

A Community Divided: Community and Class in Brisbane's East Ward, 1884-5

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In a world of global change, where people's lives are often shaped by events beyond either their control or comprehension, the concept of community has an emotional as well as an intellectual appeal. Community provides a link back to a simpler life where neighbour knew neighbour, and where the society as a whole was held together by shared values generated by common interaction. Such shared values and interactions are difficult to sustain in the modern city, where impersonal social relationships predominate. Certainly the concept of community is something which has been explored principally through studies of small to medium sized regional centers. In his pioneering work in the United States, Herbert Gutman contended that, with industrialisation, it was only in such smaller urban centers that community remained a vibrant force. This, Gutman argued, provided a social base for resistance to the most exploitative features of modern capitalism that was impossible to create in larger metropolitan conglomerations. Influenced in part by Gutman's general thesis, the Australian exploration of the concept of community has also largely focused on regional towns, with studies of such centers as Lithgow, Broken Hill, Port Kembla, Wagga Wagga and Ipswich.¹

While the concept of community has proved a useful intellectual and methodological tool in small rural or industrial localities characterised by relatively stable residential and work patterns, its applicability to large industrial or commercial cities is problematic. For a defining characteristic of modern metropolises is the transient nature of their residential and working populations, as people move from locality to locality and city to city. The impermanent nature of urban life is highlighted by often rapid changes in the demography of urban neighborhoods and localities, as residential areas succumb to commercial and industrial expansion. Historically, these trends have been most evident during periods of large-scale immigration, such as occurred in North America and Australia during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. On such occasions, waves of immigrants flooded the cities of the 'New World', altering established patterns of urban settlement. Michael Katz, for example, after studying the impact of population movements on the Canadian city of Hamilton, concluded:

The continued circulation of population prevented the formation of stable and closely integrated communities within nineteenth-century cities ... The facts of transience destroy any further illusions about community; the population simply changed too much.²

In Australia, Katz's sentiments have been echoed by Shirley Fitzgerald, who has observed that attempts to apply the 'idea of community' to the major metropolitan centers of Australia 'raises enormous difficulties.'³ With regard to Sydney during the late nineteenth century, she has noted that: 'At some levels there could be nothing less like a community than this burgeoning city, with new immigrants continually pouring in, and so many of the familial and traditional links broken.'⁴

To explore the usefulness of the concept of community with regard to large urban centers, this paper will undertake a study of Brisbane's East Ward during 1884-5. Occupying the eastern half of Brisbane's central business district, East Ward in the mid-1880s witnessed considerable changes in land use patterns,

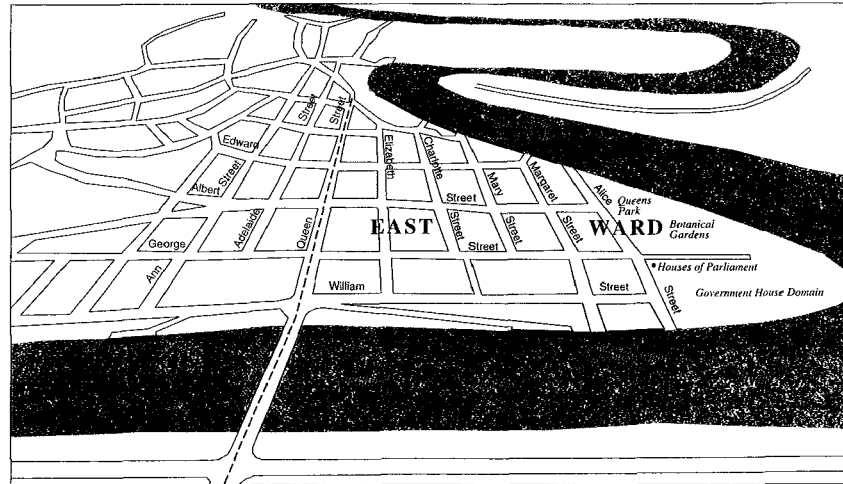
as the city's overall population expanded from 31,109 in 1881 to 93,657 in 1891.⁵ Hemmed in by the Brisbane River on three sides, East Ward was a distinct locality whose central placement had long attracted both the richest and poorest people in colonial society. As the 1880s progressed, this established population found itself under increasing pressure, as private residential housing gave way to boarding houses and commercial or industrial premises. To chart the impact of this process of change, this paper will draw on the details provided in Brisbane's Post Office Directories, which identify by name and occupation the household or business head of every commercial, industrial and residential premises within the city who registered for mail deliveries. These sources will be used to provide an analysis of demographic and social changes within the central residential, commercial and industrial area of East Ward – an area bounded by Queen Street in the west (the city's main commercial thoroughfare), Alice Street and the Botanic Gardens in the east, George Street in the south and Edward Street in the north (see Map 1). On the basis of this analysis, this paper will contend that while East Ward in 1884-5 was a community, it was a community whose structures and beliefs were determined by class and social stratification, rather than by an enduring residential association with the locality by the majority of its inhabitants.

