

provided Australia with a truly Pacific perspective on foreign affairs. The fleet gave policy-makers more confidence in Australia's own sense of identity regarding its power aspirations in the Pacific, and its possible relations with other nations toward the achievement of those goals. The Australian press also noted the moderating effect that the fleet visit seemed to exercise on Japan in particular in quieting that country's belligerent attitude toward the United States. The presence of 15,000 Americans in Australia, provided a valuable opportunity to better understand the United States through the formation of impressions, the result of direct communication.¹

The visit also resulted in a reassessment of the Imperial relation. The ground had been prepared by the press for a greater acceptance of America in Australia than had existed hitherto. Stimulation of discussion on a separate fleet for Australia and of a suggestion by Deakin in 1909 for a Monroe Doctrine in the Pacific for Australia, were other results.² Perhaps the Argus best summed up the impressions left behind. A week after the fleet sailed, it remarked:

Many false ideas about America and the Americans will be corrected in Australia when the impressions of the past two or three weeks come to be more clearly defined. Older communities in Europe are apt to look upon the United States as a country still in the green stages of adolescence; we in Australia, with younger eyes, perhaps see more clearly, when we recognize in our visitors the strong character and steady purpose of a nation which has "arrived".³

This admiration, mixed with a touch of hero-worship, led to some interesting reassessments. The boastfulness, violence, money-mania and corruption that had disfigured the image of America in many Australian stereotypes, were notably absent among sailors who gave a good impression as men 'clean and capable'. Their expressed sympathy for similar future Australian imperial aspirations for Australia in the Pacific, were appreciated. For the nation, they were a 'never to be forgotten seven days'.⁴

¹See editorials in, Sydney Morning Herald, 10, 11 Aug. 1908; West Australian, 21 Aug. 1908; South Australian Register, 5 Sept. 1908; Courier, 24 Aug. 1908; Advocate, 2 Sept. 1908.

²See N. Meaney, 'A Proposition...', op.cit.

³Argus, 7 Sept. 1908.

⁴See G.H. Reid, 'An After Glance At the Visit of the American Fleet to Australia', North American Review, March 1909, pp.404-9.

It is doubtful whether any preceding event in Australian history had evoked such widespread enthusiasm as did the visit of the Great White Fleet in 1908.¹ In the period 1889-1908, only the coronations, jubilees and deaths of monarchs, or the great events of Empire such as Mafeking Night, were comparable. The visit was not only a great festive occasion of itself; it served to submerge much of the ambivalence toward America that had been operating up to that date. A broad modification of Australian attitudes toward America (at different levels) had been in process for several years: the fleet visit in 1908 was the culmination of that development.

¹J.A. La Nauze places the fleet visit in its Imperial perspective. His assessment of Deakin's motives and the reception of his suggestions at the Colonial Office is in sobering contrast to the reception of the press. See Alfred Deakin, op.cit., pp.489-91. R. Megaw in her work, records some adverse comment from the radical press, which referred to Uncle Sam's 'blood ships', but one must search hard for these views. They were certainly peripheral expressions of press opinion e.g. Bulletin, 16, 30 July, 20 Aug., 10 Sept. 1908; Brisbane Worker, 20 Aug. 1908.

CONCLUSION

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In summary, after prefacing with an outline of major elements in the Australian press scene, 1889-1908, this dissertation has opened with a brief exploration of general press attitudes concerning social, economic and political events in the 'Great Republic' for the years of Harrison's and Cleveland's administrations, 1889-1895.

Colonial press attitudes were ambivalent at this time due to the nature of the American experience toward the end of the 'Gilded Age'. Two ideas clearly dominated most Australian editorial attitudes in the metropolitan and provincial presses: ethnocentrism and progressivism. Americans, it was most generally held, were admirable because they were kin, professed high ideals and had pioneered paradigms for liberal development in many fields. But the bulk of the Australian press, including labor, catholic and satiric journals, also found them reprehensible for their considerable departure from these earlier social and political scruples and for a consequent failure to pursue progressive and radical domestic goals with sufficient vigour. Nonetheless, no serious division disturbed the relatively friendly relations between the two countries.

A significant landmark in press perceptions of the American nation appeared during the Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute and the Anglo-American crisis which it produced at the end of 1895 and at the beginning of 1896. During that period, an intense focus was brought to bear on American affairs by the presses of the Australian colonies, especially on the new developments of the Monroe Doctrine. Australian readers learnt much about their own Empire loyalties and aspirations during this period - one which coincided with a crisis in the Transvaal brought about by the Jameson raid.

One momentous result of that month of international disturbance was Britain's re-ordering of her foreign-policy priorities toward abandonment of 'splendid isolation'. From 1896 to 1899, Australian editors energetically promoted prospects for arbitration of future such disputes. What most Australian editors in fact hoped for was a general agreement leading to a racial alliance of which Australia could be a part - one that would ensure all Anglo-Saxons' futures in an increasingly hostile world.

For the three years 1895 to 1898, events unfolding overseas centered on Cuba and moved the United States toward a conflict with Spain. Australian editors conducted a long debate on the issues involved which led them toward a not unequivocal backing of the American position as champions of humanity during the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Australia, emerging as a federated nation in 1901 with a need for security, and espousing imperial ambitions of its own, largely endorsed the 'White Man's Burden' concept of Empire popular after 1899, and looked with equanimity and even some encouragement upon America's expansion into areas within the Caribbean, the Orient and the Pacific during 1899-1901.

Most of these events occurring during 1895 to 1901 were taken ambiguously to some extent by the various interest groups within the Australian colonial press. A final brief comparison of Australian press perceptions of American society as a whole, covers the Roosevelt era (1902-08) - a period which ends with the visit of the 'Great White Fleet' to Australia. It examines America in its new role as 'World Power'.

Press attitudes and reactions for this period were appreciably different from those of the earlier period 1889 to 1895. A tone of greater enthusiasm for United States' actions pervaded the decade following federation. More enlightened and energetic progressive U.S. leadership at home and the apparent pursuit of similar ethnocentric goals abroad - especially those concerned with Japan - appeared to effect this transformation. But the key period during which events shaped 'new' press attitudes resulting in these different reactions was during the years 1895 to 1901, and it is on those years that this thesis has concentrated most of its attention.

We may now examine this summary more closely.

Australians had a press of considerable size and status by world standards in the period 1889-1908. It was supported at great expense by the colonial and later, the state and federal governments through the monies expended on railways, telegraphs, subsidised mails and other communications. It was influenced in the main by conservative British journalistic models in matters of news presentation and avoided most of the worst aspects of the 'new journalism' coming into vogue overseas. The considerable number of American publications received in Australia exerted an increasing impact in form and content toward the end of the period.

Metropolitan dailies were primarily of a liberal-conservative nature and enjoyed huge circulations in the capitals where over one third of the populace was concentrated. The much more diffuse country press had some impressive dailies in cities of between 10,000 and 70,000 inhabitants. Provincial newspapers often followed their metropolitan peers in orientation. However, often the more conservative journals originated in areas primarily rural, while more liberal-radical newspapers were often centred in chiefly mining areas. Weeklies usually followed their parent daily in editorial attitude. But satirical journals and the presses of labor and catholic interests as well as Irish-protestant and freethinking papers modified the occasional unanimity of the Protestant-dominated either Free Trade or Protectionist liberal-conservative metropolitan and provincial presses with perceptions of the United States that were significantly different. Though it is difficult to detect either consistent sectional or colonial differences in the press, except superficially, detailed notes on publications mentioned in the dissertation are contained in an Appendix at the back of this work.

Correspondents and travellers added their lot to the aggregate store of impressions being published concerning America.

Statistics using the Age as a sample, showed that up to 43 editorials on the United States could appear in an exceptional year, while the average number of editorials per year (19) after 1898 - the year most commonly recognized as marking America's emergence as a world power - revealed a perceptible increase on the average before that year (14). The percentage of editorials devoted to overseas matters could occupy as much as 15 per cent of editorials in any one year and of those editorials, as much as 72.5 per cent of the foreign editorial space could be devoted to comment on America.

