

Leichhardt Historical Journal

No 6
September
1975

The Residents' Perception of Annandale
Rowntree's Warehouse at Balmain
The Pubs of Glebe
Annandale Children's Games in about 1915



Burton's Family Hotel in 1903

Annandale Balmain Glebe Leichhardt Lilyfield Rozelle



LADY OF THE LAKE HOTEL IN 1884
Corner of Bay and Greek Streets, Glebe
(Built c1847, demolished 1908)

The hotel was owned by Glebe's most colourful publican, Robert Hancock, who, "somewhat jaded", found

seclusion there in retirement in 1872. On his death there on 26 February 1876, his body was laid out on the taproom table and farthing candles placed at his head and feet. Changing fortunes caused the doors to close on 20 March 1908. (Courtesy of Tooth & Co)

Editors' Note

The *Leichhardt Historical Journal* was founded in 1971 to encourage the reading, writing and researching of the history of the Leichhardt Municipality.

The demand for out-of-print issues has prompted the reprinting of the issue No 6 of September 1975. After that issue there was a break in publication until 1978 when the *Leichhardt Historical Journal* became an annual.

The cover has been redesigned in this reprinting and the page format enlarged to correspond with later issues. Illustrations (reprinted from *Leichhardt Historical Journal* No 13 1984, pages 30, 31, 37) have been added to Rowntree's Warehouse. A new illustration (reprinted from *Leichhardt Historical Journal* No 8 1979, page 11) appears in Annandale Children's Games. Purchase price of books reviewed may differ from the 1975 rates.

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An index to *Leichhardt Historical Journal* Nos 1 to 10 appears on page 27 of *Leichhardt Historical Journal* No 11 1982.

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Cover

Burton's Family Hotel, corner of St John's Road and Gottenham Street, Glebe, was opened in 1877 and still remains licensed premises. The photograph, taken in 1903, forms part of the records of Tooth & Co now (1987) held by the Archives of Business and Labour at the Australian National University, Canberra.



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A Note on Contributors

Lawrence Kwong is a student in geography at the University of Sydney.

M Baldwin, D Evans, G Forgan-Smith, B Kooyman, P O'Donnell and John Sayers were students in architecture at the University of New South Wales.

Max Solling is a solicitor and wrote an MA thesis on Glebe.

Margaret Quinn is an old resident of Annandale.

Alan Roberts is a post-graduate student in history at the University of Sydney.

Editors Peter Reynolds
Alan Roberts
Max Solling
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The Residents' Perception of Annandale

By Lawrence Kwong

The aim of this paper is to find out how some of the Annandale residents perceive their environment and how their emphasis on the physical, social and economic aspects of their perceived environment varied among different observers. I shall also attempt to show that other factors, such as economic constraints and personal reasons can affect the relationship between the residents' perceived environment and their spatial behaviour in the choice of residential quality and location.

Method

I used an interviewing schedule and a set of nine photographs. The information which is used in this paper is based on 45 interviews. Most of these interviews were carried out in three streets, Johnson, Annandale and Trafalgar Streets. Unfortunately, one third of the interviews which involved European migrants, were less thorough than the others because of the language problem.

The nine photographs show different housing quality and environment, and can be categorized into three groups:-

- Group I: "Old style" dwellings with character and internal spaciousness.
- Group II: "Modern" high density dwellings with limited privacy.
- Group III: Privacy (greenery), external spaciousness, rather "suburban" living and stereotyped" modern architectural style.

The interviewers were asked to rank these photographs of dwellings in their order of preferences. The purpose of this is to find out whether there is any correlation between the revealed values and the expressed preferences.

Physical Environment

Some of the physical characteristics of Annandale are:

- 1 grid iron street pattern and the wide main street, Johnson Street, which was constructed along a ridge;
- 2 some degree of topography unity which is composed of a ridge and its slopes on both sides;
- 3 elevated topography at the northern end of Annandale allows some view of bays and city; and
- 4 bungalows and terraces with "character" and "history" - the mansion type houses along Johnson Street, especially at the northern section of the street, and the smaller houses on the slopes of Annandale.

The physical setting of the area and the housing development within a relatively short time (c.1880-1910) provided the homogeneity of the Annandale townscape which made it distinct from its rather heterogeneous neighbours, Glebe and Balmain.²

All the interviewers at Johnson Street selected "wideness", "tidiness" and "pleasantness" as the distinctive characteristics of their street. The residents of Annandale and Trafalgar Streets, were aware of the environmental features of Johnson Street, but they quickly stressed that they still preferred the "quietness" of their street to the "disturbing" traffic noise in Johnson Street. For the residents of the southern part of Annandale Street, the trees there made the environment more pleasant, whereas the residents at the northern part of the same street, where there are no trees, liked the "quiet" environment and had no concern about trees. By contrast, the residents of Trafalgar Street were less happy with their environment because firstly, quite heavy traffic passes through the street in the morning and afternoon, and secondly, there is no greenery.

The residents who settled in recently were just as aware of their physical environment as those who have been living in Annandale for over 20 years. A professional artist and an interior designer, who bought their houses recently, felt that the architectural styles in Annandale were trendy, rather "Paddington-like", while the old Annandalites expressed certain conservatism and nostalgia in their reaction to the idea of demolishing old houses to build "boxes" (flats).²

Most of the residents who live in old style houses of various conditions, whether detached or semi-detached, perceived the flats as threats to their environment. To them, the prospect of "living in flats" meant "high density living", "no privacy", "restriction", limited internal space and low ceilings that would affect the whole atmosphere of interior living. They characterized their present environment or "what they were used to" in terms of "roomy" terraces or bungalows with pretty iron laces, small garden and moulded high ceilings.

Some residents revealed values in relation to the housing characteristics of the environment, bear some correlation with their expressed preferences. Amongst those who have been living in their residence for more than 20 years, most people ranked old style dwellings (Group I) first, houses of modern design and with garden and greenery (Group II) second, and the flats (Group III) last. Regarding their past experiences and attitudes, as a result of living in a particular environment for a relatively long time, these "old" Annandalites considered the residential environment which was most "similar" to their present environment as highly desirable. Perhaps, by ranking the "lovely old and big" houses as their first preference, these residents showed their desire for a "higher status area".

As far as the past experience of residential quality is concerned, to what extent it confined residents' preferences, decision and behaviour? The residents who own their houses were of different background in relation to their previous residences. Some migrated from other parts of Annandale, some from the country, some from other suburbs, some from other parts of the state, and several from other countries. Those who moved from the inner city suburbs - Glebe, Chippendale and Camperdown - to Annandale seemed to suggest their past experiences partially affected their decision on the choice of residential location, to the extent that the environmental quality of previous residences had some similarities with their present residences.

Those residents interviewed can be classified into "houseowners" and "tenants". Did the tenants who regarded their present residence as temporary living place, show the same awareness of the physical environment as the houseowners? In general, these tenants were conscious of their "nice" and "clean" environment, especially the wide Johnson Street. Some

residents who moved from neighbouring suburbs, such as Glebe, Leichhardt and Stanmore, thought that Annandale was more "pleasant" than the others. But they were much less preoccupied with the architectural character of the area than some of the houseowners. As far as their revealed preferences for residential quality are concerned, it is difficult to establish any trend or see positive correlation between their revealed and expressed values because, amongst the respondents, there were differences in their age, occupational status, past experiences and value system. The young people were more interested in houses with "character" or "personality" and thus ranked Group I residential quality as their first preferences. Most tenants in flats preferred Group II residential quality to both flats and old houses, disregarding their environmental qualities. A few respondents who were quite environment-conscious chose the environmental qualities which they desired rather than the particular type of housing.