Cities, Community and Social Change

An understanding of how both class and community relations are established and sustained in modern societies necessitates an examination of the complex relationships between home and work in our major cities. Unfortunately, while cities and the concept of 'civilisation' have long been seen as synonymous, there exists little scholarly agreement as to the essential features of cities, or of the ways in which they shape human interactions. Of all the models of city growth, that pioneered by the Chicago School of sociologists in the 1920s – which depicted cities developing in a series of concentric rings from a central business district – has perhaps had the most enduring impact. Its applicability has, however, been widely questioned.⁶ Gideon Sjoberg, in particular, has convincingly argued that a distinction needs to be drawn between the 'industrial' cities portrayed by the Chicago School and others, and 'preindustrial' cities. Sjoberg contends that preindustrial cities differ from their modern industrial counterparts not just in their reliance on handicraft production techniques, but also in their rigid social structure and their 'startling degree of communality'.⁷ During the 1970s a number of American studies also drew a distinction between the 'industrial' cities that emerged in western Europe during the nineteenth century, and urban centres in the Americas that served a primarily commercial or administrative role. While designating such 'New World' cities variously as 'commercial-bureaucratic', 'administrative and commercial' or 'mercantile', James Scobie, David Ward, Allan Pred, and Michael Katz all concurred on one key point – the economic and social structures of such urban centers differed markedly from those of industrial cities.⁸

While there remains considerable debate as to the appropriate typology to apply to cities at any given stage in their development, the relationship between cities, community and

Map 1: Brisbane's East Ward



class formation is even more contentious. One's perception of the significance of class, in particular, is in large part shaped by how one perceives urban social relationships. For radicals and conservatives alike, cities have been seen as the main crucibles for political and social change. As Frederick Engels observed in his classic work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, it was in the 'great towns' that 'the centralisation of property has reached its highest point ... Here it comes, too, that the social war, the war of each against all is openly declared.'⁹ Similarly, the Chicago School saw modern cities as being destructive of traditional social values, Ernest Burgess noting that: 'the vast casual and mobile aggregations which constitute our urban populations are in a state of perpetual agitation.'¹⁰ In contrast, social theorists wishing to demonstrate that class is not a key determinant in social behaviour need to point to urban social formations which are both benign and fluid in nature. It was these latter perceptions that guided the pioneering work in Australian urban history, undertaken most notably by J. W. McCarty, Graeme Davison and Ronald Lawson. In shifting the focus of debate from the bush to the city, such scholars argued that nineteenth century cities in this country were not characterised by marked class lines. This view rested on the contention that Australian metropolises were 'commercial' cities, similar to those described by North American scholars. But where Katz, in particular, had associated such cities with 'sharp inequalities in wealth and power',¹¹ McCarty *et al* utilised the concept of the commercial city to minimise the significance of class in Australian cities. According to McCarty, for example: 'The Australian commercial city was a new city', characterised by 'a high degree of social mobility' and indistinct class boundaries.¹² Similarly, Davison argued that 'late nineteenth century Australian cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, hardly appear to be candidates for a class approach at all.'¹³

Since the pioneering work of McCarty and Davison the study of Australian late nineteenth century urban life has been augmented by a range of studies, conducted by urban geographers and labour historians such as Fitzgerald, Michael Cannon and Max Kelly.¹⁴ While these studies have demonstrated that late nineteenth century Australian cities were characterised by considerable poverty and social inequality, this in itself does not tell us much about

the social relationships that existed within the localities and neighborhoods that comprised our colonial metropolises. It is, after all, one thing to demonstrate that there was considerable inequality within urban society. It is another thing to demonstrate how those who lived within that society regarded each other.

