THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS AND AMERICAN EXPANSION

1895-1901

by

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A Thesis submitted
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Australian National University

Except where acknowledged in the text this thesis is the original work of the author.

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25.2.74

'The advent of the United States of America as the greatest of world-Powers is the greatest political, social and commercial phenomenon of our times. For some years past we have all been more or less dimly conscious of its significance. It is only when we look at the manifold manifestations of the exuberant energy of the United States, and the world-wide influence which they are exerting upon the world in general and the British Empire in particular, that we realise how comparatively insignificant are all the other events of our time.'

- from Preface, W.T. Stead,
The Americanisation of the World
or The Trend of the Twentieth
Century (London, 1902).

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken for several reasons.

First, there was the gap in knowledge. Australian-American relations and attitudes have been reasonably well covered for the period up to the Civil War, and especially for the gold rush period.[1] Two theses bridge the gap to 1888.[2] That story has also been taken up from the end of World War One to the present day.[3] But, as Lionel Fredman put it in his book America Enters The Pacific, the year before this study was begun (1969): p.46:

> Books on Australian history leave the impression that there was a kind of hiatus in Australian-American relations between the Gold Rushes of the 1850's and the visit of the Great White Fleet, if they take it seriously at all. Even the more specialized works seem to find the period unimportant.

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[1] G. Greenwood, Early Australian-American Relations - to 1830 (Melbourne, 1944); W. Levi, American-Australian Relations (Minnesota, 1947); L.G. Churchward, 'Americans and Other Foreigners at Eureka', Historical Studies, Eureka Supplement (Melbourne, 1954), pp.78-86; 'American Contributions to the Victorian Gold Rush', Victorian Historical Magazine, xix, June 1942, pp.85-96; 'American-Australian Relations During the Gold Rushes', Historical Studies II, Apr. 1942, pp.11-24; E.D. and A. Potts, 'American Republicanism and the Disturbances on the Australian Gold Fields', Historical Studies, XIII, Apr. 1968, pp.145-64; J. Monaghan, Australians and the Gold Rush: California and Down Under, 1849-54 (Los Angeles, 1966); E.D. and A. Potts (eds), A Yankee Merchant In Gold Rush Australia (London, 1970) on Francis Train; M.V. Sapiets, 'Australian Press Coverage of America', 1850-65. With Special Reference to New South Wales', Unpublished M.A., A.N.U., Canberra, 1969; J.H. Moore, 'New South Wales and the American Civil War', Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.XVI, I, Apr. 1970, pp.24-38; E. Scott, 'The Shenandoah Incident 1865', Victorian Historical Magazine (Melbourne, 1926), Sept. XI, pp.55-67; also the contemporary writings of such visitors as: C. Wilkes, G.F. Train, C.M. Welles, C.E. Hunt, M.M. Ballou, H. George, H. Adams, H. Hoover and others. On the latter, see G. Blainey, 'Herbert Hoover's Forgotten Years', Business Archives and History III, February 1963, pp.53-70.

[2] L.G. Churchward, 'A Sketch of the Origins and Early Growth of the Social and Economic Relations between Australia and the United States, 1790-1876', Unpublished M.A., University of Melbourne, 1941. I understand that T. Kidd of the University of Queensland is writing an M.A. along the lines of Churchward's to cover the period 1876-1888.

[3] For this voluminous literature, a good starting point is N.D. Harper (ed.), Australia and the United States (Melbourne, 1972), pp.62-261, especially the Bibliography, for books p.269. An outstanding work in this period is R. Esthus, From Enmity to Alliance (Melbourne, 1964). For a comprehensive list of articles on Australian-American relations, see W.J. Hudson, 'Australia's External Relations: Towards a Bibliography of Journal Articles' (Section II, "The United States"), Australian Outlook, Vol.25, No.1, April 1971, pp.91-2.

This states the problem precisely. Any gain in knowledge at all would help fill this historiographic gap. Two slight works have so far dealt with Australian press attitudes toward the Spanish American War.[1] Two theses and two articles cover the Great White Fleet from an Australian viewpoint, but as a 'gala' phenomenon rather than an end point in a process of maturation of attitudes.[2] L.G. Churchward's articles on American contributions to the Australian labour movement[3] on trade[4] relations and on the Pacific Mail Service[5] and American precedents in Australian Federation,[6] as well as the writings of some American visitors to Australia are all that is available.

As a result of these gaps in research, especially for the vital period 1895-1901, generalizations by commentators on the period tend to stress how little interest was taken in the United States and fill their writings with some misleading half-truths.

Far from being a period of relative inactivity, this was a complex and often turbulent period, covering the pivotal 1890's in both countries. America emerged as a World Power and Australia as a Federation. Preliminary study of the early 1890's and the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, convinced me that a distinct change had come over the Australian press in its general attitudes and reactions toward America, and all evidence seemed to suggest that this change took place around the turn of the century. As well, I felt that the press had been neglected as a research tool.

'There can be few stories more exciting and more significant than the changes in ownership and control of the great opinion forming institutions', W.M. Corden has written.

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[1] Wellington and McIntosh, see Chapter 9.

[2] Megaw and Metherell, see Chapter 11.

[3] L.G. Churchward, 'American Influence on the Australian Labour Movement', Historical Studies, 1952-3, pp.258-68. See also, F. Picard, 'Henry George and the Labour Split of 1891', Historical Studies, Nov. 1953, pp.45-63.

[4] Churchward, 'Australian-American Trade Relations, 1791-1939, Economic Record, Vol. 26, June 1950, pp.69-86.

[5] L.G. Churchward, 'American Enterprise and the Foundation of the Pacific Mail Service', Historical Studies, Vol. 3, No. 11, Nov. 1947, pp.217-24.

[6] E. Hunt, American Precedents In Australian Federation (New York, 1930, 1968).

> Yet Australian historians have tended to neglect the history of the Australian press. The lives of certain individual newspapers have been recorded but no attempt so far has been made to provide an overall view.[1]

Corden's criticism, of seventeen years ago, still holds. A history of the Australian press, as comprehensive as that performed by Mott on the American scene, is still one of the most urgent tasks awaiting Australian historiography.[2]

Certain pioneering works there are - in particular Henry Mayer's The Press In Australia (Melbourne, 1964) and W. Sprague Holden's Australia Goes To Press (Detroit and Melbourne, 1961). The first book is an excellent first approach to the whole area, but raises far more questions than it answers. The era covered by this thesis gets short shrift in the 15 pages covering the whole history of the press in the nineteenth century. Holden's work is rather shallow and even more contemporary. Mayer's helpful bibliography refers to those writers on our press who, to use K. Inglis's words 'were either too dogmatic, too kind or too lazy' to provide more than some 'short sprints' on the subject.[3]

In any attempt to sketch in the background to the whole subject of the press, one is hampered by the lack of work done previously in the area and is further dogged by the problems of proper perspective. The problem of finding out just 'who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?'[4] presents special problems to those seeking precision (such as circulation figures) in an unworked area and before the organization of fact-collecting bodies.[5] No gazettes or registers summarise Australian press opinions and indexing exists for only two newspapers - one of these for only a part of the period. This is unlike the situation which assists American studies of newspaper sources and helps explain why theses attempting to use newspapers comprehensively, are rare.

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[1] W.M. Corden, 'Toward A History of the Australian Press', Meanjin, Vol.2, 1956, p.171.

[2] Francis Luther Mott, American Journalism (New York, 1950), rev. ed. and other works.

[3] K. Inglis, book review of Mayer, Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.X, 2, August, 1964, p.248.

[4] See Handhasswell in 'The Structure & Function of Communication in Society' in Wilbur Schramin, Mass Communications (Urbana, 1949), p.102.

[5] Most newspaper organizations were founded after 1908, e.g. Imperial Press Union (1909); Australian Journalists' Association (1910); Press Directory (1914); Newspaper News (1928) and Audit Bureau of Circulations (1932).

Some of the questions which I wished to ask were:

1. Was the press of the Australian colonies a viable research tool for studying aspects of history at the turn of the century?
2. Could the press reveal new significance in or perceptions of American actions and Australian aspirations in that period?
3. Was the press essentially hostile or friendly toward the United States in that period?
4. Did the attitude of a substantial part of the press change toward the U.S. over a period of time? If so, why?
5. What groups of interests made up the press in the 1890's and early years of the twentieth century? Which group(s) dominated opinion?
6. What would a comprehensive exploration of the provincial press reveal regarding those newspapers' relation with the metropolitan press and of their interest in, or originality of comment regarding foreign affairs?
7. What were the patterns of similarity and difference regarding press comment on American and other overseas events?
8. In what context - Atlantic or Pacific - did the press view American developments? What was the place of the U.S. in the developing 'World View' of the Australian press?
9. Was the tone and emphasis of the Australian press purely British in its attitudes and reactions?
10. What ideological elements formed the underlying bases for the majority of press attitudes?
11. What can be said regarding the quality, popularity and influence of the press and the sources of information of the press at that time?
12. What does the press reveal regarding the 'climate of opinion' of the period in Australia during the final years of the twentieth century?

There are some difficult problems of definition and influence which must be discussed before these problems are approached. First, the vast and conflicting literature attempting to define 'attitude' is probably best summarised by Milton Rokeach in the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences: 'An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner'.[1] Other researchers have defined the two factors that determine an attitude as one, the predisposition of the person (his identifications, demands and expectations) and two, the environment that impinges upon his attention and formulates his perceptions.[2] Another body of literature concerns the distinction between 'attitude' and 'opinion'. Attitudes, which are more deep-seated and unchanging can be built up by or expressed in, opinions, the result of reactions to phenomena.[3] What will be studied in this thesis are the expressions of opinion of various Australian colonial editors, revealing underlying attitudes as reactions to events. The process is circular: reactions to events may help formulate opinions that result over a period of time in the crystallisation of attitudes. In both processes 'opinions' are considered to be more changeable than 'attitudes'.

'Public opinion' has over fifty definitions. One outstanding reference describes it as, 'a collection of individual opinions on an issue of public interest which can exercise influence over individual behaviour, group behaviour or government policy'.[4] This combines concepts defined by J.D.B. Miller[5] as either 'populist public opinion' which holds that public opinion is identifiable and recoverable - that a general opinion prevails, or 'pluralist public opinion' which holds that there there is no general opinion, only opinions of groups which may be minorities.[6] Miller warned that both concepts may be fallacious on

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[1] Latest edition 1968, N.Y., Vol.1, p.450.

[2] See, H.D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven, 1950) p.25; H.L. Childs, Public Opinion (Princeton, 1965) p.13; J. Frankel, The Making Of Foreign Policy (London, 1963) p.3.

[3] G.W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston, 1954); A.G. Greenwald, T.C. Brock and T.M. Ostron, Psychological Foundation of Attitudes (N.Y., 1968); J.P. Halloran, Attitude Formation and Change (Leicester, 1967).

[4] International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences op.cit., Vol.13, p.188.

[5] Seminar of Nancy Viviani, Dept. International Relations, I.A.S., A.N.U., Canberra, 9 Mar., 1971.

[6] See, H. Blumer, 'Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling' in B. Berelson and M. Janowitz eds., Reader in Public Opinion and Communication, rev. edn. (Glencoe, Ill., 1953) pp.594-602. Also, H.L. Childs, op.cit., pp. 16, 17.

occasion. What this dissertation posits is that minorities in a majority of the groups that are represented by their presses in the Australian colonies, will have their opinions and attitudes on the U.S.A. either created by the press, or that the presses will reflect the prevailing attitudes or opinions of the group represented, in a two-way process. As such, the thesis will be referring to public opinions expressed by groups, not 'public opinion'.

More specifically, the dissertation will refer to 'press opinions' which are recoverable evidence in the absence of other forms of opinion collection. It is not a study of news reporting (except occasionally) but an analysis of opinion as contained in editorials, leading articles and letters to the papers and magazines. It is a study of interpretation of facts and of value judgements and prefers to record and examine what was said rather than how much was said on issues, though the latter element is indicated quantitatively by the number of editorials recorded as commenting on any particular matter.[1] The scope of the study is therefore limited, yet attempts to see press reactions in a setting of government action and outside stimuli. Only one strand of reaction will be isolated, which can be linked causally with the inflow of information, but whose outflow influence cannot be demonstrated with certainty.

There can be no doubt that the press influenced foreign policy formation to some extent as it monopolised the information market.[2] Though only a small amount of editorial space may have been devoted to foreign affairs in relative terms[3] and though only a small number may have read or understood the overseas political news,[4] these statements need some qualification for the period under consideration.

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[1] The author is somewhat unconvinced by the content analysts that 'the volume of attention [paid to an issue] indicates the saliency of such news in the minds of the readers'. R.L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community 1735-1775 (New Haven, 1966) p.47; R.C. North et al., Content Analysis (Illinois, 1963).

[2] See G. Seed, 'British Reactions to American Imperialism Reflected in Journals of Opinion, 1898-1900', Political Science Quarterly, LXII, 1958, p.254.

[3] See H. Mayer's analysis for 1962 for a rough comparison: The Press In Australia (Melbourne 1968 edn.) pp.226-7. Mayer sets the figure at 6% to 10% of editorial space in that year for the 14 leading dailies.

[4] H. Mayer puts the figure at 10-15% in 1962, op.cit., p.259. In the U.S. it appears to be higher, see, L. Markel et al., Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (N.Y., 1949) pp.49-46; B. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (Princeton, 1963) p.109.

The collection and communication of information, opinion and interpretation by the press created a major part of the image of the environment which all sections of the community needed to form or reinforce their opinions.[1] Only those who received and made decisions had direct access to primary sources of information, so that for the great majority foreign affairs information was gained at second hand through the press or again at one remove through personal contact with someone whose information was also derived from the press.[2] The press could not make foreign policy as the decision-maker did, or as the electorate did negatively at the polls, but in its intermediate position as selector, compressor and controller of the circulation of information, it was vital in the chain of influence from the electorate to the decision maker. This chain was probably effected by a combination of 'specialist and amateur opinion'[3] leaders who organized collective opinion 'from centres and sub-centres, forming a kind of intellectual feudal system'[4] in the hope of influencing in Australia their politicians, premiers, colonial (and Commonwealth) governor(s) and through them, the Colonial Office and imperial policy.