Social Environment

Australians are the majority of the Annandale population. Together with their Australian neighbours, the minority European migrants became integral, parts of the community and thus the environment. No recent data is available on the distribution of the different ethnic residents in Annandale. Simply by asking the nationality of the residents in two blocks of flats at the southern end of Johnson Street, it was found that 70% to 90% of the occupants were from various parts of Europe, particularly Southern Europe. In general, these migrants perceived environment was socially and economically, rather than physically, oriented.³ Most of these people seemed to regard the suburb as socially desirable because their friends and/or relatives lived close by. On the other hand, considering the social environment from a different perspective, some found the area socially undesirable because they found it difficult to "make friends with" their Australian neighbours. Their dissatisfaction in the social environment seemed to dominate their perceived environment.

Some Australian residents regarded the social undesirability of the environment, in terms of little neighbourliness and low sense of community was due to the "shifty" character of the local population. Several "house owner" residents felt that their European neighbours were very nice and friendly people. However, an Aboriginal family in the area would

find this attitude most hypocritical because they deeply felt the social and racial discrimination in Annandale. This family preferred to live in Glebe where the people "don't care who you are and less prejudiced".

Economic Aspects of the Perceived Environment

The "good location" of Annandale in its proximity to the city and its accessibility to employment in the city and other inner suburbs of the city, meant "less time spent in travelling" and "less travelling cost" to work. Thus, the majority of the residents, especially the "tenants" chose to live in Annandale primarily because it is "close to work". Some residents associated the "niceness" of the suburb with "convenient" location to local shopping centre⁴ which was thought to be very adequate for daily goods and services. When they wanted something special, the suburb's proximity to Grace Bros at Broadway and the city department stores enabled them to enjoy a wider range of choice in shopping. By and large, the relatively "cheap rent" and a "nice" suburb (at least nicer or more pleasant than the other inner-industrial city areas) made them feel happy about their environment.

The fact that the perceived environment of the residents was preoccupied with these economic aspects - accessibility, handy shopping, less "travel cost" and "cheap rent" - could be illustrated by their reaction to the question: "If you had to move, where would you choose to live?" Apart from some extreme answers, such as "would not like to move anywhere", "never thought about it" or "would like to start a dairy farm in Queensland", most of the respondents wished to live in suburbs which are further out from the metropolitan area but still within easy access to the city and employment, such as Summer Hill, Ashfield, Haberfield and Strathfield. However, they stressed that their future residential behaviour would depend on employment location and financial conditions.

Economic Constraints and Personal Reasons

The decision on residential location was primarily determined by an economically oriented perceived environment. Ideally, one might assume that an individual maximizes expected utility from many housing characteristics, such as space, style, design, accessibility, social and physical environments. In the real world, the residents of Annandale

bought their houses and these accompanying characteristics because the price at the time suited their particular budgets, (considering accessibility to work also) when asked why they chose Annandale and not other possible alternatives, there were quite different reasons between two groups of people. The people who bought their houses more than 20 years ago chose Annandale because it was situated at the "outskirt" of the city and it provided "quiet" living and a "less mixed" community. On the other hand, the fairly new Annandalites who own their present residence chose the suburb because the suburb "has got character" (architecturally). If it is not "so expensive to buy a house in Paddington", they would have chosen Paddington, for a given accessibility to employment.

As far as personal reasons for choosing a particular residential and environmental quality are concerned, two examples can be outlined here. Some residents chose to live in flats because they much preferred the modern self-contained facilities of flats to the shared kitchen and bathroom or generally inadequate facilities of "big old" apartments. One particular tenant said that the family needed a bigger house, and it would not make any difference whether the present residence was in Annandale or Leichhardt. It seemed that these people placed least emphasis on their physical environment. Nevertheless, their personal reasons for particular residential behaviour were still conditioned by economic constraints. If one could not afford it, one would not be able to live in a modern flat or a bigger house.

Conclusion

Four main observations can be derived from the discussions on the Annandale case study.

- 1 Residents were aware of the physical characteristics of the Annandale environment which was thought to be "nice", "pleasant" and "full of character".
- 2 The way Annandalites perceived their social environment varied according to individual need, attitude and cultural background.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

Rowntree's Warehouse at Balmain

By M Baldwin
D Evans
G Forgan-Smith
B Kooyman
P O'Donnell
and
J Sayers

Thomas Stephenson Rowntree was born at Durham, England on 7 July, 1818. At the age of twenty he went to sea as a ship's carpenter and after a career of sailing in the Mediterranean, Baltic and the English coastal trade, he left Sunderland on 1 August, 1852 as captain of the *Lizzie Webber* (206 tons) bound for Australia and arrived at Melbourne on 4 December, 1852. The following two years were spent in the Melbourne-Sydney coastal trade until an act was passed prohibiting ships over 200 tons from docking at the Melbourne wharf. This put the *Lizzie Webber* out of the trade and so Captain Rowntree came to Sydney and put her up for sale. After looking around for a home he bought an estate at Waterview Bay (now Mort Bay) where he commenced the construction of a patent slip.

Rowntree's Warehouse building was of cavity wall coursed squared stone-work on the outer skin and rough squared stone on the inner skin. Sea shells, up to 3/4" diameter on the flat, were mixed with clay as mortar for the sandstone blocks. The mortar was obviously very poor and probably hastened the decline of the south wall where moisture prevailed. The first floor was supported on rough hewn posts and columns of roughly similar size and roofed with galvanised iron. To this substantial and rather well finished and orderly building was later added, possibly around the turn of the century, a series of timber-framed galvanised-iron covered extensions. It was in the loft of Captain Rowntree's Warehouse that the first meeting of Balmain Municipal Council took place on 5 April, 1860.

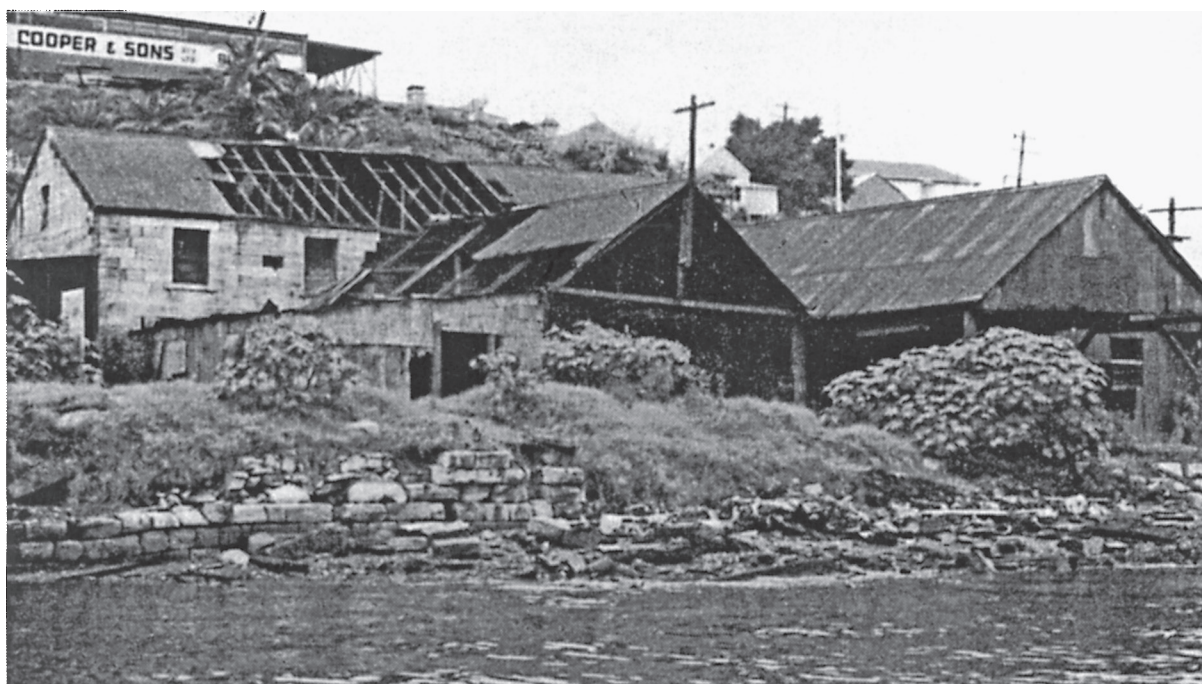
ROWNTREE'S WAREHOUSE

Located on Mort Bay between Duke Street and The Avenue, the Warehouse was the venue for the first meeting of the Balmain Municipal Council on 5 April 1860.