Editorialists claimed for themselves a large role as opinion-leaders and the overall status of 'the press' appeared to rise during the years 1889 to 1908. As ever, 'the press' claimed to both create and reflect public opinion toward foreign affairs in general and the United States in particular and its claim appeared to carry some substance in Australia at least, especially among the liberal-conservative elements around the centre of the political spectrum.

Two characteristics which predominated the intellectual approaches of proprietors and editors at this time were 'progressive' and 'ethnocentric' attitudes toward domestic and foreign

affairs: the two interacting upon each other. As 'progressives' (the term is defined at length in Chapter One), Australian editors found that they could endorse American expansion for humanitarian reasons, while criticizing iniquities existing on the domestic scene in the United States. As 'ethnocentrics' (the term is defined at length in Chapter Five) Australian newspapermen found that they could criticize America for anglophobia and for failing to co-operate with supposed broad Anglo-Saxon power aspirations. Often simultaneously, they praised the United States for a brotherly attitude when that country's actions coincided with notions of her responsibility and when they put racially or nationally alien peoples 'in their place'. These mutually intertwined attitudes toward matters domestic and foreign were the bases for the alternate and swiftly-changing enthusiasm and disgust which characterized the views of Australian editors toward the American experience during the years 1895 to 1901 especially.

At the opening of the 1890's, the liberal-conservatives (or major element of the Australian colonial press), stressed the kinship of race, sentiment, language, institutions and intercommunications with the Americans and projected an image of the United States as an ideal of freedom, liberty, material prosperity and the absence of imperialism among the countries of the world.¹ During America's turbulent 1890's - referred to by Richard Hofstadter as experiencing a 'psychic crisis' (see Chapter Three) - the U.S. departed considerably from these traditional admirable ways. As it did so, the country generated much press criticism of its own. Australian colonial editors, mindful of the powerful influence American precedents were setting in aspects of social, economic and political affairs, accentuated these criticisms to point the lesson that newer progressive societies such as Australia's should act promptly in order to prevent similar evils from taking root in their own newly-emerging nation.

For the Australian colonies, as for any group attempting by means of its press to assess the image of another country, the procedure involved the operation of a 'two-way mirror'. In order to understand the kindred American society, the progressive Australian commentator had to clarify and reveal, consciously or not, the standards, values and aspirations of

¹G. Serle, From Deserts The Prophets Come (Melbourne, 1973) p.60.

his own society.

Much of the anti-American sentiment from 1889 to 1895 pertained to the frigidity, acquisitiveness, ruthlessness, parochialism or boastfulness of supposed American 'national types'. Racial difficulties, unrestricted immigration, lawlessness in cities and industry; poverty and a depression in the countryside; discriminatory tariffs, the growth of trusts and currency confusion in America were also criticized. Along with Japan, Germany and Russia (China having disappeared by 1895 as a military menace) America was mildly criticised for its intrusion in Samoan and Hawaiian affairs which appeared to be in contradiction to its Monroe Doctrine. Coercion of Canada and South American states and differences over the payment of arbitration awards were periodically resented. At the same time American models were being adapted in all manner of inventions and products; trade union organization was inspired by the U.S., and American precedents were being used in Australian federation making. Trade and cultural contacts appeared to be strengthening aided by enthusiasts such as the American Consul in Sydney, Colonel Bell, who was generally held in high regard and who worked at improving his country's image.

Australian press attitudes and reactions therefore, were generally ambiguous toward the 'Great Republic'. Though approving at the opening of the 1890's a change of tone and emphasis worked to produce in Australian press attitudes what might be called a 'love-hate' relationship toward America by the end of 1895.

But few Australian editors expected that a full-scale crisis was impending: one to test thoroughly the true nature of their feeling toward the United States.

Barbara Tuchman succinctly described the broad significance of the crisis when she wrote: '[Cleveland's] emphatic assertion of the Monroe Doctrine over Venezuela, in defiance of Britain, marked the beginning of a new period in American life as vividly as if a signal flag had been run to the top of the American flagpole'.¹ In its suddenness and intensity, the dispute over the border between two countries in South America came as an unwelcome shock to Australian editors of all shades of opinion.

¹The Proud Tower, A Portrait of the World Before the War, 1890-1914
(London, 1966) p.136.

It had brought to the brink of war the two countries most admired by the Colonial presses. Due to the quickly re-animated warmth of the Imperial connection at that time, Australia's newspaper support was almost all on the side of Britain in the dispute. A deep probing of America's social, economic and political motives produced however, a better understanding of that country than ever before and an appreciation of the new direction in foreign policy in which the United States appeared to be heading.

Throughout the crisis, the Monroe Doctrine was viewed in its old 'Hands Off!' anti-imperialist sense by most of the press. It was also held to be the nexus of a complex of economic, political and emotional motives which had impelled America's extraordinary diplomatic action. As a vague, but successful, international concept the doctrine had been envied by Australian editors for a generation¹ and especially so after the New Guinea annexation of 1884. Attitudes to the doctrine were by no means 'ignorant' as Neville Meaney suggests.² In both its traditional defensive sense and with its newer offensive overtones (which came to be known as the 'Olney Corollary') the doctrine came into increasing prominence after 1895. In 1909 (with the addition of the 'Roosevelt Corollary') it was a source of inspiration to Deakin following the visit of the American fleet, and to other statesmen and journalists attempting to lay the foundations of an Australian foreign policy.³ Following World War I, it is clear that the acquisition of Pacific mandates by Australia did much to achieve that sense of security felt to be the purpose of the original doctrine.

Toward the boundary dispute, Australian press attitudes proved to be generally deeply interested and probing, though not always objective toward which side was 'in the right'. Editorials questioned America's motives closely and were not certain that Cleveland's actions had been undertaken for domestic gain in order to court the Irish-American vote; to exert increased influence over the projected Nicaraguan Canal by

¹Merze Tate, 'The Australasian Monroe Doctrine', Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 76, 1961, p.269.

²"A Proposition of the Highest International Importance": Alfred Deakin's Pacific Agreement Proposal and Its Significance for Australian-Imperial Relations', Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, Vol. 5, 1967, p.208.

³J.A. La Nauze, Alfred Deakin (Vol. II) (Melbourne, 1965) Ch.23.

rebuffing British interests in the area; to divert attention from the fiscal crisis at home or for commercial gain abroad; or to relieve the pent-up anglophobia and growing jingoism in the country. It is certain that these colonial press analyses are on the whole sophisticated enough to present a new dimension to any future assessment of this very important crisis to be undertaken by historians.

Australian press reactions toward the Anglo-American crisis, both general and specific, were more intense and individual. If the event represented a significant stage in the realms of Australia's press recognition of America as an emerging world power, then it also did much to clarify the Australian colonies' perception of their own identity and status both real and potential, on the international level. Editors had much to say concerning the Jameson raid and the Kaiser's telegram as countervailing forces and the contrasting ways in which Salisbury and Cleveland had handled the situation. Editorials revealed the nature of Australian-Irish loyalist and religious reactions as well as attitudes toward Canada. As Mark Twain who was visiting the colonies noted, they illustrated well the degree of Australian newspaper interest in Imperial and other overseas events in general and the growing interest in American foreign developments in particular.¹

There can be no doubt that the affair had made a profound impact upon the two disputants, England and America. But the repercussions had also strongly affected Britain's colonies - in South Africa, Canada and Australia especially - causing them considerable agitation and anxiety concerning their long-term future and security.

Not one of the colonies welcomed the prospect of an Anglo-American war. After the Kaiser's telegram and Cleveland's Commission had acted to deflect and dissipate animosities, the Australian press in particular took it upon itself to urge the Home Government that far from exacerbating Britain's isolation by continued hostility, Britons must now convince Americans, as a matter of priority, that it was essential for English-speaking peoples to remain friends.

