

# *The Sandgate Handicap Riot: Sport, Popular Culture and Working Class Protest<sup>1</sup>*

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Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovery of the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape (Clifford Geertz).<sup>2</sup>

The second days racing at the Queensland Turf Club's (QTC)<sup>3</sup> Spring meeting of 1887 augured well. The first day had, according to the Boomerang's racing commentator 'Xanthus', been 'an unqualified success'. The takings at the main gate, the railway returns, the amount of money that passed through that controversial gambling machine, the totalisator, and the crowd of over 9000, surpassed all expectations.<sup>4</sup> The second and final day, Saturday November 12, began too in a promising way:

The sun shone brightly, and a nice shower having cooled the morning, there was a large attendance, and the stand and the enclosure were well filled. His Excellency and suite attended ... Everything went well until the Sandgate Handicap, the principal race, was started ...<sup>5</sup>

By the finish of the Sandgate Handicap any hopes that the Spring Meeting would rank as one of the most successful in the club's history were shattered. 'Xanthus' went as far as to assert that the meeting 'will long be remembered as the occasion of one of the most unseemly expressions of mob inconsequence ever witnessed "on any stage"'.<sup>6</sup>

Nat Gould, one of Australia's foremost horse racing and sports writers of the 1880s and 1890s, was an eye witness to the events that unfolded. He wrote of the incident:

On racecourses in Australia the public are apt to express their opinion freely when anything suspicious takes place . . . I have seen a few exhibitions of feeling on racecourses, but never one to equal that at Eagle Farm . . . I never saw a

racecourse crowd more determined to show how they felt about a race.<sup>7</sup>

Nothing had occurred on the racecourse before the running of the Sandgate Handicap to indicate that it would be the catalyst for what was to develop into a full-blown riot. Quite the contrary. Gould relates that punters had done well out of the two previous races, the Maiden Plate and the Handicap Hurdle.<sup>8</sup>

This article will offer the first detailed analysis of what became known as the ‘Sandgate Handicap Riot’.<sup>9</sup> Arguably, the controversy surrounding the race, and the crowd riot it provoked, played *some* role in hastening the ‘modernisation’ of racing practice in the colony. It shall further be contended that the riot emanated out of the classed processes constituting the operation of the turf in colonial Queensland. The riot, however, was not simply a sporting ‘reflection’ of such processes but reveals, through the deployment of a ‘thick description’ approach,<sup>10</sup> a significance extending beyond matters intimately bound up with horse racing, encompassing broader manifestations of colonial working-class resistance and protest. The racecourse, as a classed public space, became on 12 November 1887 a *site* for popular resistance.” Before considering the race, the ensuing riot and its aftermath, it is necessary to place the event in its historiographical context as the narrative is one that ‘swims against the tide’ of dominant historical discourse—in the realms of both sports and ‘general’ history in Queensland.

### **The Sandgate Handicap Riot in Historiographical Context**

It can be stated with some certainty that the coverage of spectator violence and crowd action in Australian sports history, with its undertones of social conflict, continues to constitute an under-researched area of sports history. This remains the case despite pioneering attempts to draw attention to its significance.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, writing on other aspects of Australian history suffers from the same ‘conflict myopia’.<sup>13</sup> While it is not possible to engage in an extended discussion of the complex reasons for this, it is crucial to acknowledge that the ubiquity of conflict—between classes, genders, races, ethnic groupings and generations—has been the subject of a ‘cult of disremembering’.<sup>14</sup> Social historian, Raymond Evans, contends that the dominant paradigm deployed in the production of Australian history has been one centred on the notions of consensus, classlessness and egalitarianism—productive of social harmony and

equilibrium—allowing, of course, for the occasional ‘unjustified system disturbance’.

These precepts, it can be suggested, have operated as master signifiers of ‘Australianness’ in historical discourse. However, the meta-narrative has been (and remains) that of ‘Progress’—denying conflict, or relegating it to the status of an epiphenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

Such themes have permeated the writing of Queensland history, perhaps to a greater extent than in other states. From the late nineteenth century, the theme of ‘progress’ has operated as the dominant thematic in historical writing on the colony/state,<sup>16</sup> as evidenced in the title of the latest volume of papers published by the Brisbane History Group—*Brisbane: People, Places and Progress*.<sup>17</sup> Sports history writing in Queensland has followed these broad contours with few exceptions.<sup>18</sup> Celebrations of the sporting predilections and prowess of Queenslanders accompanied by enjoiners, implicit and explicit, regarding the desirability of participation in sports (usually of an amateur nature) have been standard fare.<sup>19</sup> Recently, more balanced attempts to deal with the history of sports in Queensland have also slipped into eulogy and celebration, emphasising progress and harmony, albeit with a recognition that sport, as an integral part of the social formation, is not free of inequality.<sup>20</sup>

This contribution then, in its modest way, attempts to push against the dominant historiography by emphasising the centrality of a conflict perspective in assessing the history of sport in Australia and Queensland through an appraisal of the events emanating out of the Sandgate Handicap Riot of 12 November 1887.

### **The Race**

Following the running of the Maiden Plate and the Handicap Hurdle the large assemblage of spectators, present for the Sandgate Handicap—the premier event of the meeting—thronged the outer of the race track in anticipation.<sup>21</sup> However there was disappointment as false start followed false start. Finally, Mr C Holmes, the QTC starter got the horses away and at that moment he unwittingly initiated a string of events that were to lead not only to strident criticisms of the colony’s premier racing club, but to debate on the future of the turf itself in Queensland. There can be little doubt that the start was, to put it mildly, irregular—and the responsibility for the debacle that followed seems to rest squarely on the shoulders of the starter—despite his protestations of innocence.<sup>22</sup> The

statement of the second starter, Robert Martin, late of the Tattersall's Bazaar, is revealing here.<sup>23</sup> Martin described the start:

Mr Holmes, by his gesture [was] thoroughly disgusted and most assuredly not feeling composed at having so many false starts. And now the critical instant, my eyes clear and quite cool; I never took my eyes off the starter's movements; he gave a step forward with the horses, as if in disgust, his right-hand lying on his left, where the flag and pole were lying detached each from the other. The clerk of the course a few feet behind him sang out, 'Let them go'. Mr Holmes, taking a second thought, sang out, 'Go then', which words I might remark were quite a new departure for him to use.<sup>24</sup>

By this stage a number of horses were three or four strides past the starting post, and for this reason alone, the start should have been nullified. However, even at this point and despite Holmes' shout of 'Go then', the flag, according to Martin, had still not moved from its position, thus not being lowered in the correct manner.<sup>25</sup> Following procedure, Martin did not lower his flag even attempting, at great risk to himself, to stop those horses who had started running. A number of these horses were pulled up by their jockeys while some remained at the post, convinced that the race was a 'no-start'. Confusion reigned.<sup>26</sup> The race 'such as it was' proceeded. The field swept on, being greeted with a volley of shouts from the multitude to go back as it was no star.<sup>27</sup> The crowd, or at least that section whose investment was in jeopardy, began to groan and hiss as the horses continued on their way around the track. At the finishing post Honest Ned, a Gympie three-year old and rank outsider, led Fishwife second and Touchstone, the three-to-one on favourite, who finished last. 'Xanthus' commented that as the horses made their way to the saddling enclosure a silence fell over the angry crowd—only to give way within a matter of seconds to 'a threatening "Boo-Hoo", idiotic enough, but withal so steady and deep as to be almost majestic'.<sup>28</sup>

At this point it appears that the judge, F H Hart, had determined that as the second starter had kept his flag raised, there was no start. His view of the principal starter was occluded, engendering uncertainty as to the starter's actions, causing him to leave the stand without placing the numbers.<sup>29</sup> The starter, who had made his way to the stewards' room, informed them that the race was a start. The stewards then sat

down to consider the matter. By this stage, a crowd had gathered around the fence which partitioned off the stewards' room from the track. They began 'yelling and hooting', demanding vociferously that the race be rerun. The stewards' deliberations lasted some three-quarters of an hour in which duration 'the crowd believing that they would get what they demanded remained very orderly'.<sup>30</sup> The decision reached was to declare the Sandgate Handicap a race, with the outsider, Honest Ned, the winner. Astonishment turned to anger as the crowd that had gathered around the stewards' room cried 'How much commission?', 'How much do you get out of it?'— a clear accusation of corrupt turf practice.<sup>31</sup> The spark, however, that ignited the crowd was the opening of the totalisators— signifiers perhaps of elite on-course gambling—and the paying out of the dividends.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Riot**

A scene of 'wild confusion' ensued according to the *Evening Observer's* correspondent.<sup>33</sup> The crowd surged against, and clambered over, the paling fence of the committee enclosure, despite the presence of the police and four mounted constables under the direction of Sub-Inspector Durham, who had been appointed to guard the enclosure. At this point a shout rent the air— 'Down with the fence'— a fiat responded to with alacrity by the swelling crowd. Palings were tom off and used to uproot the posts, the result being that within a matter of minutes the greater part of the fence between the enclosure and the grandstand lawn lay strewn on the ground.<sup>34</sup> The stewards' room was surrounded by part of the crowd, which numbered some 300-400, and choruses of hissing, groaning and howling were kept up, with the QTC officials being subjected to 'all the endearing and choice epithets they could muster in their vocabulary of insults'.<sup>35</sup>