East Ward – Geography and Wealth

As residents of a political artifact, formed by the partitioning of Brisbane's central business district in 1864, East Ward's residents were not initially noted for any marked sense of allegiance to their locality. There were, however, two interrelated factors that contributed to the development of a separate sense of identity in East Ward – geography and wealth. While the western border of the ward may have been an artificial construct, running, as it does, down the middle of Queen Street (the town's main thoroughfare), nature decided the other boundaries, with the Brisbane River enclosing the ward on three sides. This insulated the ward from the rest of the city's residential population, while simultaneously providing it with the principal source of its wealth. As the *Brisbane Courier* noted in 1890:

the value of the river lies in its winding reaches. These come to a climax in the city itself, and their effect is to double or treble the river frontage available for shipping. Our river reaches serve the same purposes to commerce which in straighter rivers has to be served by the construction of enormous and expensive docks.¹⁵

While, directly or indirectly, maritime trade provided the principal source of East Ward's wealth, away from the river the ward was divided into a number of distinct residential, commercial and industrial areas. In the south of the ward, George Street provided the most prestigious address. Situated on a prominent ridge, this street contained the colony's parliamentary precinct and the homes of a number of the city's leading professionals and merchants. To the immediate north of this area, however, the streets dipped steeply to a low-lying area around Albert Street, known to the locals as 'Frog's Hollow'. In the 1880s this area contained many of those on the fringes of society. In a detailed study of the area, Rod Fisher concluded that this locality was:

a den of iniquity ... a rare clustering of drunkards, prostitutes, larrikins, thieves and assailants who, one way or another, lived

off the visitors, mariners and new arrivals at the many boarding-houses, lodgings and hotels.¹⁶

This conglomeration of sinners, however, inevitably attracted those who specialised in the salvation business, with the Gospel Hall of the Salvation Army and the various temperance halls rising alongside the brothels and sly-grog shops. Further to the north, between Albert and Edward Streets were to be found some of Brisbane's principal manufacturing establishments, including its largest foundry (Smith, Forrester & Co), one of its leading breweries (Perkins and Co) and the colony's leading biscuit maker (F. W. Wilson & Co). To the west of this mixed residential-industrial area there lay Brisbane's leading retail area, around Queen Street and its immediate environs.

Despite East Ward's social diversity its citizens had numerous opportunities for personal advancement, be it through fair means or foul. For if East Ward contained some of Brisbane's poorest inhabitants, overall it was by far the wealthiest municipal district, contributing approximately one-third of the city's rates, despite its status as the smallest of the city's six wards.¹⁷ During the 1880s there occurred an increasing resentment at this flow of wealth from East Ward to other parts of the city. This fuelled an increasingly parochial outlook to municipal affairs that was deliberately fostered by the ward's dominant elite.

East Ward, 1884-5

In 1884-5, East Ward was, along with the rest of the city, witnessing a transformation in both residential patterns and social relationships. While no census was undertaken during these years, the overall trends are clear. Between 1881 and 1886 the population of the Brisbane Municipality grew from 23,000 to 33,128, while that for the greater city area (defined as the area lying within eight kilometers of the General Post Office) rose from 31,109 to 73,649. East Ward shared in this growth, the locality's population rising from 2,606 in 1881 to 2,889 in 1886.¹⁸ This growth did not involve merely the addition of new residents to an established population. Rather, it signified the large scale displacement of the earlier inhabitants. Indeed, a comparison of the *Post Office Directories* for 1879 and 1885 indicate that East Ward during this period had a highly transient population. Only in the eastern end of George Street, an area of elite private homes and terraces adjoining the parliamentary precincts, was there significant residential stability. In this elite domain, Robert Pring, a Supreme Court judge, maintained a long-term residence, as did Dr Hancock and a Mrs Mary Coley. Elsewhere only Mary Shakleton, a Margaret Street resident, and R. Jeffries, of Mary Street, remained of the household heads recorded as living in East Ward in 1879.¹⁹

