Melbourne's Bulletin had been incorporated into the Melbourne Punch, a satirical weekly which had modelled itself on the London Punch since 1855. From 1872 Irishmen James and Alexander McKinley especially the latter, put it on a paying basis. From 1880 it incorporated the Bulletin and took on a social, gossip, sporting and dramatic nature, as well as retaining a major portion of political comment both domestic and overseas. It carried a valuable series of political profiles. Edmund Finn ('Garryowen' - the chronicler of early Melbourne) steered a moderate course as editor - one virtually free of libel. Fred J. Ashton was business manager and J.J. Halligan printer and publisher.¹

Artists included N. Chevalier, O.R. Campbell, Charles Gregory, T. Carrington, the American L.D. Bradley, J. Sutherland, Alek Sass and G.H. Dancey, especially the latter in the period under consideration. The satire was much more playful and 'proper' than that of the Bulletin and had an English-Tory conservative flavour. Unlike the Bulletin, it frequently satirized overseas developments.²

E. Labor Press

Though many of the newspapers described, especially the Bulletin had radical-worker sympathies, a distinct Labor press grew up in this period.

The Australian Workman which grew out of the great maritime strike in 1890 in Sydney was the product of the Labor Defence Committee, seeking its own mouthpiece. The New South Wales Trades and Labor Council were its direct proprietors and Charles Hart was appointed manager on behalf of the Central Labor Executive. W.G. Higgs, a member of the Typographical Association was its first editor. George Black edited the paper 1891-92 and by 1893, it was ably served by Frank Cox, at 18, one of the youngest newspaper editors in the world. The paper devoted most of its energy toward achieving political power for the Labor Party and confined its American comment to the situation of the workers. With George Hawkins as manager, the paper survived until 1897, when it was incorporated into the

² Review of Reviews, Sept. 1892, p.56.
Sydney Worker (formerly published at Wagga Wagga and known 1891-92 as the Hummer).  

The Worker in Brisbane was begun March 1890 as the journal of the associated workers of Queensland. By 1893 it was in a strong financial position and had a circulation of 16,000 a week. It was thus maintained at an enviably low expenditure of £30. Eight thousand unionists had backed the Labor-paper conference held at Brisbane in 1891 to discuss arrangements for its production. It was decided that each co-operative union should pay a penny per month per member to maintain it. The paper was managed by trustees elected by district groups of the co-operating unions and produced as a 16 page monthly. When the larger Australian Labor Federation was formed in Queensland, the circulation amounted to 22,500 copies among a male population in Queensland of slightly over 100,000. Its size was reduced in 1893 due to the depression. Editors were elected by subscribers and could be removed by vote. William Lane held the position for three years before retiring to organize the ill-fated utopian New Australia Co-operative Association. Lane was most famous as editor and part-proprietor of the Boomerang, an inspired satirical and radical weekly (1887-92). Gresley Lukin ably followed Lane as editor of the latter journal. W.H. Demaine, editor and proprietor of the Alert at Maryborough, also deserves mention.

The paper was marked by moral intensity and saw labor's approach to social ills as 'the latest phase of Christian thought'. The Wagga and ultimately the Sydney Worker, were based on the Brisbane model. The Sydney Worker was edited by Georgé Black from 1900 to 1904. Cartoons enlivened the Brisbane edition.

Victoria's most successful Labor journal begun in October 1897 was the twelve page weekly Tocsin produced in Melbourne and also based on the Brisbane Worker. G.M. Prendergast was proprietor and part editor and J.P. Jones its business manager. It supported Socialist candidates for office; was enlivened by some comment on overseas events and the art of Norman Lindsay and survived until 1906, when it was succeeded by the Labour Call. Other Victorian efforts included the Shearers' & General Labourers' Record, a monthly published at Newport from 1887, incorporated


from September 1893 into the Melbourne Worker, a journal which died in 1895. George A. Andrew was its editor. Its circulation never exceeded 5,000. The Commonweal & Workers' Advocate, founded August 1891 and edited by Joseph Winter, represented extreme socialism and suffered repeated boycott from newsagents. It died July 1893.1

