Appendix A
A Thematic History of Pubs in the Inner West

Origins of Hotels in NSW

**'Pubs define the pulse, personality and tempo of the city and provide a convenient yardstick of how our customs and social mores have evolved.'** [1]

The earliest hotels in Australia opened in the areas first settled by European colonists, such as The Rocks, Parramatta and around the Hawkesbury River. These buildings were known as inns or public houses (pubs).

Initially, inns and pubs followed British and Irish traditions that had been brought to Australia with colonisation—they provided accommodation to travellers in a time where movement, even over comparatively short distances, was difficult. They served food and drinks, providing a space for people to meet and mingle.

Inns and pubs were often the first buildings to appear in Australian settlements and towns. They became a core part of the community and a place to recognise life's milestones—whether they be around births, deaths, sport or politics. The pub etiquette of 'shouting' a round of drinks remains a strong tradition passed down from this era.

The Oxford Hotel [now Websters Bar], Newtown, c1880–1890s. (Source: City of Sydney Archives)
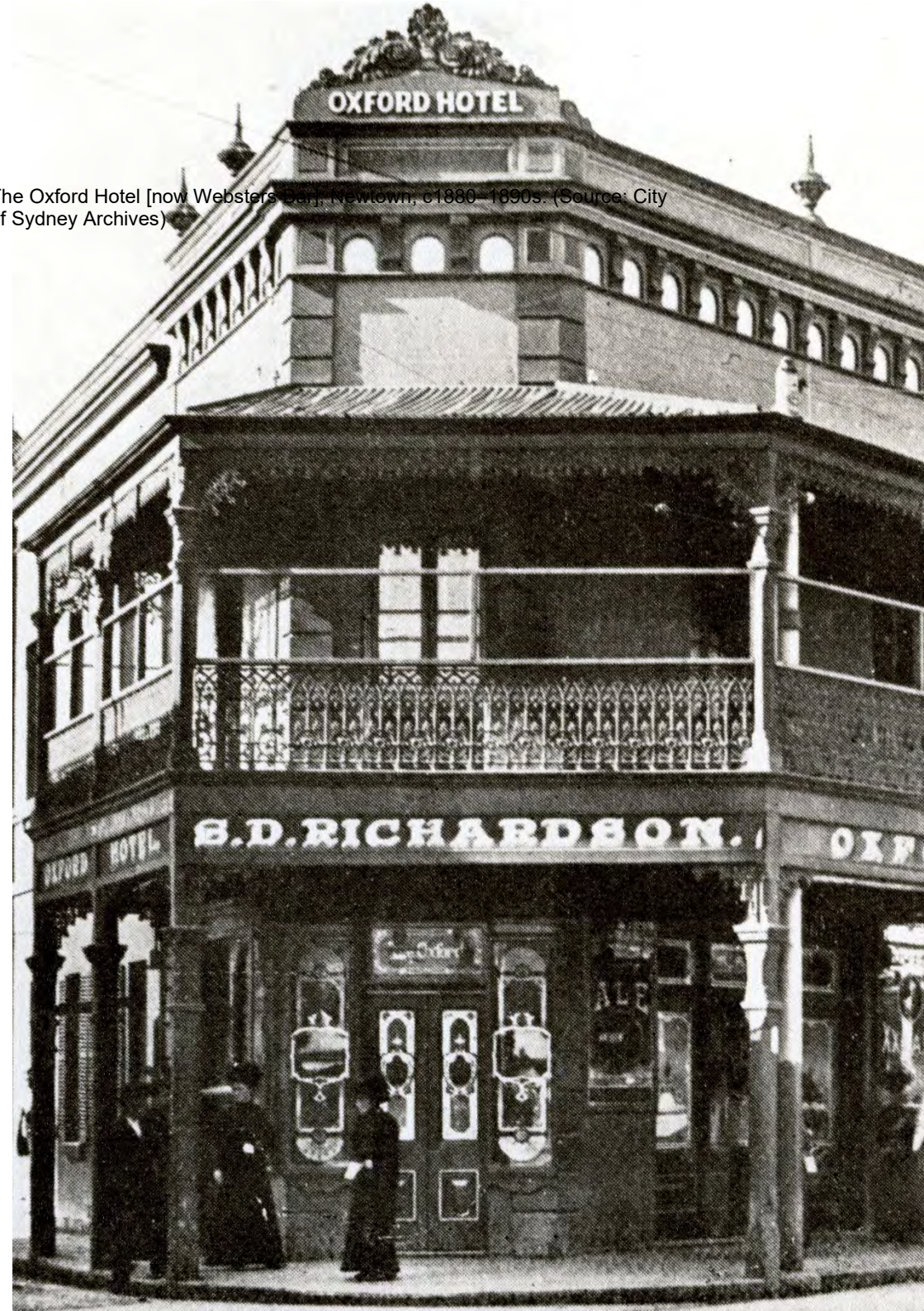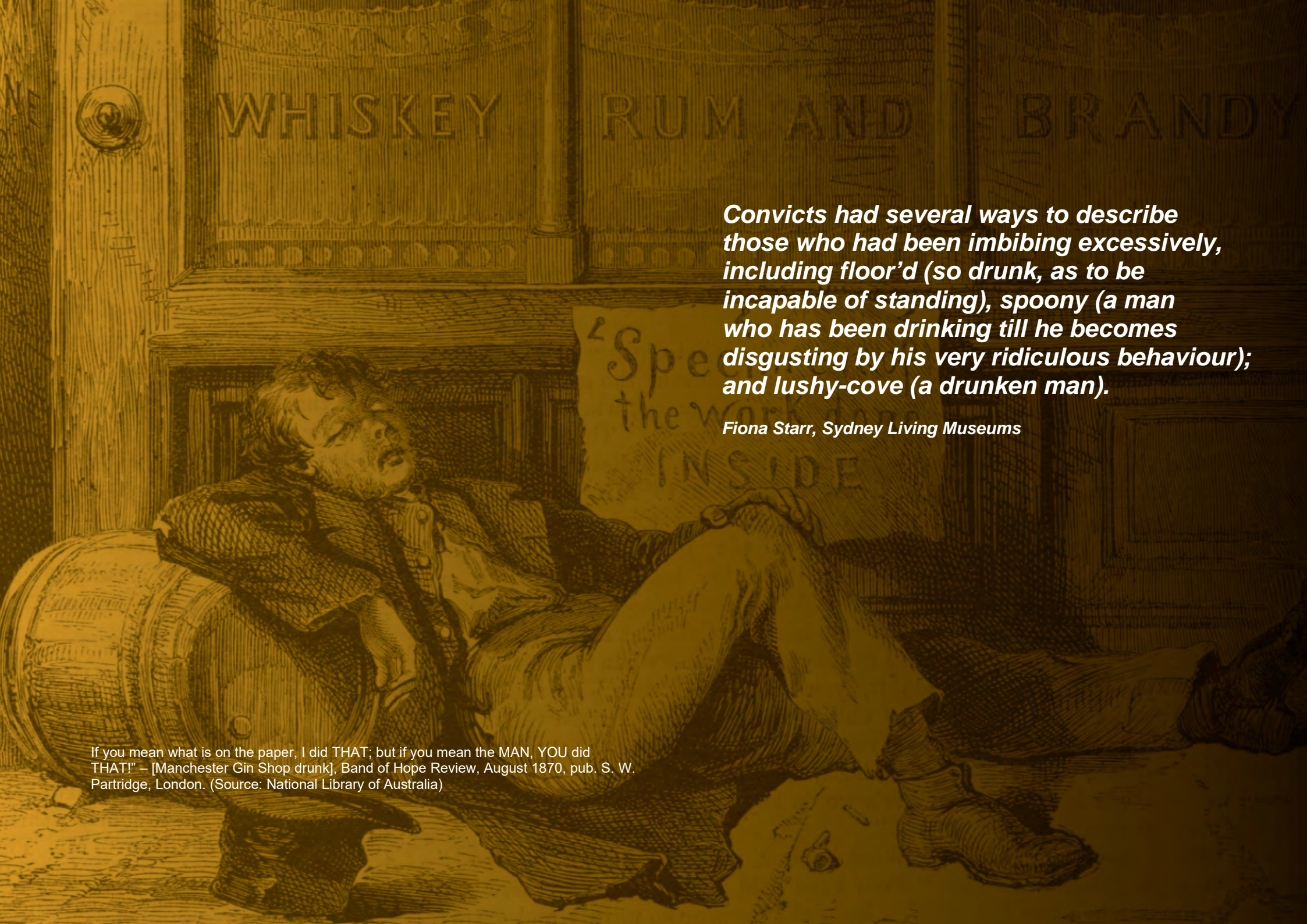
Convicts had several ways to describe those who had been imbibing excessively, including floor'd (so drunk, as to be incapable of standing), spoony (a man who has been drinking till he becomes disgusting by his very ridiculous behaviour); and lushy-cove (a drunken man).