The Council met in the loft of the main stone building.

The ruins were demolished in about 1969 and the land, overrun by bamboo, became known as the Canefields.

A new street, Gilchrist Place, and new houses occupy the site.





THOMAS STEPHENSON ROWNTREE
(1818-1902)

Master mariner, shipbuilder and chairman of the Balmain Municipal Council (1864), his monument can be seen on the corner of Rowntree Street and Macquarie Place, Balmain.

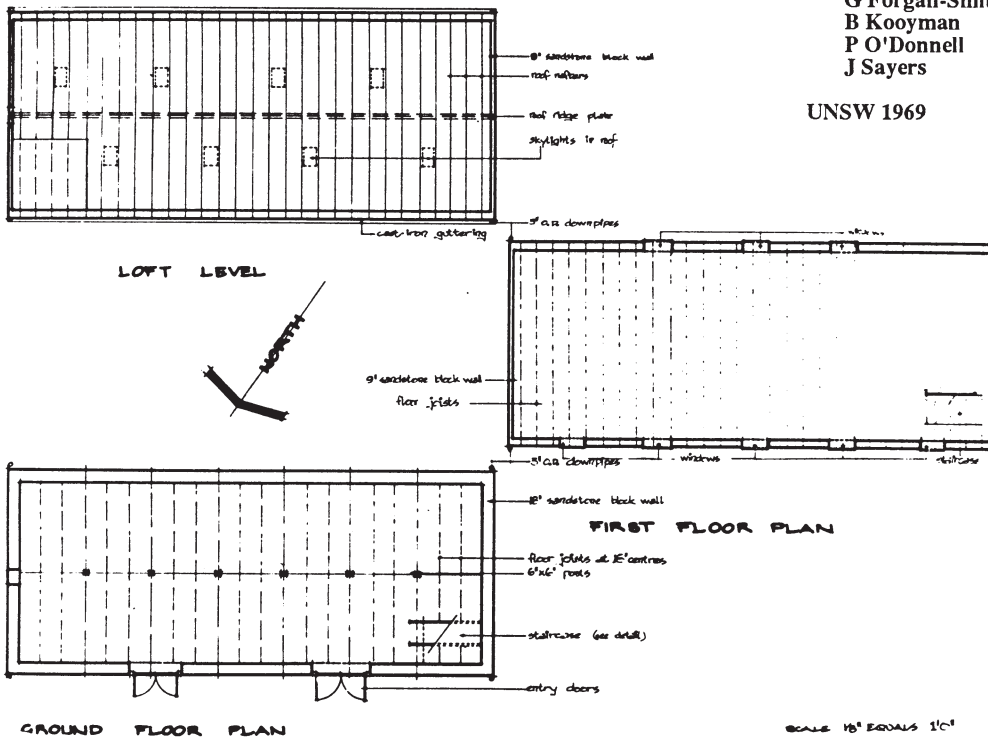


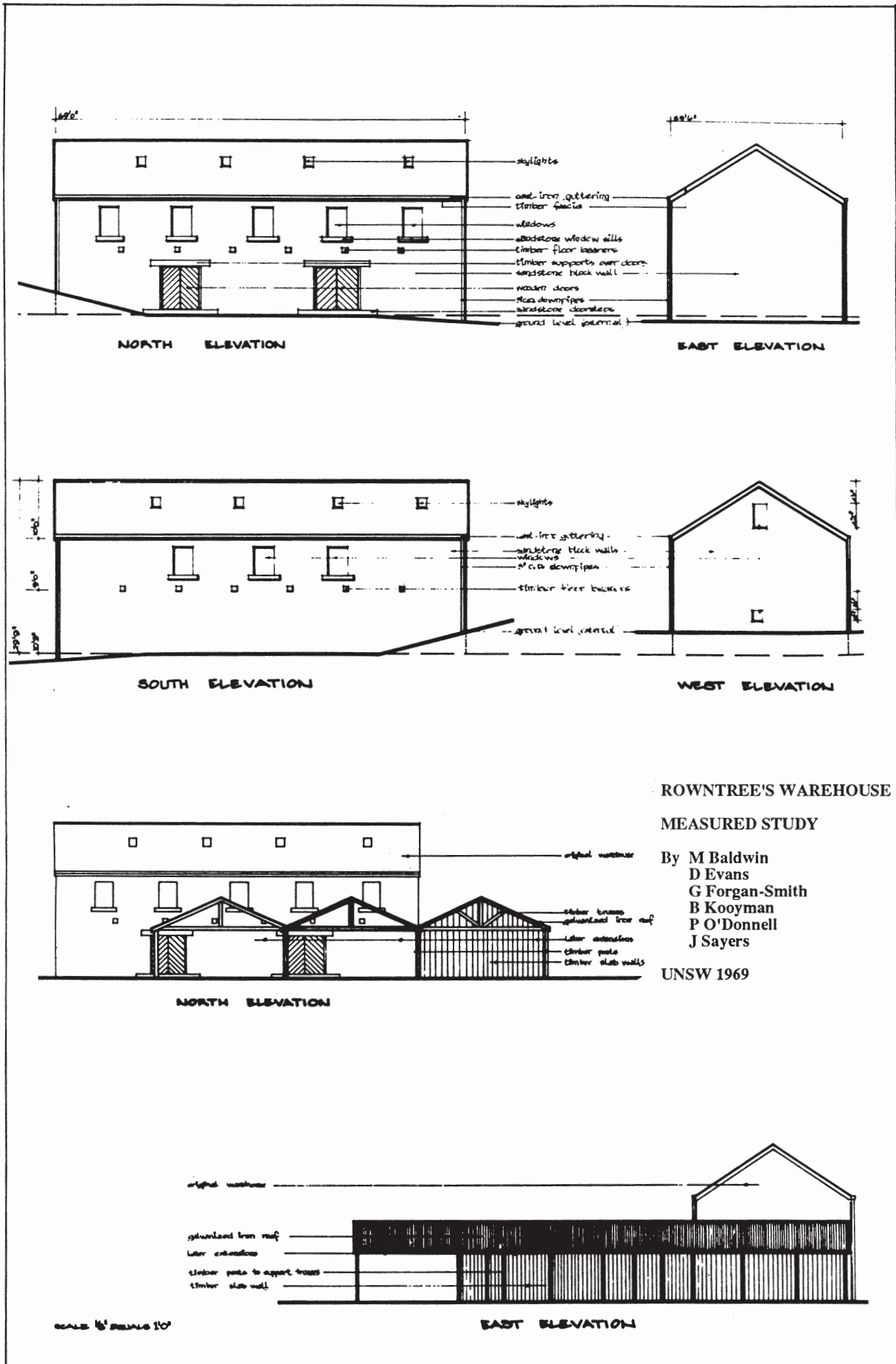
LOCALITY PLAN

**ROWNTREE'S WAREHOUSE
MEASURED STUDY**

By M Baldwin
D Evans
G Forgan-Smith
B Kooyman
P O'Donnell
J Sayers

UNSW 1969





ROWNTREE'S WAREHOUSE

MEASURED STUDY

By M Baldwin
 D Evans
 G Forgan-Smith
 B Kooyman
 P O'Donnell
 J Sayers

UNSW 1969



THE STONE WAREHOUSE

Probably built in 1854, the Warehouse was in use for many years after Rowntree's death in 1902.