The almost complete turnover of East Ward's residential population in the six years between 1879 and 1885 was, in part, a reflection of the fact that, while the ward's overall population was increasing, private residential housing was in full retreat. Overall, the number of private residences in central East Ward, whether owner-occupied or rented, fell from 129 in 1879 to 98 in 1885. This fall in private residential housing was particularly noticeable in the streets which were home to East Ward's less prosperous citizens, notably Margaret, Mary and Charlotte Streets (see Table 1). In Charlotte Street, for example, the number of private residences fell from 34 to 12. Particularly

hard hit by the process of change was the street's working class population, with the number of household heads who worked as labourers falling from 11 to five in the six years from 1879. By contrast, the number of private residences in George Street went against the trend, increasing from 13 to 17. This emphasised that residential continuity was far more likely to be found among the ward's social elite than with its lower class citizens.²⁰

While the intrusion of commercial and industrial enterprises did contribute to the retreat of residential housing, particularly in the areas immediately adjoining Queen Street, the key factor in the displacement of private dwellings was the growth of boarding houses (see Table 1). Between 1879 and 1885 the number of boarding houses recorded in the central area of East Ward rose from 27 to 45. This meant that not only were the inhabitants of East Ward in 1885 different from those who had lived there six years earlier, they lived in different ways. The often rough and ready life in the boarding houses highlighted the increasing transience of the ward's population, as shortages of space saw lodgers sleeping in 'shake-downs', or temporary beds, made up on dining tables, chairs and floors.²¹ Once again, this trend towards more impermanent forms of residence was most pronounced in the less socially prestigious parts of East Ward. Charlotte Street, which witnessed the greatest fall in private residential housing, also experienced the greatest growth in boarding houses, the number of which increased from 10 to 15 between 1879 and 1885. This indicated that whereas the 'typical' Charlotte Street household head in 1879 was a labourer or skilled worker, either renting or owning a private home, in 1885 such individuals were being displaced by itinerant individuals living in boarding houses.

Given the transient nature of East Ward's population in the mid-1880s it is clear that any sense of community could not be based on common values engendered by shared residential contact over many years. Paradoxically, however, the mid-1880s witnessed increasingly assertive and public demonstrations of community identity in East Ward. This culminated in July 1884 in the submission to the colonial government of a petition, signed by 363 rate-payers and/or residents, calling for the separation of East Ward from the Municipality of Brisbane, and its establishment as a separate city to be called 'Mecanchin'.²² The key to understanding this apparent paradox – in which expressions of community identity increased as residential stability declined – is to see this growth in East Ward separatism as a product of the ward's dominant social structure, rather than as a reflection of 'grass-roots' feelings. As contemporary critics of the

Table 1
Patterns of Land Use, by street, in Central East Ward, 1885
(Comparable Figures for 1879 indicated in brackets)

Street	Private Residential	Boarding House	Commercial	Industrial – General	Industrial – Metal Works
Queen	0 (0)	0 (0)	35 (40)	17 (13)	1 (1)
George	17 (13)	6 (5)	11 (13)	8 (12)	1 (1)
Albert	7 (6)	3 (0)	19 (13)	7 (14)	1 (1)
Alice	10 (8)	2 (0)	3 (3)	0 (3)	3 (1)
Edward	1 (0)	3 (2)	26 (39)	18 (21)	8 (5)
Margaret	28 (31)	7 (5)	4 (6)	2 (1)	1 (2)
Mary	22 (30)	5 (4)	14 (11)	8 (4)	1 (1)
Charlotte	12 (34)	15 (10)	10 (14)	5 (9)	1 (0)
Elizabeth	1 (7)	4 (1)	31 (30)	26 (12)	7 (7)
TOTALS	98 (129)	45 (27)	153 (169)	91 (89)	24 (19)

July 1884 petition noted, its significance lay not so much in that it was 'very numerously signed', but rather in that it was publicly supported by so 'many intelligent and leading citizens' of the ward.²³ The resulting 'top-down' sense of community was very much of the beggar-thy-neighbour variety, emphasising an insular and parochial view of the world in which loyalty to East Ward became equated to minimising one's financial contribution to any city-wide civic improvements. For, as the petition for separation noted, the principal grievance of those who ascribed to a sense of East Ward identity was that they were, through increased rates, 'made to contribute towards improving and increasing the value of the property of ratepayers in other Wards of the Municipality'.²⁴