Fiona Starr, Sydney Living Museums

If you mean what is on the paper, I did THAT; but if you mean the MAN, YOU did THAT!" – [Manchester Gin Shop drunk], Band of Hope Review, August 1870, pub. S. W. Partridge, London. (Source: National Library of Australia)

The Rum State

In the early colonial period, the importation of spirits and alcohol was monitored and controlled by the colonial authorities, who were able to restrict supply and extract tariffs. To get around this, bootlegging, smuggling and 'sly-grogging' became widespread. Alcohol was often served in unofficial pubs opened by 'self-licensed' people.[2] Because Australia was still a penal colony, uncontrolled supply of illicit alcohol was viewed as a threat to the productivity and health of workers and convicts, whose labour was necessary for the upkeep of the colony. Rum itself became an informal currency—a way to barter and to reimburse convicts for labour undertaken.

To regain control over the supply of alcohol, the colonial government began licensing inns and pubs. Venues with a licence were sanctioned by the colonial government to serve legally brewed or imported alcohol, whereas unlicensed venues were liable to closure and destruction.[3] These sanctions were first issued in 1792 by Governor Phillip, who licensed two venues.[4] In 1796 Governor Hunter empowered magistrates to reissue licences, recommending that 15 licences be granted in the colony in total: eight in Sydney, four in Parramatta, and three in the Hawkesbury.[5] By 1811, there were 67 licences.[6]

Paradoxically, although women were later forbidden from frequenting the public bars (where patrons came to drink) they were often behind the bar serving drinks or managing the licence. Many of Sydney's first publicans were women, starting with convict Sarah Bird in 1797. By 1815, 12 of the 96 Sydney licences were held by women.[7] These roles provided far greater income than traditional domestic labour and allowed women—especially widows and deserted wives—to carve out an independent living.

In the days of the Rum State, The Inner West local government area (LGA) was located on the periphery of the colony. The area was mostly uninhabited by Europeans until the first decades of the nineteenth century, who generally concentrated in areas where people—and pubs—could be found.