South Australia's official labor organ was the Weekly Herald from 1894-1910. It went through many editors: H. White, W. Wedd, J. Wood, J. Hutchison and E. Roberts in this period. The Pioneer, a bi-weekly, lasted briefly from November 1890 to December 1892. With fellow labor journals, it struggled for the single tax, nationalization of land and municipal socialism. H.S. Taylor and E.J. Hiscock were briefly its editors. The Voice, a weekly edited by the able J. Medway Day, took over its functions from December 1892 to December 1893. The Hobart Clipper (1893-1909) had J.J. Paton and W.A. Woods as editors 1902-08. The Tasmanian Democrat from Launceston, lasted a little over a year (1892-93) as a workers' organ, though it had no official connection with trades unions. It formed the Federalist from 1898, with W.A. Woods as editor. New Australia, which survived only a few months in 1893 was the worker-utopian curiosity of William Lane's New Australian Cooperative Settlement Association. In Western Australia, the Westralian Worker from 1900 and from 1904 the Democrat and Sunday Figaro (with T.H. Bath as editor) were important.

But for the Worker(s) of Sydney and Brisbane and the Tocsin in Melbourne the labor press was not strong in Australia during this period. The papers possibly reached fewer than 20,000 readers each, had few mutual connections or cable services and were sometimes short of journalistic talent. Yet even their conservative enemies agreed that they were not run 'by adventurers or by journalistic demagogues' and were worthy of some respect. In 1893, a writer in the Review of Reviews commented:

Let anyone of competent knowledge compare the Labour papers of Australia with the incendiary rags of the continent or even of the more than semi-atheistic journals which too often assume the advocacy of Labour interests in Great Britain and he will be glad to recognize that the Labour Press of the colonies has some good elements.

The only criticism offered from the point of view of this thesis, is that

they were too inward-looking and carried some foreign comment, mainly pertaining to labor matters.

F. Religious Press

The Catholic press in Australia was well established and attempting to grow stronger during the period 1889-1908. The Freeman's Journal founded in Sydney in 1850 described itself as the 'oldest established weekly newspaper in the Australian colonies'. It was protectionist, pro-Irish and often against the British jingo-imperialist establishment. Edited by Thomas Butler to 1894 and thereafter by J. Blakeney, it contained valuable comment on overseas affairs. Its circulation was probably less than the 40,000 quickly achieved by its rival, the slightly more progressive Catholic Press founded in November 1895. This co-operative venture was pro-free trade and was edited by J. Tighe Ryan. Not until 1942 did these papers merge. These weeklies were the leaders among New South Wales' 300,000 Catholics and they fearlessly attacked any anti-Catholicism they felt existed in the Daily Telegraph, Sydney Morning Herald or any other local Australian or overseas opinion leader. Other papers, both secular and religious, attacked these two Catholic papers for their narrow, partisan elements and the sectarian dissension they fostered.

The Melbourne Advocate, though less fiscally oriented, was their Melbourne equivalent. Founded in 1868, it contained important foreign commentary. Joseph Winter was proprietor of a journal with some worker-radical tendencies and J.L. Forde edited it. Perth's Catholics were ably served by the Record. The famous Archbishop of Perth, M. Gibney was the proprietor and the Rev. P. Brennan its editor. In Launceston, the Monitor, formed by the merger of the Hobart Catholic Standard and the Morning Star in 1894, served Tasmania's Catholics with the Rev. Dr John O'Mahony as editor. Most of these weeklies averaged 20 pages for threepence. The Austral Light, a monthly, was founded in 1891 and edited by W.R. McMahon, J.T.P. O'Meara, O'Reilly and S. Bonditch. Their influence became most noticeable during the Boer War when they stood against Imperial policies

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1Gibney had achieved unexpected fame in 1880 as the priest who entered the Jones's burning hotel at Glenrowan, where the Kelly gang of bushrangers were making their last stand.
in the Transvaal. ¹

Protestants in Australia were served by a large number of papers, but few contained foreign comment as the largely protestant-oriented dailies spoke for them. Strongest in its attacks was the Sydney-based organ of the Orange Lodge, the Protestant Banner. It flailed awkwardly at Romanism and Papism and saw 'Catholic Plots' in everything. Its maliciousness made it absurd in the eyes of most. Founded in August 1895, the weekly ceased publication in July 1906.