The possibility of a closer Anglo-American military and naval alliance had occupied a part of Australian editorial thinking before the Guiana-Venezuela dispute. During 1896 these ideas were re-examined to

¹Mark Twain, Following The Equator (Conneticut, 1897) pp.167-8.

see what, if anything, of the desire for an Anglo-American understanding remained. The first step in coming to terms seemed to lay in an appreciation of the existence of mutual differences. Time and a thoughtful attitude would combine to assist in an actual waning of antipathy, it was hoped.

Specific arbitration of the boundary at first forced by Americans upon the British, was resented. Later, Cleveland's Commission was welcomed as a means of easing the immediate tension and suggesting a broader basis for the solution of any such future disputes by means of general arbitration. Though editorial views were generally realistic and sober, proposals of a general nature always evoked a more positive response than those for specific arbitration. Enthusiasm for the former development rested largely on the pervasive ethnocentrism of the times which envisaged the possibility of a broader international federation of 'Anglo-Saxon' powers, beyond the imminent local federation of the Australian colonies.

Editorial discussion on arbitration among the senior English-speaking powers progressed through five phases in the Australian press from 1896 to 1899. The first phase represented initial reactions to the machinery of arbitration being assembled and this was followed by at first cautious, and later openly optimistic phases of reaction concerning the seemingly successful operation of that machinery. Its surprising and complete breakdown brought about by the U.S. Senate in mid 1897, resulted in a period of bitter pessimism in the presses of the Australian colonies regarding the efficacy of arbitral systems of a general nature. In their final phase, reactions settled down to an acceptance of something less than perfect results and 'ended' in the period under discussion with a new burst of enthusiasm following the modest success of the more limited form of arbitration. The latter, which fixed the position of the boundary, while physically favouring Britain, was really a 'moral' victory for the U.S. in the recognition it gave to its status as a world power.

The Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute had shown the urgent need for and helped provide the means for a tangible focus of 'Anglo-Saxon' understanding. In doing so, it accelerated and developed an already existing underlying tendency. Though setbacks for a total detente were in store (as the Alaskan boundary dispute in particular was to illustrate), the basis had been laid for an understanding lasting until the present day. Certainly such advances of sentiment had been made in the four

years since 1895 as to justify Bradford Perkins' description of the phenomenon as 'The Great Rapprochement' and his reference to 1899 as 'the crescendo of Anglo-Saxonism'.¹ Despite the tensions generated by the near election of the Popocrat candidate William Jennings Bryan in November 1896 and of the prohibitive (Dingley) tariff introduced in 1897 by the Republican victor of that election, William McKinley, Australian press opinion had shared willingly in the promotion of all phases of arbitration, out of idealism and self-interest.

Various themes such as Monroeism and continuing jingoism stressed during the Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute and its arbitration aftermath reappeared during the press debate in Australia from 1895 to 1898 on the impending Spanish-American conflict over Cuba and the Philippines.

That both Spanish colonies were suffering great hardships was the outstanding fact that no paper denied. It was regarding the interpretation of that suffering and the commentary on what should be done about it that created most of the debate in the Australian press concerning the relative merits and demerits of Spanish stewardship and American intervention.

During the three years of press discussion on the unfolding events, Spain steadily lost the sympathies of Australian editors and readers. Charges of martial incompetence, colonial exploitation, out-right cruelty and all-pervading national degeneracy were brought against the country's administration. Those who defended Spain often did so out of sorrow for the decline of a once-great power. Others were hostile toward an increasingly pretentious America, whose break with traditional isolation was as resented as the jingoism of the 'Yellow Press' which accompanied it.

Yet it soon became clear that most of the Australian liberal-conservative metropolitan and provincial dailies would applaud the prospect of American intervention. Its humanitarian motive, its long-standing and legitimate economic and strategic interests together with the emotional impact of events such as the sinking of the Maine in Havana harbour and, in another sphere, the darkening international situation in China provided grounds for the bias in press opinion toward the U.S.

¹Bradford Perkins, The Great Rapprochement, (New York, 1968) p.81.

Though many editors feared that due to the situation in the East, a Spanish-American conflict would precipitate the long-predicted Armageddon of the nations, the forging of a defensive 'Anglo-Saxon Union' as the result of such a critical event was usually considered to be worth such a risk. When war was declared, Australian press opinion in the main gave its full support to the United States. In doing so, it believed it was backing an ethnically similar country practicing 'Progressivism by the Sword'.

Interest in the Spanish-American war of 1898 by both press and public in Australia was sincere and unaffected even to the point of wishing to fight in it. The metropolitan, protestant, liberal-conservative press was unanimously pro-American. Catholic press opinion in Melbourne was ambivalent and in Sydney was enthusiastically pro-U.S., with the exception of Cardinal Moran who doggedly defended the reputation of the Catholic power. Jewish press opinion backed America, while labor press attitudes firmly opposed what was considered to be naked American aggression.

Economic disturbance, but for increased insurance costs, redounded to the benefit of colonial producers who sold their wheat to Europe and their coal to America at higher prices. An unexpected bonus was the sale of foodstuffs to Commodore Dewey in Manila and to Americans in Hawaii. Colonial military experts drew lessons which they published in the dailies and weeklies on the performance of mines, guns and armour, harbour defences, scouting, invasion and investment tactics. Sea-power proved itself in the completeness of the victories at Manila Bay and Santiago de Cuba. These victories were rejoiced over by many editors as proving the courage of the race and the decadence of the Spanish system. Though the war excitement temporarily eclipsed the newsworthiness of referenda on Australian federation, the urgent need for federation, if for defence only, had been once again stressed by the war. Hopes for Anglo-Saxon union reached new heights, which radicals and satirists such as the Truth and the Bulletin continued to deride and which conservatives such as the Mercury believed overblown.

In general, American intrusion into the Pacific, especially in Hawaii and, at first to a lesser extent Samoa, was welcomed. It was certainly preferred to the further growth of Japanese or German influences in either area. Yet the difficulty of both attempting to free and at the same time to retain the Philippines led to a degree of ambiguity in

Australian press attitudes - one which matched the American press's own lack of attitudinal decisiveness. Sir George Turner aroused universal criticism with his premature individual appeal to the British Colonial Office for intervention in the Philippines. By the time of the Treaty of Paris most commentators believed that the U.S. victory had been won briskly and cheaply enough to label the war 'splendid'. It marked a turning point in Australian press perceptions of the U.S.

From 1899 to 1901 Australian press debate centred on the significance of the momentous events of 1898. Following the confusions of the Mataafa-Malietoa struggle in Samoa, the press, especially more conservative dailies, accepted grumblingly the contretemps enforced by German diplomacy during the Transvaal difficulties to enforce British withdrawal from Samoa. From 1899 there probably dates the Australian press's first real recognition of its reliance on the U.S. to represent Anglo-Saxon interests in the South West Pacific. Much metropolitan press opinion favoured the occupation of Cuba and Hawaii as long withheld and inevitable extensions of American power into areas remote from Australian colonial interests.

It was expected that the new isthmanian canal, increasingly under U.S. control, would secure these possessions - however temporarily - as prizes of war or as spheres of influence. The diplomacy that had denied Britain a share in the expensive canal venture was not long resented as the United States addressed itself to the mighty engineering task, which it was presumed, would bring such commercial benefits to the south-eastern Australian seaboard by way of swifter trade with the eastern U.S., Britain and Europe. John Hay's 'Open Door' proposal in China excited as little comment as the annexation of Hawaii. Both issues had been broached editorially many times before as possibilities and both were seen as the logical fruition of long-existing trends in American policy. America's action in the East would undoubtedly assist Australia commercially as being one of China's closest occidental traders. American cooperation with Britain at the time of Boxer Revolt was hailed as evidence of the type of political and economic action long predicted during the arbitration excitement. It was thought to augur well for the Anglo-Saxon future.

At first, attitudes toward difficulties in the Philippines, exacerbated by Aguinaldo's revolt, were sympathetic from the liberal-conservative metropolitan and provincial dailies. They were however,

the focus of intense opposition by the worker-socialist press and the Catholic press, the latter concerned to answer charges levelled by Protestants eager to make sectarian capital from the involvement of religious orders in the uprising.

