2		3, 4, 5		11, 13, 12	
		VIII, 15, No. 1		VIII, 15, Nos. 3,		XII, 4, Nos.	
		IX, 1, No. 5		4, 5		1, 2, 4	
		IX, 2, No. 3		IX, 1, No. 2		XIII, 1, No.	
		IX, 2, Nos. 5, 8, 10, 14		No. 3		VI, 2, No. 4	
		X, 1, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8		IX, 2, Nos. 4, 7,		VI, 1, No. 3	
		X, 2, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6		9, 11, 6			
		X, 3, Nos. 1, 3, 9, 10, 11		IX, 3, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5			
		XI, 1, Nos. 5, 9, 11		X, 1, Nos. 3, 5, 9			
		XI, 2, Nos. 4, 5, 11, 13, 14		X, 3, No. 5			
		XII, 2, No. 1		XI, 2, No. 2, 3, 7, 8			
		XII, 3, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9		XII, 5, Nos. 2, 4, 5			
		XII, 4, No. 3		XII, 6, Nos. 1, 2, 3,			
		XII, 5, No. 1.		4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11			
		XII, 6, No. 7		XIII, 2, Nos. 3, 4			
		XIII, 2, No. 6		X, 2, Nos. 3-4			
		XIV, 1-4		VI, 1, No. 2.			

LEGEND: ORDERS I, II, etc. SUBORDERS 1, 2, 3, etc. NUMBERS 1, 2, 3, etc.

APPENDIX IIIC

	Professional	Semi-Professional	Business	White Collar Govt. Non-Govt.	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled Man. Dom.	Farming & Rural	Unproductive	Total Em.
1881 Numbers	833	90	1683	346 578	4,500	247	1,667 1,856	320	623	12,100
%	6.6	0.7	13.2	2.7 7.2	35.3	2.0	13.1 14.5	2.5	4.9	100
							27.6			
1886 Numbers	1,244	237	3,259	654 1,450	9,506	468	3,598 3,071	602	895	24,669
%	4.9	0.95	13.05	2.6 5.8	38.1	1.9	14.4 12.3	2.4	3.6	100
				8.4			26.7			
1891 Numbers	1,309	188	3,689	841 1,285	9,022	571	3,496 3,294	516	1,033	25,679
%	5.2	0.76	14.6	3.3 5.1	35.7	2.3	13.8 13.1	2.04	4.1	100
				8.4			26.9			

OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION - BRISBANE CENSUS DISTRICT 1881-91.

APPENDIX IIIDPROFESSIONAL - MAIN CLASSIFICATIONS1881-91

1886

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
Architects, Civil Engineers, Surveyors(1)	83	189	117
Clergymen	49 (E)	54	63
Medical men	24 (E)	41	51
Dentists	6 (E)	11	23
Chemists, druggists and assistants	61 (E)	97	96
Authors, reporters, editors	13 (E)	13	58
Teachers, schoolmasters, tutors(2)	262	394	423
Artists, painters	13 (E)	31	32
Photographers	21 (E)	52	46
Musicians, music teachers	59	104	149
Lawyers, barristers, solicitors, etc.	40 (E)	63	78
Others	202	195	173
Total:	833	1,244	1,309

1 = government and private industry
 2 = state and private schools
 E = estimated

SEMI-PROFESSIONAL

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
Army N.C.O's and Soldiers	-	61	-
Navy Petty Officers and Sailors	1	19	8
Actors and Actresses	18 (E)	37	27
Law clerks and others connected	58 (E)	78	89
Opticians	not classified	1	5
Surgical instrument makers and others connected	4	7	3
Assayers	not classified	1	1
Draftsmen	7 (E)	23	34
Others	2	10	21
Total:	90	237	188

WHITE COLLAR - CLERKS AND SALESMEN - MAIN CLASSIFICATIONS

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
a) Government:			
Civil servants - clerks, accountants, etc.	180	364	520
Civil servants - police, penal	109	182	179
Local Govt. Officers, clerks	28	44	57
Railway Officers, Clerks, Stationmasters	19	53	71
b) Non-Government:			
Bank Officers, clerks	66	153	164
Commercial clerks	303	721	699
Commercial Travellers, Salesmen, Hawkers	138	345	261
Others (a & b)	81	242	175
Total:	924	2,104	2,126