The window-opening in the gable marks the position of the loft where the first Council met.

Rowntree began his floating dock on the waterfront below the Warehouse in 1880.

NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE

Captain Rowntree's house, seen from the rear, looked out over the Warehouse down on the waterfront. The stone house was entered from Darling Street between a double row of Norfolk Island pine trees. Rowntree lived there from 1854 until 1902, the year of his death. The site is now occupied by Max Cooper and Sons Pty Ltd.



The Pubs of Glebe

By Max Solling

Roadside building spread like ribbons out from Sydney along the road to Parramatta in the early 1830s. Macle hose noted that most of the buildings in the vicinity of Parramatta Street had been erected "during the last four years - the greater part have in fact sprung up since the close of the year 1835".¹ The two most conspicuous commercial activities in this locality were Robert Cooper's Brisbane distillery producing "an excellent spirit very similar to London gin" and the slaughter houses and boiling down establishments clustered around Blackwattle Swamp. Settlers from outlying districts within the Cumberland Plain, carriers and residents living in the hamlets on the outskirts of Sydney could quench their thirst at a number of "snug roadside inns" that appeared along this artery leading west - the Old Black Swan, Dog & Duck, Wellington Inn & the Golden Anchor.

Near the boundary stones marking the physical limits of Sydney and just beyond Glebe's southern periphery were two public houses, the Stonemason's Arms near Blackwattle Creek and Thomas May's Sportsman's Arms Inn near Athlone Place. Before driving their horse carriages up Glebe road the occupants of the Glebe villas would stop at these two inns, in particular, to quaff their tankards of ale and smoke their pipes.

In July, 1834 Edward Turner was granted a general publican's licence and hung up his sign, named after his trade, "The Stonemason's Arms".² Turner was an interesting character. Born about 1784, he was one of forty working class citizens from the mid-lands of England at a demonstration aimed at drawing the government's attention to the unhappy lot of the industrial and rural workers in their district. This so-called uprising has been referred to as the Pentrich revolution. Turner was charged with treason, sentenced to transportation for life and arrived in Sydney in September 1818 on the *Isabella*.

Assigned to work around the Rocks and Cockle Bay area he married a young currency lass, Ann Cawson in 1821 and four years later he was conveniently assigned to her. The Parramatta street public house was popular, business flourished and Turner continued as publican of the "Stonemason's Arms" after he received his absolute pardon in 1835. Edward Turner died in September, 1841 and was buried at St Peter's, Cooks River.³

By 1844, 151 cottages were erected in Glebe. Of these habitations 40 were on Bishopgate, 60 on St Phillips and 20 on the Hughes Estate and it was within this broad belt of land stretching from St Johns Road to the north of Glebe and Parramatta Road to the south and Bay Street to the east that most intensive residential development occurred in Glebe from 1841 to 1861.⁴

The "working man" or "small capitalist" occupying hastily erected brick cottages fronting the narrow by-ways that laced the Bishopgate neighbourhood - Bay, Grose, Francis Creek, Queen Crown and Glebe streets, found regular employment nearby at the slaughter houses, Pymont quarry, local brick works and building programs, Cooper's brewery, or as servants for the occupants of Glebe Point villas. The district's close proximity to the main pedestrian routeway into the city, Parramatta Road, also attracted a number of city workers escaping the high rents of Sydney. Long working hours meant little leisure to the unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and what leisure there was often was not well employed.

The institution that provided most opportunities for the use of leisure of these urban dwellers was the public house and it soon became the focal point for their social activities. Legislative controls in the colony over public houses were imposed as early as 1825 and in 1849 the laws relating to the licensing of hotels was consolidated.

In the early forties public houses, open from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m., were required to have two sitting rooms and two sleeping rooms fit for public accommodation, stabling for at least six horses with "a sufficient supply of hay, corn or other wholesome and usual provender".

The first general publican's licence in Glebe was granted to the Glebe Tavern, on the corner of Franklyn Place and Greek Street in 1844 and the public house in Glebe quickly established itself as the centre of life and recreation for the artisans, quarrymen,



THE UNIVERSITY HOTEL:
c1857,
Parramatta and
Glebe Point
Roads.

Built in anticipation
of the building of
Central Station
on present-day
Victoria Park,
the hotel is the
largest in
Glebe.

(M Solling)

blacksmiths and unskilled labourers with skittles, billiards and bagatelle being standard attractions in most of the pubs.

In 1849 the closing hour was extended to 10 p.m., and although the law prohibited societies requiring oaths or observing solemn rites to meet at public houses, this exclusion did not apply to freemasons and the Society of Odd Fellows.⁵ Meetings of the Glebe Masonic Lodge, formed in 1863, were usually held in the only available centres for social affairs, the inns.

The amusements to be found in Glebe's southern extremity were not so very different in social tone from the industrial towns of Britain at the time. Currency lads imitated Britons in their numerous leisure activities, be it, racing, boxing, football, cricket and rowing and the less reputable, interested in cock-fighting, dog-fighting or the pits could be accommodated around Grose and Francis Streets, Glebe. All sports upon which a wager might be made, to give vicarious excitement to the match, flourished with or without official sanction. Local folklore has it that Billy Faucit, readily distinguishable by the red handkerchief he wore around his neck, could be met at the corner of Bay Street and Parramatta Road and with a bag of rats in one hand and several terriers trailing along behind him, Billy would take patrons to his rat pits in Francis Street.

The organising of all types of sport was centred on the Glebe pubs and football, cricket and skittles were ardently cultivated. The spirit in which the "good old game" was played by the superior gents of the Toxteth Cricket Club, at the suburb's other extremity, and the society in attendance, bore little similarity to the boisterous Bishopgate cricket teams, composed by citizens that George Allen referred to as the "lower orders."⁶ In his reminiscences Frederick "Demon" Spofforth commented on the rarity of leg guards and personally owned bats and the prevalence of bare feet in Sydney cricket and referred to his early cricketing years in Glebe; "I remember that as boys we used to think a great deal of a man who appeared in flannels; it was a sure sign that big things were expected of him".⁷

The long room, a feature of the larger public houses by 1860, was regularly used for public meetings, church services, court sessions, school-rooms, dances, concerts and theatricals. For example, it was at Margaret Onan's "Victoria Inn" in Bay Street that stormy meetings were attended by factions supporting and opposing incorporation of Glebe as a Municipality. The first Glebe Council used the long room at the University Hotel as a meeting place as did the Glebe Presbyterian Congregation while the Currency Lass Hotel served as the court for the coroner inquiring into the tragic death of Alderman William Yeates. Even though the hotels in Glebe ceased being the main community meeting place after Glebe Town Hall was

opened in May 1880, they remained the most important forum for campaign speeches of municipal and parliamentary aspirants.