Despite this, important travel routes ran through the area to settlements like Parramatta, Windsor and the Cooks River. Parramatta Road was the earliest—it was established as convict walking track between Sydney and Parramatta in c1789–1791. While Parramatta River remained the preferred transport route for many years, Parramatta Road underwent a series of improvements from the 1790s to the 1820s to become one of the colony's major thoroughfares.[8]

Figure 1 The Parramatta Road Toll gate c1836. (Source: Dixson Library, State Library of NSW)

The earliest inns and pubs in the Inner West were established along Parramatta Road nearby Leichhardt from the 1830s and included the Woolpack Inn, Cherry Tree Gardens Inn and the Bald Faced Stag Hotel.[9] Further afield was the Plough Inn at the intersection of Parramatta and Liverpool Roads, Ashfield.[10] These early inns and pubs were a vital service for travelers, especially the coaches and bullock teams which used the road, providing accommodation and facilities for housing and feeding animals.[11]

Even then, much of the land of the Inner West was held up in large grants until the 1830s, which inhibited the development of a residential population beyond large estate owners, their families and servants. For the few residents of the area in this period, entertainment was usually found elsewhere than the inns on Parramatta Road. Convicts and workers were likely to be found drinking and gambling outdoors in their limited free time, especially around Taverners Hill. Estate owners and their families would, in comparison, entertain others at dinners in their villas and gardens.[12]

Figure 2 The Bald Faced Stag Hotel, Leichhardt c1870–1880. (Source: Inner West Council Library)

Figure 3 Workmen and casks in the yard of Kent Brewery, Tooth and Co, Sydney, c1890. (Source: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences)

Bottling Beer at British Breweries 1951, photograph by Sam Hood (Source: State Library of NSW [Home and Away – 25625])

A Hard Earned Thirst

Subdivision of the large estates in the Inner West began in the 1830s. For many areas, these sales attracted groups of wealthy residents seeking quiet, secluded estates away from Sydney.[13] The exception were Newtown and Balmain, which were the earliest areas of the Inner West to experience solid growth. Balmain had a fledging maritime industry made possible by the peninsula's sheltered and deep shoreline.[14] Newtown developed around the Cooks River Road (now King Street and Princes Highway), later becoming one of the first suburban shopping destinations outside of the city.[15]

Hotels in the Inner West were generally located on main roads during this time. In Balmain, the expansion of the area's maritime industry and further subdivisions in the 1840s attracted workers and encouraged the formation of a residential suburb in Balmain East. Inns and pubs followed the arrival of a permanent population of workers in Balmain, the earliest examples including the Captain Cook Inn (c1842), Masonic Arms Hotel (1843), Shipwrights Arms (1844), Waterford Arms Hotel (1846) and the original Unity Hall Hotel (1846) on the corner of Nicholson and Darling streets.[16] The development of this industry was only further energised by subdivisions to the west of the peninsula in the 1850s, initiated by Thomas Mort to attract skilled workers who could work at his dry dock.[17] In Newtown, hotels sprang up along the main street, including the Union Inn (c1840s), Pigeon House Hotel (1855), and Kingston Hotel (1858/1859).

These early hotels were often small, single-storey buildings, often not purpose built. Pubs in the 1840s were only required to provide at two rooms for accommodation, enabling a multitude of small venues to survive in the Inner West's early population centres. Legal opening hours were initially from 4am to 6pm, but were extended to 10pm with the consolidation of laws relating to public houses in 1849, and extended again—to midnight—in 1862. It was also around this time that began to adopt the nomenclature 'hotel' in line with official licensing terminology.

For the workers of these areas, the importance of a place to drink '*came to mean more than a social life or an escape. The hard, unremitting physical toil of a wharf labourer, or the heat of an iron foundry, caused dehydration. A few drinks helped replenish lost fluids.*'[18]

Figure 4 The original Unity Hall Building in 1898, it had begun trading as the Albion Hotel in 1876. (Source: State Records of NSW [4481_a026_000979])

Mid-century growth

The Inner West experienced an increase in the number of hotels following the middle of the nineteenth century, especially following the arrival of the railway in 1855. This was encouraged by its nascent suburban and industrial growth, with many previously inaccessible areas coming within range of a railway station.

New hotels began to appear in these suburbs, prefiguring a boom in the 1870s and 1880s. In Newtown, a sizeable hotel industry developed as the suburb subdivided and grew into an important high street in the 1850s and 1860s. Pubs opened during this time were the Courthouse Hotel (1859), Daniel Webster Hotel (1863), Daniel Lambert Inn (1863), Botany View Hotel (1868) and Shakespeare Hotel (c1869).

Hotels also began to emerge in Petersham and Stanmore around the same time, joining the older Oxford Tavern (1840s) and the existing pubs that serviced Parramatta Road. New hotels in this area included the Wheelwrights Arms (1857), Native Home Inn (1858), Clarence Hotel (1858), Newington Inn (1858) and Petersham Inn (1860s).

Further south and away from the railway were Marrickville and Tempe, which nonetheless experienced residential growth and the establishment of hotels that came with it. In Tempe, two early examples were the Pulteney Inn (c1840s) and Cottage of Content Hotel (c1860s) on the Cooks River Road. Slightly later was Marrickville, with the Marrick Hotel (1860s) and the Empress of India Hotel (1874) servicing the emerging municipality.

Towards the harbourside, the expansion of Balmain and its population led to the emergence of a sizeable hotel industry in the area which persists to this day. Hotels opened further west along the peninsular in response to growth, including the Forth and Clyde Hotel (1857),

Rob Roy Hotel (1857), and Albion Hotel (1860), located nearby industries like Mort's Dock whose workers would patronize them. A few hotels from this period are still in operation in Balmain, the earliest being the Dry Dock Hotel (1867) and the Balmain Hotel (formerly West End Hotel) (1869).