Ernest R. May stresses the vital intermediary role of the press during the 1890's in opinion formation. The small town qualities of large cities, the need to flesh out bare cable reports with editorial comment or those of readily recognizable opinion leaders; the need to reflect the interests of the newspaper's constituency and the almost total lack of an alternative source of data gave it this status. As regards the transmission of attitudes it was 'as intricate and delicate as those among layered cobwebs'.[5]

This thesis has no ambition to untangle those delicate layered cobwebs. It undertakes only tentatively the task (almost impossible under any circumstance) of tracing the complex influences and relationships

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[1] C.W. Mills, 'Mass Media and Public Opinion' in I.L. Horowitz (ed.) Power, Politics and People (N.Y., 1963) p.589.

[2] V.O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (N.Y., 1961).

[3] See the comments of James Bryce, The American Commonwealth 3rd edn., Vol.II, (N.Y., 1894) pp.317-24. 'Opinion leaders' is a term much used in the literature

[4] E.A. Ross, Social Psychology (N.Y., 1908) p.248.

[5] E.R. May, American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay (N.Y., 1968) pp.36-40. See also, Bryce, op.cit., p.248.

that exist between the active minorities within most interest groups, and presses that represent them, opinion leaders and decision makers and the two way effects of those processes. It recognizes that such relationships do exist,[1] possibly more clearly in the period 1895 to 1901 than they do today. What the dissertation does seek in brief, is to examine what changes occurred in Australian attitudes and reactions toward the United States during the period in which it emerged as a World Power, as they were created and reflected by a broad sample of the presses of the Australian colonies between 1895 and 1901. Throughout, the role of press influence will be often cautiously indicated, but must remain open to uncertainty and differing interpretation.

Some notes may be in order. Older misgivings on terminology may have to give way to popular modern usage. The terms 'imperialism' and 'expansionism' are sometimes employed in this thesis interchangeably and without moral overtones, unless invested with them by the source itself.[2]

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[1] E.g. T.A. Bailey, The Man In The Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy (N.Y., 1948) Ch.I. Useful internal signposting and bibliographies were found in Nancy Viviani's paper 'Public and Press Opinion and Australian Foreign Policy' unpublished, A.N.U., Canberra, 1971. Also, D.O. Verrall, 'The Press and Foreign Affairs in a Democracy', unpublished B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1968 and H. Wilson, 'The Australian Press and Foreign Affairs', Unpublished M.A., University of Melbourne, 1962. Other reading has prepared me for the task of handling the newspapers. Most notable has been, R.E. Lane, Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved In Politics (Glencoe, Ill., 1959); Elihu Katz and Paul L. Lazarsfield, Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications (Glencoe, Ill., 1955) p.325; R.E. Lane and D.O. Seers, Public Opinion (London, 1964); D. Katz, 'The Two-Step Flow of Communication', Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.21, No.1, 1957 and same author's 'The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes', Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.24, No.2, 1960; R.A. Kann, 'Public Opinion Research: A Contribution to Historical Method', Political Science Quarterly, LXXIII, June 1958 and L. Mann, Social Psychology (Sydney, 1969).

[2] See D.K. Fieldhouse's discussion of the historiographical status of the term in '"Imperialism": An Historiographical Revision', The Economic History Review, 2nd series, Vol.XIV, No.2, 1961, pp.187-209. This article, following R. Koebner's ideas in a previous issue and A.K. Cairncross in Home & Foreign Investment 1870-1913 (London, 1953) rejects the classic motives for imperialism based on economics, especially the exploitive need to invest surplus capital abroad, as presented by J.A. Hobson in 1902. Fieldhouse notes that between 1895 and 1901 the term 'Imperialism' began to lose its innocence. The motive of national greatness was still paramount, but Fieldhouse believes causative factors were more sociological and irrational as J.R. Schumpeter had suggested in Imperialism and the Social Classes (Oxford, 1951). This dissertation agrees with Fieldhouse's approach. Further valuable discussion is to be found in A.P. Thornton, Doctrines of Imperialism (N.Y., 1965) and R. Koebner and H. Schmidt, Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960 (Cambridge, England, 1963).

(Continued on following page)

The term 'America' is used interchangeably with 'U.S.' or 'United States', intending no slur on 'Canada' or Central and South American countries, which are always referred to separately.

The year 1889 was chosen as a starting point because it coincides with the first year of Harrison's Presidency, and his Secretary of State Blaine is often credited with inaugurating the new international policies that culminated in the abandonment of isolation. It is the year before Mahan launched his intellectual assault on the minds of Americans regarding Sea Power. Most important, it is the year of the cyclone in Apia, Samoa: the event which is often taken as marking America's modern involvement in world affairs.

The year 1908 was chosen as an ending place because it coincides with the termination of Theodore Roosevelt's term of office and the arrival in Australia of the Great White Fleet. By that time, America had fully emerged as a World Power, with an outlook totally different from that of 1889.

These years provide a seven year period on either side of the key years 1895-1901 to enable brief but important comparisons and contrasts to be made. The years 1895-1901 receive the majority of the research, in the middle of the study. The year 1895 is chosen, as it is the year of the significant Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute. The year of McKinley's assassination, and Australian Federation, 1901, is also a convenient cut-off point. Between them, these years cover the end of Cleveland's administration and most of the McKinley era during which the most important events and changes occurred.

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1 (Continued)
In his book, The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Study (London, 1966) pp.341-8, Fieldhouse claims that due to its Republican principles, the U.S.A. was an unlikely imperialist and indeed found Empire an 'ideological embarrassment'. It resolved this by incorporating possessions as states of the union or making them fully independent by 1964, thus working within its traditionally liberal political framework.

CHAPTER ONE

AUSTRALIA'S PRESS:A BRIEF SURVEY, 1889-1908

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One of Australia's earliest statisticians, Sir Timothy Coghlan commented in 1901:

> Few things show more plainly the social superiority of a civilized people than a heavy correspondence and a large distribution of newspapers. In these respects all the provinces of Australia have for many years been remarkable. In proportion to population it is doubtful whether any country in the world can boast of a larger number or a better class of newspapers than they publish.[1]

Coghlan's statistics revealed that in 1901 there were 828 newspapers in Australia - 323 in Victoria (130 in Melbourne and suburbs); 306 in New South Wales (92 in Sydney and suburbs); 115 in Queensland, 46 in South Australia, 22 in Western Australia and 16 in Tasmania. By one criterion - the number of newspapers per head of population handled by the post offices - Australia was a close third behind the United Kingdom and the United States. The ratio was just ahead of Germany, Scandinavia, Argentina and Switzerland and well ahead of Austria and Canada. The Australian figures - 117,584,798 newspapers, or 31 per head of population for the year - was double that of France, seven times that of Spain and fifteen times that of Russia.[2]

The number of newspapers sent via post offices in 1901 in Australia had grown tenfold since 1861. In the forty years 1861-1901 the numbers of newspapers handled by the post offices doubled in Queensland, tripled in Victoria and South Australia, quadrupled in New South Wales and Tasmania and quintupled in Western Australia. Even in 1891 the figure had been impressive. In that year, 93,067,361 newspapers had been sent - 29 per head of population for the year. To handle the added volume, the number of post offices increased from 4,463 in 1891 to 5,256 in 1906. We are assured that throughout this period these

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[1] Sir T.A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia 1901-1902 (Sydney, 1902), p.691.

[2] Coghlan, op.cit., p.692. See also, 1904 edn., p.27.

figures on newspapers are 'largely in excess of any other country'.[1]

Though it is difficult to make accurate and meaningful comparisons between countries regarding proprietorships and readerships, figures worked out for 1882 by J. Arbuckle Reid in The Australian Leader, suggest that in terms of actual newspapers in existence per head of population, every colony in Australia was far ahead of England. Whereas Great Britain had 1,986 newspapers, the ratio was one newspaper published per 18,000 inhabitants. Every Australian colony greatly bettered this. Victoria, though it had only 146 newspapers in that year, produced one newspaper per 5,867 inhabitants; South Australia had one per 5,880; Queensland one per 7,096; Western Australia one per 7,500; New South Wales one per 7,872 and Tasmania one per 10,545.[2]

These ratios are also better than those for the United States. In 1880, after a period of 'remarkable...numerical increase' in the number of newspapers, the United States, with 7,000 newspapers had a ratio of only one newspaper per 7,143 inhabitants. By 1890, despite further great increases in the number of newspapers, the ratio was no better than one per 5,250 inhabitants. After this time, though circulations increased spectacularly, the ratio of new publications per head of population did not.[3]

In Australia, the twenty years 1882-1901 witnessed similar great increases in the number of 'new' newspapers produced in the colonies, with the exception of Tasmania and South Australia whose figures remained stable. The number of Victorian papers doubled. The number of New South Wales paper tripled. Queensland papers quadrupled and the Western Australian figures increased six times. By 1901, the overall ratio of newspapers to population was one per 4,725: a figure that narrowly exceeded the American and greatly excelled the British

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[1] Official Yearbook of The Commonwealth of Australia, No. 1 (Melbourne, 1908), p.601; Coghlan, op.cit., pp.921-2; T.A. Coghlan and T.T. Ewing, The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1903), p.454. These statistics exhibit the usual annoying slight variations from edition to edition.

[2] Quoted in Henry Mayer, The Press In Australia (Melbourne, 1964), p.11.

[3] Francis L. Mott, op.cit., p.11.

in their best years. Given that Australia's population increased by only one third in the period of the 1880's and 1890's - the latter decade being dominated by a depression, this 'golden era' of the Australian press, is all the more 'remarkable', to use Coghlan's expression.[1]

In his The Legend Of The Nineties, Vance Palmer stated:

> If the nineties have seemed to stand out with special prominence it is partly because of the lively journalism...[which] gave a suggestion that the national mind was in ferment as never before.[2]

Most observers of the Australian press scene c.1889-c.1908 agreed with this assessment.

Alfred Deakin wrote to the Morning Post in London in 1901:

> Everywhere in Australia the Press is in the ascendant...all [newspapers] enjoy a public esteem and confidence well warranted by the integrity of their past....the net result is that, while the creature of public opinion, the Australian Press is largely its creator....Our Commonwealth, reposing on the broadest suffrage, rests on the Press, which controls its exercise; it consists of States whose chief voice and influence are those of their principal journals; and it's therefore in almost as absolute a fashion a Federation of newspapers as of Colonies.

Though somewhat exaggerated this assessment of Australia's Press status by a talented journalist who was Australia's leading politician is significant.[3]

The English traveller and journalist Francis Adams thought:

> The power of the press is a very considerable fact everywhere; but in Australia, where "Society" is impotent and wealth not yet fully organised, the newspaper is the best if not the greatest institution in the country.[4]

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[1] W.M. Corden, op.cit.

[2] Vance Palmer, The Legend Of The Nineties (Melbourne, 1966 edn.), p.13. Palmer had in mind especially the Bulletin, the Boomerang and the Worker.

[3] Alfred Deakin (ed., J.A. La Nauze), Federated Australia, Selections from Letters to the 'Morning Post' 1900-1910 (Melbourne, 1968), pp.39-41. Letters dated 19 Feb., 26 Mar., 1901.

[4] Francis Adams, The Australians, A Social Sketch (London, 1893), p.48.

The first Australian edition of the English monthly, the Review of Reviews, remarked like Adams, in 1892, 'the leading Australian journals for energy, character and literary quality, will - allowing for exceptions - bear comparison with any journals in the world....' They were considered less sensational than American journals, yet more lively, enterprising and less partisan than English journals. Not only did they 'represent a quite distinct literary type' but they were held to 'have a quite unique social function....The great dailies remain the greatest purely secular steadying forces the colonies possess'.[1] Edwin L. Godkin, one of America's most distinguished political commentators, found little that was encouraging in Australia 'except in the one matter of a solid and reputable press.' His book, Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy (1898), reviewed in Australia during the worst excesses of America's 'Yellow Press', was appreciated by Australian journalists.[2]

Gauging them mainly by their editorials, the American ex-newspaperman, Mark Twain, took 'extreme pleasure' in the colonial journals which he read during his Australian visit in 1895. Viewing them with the eye of a competent and cosmopolitan professional, he said of the Sydney and Melbourne journals: 'I am most favourably impressed with the vigour of their style, their scholarly language and logical conclusions.'[3]

Another experienced newspaperman and general travel writer, the Englishman Frank T. Bullen, writing in a series of articles for the London Standard, ultimately collected in book form as Advance Australasia, demonstrated that the standards of the Australian press of the early 1890's had not waned by 1907.[4] From a six month

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[1] Review of Reviews (Australasian ed.), (Melbourne, 1892), Vol.I, No.1, p.32.

[2] Perth Morning Herald, 21 July 1898; 'An American on Australian Democracy' (Leader). See also The Inquirer, 22 July 1898; Age, 10 Oct. 1898.

[3] Table Talk, 6 Dec. 1895.

[4] His views are remarkably similar to those of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Meath who wrote, ...'As far as I was able to judge, during my short visit to Australia and New Zealand, the daily papers in these colonies were superior in tone to the American'... in, 'A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australasia', The Nineteenth Century, No.193, March 1893, p.502.

observation of a wide variety of journals, he praised

> the high level of excellence and independence maintained by the Press. The newspapers of Australasia, with but two or three exceptions, are the equals of any of our newspapers at home and in some respects their superiors.

Beside praising their matter, paper and format, he was grateful for the tone of the press, free as it was from political slander. 'And while the Colonial news is very full in detail and interest,' he added,

> home and foreign affairs are most comprehensively dealt with and widely disseminated....In bulk, of course, these journals do not rank with the American newspapers...but in quality the Colonial newspapers are so immeasurably superior that no comparison is possible.[1]

'The Australian newspaper is a power in the land', claimed G. Mackay local historian and editor of the Bendigo Advertiser in an article for a book published by an American in several editions throughout this period.

