Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork

Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork: Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth Century Australia

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Grand Opera Carnival, 4 December 1886. Exhibition Building. Advertising Poster. Source: Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria. The Grand Opera Carnival was a charity bazaar organised to raise funds for a Chair of Music at the University of Melbourne. It was a large scale, elaborate event, which was open to the public for just short of three weeks. Each stall was designed and decorated as a different opera and the stallholders were dressed as characters from that opera.

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Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork: Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century Australia had its genesis in a doctoral thesis undertaken at the University of Melbourne. Researching the initial thesis and this publication was a fascinating, rewarding and, at times, meandering journey which took me along many different paths and I am indebted to the people who helped me along the way.

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INTRODUCTION

My troubles are now at their height,
And madness I fear is not far
I am bothered all day and all night!
By the dread of some horrid bazaar.

Then a maid with a step light as air,
And with other attractions at par
Contrives my soft heart to ensnare,
With my cash – at that bothering bazaar.

Before I contrive to escape,
I have bought a toy gun and guitar
A Swiss cottage, a cat and an ape,
Carved in wood for that special bazaar.

Having got the amount of their "take"
I must hasten away in a car
Exhausted and hardly awake,
To be fleeced at another bazaar.[1]

—*The Adelaide Observer*, 1876

In April 1899, a charity bazaar opened at Melbourne's Exhibition Building in aid of one of the city's major hospitals, St Vincent's. Described in glowing terms by the press as 'The GRANDEST DISPLAY ever placed before the Public of this City'[2] the bazaar was an all-encompassing package of entertainment. Open daily for a month, it featured goods for sale, exhibitions, amusements, sporting events, music, refreshments, a changing program of entertainments and sanctioned opportunities to meet and mix with members of the opposite sex. The number of attendees at this bazaar opening 'taxed the building's holding capacity to the utmost'[3] and 'rivalled those present [12,000] two years later at the opening of the first

[1] Verses from a satirical poem titled 'Bazaars' by a Cleaned–Out Reporter, *The Adelaide Observer*, December 16, 1876, 14.
[2] *Table Talk*, March 24, 1899, 18.
[3] *Melbourne Punch*, April 6, 1899, 335.

Commonwealth parliament'[4] held in the same building. The high attendances at the opening of St Vincent's Hospital Bazaar were not an anomaly; the larger charity bazaars held at the end of the nineteenth century in Australia were major events and a prominent feature of social, civic and philanthropic life. The complexity, size, spectacle and duration of these late nineteenth-century bazaars elevated them to the status of grand bazaars and they represented the pinnacle of the charity bazaar movement in colonial Australia.

Charity bazaars were omnipresent in nineteenth-century Australia from the early 1840s. Ranging in size and scale, from simple sales of goods to month long extravaganzas, bazaars were such a popular and successful means of raising revenue that many of the nation's major public and religious institutions owe their continued existence and expansion to the substantial funds raised through the efforts of bazaar organisers.

The charity bazaar has played an integral role in Australian community, social and philanthropic life since the early days of European settlement, permeating the lives of innumerable people: organisers, participants and attendees. Nineteenth-century charity bazaars encapsulated and reflected the social customs, mores and fashions of their time. They are a rich, largely untapped, interdisciplinary historical source. In examining the history and development of the charity bazaar movement in Australia, gender issues and the role of women, the place of charity and philanthropy in society, consumerism, exhibition, retail and display innovations and the production and nature of women's domestic crafts all emerged as dominant themes.

Despite the fact that charity bazaars were such popular and widely patronised events in nineteenth-century Australia, they have received little attention and remain virtually unrecorded to date. A similar anomaly has been identified by historian Beverly Gordon in the United States of America, which she sought to redress with her research and subsequent publication on fundraising fairs [bazaars].[5] As Gordon states, while 'closely related institutions and phenomena' such as pageants, retail outlets, agricultural fairs and exhibitions have been the subject of research, the fundraising fair has remained 'largely invisible in American cultural

[4] Bryan Egan, *Ways of a Hospital: St Vincent's Melbourne* (New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 13.
[5] Beverly Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998).

history' despite the fact that 'it collectively involved millions of people and raised many millions of dollars.'[6]