Less extreme was the Sydney Protestant Standard, incorporated in 1895 into the Australian Christian World. The Sydney Methodist, edited by Rev. J.E. Carruthers and the Presbyterian Messenger, edited by the Rev. W.W. Watt were among the leaders in New South Wales, although the Salvation Army’s War Cry achieved a large circulation 1891-92 before moving to Melbourne. The Southern Cross, a publication covering all protestant denominations, published by T. Shaw Pitchett and edited by the Rev. Dr W.H. Pitchett; the Church Commonwealth (Anglican), Independent (Congregational) and Methodist were significant weeklies published in Melbourne.

Praise was often reserved for the Hebrew Standard of Australasia, first published in November 1895 in Sydney. ² A contemporary, the Australasian Hebrew lasted only a year (1895-96). Melbourne's Jewish Herald was printed and published by Alexander McKinley. These publications were felt to be truly 'religious' and rarely ventured political comment. On the contrary, the Liberator - a Freethinkers' weekly from Melbourne edited by Joseph Symes ³ and managed by A.T. Wilson since 1885, commented freely on all foreign events. Though nominally 'Republican and Atheistic', Symes' attitudes were inconsistently progressive-conservative.

G. Monthlies

Except for the Sydney monthly Lone Hand, which continued the Bulletin's policies, published from 1907, there were few significant monthlies in

¹The Religious Press of Australia: An Indictment’, Lone Hand, 1 June 1907, pp.190-3; the Monitor, 1 Dec. 1899.

²Lone Hand, op.cit.

Australia carrying information on foreign affairs until W.T. Stead's Review of Reviews appeared in an Australasian edition issued from Melbourne in July 1892. Stead's English edition was selling 150,000 a month and his American edition, 75,000 a month under the editorship of Dr Albert Shaw. Stead had always sincerely admired Australia and wished to have his magazine perform an Australian function by encouraging Australian nationalism and Australian interests in a 32 page Australian section forming a quarter of the magazine, while catering to curiosity regarding British and American events in the rest. W.H. Fitchett, an 'upright' man and Empire enthusiast, whose wide editorial experience has been noted elsewhere was given carte blanche to carry out the Australian editing. Stead especially wished to make the world aware of Australia's caricaturists whose vigour, humour and vivacity he found 'second to none'.

The magazine was made a monthly (appearing on the twentieth) to better collate and distribute overall Australian and overseas news impressions. Stead's larger ideal was the unity of the English-speaking race, through mutual understanding leading to equal partnership and promotion of common interests. ¹

Stead's purpose was serious and educative. Practical Christianity, democracy, unity, seapower, 'free' labour and the enfranchisement of women were in his programme. This world-view was very much at odds with that of the Bulletin, the devil's advocate for all Stead's proposals.

Writing at the time of federation, Stead believed

it is curious to contrast the two and the future destinies of the Empire will probably be decided by the question whether it is the Australasian Review of Reviews or the Sydney Bulletin which dominates the policy of the continent.

Stead maintained in 1901 that his magazine was the only other publication which has an Australasian circulation which rivalled or exceeded that of the Sydney Bulletin. If this was so, and it is a dubious claim for the period following the Boer War, the magazine must have circulated in Australasia at around its British figure of 150,000. ²

It evoked widespread enthusiasm from numerous politicians, lawyers, professors, governors and churchmen who saw in it an excellent means of

¹ Review of Reviews, July 1892, Vol.1, No.1, p.10.
² Review of Reviews, 20 Feb. 1901, p.191, for Stead on 'The Commonwealth of Australia'.

keeping abreast with the voluminous outpourings of most of the overseas monthly and quarterly magazines, whose most important articles were usually summarised in a concise form. Nonetheless it lost the sympathy of many sensitive souls for its hostility to the Boers, a policy pursued by Fitchett in defiance of Stead's more peacable, humanitarian opposition to the war. Stead's progressivism did not appeal to many because of its utopian idealism, sudden enthusiasms and internal contradictions.

Though protectionist, it acted as a conservative, imperialist foil to the Bulletin's radical republicanism especially for the decade 1892-1902, after which Fitchett was replaced as editor by William H. Judkins. As well it provided a unique forum for ideas on arbitration and bimetallism, among other things, while making Australia more aware of the world and the world more aware of Australia. Its function in presenting summaries of articles from a variety of monthly magazines and its important influence on Australian thought in the 1890's and especially Australia's perceptions of the world, has not yet been placed in its proper perspective. Certainly it is one of the period's most valuable sources of impressions of America, both English and Australian.