In 1851 locals could drink at the Lady of the Lake (1847) the White Hart (1851) the Forresters Arms (1851) and the Glebe Tavern, but by 1858 with a growing number of migrants initially attracted to the colony by the lure of gold, finding a home on the outskirts of the metropolis, the number of pubs had increased to 13.⁸ All these Glebe hotels were within 250 yards of Parramatta Road; the Bishopgate and the Currency Lass in Glebe Road, the Friend in Hand in Cowper Street, the Glebe Tavern and the Forresters Arms in Franklyn Place, the Lady of the Lake in Bay Street and the Hibernian in Glebe street and the inn furthest from the main artery out of the city was the Bricklayers Arms in Norton Street. In fact it was not until 1864 that the first public house appeared north of St Johns Road, the Ancient Briton in Glebe Road. The Flower Pot, University, Union, and Omnibus Inn, all fronting Parramatta Road, not only served as drinking places for locals but also had a considerable trade from the traffic travelling to and from the city.

In his autobiography the first Anglican Minister appointed to the Glebe parish, William Cowper, wrote of "a population greatly demoralised" living near Blackwattle Swamp. "Drunkenness and all the attendant evils were rife and dominant. The holy day of Rest was often desecrated by scenes of riot and disorder. As I stood one day at the end of a street in conversation with a builder who had been a long resident in the Glebe area, a man of highly respectable character, looking down the street he said with sorrow, "I think there is hardly a sober woman in those houses".⁹ Cowper, who believed poverty and distress to be the result of intemperance, told a Select Committee in 1860 that "those who are sober, steady and industrious are generally able to get enough employment to maintain themselves respectably".¹⁰ Edward Wise, on the other hand, who had studied housing and sanitary conditions in Britain maintained that it was poor social conditions and unhealthy localities that produced intemperance; "Filth and foul air had the effect of causing nervous depression," argued Wise, "and a morbid appetite was thus created by those evils for stimulating drinks".¹¹ Those previously temperate, he said, would become drunkards if required to live in filthy dwellings and unhealthy surroundings.

The clergy of the Church of England generally believed that the working man was capable of forsaking ignorance and vice for truth and godliness if he wished to do so. To the poor the typical Church of England service was lifeless and monotonous while the pews were the property of people whose elegant clothes put his poverty to shame. In 1857 *The Church of England Chronicle* declared that "poverty and crime will always abound so long as our present demoralising system of public houses continues in existence",¹² and desecration of the Sabbath, theatres and other places of public amusement, the music and dancing saloons, facilities for gambling and gaming were also mentioned as other sources of demoralisation.

St Barnabas on Parramatta Road was called "The Working Men's" church and was regarded as a novelty in 1859. The plain and popular style of preaching of its first incumbent, Thomas Smith, soon attracted attention. Smith's attitude to the working classes was vastly different to most English trained clergy at the time and the sheer force of his influence and personality can be gauged by the fact that in 1866 the average attendance at Sunday service was 1,300, while 390 children attended its day school and 750 its Sunday school.¹³

All seats at St Barnabas were free, open-air services were common, a branch of the Penny Bank was opened to encourage thrift and industry and the Bay street Ragged School was considered an important medium of social reform by preventing crime in the juvenile population.

The cessation of convict transportation, the granting of self-government, the lowering of franchises and the extension of suffrage, translated what the majority of the community desired, into what it legally could do.

With the hours of the working man shortened from ten to eight in some trades in 1856 there was an increase in working class membership in Mechanics and Literary Institutes. Spokesmen for popular education cited "the ability of the colonist to force his way upwards even to the top of the social scale", and it was argued, as a result of attending the Institutes, workers would find the sobriety, moral elevation and sociability which they so sadly lacked.¹⁴

In 1862 hotel trading hours in N S W were extended from 4 a.m., to midnight for six days a week and the number of pubs in the emerging suburbs grew.



THE AUSTRALIAN YOUTH HOTEL IN 1939
 Corner of Bay and Glebe Streets
 (Courtesy of Tooth & Co)

Long trading hours combined with compulsory accommodation saw the appearance of the private bar or saloon in a separate hotel room usually let to an unlicensed person. Furnished with a sofa, a table and a few chairs, these bars were invariably conducted by two or three gay ladies and were frequented by men of all ages and social classes.

Taste in drinking by 1870 was becoming more refined. The wealthy were drinking more Australian wine, and the supply and quality were improving steadily. Champagne was not yet in vogue and sherry, port and claret were the polite beverages of the day and for those on a modest income the range and quality of beers had improved markedly. In 1870 some 1,367 Glebe ladies, concerned at the alleged increase in liquor consumption, petitioned Parliament "to stem the fearful torrent of intemperance". In their petition they claimed that "the sacredness of domestic life is profaned, the peace of the fireside invaded, the tender charities of home and kindred violated, the nurture and education of children neglected", and implored the government to curtail the granting of licences for the sale of the demon drink.¹⁵

The public house could be easily identified by its swinging gas or oil lamp above the main door, wooden horse troughs and hitching rails outside and painted sign boards. Inside little of the surface was left plain. Mahogany and walnut timber covered much of the interior, brass handles and coloured marbles were in evidence, mirrors hung from the walls while casks, rounded bottomed bottles and gaily decorated china barrels added to the gaudy

display. The names of many early Glebe pubs were direct transpositions of romantic names of England - Ancient Briton, British Lion, Queen of the Thames, Tynemouth Castle, Kentish and Bishopgate but a few publicans showed some originality choosing indigenous or distinctive local names such as the Waratah, Australian Youth and the Currency Lass.

The number of hotels in Glebe increased from 13 in 1860 to 15 in 1870 and by 1880 there was 22 licensed Glebe public houses. In N.S.W. there were 2,182 hotels in existence in 1870 and ten years later the number was 3,829.

In 1886 the N.S.W. Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the excessive use of intoxicating drink and while a massive amount of evidence was heard on all aspects of the hotel business, few changes were made.

In 1892, 3441 publicans in N.S.W. held general licences and a further 550 held wine licences. Saturday night in Glebe in the years of recovery after 1893 revealed an exuberant vitality when the shops, bars and clubs along Glebe Road thronged with crowds of top-hatted, cane-carrying gents and handsome middle class ladies with their full, long skirts, their pinched-in waists, parasols and picture hats. A record number of twenty seven hotels served Glebe's 17,075 inhabitants in the turbulent nineties but in following decades the number of hotels steadily declined. "The first consideration and chief care of the colonial hotel-keeper," James Inglis observed in Sydney at this time, "is not the comfort of his lodgers and the supplying of their wants by a careful attention to their bed and board; but the all-engrossing thought is how to secure a goodly share of 'bar practice'. In fact, while there are multitudes of tapsters, bar-keepers, grog-sellers, there are very few comparatively speaking, who really merit the title of hotel-keeper par excellence".¹⁶

The much publicised successes of British and American railways led to the formation of the Sydney Tramroad and Railway Company in 1846. It intended to construct a line from the city to Parramatta but men rushed to the gold diggings and the Company collapsed. In 1855 when the government took possession of the works, it was intended to build on the present site of Victoria Park, the Central Station. It was in anticipation of such a scheme that John Walton had the largest public house in



THE HAROLD PARK HOTEL IN 1930
 Corner of Wigram Road and Ross Street
 Opened in 1888 and still operating.
 (Courtesy of Tooth & Co)

Glebe, the University Hotel, erected on the corner of Glebe and Parramatta Roads. Much to Mr. Walton's chagrin the plan did not proceed. In 1878 the University Hotel was described as containing "16 rooms, 6 cellars, stabling for 12 horses and lift with gas and water throughout". In 1889 Glebe Council obtained an injunction restraining the licensee of the University Hotel from continuing construction on a balcony. The publican argued that a balcony resting on a post let into the kerbstone and supporting two storeys, could be regarded as an awning and was therefore not within Council's jurisdiction. The Court found that the balcony was a "building" over which Council had control.¹⁷

The Currency Lass Hotel on the corner of Glebe Road and Mitchell Street was completed about 1858 and together with the University Hotel, the Bishop of Sydney received a tidy income from these two Bishopthorpe hotels. As no restrictions were imposed on the use to which buildings constructed on the Bishopthorpe Estate could be put, four more hotels, the Kentish (1861), Waratah (1864), Durrell's Family (1870) and the Toxteth Park (1875), appeared on the church land before all the leases had been granted. A variety of questions from the wowsers element at Synod over the years relating to the propriety of the church deriving income from public

houses sealed their fate, and when the 99 year leases expired, the liquor licences of the Bishopthorpe hotels were not renewed. In November, 1967 a large number of students and locals congregated in the bar of May's Family Hotel (formerly Durrell's) in Mt. Vernon Street to reminisce over a beer and mourn the closing the last of the Bishopthorpe pubs, which for almost a century had been favourite drinking haunts for students attending Sydney University.