The protesters then proceeded to break off into sections, some heading for the saddling paddock where, according to Xanthus', 'a detachment of scoundrels' proceeded to break up the seats and destroy young trees planted in the paddock.<sup>36</sup> They continued on to surround the judge's stand where 'the frame which had been hoisted, carrying the plates indicating the numbers of the winners, was let down, and the plates knocked out with the end of the palings'.<sup>37</sup> In the committee enclosure some of the QTC officials who attempted to confront the 'mob' were 'rather roughly handled', leading one prominent member of

the club to strike out at one of the protesters with his umbrella—receiving in return a shower of palings, one hitting him on the knee, another grazing the back of his head. Several police were injured in the melee, although none seriously.<sup>38</sup>

A third group of rioters had, in the meantime, ventured to appropriate the greater part of the grandstand, a vantage point of the elite. Some of the protesters had decided to remain there 'having established their right-of-way into the grandstand thus [having set] the *authorities at defiance...*'; they decided to enjoy 'the acquisition of their new privileges... [emphasis added]'.<sup>39</sup> This 'impertinence' was denounced in the *Brisbane Courier*, which exclaimed disbelievingly, that 'the grandstand [was] in the hands of the mob'.<sup>40</sup>

The scene within the racecourse grounds—the invasion of the grandstand and saddling paddock, the threatened interruption of the races, the threat to racecourse property—led at this juncture to a determined intervention by the police present on the course. Several mounted police began to push the protesters gathered in the committee enclosure back onto the racetrack, only to facilitate a return by the crowd to the judge's stand, where vociferous hooting and yelling erupted once again.<sup>41</sup> At this point someone in the crowd shouted 'No more racing today, which was to signal a rush for the hurdles.'<sup>42</sup> The crowd thronged the course and began to block the course with a row of stiff hurdles, an action according to one eyewitness, that constituted nothing short of a 'mean, illogical, and cowardly act of revenge', placing in some jeopardy the lives of horses and jockeys in the next scheduled event, the Selling Race.<sup>43</sup>

Sensing the escalation of conflict the police, with reinforcements appearing from other parts of the racecourse, 'mustered strongly and managed eventually to remove the obstacles placed across the track, establishing a degree of 'order' following forty-five minutes of riotous protest.'<sup>44</sup> Even then, the protest over the Sandgate Handicap decision continued, assuming a threatening, if less exuberant, form. Tensions remained high as the Selling Race prepared to commence. The unpopular starter, on his way to the post and despite being given heavy police protection,<sup>45</sup> 'had a narrow escape from being mobbed and roughly handled'.<sup>46</sup> Antagonisms were to remain for the rest of the day judging by the 'very little betting' on the remaining races.<sup>47</sup>

### Responses to the Sandgate Handicap Riot

The riot, in a sense, did not end with the cessation of the QTC's Spring meeting. In the weeks following the Sandgate Handicap, the actions of the starter, Holmes, were subjected to rigorous scrutiny by racing aficionados, becoming the centre of heated debate.<sup>48</sup> The inquest into the causes of the riot elicited a variety of opinions and theories. The *Queenslander* ran an article on 'The QTC Fiasco' that bristled with class invective, laying the onus of blame squarely on the shoulders of the 'mob':

It is not worth while recapitulating and fully commenting on the action taken at the time by the public; suffice it to say that having lost their money they proceeded to vent their displeasure on the property of the club for want of a human being to tear to pieces. Mob law can have no partisans amongst any educated right-minded people, but at the same time the mob it should be remembered are unluckily always devoid of calm reasoning powers, and seeing themselves as they considered as treated unfairly, and being without any legal means of redress, they at once took matters into their own hands; with the result fortunately that little or no harm was done beyond the destruction of a fence and a few palings.<sup>49</sup>

This article, despite its authoritative claim to accuracy, both exaggerated and underestimated the actions of the protesters. At a purely empirical level, far from being 'devoid of calm reasoning powers', the 'mob' had displayed disciplined restraint by behaving in an orderly manner while awaiting the stewards' decision on the outcome of the race.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, the report deprecates the actions of the crowd by suggesting that, despite their thirst for destroying the club's property, they succeeded merely in ruining a fence and a few palings. Again, at an empirical level, it has been revealed that in the course of the riot a number of fences were demolished, not least the one that provided access to the grandstand. This action was one, which was redolent of class antagonism.

Most newspaper reports located the blame elsewhere. The *Brisbane Courier* and the *Evening Observer* editorials discerned in the 'gambling spirit' that had consumed Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s, and the practices to which it inevitably led, the root cause of the riot.<sup>51</sup> The *Brisbane Courier* editorial asked pointedly

can it be said that the quality of the racing on Eagle Farm, with the frequent hints of ‘crooked’ running, the investigation into charges of dishonest manipulation of horses, and finally this fiasco of Saturday is such as to afford anything approaching the legitimate gratification of the healthy sporting instinct? We think not.<sup>52</sup>

The *Evening Observer* concurred, arguing that gambling plain and simple could transform a respectable citizen into a rioter.<sup>53</sup> Most commentators avoided monocausal explanations, advancing instead several factors coinciding on the day as reasons for the riot. Two constants among many variables remained though—that of incompetence and mismanagement on the part of the QTC officials. ‘Pegasus’, perhaps Queensland’s leading turf writer and campaigner for horse racing reform, was unequivocal in his condemnation of QTC officialdom

by a blunder so stupid as to be almost inconceivable, the stewards of the club managed to metamorphose a well-mannered crowd into a sea of angry madmen.

On the start—clearly a non-start given the rules of the dual flag system. The decision was wrong not just according to racing law but also in terms of public expediency . . . The QTC stewards have been for some time before the racing public and their decisions have generally been marked with so little wisdom as not to cause any surprise that they should fail to grasp the proper solution of any difficulty which presented itself.<sup>54</sup>

‘Pegasus’s’ criticisms of the QTC, based on his extensive knowledge of the Queensland turf in the 1880s, were salient. The plethora of censure, much of it from the pen of ‘Pegasus’ himself, levelled at the incompetent manner in which the colony’s premier club conducted its affairs, was startling. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s officials were criticised for their seeming incapacity to handle the finances of the club. ‘Vates’ of the *Week* suggested that the financial mismanagement of the club was evident from its inception in 1863, it being controlled by ‘a few gentlemen at the head of its affairs whose knowledge of business was very limited’.<sup>55</sup> Percy Ricardo, Secretary of the QTC from 1883-5, could report at the 1883 annual meeting, with some relief following years of consecutive losses, that for the first time in years the club was paying its way.<sup>56</sup> Only

in 1887 did the QTC committee concede to the employment of paid auditors.<sup>57</sup>

Financial mismanagement was but one of a multitude of problems emanating, it would appear, from the inability of the committee to manage the club's affairs. Poor attendances at QTC management meetings were a feature of the 1880s, reflecting a certain apathy and ambivalence about the need for a well-managed enterprise.<sup>58</sup> Handicapping procedure and the anomalies arising therefrom was a concern raised persistently throughout the decade also.<sup>59</sup> Of fundamental importance to the Sandgate Handicap riot was the issue that most vexed the critics of the QTC —race starting. The incompetence displayed by the starters at Queensland's major race meetings surpassed all other facets of the club's mismanagement. The problem for 'Pegasus', the most outspoken on this matter,<sup>60</sup> lay in the nepotism engaged in by the QTC members, especially the committee:

The amateur starter, vested by his scarlet coat, with a little brief authority, may be, and doubtless is, the best fellow in the world among his friends, but at the same time, he may be the very worst hand possible at starting a field of horses; and, if such is the case, he inflicts, unwittingly, but none the less surely, a great injustice on the owners whose horses he undertakes to start on even terms.<sup>61</sup>

'Pegasus' was not alone in his criticisms of the QTC committee regarding their reticence and tardiness in addressing the starting problem. The *Queenslander's* sports columnist, writing in March 1886 asserted, somewhat prophetically, that:

At the commencement of our Autumn season, the two important matters of starting and handicapping deserve the utmost attention [but] there can be no doubt that up to the present time both these important matters have been too much neglected by our turf authorities.<sup>62</sup>

The author advanced his solution to the difficulties associated with with race starting

The AJC [Australian Jockey Club] have at last recognised the necessity for securing the services of a paid official, who will probably be employed by all the principle clubs throughout the colony of New South Wales. There can be no doubt that

they acted wisely in so doing, for in starting, as in everything else, 'Practice makes perfect'; and a paid official in constant discharge of his duties should, always providing that he possessed at first the necessary qualifications, be able to arrive at such excellence as was achieved by the late Mr M'George at home and by Mr Watson in Victoria . . . The appointment of an efficient and paid starter is a matter in which the metropolitan club might wisely take the initiative, and by so doing they would earn the gratitude of the other clubs and the whole racing public.<sup>63</sup>

While it was admitted by the critics that not every meeting was marred by poor starting, it is nevertheless discernible that there was a long history of incompetence linked with the Sandgate Handicap before 1887, with 'Gentlemen' starters appointed by the QTC committee.<sup>64</sup> It would be too much to imagine that the roots of the conspicuous mismanagement and incompetence outlined above were a result of ill-fortune. Perhaps the percipient 'Pegasus', provided a clue to a possible answer in his reference to the problems associated with amateurism and nepotism in the QTC.