Contained in the debate was the abstract phenomenon of the 'New Imperialism' and the policy of 'Liberal Imperialism' rising from it. Both issues involved Australian editors who had taken sides on the Boer War and who cautiously viewed their coming Commonwealth as a nascent Pacific power. 'Anti-Imperialism' in the abstract was also involved in editorial concerns as the corollary of these developments and ideas disseminated by W.T. Stead in the Review of Reviews were adopted by a variety of spokesmen. Rudyard Kipling's 'White Man's Burden' received wide publicity and for many editors resolved the dilemmas of power with its near-perfect statement of the duties and perils involved in the practice of Empire. It provided the rationale toward which progressive elements of the Colonial press had for long been groping and which helped them back the American position.

Though economic irritations concerning pretensions to world markets and the exclusion of British traders received its specific manifestation in the Sydney to San Francisco mail contract being dominated by America, a large number of other developments were taken as giving cheering evidence of growing amity. Among them, Colonel Bell represented Australia at his own expense at the Philadelphia Commercial Congress. Visiting U.S. politicians, businessmen and journalists such as Henry Demarest Lloyd flattered Australia's progressivism. Not only did Roosevelt write his congratulations, but American citizens contributed the largest foreign arch of any in the procession; the Constitution abounded with American precedent and the Brooklyn rode at anchor in Sydney harbour when the colonies were federated in 1901. Reid acting as N.S.W. premier had telegraphed Washington direct at the time of the Maine with colonial sympathy and Lord Hopetoun performed this service for the young Commonwealth on the sad occasion of President McKinley's assassination later in 1901. On the latter instance the press for once found it was unanimous in its fellow feeling. Periodic doubts that these emotions were not fully reciprocated were dulled in the fascination all elements of the press found in the person of the energetic new progressive president, Theodore Roosevelt.

By 1908 it seems clear that the fact of American power had not been accepted as wholly by the presses of other countries as by those in the Australian Commonwealth. Though a duality of attitudes continued to be expressed from 1902, the new status of the United States and the exertion of American power on the world scene had caused a fundamental reassessment that reflected in attitudes and reactions to all manner of events and developments involving the United States.

Within the Australian press from 1902 to 1908 there remained many aspects of American domestic and foreign policies that rankled. As at an earlier time (1889-1895) social and political phenomena provided a source of criticism. Economic concerns, especially the intrusion of U.S. trusts onto the Australian scene, provoked the worst anti-American outbursts in both press and parliament.

Yet the novelty, strength and attraction of the United States in the years 1902-08 appealed strongly to Australian editors on two general grounds. During that period, 'progressive' press attitudes approved of the resurgent impulses toward reform animating American domestic political, economic and social life. 'Ethnocentric' newspaper attitudes also approved of the firm direction in favour of peace in the Orient and the Pacific seemingly imposed by Roosevelt's 'Big Stick' diplomacy. Alarm over the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and the prospect of annoying Japan with its exclusive 'White Australia' immigration policy occupied some editorial space in most Australian newspapers. Japan had been considered by most commentators a potential military threat since 1905 with its defeat of Russia (and by many for a decade before that). Though restrained by ties to Britain both real and sentimental as well as by a long tradition of criticism of the U.S., this fear of Japan and Germany interacted with notions of British weakness and neglect. It helped foster editorial concepts of Monroeism based on liberal-imperialist principles and relying to a certain extent on American support to secure Australia's future in the Pacific.

In the balance, approving press attitudes prevailed over traditional attitudes of disapproval in this period, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. They did so to such an extent, that by 1908 at the end of Theodore Roosevelt's period of office and during the visit to Australia of the 'Great White Fleet' sent around the world by him, enthusiasm in the Australian press for the United States reached an apogee not to be approached again until the days of World War Two.

Some conclusions can be drawn from this study by comparing what has gone before with a recent assessment of the period, basing its generalizations on the flimsy scholarship of the past. Bruce Grant, in 'The American Image in Australia', has written (1968):

...Australians were late to take the United States seriously as a political force....

...Australia's political interest remained glued to Britain. It was a substantial interest, including a full range of loyalty on Australia's part, and it prevented Australia from seeing the United States as a potential world power....

...It is largely since 1945 that Australians have begun to study American history and to read American newspapers and magazines for information and analysis rather than for entertainment....

...There is now in Australia much more understanding of the complexity and richness of American life; the substance behind the oratorical tribute to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness....

Most of those and other of his points are, in the light of this research, debatable to say the least. Much of his assessment regarding a 'two way mirror' operating in regards to criticism of America; of the difficulty in explaining the attraction-repulsion feelings between the two nations, and of the problem of linking 'Australian aspirations with American power' were as true for the period of this dissertation as they are today.¹

Mrs Ruth Megaw's article, 'The American Image in Australia, 1900-23', also suffers from a lack of comprehensive press information concerning the period of the 1890's. Megaw's research is excellent and her work pioneering, but she underemphasises the due role of liberal-conservative press comment, which was just as abrasive toward certain American developments as was the Labor press, and at an early period.²

We may now make some new generalizations - ones hopefully more detailed and accurate - about 'The American Image in Australia', especially for the period 1889-1908. They are, in brief:

1. Australian editorial interest in the United States

¹ Grant was a Fellow of Harvard University, 1957-8 and the University of Melbourne, 1965-7. He now works for the Age. See N. Harper (ed.), Pacific Orbit (Melbourne, 1968), pp.207-19.

² R. Megaw, 'The American Image in Australia, 1900-23'. See N. Harper (ed.), Pacific Circle 2 (Brisbane, 1972), pp.42-92.

increased dramatically during the period under consideration, hence impressions of America were fuller and better informed than had been held hitherto.

2. Though with a primarily British and Atlantic orientation, editorials showed increasing concern with the Orient and the Pacific. They placed the U.S.A. in both these contexts as a very important part of the 'world view' being built up by Australian editors.
3. With their emphasis on the Monroe Doctrine throughout the years 1889-1908, editorials cannot have failed to have had an influence on the formulation of foreign policy by statesmen such as Alfred Deakin in 1909.
4. Common underlying ethnocentric and progressive editorial attitudes help explain a certain unanimity of press attitudes toward America: primarily disapproving in 1895 and principally approving by 1901.
5. A change in press tone and emphasis from hostility (1889-1895) to friendliness (1902-08) is explained by a change in U.S. domestic and foreign policies from that of drift to one of interventionism on altruistic grounds. This two dimensional shift appealed to progressive instincts in the liberal-conservative press. As well, it appealed to the Liberal-Imperialism fashionable at the time by abandoning isolation in order to assume the 'White Man's Burden'. This ethnocentrism appeared to help effect the security long sought by the new nation in the south west Pacific, especially against Japan.
6. It became possible that the U.S., (now in the vanguard of a widely admired trend in public opinion as a 'World Power' just as over a century before it had been the attractive, responsible model of a 'Great Republic') was able to annex Hawaii, occupy Samoa,

intervene in China, repress Filipinos, send a fleet to visit Australia and begin building a Canal linking its possessions in the Pacific and the Caribbean with little or no hostility on the part of Australian editors. Indeed, American precedents much encouraged Australian national self-confidence in a variety of ways.

7. Yet the theme of editorial ambivalence toward the United States by the Australian press never entirely disappeared. There were few newspapers unflinching friendly for the whole of the period 1889-1908. But only the extremes of Left and Right - the labor and some catholic, conservative and satiric journals, affected to remain consistently hostile. The greater number of liberal-conservative press elements, both metropolitan and provincial at the centre of the spectrum of opinion, held attitudes that were ambiguous to a greater or lesser extent.
8. In all, the 'American Image in Australia' as conceived of by the press, especially from 1895 to 1901, established itself during that period in such a way that attitudes have, until recently, changed very little toward the United States.¹ The existence of an emotion approaching a 'love-hate relationship' was well known by Australian editors of all shades of opinion at the turn of the century and this ambiguity in attitudes - expressing alternative approval or disgust - is evident still.