Their relative absence in Australian historical discourse may be attributed to the fact that charity bazaars were - and are - common place and ephemeral events. Retrospectively, the significance of the nineteenth-century charity bazaar has perhaps gone unrecognised because of the diminished form and comparable ubiquity of its contemporary successor – the fete. Fetes today no longer have the standing and grandeur of their nineteenth-century predecessors. Contemporary fetes are generally small-scale community events organised to raise funds for local schools, kindergartens and churches. In contrast to the exotic, progressive and at times risqué entity that was the charity bazaar in colonial Australia, today's fete is a tame melange of stalls, lucky dips, face painting, sausage sizzles, fairy floss, rides, spinning wheels and games of chance arranged in hand decorated marquees and classrooms. (See Figures 1, 2)

While these contemporary fetes may appear to be localised, disparate events, they are part of a broader, ongoing bazaar tradition. The school and church fetes held in Australia today, and pictured in books such as *Our School Fete* by Louise Pfanner[7] have a long history. (See Figure 3) They, and the grand bazaars held in Australia at the end of the nineteenth century, are the descendants of a tradition of fundraising that originated in London in the early 1800s and was transported to the United States of America, Europe, Australia and other British colonies.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the charity bazaar was interchangeably known as, a Sale of Work, Fancy Fair, Ladies' Sale, Ladies' Fair, Fete, Charity Fete, Garden Fete, Fair, Strawberry Fair, Spring Fair, Festival, Bazaar, Grand Bazaar, Charity Bazaar, Ladies' Bazaar and Carnival.[8] In general, these variations in nomenclature reflect the time in which the event was being held and give an indication of the bazaar's evolution from a fairly modest undertaking to the complex entity that was the grand bazaar. In the case of some bazaars however, the title of the event is purely

[6] Ibid., xix.
[7] Louise Pfanner, *Our School Fete* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2004).
[8] A range of different terms, which refer to the same type of event, are to be found in the contemporary writings and press coverage of the periods. Some of these terms are also used in F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) and Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies.*

indicative of the theme adopted by the bazaar organisers, for example, the 'Ye Olde Fayres' and 'Oriental Carnivals' used in the later nineteenth century. The term 'bazaar' was widely used in Australia from the 1820s and remained in favour until the late 1940s[9] when it was superseded by 'fete.' For purposes of clarity and consistency, the term 'bazaar' will be used to denote this particular type of fundraising event.

Figure 1 (left): Ascot Kindegarten's Jubilee Fete, 16 November 2002. Promotional flyer. Source: Author's own collection.

Figure 2 (right): Brunswick Sth Primary School Twilight Fete and Cabaret, 19 November 2004. Promotional flyer. Source: Author's own collection.

Bazaars in Australia today are generally small, localised events, as demonstrated by these examples of promotional flyers from fetes organised by a local primary schools and a kindergarten.

[9] Beverley Kingston, "Faith and Fetes: Women and the History of Churches in Australia" in *Women, Faith and Fetes*, ed. Sabine Willis (Melbourne: Dove Communications, 1977), 20.