Figure 5 The Cottage of Content Hotel, Tempe 1892. (Source: Inner West Council Library)

New Hotels for New Workers

By the 1870s the Inner West was emerging as an important industrial and manufacturing zone, reaching its zenith at the turn of the century. Suburbs like Balmain, Rozelle, Newtown and Marrickville soon swelled with working-class residents, many of whom sought somewhere to quench their thirst and socialise. Hotels multiplied in the 1870s and 1880s, beginning to occupy every available corner.

From 1870 to 1891 the total number of hotels in the working-class Balmain (by this time a municipality that included Rozelle and Lilyfield) rose from 14 to 42, representing one hotel for every 559 people.[19] This was particularly strong in Rozelle, which was essentially hotel-less but had been energized by the growth of industries around Rozelle Bay, White Bay and Glebe Island. Hotels which opened in this period included the Welcome Hotel (1877), Red Lion Hotel (1881), Bellevue Hotel (1876), Garry Owen Hotel (1881), Merton Estate Hotel (1881) and the Native Rose Hotel (1879).

It was the same story in the other established working-class suburbs of Newtown, Enmore, and Sydenham, but also areas like Marrickville. Many of the hotels in these suburbs opened between 1870 and 1890 to slake the thirst of the new working-class residents pouring into the small-terrace subdivisions. This included the Warren View (1870), Carlisle Castle (1876), Victoria Hotel (1884), General Gordon (1885) and Town and Country Hotel (1887).

The growth in the population of the Inner West also coincided with evolutions in the design of hotels in the locality. Licensing arrangements had some influence on the development of pubs in Australia, with changes to the laws prompted by the growing influence of the temperance movement. Yet hotels primarily evolved in response to the expectations of patrons.[20]

From the 1880s onwards (and even earlier), early hotels began to be replaced by ornately decorated two-to-three storey hotels designed to maximise patron capacity, especially in inner-city areas where space was at a premium.[21] Hotels also tended to occupy corner lots to maximise visibility. Private bars and saloon bars also began to appear in hotel designs to provide quiet living space for hotel residents, usually in a separate room from the public bar.[22]

In the Inner West, these new hotels were more elaborate, more ornate two-or-more-storey buildings. They reflected the prevailing architectural tastes of the time and a conscious attempt to distinguish hotels from other commercial buildings.[23] Many had large timber-post balconies, which covered the footpaths below them and which were decorated with elaborate cast-iron lace.

Perhaps the best example in the Inner West is the Exchange Hotel (1886), which featured an elaborate three-storey balcony and ornate parapet. The original design of the Royal Exchange Hotel (1888) in Marrickville was similarly ornate, though this was lost when it was remodeled in the 1930s.

Figure 6 The Royal Exchange Hotel, Marrickville c1935. (Source: Inner West Council Library)

Politics in the Pub

The primarily working-class character of hotels in the Inner West saw them become important in the development of unionism and the labour movement in the late-nineteenth century. Hotels had for a long time been used for political electioneering, as they were convenient and well frequented venues.[24] As the labour movement grew, many hotels in the Inner West were used to host meetings amongst activists and for organising.

This tendency was especially strong in Balmain and Rozelle and in pubs like Dicks Hotel, The Exchange Hotel and the Royal Oak Hotel, though hotels were used throughout the Inner West for organising.[25]

In Annandale, the North Annandale Hotel was most often used, while the Bald Faced Stag Hotel and the Royal Hotel in Leichhardt were popular venues.[26]

In Newtown, The Carlisle Castle Hotel was used for the launch of Edward Riley's 1898 election campaign.[27] Riley was a founding member of the NSW Labor Party and was a member of the House of Representatives for South Sydney from 1910 to 1931.[28]

Most significant of all was the formation of the Labor Electoral League in the Unity Hall Hotel in Balmain in April 1891. This group later morphed into the current Australian Labor Party.[29] The Unity Hall Hotel figures strongly in the mythos of the Labor party in NSW and continues to be held in esteem by members.

The visceral impact of the swill hour was remembered by people like Geoffrey Scharer who had to clean up the aftermath:

... My brother and I had the job of sweeping up the sawdust after closing. Dad would 'salt' it with two-bob coins which was our payment—and the sawdust was full of cigarettes and p*** and vomit. We swept it up with two broad brooms and Dad came behind us with a hose and then squeegeed the water out until the bar was all nice and clean and ready for opening the next day.

Men drinking in a hotel, 1930s. (Source: State Library of NSW, Sam Hood Collection, a368013 / PXE 789 (v38), 49)

Temperance and 'The Swill'

The growth of the Temperance movement had a profound effect on hotels in the Inner West and NSW in the late nineteenth century, prompting stricter and stricter licensing requirements for venues. This

[30] Notions of social respectability also played a part for women, who were required abstain in public—though many still drank takeaway beer obtained from the bottle-and-jug department of their local pub.[31]

In 1882 the *Licensing Act* (NSW) was passed after pressure on the government from Temperance groups. The new law increased the accommodation requirements for hotels and banned Sunday openings. The material effect of this law on hotels was minor. Few hotels were closed as many newer hotels already comfortably met accommodation requirements. In fact, the number of hotels in the Inner West and NSW peaked just after the 1880s, with 3441 publican licences statewide in 1891.[32] Though the act had little immediate effect, it was an early salvo in the campaign against alcohol, which would come to define how hotels operated for the next 70 years.