> Whatever may be the cause of its influence, it wields a power for good or ill such as is not generally approached in older countries. It not only fulfils the commonly accepted object of a newspaper in interpretation of public opinion, but goes beyond it and on special occasions leads the public....Separated by thousands of miles of sea from their Mother Country, from the seat of the nation of which they are a part, colonists read their daily paper more regularly and anxiously than do Englishmen living in England.[2]

J.W. Gregory, a skilled Scottish observer and former Victorian geographer held, in 1907, that

> newspapers are read with equal interest by all sections of the community. No one is so poor as not to afford his daily paper, while the weekly illustrated papers find their way to huts far below the grade at which one would expect to find them at home.[3]

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[1] F.T. Bullen, Advance Australasia (London, 1907), pp.259-60. Bullen excepts the Tribune, Outlook and Saturday Evening Post 'and a few others'.

[2] W.B. Kimberley (ed.), Annals of Bendigo (Melbourne and Ballarat, 1895), p.211.

[3] J.W. Gregory, Australasia (London, 1907). See Age review, 8 June 1907. Unfortunately Gregory's later editions neglect to comment on the press. A.R. Wallace in his earlier edition of Stanford's Compendium of Geography is also silent in his Australasia (1893).

More recently, K. Inglis has remarked: 'Australians are more intensely addicted to daily newspapers than almost any other people in the world'.[1]

As well as acknowledging the occasional flattery of overseas visitors, spokesmen of the Australian press often showed themselves to be aware of their own status. As an important shaping force in a newly developing and advanced society, they jealously guarded the journalistic honour and high standards of the international profession of which they considered themselves a part. In a more general way, Australian pressmen idealistically regarded themselves as among the leading promoters of liberty and progress.[2]

In the case of the great Sydney and Melbourne journals in particular, these self-estimates had some material basis. At the time of federation at the turn of the century, Melbourne, Australia's temporary capital, with a population of 470,000 was a great city of the British Empire - sixth in the value of its trade; fourth in the value of its city property in the Empire. Sydney, with 427,000 inhabitants was even more impressive. Property values were second only to London. Sydney was the fourth most important seaport of the Empire, the value of its trade being surpassed only by London, Liverpool and Hull. In 1891, the total value of Australian production was £96 million. In 1896-7, the value of production was £26 per head of population. In 1898, bank deposits amounted to £30 per head. These latter two figures placed Australia, in these respects, far ahead of any other country in the world. An index of the superior

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[1] K.S. Inglis, 'The Daily Papers' in Peter Coleman (ed.), Australian Civilization (Melbourne, 1962), p.145.

[2] See for example, the following editorials: Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 19 June 1897, 2 Jan., 13 Nov. 1901; Age, 1, 26 Nov. 1892; 6 Jan. 1894; 3 June 1896; 25 Oct. 1897; 13 Jan., 15 Oct. 1898; 29 July 1899; 15 Feb., 14 Nov. 1908; Argus, 16 May 1908; Sydney Morning Herald, 28 Mar., 7 Nov. 1896; 19 June 1897; 9 Jan., 9 Mar., 20 July, 6 Nov. 1901; Truth, 29 Jan. 1899; Singleton Argus, 14 Nov. 1901; Advocate, 11 Nov. 1899; Maitland Mercury, 31 May 1900; 13 Dec. 1901; South Australian Register, 24 June 1899; Warrnambool Standard, 21 June, 14 Dec. 1898; Launceston Examiner, 14 Feb. 1896; 8 July 1901; Tocsin, 17 Mar. 1898; Mercury, 18 Jan., 8 Dec. 1896; Ballarat Star, 28 Dec. 1895; Brisbane Worker, 28 Dec. 1896; Geelong Advertiser, 20 Dec. 1895; Herald, 24 Dec. 1896.

conditions of life were the excess of births over deaths. In 1901 these amounted to 18 per 1,000 in Australia, compared with 11 per thousand in the United Kingdom and 10 per thousand in Europe. Though it may have occasionally desired a wider audience or greater international recognition, the Australian press nonetheless generally attracted talent, developed responsibly and was worthy of serious consideration, despite a population of less than one tenth the Mother Country.[1]

The developing national self-confidence and self-awareness of Australians, based on either actual or usually promising material prosperity and a growing consciousness of having 'escaped the stultifications of the Old World and the turbulences of the New', did express itself in the realm of journals as elsewhere, during this period. Francis Adams, writing during the opening years of the 1890's even considered that the intellectual life and culture of the country was dominated by the journalists.[2] However, other observers felt that even though a characteristic and distinctive nationalism was struggling to emerge in journals such as the Bulletin, seasoned with republican, socialist, protectionist and xenophobic materials, they believed that nonetheless overseas and particularly British influences remained a dominant factor in the Australian press and emerging national cultural life.[3]

H.M. Green probably exaggerates in his historical sketch of the press during this period:

> The daily newspaper was by no means strikingly Australian in tone: its outlook was what may be called British-Australian; a reading of the daily papers alone would convey little idea of the democratic nationalism that was now finding so marked a literary expression.[4]

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[1] See Appendices, Coghlan and Ewing, op.cit.

[2] F. Adams, op.cit., pp.47, 58.

[3] F. Adams, op.cit., p.53; W.T. Stead, 'The Commonwealth of Australia', Review of Reviews, 20 Feb. 1901, p.191.

[4] H.M. Green, A History of Australian Literature (Sydney, 1961), p.832.

Yet despite the fact that most Australian newspapers and magazines usually consciously avoided the conservative tone of the London Times and reacted extremely slowly to the 'New Journalism' of the Daily Mail (1896), outside commentators were impressed by the 'Englishness' of the Australian colonial newspapers in their search for respectability and authority.

As Green put it:

> in the absence of cheap and developed cable services, and of course of wireless, interest in foreign affairs had to be met partly by republication from English, European and American newspapers and periodicals.[1]

Britain exerted the predominant influence, not only because of the prestige of London as the centre of empire, but also because cable messages were collected and despatched from London and canons of acceptable taste were more firmly established in that centre. Magazines, newspapers, interviews and correspondents' letters fleshed out the Australian press perception of American events gained by cable and presented them in Anglo-Australian terms.

In 1906, Australia received 2,132,659 newspapers from overseas mail steamers. Orient Lines brought 974,717; P & O brought 917,626 in 1906 and the bulk of these would have been British.[2] Professor J.W. Gregory in that year described the weekly mail which 'often brings an English paper as well, the squatter getting his Spectator and the boundary rider his Lyoads News [sic]'.[3]

Those who did not receive printed matter from England direct, were regularly given summaries of the contents of these magazines in the larger dailies - usually in a Saturday supplement. Editors were usually meticulous in mentioning the names of authors and articles when borrowing from, or commenting upon ideas gained from overseas sources. Not only a journalistic ethic, but also the jealous eye of leader-writer rivals usually prevented open plagiarism. From 1892, the Review of Reviews provided a valuable service in familiarising

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[1] Green, op.cit., p.337. It was this tendency, most prominent during the 1930's that so disgusted W. Macmahon Ball. See his (edited) Press, Radio and World Affairs (Melbourne, 1938), p.30.

[2] Official Yearbook, op.cit., p.616.

[3] Gregory, op.cit.

readers and editors with important contents (in summarised form) of the magazines - especially expensive and sophisticated monthlies and quarterlies from Britain, the United States, Europe and other parts of the Empire.[1]

Subscriptions were possible even in the remotest parts of Australia. Gordon and Gotch worked through agents, although some overseas distributors advertised direct in Australian papers. On 14 December 1895 the Northern Public Opinion of remote Roebourne in Western Australia[2] advertised subscriptions for 19 English dailies, 88 weeklies, 40 monthly magazines and three quarterlies. These had to be pre-paid in either yearly or half-yearly instalments and, in the case of the dailies, cost £5.18.0 per annum for the full Times to £1.19.0 for the St. James Gazette, while the weeklies cost from £2.17.6 per annum for the Economist, to 6s 6d for Tit Bits. The monthlies cost from £1.10.0 for the Contemporary to 8s 0d for Longman's, while the Edinburgh Review among the quarterlies cost £1.5.0 per annum. Thus the most remote colonist could easily receive the magazines and newspapers of his choice, in Australia between a month and two months after their overseas publication. The comment upon America in such materials was substantial.[3] Most however, probably found this source of information too expensive. An English journalist at Mt Morgan in 1903, complained that the price of an ordinary London penny daily was threepence.[4]

Comment upon these English materials usually acknowledged the source of any article extracts and reviews. Notes on British press

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[1] The Mount Alexander Mail, 27 Apr. 1898 complained that but for the Melbourne Public Library, the Temperance Hall in Russell St.; the Atheneum; the Exchange and Gordon and Gotch's, Melbourne had no adequate Newspaper Room where the overseas newspapers and magazines (which were up to date) could be perused free of charge.

[2] The overseas distributor in this case was M.G. Taylor, 40 Southwark St., London; see also, Years To Remember - The Story of Gordon & Gotch 1853-1953 (Melbourne, 1953) and Gordon & Gotch, Australasian Newspaper Directory (Melbourne, 1892), pp.238-9.

[3] For press perceptions of America, see for example, R.S. Cramer, 'The British Magazines & the United States, 1815-48' (unpublished Ph.D., Stanford, 1960).

[4] Review of Reviews, 20 Dec. 1903, p.554.

attitudes - beside the all-pervading Times - were included with cable messages. In 1905, beside the Times, edited by Moberley Bell,[1] the Daily News, edited by A.G. Gardiner, the Star and Morning Leader edited by Ernest Parke, the Daily Chronicle, edited by Robert Donald, the St. James Gazette, edited by S.J. Pryor, the Morning Post, edited by J. Nicol Dunn, the Pall Mall Gazette edited by Sir Douglas Straight, the Daily Mirror, edited by Hamilton Fyfe, the Echo, edited by F.W. Pettrick Lawrence and the Sun, edited by C.H. Jackson, were the most important London dailies referred to in the Australian press. As well the press of Sir Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliff) - the Daily Mail, the Evening News, the Leeds Mercury, the Glasgow Record and Manchester Courier was mentioned less often, as was the press chain of C. Arthur Pearson - the Standard, Evening Standard, Daily Express, the Birmingham Daily Gazette and Evening Despatch, the Leicester Evening News, the North Mail and the Evening Mail. The Daily Telegraph, Observer, Westminster Gazette, Globe, Financial News, Advertiser, Daily Graphic, Manchester Guardian, Yorkshire Observer, Newcastle Daily Leader, Birmingham Post and some other provincial journals also rated a mention on occasion for their attitudes during this period.[2]

Of the magazines, the Nineteenth Century, Fortnightly Review, Whitehall Review, Contemporary Review, Spectator, Saturday Review, Truth, Westminster Budget, Punch, Weekly Sun, Cornhill Magazine, Review of Reviews, National Review, Blackwoods, Quarterly Review and Edinburgh Review were among the most frequently consulted on foreign affairs.[3] But a number of other journals could rate an occasional mention such as Twentieth Century, Pall Mall Magazine, Atheneum, Academy, New Age, New Statesman, British Weekly, Illustrated London News, Sketch, Sphere, Windsor, Cassell's, Strand, Pearsons and others.

Though all of the above helped form the Australian press image of America, materials direct from America itself were the most effective

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[1] A.W. Jose, who became Australian correspondent for the Times in 1903 left an interesting memoir of the paper in The Romantic Nineties (Sydney, 1933), pp.85-90; Montague Grover, editor of the Sydney Sun, praised the Times' foreign news coverage in 'Held Over: Reminiscences of a Newspaper Man', Lone Hand, 1 Aug. 1914, p.188.

[2] Harry Jones, an editor of the Daily Chronicle, criticised British journalism at this time for failing to attract the best talent. Review of Reviews, 20 Oct. 1905, p.391.

[3] These lists do not suggest a rank order of importance.

newsmakers and opinion-builders on that country. The Oceanic line, travelling from San Francisco, delivered 145,372 newspapers and magazines to Australia in 1906, while the Canadian-Australian line delivered 87,272 - the bulk of these being American materials.[1] Kudos for quotes and extracts were given in the same manner as for the English magazines. Gordon and Gotch carried a variety of weeklies and monthlies from America about one third to one half the size of the English list in this period.

One means by which America exerted an effect upon Australia was achieved through the syndicated materials appearing in the Saturday supplements of the larger Australian journals.[2] Much of it appeared trivial. For example, at the end of 1895, serious criticisms of American plutocracy and racialism could appear side by side with praise of America's reformed consular system, the electric tramways and attempts by Peary to reach the North Pole. The gradual adoption of the 'Australian Ballot' and the 'Torrens Land Titles System' in American States was noted with recurrent satisfaction amongst this miscellany.[3] Much of these materials was considered lively but inconsequential. They added colour and entertainment to more meaty matters.

More practical papers in agricultural districts took a profound interest in American rural developments. Christopher Crisp's Victorian protectionist weekly, the Bacchus Marsh Express was among the foremost of these. In the course of a normal year, he published hundreds of helpful hints on subjects from 'Virginian turkeys' to 'Californian

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[1] Official Yearbook, ibid.

[2] E.g. Our Boys and Girls Own Newspaper, claiming the largest list of subscribers in Australia ran Louisa M. Alcott's 'A Christmas Turkey & How It Came', 15 Dec. 1895.