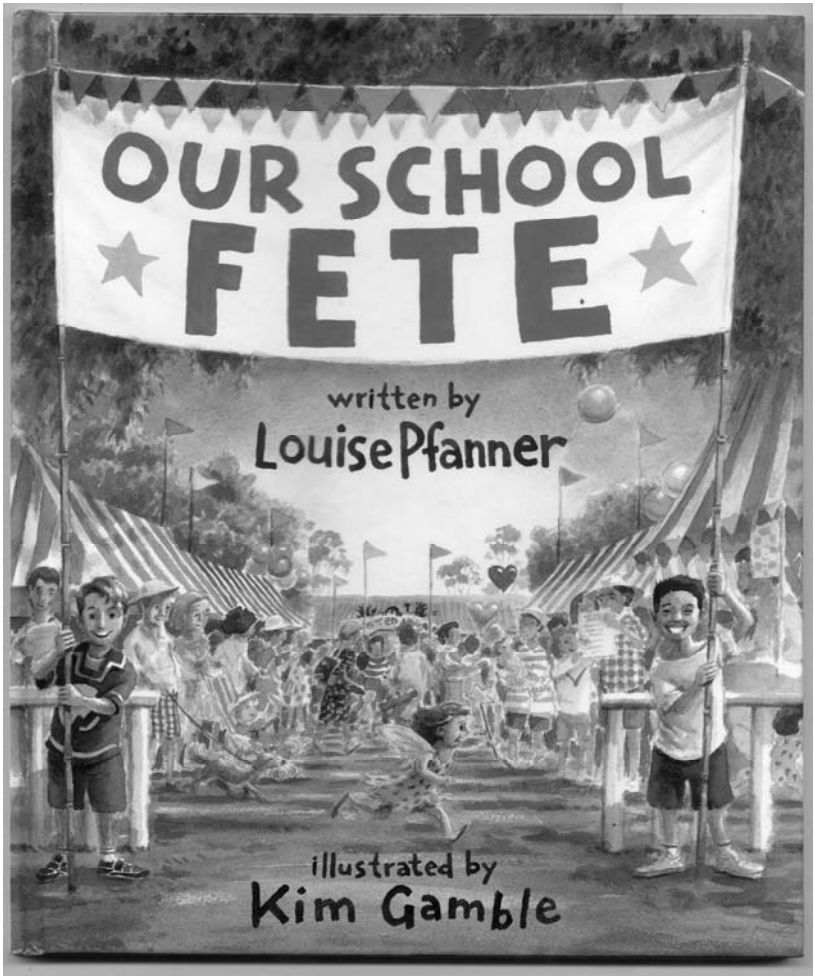

Figure 3: *Our School Fete*, New South Wales: ABC Books, 2004. Front cover of a book written by Louise Pfanner and illustrated by Kim Gamble. Source: Author's own collection. This book captures the essence of the Australian bazaar today.

Definition of Charity Bazaar and Grand Bazaar

While the charity bazaar emerged in the early nineteenth century, its origins are derivative of twelfth century fairs. According to Henry Morley, writing in 1874 on the history of the Bartholomew Fair in England, the

first fairs occurred when worshippers gathered around sacred sites, 'especially within or about the walls of abbeys and cathedrals on the feast days of the saints enshrined in them.' The worshippers would pitch tents and 'stalls would be set up by provision dealers and by all travelling merchants who look to a concourse for opportunity of trade.'[10]

From these religious beginnings, the European fairs evolved into commercial events. While some fairs were organised purely for pleasure, they were predominantly concerned with commerce. For example, there were various animal fairs, cheese fairs, book and printing fairs, general merchandise fairs and the like as well as labour hiring fairs. But as Robert W. Malcolmson notes, 'a good many of them were also treated as pleasure fairs.'[11] The fairs offered revellers a range of refreshments and the opportunity to entertain themselves with many and assorted amusements. The charity bazaar drew heavily on the fair tradition for its entertainments, and activities such as puppet shows, musicians, 'throwing for prizes', games of chance and theatrical performances were borrowed.[12]

Varying in size, complexity, focus and duration, charity bazaars in Australia have been characterised by six distinctive elements throughout their history. The main purpose of a bazaar is to raise revenue for a designated charity or cause, they are organised and run (predominantly) by women, they are reliant on voluntary labour, they feature hand-made goods for sale (increasingly with other mass produced product), they offer a variety of goods and entertainments and they can be either a one-off event or held on a regular basis. The inclusion of these six features serve to define the charity bazaar in Australia and distinguish it from other revenue raising activities such as auctions, balls and trivia nights and from the more privately motivated contemporary craft markets and garage sales.

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[10] Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair,* (London: Frederick Warne and Co, 1874), 13.

[11] Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 20.

[12] The history of fairs in Europe is a long and fascinating one and various aspects have been the subject of research. Other popular amusements also included 'living curiosities', circuses or menageries and competitive events such as wrestling and racing. For a detailed overview of a British fair see Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair.* This illustrated and indexed account of the Bartholomew Fair spans its creation in 1120 to its closure in 1855.