Following the peak in hotels numbers in 1891 came their long, slow decline. The contraction of the number of hotels began with the economic depression of the 1890s and was soon followed by moral campaigns by the Temperance movement. Areas saturated with pubs in the Inner West became the targets for Temperance campaigns, which wielded stronger influence with the passing of the 'Local Option' in 1888.[33] This enabled local councils to call on ratepayers to vote on whether new licences should be given or removed in their local area.[34]

Extending the Local Option to all electors and freezing the number of licenses in 1905 saw the success of the 'Reduction Votes' in the Inner West and the decline in the number of hotels. This resulted in 18

was a mostly middle-class movement, which formulated a distinct tee-totaling identity over the nineteenth century to contrast against the working-class inclination towards drinking in pubs. It was also prominently championed by women, who were disproportionately affected by alcohol-related violence and disorder.

hotels closing in the Inner West between 1908 and 1913. One hotel was closed in Annandale, Ashfield and Leichhardt, two in Marrickville, Petersham and Newtown, four in Rozelle, and five in Balmain.[35] In addition, additional design requirements imposed by amendments to licensing laws meant that many hotels required remodelling or reconstruction. Over the next decade many hotels were rebuilt as a result, with others closing outright.

Some in the Temperance movement also took a more direct approach in the Inner West. This includes the explicitly middle-class Haberfield subdivision, which had a marketing slogan 'slumless, laneless and publess'.[36] Others were resourceful, like Petersham Alderman George Crothers, who reportedly purchased all the available corner lots in Lewisham to prevent more pubs opening.[37]

The Temperance movement continued to have a strong influence through to the early twentieth century. Per capita consumption of alcohol steadily decreased in the late nineteenth century and continued to fall afterwards, especially during World War I, as a result of their campaigns. While successful in closing many hotels, the working-class areas of the Inner West continued a burgeoning pub trade, reflecting the centrality of a drinking hole to the working man's leisure.

The most consequential measure taken in the early twentieth century was the Early Closing Referendum of 1916. This referendum asked the public to vote on what time hotels should close in NSW during the

war, resulting in the temporary adoption of a 6pm closing time. This was later made permanent in 1919 by an Act of Parliament.

Early closing contributed to the ongoing decline in the consumption of alcohol in Australia, which reached its lowest point in the mid-1930s. It also led to the radical reshaping of the design of hotels in the following decades, which began to increasingly cater to workers who would rush to hotels in the 'six o'clock swill' between the end of the workday at 5pm and the 6pm closing time.

During the rush of the 'six o'clock swill' hotels would swell with male patrons on their way home from work, many of whom would rapidly consume alcohol. To increase service capacity during the rush, more space was dedicated to the public bars at hotels. Interior walls that separated the private bars and saloon bars were removed. Chairs, tables, stools, billiard tables, dart boards and dance floors were taken away to enlarge available floor space. Interior finishes were also modified to facilitate cleaning, with wooden bars and floors being replaced with linoleum, metal and tiles. Designated areas for women were also created, known as the ladies' lounges or parlours, which retained seating, tables and a more relaxed atmosphere, with the effect of enforcing gender segregation.

Figure 7 Temperance Society Pamphlet 'The Five Stages of Inebriation'. (Source: State Library of NSW)

Playing Catchup

The relative density of hotels in the Inner West today correlates to the economic status of its residents when the area first experienced residential subdivision. In the very early working-class suburbs of Balmain and Newtown, there are many pubs. In the originally more affluent Leichhardt, Annandale, Stanmore and Ashfield, there are fewer. Land suitable for hotel was developed for other purposes in more affluent areas, often becoming shops. Middle-class objection to pubs also played a part, reflecting the divisions in leisure between the two groups in the late-nineteenth century.

The uneven spread of hotels in the Inner West is also a reflection of its uneven population. Between 1880 and 1882 the population of the Balmain peninsular more than doubled to nearly 17,000, providing ample business for the hotels that had opened in the previous decade in response to earlier growth.[38] The electorate of Newtown similarly had a population of 15,745 in 1881.[39] In other suburbs like Annandale, Ashfield, Leichhardt and Petersham the population was much lower. Petersham had 3413 residents in 1881, the highest total of them.[40]

Though subdivisions had begun from the 1840s and 1850s, much of the land in these suburbs remained tied up in estates and farms until the 1870s. For many of these smaller population suburbs, initial subdivisions favored the creation of a respectable, middle-class suburb, resulting in a population unwilling to countenance hotels.[41]

While these suburbs later became working class and densely populated, the influence of Temperance amongst their earlier inhabitants neutered the opportunity for new hotels to open. By 1901, the population of Leichhardt had topped 16,000.[42] Yet the ratio of hotels to people was over 1:2000 that same year. In Balmain it was 1:559 in 1891.[43]

With some exceptions, hotels that did open in these areas tended to be located along main streets instead of distributed throughout the suburb. In 1891 there were seven hotels in Leichhardt and three in Annandale as a result of rapid suburban development. These included the Victoria Hotel (1884), which was the first to open in Annandale, as well as the Australian Contingent Hotel (c1880s), Leichhardt Hotel (1882), Gladstone Park Hotel (1882), Royal Hotel (1888) and North Annandale Hotel (c1888).

Around Ashfield there were similarly few hotels, owing to its bucolic residential character and affluence. The Ashfield Hotel (1870) was the first hotel in the area, excluding the Plough Inn (1830) on Parramatta Road. The Summer Hill Hotel was next to follow (1882).[44] Together these hotels serviced much of the western edge of the Inner West.