SKILLED

Occupation	1881	1886	1891							
Build- ing	(Carpenters, Joiners	492	1,346	842						
	(Painters, Paperhangers,	216			589	463				
	(Plumbers, Glaziers									
	(Bricklayers	117					332	172		
	(Furniture Makers, Cabinet	127							2,834	1876
	makers									
(Masons, Plasterers, Tilers	100	304	225							
Printers, Compositors,	303			273	174					
Bookbinders										
Shipbuilders, Shipwrights,	84					177	143			
Boat-builders, Sailmakers	29							50	30	
Wheelwrights	128									304	470
Copper/Tin workers, Ironfounders,										
Brassfounders	126	299	237							
Blacksmiths	117			257	236					
Coach, Omnibus, Cab Drivers,										
Tramway Conductors (1)	96					329	468			
Engine-drivers, Firemen,	80							137	159	
Guards	288									506	1,628 (2)
Saddlers, Harness makers	558	981								
Tailors	909		1,599							
Milliners, dressmakers										
Shirtmakers, Seamstresses,	63			112	361					
Machinists, sewing										
machinists	233					394	728			
Drapers, Linendrapers, mercer	326	572								
Shoe/Boot makers	203		265					307		
Butchers	140								255	303
Pastrycooks	284			688	576					
Seamen, Ships' Officers	390										894	1,035
Other skilled workers										
(small crafts, etc.)										
Total:	4,500	9,506	9,022							

1. conductors included under skilled for convenience as compounded in with other skilled workers in census - however, often classed as semi-skilled. 2. compounded together in 1891.

BUSINESS MEN, PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, OFFICIALS -
MAIN CLASSIFICATIONS

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
Merchants, Large-scale dealers, ¹			
Factory owners	96	132	203
Brokers, Financiers, Share & Stock Brokers	27	31	111
Commission Agents, Land/ Estate Agents, Auctioneers	71	164	157
Officers & Managers of Public Companies	26	59	91
Hotel, Boarding House Keepers and Proprietors	175	333	387
Booksellers, Newspaper Proprietors	59	75	76
Coach, Omnibus, Cab Proprietors	50	141	155
Watchmakers, Jewellers	73	113	116
Shopkeepers, General Dealers	194	393	474
Greengrocers, Fruiterers	69	123	183
Grocers & Tobacconists	241	411	393
Ironmongers, Hardware dealers	42	100	121
Timber merchants, Firewood dealers(2)	51	116	40
Builders, Contractors(3)	45	121	93
Coach makers(4)	97	166	72
House Proprietors	56	152	204
Annuitants, of independent means) gentlemen }	43	104	142
Others	268	525	671
Total:	1,683	3,259	3,689

1. excluding those below
2. reflecting general decline - 1886 1,410 in Qld,
1891 only 125.
3. state figures 1886 - 339, 1891 - 326.
4. state figures 1886 - 442, 1891 - 234.

SEMI-SKILLED - MAIN CLASSIFICATIONS

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
Nurses	38	59	111
Harbour, Pier Service	10	25	19
Stokers, Coal-trimmers of Steamers, Merchant Service	36	91	124
Fencers, Hurdlemakers, Splitters	15	34	5
Gold, tin, coal miners	44	84	66
Stone cutter, dresser	5	11	16
Others	99	164	230
Total:	247	468	571

UNSKILLED

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
a) <u>MANUAL:</u>			
General Labourer	593	1,153	1,291
Road Navvy, Labourer, Excavator	119	459	228
Storeman, Store Labourer	110	149	141
Stevedore, Lumper	63	154	137
Draymen, Carrier, Carter	243	534	597
Messenger, Errand Boy, Porter	128	213	225
Mangler, Laundryman, Washer- woman	80	143	203
Soft Drink Factory Hands	53	97	74
Manchester Warehouseman	43	75	72
Others	139	409	459
Total:	1,667	3,598	3,496

b) DOMESTIC:

Housemaid, Kitchen Maid, General Domestic servant	1,334	2,188	2,342
Domestics in board & lodging	411	676	689
Housekeeper	59	98	122
Ship servant, steward, stewardess	31	74	87
Others (inc. butler, porter, office-keeper, cleaners, charwomen)	21	35	54
Total:	1,856	3,071	3,294
Grand Total Unskilled:	3,523	6,669	6,790