I have used the term grand bazaar to describe and define the extraordinarily large bazaars that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. The grand bazaars were spectacular events, which were organised in large venues and held for an extensive time period - from a number of days to over a month. The grand bazaars were often theatrical or themed with highly designed and decorated interiors and stalls together with appropriately costumed stallholders. Frank Prochaska uses the term great bazaar to describe this type of bazaar in a British context while Stephanie Rains, writing of Irish bazaars refers to them as large-scale bazaars[13] and Beverly Gordon describes similar scale events in the United States of America as elaborate, turn-of-the-century fairs.[14]

Charity bazaars did not develop in isolation. Bazaars transcended national boundaries and were the product of the absorption and refashioning of a range of global and local influences. The charity bazaar movement in colonial Australia may be clearly sited within the bazaar movement that emerged in Britain and spread to Europe and the United States of America. Charity bazaars were fashioned by their direct and indirect relationship with broader global philanthropic and charitable trends and by the changing roles of women in the nineteenth century. Charity bazaars in colonial Australia are closely allied to the British bazaar movement but they were also shaped by local circumstances, settlement patterns and existing societal conditions.

The charity bazaar played a significant role in nineteenth-century Australia. They were microcosms mirroring life at the time but they were also innovative in themselves and broke new ground with their sales and display techniques and their repositioning of women in the public sphere. Case studies of charity bazaars held in Melbourne, Victoria chronicle the growth and development of a city irrevocably changed by the discovery of gold, immigration and the concomitant economic boom. When analysed as a collective movement over time, charity bazaars provide evidence of the charitable and philanthropic traditions transplanted from Britain; attitudes to gambling; the impact of consumerism; the influence of the great international exhibitions; the role of women over the nineteenth century and the significance of women's handiwork skills.

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[13] Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 55; Stephanie Rains, "Modernity and Consumption in Nineteenth Century Ireland: the Araby Bazaar and 1890s Popular Visual Culture." *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no. 3 (November 2007): 285-300.

[14] Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*, 11.

Nineteenth-century charity bazaars were unquestionably the domain of women. Industrial and demographic change in Britain reshaped women's lives in the nineteenth century and many middle class women found themselves wealthier, with more time on their hands and with fewer occupations due to a greater reliance on servants.[15] This group of women together with upper class women formed what Prochaska describes as 'leisured women'[16] and it was this group that were predominantly responsible for organising charity bazaars. As transported British colonies, Australia inherited many of Britain's prevailing ideologies and middle class women were responsible for charity bazaars in colonial Australia. In this publication, this group of middle and upper class women will be referred to as leisured women. Leisured in the sense, that these women were not involved in paid work outside of the home.

The charity bazaar provided a unique opportunity for leisured women to exercise their creative and organisational skills outside the domestic sphere, within a framework of socially acceptable philanthropic endeavour. Additionally, bazaars presented women in the nineteenth century with a means for social interaction and community involvement through the shared experience of organising and participating in an event. Charity bazaars in colonial Australia were unquestionably the domain of women. The bazaar enabled women to manipulate their circumstances and participate in commerce, the marketplace and public life within safe and socially acceptable confines. The broader social value conferred on their knowledge, labour and domestic handiwork skills empowered women and participation in charity bazaars enabled them to acquire and practise skills appropriate for work and public arenas. Women's role and dominance at bazaars destabilised gender relations as women were on prominent display, actively selling goods and engaging with the public while men were confined to the role of consumers. This situation evoked a parodic response, as seen in the male reporter's verse quoted in the opening to this introductory chapter, as well as sterner criticism. Throughout the history of charity bazaars in the nineteenth century, bazaars and the conduct of women at them drew condemnation from religious spokesmen, social commentators and the press.

The nucleus of the charity bazaar movement was the fancywork produced by women for sale on the bazaar stalls. In an Australian context, fancywork is defined by Jennifer Isaacs in *The Gentle Arts* as, 'the

[15] Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 5.
[16] Ibid.

opposite of plain sewing.'[17] In this publication, fancywork is defined in its broadest sense and the term encompasses decorative needlework and handicrafts, as distinct from 'work' or practical sewing. As Gordon acknowledges, it is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory definition of fancywork[18] and this definition will be discussed and expanded in Chapter Five.

There has been relatively little investigation of fancywork.[19] This study will investigate a largely neglected area of women's creative endeavour -- the production of fancywork -- and examine how the charity bazaar provided a repository for the display and sale of the domestic crafts and fancywork produced by women in the nineteenth century. It will also bring to light the relationship between bazaars and fancywork arguing that the bazaar movement was instrumental in shaping women's fancywork as the evolution of faster and easier methods of fancywork in the nineteenth century coincided with the rise and popularity of the bazaar movement.