Several local breweries had managed to open in Leichhardt by 1890, being more palatable to the middle class who consumed alcohol at home, if at all. These were the Edinburgh, Yorkshire and King & Company's Centennial Breweries, though they did not survive the later domination of the Sydney market by Tooths & Co, Tooheys and Reschs breweries.[45]

The Bridge Hotel, Rozelle Public Bar. (Source Inner West Council Library)

The Brewery Kings

Another significant development for pubs in the Inner West was the capture of the hotel trade by the large breweries in the early twentieth century. Tooheys, Tooth & Co and Reschs breweries had begun acquiring hotels the previous century, but the process accelerated in the climate of restrictive licensing and lower demand in the 1900s–1920s. Their goal was to create 'tied-houses' so only their beer would be served.[46]

Most hotels in the Inner West came to be owned by one of the big breweries in the early twentieth century. Of all the breweries it was most likely to be Tooth & Co, who owned most hotels in Sydney by the mid-twentieth century, having absorbed smaller breweries like Reschs in 1929.[47]Truly independent venues were unusual, such as the Queens Hotel in Enmore.

From the 1910s to the 1940s, the large breweries began systematically upgrading their hotels. Partially to meet licensing requirements, but also to adopt contemporary designs which would improve the image of the trade.[48] This led to some standardization in the design of hotels—layouts, equipment and decorations began to be dictated to publicans across many hotels.[49]

The breweries drew from a handful of architects for the work, like Robertson & Marks, Ross & Rowe, Prevost & Ancher, Cyril Ruwald and the prolific Sydney Warden, which contributed to their uniformity.[50] This small pool of architects typically drew on the Art Deco or Streamline Modern styles as influences, resulting in their use in many hotels throughout the Inner West and Sydney.[51] Works were often just modifications to facades, though rebuilds did occur.

Figure 8 Resch's Dinner Ale, poster, Tooth & Co Ltd, c1940. (Source: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences [object no. 86/3016-2])

Art Deco Hotels built in the Inner West in this period include the North Annandale Hotel, the Botany View Hotel in Newtown and the Sailsbury Hotel (1900) in Stanmore. The Royal Exchange in Marrickville is another prominent example, having its façade completely redesigned in the 1930s.

The Inner West has several fine examples of Streamline Moderne Hotels, including the Golden Barley Hotel (1939) in Enmore, Bridge Hotel in Rozelle (rebuilt 1941) and the Marlborough Hotel (rebuilt 1940) in Newtown.

These new hotels reflected the architectural tastes of the day, presenting a clean image of the hotel against their unsavory Victorian-era predecessors. Perhaps to distance themselves from this image, almost all the elaborate Victorian-era balconies of existing hotels had been removed and replaced by awnings by the 1930s, resulting in many first-storey external doorways being converted into windows throughout the Inner West. In some cases, these balconies later returned, like at the Royal Hotel in Leichhardt and the Oxford Hotel in Newtown.

Figure 10 Sidney Warden c1936, hotel architect and the designer of the Henson Park Hotel and several other pubs in the Inner West. (Source: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences [2007/61/1-3/226])

Figure 9 The Henson Park Hotel, Marrickville 1936. (Source: Inner West Council Library)

Figure 11 The General Gordon Hotel, Sydenham c1930s by Milton Kent. (Source: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences [2007/61/1-3/150])

Sculptures on the wall at British Breweries, Parramatta Road, Petersham 1954 by Max Dupain & Associates (Source: State Library of NSW [ON 558/Box 9/nos. 780-783])

Opening the Doors Wide

Following World War II, hotels were increasingly in competition with registered clubs, which could provide a variety of entertainment and activities not possible at a pub, such as poker machines and outdoor sports like lawn bowls. Many hotels closed in the decades following the war, accelerated by the closure of many industries throughout the area, especially around the waterfront areas of Balmain, Rozelle, and Annandale.[52] Marrickville and Newtown were similarly affected.

By the 1950s the unintended and unsavoury consequences of early closing were increasingly recognised. Rather than reduce the consumption of alcohol, which had begun to increase following World War II, early closing concentrated it in fewer hours of the day and encouraged sly-grogging and illicit trade.[53] In the postwar period many hotels in NSW were also closed as they were unable to modernise to meet licensing requirements, exacerbating overcrowding of remaining hotels.[54] A Royal Commission into the matter was called, the findings of which resulted in the extension of trading hours in 1955 and an increase in availability of alcohol outside of hotels.[55]

Liberalisation of licensing restrictions began in the 1950s, resulting in a transformation of hotels back to venues of socialization rather than venues of drinking (although drinking remained an important factor). As early as the 1930s, liquor associations recognised that in future the relaxed atmosphere of 'the lounge' would likely attract patrons more than the then dominant 'six o'clock swill' rush.[56] It was only after extended trading was reintroduced in 1955 that this was realized, with hotels around Sydney beginning to improve their offerings to patrons. From the 1950s to the 1970s several new developments and services began to be offered in hotels, like beer gardens, restaurants and live music.[57]

However, the liberalization of social mores took decades to shift. Women were not allowed in the public bar until 1965 and the Racial Discrimination Act was not passed until 1975, seeing the exclusion of Aboriginal men and women, including servicemen, from drinking establishments even on Anzac Day. Despite this legislative reform, discrimination against patrons on the basis of their gender and race continued at many premises such as RSL clubs.[58]


Figure 9 Rosalie Bognor and Merle Thornton chained themselves to the bar at the Regatta Hotel, Queensland, in 1965. A protest that sparked national public debate about the economic, social and political rights of women. (Source: Bruce Postle Archive, State Library of Victoria)

Sydney's writers, poets and troubadours chose Balmain or Woollahra, both distinctly more bohemian than today, rather than London, as their natural habitat.