[3] A sampling of these syndicated 'fillers' can be found in Queenslander, 7, 14, 21, 27 Dec. 1895; Southern Cross, 13, 20 Dec. 1895; Sun (Melbourne), 21 Dec. 1895; Champion, 21 Dec. 1895; Ballarat Star, 11 Dec. 1895; Record, 14 Dec. 1895; Capricornian, 28 Dec. 1895; Maryborough Chronicle, 23 Dec. 1895; Brisbane Worker, 14 Dec. 1895. Brief notes on the above newspapers appear in the Appendix.

clover', taken from a very wide array of American journals.[1]

Nonetheless, the United States' press was taken seriously and its views given due consideration and adequate coverage in the Australian press. In 1895, most attention was given to the New York press, especially the World of Joseph Pulitzer, the Journal of William Randolph Hearst, the Sun of Charles Dana, the Tribune of Whitelaw Reid, the Evening Post of E.L. Godkin, the Times of Adolf Ochs and the Herald of J.G. Bennett. No one newspaper dominated the group as did the London Times in Britain and throughout the period the 'tawdriness and vulgarity' of sections of the press prevented the adoption of American-style journalism in Australia until two decades after the end of 1908.[2] 'We may Americanise our institutions, but not our newspapers' commented the Sydney Morning Herald following the American press ebullition of the Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute. The American press was attacked for lack of restraint, bad taste, jingoism, Anglophobia and control by interests.[3] Stead's constant attack on the 'Yellow Press' as irresponsible incendiarism continued from 1895 to 1907 and was echoed throughout by the Australian dailies.[4]

Outside of New York, the main journals referred to from the north-eastern section of the country were in Philadelphia, the second largest city until 1892. Here the Public Ledger, Public Record and Evening Item were the most important, though the Star, Inquirer and Times, the

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[1] The Bacchus Marsh Express: a paper count for the two months 11 Jan. to 14 Mar. 1895, showed the following two dozen papers quoted (in order), presumably from syndicated sources: The Atlantic; Chicago Tribune; New England Homestead; Chicago Mail; Rural New Yorker; The American Cultivator; Kansas City Star; St. Louis Post Despatch; New York Tribune; New York Journal; Southern Cultivator; New York World; Boston Transcript; Chicago Record; Rochester Post Express; Brooklyn Eagle; American Gardening; St. Louis Republic. As well, Eliza Archard Corner served as occasional American correspondent on things rural.

[2] Edward Delille in the Nineteenth Century attacked the American press for its lack of authority, Review of Reviews, July 1892, p.53. Yet Massingham praised American reporting in Leisure Hour for its dash, force and versimilitude, Review of Reviews, Oct. 1892, p.257. See Benjamin Hoare, 'The Era Of The New Journalism' in Looking Back Gaily (Melbourne, 1927), pp.247-52.

[3] Sydney Morning Herald, 28 Mar. 1896. See also Maitland Mercury, 31 May 1900; Warnambool Standard, 14 Dec. 1898.

[4] E.g. Review of Reviews, Jan., Mar. 1896, July-Nov. 1907.

latter edited by Alexander McClure, were sometimes referred to. Elsewhere the Baltimore Sun, Washington Post and Washington Evening Star (edited by T.W. Noyes) were sometimes referred to. Boston's journals were quoted for their tone rather than their circulation. Here Charles Taylor's Boston Globe; the Herald and the Boston Evening Transcript were the most prominent. From the South, the paper that Henry Grady made famous, the Atlanta Constitution was important, as was the Charleston News and Courier, the Columbia State, Louisville's Courier-Journal and Times and the New Orleans Picayune.

Chicago, which ranked as America's second largest city after 1892, dominated the papers of the Mid-Western section. Here the Chicago Tribune edited by Robert W. Patterson and James Keeley was one of the best papers in the country. The Daily News founded by Melville E. Stone was also important, while the Mail, Post and Times-Herald, a newspaper chain dating from 1895, were also referred to. Herman Kohlstaat who edited the latter, also edited the Inter-Ocean after 1891. William Rockhill Nelson and William Allen White were making the Kansas City Star famous at this time, while also in the mid-west Pulitzer's St. Louis Post-Despatch was gaining over its rivals: the St. Louis Republic edited by Charles Jones and the Globe-Democrat. In Detroit the Scripps' family was building a newspaper chain based on the News, but were soon to own the Cleveland Press, St. Louis Chronicle and Kentucky Post. The Bowles' family was increasing the prestige of the Springfield Republican - a paper often quoted as independent, bold and high-minded by the Australian press. Occasional mention was also made of J.R. Hawley's edited Hartford Courant and Murat Halstead's Cincinnati Commercial Gazette as well as that city's Enquirer and Evening Post - the latter another Scripps' journal.

Of those newspapers further south and west, the Dallas News; Salt Lake City Tribune; the Cowlès' Spokane Falls Weekly Chronicle and Denver's Rocky Mountain News; the Republican and Fred G. Bonfil's infamous Denver Post were sometimes cited. On the Pacific Coast, Harvey W. Scott had established the prestige of Portland's Oregonian, Hearst had boosted the San Francisco Examiner, Fremont Older had established the fame of the Bulletin in that city, while the De Young family had built up the San Francisco Chronicle into one of the most oft-quoted of America's newspapers on the Australian scene.

Among the magazines, the Atlantic Monthly and the North American Review were the oldest and still exerted a wide influence. Of the newer journals, Forum and Arena were establishing themselves, while Harper's Monthly, Century Magazine, Lippincott's and Scribner's were among the attractive illustrated magazines. Puck, Life and Judge were quoted for their humour. After 1901, 'muckraking' magazines became more popular. Australian editorialists often quoted Collier's, Cosmopolitan, Everybody's and McClure's, especially the latter. In all, the impact of the American press was second only to the British.

Most Australian press developments would have been impossible but for the rapid growth of many forms of communications. Six lines of mail steamers kept Australia in contact with Europe and America. The P. & O. line had carried mail from Singapore to Sydney via Adelaide, since 1852. In 1888 that line and Orient Pacific contracted a weekly service that was subsidised by both the British and Australian governments. After 1905 the service was fortnightly. These lines took from 20 to 30 days to communicate from Marseilles or Naples. Mail discharged at Adelaide was sent on by train to Melbourne in $17^{1}/2$ hours; from Melbourne to Sydney in $17^{2}/3$ hours; from Melbourne to Hobart by sea in 17 hours and from Adelaide to Brisbane by rail in three days.[1]

There had been agitation for a sea route to London and New York via Panama since the early 1860's. Until 1869 when a rail link across America to San Francisco made that western terminus more feasible, mail had gone by rail across the Panama isthmus to link the Atlantic and Pacific. A monthly service started by the Union Steamship Co. in conjunction with the Pacific Steamship Co. ran from Sydney to San Francisco via Auckland in 20 to 21 days and was subsidised by New South Wales and New Zealand. These subsidies were reduced after 1890 and shortly following federation a press battle ensued regarding the efficacy of raising them again.[2] This centred on resentment toward an American monopoly of Pacific shipping. The three-weekly service brought

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[1] Official Yearbook, op.cit., p.610; see also, A Hundred Year History of the P. & O. (London, 1937).

[2] Daily Telegraph, 12, 15 Mar., 16 Oct., 5 Dec. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 14 Mar. 1901; Review of Reviews, 15 Jan. 1901, p.10.

London within 35 days of Sydney, though Spreckles of the Oceanic line constantly aimed at 27 days. The renewal of the mail contract ran into difficulties after 1906.[1]

Coming into more favour after 1901 for its 'all British' connections was the monthly service from Sydney to Vancouver which ran on times similar to the United States' link-up. This ran via Wellington,[2] across Canada by C.P.R. to Liverpool. After 1899 the route ran from Brisbane. The Canadian-Australian lines' subsidy was renewed in 1903 and 1907 when the New South Wales government paid £26,626 for the service. In that year £126,141 was paid in subsidies to Orient Pacific. In 1906 the Messageries Maritimes French mail service and the Norddeutscher Lloyd German mail service ran monthly services which were heavily subsidised by their own governments. In 1906, the German line delivered 5,554 newspapers to Australia; the French, half that amount. Both sets found their way to editorial offices (as well as to nationals of those countries) where translators often checked them for attitudes on America, among other things. European newspaper and magazine references to America found their way into editorials, press cables and magazine reviews.

Except for Western Australia where it doubled, railway mileage did not increase much beyond the 1891 levels reached in all colonies in this period. By 1901 there was 13,821 miles laid. Sydney and Melbourne had been linked since 1883. By 1908 only Perth remained unlinked to the other State capitals by rail. An agreement on special interstate mail vans for the carriage of English mails was reached in 1890. Only the break of rail gauge slowed intercolonial transit.[3] Before 1901 newspapers had been carried free of charge in New South Wales, Western Australia and Tasmania. After 1 November 1902 a uniform

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[1] For the part of H.H. Hall the American Consul and W.H. Webb in setting up the San Francisco Mail Line, see Lloyd Churchward, 'American Enterprise and the Foundation of the Pacific Mail Service', Historical Studies, Vol.3, No.11, Nov. 1947, pp.217-24.

[2] For James Mills' negotiations on behalf of the Union Steamship Company see Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 10 Dec. 1901; Sydney Morning Herald, 9 Dec. 1901; Official Yearbook, op.cit., pp.611-6.

[3] G. Blainey, The Tyranny Of Distance (Melbourne, 1966), Ch.11; Coghlan and Ewing, op.cit., p.454.

rate of 1d per 20 ozs was imposed for the carriage of newspapers.[1] The ratio of one railway mile per 294 inhabitants in 1901 placed Australia on a par with Canada in this respect and ahead of the United States.

Much has been written on the telegraph and cable services which linked Australia internally, and with the rest of the world. Even by 1891, all the colonies were well served with telegraph links. In the ten years to 1901, the mileage of line in New South Wales increased from 11,697 to 14,272 and in Western Australia it tripled to reach 6,173 miles. The other colonies remained fairly stationary so that in that decade, the amount of line increased from 39,176 miles to 45,108 in the whole of the Commonwealth.[2]

Telephones had been in existence since 1878 in Victoria and were more firmly established there in 1883. In Queensland exchanges were established in 1880, in New South Wales in 1881, in South Australia and Tasmania in 1883 and 1890 in Western Australia. In this period, phones cost £2.10.0 to £3 to instal. Of the 52,000 phones in use by 1906, 35,000 were in New South Wales and Victoria and for that year there were 1,786 telephone exchanges. The advantages of this form of communication for the press are obvious.

By the early 1890's most colonies had amalgamated their post and telegraph offices and by the time of federation had inaugurated travelling post offices, long distance, parcel and express delivery services. More uniformity was achieved following federation by the establishment of a Post Master General and with the many faceted Post and Telegraph Act. The Australian colonies had been admitted to the Universal Postal Union of 1874, in 1891.[3]

In 1901, 9,530,347 telegrams were sent through 2,568 telegraph offices. Many of these were 'press' telegrams which went at the special rate of 6d within the state and 1s 6d interstate for 25 words and at a cost of 6d per 50 words over 100. Between 1896 and 1908 Australian wireless telegraphy was still in an experimental stage. The Post Master General took a special interest in it after 1905.

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[1] Sydney Morning Herald, 10 Apr. 1901; Daily Telegraph, 17 Dec. 1901; Maitland Mercury, 13 Dec. 1901.

[2] T.A. Coghlan, op.cit., (1904), p.25.

[3] Australian Encyclopedia (Sydney, 1957), Vol.7, p.240, passim.

In 1905, there were five means of cabling overseas to Britain. The oldest cable was 12,296 miles long from Perth to London via Banjoewangie. The route from Adelaide to London, opened with such fanfare in 1872 consisted of a 1,973 mile overland link across the 'Dead Heart' of Australia to Darwin. Able to service all the colonies at last, it cost the South Australian government £480,000 and ran 13,125 miles to London, also via Banjoewangie. Traffic on the Morse operated line had increased to the point where, in 1899, a second strand was needed. In 1891 an agreement was made with the Eastern Extension Company (which laid and owned most of the submarine cables in the area) to reduce the rates from 2s 8d per word for press messages to 1s 2d per word, with the colonial governments to make good half the losses incurred on a proportional basis.[1]

Two other lines, little used, ran 14,319 miles from Perth to London via South Africa (opened 1900) and from Sydney to Newbiggen (England) - 17,932 miles via Hong Kong and Russia.

The most important cable development after federation however, was the 'All Red' Pacific Cable. The scheme got under way in 1887 and 1893 in conference - the latter in Brisbane, attended by Mackenzie Bowell and Sanford Fleming representing Canada. An 1894 Ottawa Conference decided on mutual Australasian Colonial - British and Canadian subsidies for the line, which was considered to have strategic value. An Imperial Act of 1901 authorized the line's laying. It passed through Fanning Island (not Neckar) which was annexed in 1888 for the purpose. The line was anchored at Southport in Australia and Vancouver Island in Canada. From it, links were made to Norfolk Island, Fiji and New Zealand. The first message was sent 31 October 1902 and the line, 14,323 miles long, across 7,320 miles of ocean cost £2 million and ran at a loss until well after 1908.[2]

Since 1869 Tasmania had been linked by a cable of the Eastern

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[1] A.R. Cameron, Story Of The Overland Telegraph (Adelaide, 1933); Frank Clune, Overland Telegraph (Sydney, 1955); Sydney Morning Herald, 22 Nov. 1971: 'Australia Talks To The World'.

[2] George Johnson (ed.), The All Red Line (Ottawa, 1903); Charles Bright, Imperial Telegraphic Communication (London, 1911); G.L. Lawford and L.R. Nicholson, The Telcon Story (London, 1950). See also C. Brunsdon Fletcher, The Great Wheel (Sydney, 1940), pp.64-5 for a personal memoir.

Extension Company, the 170 miles to Melbourne. This was subsidised by the Tasmanian government by £4,200 per annum. The Australian-New Zealand cable had been laid in 1876. It was 1,191 miles long and linked Botany Bay with Wakapauka. It was subsidised to the amount of £10,000 by the governments of New Zealand and New South Wales. In April 1892 a French cable company linked Bundaberg, Queensland and New Caledonia. This received a largely French subsidy of £12,000. In 1905 the Commonwealth received 176,411 cables from all these overseas cable sources and despatched 182,262. All told, Australian cable subsidies amounted to £13,207 at the time of federation.[1]

Of monies borrowed by Australia by 1901, £121.7 million had been spent on railways and £3.3 million on telephones and telegraphs. By the time of federation the public debt on communications was around £30 per inhabitant - a heavy price, but one considered worthwhile in order, among other things, to keep the country as well informed as any on the progress of overseas events.[2] The public response in the Australian colonies to events of Empire such as Mafeking Day (17-18 May 1900) and other overseas happenings such as the long drawn out Dreyfus Case (1894-1906) give an indication of how closely such events could be followed and what intense interest they could arouse.