From early colonial settlement to the end of the nineteenth century, the charity bazaar was a widely adopted means of raising funds to build and support Australian organisations and institutions. As an entity, the bazaar was both revered and reviled in colonial Australia with its critics vehemently denouncing it on moral, social and legal grounds. Despite the critics and the many social and cultural changes that occurred over the nineteenth century, the numbers of charity bazaars continued to rise. This book examines the reasons why bazaars were such contested sites in nineteenth-century Australia and analyses their continued popularity and expansion. It argues that the charity bazaar was a resilient and successful fundraising form that was continually repositioned and remodelled to remain contemporary.

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[17] Jennifer Isaacs, *The Gentle Arts: 200 Years of Australian Women's Domestic and Decorative Arts* (Sydney: Ure Smith Press, 1991), 114.

[18] Beverly Gordon, "Victorian Fancywork in the American Home: Fantasy and Accommodation" in *Making the American Home: Middle Class Women and Domestic Material Culture 1840-1940*, eds. Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988): 48.

[19] The few exceptions are Gordon, "Victorian Fancywork in the American Home"; Nancy Dunlap Bercaw, "Solid Objects/Mutable Meanings: Fancywork and the Construction of Bourgeois Culture 1840-1880" Winterthur *Portfolio* 26, no. 4 (winter, 1991): 231-247; Elizabeth White Nelson, *Market Sentiments: Middle-class Market Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004).

This publication spans from the early 1800s, when the bazaar originated in London, to the end of the nineteenth century in Australia. The earliest bazaar identified in Australia was held in 1827 and from this fairly modest undertaking, bazaars grew and evolved into more complex entities that mirrored the many societal and cultural changes which were occurring in Australia over the century. In tandem with the bazaar movement, the nineteenth century saw the birth of the great international exhibition movement and the growth of consumerism, both of which affected the bazaar movement and were equally influenced by it.

The federation of the Australian colonies in 1901 was a time of national celebration and optimism, and it just followed the high point of the bazaar movement in Australia, the grand bazaar. The richness of the material on bazaars in colonial Australia says much about pre-federation society. From the early twentieth century, the social significance of bazaars began to wane due to the development of other forms of fundraising, the onset of the Great War and then later the Second World War, changes in fashion, consumption and entertainment patterns and the changing role of women in Australia as more women elected to enter the workforce.

This book examines charity bazaars in an Australian context. Research undertaken indicates that the broader trends associated with the bazaar movement in Australia, in any given period, are comparative across the country. Australia was initially settled as separate colonies, which were not united as Australia until federation in 1901. The first settlement occurred in 1788 when New South Wales was established as a British penal colony. This was followed by Van Diemen's Land (known as Tasmania from 1856), which was settled as a penal colony in 1803 and became a colony in its own right in 1825. Queensland was established as a penal colony in 1824. The Swan River Colony was proclaimed on the West Coast in 1829 and became a penal settlement in 1849. The British province of South Australia was created in 1836 and it was never a convict colony. Port Phillip (Victoria) was established in 1835 by free settlers and in 1837 the settlement was officially sanctioned by the British government.

While examples of bazaars in early colonial New South Wales and in other colonies are analysed in this study, the emphasis is on Melbourne, Victoria. The settlement of Melbourne was established by free settlers in 1835 and with the subsequent gold discoveries in 1851 rapidly grew to become a thriving cosmopolitan city. This is reflected in the number and

development of public charitable institutions and hospitals, churches, schools, the university, cultural institutions, retail precincts and the Exhibition Building, which were established in the city. With its diverse culture and as Australia's leading city for much of the second half of the nineteenth century, Melbourne is a rich case study providing a vivid insight into the breadth and variety of the charity bazaar form in Australia.

Over the nineteenth century there were innumerable bazaars organised in Australia, which ranged in size and scale. While some smaller bazaars are examined, the majority of the case studies discussed are larger bazaars. The large bazaars were major competitors in the mainstream leisure and entertainment sector and involved large numbers of the population, as organisers, participants and attendees. As prominent events, the large bazaars attracted publicity and were widely documented. The press coverage, extant records and range of archival sources available provide for greater analysis of these events.