### **Class, Cultural Mentality and the QTC**

Table One provides a statistical breakdown of the leading members of the QTC based on occupation, and Table Two presents the affiliation of these members with the elite Queensland Club—and the mark of social status in the colony.<sup>65</sup> The QTC committees during this decade reflect accurately the dominant fractions of Queensland capital and the elite based upon these fractions in the social formation. The dominance of pastoral and agricultural capital, followed by the burgeoning legal sector and mercantile and financial capital, represents a microcosm of the composition of Queensland's ruling class.<sup>66</sup>

The Queensland economy in the colonial period was established on the basis of pastoral capital's expansion northward and westward from the 1840s, destroying the indigenous aboriginal mode of subsistence *en route*.<sup>67</sup> Pastoralists or 'squatters' established themselves on huge properties from the mid-century on, dominating not only towns such as Toowoomba, Ipswich and Brisbane in the south-east corner of the colony, but also the political life of the colony following separation from New South Wales in 1859.<sup>68</sup> At first, these towns were virtually wholly dependent on the expansion of pastoralism,<sup>69</sup> existing fundamentally as

service centres for the operation of pastoral capital and as outlets for its produce.<sup>70</sup> However, through the 1870s, fuelled by population growth and the expansion of the capitalist economy, these towns, particularly the colony's capital Brisbane, began to develop indigenous industry and a financial and mercantile sector, ushering in concomitantly an urban class structure.<sup>71</sup>

Squatters, particularly those settled on the Darling Downs, formed a 'tightly-knit, exclusive society',<sup>72</sup> sharing a very similar lifestyle and cultural mentality. If Queensland produced anything resembling Thoren Veblen's leisure class,<sup>73</sup> it was the squatters and planters of southern, western and northern Queensland in the 1880s and 1890s. In their aspiration to become a 'colonial gentry',<sup>74</sup> squatters and planters fostered an opulent mode of living, endeavouring to pursue *when possible* the ideal of a 'gentlemanly' existence—leisured, cultured and refined.

Table One Leading Members of the  
Queensland Turf Club by  
Occupation 1880-90<sup>75</sup>

Occupation	Numbers (T = 44)	Percentage
Pastoral/Agricultural	17	38.6
Legal Related	11	25
Mercantile/Financial	8	18.2
Medical	1	2.3
Other	3	6.8
Unknown	4	9

**Table Two Leading Members of the Queensland Turf Club by Membership of the Elite Queensland Club**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Numbers (T = 44)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Pastoral/Agricultural	17	38.6
Mercantile/Financial	2	4.5
Legal Related	7	15.9
Medical	0	0
Other	1	2.3
Unknown	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>27 (44)</b>	<b>61.4 (100)</b>

Duncan Waterson, an historian of the Darling Downs region, noted that, ‘some Pure Merinos lived in almost feudal splendour.’<sup>76</sup> Similarly, plantation homesteads such as the one constructed for the Neames at Macknade ‘bespoke the gentlemanly ideal’.<sup>77</sup> North Queensland planters furthermore, drew comparisons with their counterparts in the southern states of the United States of America.<sup>78</sup>

The cultural mentality of the squatters and planters aped that of the English gentry—the most striking feature being that of a deeply-held belief in their social superiority. Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, spent some time with the squatters of Queensland during his sojourn in Australia and New Zealand in the early 1870s. His depiction of their attitudes is illuminating:

The sense of ownership and mastery, the conviction that he is the head and chief of what was going on around; the absence of any necessity of asking leave or of submitting to others—these things themselves add a great charm to life.

The squatter owes obedience to none, and allegiance only to the merchant.<sup>79</sup>

This sense of social superiority, ‘the absence of any necessity of asking leave or of submitting to others...’, was accompanied by a political and social conservatism that emphasised a dislike for innovation and change.<sup>80</sup>

### The ‘Gentlemanly’ Ideal

Promotion of the ‘gentlemanly’ ideal amongst the ‘squattocracy’ and ‘plantocracy’ centred on the creation and maintenance of a lifestyle that can perhaps be depicted as a ceaseless struggle to accumulate ‘cultural capital’ through the pursuit of leisure.<sup>81</sup> Sport, in this regard provided one, although very important, avenue for such accumulation—as indicated by a comment made by Queensland’s first governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen, concerning the leisure pursuits of the pastoralist:

These gentlemen live in a patriarchal style among their immense flocks and herds, and amuse themselves with hunting shooting, fishing, and the exercise of a plentiful hospitality. I have often thought (especially in reading Thackeray’s novel ‘The Virginians’) that the Queensland gentlemen-squatters bear a similar relation to the other Australians that the Virginian planters a hundred years back bore to other Americans.<sup>82</sup>

Horse breeding and racing were particularly important means of accruing cultural capital and social status for the Queensland pastoralists due largely to it being an activity associated with the English gentry. Tom Archer, one of the early pastoral ‘settlers’, in fact, considered the establishment of the Moreton Bay Jockey Club as ‘another convincing proof of a rapidly progressing civilisation’.<sup>83</sup>

From the inception of the ‘Sport of Kings’ in Queensland the pastoralists maintained a firm hold on its administration by securing a virtual monopoly of leading positions on the committees of clubs such as the Drayton Racing Club, the North Australian Jockey Club and ultimately the QTC.<sup>84</sup> This remained the case at the time of the Sandgate Handicap riot.

The committee of the QTC as suggested by Tables One and Two, reveals the domination of the ‘squattocracy’ The remainder of the committee represented the other two key sections of the elite, mercantile and financial capital, and the professions. Not only did these groups exhibit a tendency to look to the pastoralist for social leadership but they too were characterised by an inherent conservatism for the most part. Links based on kinship and social networks, such as the exclusive Queensland Club, cohered the various fractions of capital and the professions to the squattocracy. The stance of D T Seymour, Police

Commissioner, and a member of the QTC committee in the 1880s illustrates the point. According to historian Bill Thorpe he:

. . . always identified with the 'superior class of colonists', i.e. the pastoralists, the high ranking state officials, the judiciary and the military caste who commanded colonial society. His regular social network included prominent graziers such as William Henderson of Jimboomba, and De Burgh Persse who used Seymour's house as a sort of club when they visited Brisbane.<sup>85</sup>

The values and attitudes brought to the management of the QTC, particularly by its squatter members, lay at the basis of the incompetence and mismanagement that plagued the club. Management could be hard work, particularly in an undertaking of the magnitude of a turf club. The 'gentlemanly ideal encouraged consuming leisure conspicuously, rather than undertaking onerous duties to provide leisure for others. The conservatism of the QTC reflected those values.

The continual appeals by turf reformers such as 'Pegasus', throughout the late 1870s and early 1880s, on issues such as starting and handicapping, fell on deaf ears for this reason. This resistance to innovation regarding turf practice did not manifest itself in all other spheres. The overly ambitious renovation of the Eagle Farm racecourse facilities in the 1870s, and the offering of stakes that the club could not afford, were cases in point. The parlous financial state of the QTC in the early to mid-1880s was no mystery to 'Pegasus' who suggested that:

. . . there can be no doubt that its misfortunes arose in a great measure from flying too high, and that a few years ago programmes were being issued and expenses incurred suitable indeed for New South Wales and Victoria, but utterly disproportioned to this colony, with the inevitable result of debt and difficulty.<sup>86</sup>

It is again possible to perceive here the appeal of status triumphing over sound management. Conservatism and resistance to change, however, remained the hallmark of the QTC.

The 'gentlemanly' ideal, it is important to note, was bound up with a concept of amateurism that deprecated the 'professional' as 'uncivilised'. The QTC had, however, operated with paid officials from at least the late 1870s, and by 1881 the position of secretary paid £400 per

annum.<sup>87</sup> An assistant handicapper also received a wage for his labours in the early 1880.<sup>88</sup> However, the dominant ethos prevailing in the club, deriving from its squatter dominance, both numerical and cultural, was that of the amateur. Positions of public prominence, such as those of Clerk of the Course, starter and official handicapper, were the prerogative of the ‘gentleman steward’.

The value system of the ‘gentleman amateur’ was coming under increasing pressure as leisure activities were becoming increasingly commoditised in the 1880s. Public entertainment in Brisbane, of all varieties, was available on a greater scale due to the development of capitalist relations of production and the interconnected phenomenon of a burgeoning population.<sup>89</sup> The period saw for the first time in the history of Queensland a substantial number of professional entertainers selling their labour power to leisure entrepreneurs, who purchased it in turn from the proceeds of the labour power of an expanding working class, making for the most part a tidy profit from the transaction. There can be little doubt that the QTC was a part of this process. The turf in Queensland had ‘evolved’ from races conducted essentially by ‘gentlemen’ for ‘gentlemen’—where ‘gentlemen’ jockeys competed against their like, often for a wager, with ‘gentlemen’ adjudicating the result.