In the two decades 1873-93, the six Australian colonies passed Education Acts committing them to establish national systems of education entirely supported by central government funds and under Ministerial control. Passed in 1873 in Victoria; 1875 in Queensland; 1878 in South Australia; 1880 in New South Wales; 1892 in Tasmania and 1893 in Western Australia, these so-called 'free, secular and compulsory' acts helped assure that developments toward the greater dissemination of information would not be wasted.[3]

This policy bore fruit immediately. Out of every 10,000 children aged 5 to 15 years in 1871, only 5,981 could read and write. In 1891, 7,565 were literate. By 1898, the number of illiterates had dropped to one fifth of the 1871 figure and mostly consisted of non English-speaking immigrants. In 1903 the Commonwealth had 7,206 schools, 15,716 teachers and an average attendance of 451,340 scholars

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[1] Official Yearbook (1908), op.cit., pp.630-2.

[2] In President McKinley's last speech, the day before he was shot (5 Sept. 1901) he said: 'Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read...the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere and the press foreshadows...the plans and purposes of the nations....' See J.D. Richardson ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents (N.Y., 1905) Vol.XV, p.6619.

[3] A.G. Austen, Australian Education 1788-1900 (Melbourne, 1961), p.166.

daily.[1] After 1906 the number of state secondary schools increased greatly and meetings of state directors of education from that date further improved the overall quality of Australian education.[2]

Developments in communication so reduced the special handicap of Australian isolation, that throughout the period 1889-1908, the most remote parts of Australia were only one, at the most three, days behind the rest of the world in their knowledge of overseas events.

'Here in Australia we know almost as much about America as the Americans themselves', boasted the Argus in 1908.

> We know what they are thinking, we know their ideals, we are interested in the great facts of their social and political life, we read their magazines and their books ...not only "America" but the Americans are understood here. Naturally we know a great deal more about the Americans than they know about us.

Some Australians might feel confident that they knew American attitudes because of the excellent correspondents' letters in the newspapers, travellers' accounts and the amount of editorial space devoted to American affairs, which supplemented other literature which entered the country directly and which was widely disseminated.[3]

By 1890 almost all of the large metropolitan morning dailies and a considerable number of large provincial newspapers received correspondents' letters from either New York or San Francisco - usually the former. These were between 2,000 to 4,000 words in length and dealt on a monthly basis with facts and projections of social, economic and political events, in an order of priority related to their relevance to Australia and their general newsworthiness. Such supplementary materials collated from newspapers and experience had been sent by competent journalists since before the overland cable in 1872. After that date they fleshed out daily cables and detailed editorials with supportive fact and opinion. One such correspondent, organized by J.W. Finlayson (editor of the South Australian Register) during a visit

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[1] Coghlan and Ewing, op.cit., p.455; Coghlan, op.cit. (1904), p.27.

[2] R.M. Younger, Australia and the Australians (Sydney, 1970), p.449.

[3] Argus, 29 Aug., 1 Sept. 1908.

to the United States, was W.L. Alden of the New York Times.

Though newspapers either read or shared each other's correspondents' impressions, it became a mark of prestige for a newspaper to boast one's 'own special' correspondent in the great capitals of foreign countries despite the complicated and costly nature of this form of news service. Due to the astuteness of his judgements, the New York correspondent of the Sydney Morning Herald was widely admired during this period and his judgements noted by a large number of metropolitan newspapers. Often the correspondent's letters in the Argus and the Age published monthly and sometimes tri-weekly, provoked letters to the editor from members of the American community living in the city with comment of their own to add.[1] Ship captains and visiting businessmen were traditional sources of information on American affairs by press and populace.

Having a special place as leaders of opinion in their communities were those Australians who had visited the United States and conveyed their impressions. These could be such astute observers as the artist Garnet Warren, who recorded his visit in sketches to the Queenslander in 1898 or they could be businessmen like the Maitland beekeeper, W.S. Pender (1899) or J.C. Williamson, the Melbourne theatrical entrepreneur (1907), who disseminated views by letter or interview. They could be sportsmen like John Young, a Sydneysider who took a bowling team to America in 1901, or regular teams such as the baseballers visiting California in 1897, or the cricket team visiting the eastern United States in 1893.

There were some who went to learn from American irrigation in the 1880's such as Dow, Deakin and Cunningham, or from the railways (Richard Speight, 1889) and other American industries. Some were curious visitors on their way to or from Britain via the United States,

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[1] The names of these correspondents are difficult to find as the information in newspaper libraries has been either misplaced or lost. Hartley Grattan suggests that the name of the American correspondent to the Sydney Morning Herald at this time was Rothman (Seminar, A.N.U., Sept. 1971). Newspapers were proud of their correspondents' achievements. The Daily Telegraph's correspondent scooped the world press by announcing German plans to annex New Guinea. The Sydney Morning Herald had sent correspondents as far afield as Tonkin and Bulgaria. Martin Donohue of the Evening News became Paris correspondent for the London Daily Chronicle.

such as politicians George and Robert Reid, George Dibbs and Frank McColl, or colonial governors, such as Lord Brassey, or newspapermen acting as travelling correspondents among other things, such as S.V. Winter (1898). Some like Inglis Clark visited the United States to further associate with American intellectuals, or admire republican institutions, or place their children in American schools (1897). A woman like Alice Henry who went to study American trade unionism as applied to women (1906) stayed on to become an important executive of the Chicago Branch for over a dozen years. A large number of articulate miners on their way to, and at the Yukon, gave their impressions of America and the Americans after 1896 in interesting letters that were frequently published in the Australian newspapers. The San Francisco earthquake revealed how many scores of Australians were visiting relatives or studying in California in 1906. Though hardly original, those impressions were valuable as they brought 'things home to the ordinary newspaper reader in a manner that perhaps never struck him before'.[1]

A particular example of the impact to be made by an intelligent observer was Miss C.H. Spence, champion of women's rights; a writer and philanthropist from South Australia, who was Victoria's delegate at the International Charities Conference at the Chicago World Exposition in 1893.[2] Her impressions of America appeared in Harper's Magazine July 1894 and were repeated in the Australasian edition of the Review of Reviews in September of that year.[3] Her comments were typical of the ambivalence characterizing Australian attitudes toward the United States at the time. She criticized the delusions of Americans regarding Australia and especially some Americans' concept of Australia's relationship with Britain. (Some seemed to believe that Australia suffered under an aristocratic-monarchical political system.) She held further that though 'socially the United States are more democratic than the Australian Colonies...politically, Australia is more democratic

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[1] Sydney Morning Herald, 6 Dec. 1901. See also Maitland Mercury, 25 Mar. 1899; Queenslander, 12, 19 Feb. 1898.

[2] Adelaide Observer, 8 Apr. 1893; The Voice, 21 July, 20 Oct., 17 Nov. 1893.

[3] C.H. Spence, 'An Australian's Impressions of America', Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July 1894, pp.244-51; Review of Reviews, 20 Sept. 1894, p.164.

than America' noting particularly, the growth in centralised executive power of the President and the Senate at a time when the direct power of the British government was decreasing in Australia. She objected also to the power of money, corporations and lawyers and the conservatism of Americans that made them cling to an overly rigid constitution. On the other hand, she praised the versatility and frankness of Americans in general and the acuteness, culture and home-making capacity of the women in particular. A dozen years later, another Australian woman was to provide a series of letters to the Age with valuable impressions such as these, especially on the social scene.[1]

British, American and other travellers such as Sydney and Beatrice Webb, Rudyard Kipling, Henry George, Mark Twain, Josiah Royce, George Parkin, Herbert Hoover, Moreton Frewen, M. Ballou, Jack London and Max O'Rell to name a few, were among the varied economists, philosophers and writers visiting Australia in the period 1889-1908 and who left behind some of their acquired cultural baggage in the form of impressions of the United States.[2]

How much space was devoted to America in the leading metropolitan dailies? To gain an impression of this the Age has been selected for detailed examination. 'If any of the four great morning dailies can be considered the leader during at least the greater part of this period it was the Age', wrote H.M. Green. 'It was on the whole the brightest of the four, and its leading articles were generally admitted to be the best written and the fullest of ideas....'[3] For that reason, the Age, has been chosen as the best single sample, though obviously variations will exist from one newspaper to the other.[4]

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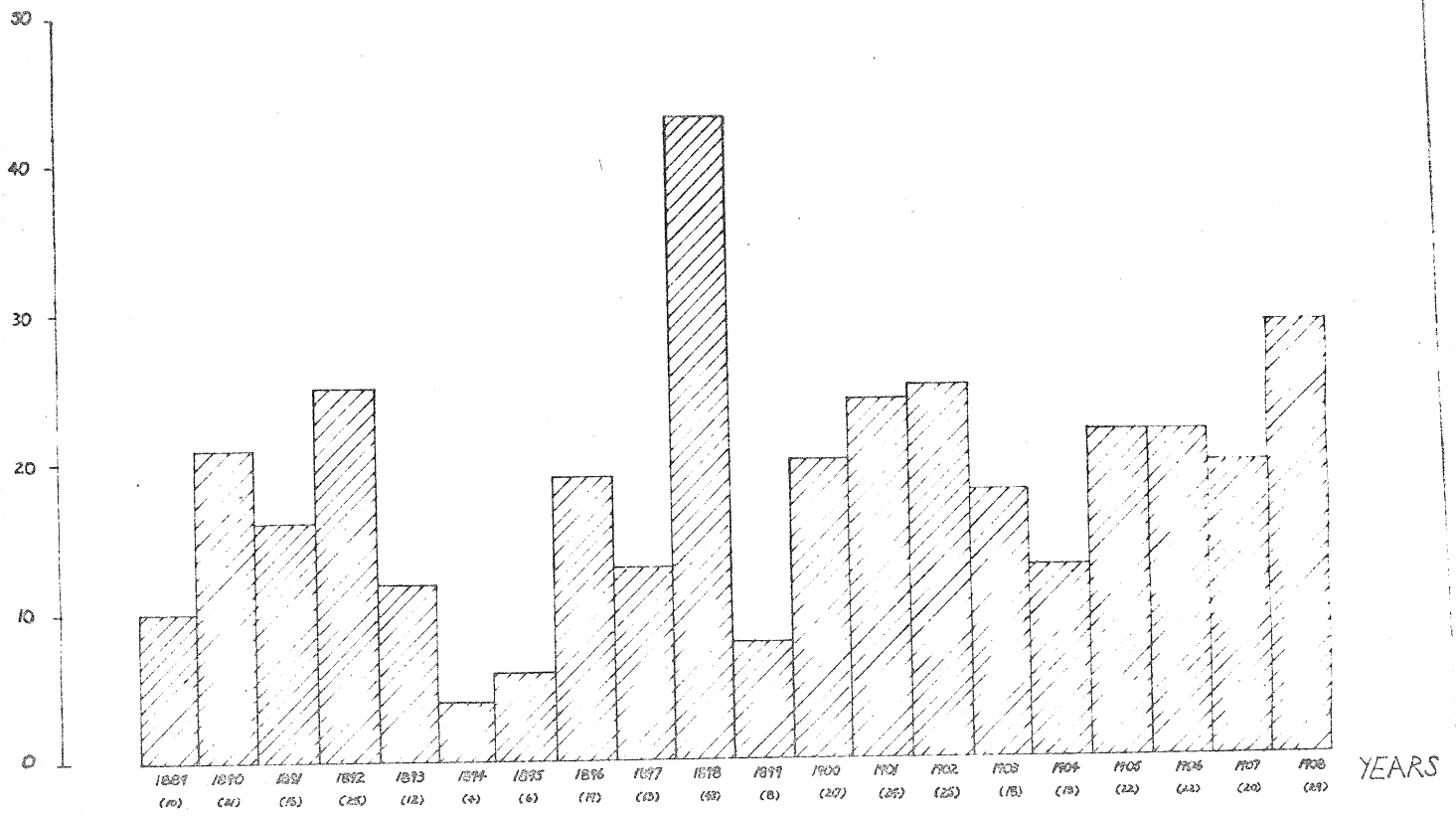
[1] For 'An Australian Woman in America' (1905) see last chapter of this thesis. Vida Goldstein's letters, held in the Victorian State library are also a valuable source of impressions. In general, see N. Mackenzie, 'Vida Goldstein, the Australian Suffragette', Australian Journal of Politics and History, 1960, Vol.6, No.2, pp.190-204.

[2] As an example of the impressions they took with them, see H. George, 'Australia', Cosmopolitan, X, January 1891, pp.359-61; J. Royce, 'Impressions of Australia', Scribner's Magazine, IX, January 1891, pp.75-87.

[3] Green, op.cit., p.838; Green refers roughly to the years covered by this thesis.

[4] One commentator held that by 1906, the better paper was the Argus. See Montague Grover, 'Held Over', Lone Hand, 1 Sept. 1914, p.266.