Rather than producing a fluid social structure, the transient nature of East Ward's population produced its opposite – a rigid social hierarchy. Broadly there were four social classes within East Ward. At the top were those who possessed wealth and power, and who maintained a long-term relationship with the ward through either residence and/or permanent business interests. In 1885 this elite numbered between 60 and 80. Of these, approximately a quarter maintained their principal residence within the ward.²⁵ This elite shared a number of common characteristics and interests that allowed it to behave in a coherent class manner. First, whether resident or non-resident, almost all had been in business in the city from at least the early 1860s, gradually building up their firms into substantial concerns. Second, they were overwhelmingly Protestant, with a large number being active in the Masonic Lodges. Third, leading members of the East Ward elite were on the boards of many of the city's foremost companies, including the colony's principal financial institution, the Queensland National Bank.²⁶ The cohesion of this elite was demonstrated in hard times, when its more senior members not infrequently provided credit for other struggling East Ward businessmen, sometimes imperilling their own financial positions in the process. In 1891, for example, one of the ward's patriarchs, Robert Cribb, faced ruin when he acted as a guarantor for a number of other East Ward identities, only to see their businesses collapse. He was thrown a financial life-life by another local businessman, who publicly declared he was helping Cribb as Cribb 'had assisted him when he was young'.²⁷

There were three social classes which were subordinate to the dominant elite – the small shopkeepers; a socially marginal group that included prostitutes, widows, adolescent 'larrikins', and the Chinese; and, finally, the ward's wage labourers, both skilled and unskilled. Of these three classes it was the former, the small shopkeepers, who were most at the mercy of the dominant elite. Unlike wage labourers, who could seek employment outside the ward's boundaries, the small shopkeeper was physically tied to his or her (normally rented) premises. In operating from these premises, the shopkeeper was invariably trapped in the pervasive system of monthly credit advances, supplied by the larger produce merchants, store-owners and financiers. This arrangement allowed East Ward's elite to exercise political as well as economic control over the small retailers. This was demonstrated most dramatically during the 1890 Maritime Strike, when the larger merchants threatened to cut credit to any shopkeeper who had, in turn, provided credit to striking workers.²⁸

In dealing with the large social group composed of those who found themselves on the fringes of respectable society, East Ward's elite was confronted with a moral dilemma, rather than a political threat. While many activities of those on the margins brought protests from religious organisations such as the Salvation Army, the services they rendered to the more prosperous society around them were considerable. These ranged from the provision of lodging by the many widows of Charlotte and Mary Streets, to more

dubious activities such as gambling, sly-grog, and prostitution. The fact that some of these latter activities were associated with the growing Chinese community, concentrated in Albert Street, produced the greatest concern. While the Chinese were subjected to racial abuse and periodic harassment, however, this did not stop the number of Chinese businesses in East Ward increasing from four to 12 between 1879 and 1885. This growth suggests that racist attitudes to the Chinese did not extend to commercial boycotts or rental evictions. Indeed, if, as is clearly the case, a number of Chinese shops were merely fronts for illegal gambling dens, such operations only survived due to their popularity with their European customers. So extensive was the resultant racial intermingling that one police officer conceded in 1891 that raids on the Chinese gambling dens were conducted principally 'with the object of preventing the Europeans from mixing with the Chinese', rather than for the purpose of suppressing gambling as such.²⁹

The greatest threat to the hegemony of the East Ward elite came from the third socially subordinate class, the wage labourers. However, whereas the passivity of the small shopkeepers was ensured by their relative physical immobility, the development of a sense of class consciousness among East Ward's population of wage labourers was undercut by their transience. A comparison of the *Post Office Directories* for 1878-9, 1885-6 and 1891 reveals that no wage labourer, whether skilled or unskilled, maintained a residential connection with central East Ward during this 12-year period.³⁰ This made impossible any sustained relationship based on shared local residence.