In 1902 an inquiry was made into allegations that Sergeant James Hogg used a skeleton key to enter the Excelsior Hotel, Bridge Road, Glebe. A number of hotels in the district including the Excelsior Hotel, had reputations for selling liquor on Sunday and Hogg, a Sub-Inspector under the Liquor Act, performed his duties honestly and fearlessly. The Commission concluded that the allegations made against Hogg were without foundation and were simply an attempt to have him removed from the district.¹⁸

A long campaign by the dedicated temperance forces, led by Archdeacon F.B. Boyce of St. Pauls, Redfern, got under way early this century and an increasingly effective influence of the non-conformist churches added impetus



ROBERT HANCOCK (1806-1876)

Glebe's most colourful publican, often seen with a "befeathered beauty on each arm", his death was the occasion for locals "to drown their sorrows in one of the wildest and wettest wakes in Sydney's history".

(M Solling)

Many families such as Tooney, Flitcroft, Mullavey, Brennan, Durrell, Keys, Butters, Walton, Humphries, O'Keefe, Hancock & Hutchings have had long associations with particular Glebe hotels. Glebe's most colourful publican was Robert Hancock, owner of the Lady of the Lake Hotel in Bay Street. The son of an emancipist, Hancock was operating a blacksmith's shop and forge in George Street in the 1830's and receiving stolen goods on the side. His illegal activities reaped him handsome profits which he shrewdly invested in real estate until he owned rows of cottages and several inns. Hancock kept at least four mistresses at various times and sometimes drove down George Street in a spanking carriage and pair with two of them together, one befeathered beauty on each arm.²¹ The gay life caught up with Bobby and the jaded Mr. Hancock retired to the seclusion of the Lady of the Lake in 1872 and died there on 26th February, 1876, aged 69 years. His body was laid out on the taproom table, farthing candles placed at Bobby's head and feet and his mistress invited locals to drown their sorrows in one of the wildest and wettest wakes in Sydney's history. The wake ended with a fascinating collection of citizenry following the horse drawn carriage conveying Hancock's body to the Church of England section of Rookwood Cemetery. His large estate was left to two former mistresses and an illegitimate son. The executor of his will was the Governor of Darlinghurst Gaol, John Reid, who interestingly enough told a Parliamentary Committee about hotel activities in Glebe in 1865; "There was a dancing saloon at the Glebe, and I have seen boys and girls who frequented it in adjacent paddocks with their clothes deranged as if they were engaged in immoral practices".²²

to the movement. In 1907 N.S.W. taxpayers were asked to decide by referendum to abolish, reduce or maintain the number of hotels in their district and when 65 out of 90 electorates voted for reduction nearly 350 hotels and wine bars lost their licences. After further referenda held in 1910 and 1913, 12% of the aggregate number of hotels in N.S.W., were closed by local option alone and in 1916 the anti-liquor forces gained yet another success when the population voted to accept 6 p.m., closing of hotels as a progressive and desirable step. It was not until 1954 that 10 o'clock closing was reintroduced in N.S.W.

In the depth of the thirties depression, hotels like all other businesses, felt the economic stresses and nearly 5% of hotels shut their doors for the last time. The counter lunch was reintroduced during the depression and for threepence a customer could buy a glass of beer and eat his fill of bread, cheese boiled mutton or German sausage.¹⁹ Cartoonist Les Tanner gives an impressionistic account of hotel life in Glebe at this time; "The Catholics held the town council and the privileges thereof, the Prottos owned the land, including most of the pubs, most ecumenical, considering most of the religious fights were held on C. of E. territory with a Masonic barman crying 'fair play'".²⁰

A rapid growth in the 1950's in the number of licenced clubs, offering a variety of entertainment and recreational activities, made it increasingly difficult for many pubs to compete and the hotel population was further reduced. The Australian Youth Hotel in Bay Street, one of the eleven hotels operating in Glebe today, has had a continuous liquor licence since 1862 and is classified by the National Trust.

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MAYPOLE DANCERS AT
NORTH ANNANDALE
PUBLIC SCHOOL

(Reprinted from
LHJ No 8 1979)



Annandale Children's Games c 1915

By Margaret Quinn

There was never a shortage of playmates and plenty of paddocks to play in. We usually gathered after school, and after dinner in the evening, around the lamp post in the middle of the roadway. Of course, there was no traffic in those days. Perhaps after school, an occasional flivver or Connelly's Dodge open tourer held up a game, or Hogan's horse-drawn jinkers passed by, or Mr. Edward (Ted) Hogan, Mayor of Annandale, drove his sulky to his nearby stables and we were invited to get in the sulky for a short drive. Maybe Jim Browlee's milk cart on an afternoon delivery, or Mr. Dixon's ice-cream cart held up proceedings for a short time, but we were intent on playing and took little heed of these interruptions.

Children arriving early sat on the stone seat built round the lamp post and waited for others to join them. "Barrow" lived on top of the hill and always announced his intention of imminent arrival by yodelling "urdle-urdle-urdle". Nis and Nat (two small brothers who could not say "this and that"), Nangie, Fatty, Skinny, Brownie, Ruby, Eily, Ida, Doris, Lilly, Jessie, Winnie and many others, replied to "Barrow" by yodelling "urdle-urdle-urdle", but added "or-a-layee, or-a-layee", and then the group began to play these games.

Charles Blondin Act. Walking Blondin on a flat rail paddock fence. A difficult art because of sudden rear pushes by other competitors.

Statues. Line up, a leader clasps a player's hand, swings her in a circle and drops her hand. The player adopts a pose and must maintain her facial expression. The boys were the funniest at this game, being as graceful as I don't know what!

Ring-a-ring-a-Rosey.

Oranges and Lemons.

Races. (Age races; All-in-Races (starts for the younger children). Two players held the finishing rope, 1 player as starter, but every player had a loud voiced opinion on the outright winner - we could never get a judge).

Rounders. Girls would throw a ball right hand, but boys threw left hand in a mixed game. Player ran for one of the 3 bases or ran a homer and thereby recalled a player who was "out".

Hopscotch, Jacks, Hoops and Tops.

Buttons. A feat performed by damping the side of the hand and endeavouring to lift buttons off a table, kerbing, or the stone seat round the lamp post. A player handed over his "dibs" of one button to play this game.

Concerts. Sitting round the lamp post or along the kerbing each player had to sing, recite and dance, then we all sang. We also exchanged folk law, tribal law, school lesson knowledge acquired, and made to

respect the older girls and boys instructions.

Pick-a-Book. Usually a story book, with postcards or coloured illustrations clipped from a magazine, placed between its leaves and held tightly by the owner. The "dibs" was one pin for a pick and a lucky picker might get a prize and have to pay more pins, say one for a clipping and up to ten for a postcard. The owner's pin-kitty was kept in the book's back binding, punctured from left to right. This was a sign of good salesmanship.