### **Commercialisation of the Queensland Turf**

The QTC relied increasingly on a paying public to survive, both in terms of the commission received on gate money,<sup>90</sup> and the not inconsiderable revenue derived from the totalisators.<sup>91</sup> Spectators increased at the QTC races through the 1880s,<sup>92</sup> becoming the ‘bread and butter’ of the club. Attempts to cater for this expanding clientele had been undertaken from the 1860s, making the venue a more attractive one for spectators, particularly the wealthier patrons.<sup>93</sup> The need for ‘modernisation’ of the Queensland turf was not lost on some of the committee, such as the paid secretary R R Dawburn, perhaps significantly a broker by profession. However, at the level of turf practice the ‘gentlemanly’ ideal held sway.

While it would be foolhardy to make categorical assertions regarding the impact of the riot on the QTC’s practices, it is worthwhile mentioning some consequences following in its wake. Somewhat prophetically, the *Queenslander* launched a stinging attack on the problems arising from the ‘gentlemen’ stewards system in January 1887:

The fact that the powers of stewards of race meetings are so great and so varied may perhaps be the reason why these officials so rarely realise the extent of their responsibilities. In most of the race clubs of Queensland, always excepting the Western districts, stewards seem generally to be chosen not for any knowledge of racing law or any lengthened experience of Turf matters, but rather because their names look well at the head of a programme . . . so many race clubs think far more of the social position of the men they choose for stewards than of their real qualifications for such an office.<sup>94</sup>

The campaign for the rationalisation of the steward system gained momentum in the late 1880s and, given the view held by turf reformers of the riot as the apotheosis of the dangers associated with complacent turf practice, it is likely that the riot provided them with the sort of ‘ammunition’ needed to bolster their arguments.

Starting procedure was, of course, placed under the microscope in the period following the riot. Renewed appeals for a professional starter attached to the QTC were made, following Mr Holmes’s resignation from the position.<sup>95</sup> This campaign was a resounding success for as Rattles’ (the successor of ‘Pegasus’) related:

It is satisfactory to find that the committee of the Queensland Turf Club have at least determined to try to prevent any further repetitions of the disgraceful proceedings which have so frequently occurred at Eagle Farm in connection with the starting. The appointment of a paid starter has, I understand, been under consideration for some time past, and numerous applications have been received from persons desirous of filling what is apparently generally considered a most enviable position with the prospect of a rosy salary.<sup>96</sup>

Mr George M Kirk, one time secretary of the Balonne Jockey Club, was the successful candidate receiving a salary of £200 from the QTC, £150 from the Brisbane Tattersall’s Club, with the promise of further remuneration from clubs of lesser’ importance. Rattles’ further reports that the QTC authorities were also considering appointing a paid handicapper.<sup>97</sup>

At the annual meeting of the club following the Sandgate Handicap riot in late May 1888, the arch-conservative President of the QTC, Mr Justice Mein was ousted.<sup>98</sup> In his place John Stevenson MLA was elected

as President, perhaps helping to pave the way for the ‘modernisation’ of the QTC.<sup>99</sup>

### **Class Conflict and the Sandgate Handicap Riot**

Earlier, it was suggested that the Sandgate Handicap riot had significance extending beyond matters intimately bound up with the turf. The detailed report of the riot in the Queensland press allows the historian a rare opportunity to perform, as Clifford Geertz describes it, a ‘thick description’,<sup>100</sup> of the events in the context of working-class resistance.

Class conflict, both overt and covert, was a persistent feature of the Queensland social formation from the 1840s onwards. Bill Thorpe writing of such conflict prior to the 1880s suggests that, while often amounting to individual acts of desperation involving absconding, refusal to work, contesting labour contracts and incendiarism, such ‘disputes can be typified as class conflicts because they turned on the most basic structural features of an emergent colonial capitalism: ownership and non-ownership of production, property and lack of property’.<sup>101</sup> Labour and capital continued to clash sporadically through the 1860s and 1870s, peaking in 1876, when workers on the construction of the Brisbane Dry Dock struck for an eight hour day on 1 March.<sup>102</sup> In the 1870-90 period the most common disagreements between employer and employee involved agitations for an eight hour day,<sup>103</sup> and early closing of shops and workshops—reflecting the absence of an industrial base to the colony’s economy.<sup>104</sup> However, through the 1880s with the formation of a Trades and Labour Council and culminating in the Brisbane Bootmakers’ Strike of 1889-90, and the Maritime Strike of 1890, class divisions were becoming sharper.<sup>105</sup>

If the strike as a weapon of class resistance was far from ubiquitous in colonial Queensland, the same cannot be said for the riot.<sup>106</sup> Although offensive to the Australian meta-narrative of ‘progress’ and ‘consensus’, not in the least due to ‘mob’ irrationality perceived to motivate riots, some historians have attempted to grapple with this phenomenon.<sup>107</sup> The riot, rather than an irrational ‘mob’ reaction, can be regarded as a rational attempt to redress a grievance. ‘Riotousness’, as a mode of popular resistance, has a long history in Anglo-Celtic societies.<sup>108</sup> E P Thompson has cautioned correctly against drawing too strict a line between the ‘pre-industrial’ and the ‘industrial’ when examining forms of social protest.<sup>109</sup> However, it remains that the dialectical development

of class structure and culture delineates, in a broad sense, the contours of forms of resistance.

Colonial Queensland was dominated by pastoral, mineral and mercantile capital with ‘manufacture’ predominant over ‘machinofacture’.<sup>110</sup> Small workshops and sweat-shops typified Brisbane’s industrial structure, rather than the large factory.<sup>111</sup> The majority of the working class in the period were unorganised; not belonging to a trade union. The discipline and the bureaucracy of the union movement, and its capacity to channel—and stifle—collective industrial strength were absent for the majority of Brisbane’s workers in the 1880s.<sup>112</sup> It can be suggested, with some trepidation admittedly, that class consciousness in the pre-1890s was more evident in the leisure sphere than in the workplace. The arena of the street, the public house *and* the sporting spectacle providing a major avenue for dissent.

Many of the major sporting contests in colonial Queensland can be viewed as ‘spectacles’<sup>113</sup> in that they constituted public dynamic forms involving spectators and participants, giving ‘primacy to the visual sensory and symbolic codes; they are things to be seen’.<sup>114</sup> Certainly, in Brisbane at least, the racecourse represented one of the major sites of spectacle, the annual show at the Exhibition Grounds, the Eight Hour Day procession, and the melodramatic productions at the Gaiety Theatre, being its only serious competitors.

### **The Racecourse as Carnival**

Jack Pollard alluded to the *carnavalesque* nature of the Queensland racecourse when he wrote that ‘there was all the fun of the fair for the QTC’s first meeting in 1865, with sideshows, three-card men, an Aunt Sally and a menagerie containing monkeys, a Tasmanian Devil and a lion. Nine publicans built booths on the course to slake punters’ thirst’.<sup>115</sup> Illicit gambling was a feature of the QTC races with characters such as ‘three card trick’ and ‘thimble-and-pea’ exponent ‘Nigger’ Telford plying his trade.<sup>116</sup> The racing, important as it was to the spectators, formed but a part of the carnivalesque proceedings, many bordering on the verge of illegality, others crossing that line. Side-shows, the free flow of alcohol, the patter of the spiellers, sweat tables, exotic exhibits, pick-pockets, brawling, all contributed to the racecourse as a ‘riotous’ popular cultural spectacle, an arena of license:<sup>117</sup>

Brisbane race meetings are becoming most disreputable gatherings. Last Saturday it seemed as if all the thieves and sharpers in the colony had gathered together at Eagle Farm. They carried on all sorts of swindling games, and although the police made a pretence of stopping them, they must have had a very profitable harvest. Fights were going on all over the place and one well-known pugilist, who was in an intoxicated state, ran amuck in the crowd, dealing blows right and left. This individual should have been locked up; but possibly it is looked upon as one of the rights of a professional pugilist to do as he likes on a racecourse.<sup>118</sup>

The smaller racecourses in Brisbane mainly frequented by the working class, went perhaps even further in catering to the carnivalesque. The Breakfast Creek Racecourse, for example, offered as attractions amateur and professional footraces, cycling, duck hunts, side-shows and donkey races. In fact, it resembled a modern-day leisure centre with sand race track, a cycle track, a switchback railway, an oval for tennis, cricket and football, a lake for swimming races, model-yacht racing and tub races—as well as the *spielers*, pick-pockets and other such ‘undesirables’.<sup>119</sup>

The racecourse, or at least the areas frequented by plebeian elements, represented a place of imminent danger to refined middle-class sensibilities:

Was you ever on a racecourse? If not, and you are a person of fine sensibility, take my advice and don't go. The racecourse is a place where everybody wears a hungry, eager, anxious look; where everybody wants to take the money out of his neighbour's pocket; where laughter is either hollow and sickly or delirious and unnatural; where everybody longs for something and few got anything; where horses run, like the tin gee-gees in a toy tournament, at the bidding of their owners. It is a place where a few men make a years salary in a few hours and a few thousands lose a month's salary in a few minutes; the atmosphere is vulgar, the talk sordid and the whole area under a curse.<sup>120</sup>

The multivocality of the racecourse and its transience as an object for a middle-class ‘reforming’ gaze, accounts for their hostility to what amounted to a working-class festival—something much more than ‘just the races’.