Despite the residential instability of East Ward's working class population, the central location of the ward, its vicinity to Brisbane's wharves and the concentration of factories within the area ensured that the locality was closely connected with the development of unionism in Brisbane. During 1873, for example, the ward witnessed the birth of both the Brisbane Bootmakers' Protection Union and a branch of the Seamen's Union, although both bodies proved to be short-lived.³¹ During 1878-9, the ward was also the Queensland focal point for a national seamen's strike against the use of Chinese maritime labour. In August-September 1885, East Ward saw an even more significant development, when an Edward Street businessman, William Galloway, played the central role in the founding of the Brisbane Trades and Labour Council. As a significant employer in his own right (he was the owner of a ship's chandler's business), Galloway was at first glance an unlikely trade union leader. He had, however, what none of East Ward's labouring population possessed – independent means and a background that enabled him to act as a tribune of the poor.³²

Despite his commercial success in the mid-1880s, Galloway maintained close ties with Brisbane's maritime unionists. These had been cemented during the late 1870s when his previous business, an oyster saloon (and, one suspects, a sly grog shop) had acted as a meeting place for East Ward's poorer citizens.³³ During this period, Galloway also acted as an agent for the Federated Seamen's Union, playing an active role during the 1878-9 maritime dispute. Together these roles ensured that Galloway's sympathies in the mid-1880s were with the ward's poorer citizens, rather than with his commercial equals. Despite his association with Brisbane's union movement, however, Galloway's intellectual outlook reflected his small business origins. He did not perceive a fundamental conflict between capital and labour, declaring instead that there was 'a mutual benefit between the owners and men'.³⁴

In February 1884 Galloway mobilised his base among East Ward's poorer citizens to secure election as one of ward's two municipal representatives, breaking the stranglehold that the ward's traditional elite had long held on local politics. On

securing office, Galloway condemned the narrow parochialism of many of East Ward's wealthier citizens, who had historically opposed spending in other, poorer wards. No longer, Galloway argued, should East Ward be regarded as a 'pet ward' able to ignore its wider responsibilities to the city.³⁵ To overcome the narrow parochialism that infected the ward, Galloway advocated a radical municipal redistribution. This involved the break-up of East Ward and the establishment of new inner-city wards that incorporated substantial parts of North Ward, based on the heights overlooking the city, with its overwhelmingly working-class population. In defending this move, Galloway declared that 'the rich should help the poor'.³⁶

Galloway's attempt to destroy the narrow, class-based parochialism of East Ward, and the inequitable distribution of the city's resources that was its inevitable outcome, came to naught. In considering Galloway's redistribution proposal, an alderman from another ward observed that East Ward 'was a very rich ward', and that, as such, its principal ratepayers could be expected to oppose any proposal 'to throw some of the poorer parts of the city in with the rich part'.³⁷ Such proved to be the case, and Galloway's redistribution proposal was quietly shelved in the Municipal Council rooms.

In the end, Galloway's challenge to East Ward's traditional elite simply rested on too fragile a social base. Not only did the ward's labouring population remain highly transient, in the years after 1885-6 the social composition of the ward underwent a further marked change, as its population fell from 2,889 to 1,984 between 1886 and 1891.³⁸ Most affected by this decline were the ward's poor, as residential space continued to disappear. By 1891, for example, there were only 76 private residencies in central East Ward, compared to 98 in 1885 and 129 in 1879. Even the ward's boarding house population, which flourished in the mid-1880s, suffered a marked decline, as the number of lodgings in central East Ward dropped from 45 in 1885 to 27 six years later.³⁹ Together, these demographic changes meant that by the late 1880s it was no longer possible for a politician such as Galloway to maintain a political base that rested on the area's labouring population. Instead, local politics in East Ward once again reflected the narrow, parochial interests of a small, increasingly non-residential, elite. While Galloway's career continued to flourish, this was only achieved through his abandonment of his earlier radicalism. Indeed, by the early 1890s Galloway had become the principal advocate of the very policies he had condemned in 1884-5, calling for the 'financial separation' of East Ward to ensure that the cost of civic improvements in other, poorer wards, was not borne by the ratepayers of his own domain.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the victory of such 'community' interests did little for what remained of East Ward's poorer inhabitants, for whom life in the locality was, increasingly, a short staging-post prior to a more permanent abode in the suburbs.

Conclusion

East Ward was, in 1884-5, a highly unequal place, and the 'community' values that were extolled by its leading citizens and aldermen were merely a reflection of this inequality. In a locality where class-based relationships pervaded all others, the resultant sense of community was very much of the beggar-thy-neighbour variety. Profession of loyalty to one's own ward was principally a device for refusing assistance to a poorer one next door. This parochial outlook, which was deliberately fostered by the ward's dominant elite, endured because the residential instability of East Ward meant that an alternative sense of community from below could not be sustained.