Finally, a few brief conclusions regarding the Australian press as gathered during the course of this thesis:

1. Metropolitan dailies dominated colonial press opinion, especially the Age, Argus, Sydney Morning Herald and

¹ E.g. William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril in How Nations See Each Other (Urbana, 1953) a scientific study in perceptions undertaken by UNESCO discovered that in the early 1950's Australians considered 'progressive' the best word to describe Americans and desired them above all other foreigners as neighbours.

Daily Telegraph in Melbourne and Sydney respectively. Their centrist views, being either Liberal-Conservative or Conservative-Liberal imparted a more 'progressive' tone to the 1890's - and that includes a heavily conservative element - than has been the case with historians who have wished to view the period almost solely through the eyes of the Bulletin or other limited elements of the radical labor press. Though often a paradoxical mix of attitudes, metropolitan dailies, especially the more substantial morning editions, were almost never 'radical' or 'reactionary' but subscribed to either older or newer varieties of Liberalism. These impressive newspapers - some with circulations rivalling anything in the Empire - were widely disseminated by rail throughout their colonies and their attitudes were noted ever further afield. Though British in tone and often echoing the European emphasis of their overseas news sources, they took their role as spokesmen for a distinctive 'Australian' outlook seriously and frequently challenged their sources' veracity and opinions. They usually desired identity with respectability.

2. Provincial dailies and tri-weeklies carried much weight in their local areas e.g. the goldfields or Wimmera of Victoria; the Hunter Valley or Riverina in N.S.W.; the northern coastal areas of Queensland or inland mining areas of Western Australia. They often had quite significant circulations. Editors were generally progressive in orientation and usually split along Free Trade or Protectionist lines, following either the Argus or Age in Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland and to a lesser extent in N.S.W., or the Advertiser or South Australian Register in South Australia. Though articulate and noteworthy in a number of instances, their editorial attitudes were often more derivative and less well informed (and frequently non-existent) the more remote the

paper. Editorial individualism combined with the servicing of areas from rural to mining resulted in a wider spread of editorial perspectives than in metropolitan areas. Vicissitudes in the material fortunes of the area served, left occasional ravaging marks on the quality of many journals until the formation of Country Press Associations in the two senior colonies helped them better to survive.

3. With the exception of the iconoclastic, high-circulation Truth, weeklies were usually a pale reflection editorially of their parent metropolitan dailies.
4. The two major satiric journals, the Melbourne Punch and the Sydney Bulletin, usually found themselves to the right or left respectively of the editorial centre on most issues. They formed an off-beat and interesting counterpoint to each other, but often distorted overseas events and lost credibility through either over-solemnising or regarding too flippantly international developments.
5. The Review of Reviews dominated the monthlies and for a time enjoyed a circulation almost as high as its ideological opposite, the Bulletin. Reflecting the individualism of its editor-in-chief (Stead) it presented an often confusing combination of innovation and tradition: both liberal and anti-imperialism; both racial hegemony and international harmony. Yet in its provision of a wide variety of alternative viewpoints on issues, its role was invaluable. It fuelled progressive opinion everywhere.
6. The Catholic press was important for its Irishness and independence. In Sydney the old Freeman's Journal was felt to be so conservative (though protectionist) as to encourage a rival free trade spokesman, the Catholic Press, set up in 1895 along more 'liberal' lines. The Melbourne Advocate disagreed with both,

fiscally and editorially. With the vigorous Perth Record and the Launceston Monitor both presenting alternatives to their conservative press peers, these papers often found themselves out of alignment with the ideas of Catholicism's chief spokesman in Australia, Cardinal Moran. Protestant journals with the exception of the shrilly sectarian Protestant Banner usually left their comment to the metropolitan press which represented the Establishment of which they felt themselves a part. Jewish papers were often as cautious as the Freethinker press was adventurous yet were no less liberal than the latter in their comment.

7. Labor newspapers presented a distinctly radical-socialist left wing approach, but their comment on overseas affairs was either disappointingly meagre or naively simplistic. Small circulation papers such as the Brisbane Worker and the Tocsin were of irregular editorial quality.
8. Differences between the metropolitan and provincial presses of the various colonies (later states) is perhaps not as striking as their likenesses despite a very wide variety of different proprietors and the virtual absence of press 'chains'.¹ In N.S.W., the press tended to be more consistently Free Trade, but no less liberal than Victoria's. N.S.W. provincial papers often gave the impression of not being as dominated by Sydney, the colonial capital as was the case in the younger colonies: Adelaide and Melbourne in particular. In Victoria, the great fiscal split polarised the press of the whole colony in an orientation increasingly Protectionist and Syme-dominated. Intense, lively and progressive, the Victorian press led all others in energetic attitudinising. Though Brisbane's press was monopolized

¹Differences appear greater today. See, J.W. Berry, 'The Stereotypes of Australian States', Australian Journal of Psychology, Sydney, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1969, pp.227-33.

by Buzacott's Courier, geography dictated a more individualistic course to the presses of Queensland's far north than existed in any other provincial situation. It differed strikingly from the influence exerted by Adelaide's press in South Australia where the provincial press was comparatively weak. The South Australian Register as a Free Trade conservative-liberal gathered and disseminated cable information to a series of newspapers of similar orientation elsewhere: the Argus, Sydney Morning Herald, Mercury and Courier. This Reuter service was slightly more reliable than the alternative service run from the rival Protectionist, liberal-conservative paper, the Advertiser, which serviced the Age, Daily Telegraph and others. Hobart was forced to share its influence over the Tasmanian provincial press with the more liberal press of Launceston. F.J. Prichard, the editor of the Launceston Examiner was, after E. Rothman, the American correspondent to the Sydney Morning Herald, the most perceptive commentator on America on the Australian scene. Perth, too, was increasingly losing its hold over a provincial press moving the centre of gravity of the colony's life away from the coast toward the gold-mining centres of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. The shift was also ideological with less conservatism and more radicalism in the progressive mix of attitudes held by the inland editors. All metropolitan and provincial newspapers lost something of their previous authority, following federation.

Far from ignoring the United States, the Colonial presses, especially the predominant progressive metropolitan and provincial editors, were engrossed in the American experience - especially the phenomenon of overseas expansion - and were determined that future actions of the new Australian Commonwealth should be guided by the successes and failures of American precedents.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF AUSTRALIAN PUBLICATIONS,

1889-1908

APPENDIX

NOTES ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF AUSTRALIAN PUBLICATIONS,
1889-1908

This Appendix describes very briefly the background of the publications mentioned in this thesis and puts them in their setting.

Rather than present a disconnected body of unidentified notes, a running narrative, properly documented, has been prepared.

It includes background on the Metropolitan Press; the Country Press; Weekly Magazines; Satiric Weeklies; the Labor Press; the Religious Press; the Monthlies and very brief notes on the Commercial, Suburban, Foreign Language and Social Presses of Australia.

As the material included is essential background, but does not advance the argument of the thesis and is too bulky and unwieldy to include as footnotes, it has been incorporated into this Appendix and is referred to in the text where appropriate.

A. Metropolitan Press: Dailies

Between 1891 and 1901 on the average, 32 per cent of the population of Australia lived in the capital cities of the various colonies. During that decade, the percentage of the population of New South Wales living in Sydney rose from 34 per cent to 36 per cent. At the same time the proportion in Melbourne dropped from 43 per cent to 41 per cent. In Adelaide it rose from 42 per cent to 45 per cent, while in Brisbane it remained constant at 24 per cent. In Western Australia the percentage of the colony's population living in Perth rose 3 per cent from 17 per cent to 20 per cent, while in Hobart the percentage of Tasmania's population fell 3 per cent from 23 per cent to 20 per cent. This concentration of population explains the importance of the great metropolitan dailies. They could reach more people more quickly than any other publication.¹

¹Sean Glynn, Urbanization in Australian History, 1788-1900 quoted in Historical Studies, Vol.15, No.58, Apr. 1972, p.294.