Racecourse 'riotousness', however, could turn into riot, and carnival into retribution. It would appear that while cricket and football stadia provided a sporting venue for working-class rioting in the southern colonies;<sup>121</sup> the racecourse was the locale in colonial Queensland. The correspondent for the *Moreton Bay Courier*, reporting on the 1851 annual races commented with relief 'the race-course was cleared at an early hour, and it was pleasing to remark that the amusements of the day were not only free from any injurious accidents, but free also from any incidents of riot or dissipation'.<sup>122</sup> The report referred to the scenes at the Moreton Bay Jockey Club's annual meeting in 1848 at which:

... for more disgraceful conduct on the part of a very large number of individuals on the course towards some of the principal supporters of the turf has been seldom witnessed. The Stewards were assailed with the most opprobrious epithets by a set of blackguards who ought to have been removed from the course; and who, estimating everyone else by their own standard, failed not to impute the most disgraceful and sordid motives to Mr Colin Mackenzie, merely because he had the misfortune to lose a race which he was deeply interested in winning as any of the pack who declaimed against him.<sup>123</sup>

The potential for trouble was evident at the 1849 meeting, which was imbued with particular class connotations:

This day's races went off well, and no casualty occurred to mar the sports. There was, indeed, some manifestation of dissatisfaction upon the disqualification of Forester, in the second race; and it is because some expressions were used to the effect that the decision was given in consequence of the horse having been backed by working men, that the circumstance is thus prominently noticed.<sup>124</sup>

Riots, however, were not confined to the premier racecourses of Brisbane—the Mackay racecourse providing the stage for a riot involving Melanesians and local white workers in 1883.<sup>125</sup> The New Years races of the Morven Racing Club in 1892 were also the scene of rioting.<sup>126</sup> The Sandgate Handicap riot then was not without precedent in the sporting and non-sporting spheres, and the factors outlined so far in the discussion would all have contributed to its occurrence.

One of the contentions of this article is that the Sandgate Handicap riot can best be understood by employing a class conflict analysis. So far I have contextualised the riot in its setting—the class structure of colonial Queensland. The conclusions drawn have been tentative and suggestive. In order to put flesh on this skeleton it is necessary to turn our attention to certain features of the riot.

### **Social Geography of the Eagle Farm Racecourse**

The Eagle Farm Racecourse was a highly classed space; it had a classed geography. Strictly defined class zones, both physical and cultural, operated. The areas around the totalisator in the outer were less well defined, constituting a region where lower middle, middle, and working-class spectators would have mingled in physical space, if not social and cultural. The grandstand, accommodating up to 900 people and incorporating the Member's Stand (with a separate entrance), was the preserve of the elite. The lawn and enclosure were accessible from these stands and it provided a forum, particularly for elite women.<sup>127</sup> The grandstand was also used on occasion for state display as the *Queenslander* described:

His Excellency Sir Arthur Kennedy and Miss Kennedy, accompanied by Colonel Scratchley and Captain O'Callaghan, ADC, arrived punctually at 1 o'clock, and were escorted by a guard of honor of mounted constables under Inspector Lewis and Sub-Inspector Stewart, who formed in front of the stand. His Excellency on alighting was received by the president and several members of the committee of the Queensland Turf Club, and as the strains of the National Anthem rose in welcome of the Vice-Regal party, they were conducted up the stairs of the stand into the box set apart for their use.<sup>128</sup>

The saddling paddock cost, on top of the entrance fee to the course, a further *7s 6d* for 'gentlemen' and *5s* for ladies'. The old grandstand, where a 'capital view of the course' could be gained cost *2s* on top of the entrance fee.<sup>129</sup> These areas, separated from the outer, where the working-class spectators viewed the races, were occupied by the middle, lower-middle and better-off sections of the working class.

This was the physically classed geography of the Eagle Farm racecourse at the time of the Sandgate Handicap riot on 12 November

1887. Now, referring back to the detailed account of the riot provided earlier it becomes apparent that a number of areas in the terrain of the racecourse were singled' out by the protesters. Targets such as the stewards' room and the judge's stand were singled out for opprobrium, both of which had an immediate connection to the catalyst for the riot. However, other targets were also singled out.

### **Class Symbolic Protest**

It will be recalled that having tom down the fence to the committee enclosure the crowd in the process demolished 'the greater part of the fence between the enclosure and the grand stand lawn'. This action was followed by one section of the crowd entering the grandstand and 'having established their right-of-way into the grand stand thus [setting] the authorities at defiance', they decided to enjoy 'the acquisition of their new privileges'. At one stage of the riot every bastion of privilege—the grandstand, the lawn, the saddling paddock, the committee enclosure and the judge's stand had been occupied. Class relations had been inverted in the space of three-quarters-of-an-hour. The crowd even after the riot had ebbed, maintained their 'capture' of elite space by once more occupying the grandstand.

This was not the first time, however, that the privileges of the elite had been invaded. The *Brisbane Courier* reporting on a QTC meeting in 1885 stated 'the police were hardly numerous enough to prevent the incursion of the objectionable persons into the more sacred precincts of the lawn, and with this exception arrangements seemed fairly satisfactory'.<sup>130</sup> The state on this occasion, as in the Sandgate Handicap riot, was required to provide the last line of defence for not only the physical property of the elite, but its cultural property also. The riot then, rather than being an act of 'mob' irrationality followed a logic of class antipathy. The totalisator booth was not smashed and the proceeds were not taken, the drink booths were left untouched and few people were physically injured. Neither could it be pinned on that late nineteenth-century folk devil, the young larrikin, or as an act of exuberance fuelled by excessive alcohol consumption. What took place on the Eagle Farm racecourse may be better understood as a class conscious act, following certain popular conventions, rich in the symbolism of popular protest. Such was the case, it can be argued, with the lowering of the frame that carried the plates indicating the numbers of the winners and the removal

of these plates with the end of the palings. A symbolic reversal of the stewards' decision had possibly taken place—act of plebeian justice.

Perhaps the most resonant act of symbolic protest, occurring at regular intervals through the course of the riot, was the 'hooting', 'boo-hoing' and 'groaning' that prefaced more direct action on the part of the crowd.<sup>131</sup> Such verbal assaults may be described aptly as a 'demotics of protest'. The roots of these demotics, according to Peter Bailey, may well lie in a spontaneous oral plebeian culture. He contended for the late nineteenth century that 'we are dealing with a still vigorously oral culture whose psychodynamics remain close to those of primary oral societies, particularly in its antagonistic tone'.<sup>132</sup> Hooting and groaning constituted historically public and collective expressions of popular Anglo-Celtic dissent.<sup>133</sup> Hooting in particular constituted a prominent facet of working-class political protest in the late nineteenth century colonial Queensland. On the occasion of a tour of northern Queensland in 1892 Sir Samuel Walker Griffith, the Premier, experienced a manifestation of such protest:

An unpleasant incident occurred at Longreach. Races were held; the Premier visited the racecourse; but met with a very hostile reception. There is a class of men who often congregate on racecourses whose tastes and pursuits are not of the most refined order. They can scarcely be treated as bone-fide working men. But they seem to have some influence over working men. They doubtless led the rowdiness on the Longreach racecourse. The telegrams that came to Brisbane said that the Premier's vehicle was 'rushed by a mob; who hooted and yelled like maniacs'?

Other incidents occurred 'on his way down the coast the Premier has been hooted at Cooktown and Townsville by a few individuals at each place whose class rancour overcame their sense of decency? Hooting and groaning represented the language of class' in perhaps its most threatening form, as one perceptive, although outraged, middle class commentator, sensed. The author, in an article entitled, 'Art and Ethics of Groaning', addressed this phenomenon—which he believed had reached epidemic proportions in Queensland, wrote:

Groaning in public as a manifestation of sentiment is an easily acquired art. A man only requires to be vicious and intolerant, and to be under the stimulus of anger or

resentment, to become spontaneously an expert in this art [which in public] is disgusting . . . It is the insolent and impatient protest of weak minds . . . It is a degradation of human nature.”

The rioters employed this vocabulary at every crucial moment in the riot; it acted as a discourse of threat and intimidation. These demotics of protest were part of a plebeian ritual that went unheeded by the QTC officials—a result perhaps of the great class cultural gulf that was emerging in late-colonial Queensland—of which the Sandgate Handicap riot was but one manifestation.