A bazaar is ephemeral by nature and very little material culture from charity bazaars held in colonial Australia has survived. A few souvenir booklets and pamphlets, limited correspondence, annual reports, some illustrative material and the odd item of ephemera are all that have survived to record the existence of nineteenth-century charity bazaars. For the purposes of this investigation, I have relied predominantly on primary source material such as contemporary accounts, advertisements, editorials, letters to the editors, cartoons and illustrative materials from local and state newspapers and magazines. Instructional manuals, institutional records, souvenir booklets, private correspondence, promotional literature and ephemera have all been utilised as sources for this book.

Contemporary nineteenth-century bazaar specific publications have proved to be an important source of information. These include *The Lady's Bazaar and Fancy Fair Book* (n.d., ca.1875) and publications devoted to the production of fancywork and domestic craft such as *Mrs Leach's Fancy Work Basket* (n.d., ca.1890), the *Lady's Manual of Fancy-Work (*1859) and *Weldon's Practical Needlework* (n.d., ca.1888).[20]

[20] *The Lady's Bazaar and Fancy Fair Book* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., n.d., ca. 1875); *Mrs Leach's Fancy Work Basket: Practical Lessons in Every Description of Fancy Work, vol. vi* (London: R. S. Cartwright, n.d., ca.1890); Mrs Pullan, *Lady's Manual of Fancy-Work: A Complete Instructor in Every Variety of Ornamental Needlework* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1859); "Weldon's Practical Bazaar

Contemporary memoirs, recollections and advice books have also contributed to this investigation. The works of Australian novelists, memoirists and journalists Ada Cambridge, Elizabeth Ramsay-Laye, Annabella Boswell, Clara Aspinall and Edmund Finn (writing under the pen of Garryowen) have been fruitful sources of information, as have the published correspondence and diaries of Rachel Henning, Sarah Midgley and Richard Skilbeck, Frances Macleay and *The Vagabond Papers* (1877-78). Mrs Lance Rawson's, *The Australian Enquiry Book* (1894) contains references to bazaars, and charity bazaars, or rather the behaviour expected at them, warranted an entry in the social guide *Australian Etiquette, or the Rules and Usages of the Best Society in the Colonies Together with Their Sports, Pastimes, Games and Amusements* (1885).[21]

There are a number of references to bazaars in British, American and Australian literature and popular culture. Nineteenth-century charity bazaars have also been the impetus for paintings, poetry, a ballad and an allegorical dialogue. The fictional accounts of bazaars are an important means of reaffirming the bazaar's role in the social life of the times and provide an insight into the perception of the charity bazaar through the views and actions of the characters. In contemporary works of the

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Articles" in *Weldon's Practical Needlework*, vol. 2 (London: Weldon & Co., n.d., ca.1888). Facsimile edition (Colorado: Interweave Press, 2000).

[21]Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia*, (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1989). First published (London: Methuen & Co., 1903); Clara Aspinall, *Three Years in Melbourne*, (London: L. Booth, 1862); Elizabeth Ramsay-Laye, *Social Life and Manners in Australia Being the Notes of Eight Years Experience by a Resident*, (London: Longman Green, 1861); Annabella Boswell, *Annabella Boswell's Journal: Australian Reminiscences Illustrated With her Own Watercolours and Contemporary Drawings and Sketches.* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1985); *Australian Etiquette, or the Rules and Usages of the Best Society in the Colonies Together with Their Sports, Pastimes, Games and Amusements*, (Melbourne: People's Publishing Company, 1885). Facsimile edition (Knoxfield, Vic: J M Dent Pty. Ltd., 1980); Mrs Lance Rawson, *The Australian Enquiry Book* (London: Pater & Knapton, 1894). Facsimile edition (New South Wales: Kangaroo Press, 1984); H. A. McCorkell, ed., *The Diaries of Sarah Midgley and Richard Skilbeck: A Story of Australian Settlers 1851-1864* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1967); Beverley Earnshaw and Joy Hughes, eds., *Fanny to William: The Letters of Frances Lenora Macleay 1812-1836* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales and Macleay Museum, 1993); David Adams, ed., *The Letters of Rachel Henning* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1966); Edmund Finn (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne Volume 1, 1835-1852* (Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888); John Stanley James, *The Vagabond Papers* abridged ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969).