CHART 1

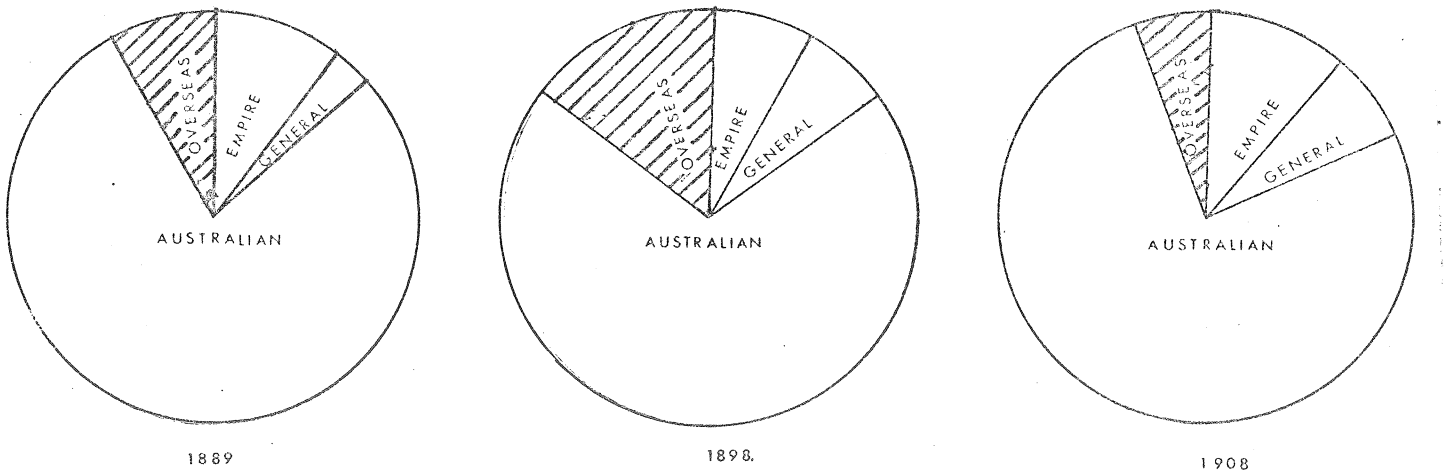


NUMBER OF EDITORIALS FOR THE PERIOD 1889 - 1908 ON THE U.S.A.

This chart based on a study of the Age, 1889-1908 reveals the number of editorials written primarily on the U.S. (both domestic and foreign). Taking 1898 as a mid-point, it is clear that more editorials appeared after 1898 than before it. Preceding the Spanish-American war, 126 editorials appeared in the nine years 1889-97. After the war, 172 editorials appeared in the nine years 1899-1907, or close on 30 per cent more. Most interest during the period 1889-1908 focused on the war itself - the year in which America emerged as a world power. Thus 1898, with 43 editorials devoted to America, commanded as much as ten times the editorial interest compared with some years preceding it such as 1894. After 1898, the number of editorials appearing in any one year never dropped below double the 1894 figure. Whereas in the period 1889-94 there were only two years (1890, 1892) when the number of editorials topped twenty, there were six years when this occurred in

the period 1899-1907 (i.e. 1900, '01, '02, '05, '06, '07). The year of the visit of the Great White Fleet (1908) marks the other highest point of interest (29 editorials). The average number of editorials appearing in the nine years before 1898 is 14, after 1898 the average for the nine years 1899-1907 is 19.1 - clear evidence of greater interest in America following its rise in international status.

ART 2



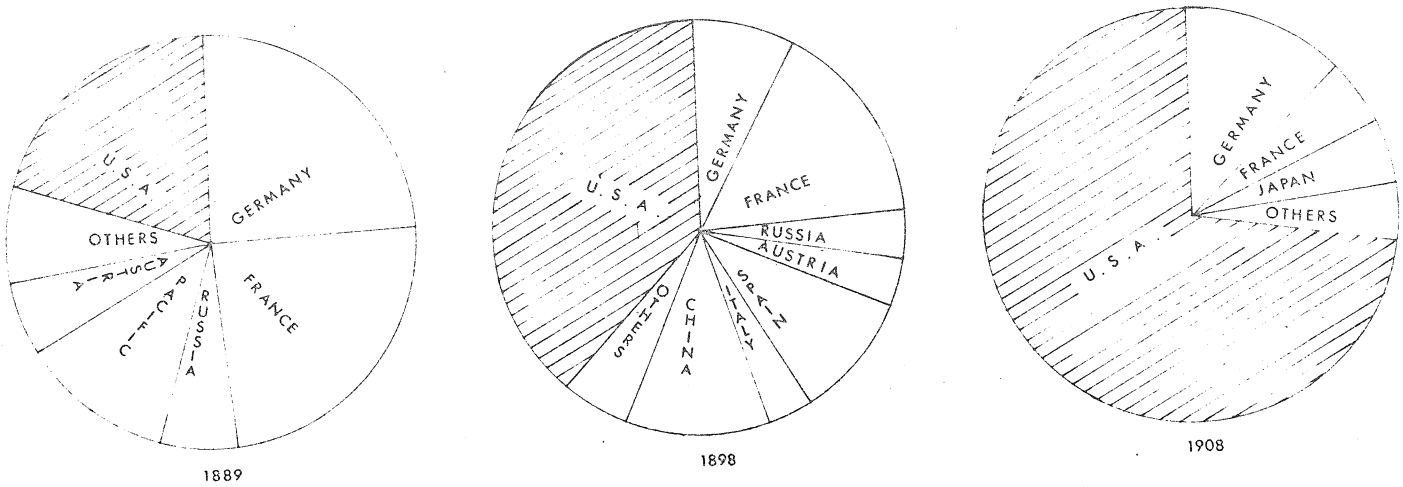
PERCENTAGE OF EDITORIAL COMMENT ON OVERSEAS AFFAIRS

These charts based on a study of the Age for the years 1889-1908 illustrate the relative percentages of editorial comment devoted to overseas matters in the Age during the three years 1889, 1898 and 1908 - at the beginning, middle and end of the period under discussion. Australian comment always dominated the editorial columns and took up 79.6 per cent in 1889, 70.5 per cent in 1898 and 76 per cent in 1908. On the average, three quarters of the editorials were taken up with local or national matters throughout this period.

Imperial concerns occupied 8.7 per cent in 1889, 7.6 per cent in 1898 and 11 per cent in 1908. Therefore, less than 10 per cent of editorials on the average, were devoted to these concerns. General abstract topics occupied 3.2 per cent in 1889, 6.9 per cent in 1898 and 7 per cent in 1908 - a clear increase in both cases.

Foreign overseas matters occupied 8.7 per cent of the total editorials in 1889, 15 per cent in 1898 and 6 per cent in 1908. An average of 10 per cent of the editorials was thus devoted to foreign comment, though a full 5 per cent swing on either side of this figure made it highly unpredictable from year to year. The number of editorials devoted to foreign overseas affairs was 68 in 1889, 102 in 1898 and 42 in 1908. This indicated almost double the editorial interest in foreign matters in the Age toward the end of the century as at the beginning of the 1890's or at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. The total number of editorials remained fairly constant, averaging a little over 700 per year. In 1889 there were 780, in 1898 there were 666 and in 1908 there were 700. This indicates a slightly higher total number of editorials at the beginning of the 1890's than were written two decades later.

CHART 3



PERCENTAGE OF OVERSEAS EDITORIALS DEVOTED TO THE U.S.A.
BASED ON A STUDY OF THE AGE, 1889-1908.

The extraordinary increase in interest toward the United States among those Age editorials devoted to overseas foreign comment in the period 1889-1908, is illustrated in these three charts.

That increase assumes an upward linear form. In 1889, 20 per cent of the foreign editorials had the United States as their subject. In

1898 the figure had almost doubled to 38 per cent and in 1908 had almost doubled again to reach 72.5 per cent of the total comment. Though numerically more editorials were written on the United States in 1898 than in 1899 or 1908, the overall total number of editorials being greater in that year, reduced the percentage. The 50 editorials on foreign overseas matters written in 1889 contained ten on the U.S.A.; the 113 editorials written in 1898 contained 43; the 40 editorials on overseas affairs in 1908 contained 29 on America. In this way the relative proportions became greater, while the overall number of editorials on overseas affairs declined.

Germany, with an average of 13 per cent of this comment, evoked more consistent interest than any other foreign power outside of America (1889 - 20 per cent; 1898 - 8 per cent; 1908 - 12.5 per cent). Concern with France declined as precipitously as interest in America increased (1889 - 20 per cent; 1898 - 16 per cent; 1908 - 5 per cent). Interest in Russia declined to the extent where by 1908 its place had been taken by Japan at around 5 per cent of the editorial space. Except for the period of exceptional interest in Spain with regard to Cuba in 1898 (9.7 per cent), interest in smaller European states declined in non-crisis years to around 4 per cent of the space for Italy and Austria-Hungary. In 1898 China's importance equalled Spain's in the news with a total of 12.4 per cent of the editorials. Interest in the Pacific in 1889 centred on Samoa. Later it merged with other interests. Not only was the editorial attention paid toward the U.S.A. the most consistent of any of the foreign affairs Age editorials throughout the period, it was also the only foreign country to increase that attention and it did so in a remarkable way. This interest coincides with America's emergence as a world power.[1]

Newspaper editors of this period were not modest in claiming for themselves a leading role in opinion formation. Ernest C. Sommerlad in Mightier Than The Sword wrote, looking back upon these years:

> The influence of the press for good or ill is incomparably great...before the advent of the "new journalism", the leader was the ultimate power and glory of the paper.

Further,

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[1]See Chart following page.

NUMERICAL ANALYSIS OF AGE EDITORIALS UPON WHICH PRECEDING CHARTS ARE BASED

CHART 2*

1889			1898			1908		
	Number	%		Number	%		Number	%
Overseas	68	8.7	Overseas	102	15.0	Overseas	42	6.0
Empire	66	8.5	Empire	47	7.6	Empire	78	11.0
General	25	3.2	General	45	6.9	General	50	7.0
Australia	620	79.6	Australia	472	70.5	Australia	530	76.0
TOTALS	780	100.0	TOTALS	666	100.0	TOTALS	700	100.0

CHART 3*

1889			1898			1908		
	Number	%		Number	%		Number	%
U.S.A.	10	20.0	U.S.A.	43	38.0	U.S.A.	29	72.5
Germany	12	24.0	Germany	9	8.0	Germany	5	12.5
France	12	24.0	France	18	16.0	France	2	5.0
Russia	3	6.0	Russia	4	3.5	Japan	2	5.0
Pacific	6	12.0	Aust./Hung	4	3.5	Others	2	5.0
Aust./Hung	3	6.0	Spain/Cuba	11	9.7			
Others	4	8.0	Italy	4	3.5			
			China	14	12.4			
			Others	6	5.4			
TOTALS	50	100.0	TOTALS	113	100.0	TOTALS	40	100.0

*These divisions are based on editorials that show clear priorities in subject matter.

> the editor who appreciates fully the power of the instrument he possesses should lead public opinion and not follow it as a mere recorder of what others are making happen. He should march with the columns not "well in the rear" but at the head....The notable achievements of many Australian newspapers, both metropolitan and provincial, which do not hesitate to use their editorial columns with a primary regard for the public interest, provide ample reinforcement for the policy of strong and judicious use of the leader column.[1]

The towering position of David Syme up to 1908 in the history of Victorian politics is testimony to this effect. W.T. Stead, credited with having begun the 'new journalism' himself did much to promote this sort of editorial attitude in Australia through the pages of the Australasian Review of Reviews[2] from the time of his 'Government by Journalism' (1886) until his death in 1912.

In 1938 W. Macmaham Ball complained of the deterioration in the quality and persuasiveness of editorials on foreign affairs, especially on America, following the depredations of the 'New Journalism'. Many of the changes he advocated were designed to return the press of his day to the position of power and independence that had existed from the 1890's to the early years of the new century with increased influence in public opinion formation regarding overseas developments. J.D. Pringle, editor of the Sydney Morning Herald in the 1950's expressed a similar distress regarding inadequate and ineffectual press coverage of foreign affairs.[3]

There were those who had little respect for the leader-writers of this period. In 1914, one of Australia's first exponents of the 'new journalism', Montague Grover, editor of the Sydney Sun, stressed the importance of accurate, attractively presented news over opinions on that news expressed in editorials:

> It is obvious to any person with common sense [he wrote], that ninety nine persons out of every hundred buy a paper, not for its opinions, but its news....In all probability not one newspaper reader in ten ever looks at the leading article and the tenth man only troubles to look at it when the subject is one in which he is personally interested.[4]

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[1] E.C. Sommerlad, Mightier Than The Sword, pp.4, 91, 94.

[2] W.T. Stead, The Contemporary Review, May 1886, pp.653-74.

[3] W. Macmahon Ball, op.cit., pp.24-31; K. Inglis, op.cit., p.163.

[4] M. Grover, Lone Hand, 1 July 1914, pp.188-9.

Though Grover criticized the Australian editors of the period for their disparate avocations as barristers, school teachers, university graduates and clergymen, he neglected to recognize the richness, depth and earnestness of purpose they frequently brought to their work. This gave it a quality superior to much of the shallow, neutral commercialism of the journalism being ushered in during his own time. The 'conservatism' of these editors, so criticized by Grover, often stemmed from a desire to preserve the 'best' values of the press as a bold, disinterested, serious and educative medium. In his Looking Back Gaily (1927), Benjamin Hoare claimed that though during this period perhaps not one in ten read the editorials, 'we solaced ourselves with the conclusion that it was the one that mattered'.[1]

Editorialists were in monopolistic control of almost the only medium of communication on overseas events. Such a responsibility had a noticeably sobering effect on them, given the increased public interest in foreign affairs and the authority with which they were quoted. In the years 1894-98, 4.8 per cent of the members in the New South Wales' Legislative Assembly were journalists. Between 1891-98 the number of journalist-proprietor M.L.A.'s rose from 4.9 per cent to 7.2 per cent. In 1891 there were eight journalists; in 1898, nine journalist-proprietors in the New South Wales parliament. The figures are even more impressive in Western Australia and for the federal parliament. A plentiful number of premiers, cabinet ministers and many community leaders, were journalists. Such men were concerned with maintaining the integrity and reputation of news reporting. From the 1890's most of Australia's journalists were native-born.[2] One English observer's objection to them in 1907 was their informality, a characteristic that in Australian society probably gave them greater acceptability.[3] Though the status of individual journalists was mixed, 'the press' as a general abstract entity undoubtedly rose in prestige. By 1908, it had already achieved that 'mature stage of political and financial power' described by Clive Turnbull.[4]

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[1] B. Hoare, 'Era of the New Journalism', op.cit., pp.248-9.

[2] H. Mayer, op.cit., pp.189, 190.

[3] A. Buchanan, The Real Australia, 1907, pp.49-50, 51.

[4] C. Turnbull in Hartley Grattan (ed.), Australia (California, 1947), p. 314.