Skipping. Two players turning a rope for ordinary skipping and peppers (fast skipping). Also 2 players turning 2 ropes inwards for French and English skipping. And solo skipping with a 2-smooth handled rope.

Jumpings. Two players holding and raising a rope from low to high jumps. But if a too-optimistic player tripped and was hurt, the game was held up until the injured one recovered or was sent home - no sympathy for any player who tried to exceed his capability.

Swinging Jumping. Two players holding and swinging a rope from side to side and the player jumped in. This was rather strenuous.

Jump the Rope. One player turned on a spot, waved a thick rope in a circle and players standing in its circumference jumped as it approached them in turn. If a player failed to jump the rope and the rope touched him, he was out and had to take the rope and wave it. This was not a popular game as some of the rope-wavers were rather erratic in swinging the rope.

Chasings. Players formed a circle, elbows to sides and clenched hands presented to a player nominated to chant (as he moves inside the circle and taps each player's hands with his clenched fist) - "Ellery, bellery, ripty-rah, ripty, ropty, rollah, last man out, out, out, out, out (on the 5th out, the lucky player put one hand behind his back); the ritual chant continues until one player is left with one clenched hand in front and he is the catcher. But each player caught then helps the original catcher to catch the other players.

Hidings. Same ritual as for chasings and the last man out turns his back, puts left hand across his eyes and his right hand clenched behind his

back but the first finger free. The players chant "Round and round the merry-go-round, who tipped your finger?" When the finder guesses correctly, the players get ready to run and hide before they say "yes", the finder then counts ten and then has to find the other players.

Releasings. Two sides picked, and toss for catchers or enemy. Catchers chase the enemy, a captured enemy stands against the fence and his side tries to release him by evading catchers and touching him. When all the enemy side is captured, the titles reverse as the catchers become the enemy.

Cocky Lorum. Draw 3-foot diameter circle. Pick two sides and toss for catchers or enemy. A captured enemy stands in the circle, his side tries to release him by evading catches by putting his foot inside the circle and calling "Cocky Lorum" thereby releasing the captured player. The titles are then reversed and the enemy becomes the catchers.

Egg in the Hat. Hats placed close together in a row and owner stands in front of his hat. A selected player puts the egg (glass egg or ball) in a hat. The hat-owner picks up the egg (or ball) out of his hat but all players have run away and the egg picker-up chases and catches another player and thereby retains the right to place the egg in the hat. A lot of foolery and mock attempts to place the egg-in-the-hat makes the game enjoyable and keeps the players alert.

Poor Old Tom. One player is picked as Old Tom, another player selected is the poultry farmer who with other players sit in a circle, as Old Tom walks round the outer circle.

Poultry Farmer chants - "Who's going round my house all night?"

Old Tom chants - "Only poor Old Tom"!

All players chant - "How many chickens did he steal?"

Old Tom chants - "Only this fat, fat one!" and grabs at a player sitting in the circle, then Old Tom runs off and all the players rise and chase Old Tom. Whoever captures Old Tom then becomes Old Tom but another Poultry Farmer is picked.

Three Jolly Sailors. Three players are picked as the 3 Jolly Sailors and face all players standing in a line. The 3 Jolly Sailors secretly discuss a task they will silently act, say, chopping wood; picking beans and placing in a basket. climb

a rope, etc. They join hands and approach the players.

The 3 Jolly Sailors chant - "Here come 3 Jolly Sailors looking for work!"

Other players chant - "What can you do?"

The 3 Jolly Sailors chant - "Eat plum pudding as well as you!"

Other players chant - "What's your trade? Set to work!"

The 3 Jolly Sailors silently perform a task and each player has one guess. The 3 Jolly Sailors silently note the first 3 correct answers and announce the winners who then become the 3 Jolly Sailors.

Grand Old Duke of York. Two lines face an arms length apart. All turn right and left, follow the 2 leaders in an outward left and right turn, and all players chant:

"Oh, the Grand Old Duke of York, he had so many men,

He marched them up to the top of the hill and he marched them back again".

The leaders meet, face inwards, clasp hands and raise arms to form an arch. The followers meet respective partners, face, turn left and right and pass under the leaders' arch, take up the original positions, halt and face inwards. The leaders just drop hands to sides and are in position at the end of the 2 lines. The original second pair then become the leaders. The two lines of chanting are repeated until the game finishes.

Usually an indoor game accompanied by a piano, but we played it outdoors.

Gathering Nuts in May. Two lines join hands and face about 6 feet apart, one line is stationary, the No. 1 line then approaches No. 2 line standing still:

No. 1 line chants - "Here we go gathering nuts in May, nuts in May, nuts in May, Here we go gathering nuts in May, on a cold and frosty morning,"

Then selects and names an opposing player (say Madge) and returns to a stationary position.

No. 2 line approaches No. 1 line and chants:

"Who will you have to take her away, take her away, take her away, Who will you have to take her away on a cold and frosty morning?"

and returns to a stationary position.

No. 1 line approaches No. 2 line and chants:

"We'll have Sally to pull her away, pull her away, pull her away, We'll have Sally to pull her away, on a cold and frosty morning!"

A line is drawn, Madge and Sally toe the line, clasp hands and pull. Whoever is pulled across the line joins that side. The game continues until one side has pulled all the players into a single line.

Queen of Barbary (pronounced Barbaree). Two lines face, one stationary line is the Queen of Barbary defenders, the other line is the attackers who approach the stationary line;

Attackers chant - "Will you surrender, will you surrender the Town of Barbary?"

Defenders chant - "We won't surrender, we WON'T surrender the Town of Barbary!"

"We'll tell our Queen, our dear old Queen, our Queen of Barbary, that we won't surrender, we WON'T surrender, our Town of Barbary!"

Attackers chant - "You can tell your Queen, your silly old Queen, your Queen of Barbary, you will surrender, you will surrender, your Town of Barbary!"

The attackers surge forward to break through the defenders line and the defenders chase the attackers.

Drop the Handkerchief. Form a circle with joined hands and one player walks outside the circle, drops a handkerchief behind a player but no player can look until the handkerchief-dropper passes to the next player. Whoever has the handkerchief dropped behind him has to pick it up and chase the handkerchief-dropper. The dropper is allowed into the circle and is defended by the players and the pursuer endeavours to break into the circle, if he succeeds, the dropper leaves the circle and the players imprison the pursuer by closing in on him.

Twos and Threes. Form a circle of 2 pairs, one player standing behind the other player, and allow space for a player to pass between each pair. Two players are chosen, a quarry and a catcher. The quarry stands behind a pair and the catcher stands in the circle. The quarry runs and the catcher chases him. When the quarry tires, he stands in front of a pair and the third player becomes the quarry and he runs. When the catcher captures the quarry, the quarry becomes the catcher.

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Book Reviews

By Alan Roberts

THE ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER OF GLEBE, SYDNEY
By Bernard and Kate Smith
University Co-op Bookshop
1973

This is a very fine book and will doubtless become a virtual text-book for all who are interested in Australian suburban architecture prior to World War I. The authors have analysed and classified the principal successive styles of the architecture of Glebe with admirable perception and clarity, so that apparent chaos is at last given order and meaning.

This feat is especially impressive in the sections on the Italianate terrace, which is divided into three major stylistic groups. Professor Smith has a facility for recognising and defining different styles and sub-groups though, as he himself cautions, "their validity as classifications will have to be tested by similar regional studies of closely dated buildings in other inner-city areas of Australia." Their validity as classifications also depends on the size of the samples of each style, and it is a methodological fault that the Smiths have not described their research procedures.