There were, broadly, four social classes within East Ward during 1884-5. First, there was a dominant property-owning

elite, both resident and non-resident. Only members of this class enjoyed the luxury of stability, allowing them the opportunity to impose their values on the community as a whole. Of the three subordinate social classes, two – the sizeable class of small shopkeepers and the marginal social group composed of Chinese, prostitutes, widows and adolescents – were socially and politically passive. Only the final subordinate class, composed of skilled and unskilled wage labourers, posed a potential threat to the hegemony of the dominant elite. This group was, however, highly transient. As Galloway found to his cost when he briefly mounted a challenge to the narrow, class-based parochialism of East Ward during 1884-5, any political movement based on the ward's poorer elements was likely to be extremely unstable. When the population base of East Ward began to narrow after 1886, it did so by contracting at the bottom of the social pyramid. This left the traditional, property-owning elite firmly in control, forcing their former critics such as Galloway to accommodate themselves to the reality of power relationships within the municipal district.

Endnotes

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- 4 *ibid.*
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- People of Hamilton*, pp. 7-11. Also see Ian Davey and Michael Doucet, 'The Social Geography of a Commercial City, ca. 1853', a work appended to that of Katz.
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 - 11 Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, p. 24.
 - 12 John McCarty, 'Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century', *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. X, September 1970, pp. 19-20.
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 - 15 *Brisbane Courier*, 17 April 1890, p. 4.
 - 16 Rod Fisher, 'Old Frog's Hollow: Devoid of interest, or a den of iniquity', Rod Fisher (ed), *Brisbane in 1888*, Brisbane History Group Papers, no. 8, 1988, pp. 45-6.
 - 17 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1884 (unpaged).
 - 18 'Census of 1886', *Queensland Votes & Proceedings (QVP)*, 1887, vol. 2, p. 886, 978.
 - 19 *Brisbane Post Office Directories, 1878-9 and 1885-6*. Note: these directories were compiled in late 1878 and early 1885, and thus most accurately reflect residential patterns for 1879 and 1885.
 - 20 *Brisbane Post Office Directories, 1878-9 and 1885-6*.
 - 21 *Brisbane Courier*, 16 December 1885, p. 5.
 - 22 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1884 (unpaged).
 - 23 'Letter to Editor: Brisbane Divided', *Brisbane Courier*, 1 August 1884 (unpaged).
 - 24 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1884 (unpaged).
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 - 26 Detailed biographies of East Ward's leading business figures are to be found in W. Frederick Morrison, *The Aldine History of Queensland*, Aldine Publishing Co., Sydney, 1888, vol. 2, Appendix: Brisbane Biographical Sketches.
 - 27 *Brisbane Courier*, 22 April 1891, p. 4.
 - 28 *Brisbane Courier*, 23 August 1890, p. 5.
 - 29 *Brisbane Courier*, 5 June 1891, p. 2.
 - 30 *Brisbane Post Office Directories, 1878-9, 1885-6 & 1891*.
 - 31 *Brisbane Courier*, 19 March 1873, 28 June 1873 (unpaged).
 - 32 *Brisbane Courier*, 19 August 1885, p. 5.
 - 33 Galloway's early career as an oyster saloon proprietor was one that he appears to have disguised as his career advanced. Morrison's biographical notes of Galloway, recorded in 1888, state that he had maintained his ship's chandler business since the 1870s. The *Post Office Directory* for 1878-9, however, tells a different story. See also Morrison, *Aldine History of Queensland*, Biographical Notes (unpaged); *Post Office Directories, 1878-9*.
 - 34 'Letter to editor by William Galloway', *Brisbane Courier*, 3 October 1884 (unpaged).
 - 35 *Brisbane Courier*, 6 February 1884, p. 5.
 - 36 *Brisbane Courier*, 11 March 1885, p. 5.
 - 37 'Brisbane Municipal Council Minutes, 25 September 1885', *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1885, p. 6.
 - 38 'Queensland Census of 1891', *QVP*, 1892, vol. 3, p. 914.
 - 39 *Post Office Directories, 1878-9, 1885-6 & 1891*.
 - 40 *Brisbane Courier*, 25 January 1890, p. 7.