What complicated distinctions in attitudes[1] between newspaper editors in the 1890's was the fact that the idea of 'liberalism' in Australia, as elsewhere in the English-speaking and European world was undergoing transition.[2] The importance of this lay in the fact that the great majority of newspapers in Australia lay in the centre of the ideological spectrum and advocated some form of liberalism. Most of the Australian press was in the process of moving away from older concepts of liberalism as meaning increasing freedom from government interference in economics and society. Especially was it moving away from the utopian, moralistic 'free-tradism' of the Manchester economists Cobden and Bright. However, it largely retained political and social concepts pertaining to popular sovereignty, state secularism, continuing general progress and the individualism expounded by John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Nonetheless, meliorative liberalism, which posited some degree of interference in the operations of politics, economics and society in order to regulate life in the interests of greater freedom and opportunity for the individual - especially the worker in industrial society - had become increasingly popular since 1850.

Those Australian newspapers which echoed some free-trade, laissez-faire and elitist political, economic and social attitudes have, during the course of this thesis, been consistently classified as 'Conservative-Liberals'. Those Australian journals advancing more protectionist, meliorative and democratic economic, social and political attitudes have been consistently classified in this dissertation as 'Liberal-Conservatives'. In this classification, the most prominent feature of the journal's ideology appears at the beginning of the description, while the modifier appears second. None of the vast number of Australian newspapers occupying the central ideological ground can be referred to as solely 'liberal' or 'conservative'. The degree of 'conservatism' in the 'liberal' description and vice-versa here refers to the overall amount of either backward or forward-looking revealed in the paper's

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[1]This discussion is especially pertinent to the classifications of the Australian press to be found in the Appendix.

[2]These ideas are taken largely from Elie Halevy, The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism (London, 1901-04); L.T. Hobhouse, Liberalism (London, 1936); H. Laski, The Rise of European Liberalism:An Essay In Interpretation (London, 1936); F. Watkins, The Political Tradition of the West:A Study In The Development Of Modern Liberalism (Camb. Mass., 1948); H. Girvetz, The Evolution of Liberalism (N.Y., 1950).

expression of its liberalism.

Such modified newspaper classifications, operating in a situation where the term 'liberal' was undergoing change through time are complex, and lines between the two types are fine enough to be sometimes blurred. Some elements in a free trade organ for example, might mark it out as inconsistent in its 'Conservative-Liberal' editorial policy. Newspapers might often agree on liberal ends but differ in the means to be employed to gain them. Therefore, there was sometimes some inconsistency even within the overall classifications.[1]

If a single-all inclusive term can be used to describe radical-liberal-conservative Australian editors and proprietors of this time, it is 'progressive' - a descriptive term much used in American historiography and, making allowances for some differences, one that can be usefully employed in the discussion here.[2]

The managers of and writers for almost all of the great metropolitan dailies and the country press - that is, the bulk of Australian newspapers - believed in some form of progress. They especially believed in some concepts of widening political freedom and social justice. Their public-spirited, crusading tone and their predominantly white Anglo-Saxon middle-class, well-educated, reasonably affluent, urban-Protestant backgrounds makes them easily comparable as a group with similar 'progressives', (particularly those connected with the press) which operated in the United States and elsewhere during the period 1889-1908.

As the next chapter illustrates, even by the early 1890's, these editors were as deeply critical of abuses of America - social, economic and political - as they were concerning similar problems in their own country.

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[1] E.g., G.A. Wood stated in August 1917 - 'There are no Tories, though there are some who would like to be Tories'. See, G.A. Wood, 'Australia and Imperial Politics', in M. Atkinson ed., Australia: Economic and Political Studies (Melbourne, 1926) p.402.

[2] For a discussion of the complex nature of American progressivism and a comprehensive bibliography, see Edwin Rozwenc, 'The Progressive Era' in Quint, Albertson and Cantor (eds), Main Problems In American History, Vol.II, rev. ed. (Illinois, 1968), pp.172-91 and in the same authors' 1972 ed., David P. Thelen, 'Progressivism as a Radical Movement', pp.149-74. See also George E. Mowry, 'The Progressive Movement' in John A. Garraty's Interpreting American History (London, 1970), pp.99-120. Contrasts in Australian and American progressives during the three decades 1885-1915 would make a fruitful comparative study. Mowry introduces the prospect in 'Social Democracy, 1900-1918', in C. Vann Woodward, ed., A Comparative Approach To American History (U.S. Information Service, 1968), pp.297-313.

The broad spectrum of their outlooks, ranging from radical to conservative, but most often liberal-conservative, makes them comparable with the confused and often contradictory ideological outlooks of their American newspaper contemporaries, united however, in their general desire to combat 'evil' and promote 'good' for the society as a whole.

These attitudes and reactions were the fruit of a newly dynamic fin de siècle liberalism in a society that promised more than most, the opportunity of improvement upon older models.

The bold advances of Australia's urban-based Labor journals were the most obviously 'progressive' in their radical-socialist approach to the solution of society's problems. But even 'reactionary' journals at the other end of the spectrum, belonging to remote elitist-rural groups, could agree with Labor journals on key issues such as the need for selective white immigration or express a desire to return to some past standard of purity (both widely subscribed to by 'progressives'), while disagreeing with them on many other issues. The concept of 'liberal-imperialism' - 'the transmission of the superior culture of one nation to the backward, oppressed communities of the world'[1] - similarly attracted progressives of the far left and the far right in the same way that certain other issues led to the bizarre political coalitions of Liberals and Conservatives in political parties of the time throughout the English-Speaking World.[2]

The term 'progressive' when applied to editors is eclectic enough to encompass both radicals and reactionaries. But it applies especially to the vast bulk of Australian editorial attitudes either slightly left or slightly right of centre in the 1890's: that grey area of 'conservative-liberal' or 'liberal-conservative' attitudes so difficult to classify clearly.

'Progressivism' was evident in the newspapers' concept of their own role. One editor put it in 1882, regarding the Australian press:

> ...that its influence is destined to supersede that of the pulpit and Parliament as a means of advancing the moral and

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[1] Sandi Cooper, Preface to W.T. Stead, Americanization, op.cit.

[2] Tory-Unionists a case in point (1895). Joseph Chamberlain is a representative type of the person who could simultaneously hold attitudes from radical to reactionary in suspension. He would have been comfortable with the title 'Progressive'.

> material welfare of humanity and spreading the blessing of civilization; that by its potent force as an educational agent it will ultimately bring about the golden age of universal conscience and of opinion which optimists, who believe in the perfectibility of human institutions, imagine will at some distant time secure our happiness.[1]

Benjamin Hoare, looking back to the period under discussion wrote:

> I still regard the Press as the great engine to which men must look to purge out the savage from society. It is the Press which, in spite of its shortcomings, ventilates, disinfects, fumigates the moral atmosphere we breathe. The Press, in so constantly holding selfishness up to scorn, deodorises the social environment: that was its great mission in the past....[2]

> The Ballarat Star claimed in 1905:
>
> It may be asserted with confidence that throughout Australia during the past twenty to thirty years, more political "leading" has been done in the columns of newspapers than by any of our professional statesmen.

The aim of this 'leading' was to 'benefit...communities by injecting thought and comment into the minds of active reformers'.[3] Referring to Robert Ross Haverfield, an early editor of the Bendigo Advertiser, George Mackay wrote, 'the impress of Mr. Haverfield's pen will be found in the history of every local institution and in every progressive development of the colony itself'.[4] Looking back during its fiftieth anniversary, the Ballarat Courier wrote:

> At the time when the Courier came on the scene, the spirit of reform natural to a community which had left other lands to find a fuller and freer life in a new country was in the air. There was a general desire to do away with objectionable conditions which had been brought here and to prevent others from coming, while there were also a set of problems of local growth to deal with.[5]

Names like C.A. Saint and Frank McKillop, the latter thirty-five years editor of the Mt. Alexander Mail, were well-known in the district of Castlemaine for local leadership and public benefaction. Most other

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[1] Quoted by K. Inglis, op.cit., p.160.

[2] K. Inglis quotes this editorial, op.cit., p.160; B. Hoare, op.cit., p.249.

[3] Ballarat Star, 23 Sept. 1905.

[4] G. Mackay, The History of Bendigo (Melbourne, 1891), p.147.

[5] Ballarat Courier, 11 June 1917.

centres large and small could provide examples of their own and names like Hackett, Bonython, Clark, Fairfax and Wilson immediately suggest themselves. Newcastle's only public statue to an individual is dedicated to the philanthropic activism of James Fletcher, editor of the Newcastle Morning Herald. The manifesto of the 1890 conference of the New South Wales Country Press claimed '...the ascension of the fourth estate in New South Wales to the place it was destined to occupy among the forces which fought for the freedom and welfare of the State'.[1]

'Journalism has throughout been intimately and honourably associated with the progress of Australian colonisation', wrote the Brisbane Courier in 1896.[2] Why should Australia, in the words of the Age in 1902, pride itself in 'being one of the most go ahead communities on the surface of the globe?'[3] The Argus, writing a year later, believed it knew:

> The country which is not up to date is lost. That may be taken as an axiomatic truth...the ceaseless stress of competition among the individuals of a community is paralleled by a competition between the nations. The battle is to the strong. The chance of survival is to the fit. If a country cannot "keep up with the procession" to employ an expressive idiom from the language of New York, the modern world has no use for it.[4]

Referring to Victoria's bourgeoisie (in 1889) Geoffrey Serle has recently written that they were 'all...bemused by the notion of the inevitability of progress'.[5]

The attack on 'abuses' whether performed by a populist demagogue like John Norton in the Truth; a pungent radical satirist such as Jules Archibald in the Bulletin; intelligent liberal-conservatives such as Frank Ward in the Daily Telegraph or Langdon Bonython in the Advertiser; a conservative-liberal such as Charles Brunsdon Fletcher in the Sydney Morning Herald or an even greater conservative such as Charles Ellis Davies in the Hobart Mercury, all believed in 'progress' according to

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[1] Review of Reviews, 1 Sept. 1906.

[2] Courier, 20 June 1896.

[3] Age, 2 June 1902.

[4] Argus, 15 Apr. 1903, 28 Oct. 1905.

[5] G. Serle, The Rush To Be Rich:A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883-1889 (Melbourne, 1971), pp.270-1. I would not suggest however, that Serle's concept of 'progressives' is the same as my own.

their own lights, especially political integrity and social justice. As the case of the Speight libel case against David Syme illustrated, some editors were prepared to push their attacks to the point of litigation.

These attitudes animated 'progressives' in the United States during the same period. Progressives in America and Australia had both been inspired by the early crusading zeal of British journalist W.T. Stead and his 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' (1885) - a spectacular exposé of London vice that landed him briefly in jail. Confronted by common problems in roughly similar modern materialist societies, editors assumed an aggressive role in Britain, Australia and America that won them political power, loyal readership and a salve for their consciences. The names of Americans Ray Stannard Baker, Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell who wrote for McClure's and American books such as Thomas W. Lawson's Frenzied Finance, David Graham Phillips' Treason of the Senate, Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, Frank Norris's The Octupus and The Pit and Jack London's The Iron Heel were well known at different times in Australia during the general period 1889-1908 particularly to editors (who quoted them). Theodore Roosevelt gave a general 'lift' to progressivism in all countries by his prestigious intercession, though the more restrained variety of Australian progressive would have agreed with his concept of the limits of 'muckraking'. Australian progressive editors never expressed the same degree of thoroughgoing, trenchant criticism of their society as was the case in America, where real abuses and journalistic competition were more intense.

Because they shared similar societies and due to a feeling of familiarity engendered by language, Australian editors felt free to praise or criticize aspects of American experience sometimes with more fervour than they attacked their own. In this they were given a lead by British and American journalists. As a human laboratory, America attracted fascinated interest and Australia intended to learn from her triumphs and mistakes. As the Bendigo Independent put it in 1908 when it noted the parallels:

> between the settlement of a new country like America and of a very new country like Australia [which are not to be found in crowded and long-peopled Europe]....We can aspire to be as wealthy as the United States in the evolution of affairs...and we can also, while the tree is green, take measures to prevent many of the gnarls, knots, blemishes

> and noxious parasites which have grown and fastened upon the American tree.[1]

From active disapproval of much of America's domestic and foreign diplomatic developments from 1889 to 1895 a short, but significant step was taken toward approval of that American society which seemed to be actively cleansing itself internally as well as promoting peace and security abroad in the period 1901-1908. When American imperialism was approved of by Australian editors, it usually appealed to their paradoxical mixture of progressive instincts.

The question of ethnocentrism which involved race loyalty on one hand and race rejection on the other, will be more fully discussed later.

What needs to be noted here is that the defensive, conservative nature of Australian editorial attitudes on race and empire were not inconsistent with more positive, contemporary progressive attitudes. As the historiography of American progressivism and a study of Australian editorial attitudes reveals, a radical, liberal, progressive stance on particular issues at this time could be compatable with more conservative, even seemingly reactionary attitudes on other matters. The latter stemmed in part from xenophobia and insularity as well as from the Social Darwinist theories current during 1889-1908. Editors could therefore claim kinship with America; align themselves sympathetically with that country against the Chinese and Japanese; applaud American defeat of Spanish in the Caribbean and welcome American entry into the Pacific to combat Japanese, German, French and Russian intrusions there, because it calmed their racial anxieties and brought closer the long-hoped for Anglo-Saxon naval-political union of the United States and the British Empire.

Whereas it had been easy to criticize the faltering and intermittent extensions of the traditional Monroe Doctrine at an earlier period (1889-97), the unprecedent, bold and successful overseas imperialism of the United States (1898-1908) aroused mainly enthusiasm as it channelled American aggression away from its traditional British orientation and toward 'coloured' peoples - Spanish, Filipino and

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[1] Bendigo Independent, 26 Aug. 1908.

Japanese - in the name of 'humanity' and 'civilization'.