Though the book makes no claim to be a social history of Glebe, sufficient note is taken

of social and economic factors to make stylistic changes at least partly intelligible in human terms, instead of existing in a vacuum. For example, it makes a major distinction between Italianate terraces *with* parapets in which the horizontal element is strongest and the unity of the whole terrace is stressed, and terraces *without* parapets in which the vertical party walls come down from the roof, bound the verandah and balcony and often continue to the fence, giving a vertical emphasis to the terrace and underlining the separateness of the individual apartments. It is noted that the parapet kind is not so numerous as the party-wall type because the parapet costs extra to construct and serves no practical purpose, which the party wall does. Another example is the disintegration of the terrace form in the 1890s with the stylistic development of the bay window and gable, which aped the features of detached houses. This was in response to the gradual discrediting of the terrace form of housing and the development of the Australian dream of garden suburbs.

One hopes that the study of suburban architecture will be taken a lot further, to complement the Smiths' work. What, for example, of internal architectural character? Can parallel schemes be worked out in the decoration and arrangement of rooms? There are still great gaps in basic information on decorative arts connected with building, such as the manufacture of cast iron, domestic stained glass, ceramic tiles and terra cotta. What was created locally and what imported? The patriotic Australian elements in decoration become very important in this context. How

were plaster and stucco decorations made and applied? Surely there are artisans still alive who can describe their building and decoration methods at the turn of the century.

Perhaps most importantly, we still lack any clear idea of how the builder himself decided questions of style. What impelled him to move from one style to another, and build terraces of varying degrees of lavishness? It would be useful to study the architectural character of the work of one Glebe builder over a long period of time, to discern the changes, analyse the factors influencing his decisions and to see his work against the context of the overall development of the suburb's architectural character. The parallels and contrasts could be illuminating. One of the most significant and striking themes of the book is the importance of stylistic survival (rather than innovation) in suburban architecture. The outstanding example was the post-Regency style, which lasted as late as c.1880. Such an extraordinary example might be partially explained by considering style in relation to the economic factors determining terrace construction. Did the relative simplicity of the post-Regency style make it cheap and economic, and therefore attractive to builders for a long time? And why did they gradually turn to the (presumably) more expensive form and decorative trappings of the succeeding styles?

These questions lie beyond the scope of *The Architectural Character of Glebe, Sydney*, and I hope the Smiths' fine work will stimulate many complementary studies.

WHO MURDERED DR WARDELL OF PETERSHAM?
An historical tragedy
By Tom Kenny (Comp and Ed)
Privately published in a limited edition of 250 copies
1971

This puzzling book is about the evidence relating to the murder of Dr. Robert Wardell, the foremost barrister in New South Wales around 1830 and who, with William Charles Wentworth, was Editor of *The Australian* which was very critical of Governor Darling. Wardell owned the Petersham Estate of some 2,500 acres, and it was there, on 7th September, 1834, that the following basic

events happened. He went out riding to inspect his estate, and approached a humpy near the Cooks River. As he approached, three escaped convicts emerged. During the encounter Wardell was shot, the horse galloped off with him and his body and was found next day, at some distance from the humpy, among the branches of fallen oak.

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Annandale Children's Games

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One, two, three, ALAIREE, four, five, six, "ALAIREE" and onward numbering including the word "ALAIREE" (I have no explanation for the word "ALAIREE" but it was the game ritual). This game is played by girls (sometimes boys) by hand-bouncing a ball, counting aloud 1, 2, 3, ALAIREE and and passing the right or left leg between hand and ball for ALAIREE. Game continues until the ball stops or player wobbles out of action.

Trip and catch. Played with two sticks sharpened at one end - one stick placed on ground, hit sharp-

ened point with other stick point, and as stick on ground rises, hit it in the air.

Tug-of-war, marbles, cricket, football, tunnel and overhead ball, kites, Hop, skip and jump.

Chariot Race. A small boy mounted on a boy's shoulders, all racers and charioteers lined up and had a race.

Chariot Race (in the days of no motor vehicles). A three-wheeler bicycle turned upside down, one boy sitting on the upturned seat, another standing on the back bar and holding the sitter's shoulders, and free-wheeling down a hill.

The Residents' Perception of Annandale

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

3 Economic factors, in terms of accessibility to employment, cheap rent and less expensive prices of houses, appeared to be the dominant criteria used by the residents in

making decision on their choice of a particular residential quality and location.

4 The perceived physical and social environments in Annandale affected decision and residential behaviour but economic constraints finalized decision and caused residential behaviour.

The Pubs of Glebe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Glebe Hotels in 1892

- 1 Albion, 57 Glebe Street (1880)
- 2 Ancient Briton, 195 Glebe Road (1864)
- 3 Australian Youth, 64 Bay Street (1862)
- 4 Bridge, 142 Bridge Road (1879)
- 5 Burton's Family, 2 Denham Street (later St Johns Rd) (1892)
- 6 Centennial, 54 Hereford Street (1888)
- 7 Club, 57 Denham Street (1886)
- 8 Currency Lass, 84 Glebe Road (1858)
- 9 Durrell's, 5 Mount Vernon Street (1870)
- 10 Friend in Hand, 64 Cowper Street (1855)
- 11 Glebe, 27 Glebe Road (1864)
- 12 Glebe Tavern, 5 Franklyn Place (1844)

- 13 Grand, 2 Bridge Road (1890)
- 14 Great Britain, 126 Mitchell Street (1886)
- 15 Great Britain, 139 Mitchell Street (1886)
- 16 Hand and Heart, 227 Glebe Road (1880)
- 17 Kentish, 61 Parramatta Rd (1861)
- 18 Lady of the Lake, 38 Bay Street (1847)
- 19 Lord Carrington, 35 Glebe Street (1886)
- 20 Old Forest Lodge, Lodge Street (1876)
- 21 Poppenhagen's, Parramatta Road and Bay Street (1886)
- 22 Queens Arms, 1 Broadway (1870)
- 23 Royal Crown and Anchor, 1 Glebe Road (1880)
- 24 Town Hall, St. Johns Rd (1886)
- 25 Toxteth Park, 55 Westmoreland Street (1875)
- 26 University, Broadway (1857)
- 27 British Lion Hotel - 182 St. Johns Rd (1880)

The date given after the hotel address is the approximate year when a general publican's licence was granted to that hotel.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 21

The Pubs of Glebe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

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Book Reviews

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Later the three convicts were captured, of whom John Jenkins was found guilty of the crime and, with one of his accomplices, was hung.

In researching this incident, Mr. Kenny has discovered that there are, strange to say, discrepancies in the evidence, in particular about the condition of Wardell's body when it was found. He starts by posing the question: who murdered Dr. Wardell? Yet at the end of the book one is astonished to read:

"WHO MURDERED DOCTOR WARDELL OF PETERSHAM?"

The answer lies within the pages of this book.

SEEK AND YE SHALL FIND".

The book is primarily a collection of documents - chiefly contemporary newspaper reports - of the murder trial with annotations by Mr. Kenny. He makes a worthwhile contribution to the study of Wardell by presenting the discrepant evidence about the murder. Though it enables a different reconstruction of

the murder to be made, it is of only slight significance. Furthermore his "conclusion" that the third convict (who was not hung) "conceived the diabolical plan for substituting himself, Jenkins and Tattersdale in the stead of the three who did actually commit the murder", is very vague and far from proven.

Copies of this limited edition are still available, and may be obtained by sending \$6.00 (which includes postage or personal delivery in Sydney and suburbs) to Tom Kenny, 30 Gannon Street, Tempe, 2044. Mr. Kenny is also preparing a three-volume work, *The World of Doctor Wardell*, which is intended to be a complete history of his ten years in New South Wales.