H. Others

The commercial, suburban, foreign language and social presses of Australia have not been much mentioned in this thesis due to the lack of foreign comment in both the social, commercial and the suburban presses in general and due to the very marginal importance of the foreign language (particularly the French and German) presses of this time in their comment

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1 Review of Reviews, Aug., Sept., Oct. 1892 see 'Notices'; for Australian materials appearing in the overseas press during only June and July 1892, for example, it quoted: Figaro, 25 June; Financial News, 28 June; Engineering, 10, 24 June; Pall Mall Gazette, 1 July; Financial News, 6 July; Daily News, 27 June; Economist, 25 June; Morning Advertiser, 28 June; Trade and Finance, 29 June; Illustrated London News, 2, 16 July; Bell's Weekly Messenger, 4 July; Manchester Courier, 2 July; Church Reformer, July; Lancet, July; Westminster Review, Aug.; Scottish Leader, 1 Aug.; Standard, Nature, 28 July; New Review, Financial Standard, 16 July; Daily Graphic, 20 July; Financial News, 30 July etc. Nonetheless, news in Britain concerning Australia was notoriously difficult to obtain. See Perth Morning Herald leader, 5 May 1898. There is research opportunity here on such overseas press perceptions of Australia.
on foreign affairs. Clippings of commercial weeklies such as the
Meat Traders' Journal or monthlies like the Australian Storekeepers' Journal sometimes found their way into the despatches from American Consuls and in Colonial Office materials with their comment on economic reactions to overseas trends.

There were 16 suburban newspapers in Sydney in 1904, half a dozen of them serving areas of over 20,000 population. In Melbourne, there were 40 suburban papers in 1904, the Prahran Telegraph and South Melbourne Record reached 40,000 people while the Richmond Australian and Guardian reached 37,000; the Carlton Gazette 34,000 and the Collingwood Mercury 32,000. These weeklies would richly reward research.¹

Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubecky have examined the foreign language press in an introductory way. The Australische Zeitung of Melbourne and Tanunda, and the Nord Australische Zietung (to 1903); Der Lutherische Kurchenbote fuer Australien; the Australischen Christenbote and Kirchen und Missions Zeitung; the Deutsche Australische Post and Queenslander Herald, were the most important German publications during the period serving 45,000 immigrants. Of the Scandinavian press, the Hjemlandstoner 1893-96 and the Norden after 1896, were monthlies. Le Courrier Australien was first issued on 30 April 1892 by C. de Wroblewski, a Polish emigré who married the daughter of a French pioneer in Dubbo - Jean de Buillon Emile Serisier. The French weekly has been one of the most durable papers in Australia. The Uniamoci published by Joseph Prampolini (1903-04) and L'Italio Australiano (1905-09) were left-wing Italian weeklies. The Chinese Australian Herald from 1894 in Sydney and the Chinese Times from 1902 in Melbourne were weeklies serving that group.²

Of the social weeklies, Melbourne's conservative Table Talk (very important for local politics when run by Maurice Brodzky as editor and proprietor 1885-1903) and the left-leaning Champion (1895-97) were noteworthy. In Adelaide, the Quiz and Lantern and the Critic, founded September 1897 had some small overseas comment, generally of a frivolous nature.

¹ Reuter's Telegram Co. Lists (1904), op.cit.
² M. Gilson and J. Zubecky, The Foreign Language Press in Australia, 1848-64 (Canberra, 1967), Chapter one.
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Austral Light (Melbourne)

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Australasian Independent (Melbourne)

Australian Christian World (Sydney)

Australian News (Sydney)

Australian Star (Sydney)

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Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney)

Australian Workman (Sydney)

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Bairnsdale Advertiser

Bairnsdale Courier
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Ballarat Star
Barrier Miner (Broken Hill)
Bathurst Daily Argus
Beacon (Melbourne)
Bega Gazette
Bega Standard
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Bendigo Advertiser
Bendigo Evening Mail
Bendigonian
Bendigo Independent
Boomerang (Brisbane)
Border Morning Mail (Albury)
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Brisbane Worker
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Critic (Adelaide)
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