### Conclusions

In the two weeks following its occurrence nine protesters were brought before City Police Court bench on November 25 to face charges relating to the riot.<sup>137</sup> However, rather than the wrath of the state crashing down on them all nine received exceptionally light sentences. James Hams, Frank Williams, Robert James Norman, Henry Williams, James Bird, James Little, James Nicholas, Robert Marks and Walter Blainey were ordered to pay the sum of £1 or in default six hours' imprisonment.<sup>138</sup> When it is learned that two weeks earlier one John Thompson was sentenced by the same bench to pay £2 or in default forty-eight hours imprisonment for disorderly conduct; and that Percy Russell was ordered to pay £2 or seven days imprisonment for using obscene language—the sentence seems remarkably lenient.

Phillip Pinnock, the Police Magistrate, after handing down the sentences, made a statement that almost congratulated the rioters, waxing lyrically that ‘everybody had cause to congratulate themselves that the affair did not turn out more serious—did not become a riot, and this he partly attributed to the fact that the majority of those present were not a disreputable set of people’.<sup>139</sup> During the course of their trials the defendants' actions were hardly even discussed as one magistrate, Mr W Stephens, determined to use the opportunity to castigate the QTC's approval of the totalisator, and gambling in general. Further, in the course of two weeks, Pinnock had apparently reconsidered his initial impression of the riot as ‘very violent disturbance’ to the opinion expressed above. The proceedings were becoming almost as much of a fiasco as the start of the Sandgate Handicap.<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately we can only speculate on the reasons for this state of affairs. Perhaps the power

wielded by those members of the elite involved with the QTC was brought to bear, bringing to a quick end the associations of the club and such a ‘sordid’ affair. At a deeper level, perhaps the ‘cult of disremembering’ came quickly to the rescue of ‘consensus’. We may never know for sure. However, it is perhaps possible that the Sandgate Handicap riot and the debate on totalisator gambling that it produced, in some small measure, another unintended consequence—the introduction of the Totalisator Restriction Act of 1889—which allotted, somewhat ironically, sole rights to operate the totalisator in Queensland to the QTC.<sup>141</sup> This account of the Sandgate Handicap riot will leave the final words to that indefatigable turf writer, ‘Pegasus’, who captured the classed nature of the Queensland turf in imagery that would have impressed a sporting Karl Marx, perhaps

The turf in many of its aspects bears a great resemblance to a summer sea. Though at one time presenting a fair and smiling surface there are unfathomed depths below, and it needs but a sudden squall to raise the waves mountains high and then a scene of tempestuous riot succeeds the still but deceitful calm. So it was at the meeting of the Queensland Turf Club last week.<sup>142</sup>

## NOTES:

- 1 This paper was initially presented at the Australian Society for Sports History, Sporting Traditions X Conference, at Brisbane, 26-30 June 1995. A number of people kindly read drafts of this paper and made helpful comments and criticisms. I would like to thank in particular, John McGuire, John O’Hara, Raymond Evans, Clive Moore and Spencer Routh.
- 2 C Geertz, “‘Thick Description’: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture.,” in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, Basic Books, New York, 1973, p. 20.
- 3 The Queensland Turf Club was founded at a meeting held in McAdam’s Hotel, Brisbane, on 3 Aug. 1863. There were fifty-four original members or ‘gentlemen. A committee of eleven was also elected. H Freedman and A Lemon, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing*, vol. 2, *The Golden Years—from 1862 to 1939*, Southbank Communications Group, Melbourne, 1990, ch. 16. The government granted the club 322 acres at Eagle Farm, some ten kilometres north-east of the present Brisbane Central Business District. The first meeting was run on this course on 14 Aug. 1865. J L Collins and G H Thompson, *‘Harking Back’ The Turf: its Men and Memories*, Standard Press, Brisbane, 1924, p. 30. The QTC succeeded the Moreton Bay Racing Club which had organised race meetings from 1843.
- 4 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.
- 5 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.
- 6 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.
- 7 N Gould, *On and Off the Turf in Australia*, George Routledge and Sons, London, 1895, p. 154.

- 8 Gould, *On and Off the Turf*, p. 154.
- 9 Nat Gould's account of the riot amounts to only three paragraphs of his book; a fleeting negative moment in an otherwise celebratory tale of the Australian turf and its heroes, both equestrian and human. The Eagle Farm Racecourse riot received another mention in 1924 but, unfortunately, the authors failed to match riot with race. The authors contended that the riot was sparked by the judge declaring Honest Ned the winner over Ralston in a dead heat. Ralston, however, did not run in the Sandgate Handicap of 1887. The entries were: Honest Ned, Fishwife, Touchstone, Pirate, My Love, Theorist, Freedom, Lord Headington, My Lady, Ascot, Blue Blood, Lady Godiva. See *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887; *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887; *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Nov. 1887. More recently, sports historians Max and Reet Howell devoted one paragraph to the riot in their history of sport in colonial Queensland. See respectively, Gould, *On and Off the Turf*, pp. 154-5; Collins and Thompson, *'Harking Back'*, p. 144; R A Howell and M L Howell, *The Genesis of Sport in Queensland: from the Dreamtime to Federation*, UQP, St Lucia, 1992, pp. 108-09.
- 10 Geertz, 'Thick Description', p. 20.
- 11 P Donnelly, 'Sport as a Site for "Popular" Resistance', in R B Gruneau, ed, *Popular Cultures and Political Practices*, Garmond Press, Toronto, 1988, pp. 69-82.
- 12 Sports historians who have attempted to grapple with the significance of spectator violence in the history of Australian sport including R Cashman, 'Some Reflections on Crowd Behaviour', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1986, pp. 1-4; M Sharpe, "'A Degenerate Race": Cricket and Rugby Crowds in Sydney 1890-1912', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 4, no. 2, May 1988, pp. 134-9; C Cuneen, 'An Historical Analysis of Police/Spectator Conflict at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1987, pp. 217-38; 3 O'Hara, ed, *Crowd Violence at Australian Sport*, ASSH, Campbelltown, 1992; I Warren, 'Violence in Sport—the Australian Context', *Criminology Australia*, vol. 6, no. 1, Aug. 1994, pp. 20-5; R Lynch, 'Disorder on the Sidelines of Australian Sport', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1991, pp. 51-75. For an excellent appraisal of the developments in the sociology of Australian sport up to 1986 see G Lawrence and D Rowe, 'Introduction: Towards a Sociology of Sport in Australia', in Lawrence and Rowe, eds, *Power Play: the Commercialisation of Australian Sport*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1986, pp. 13-45.
- 13 R Evans, "'Blood Dries Quickly": Conflict Study and Australian Historiography', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 41, Special Issue, 1995, p. 83.
- 14 Evans 'Blood Dries Quickly', p. 84. Raymond Evans, in this survey of conflict studies, offers some very important insights into this phenomenon. See also S Macintyre, 'The Writing of Australian History', in D H Borchardt and V Crittenden, eds, *Australians: a Guide to Sources*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, NSW, 1987, pp. 1-29.
- 15 As with sports history there have been some seminal contributions pioneering a 'conflict agenda' in other realms of Australian history. See for example C M H Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 1, MUP, Melbourne, 1962; I Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics: the Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia 1900-1921*, ANU, Canberra, 1965; R Gollan, *Radical and Working Class Politics: a Study of Eastern Australia 1850-1900*, MUP, Melbourne, 1960; A Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: the Colonization of Women in Australia*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976; A Markus, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1979; R W Connell and T H Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and History*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1984; Sydney Labour History Group, *What Rough Beast: the State and Social Order in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1982; V Burgmann and J Lee, eds, *A People's History of Australia*, 4 vols, McPhee