nineteenth century and later texts set in that period, bazaars are utilised as both a setting and a device from which to explore social and moral issues in literature. As a study of these sources reveals, innumerable characters work for and attend bazaars. *Gone with the Wind* (1936) by Margaret Mitchell, *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) by George Eliot and *Vanity Fair* (1847-48) by William Thackeray Makepeace are but three more obvious examples. *Good Wives* (1869) by Louisa May Alcott features a bazaar scene, as does *The Ministry of Fear* (1943) by Graham Greene, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (1920) by Agatha Christie and *Mrs Pepperpot at the Bazaar* (1959) by Alf Proysen. Closer to Australia, Henry Handel Richardson's characters attend and assist with a bazaar in the novel set on the 1850s goldfields, *Australia Felix* (1930) while contemporary children's author Emily Rodda uses the bazaar as the setting for her novel *Something Special* (1984).[22] The Disney film version of the book *Pollyanna* (1913) by Eleanor H. Porter, introduces a charity bazaar as a major component of the film from which to explore the division and ultimate unification of the community. In contrast, the bazaar is parodied in an episode (1952) from the Abbott and Costello Show, which sees the antics of the comic pair sited within a charity bazaar.[23]

Fundraising, Flirtation and Fancywork: Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth–Century Australia does not purport to be a comprehensive chronological history of charity bazaars in colonial Australia. Rather, it follows a broad chronology in which key issues about the history and development of charity bazaars are explored. The bazaar form that emerged in colonial Australia was an amalgam. It was a product of the charity bazaar movement, which originated in Britain but it was also shaped by local conditions and circumstances. This study positions the Australian charity bazaar within the existing international framework and analyses it within the context of the local situation.

Chapter One establishes that the charity bazaar was initiated by women of the middle and upper classes in nineteenth-century Britain and examines its evolution from a simple 'sale of work' to a complex entity, which rapidly

[22] Henry Handel Richardson, *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney* (Camberwell, Vic: Penguin Books, 2008); Emily Rodda, *Something Special* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1984).
[23] *Pollyanna*, DVD, (Disney version). Directed by David Swift. 1960, Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2000; "The Charity Bazaar", *Abbott and Costello Show*. Television program. Directed by Jean Yarbrough. Season One, Episode 10, 1952.

became ubiquitous in the social, cultural and charitable life of nineteenth-century Britain. The charity bazaar is distinguished from its commercial counterpart and is sited within the broader frameworks of charitable reform, the consumer revolution and the great international exhibition movement. This chapter demonstrates that bazaars were an influential force and a model for future developments in retail and the exhibition movement and forms a frame of reference from which to position and analyse the charity bazaar movement in Australia.

The transportation of the charitable movement and in its wake, the charity bazaar from Britain to the colonies of Australia is examined in Chapter Two. The charity bazaar movement transcends national boundaries and has been shaped by its direct and indirect relationship with broader global philanthropic and charitable trends and the changing role of women. While the Australian charity bazaar is allied to its British counterpart, it was shaped by existing conditions. The earliest bazaar held in Australia is identified and through the case study of the earliest advertised bazaar, it is shown how this relatively modest undertaking was instrumental in promulgating the charity bazaar movement in Australia.

The rise and development of the early bazaar movement in Australia is discussed in Chapter Three. In charting the evolution of the early charity bazaars it becomes evident that bazaars were a reflection of the social mores of the time and in the case of Melbourne, mirror the growth and development a city irrevocably changed by the discovery of gold. Irrespective of their proven financial success, charity bazaars were repeatedly the subject of heated criticism on moral, religious and legal grounds. In examining the bazaar as a contested site, this chapter demonstrates that irrespective of the critics, charity bazaars continued to flourish.

Chapter Four focuses upon the women behind the stalls and the reasons why leisured women collectively embraced the bazaar movement. Despite their shifting roles and rights in the later part of the nineteenth century, colonial women continued to support charity bazaars. This chapter examines the significance and importance of the charity bazaar to women and in doing so it argues that bazaars were intermediary spaces. They were spaces created by women in the early nineteenth century that enabled them to collectively manipulate their circumstances and experience freedom and autonomy outside of their prescribed sphere while still maintaining the ideals of genteel femininity.