FARMING & RURAL

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
General farmer, market gardener, horticulturist	179	191	237
Land Proprietor	35	98	80
Squatter, Grazier, Stock Breeder, Station Manager	23	58	44
Agricultural Labourer	59	171	60
Drover, Shearer, Pastoral Labourer	10	38	66
Others	14	46	29
Total:	320	602	516

UNPRODUCTIVE

Occupation	1881	1886	1891
Pensioner	8	12	22
Inmate of Charitable Institution (Hospital, orphan asylum, refuge)	284	404	422
Inmate of Gaol, Penal Establishment	43	111	189
No Occupation	279	342	333
Others (incl. Prostitutes)	9	26	67
Total:	623	895	1,033

APPENDIX VA CHURCH STATISTICS 1887-8-9 (Per SYNOD REPORTS)

1887: 1888

Parish and Church	Estimated Parish Population (where given)	Church Accommodation Church will seat:	Av. attendance at Sunday School		Communicants on Roll	Number Confirmed
			Male	Female		
St. Johns Pro-Cathedral	1887: 4,489	600	50	60	1887 - 180)	-)
All Saints, Wk.Ter.	-	550	60	70	1888 - 220)	78)
Trinity Ch. Valley	14,000	650			209)	41)
					220)	41)
					315)	-)
					245)	62)
St. Andrews, S. Brisbane	17,690	450	236	281	280	56
Holy Trinity, W'gabba	8,000	170		299 (on roll)	-)	-)
					56)	33)
St. Phillips (Thom.Est.)		180	73	200 (on roll)	26)	10)
				91		
St. Mary's (Kang.Pt.)	3,000	320	70	65	174)	21)
			75	73	194)	21)
St. Andrews, Lutwyche		180)	40	41	125)	25)
		200)	50	68	145)	27)
Groveley		120)	8	10	15)	-)
		150)	20	20	28)	8)
Christ Ch. Milton	4,500)	300	88	112	121)	16)
	5,000)		125	145	183)	29)

cont.

CONTINUATION OF CHURCH STATISTICS 1887, 1888

Parish and Church	Estimated Parish Population (where given)	Church Accommodation Church will seat:	Av. attendance at Sunday School		Communicants on roll	Number Confirmed
			Male	Female			Total
St. Francis, Nundah	1,200	140	21	27	22	13
St. Nicholas, Sandgate	2,000	200	30	40	50	9
St. Matthews, Sherwood	100	100	32	43	50	17
Christ Ch. Tingalpa	60	60	-	-	33	39
St. Thomas, Toowong	2,000	300	49	53	61	29
			35	45	-	22

1889

St. Johns All Saints	4,489	600	-	-	250	67
Trinity (F.V.)	14,500	650	114	211	-	-
St. Andrew's (S.B.)	15,000	450	70	85	250	40
St. Peter's (West End)	-	150	-	-	-	12
St. Phillip's (Thom. Est.)	2,163	180	87	101	107	42
St. John Baptist (Balmoral)	1,500	265	54	44	41	-
St. Mary's (K.Pt.)	2,000	340	85	102	122	20
Holy Trinity (W'gabba)	8,000	300	-	-	68	41
St. Paul's (E. Bris.)	-	-	-	-	-	-

CONTINUATION OF CHURCH STATISTICS 1889

Parish and Church	Estimated Parish Population (where given)	Church Accommodation Church will seat:	Av. attendance at Sunday School		Communicants on roll	Number Confirmed
			Male	Female		
St. Andrew's (Lut.) (inc. Albion & Grovely)		200	-	-	189	19
Milton (Christ Church)	7,000	350	-	211	173	-
Red Hill, St. Barnabas	-	175	-	160	107	30
St. Francis, Nundah	1,200	100	40	45	23	-
St. Nicholas, Sandgate	2,000	200	40	60	60	15
St. Matthews, Sherwood	-	100	-	-	40	-
Tingalpa (Christ Church)	-	60	-	-	18	-
St. Thomas, Toowong	2,000	300	72	78	85	-