- Gribble, Sydney, 1990.
- 16 Representative examples are W Coote, 'History of Queensland', *Week*, Apr.-Sept. 1876; W H Trail, 'An Historical Sketch of Queensland', in A Garran, ed., *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Picturesque Atlas Publishing Co., Sydney, 1886-8; H S Russell, *The Genesis of Queensland*, Turner and Henderson, Sydney, 1888; 3 3 Knight, *Brisbane: an Historical Sketch of the Capital of Queensland . . .*, Biggs and Morcan, Brisbane, 1897; *In the Early Days: History and Incident of Pioneer Queensland . . .* (1895), Sapsford and Co., Brisbane, 1898; G Sutherland, *Pioneering Days: Thrilling Incidents . . .*, W H Wendt, Brisbane, 1913; W H Corfield, *Reminiscences of Queensland, 1862-1899*, Frater, Brisbane, 1921; W W Craig, *Moreton Bay Settlement or Queensland before Separation . . .*, Watson, Ferguson and Co., Brisbane, 1925; R Cilento with C Lack, *Triumph in the Tropics: an Historical Sketch of Queensland*, Smith and Patterson, Brisbane, 1989; E J T Barton, *Jubilee History of Queensland: a Record of Political, Industrial, and Social Development*, H J Diddams, Brisbane, 1959; J G Steele, *The Explorers of the Moreton Bay District 1770-1830*, UQP, St Lucia, 1983.
  - 17 Brisbane History Group, *Brisbane: People, Places and Progress*, Brisbane History Group Papers, no. 14, 1995. Important contributions to conflict history in Queensland are K Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: the Origins and Bases of Untree Labour in Queensland 1824-1916*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1982; R Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty: Social Conflict on the Queensland Homefront, 1914-18*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1987; *The Red Flag Riots: a Study of Intolerance*, UQP, St Lucia, 1988; J A Walker, *Jondaryan Station: the Relationship between Pastoral Capital and Pastoral Labour 1840-1890*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1988; S Svenson, *The Shearers' War: the Story of the 1891 Shearers' Strike*, UQP, St Lucia, 1989. The best general coverage of Queensland social history is Ross Fitzgerald's two volume *History of Queensland*, UQP, St Lucia, 1982, 1984 and , W L Thorpe, 'A Social History of Colonial Queensland Towards a Marxist Analysis', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1985.
  - 18 M Phillips, 'Ethnicity and Class at the Brisbane Golf Club,, *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 4, no. 2, May 1988, pp. 210-13.
  - 19 For example, *The Queensland Cricketer and Footballer*, J R D Mahoney, *Wide Bay and Burnett Cricket 1864-1908*, Alston, Maryborough, 1908; H C Perry and W B Carmichael, *Athletic Queensland*, H J Diddams, Brisbane, 1900; *Courier-Mail Special Centenary Issue*, 15 June, 1959; C G Austin, 'One Hundred Years of Sport and Recreation in Queensland', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 6, no. I, Sept. 1959, pp. 268-93.
  - 20 M Howell, R Howell, D W Brown, *The Sporting Image: a Pictorial History of Queenslanders at Play*, UQP, St Lucia, 1989; Howell and Howell, *The Genesis*. This phenomenon is not peculiar to Queensland. The dominant paradigm in the writing of sports history in Australia has exhibited a tendency to highlight its putative egalitarian qualities. Some examples are J W C Cumes, *Their Chastity was not too Rigid: Leisure Times in Early Australia*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1979; J A Daly, *Elysian Fields: Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*, John A Daly, Adelaide, 1982.
  - 21 This account of the race, and the riot that erupted in its aftermath has been reconstructed from: *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887; *Evening Observer*, 14 and 21 Nov. 1887; Gould, *On and Off the Turf*, pp. 154-5; *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887; *Week*, 19 Nov. 1887.
  - 22 Gould, *On and Off the Turf*, p. 156
  - 23 The system of the 'double flag' start had been adopted only recently by the QTC. The system was devised in England by Lord George Bentinck. The turf columnist for the *Queenslander* had waged something of a campaign throughout late 1885

and 1886 believing it an improvement on the single flag, chalk line start then in operation. The 'double flag' system involves two starters. The principal starter holds a red flag aloft at the post to which the horses and jockeys approach from a chalk line marked at a distance of some thirty metres. The jockeys keep their eyes fixed on the second starter placed some twenty to thirty metres beyond the post holding a white flag. When the principal starter considers that the horses are even at the starting post he lowers the red flag fully, the cue for the second starter to do likewise thus beginning the race. *Queenslander*, 3 Oct. 1885, 6 Mar. and 23 Oct. 1886.

24 *Evening Observer*, 21 Nov. 1887.

25 *Evening Observer*, 21 Nov. 1887.

26 *Week*, 19 Nov. 1887.

27 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.

28 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.

29 *Evening Observer*, 18 Nov. 1887. The rule at Eagle Farm was that the judge on the finish of a race puts the number of the placed horses in a frame outside his stand, thus informing the spectators of the result.

30 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

31 A reference to the revenue derived through the receipt of a commission from the proprietors of the totalisator machines. The totalisator or 'tote' had operated at Eagle Farm from 1880. For an explanation of the principles it was based on see Gould, *On and Off the Turf*, pp. 52-64.

32 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887. The dividends inside the enclosure paid £6, and outside £17, *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887. The totalisator may well have represented a symbol of elite gambling due to it operating on the principle of minimum bets. Bookmakers, on the other hand, imposed no such restriction making them popular with working-class punters. Personal correspondence with John O'Hara.

33 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.

34 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.

35 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.

36 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.

37 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

38 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

39 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.

40 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Nov. 1887.

41 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

42 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

43 'Xanthus' in *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.

44 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

45 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.

46 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

47 *Evening Observer*, 14 Nov. 1887.

48 See *Brisbane Courier*, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 23, 3 Nov. 1887, *Evening Observer*, 21, 22, 24 Nov. 1887.

49 *Queenslander*, 19 Nov. 1887.

50 *Evening Standard*, 14 Nov. 1887.

51 The *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, a Brisbane Nonconformist newspaper, mounted trenchant opposition to this development in the 1870s. For an excellent analysis of the debate concerning gambling in this period see 3 O'Hara, *A Mug's Game: a History of Gaming and Betting in Australia*, NSWUP, Sydney, 1988, pp.88-129.

52 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 Nov. 1887. A Brisbane Courier editorial of 28 Nov. 1887 dealt

- extensively with the question of public morality and totalisator betting.
- 53 *Evening Observer*, 29 Nov. 1887.
  - 54 'Pegasus' also identified the lack of 'moral restriction' exercised by the QTC through their sanction of the totalisator as a factor contributing to the riot. *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887.
  - 55 *Week*, 20 Oct. 1887.
  - 56 *Queenslander*, 26 Jan. 1884.
  - 57 *Queenslander*, 28 May 1887.
  - 58 Important meetings often failed to attract a quorum. *Week*, 17 Jan. 1880; *Queenslander*, 14 Jan. 1882, 21 Jan. 1884, 10 Oct. 1885. Attendances at management meetings improved from 1886 onwards, *Queenslander*, 5 June 1886; 9 June 1888.
  - 59 For example, *Queenslander*, 2 June 1883; 18 Feb. 1888. The QTC were, however, not opposed to the employment of a professional handicapper, at least after 1883. *Queenslander*, 21 Apr. 1883. One commentator accused the QTC handicapper of not being able to differentiate between a horse and a donkey, *Queenslander*, 9 Mar. 1878.
  - 60 *Queenslander*, 11 Aug. 1883.
  - 61 *Queenslander*, 3 May 1884.
  - 62 *Queenslander*, 6 Mar. 1886.
  - 63 *Queenslander*, 6 Mar. 1886.
  - 64 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 3 June 1848; *Queenslander*, 23 Mar. 1878; 14 June 1884; 13 Nov. 1886.
  - 65 J P Bell, *Queensland Club 1859-1959*, The Queensland Club, Brisbane, 1966.
  - 66 For excellent Marxian analyses of colonial Queensland see, W L Thorpe, 'A Social History'; 'Class and Politics in Recent Queensland Historiography: a Marxist Critique', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1987, pp. 18-29.
  - 67 Thorpe, 'A Social History', pp. 1-44.
  - 68 R Johnston, *The Call of the Land: a History of Queensland to the Present Day*, UQP, St Lucia, 1982, pp. 95-110.
  - 69 Agricultural capital was concentrated first in cotton production. This, however, proved a failure. Large scale investment in sugar plantations, mainly in north Queensland proceeded apace from the early 1880s. The lifestyle and mores of the plantation owner resembled closely those of the squatter. See C Moore, *Kanaka: a History of Melanesian Mackay*, JCU Press, Townsville, 1985.
  - 70 Thorpe, 'A Social History', p. xxii.
  - 71 Thorpe, 'A Social History', pp. 94-216.
  - 72 D B Waterson, *Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper: a History of the Darling Downs 1859-93*, SUP, Sydney, 1968, p. 9.
  - 73 T Veblen, *The Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions*, Unwin Books, London, 1970.
  - 74 G C Bolton, 'The Idea of a Colonial Gentry', *Historical Studies*, vol. 13, no. 51, Oct. 1968, pp. 307-28.
  - 75 Tables One and Two were compiled from the following sources: *Brisbane Post Office Directory and Country Guide for 1883-7*, Watson, Ferguson and Co., Brisbane, 1883-7; *Pugh's Almanac and Queensland Directory*, 1880-90; *Queensland Post Office Directory*, 1888-90; *Queenslander*; D B Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament 1860-1929*, ANU, Canberra, 1972; *Week*; E Young, compiler, *Queensland Club Roll of Members 1860 to 1960*, Queensland Club, Brisbane, 1961.
  - 76 Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 19. The 'Pure Merinos' were the first 'settling' squatters on the Darling Downs.
  - 77 G C Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away: a History of North Queensland to 1920*, ANU,