The fancywork produced by women is the nucleus of the nineteenth-century charity bazaar. Chapter Five defines fancywork and analyses its importance and significance within the context of women's education and their role and position in the nineteenth century. The interrelationship between fancywork and charity bazaars is discussed and it is shown that the bazaar movement was instrumental in shaping the direction of women's fancywork. The newer, faster and easier forms of fancywork, which evolved in the nineteenth century, emerged in tandem with the rise and popularity of the charity bazaar movement. The fancywork produced for charity bazaars in colonial Australia is examined and the relationship between British and Australian fancywork, craft techniques, types of materials in use and the dictates of fashion is investigated.

The late nineteenth century witnessed the heyday of the bazaar movement in Australia with the emergence of the grand bazaars at the end of the century signalling the pinnacle of the charity bazaar as an entity. Chapter Six examines the nature and form of the grand bazaars and in doing so analyses the reasons why they became such complex sites. Charity bazaars are analysed in light of the influence of the global exhibition movement, the implications of the growth of consumerism and the development of shopping as a leisure activity. As this chapter demonstrates, charity bazaars were continually repositioned and remodelled to ensure their contemporary relevance.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHARITY BAZAAR

> The idea of organising a Bazaar on the occasion of subscribing to any charitable institution has become a great feature of the present age. It affords opportunities to many idle people of pleasantly exerting themselves, discovers and brings forward obscure talents, promotes intercourse and amusement, and frequently ensures most advantageous returns.[1]
> —*The Lady's Bazaar and Fancy Fair Book* n.d., ca. 1875

As *The Lady's Bazaar and Fancy Fair Book* states, bazaars were a successful means of raising funds for charity and a popular form of entertainment.

The nineteenth-century charity bazaar was a paradox. On one hand, it encapsulated responsibility and civic duty through its raison d'etre, which was the provision of support for charitable causes. On the other, it encouraged a loosening of social and gendered restraint as women of the middle and upper classes repositioned themselves in a commercial public space, in which, the acquisition of material goods (often perceived as frivolous), gambling through games of chance and the intermingling of the sexes were actively encouraged.

The charity bazaar was initiated in nineteenth-century Britain by middle and upper class women in response to their involvement with the burgeoning charitable movement and as a means of broadening their role and sphere in society. Bazaars were an innovative and novel entertainment and an early influential force and model for future developments in retail and public forms of the exhibition and display of goods. This chapter

[1] *The Lady's Bazaar and Fancy Fair Book* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., n.d., ca.1875), 9.

examines the origin of the charity bazaar and analyses its evolution, development and appeal within the broader frameworks of the consumer revolution and the great international exhibition movement, which were occurring simultaneously. The popularity and success of the charity bazaar as a fundraising activity was such that it was transplanted from Britain and bazaars were held in the United States of America, Europe and a number of Australian, Indian and African colonies.

The institution of the charity bazaar originated in London in the early 1800s. Frank Prochaska's research identified a sale (bazaar) in 1813, when the Ladies' Royal Benevolent Society for Visiting, Relieving and Investigating the Condition of the Poor held a sale of 'fancy work' in aid of the charity in London that raised £38. The success of this sale led to an annual event and in 1817, the receipts showed a profit of over £100.[2] To date, no other research has countered Prochaska's findings or placed the first bazaar to be held in Britain at an earlier date. In the absence of any other evidence to the contrary, the 1813 sale of 'fancy work' may be considered the first charity bazaar in existence and the start of the bazaar movement. This date is important as it clearly indicates the existence of this type of enterprise – profiting from the sale of women's hand made goods -- prior to the establishment of commercial bazaars. The charity bazaar just predates its first commercial rival so the two types of bazaar, charity and commercial, were operating in tandem in London during the early nineteenth century.

Established by John Trotter in 1815 for the sale of fancy goods (goods that are chiefly ornamental), the Soho Bazaar in London was the 'first English marketplace to style itself as a 'bazaar'[3] and London's first permanent commercial bazaar.[4] Trotter, who had made his fortune supplying the army during the Napoleonic wars, transformed his very large warehouse on Soho Square into what he called a 'bazaar' where women, particularly widows and orphans of army officers, could sell items they had made, renting counter space for three pence per square foot daily.[5] Descriptions of the Soho Bazaar indicate that it had several rooms over two separate floors. It offered counter space for up to 160 vendors ranged on both sides of aisles and was an enticing environment with red cloth draping the walls

[2] Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 49.
[3] Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture*, 43.
[4] Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 49.
[5] Dyer, "The `Vanity Fair` of Nineteenth-Century England," 196.