Feminist Anne Summers
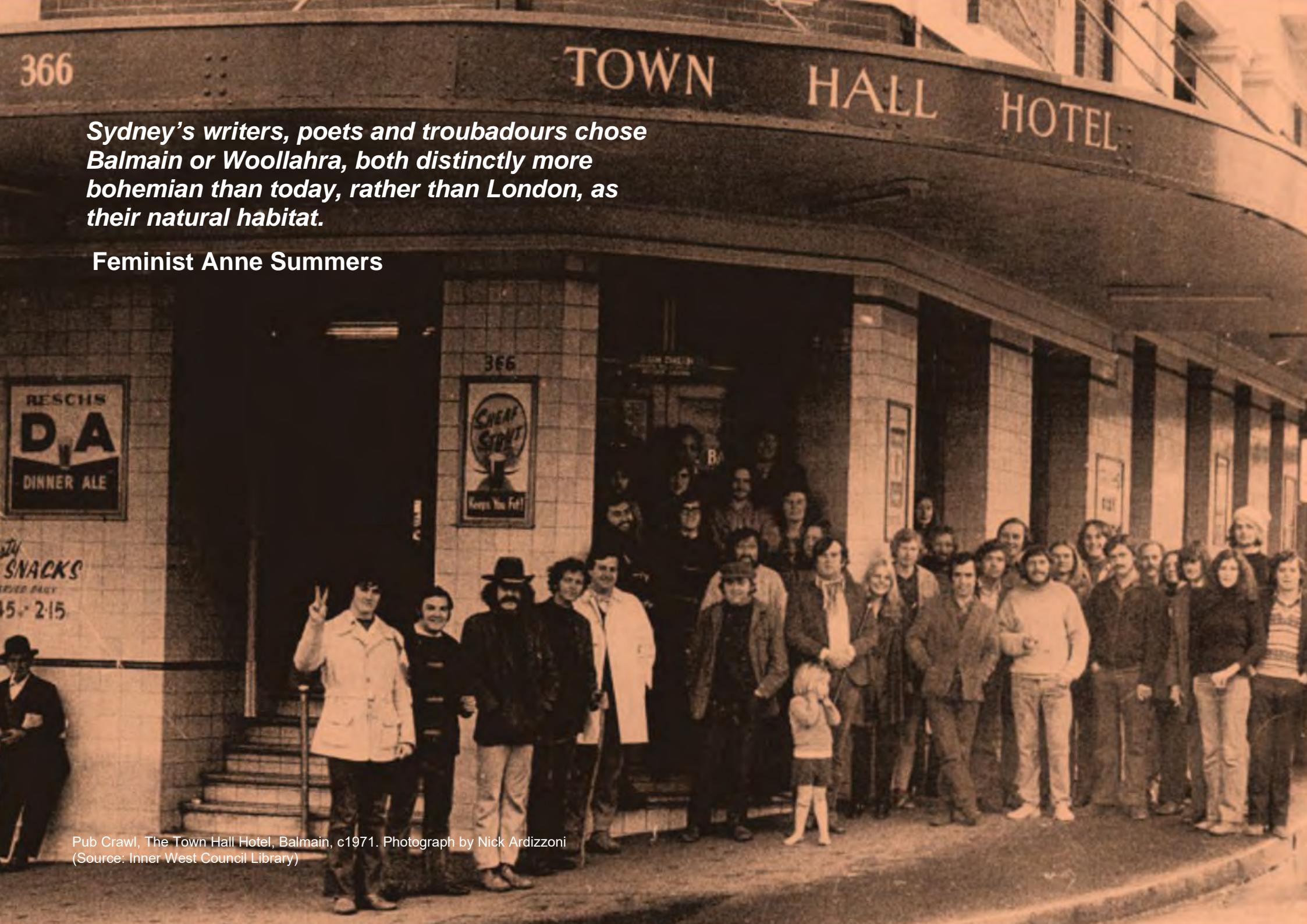
Pub Crawl, The Town Hall Hotel, Balmain, c1971. Photograph by Nick Ardizzoni
(Source: Inner West Council Library)

Poets, Drunks and Wild Women

During the twentieth-century the pubs of the Inner West changed radically as industry declined and a new wave of bohemian thinkers, writers and drinkers began to frequent the old watering holes of the industrial workers. Near the harbour, this was the 'Balmain Group.' An outburst of literature, theatre, music and radical new politics borne out of many a night at the pub as Sydney's counter-culture movement laid siege to conventions of sexuality, gender and the hotels themselves. [59]

Binge drinking remained strong with a new generation creating traditions like the Annual Balmain Pub Crawl, led by local writer Frank Moorhouse.

> **As we marched on through the narrow Balmain streets The Crawl took on the spirit of a religious festival. Residents came out of their homes and stood at their front fences to watch this happy, noisy procession pass and cheer us on. We should have been carrying huge statues of Bacchus.**[60] Rob Walls

Social conditions began to change with women finally being able to enter the pub in 1965. It would still take more time for men to accept them jostling alongside them at the bar, with women still encouraged to sit in the ladies' lounge instead. Even the male bohemian set found their territory challenged by a radical vanguard of women. Feminist writer Anne Summers remembers 'the denizens of the London Hotel included writers like Frank Moorhouse and Michael Wilding who, along with the local poets such as John Tranter, Robert Adamson and Nigel Roberts were having their supremacy challenged by women, Vicki Viidikas, Joanne Burns and Jennifer Maiden among them'.[61] The White Horse Players (Julie McGregor and Catriona Brown among them) brought theatre to pubs like the Newtown Hotel and exposed the average pub goer to something more than a schooner and a flutter on the pokies.