If, as W.T. Stead put it at the time of Federation, 'Australian journalism has always been eminently respectable', then no daily in Australia was more respectable or venerable than the great city daily of New South Wales, the Sydney Morning Herald.¹ Founded in 1831, in its continuity of proprietary - the Fairfax family had been associated with it since 1840 - it was comparable with the New York Herald or the London Times.² It was compared particularly with the latter paper in this period for its status and prestige compared with other Australian publications, its accuracy and its dullness. John Norton assailed it for its neutrality on major issues; its 'Masterly Mediocrity' as he called it.³ In 1889 James O. Fairfax, Mr 'J.O.' as his staff knew him, and his father, Sir James Fairfax (knighted 1898), were chief proprietors of the paper.⁴ Samuel Cook had been general manager since 1888 and William Curnow editor since the retirement of the Hon. Andrew Garran in 1885.⁵ In 1903 on the death of Curnow, T.W. Heney became editor, though Henry Gullett had been an important associate editor from June 1890 to February 1899 when he had retired. In 1907 Cook resigned as general manager and was replaced by W.G. Conley. Until 1905, P. Proctor was financial editor, when he was replaced by F.M. Gellatly. In 1904 C.B. Fairfax, who had been admitted to the firm in 1888, retired. The coming man in 1903 was associate editor Charles Brunnsden Fletcher, himself destined to become one of the newspaper's great editors. Though pro-free trade, it considered itself above narrow party loyalty. In 1893 it was the richest of all Australian dailies and made £80,000 profit per annum.⁶

In 1890, the paper had 25 on its parliamentary and general reporting staff and 90 compositors including superintendents in its typographical departments. Even then it had machines that could print, fold and inset

¹ Review of Reviews, 20 Feb. 1901, p.191.

² Review of Reviews, 20 Aug. 1892, pp.32-3.

³ 'A Pecksniffian Press', 5 Feb. 1899: a series of articles in his Sunday Truth.

⁴ C.B. Fletcher, The Great Wheel, p.111.

⁵ Garran was an MLC in the Reid Govt. 1895-98. He had formerly edited the Register and was Sydney correspondent to the Times; d.1901.

⁶ See A Century of Journalism: The Sydney Morning Herald and Its Record of Australian Life, 1839-1931 (Sydney, 1931).

papers at 18,000 to 24,000 per hour, though circulation was around the 60,000 mark at this time and closer to 85,000 by 1908.¹ In 1895 Mattersley type-setting machines were installed and in 1901 monolines. In 1903 linotype machines were installed and in August 1908 process blocks were first used in the Herald. These mechanical aids placed the Herald in the front line of Australia's mass produced newspapers and those who wished to match her followed closely in these technological footsteps. On 26 June 1893 the Herald's price dropped to a penny and a wider reading audience than had been claimed hitherto, was appealed to, though the newspaper always remained somewhat elitist in readership and aloof to changes in journalistic style. Among the outstanding men working for the paper in this period were Farmer Whyte, Mungo MacCallum, Frank C. Donohue and the future war historian C.E.W. Bean.

Its chief rival among the great dailies in New South Wales was the Sydney Daily Telegraph. Begun in 1879, it had a growth rate that has been unparalleled, achieved largely by astute business management. Watkin Wynne had been general manager since 1883 and was to remain in the position throughout the period, ably assisted by J.L. Brient and F.W. Ward as editors. These three were considered among the brightest, most energetic and progressive newspapermen in Australia. Doctor Frederick Ward, a New Zealander, and a particular favourite of H.M. Green's,² twice edited the paper - 1885-90; 1903-13. As Green puts it, 'it was under his guidance that the Telegraph reached its height' as one of the top four newspapers in Australia, despite its anti-Federationist stand. An able leader writer in the gap 1890-1903 (briefly editor) was the former brewer and long experienced journalist and poet, John Farrell - a Henry George Socialist. Irish and optimistic, he rendered sterling service under pseudonyms 'Niemand' and 'Outis' and contributed despatches to the New York Standard.³ J.R. Carey and Robert Sands were chief proprietors in the important early stages of the paper.

¹ Mayer, The Press In Australia, p.11; Adams, The Australians, p.49.

² Green, A History of Australian Literature, p.840; telephone conversation with Mrs Green, August 1972.

³ National Dictionary of Biography, Vol.4 (Melbourne, 1972), pp.156-7; A.W. Jose, The Romantic Nineties (Sydney, 1933), pp.45-7, claims he resigned the editorship on a matter of principle.

After 1883, by one estimate the paper had 'one of the best reporting staffs ever formed in any newspaper office in Australia'.¹ Though only somewhat less conservative than the Sydney Morning Herald in context and equally enthusiastic about Free Trade, it was the first major paper to respond to what K. Inglis has called the 'Law of Increasing Brightness' in its presentation, though a much-muted version of the London Daily Mail.² Editorials were sub-headed; articles were concise; illustrations attractive. Sub-editor Robert Nall helped achieve this and was ably assisted by Thomas Courtney, Robert Nash, J.H. Taperell, Thomas Roydhouse, John Sandes and Henry Gullett, who was editor from August 1901 to February 1903. By 1901 the paper's circulation exceeded the Sydney Morning Herald's and stood at 70,000. The paper considered itself an 'advanced liberal' - 'democratic' or 'radical' by English standards. In composing facilities and modern machinery, it, like the Sydney Morning Herald, claimed to rival any newspaper in the world. In page size, price and content this claim held good. Brient cabled the London Times each night, as its Australasian correspondent. With the Argus, it shared an energetic cable service from London based on Dalziel's rather than Reuter's news-collecting agency, though the latter almost completely dominated the Australian scene. The paper appeared to wield as much influence in domestic matters as the Sydney Morning Herald did regarding foreign affairs.

Boasting a circulation double that of any other Sydney paper was the Evening News, owned by the Bennett family since 1875. The sons of Samuel Bennett (the paper's founder), Frank and Christopher, were in control of the paper after 1895. In 1899 John Norton challenged among other things, the claim of the paper to a circulation of around 120,000 and it appears that the challenge holds good.³ Whatever the circulation - and it was probably only slightly in excess of the Sydney Morning Herald's and the Daily Telegraph's - the paper, based on a policy of 'conservative but businesslike commonsense', was the most successful evening paper in Australia and committed to its advertisers, though it claimed to cater for the tastes of more ordinary people.⁴ With the Telegraph it can be

¹Review of Reviews, Oct. 1892, p.73. All such assessments must be viewed cautiously however, due to the difficulty of making accurate comparisons.

²K. Inglis, Australian Civilization, p.152.

³'A Pecksniffian Press', Truth, 26 Feb. 1899.

⁴Green, op.cit., p.343; The Evening News, 1867-1926 (Sydney, 1926), p.118. The paper 'died' in 1931.

considered liberal-conservative, though more committed to federation than the latter, it was similarly pro-free-trade, pro-Empire, pro a 'White Australia' and like the penny Telegraph intermittently revealed its 'democratic' sympathy for the Labor cause for as long as the movement remained orderly.

After Bennett senior's death, the paper's general quality slipped, though it could claim some impressive journalists in its ranks from time to time. These included Hogue, Archibald, Argells, Bailey, Withers and Peters as journalists and Walter J. Jefferey, John Haynes, G.B. Stronach, James Elliott, J.M. Perrier and C. Dekker as editors and sub-editors. But altogether in matter, tone and format its impact was less than that of the great morning journals.

Rivalling the Evening News was another daily evening newspaper offering eight pages for a penny - the Australian Star. It aimed more at the working classes and was intensely protectionist. John Norton savaged it for advocating only protectionism for capital and free trade for labour, thus failing to promote the welfare of either.¹ The life of the newspaper (1887-1910) was dogged by 'bad administration, staff, paper and ink'.² Its editorials were shrill, cranky and inconsistent, but for their lip-service to principles of protection. It was absorbed by the Sydney Sun (1910) edited by the able Montague Grover.³ Nonetheless its radical tone assured it of a circulation which probably approached 50,000 at its best. John Milton Sanders printed and published it for a board of directors claiming to represent the National Protectionist Party, though it was regularly disowned by such staunch protectionists as E.W. O'Sullivan, the Member for Queanbeyan. Catholics and Protectionists alike attacked it for distorting their positions. By 1908 it had lost its constituency.