- Canberra, 1972, p. 88.
- 78 Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away*, p. 89.
- 79 A Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, vol. I, London, 1873, p. 99.
- 80 See O de Satgé, *Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter*, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1901.
- 81 The term derives from Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Mass., 1984, translated by Richard Nice.
- 82 Bowen to Lytton, 6 Mar. 1860, cited in G C Bolton, 'The Idea', p. 322.
- 83 T Archer, *Recollections of a Rambling Life*, Boolarong, Brisbane, 1988, p. 106.
- 84 H Freedman and A Lemon, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing, vol. 1, The Beginnings—to the first Melbourne Cup*, ch. 11, Southbank Communications Group, Melbourne, 1987.
- 85 Thorpe, 'A Social History', p. 255.
- 86 *Queenslander*, 2 Dec. 1882.
- 87 *Queenslander*, 9 Apr. 1881.
- 88 *Queenslander*, 24 Feb. 1883.
- 89 R Lawson, 'Immigration into Queensland 1870-1890', BA thesis, Uni. of Queensland, 1963.
- 90 The 'gates' to the racecourse were franchised out to proprietors who paid the club a commission.
- 91 In the early 1880s the one totalisator operating on the Eagle Farm racecourse was proving incapable of meeting demand. *Queenslander*, 27 May 1882; 17 Nov. 1883. Receipts from the totalisator for the 1882-3 season rose from £366 to £598, an invaluable rise in revenue for an indebted club. *Queenslander*, 24 Feb. 1883.
- 92 *Queenslander*, 27 May and 11 Nov. 1882, 17 Nov. 1883.
- 93 For example, the new grandstand opened in 1878. *Queenslander*, 12 Jan. 1878.
- 94 *Queenslander*, 29 Jan. 1887. The stewards had been a constant target of turf reformers since the days of the Moreton Bay Jockey Club. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 3 June 1848; 9 June 1849; *Queenslander*, 1 Jan. and 29 May 1880.
- 95 *Queenslander*, 18 Feb. 1888.
- 96 *Queenslander*, 6 July 1889.
- 97 *Queenslander*, 6 July 1889.
- 98 *Queenslander*, 2 June 1888. For biographical details on Mein see *Pugh's Almanac* (Queensland) 1885, p. 394, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 5, pp. 235-6.
- 99 For biographical details of Stevenson see *Pugh's Almanac*, p. 398.
- 100 Geertz, 'Thick Description'.
- 101 Thorpe, 'A Social History', p. 204.
- 102 *Brisbane Courier*, 2 March, 1876. The history of industrial relations in Queensland's urban centres for the pre-1880 period remains to be written.
- 103 See P Leggatt, 'Class and the Eight Hours Movement in Queensland 1855-1885', BA Hons thesis, Uni. of Queensland, 1985.
- 104 Thorpe, 'A Social History', pp. 130-1.
- 105 J Sullivan and R A Sullivan, 'The London Dock Strike, the Jondaryan Strike and the Brisbane Bootmakers' Strike, 1889-1890'. in D J Murphy, ed., *The Big Strikes: Queensland 1889-1965*, UQP, St Lucia, 1983, pp. 47-64; R J Sullivan, 'The Maritime Strike, 1890', in Murphy, *The Big Strikes*, pp. 65-79.
- 106 Anti-Chinese riots took place at Brisbane (1888); Cairns (1876, 1901); Clermont (1888); Cloncurry (1887, 1888); Etheridge (1869); Gilbert Range (1869); Gympie (1868); Ipswich (1851); Normanfield (1869); Normanton (1888). Anti-Melanesian riots eventuated at Bundaberg (1883); Maryborough (1884); Mackay (1883). R Evans, K Saunders and K Cronin, *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: a History of Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, UQP, St Lucia, 1988; R Evans,

- 'Night of Broken Glass: the Anatomy of an "anti-Chinese Riot in Brisbane in 1888": the Historical Perspective', *Brisbane History Group Papers*, no.8, Brisbane, 1989. A riot led by Javanese took place at Geraldton in 1889, *Queenslander*, 31 Aug. 1889. Industrial/economic riots occurred at Brisbane in 1866. Thorpe, 'A Social History', pp. 217-93; P D Wilson, 'The Brisbane Riot of September 1866', *Queensland Heritage*, vol. 2, no. 4, May 1971, pp. 13-20. Other riots of this nature broke out at Warrego in 1889, and during the great Shearers' Strike of 1891, see S Svenson, *The Shearers' War: the Story of the 1897 Shearers' Strike*, UQP, St Lucia, 1989. These are but few of many examples.
- 107 For example see Evans, *The Red Flag Riots*; 'Night of Broken Glass'. The study of riots by social historians owes much to the seminal work of George Rude, particularly *The Crowd in History: a Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*, Wiley, New York, 1964.
- 108 E P Thompson, *Customs in Common*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1991.
- 109 Thompson, *Customs in Common*, especially pp. 16-96.
- 110 Thorpe, 'A Social History', p. 131.
- 111 Report of the Royal Commission into Shops, Factories and Workshops, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, 1891, vol. II. For a dissection of the occupational structure of Brisbane in this period see D P Crook, 'Occupations of the People of Brisbane: an Aspect of Urban Society in the 1880s', *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 10, no. 37, Nov. 1961, pp. 50-64.
- 112 The labour movement grew rapidly in the 1880s as evidenced by the establishment of a Trades and Labour Council on 1 Sept. 1885. Until the late 1880s and the growth of industrial unionism, however, it was based in the proliferating small craft unions. Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland*, p. 319.
- 113 D Adair, "'Two dots in the Distance": Professional Sculling as a Mass Spectacle in New South Wales, 1876-1907', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 9, no. 1, Nov. 1992, pp. 52-83.
- 114 J A MacAloon, 'Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies', in MacAloon, ed., *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1984, pp. 241-80.
- 115 J Pollard, *The Pictorial History of Australian Horse Racing*, Paul Hamlyn, Sydney, 1971) p. 44.
- 116 R Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s: a Study of an Australian Urban Society*, UQP, St Lucia, 1973, p. 201.
- 117 *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Dec. 1885. The conservative *Courier* reporter was appalled at the proceedings he witnessed at the Brisbane Tattersall's Club Spring Meeting, 10 and 12 Dec. 1885. The racecourse similarly constituted a 'riotous' popular cultural spectacle in the Northern Territory in the nineteenth century according to David Headon, in his 'To See A Racecourse Become A Pandemonium: Horse Racing in the Northern Territory, in the First Decades of White Settlement', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 3, no. 2, May 1987, pp. 137-51.
- 118 *Boomerang*, 17 Dec. 1887.
- 119 Lawson, *Brisbane*, p. 200.
- 120 Progress, 2 June 1900.
- 121 Sharpe, 'A Degenerate Race'; R Lynch, 'A Symbolic Patch of Grass: Crowd Disorder and Regulation on the Sydney Cricket Ground Hill', in O'Hara, *Crowd Violence*, pp. 10-48; Cashman, 'Violence in Sport', pp. 1-9.
- 122 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 31 May 1851.
- 123 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 3 June 1848.
- 124 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 9 June 1849.
- 125 C Moore, 'The Mackay Racecourse Riot of 1883', in *Lectures in North Queensland*

- History*, Third Series, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1979, pp. 181-96.
- 126 *Week*, 6 Jan. 1892. Morven is situated near Roma, western Queensland.
- 127 *Queensland Figaro*, 31 May 1884.
- 128 *Queenslander*, 23 Mar. 1878.
- 129 *Queenslander*, 23 Mar. 1878.
- 130 *Brisbane Courier*, 11 Dec. 1885.
- 131 Hooting and hissing as forms of opprobrium have been identified also with both cricket and rugby crowds in the 1890s. See Sharpe, 'A Degenerate Race', pp.139-41.
- 132 P Bailey, 'Conspiracies of Meaning: Music Hall and the Knowingness of Popular Culture', *Past & Present*, no. 144, Aug. 1994, pp. 138-70.
- 133 Such demotics were treated as serious threats to the social order in Anglo-Celtic social formations. For example, a radical printer from Gosport (UK), Kyd Wake, was sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour at Gloucester gaol in 1796 for hissing and booing at the King, who was on his way from St James Palace to the Houses of Parliament. M Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: the Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978, p. 124.
- 134 *Week*, 19 Feb. 1892.
- 135 *Week*, 8 Jan. 1892.
- 136 *Week*, 14 Aug. 1891.
- 137 On 14 Nov. James Hams, aged forty-four, appeared at the City Police Court, charged with the destruction of private property. *Week*, 19 Nov. 1887. On 25 Nov., appearing at the City Police Court charged with creating a disturbance were Frank Williams, Robert James Norman, Henry Williams, James Bird, James Little, James Nicholas, Robert Marks and Walter Blainey. Blainey pleaded guilty to halloing and shouting. Only Marks, of those arrested, pleaded mitigating circumstances due to his being under the influence of drink. All of the others pleaded guilty to the charge. *Week*, 8 Dec. 1887.
- 138 *Week*, 8 Dec. 1887.
- 139 *Brisbane Courier*, 26 Nov. 1887.
- 140 For an account of these proceedings see *Week*, 19 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1887.
- 141 Totalisator Restriction Act of 1889', 53 Vic. No. 2.
- 142 *Boomerang*, 19 Nov. 1887. Public entertainment in Brisbane, of all varieties, was available on a greater scale due to the development of capitalist relations of production and the interconnected phenomenon of a burgeoning population. V R Lawson, 'Immigration into Queensland 1870-1890'.