Figure 10 Darling Street Pub Crawl, c1970s. (Source: Rob Walls)

Figure 11 The White Horse Players at the Newtown Hotel, c1976. (Source: Peter John Moxham, *Sydney Morning Herald*).

I think that it welcomed an eclectic group of people. It wasn't just a uniform place where people all dressed the same or voted the same. It certainly wasn't one scene, it wasn't that at all and I like that about it. I liked that a lot and it also still had some of the old drunks in there.

Punter Nadia Rangan remembers the Sandringham

View from the Stage at The Sandringham Hotel, c1990s. (Source: Brendan Smyly, "You went there for the people and went there for the bands" : the Sandringham Hotel - 1980 to 1998, Ph.D thesis)

Turn up the Volume

Further liberalization of licensing arrangements in the later half of the twentieth century led to further developments in hotels. Laws preventing hotels' trading on Sunday were repealed in the 1960s and trading hours were extended beyond 10pm, encouraging the growth of the live music scene and the creation of 'Pub Rock' to get people into venues. Certain hotels soon gained reputations as infamous live music venues, spawning bands like AC/DC, INXS and Midnight Oil from the 1970s onwards.[62]

This transition to less drinking-oriented activities helped alleviate the loss of relevancy that many hotels in Inner West began to experience in the second half of the twentieth century, though many more had closed by the 1990s.[63] Live music became a key offering for many hotels in the area. In the 1970s and 1980s the Annandale Hotel and Bridge Hotel became renowned for booking well known Australian acts from the pub rock scene such as Midnight Oil, Rose Tattoo, the Angels and You Am I.

Pubs also began to offer more relaxed music sessions for patrons to enjoy while drinking as an alternative to the pub rock scene. Regular jazz sessions were held at the Cat & Fiddle Hotel and the Unity Hall Hotel from the 1970s, with the Unity Hall Jazz Band having performed most Sunday afternoons since 1972.

The Sandringham Hotel in Newtown was another prominent live music venue from the 1980s to the late 1990s, catering to more local acts. The Sandringham and its uniquely cramped stage layout looms large in the memory of many performers, punters and bands of that period. Most notably is the hotel's immortalisation by the Whitlams in their song 'God Drinks at the Sando'.

However, the progressive relaxation of laws governing poker machine in pubs negatively impacted on live music across NSW and the Inner West. In addition, the pressure of gentrification meant new residents less enthused by the tradition of live music in the Inner West at long established venues. The Place of Public Entertainment (POPE) legislation put the onus on pubs, bars and bowling clubs to apply for development consent to host live music as well as invest in sound proofing, security and power isolation relays. Noise complaints ended in court with venues losing revenue in their efforts to maintain live music. The POPE laws were wound back, and the shift in NSW liquor licensing laws to encourage small bars and venues provided hope that the culture will shift again to support live music, yet many of the establishments did not revive the tradition.

Figure 12 The Unity Hall Jazz Band in 1974. (Source: Robert Pearce)

Figure 13 Protest against the closure of the Sandringham Hotel, 2012. (Source: Newtown Graffiti, CC-BY-2.0)

There was the stage

Two red lights and a Dodgy P.A

You trod the planks way back then…

And it's strange that you're

Here again

And I wish, I wish I knew the right words

To blow up the Pokies and

Drag them away

'Cause they're taking the food off your table

Greta Gertla and Tim Freedman *Blow Up the Pokies*. The Whitlams

Live music at the Annandale Hotel. (Source: The Pit)

The Modern Pub

In the late-twentieth centuries hotels in the Inner West continued to reinvent themselves to cater to the area's increasingly affluent residents. The decline of the area's the working-class or bohemian character meant many hotels were refurbished to meet the expectations and tastes of their new clientele.

In the past 40 years hotels in the Inner West have also increasingly turned to inclusivity. The Leichhardt Hotel and Newtown Hotel were among the first venues to become LGBT friendly spaces in the Inner West, with the Leichhardt Hotel providing room for the covert lesbian community of the suburb to gather and socialize in peace from the 1980s.[64] In the past two decades Newtown has become a hotspot for the LGBT community in Sydney, with a strong emphasis on inclusivity and pride.

The loosening of restrictions on gambling in hotels also resulted in major changes to pubs around the Inner West and NSW. This first occurred with sports betting, but in the 1990s was extended to poker machines in hotels.[65] The arrival of poker machines in pubs in NSW led to the widespread redesign of pubs, as spaces previously used for bars or performances were enclosed to create dedicated pokies rooms, often termed 'VIP lounges', with separate exterior access. This reduced the total floor space for patrons and contributed to a decline in live music venues in the Inner West, but significantly increasing hotel's profitability.

In 2008, the NSW revised Liquor Act sought to turn back the tide of sports bars, noisy poker machines and 'beer barn' style premises, encouraging instead smaller intimate bars with gastro menus. A set back to revitalizing Sydney's pub scene came with the 2014 lockout laws, which sought to reduce alcohol related violence but also dented

aspirations for a late-night economy in the CBD. This has been a boon to pubs in the Inner West, as Sydneysiders have sought their pubs further afield and away from the CBD, fostering a new culture of micro-breweries and earning the area the title of 'the craft beer capital' of Australia.

In the twenty-first century hotels have continued to refine their service to patrons. Hotels in the Inner West enjoy widespread popularity tied to their historical charm and reputation, especially in Balmain and Rozelle. In recent years, hotels have needed to compete with small bars and independent breweries, which provide a relaxed and intimate atmosphere for socialization. Several hotels have since closed in the Inner West, victims of the changing tastes, gentrification and decreasing rate of alcohol consumption in the Australian population.

Figure 14 Woman and three men at poker machines, unknown location. (Source: Albury City Collections)

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