The dailies of Melbourne were dominated by two morning papers, but only one evening journal in this period. One of the most important newspapers in Australian history flourished at this time. The Argus had been called by Howitt 'the Times of the colony'. Westgarth thought it

¹ Truth, 2 Apr. 1899; Norton put the circulation at 36,000.

² Green, op.cit., p.840.

³ See his 'Held Over; Reminiscences of a Newspaper Man', Lone Hand, July-Nov. 1914.

'the Times of the south'.¹ In 1892 one writer thought it too big and powerful for its constituency. Certainly, no other million of Her Majesty's subjects anywhere have planted amongst them a journal so ample in its range of news, so authoritative in its criticism of affairs and so high in its literary standards as the Argus.

Its Tory-elitist and free trade proclivities gave it an outlook similar to that of the Sydney Morning Herald. However, it was generally considered more activist and committed than that journal, especially on the fiscal and federal questions. It always harboured some sympathy for Imperial federation and was the most conspicuously 'loyal' of the dailies. Throughout this period, the son of Lauchlan Charles MacKinnon was proprietor of a newspaper dating from 1846. 'Progress tempered by prudence' was its policy. Its progressivism was best exemplified in its 'unlock the lands' crusade. Its prudence was more represented by its bias toward the stable and settled interest of the colony. As a political force it claimed creation of the Service-Berry coalition government, the retention of the Legislative Council, an annual parliament, a non-political public service and one man, one vote.

F.W. Haddon edited the paper 1867-98. Edward Sheldon Cunningham was assistant to David Watterston until 1906 when he became editor himself. Cunningham had accompanied Deakin to America to report on irrigation and had attended an Imperial Conference (1887) and the Diamond Jubilee (1897). He was ably assisted by John Sandes, D. Symmonds and E.T. Fricker, the former being chiefly responsible for the popular 'Passing Show' by 'Oriel'. D. Macdonald, D.H. Maling, G. Dunderdale, H. Willoughby, J. Smith, C. Smith, T.C. Brennan, H. Maddison, J. Davidson, Campbell Jones, R. and G. Innes as well as Gilchrist, Corlett, Salter and the McCoys gave the paper much of its quality throughout this period.³ The paper's Saturday edition in 1892 ran to 16 pages and 128 columns and was part magazine. With the Sydney Morning Herald it boasted numerous distinguished correspondents in

¹Green, op.cit., p.331. Like the Sydney Morning Herald it had in gold rush times a circulation of 20,000: equal to that of the Times.

²Review of Reviews, Sept. 1892, p.49.

³M. Grover, Lone Hand, 1 Sept. 1914, p.266, maintains that from 1906 the paper was better in quality than the Age. We must note however, that this was during the period in which Grover himself belonged to the paper.

many capital cities overseas, was catholic in the articles and letters which it published and was proud of the home-grown Australian journalistic talent it encouraged. T.S. Townend and C. Short were in charge of a cable service renowned for its reliability and initiative - it having scooped even the local papers in its coverage of the Deeming murders in Britain. In April 1893, just before the Sydney Morning Herald, its price dropped from 2d to 1d an issue, the better to allow it to compete with the Age. Beside appealing to the 'cultured' well-to-do, it now attempted to broaden its appeal, but found it difficult to abandon its lofty tone. Consequently, its circulation was probably only half that of the Age in 1900, i.e. 60,000, though its influence was on the increase by 1908 when its circulation was probably closer to 75,000.¹

A contents analysis from Greater Britain indicating the number of columns of printed matter in one week was presented in comparative form in 1892:²

	<u>London</u> <u>Times</u>	<u>New York</u> <u>Herald</u>	<u>Melbourne</u> <u>Argus</u>
<u>Editorials</u>	30	19 ¹ / ₄	17
<u>Other Original Writing</u>	18	4	15 ¹ / ₂
<u>Parliamentary Reports</u>	70	8	42
<u>Foreign News</u>	27 ³ / ₄	26	21
<u>Letters to the Editor</u>	3 ¹ / ₄	3 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂
<u>Commerce & Shipping</u>	52 ³ / ₄	53 ¹ / ₂	60
<u>Sports & Athletics</u>	12 ¹ / ₂	20	15
<u>General News</u>	79	64	14
<u>Local News</u>	12	64	98

The heavy accent on local news should not distract from the fact that in foreign news - as with other leading Australian dailies - the Argus was on a par with the 'best' papers of London and New York. Anthony Trollope's observation that the Argus and its weekly the Australasian, were worthy of

¹It ultimately passed the Age's seemingly unbeatable lead after World War One, following a decline of interest in protection as an issue and a battle for agency outlets in Victoria. See Review of Reviews, Apr. 1893, p.77; Argus, 2 June 1896.

²Review of Reviews, Sept. 1892, p.54.

being placed alongside the best British newspapers remained as true in 1896 and 1906 as when it was uttered in 1886.¹

The Age had at its height much more power than the Argus or the Herald; it is doubtful whether any newspaper, except perhaps the London Times under Delane & the New York Tribune under Greeley, ever exercised greater authority within its own community.²

As Green, Australia's literary historian implies, the Age was the single most important morning daily in Australia during this period. It was often charged with being Radical-Protectionist and as such was the perfect foil to the Argus. Politically, it carried through the steely reputation of David Syme (who with his brother Ebenezer ran the paper from 1856) much more impact, especially in the shaping of Liberal-Protectionist ministries in Victoria than did opinion leaders elsewhere in Australia. Syme's influence and reputation in Victorian politics and Australian journalism was so all-pervasive, that in 1908, when he died, it seemed the end of an era.³

The circulation of the Age was the stuff of journalistic legend. Because this was its leading feature, the newspaper did much to highlight it. Up until 1860, it had a struggling circulation of from 2,000 to 4,000 copies. On the death of Ebenezer, David his brother took charge and by the end of 1868, the paper had grown from a circulation of 5,000 at 2d to 15,000 at 1d. By the end of 1873, its circulation was 20,000 - higher than any other journal. By 1879 it was 38,000 and equal to nearly three times the combined circulation of the other two Melbourne morning newspapers. In 1883 it was 52,500 and the 16 page Saturday issue was 'the largest penny paper in the British Empire'. In 1886 it was 58,000; in 1888 76,000; 1889 81,149. By 1890 it was approaching the 100,000 per day mark. On occasion the Saturday issue totalled 24 pages, which made it 'the largest penny daily paper in the world' in its day. At the time of Syme's death in 1908, the figure had reached 130,000 copies sold daily.⁴

¹ Queensland Review, June 1886, p.267. Quoted Green, op.cit., p.336. His judgement also extended to the Sydney Morning Herald, the Age and the Town & Country Journal.

² Green, op.cit., p.331.

³ See Lone Hand, June 1907, pp.116-20; Ambrose Pratt, David Syme (Melbourne, 1908).

⁴ Figures obtained from Age office, Melbourne. Ref. to 'Centenary Supplement', 16 Oct. 1954. The figures level off after this. Even by 1960 its circulation was only 166,746; see also Age, 5 Nov. 1889, 18 Dec. 1897, 5 Jan. 1898, 1 July 1908.