When Australian editors criticized America, they often did so, especially as the failure of the 1897 arbitration treaty was to show, because they believed that America was not fulfilling its racial obligations to other English-speaking peoples. As early as 1893, Miss C.H. Spence in her article for Harper's wrote, 'I think that Australia, which is a great country in the making, feels more nearly of kin to America than even England can do'. In the Australian press America was not characterized as 'cousin' Jonathan so much as an older brother, sister or uncle. These expressions of racial solidarity were especially noticeable during the visit of the Great White Fleet, when the 'mystic union of blood' replaced the earlier 'blood is thicker than water' shibboleth and were based on perceptions of American 'power', British 'neglect' and Japanese 'menace' in the Pacific.

Most Australian editorialists, themselves subscribing to fashionable and sometimes extreme racial sentiments of their own, usually supported American racial and imperial actions, especially when they either morally supported or did not conflict with Australian concepts of their 'interests'.

Gabriel Almond's[1] observations on the attitudes and reactions of the American people toward foreign affairs provide interesting clues to the Australian situation. In materialistic societies as similar as Australia and America, he claims that the overriding attitude of the populace toward foreign affairs is one of indifference as major energies are absorbed in private material pursuits. The replacement of a policy of unstructured 'drift' with periods of simplistic overreaction during crises, reasonably reflects the Australian situation even as far back as the 1890's.

The distrust of intellectualizing international developments, the shifts of mood from euphoric to dysphoric, accompanied by withdrawal reactions following rebuff; the irritation and impatient suspicion at the selfish interests of the central Government and cyclical waves of idealism and cynicism can be traced as parallels in American and Australian reactions during 1889-1908. Those marks of national

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[1] Gabriel Almond, The American People & Foreign Policy (New York, 1950), Ch.III, 'The American Character and Foreign Policy', pp.29-68.

immaturity - alternation of attitudes of superiority and inferiority, confidence and doubt - produced ambivalent reactions from one ambiguous people (the Australians) toward another (the Americans).[1] The character of this ambiguity is nowhere better evident than in the Australian editorials on America during the period 1889-1908 when one country emerged as a united federation and the other emerged as a world power.

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[1]John G. Stoessinger, Nations In Darkness (New York, 1971), illustrates how perceptions of one country by another can be completely misleading.

CHAPTER TWO

'THE GREAT REPUBLIC': A STUDY IN AMBIGUITY, 1889-1895

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By the beginning of the 1890's the image of America especially as it was perceived through the media of the Australian press, had been developing effectively for around a generation. While acknowledging in the main that the United States was akin and held similar traditions, aspirations and problems and that it was an optimistic, innovative, democratic country which had much to teach Australians, commentators also noted that anomalies existed.

These were the product of developing industrial and commercial societies in general, and had to do with crowding, unemployment, the cities and allied difficulties. But despite the special idealism of America, in the inspiration it had given to liberalism around the world since 1776, it was believed that there existed evils peculiar to America itself. Social, economic and political objections toward American developments were made by Australian editors during the first half of the 1890's. They shed light on allied Australian rhetoric and action in this period.

One ready guide to pro-American attitudes in Australia was the fourth of July editorial material appearing annually in a great many liberal-conservative organs. To take only two examples, the Herald wrote in 1889:

> Our American cousins are at the moment quietly and calmly celebrating the anniversary of the birthday of Freedom, as they have the best right in the world to do, since it is to them that the nations owe that great development of liberty which is the glory of the nineteenth century.
>
> To us Australians especially the date is a significant one, since had the American colonists failed to maintain the principle for which they contended, our present independence would have been impossible. The Australian colonies would have been founded by British noblemen under great Crown grants as those of America were and the colonists would have remained in semi-feudal subjection for many and many a day...but for the American Revolution the Empire would be our master and not our partner....
>
> ...But the British people in Australia as in Great Britain herself, owe America even more than this for her example has shown and continues to show, that a nation may be great, powerful, influential and respected without a foreign policy

> and without a standing army...we must...thankfully recollect that the policy of non-intervention which teaches us that no good can be done by extending the area of strife, is a lesson that British statesmen have learned from America [sic]
>
> ...Therefore, for these and many other reasons of kinship, connection and mutual good-will, we join heartily in the thankfulness with which every American salutes the fourth of July....[1]

The Standard's offering a year later (1890) is along the same lines:

> ...The political folly (of our forefathers) in endeavouring to enforce outrageous exaction by tyrannous force robbed England of that which would have shone as one of the brightest jewels in its brilliant crown....
>
> ...in his own country, Brother Jonathan has achieved results which command the praise and are the envy of the rest of the world and no less renowned is he abroad. He is ubiquitous and wherever he may be his characteristic energy and enterprise always assert themselves. Born in the blood of kith and kin America has, nonetheless, set a noble example to the rest of the world in the pursuit of the industrial arts, allied with peace and amity toward the rest of mankind. Her internal struggles have been desperate, but they were inevitable and unquestionably the terrible carnage of the Civil War was attended with beneficial results.
>
> The American nation is today in the proud position of having the smallest standing army in the world in proportion to the population. She courts no favour and fears no frown; she stands aloof from senseless quarrels; the secret machinations of courtly cliques who play with men's lives without any concern beyond the accomplishment of their personal purposes do not trouble her in the least; she is contented to work out a glorious destiny on the lines of peace; still her valorous sons have shown that they can "beware the entrance to a quarrel", but being provoked it can "make the opposed beware of [them]". While other people may not share the Americans' enthusiasm on this their national day, they can all with the utmost sincerity congratulate the great western nation on their material progress and the happiness and prosperity which prevail among the sixty-six million human beings spread over their vast continent.[2]

For Australia, as for any nation attempting to assess the national image of another country, the procedure involved the operation of a 'two-way mirror'. To understand the kindred American society, the progressive Australian commentator had to clarify and reveal, consciously

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[1] Herald, 4 July 1889.

[2] Standard, 4 July 1890.

or not, the standards, values and aspirations of his own society.[1] Anti-American sentiments in the early 1890's (which were for Australia as much as for America, a historic watershed) co-incidentally revealed much of what Australians hoped for their own nation internally. Their perceptions in the late 1890's reveal much of their future power aspirations abroad.[2]

At the opening of the 1890's, the liberal-conservative press stressed the kinship of race, sentiment, language, institutions and intercommunications and projected the United States as the paradigm of freedom, liberty, material prosperity and the absence of imperialism. During America's turbulent 1890's - referred to by Richard Hofstadter as a decade experiencing a 'psychic crisis'[3] - the United States departed considerably from these older admirable ways and ideals. As it did so, the country generated much criticism of its own. Australian colonial editors, mindful of the powerful influence American precedents set in social, economic and political affairs, whose base lay in ethnocentrism, took up these criticisms to stress the fact that progressive societies such as Australia's should act to prevent these evils from taking root in their own newly-emerging nation.

As the Argus expressed it in mid-1895 with reference to the American experience:

> Progressive civilization has everywhere to face the same perils and progressive civilization is likely to do well in proportion as it fights its own battles against reactionaries on the one hand and revolutionists on the other, acquiring new strength by each exertion.[4]

And the Age added at the end of 1895, regarding acceptance or rejection of American precedents:

> Our new Commonwealth must build on the wisdom of the ages and it has a clear site for its foundations. The

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[1] William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril, How Nations See Each Other (Urbana, 1953); Richard T. Morris, The Two-Way Mirror (Minneapolis, 1960) introduce the literature on this.

[2] Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (London, 1950) and Harold U. Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890-1900 (London, 1959), are typical of those who see the 1890's as a watershed for America. Almost all Australian historians see the 1890's as a turning point, due to new impulses in labour and federal developments.

[3] Hofstadter's 'psychic crisis' idea is discussed at a later stage.

[4] Argus, 17 June 1895.

> larger and quicker our conception of the State, the truer must be our federal course.[1]

Australian editorial attitudes and reactions towards what they frequently referred to as 'The Great Republic' in the period c.1889 to c.1895, were clearly ambiguous. On a general level, these attitudes were approving at the beginning of the 1890's. As the decade advanced however, an increasing chorus of disapproval suffused Australian newspaper comment on specific social, economic and political happenings in the United States. Such a change of tone and emphasis set in from 1889 that an ambivalence approaching a 'love-hate' relationship animated some Australian newspaper attitudes and reactions by the end of 1895.

Alongside the distorted image of the 'typical' Englishman as a 'Haw-Haw' eye-glassed oddity, there had grown up in Australian colonies a caricature of the American as a 'Cheap Jack'. This type - usually in business - talked glibly while he cleverly swindled his patrons. Another unpopular stereotype however - the opposite to the first - was the Puritan New Englander. This laconic, wintry, hard-working, formally religious individual, was considered to be the unattractive antithesis of the hedonistic, sunny, emerging Australian national character.[2]

But the first American type was considered to be the more common of the two. Shrewd, and full of what were referred to as 'cute Yankee notions', he was considered by his critics a bumptious _parvenu_ rejecting European (and British) precedents. His only virtue seemed to be his business skill, based on energy and opportunism. Colonel Bell, one of Cleveland's new civil service appointments seemed to convey something of this national image when he announced upon landing in Sydney to take up his post as United States Consul in 1893: '[America's] opportunities have developed the highest genius the world ever saw, the most tireless industry...the richest gifts...our progress has no parallel'. Some Sydney-siders believed that another pushful American had arrived. In this case the Consul's genuine charm overcame the initial impression of Bell as a Dickensian Jefferson Brick,[3] but other Americans arriving here were

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[1] _Age_, 21 Dec. 1895.

[2] _Standard_, 4 July 1890 (see Appendix); _Argus_, 15 Mar. 1890 (see Appendix); _Age_, 17 May 1893 (see Appendix).

[3] A character from _Martin Chuzzlewit_.

not so fortunate. Many retained and reinforced the distorted image of the 'smart' American who spoke in loud superlatives.[1]

Though many Americans were either too vivid or too dreary for Australian taste, there was expressed a paradoxical irritation at the American habit of considering Australians - indeed, most Englishmen - as foreigners. Professor E.E. Morris,[2] speaking at the Bankers' Institute in Melbourne in 1890, was perplexed by the fact that the affection of Britons toward Americans was not reciprocated. Australian travellers who had been in America complained on returning home, of the blank ignorance of things Australian in the United States. They were affronted by the fact that even to the most cultured and cosmopolitan Bostonian, Australia was still terra incognita. This seemed to confirm the irony of Americans as being not only arrogant concerning themselves, but ignorantly parochial concerning others.[3]

Local branches of large American insurance offices as well as dentists, barbers, druggists, large and small business managers and operators of public utilities were well known in Australian cities and towns,[4] while there were a number of miners and farmers in the country areas of the various colonies. Americans comprised the sixth largest group of foreign-born peoples in Australia (after the Chinese, Germans, Scandinavians, Polynesians and Indians) - 6 per cent of Australia's total foreign population. Of a total Australian population in 1901 of 3,771,715 they comprised 7,881 people, or just under .2 per cent of the total. Of these, the largest number were in New South Wales - 3,130 of which 2,384 lived in Sydney; 2,141 lived in Victoria - 1,311 in Melbourne; 1,315 lived in Queensland, 1,035 in Western Australia, 523 in South Australia

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[1] Age, 16 May 1891, 16 Nov. 1893; Herald, 25 May, 15 June 1896 (see Appendix); Argus, 19 July 1892.

[2] Edward E. Morris, an Oxford graduate and for a time schoolmaster at Melbourne Grammar School, later occupied the Chair of English, French and Germanic languages and literature from 1884 to 1902. Into that time, he 'crammed an immense amount of literary and teaching activity'. See, G. Blainey, A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne (Melbourne, 1957) p. 101.

[3] Argus, 4 July 1890; Age, 22 Aug. 1890; Standard, 3 Dec. 1890.

[4] The American flair for self-advertisement can be sampled in publications as remote as Queensland's Wild River Times, 5 Dec. 1895, and West Australia's Geraldton-Murchison Telegraph, 6 Dec. 1895.

and 237 in Tasmania.[1] Nonetheless they did make an impact on the Australian scene and 'American Communities' were referred to in the Australian press.[2] Their noisy 4th of July celebrations, a hang-over from the 'spreadeaglism' of the American commercial adventurer Francis Train in the 1850's were often criticised, though sometimes in a spirit of good-natured envy.[3]

'The canker of American civilization', wrote one widely quoted English journalist in 1893, 'is the rooted disbelief in the honesty and good faith of anybody'.[4] Such criticisms of American civilization were common among journalists in the 1890's and had been for some time. Australian critics felt as qualified as any to join in. But the American reception of these judgements was condemned for its morbid sensitivity. Victorians pointed by way of contrast to the spirit in which they accepted the criticisms of Dr C. Strong[5] and others on 'Barbarous Melbourne' and the fortitude with which the Age published 'warts & all', the comprehensive report on Victoria sent to America by Frank McCoppin, the American Commissioner in charge of Australian arrangements for the Chicago World Fair.[6] The feeling was that though younger, Australians as a people were more mature in this respect, and did not suffer from, to use the words of a later United States Consul-General, Pierrepont Moffat, a 'national

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[1] Coghlan, op.cit., p.545; Census of N.S.W. (1901), pp.276-83; Census of Victoria (1901), p.15. These figures exclude Aboriginals.

[2] E.g. Two Americans - Mr Hopper, a Chicagoan of meat-preserving fame and Mr Badger, the Manager of Brisbane Tramways Company, proved their value in Queensland society; Brisbane Evening Observer, 12 Apr. 1901.

[3] Argus, 6 July 1889. For Train's career see first footnote in Introduction.

[4] The journalist was William Thomas Stead (1849-1912), from 1883 to 1889 editor the Pall Mall Gazette. He founded the monthly Review of Reviews in 1890. He echoed Dickens's criticism from American Notes, published in 1842. In general, see H.S. Commager, (ed.), America In Perspective, The United States Through Foreign Eyes, (N.Y., 1947), p.79.

[5] Charles Strong (1844-1942), preacher and founder of the Australian Church 1885, was a champion of social justice and a bold critic of Australian abuses from the time of his arrival in Australia (from Scotland) in 1875. See P. Serle, Dictionary, op.cit., pp.374-376.

[6] Age, 23 Apr. 1889, 24 Feb. 1890; Argus, 18 Jan. 1890.