Such a paper was obviously in tune with the times. It had first gained miner and worker sympathy during the goldrushes and it moved on from there to broaden its constituency by building a democratic, progressive, radical and nationalist image. It was on the left of the liberal-conservative spectrum; but conservative nonetheless - strongly supporting Britain in the Boer War; a subscriber to a white Australia and in general an advocate of evolutionary change. Behind this was David Syme's clear vision and energy which promoted protectionism as the key to national development. He was furiously active in helping bring about federation, land reform and land tax, Upper House reform, electoral reform, payment of members, compulsory education and other legislation. Syme's fight against inefficiency in railway management led to the famous action against Richard Speight (1894) which cost the paper £50,000; was said to have saved the taxpayers £41 million in useless track and further established the paper's reputation as a guardian of the public interest. Syme overcame such annoyances as advertising boycotts and so flourished.¹

The paper was also well served by a talented staff. Arthur Lloyd Windsor was editor, 1872-1900, when Gottlieb Frederik Henry Schuler took over until 1926. Syme kept a keen eye on all editorial activities himself. Benjamin Hoare wrote many of the editorials at this time as did D'Arenberg and A. Deakin. J.S. Stephens, G. Sutherland, A. Pratt, J. Thomas ('Vagabond'),² P. Nichol森, F. Fox, B. Burt, A. Lambie, J.A. Dow, J. Melvin, P. Gullett, B. Sweet, F. Admans, J. Woods, R. Kleiser, C. Bright, A.B. Robinson, A. Bell, T. Bird and J. Harrison formed one of the best staffs in Australia.³

By 1892, the paper was considered 'a marvel of mechanical science and organization'. Copy was received at 6 p.m. through to 2.34 a.m. After that time and in the ensuing 52 minutes, the print was set up; proofs pulled and revised; forms made up; matrix moulded; stereo plates cast and sent to the machine room, then put on the machine and the paper printed and packed to be sent on the 3.26 a.m. train. The composing room employed 110 hands using 1.5 cwt. of type per issue. A 16 page, 128 column

¹Review of Reviews, No. 1892, p.100; Green, op.cit., p.341.

²Both names were pseudonyms. His real name was Stanley James.

³Grover, op.cit., ibid. See also manuscripts in Age office for editorialists, 1896-1902.

paper had 35,000 lines; 1,810,000 letters, used 59¹/₂ reels of paper each 3¹/₃ miles long (or 198 miles of paper). Produced on Hoe's supplement presses at 24,000 copies an hour and using five presses, the whole Saturday issue could be completely despatched 2¹/₂ hours after receiving manuscript. Following 1892, these details of production are even more impressive.¹

In the presence of these giants any other newspaper was sure to appear an anti-climax. Ironically, the paper destined to surpass both other Melbourne dailies in the size of its organization, was still struggling upwards in this period. The Herald, a daily evening newspaper on a much more modest scale than the other two, carried on following the 1891 depression which killed its sister morning daily. The Melbourne Daily Telegraph had been great in its time, but due to its sanctimonious flavour, came to be known as the 'Goody Goody Paper of the Great Boom'.² The Reverend Dr Fitchett, Howard Willoughby, Harry Short, Joe Melvin and S. Lynch as editors, gave it its 'wowsler' reputation. Marcus Clarke had written for it; J.M. Balfour and Sir Matthew Davies were its directors and James McKinley the manager. On 30 April 1892 it collapsed. But the Herald, managed by Sam Winter³ and edited by William Thomas (Lieutenant Colonel) Reay survived.⁴

In November 1894 it took over its chief rival since April 1889, the Evening Standard - a paper of similar liberal principles not devoted to any party. At the time, the Herald's circulation was in excess of 60,000 which made it Melbourne's second largest newspaper. In 1902, the Herald and Weekly Times Company was formed with the Hon. Theodore Fink as chairman of directors. Though pro-federation, the paper's whole approach to issues both overseas and domestic was much more lightweight than the Argus or the Age. However, in general tone, it was superior to either Sydney's Evening News or Australian Star. It aimed at a lower and middle-class readership returning home from their day's work and employed some of the techniques of the 'New Journalism' to brighten its

¹Review of Reviews, op.cit., ibid.; Age, 11 Aug. 1899, 2 Oct. 1904.

²Benjamin Hoare, Looking Back Gaily, pp.132-8.

³J.F. Archibald who worked for the Herald, called the kindly S.V. Winter, a 'champion objurgator' in his reminiscences in Lone Hand, June 1907, p.163.

⁴James Edward Davidson followed Reay as editor.

pages.¹

'Perhaps the story of no other journal in "Great Britain" includes more of the history of its own particular colony than that of the Brisbane Courier', a writer observed in 1893.² By the time Charles Hardie Buzacott, one of the oldest and best known journalists in the country ceased editing it in 1894 (he had become managing director from 1880 and was to remain so until 1906) it looked back on a history closely associated with the early foundations of Moreton Bay, dating from 1846. From the time of Buzacott's association with the paper, it grew rapidly. Within two years it had doubled its size and dropped its price from 3d to 2d, then 1d. It twice moved to new premises. In 1883 it bought out an evening paper, the Daily Observer which aimed more at working readers, for £1,010 in the name of the Brisbane Newspaper Co. Its shift in 1887 was to a building of eight floors with 80,000 feet of floor space - an ambitious step for a newspaper serving something in excess of 100,000 inhabitants in the city and suburbs. The paper's circulation in this period would have been around 40,000 at best. Distances and an indifference to the interests of Queensland's north limited its growth. Though it corresponded with and serviced the whole of Queensland, the north coast kanaka employers never forgave it for its humanitarian stand in the mid-eighties against coloured labour and the blow this dealt to the sugar industry. However, interest by the Courier in the northern political, rail and mail development abided.³

As a self-confessed 'moderate liberal' and anti-labor, its conservative-liberal image was between that of the Melbourne Argus and the West Australian. Though the Courier and the Evening Observer were much alike in policy, the individuality of Kinaird Rose, editor from 1888-91 and F.W. Ward, Courier editor 1895-98, and Charles Brunson Fletcher, who wrote for both papers and was Courier editor 1898-1903, produced differences. Fletcher's editorials on overseas events were occasionally praised by Lord Lamington as being superior to those in the London Times.⁴

¹I.e. news on front page; sensational stories; pictures; short editorials; arresting headlines designed for the 'average reader' who read in haste on his way home from work. See Green, op.cit., pp.830-1.

²Review of Reviews, Vol.11, No.8, Feb. 1893, p.39.

³Courier, 20 June 1896.

⁴C.B. Fletcher, op.cit., p.71.

Both editors, subsequently joined the greater free trade papers in Sydney as editors though Ward returned in 1917 to edit the Telegraph, Brisbane's second evening paper, a working-class paper managed by F.H. Brentnall. Succeeding Fletcher in the chair were E.J.T. Barton and J.J. Knight - the latter having been the Observer's editor since 1898 (after R. Spencer Browne). Both were ably assisted by J. Milne. In 1903 Buzacott founded and largely edited to 1908 a second morning daily, the Daily Mail destined to be incorporated in the Courier. Now the two morning and two evening dailies all came under the Brisbane Newspaper Co. whose chairman of directors since 1894 had been Ernest James Stevens - like Buzacott, who owned a third of the Company's shares, an active participant in Queensland politics.

Adelaide similarly boasted two morning and two evening dailies in this period. Oldest and most conservative among these - it yielded only five years to the Sydney Morning Herald in date of foundation (1836) - was the South Australian Register. In this respect, its foundation pre-dated that of some leading London journals - the Daily News, Daily Telegraph and the Daily Chronicle. Its first issue had been printed in London, before the foundation of the colony, and its presses travelled by ship accompanying the first settlers in South Australia. In 1868 it began the Evening Journal and both dailies continued throughout the period under consideration.¹

In 1877, John Harvey Finlayson and Robert Kyffin Thomas (grandson of Robert Thomas the founder) were admitted to the owning syndicate as partners and the paper continued its steady growth. In 1892 the price dropped to a penny and the paper led the older dailies - the Argus, Sydney Morning Herald, Courier and Mercury - all papers with which it interchanged telegrams and cables - in adopting a popular rate of subscription. Though Adelaide papers utterly dominated those outside the city area and monopolized news-gathering services, circulation in a city of 168,066 (1903) and surrounds, would have likely been only 65,000. In 1892 however, the newest Hoe machine, the gas-operated 'Knickerbocker', was imported to produce the new penny paper.²

After 1890, when Charles Day retired, R.K. Thomas became the director of the commercial and mechanical departments and the latter remaining

¹ Review of Reviews, Vol.111, No.4, Oct. 1893, p.229.

² South Australian Register, 11 Mar. 1901.

partner of H. Finlayson was left as editor and literary manager. With William John Sowden, Finlayson was responsible for some of the longest and most ponderous editorials on the whole Australian press scene. Finlayson had attended the 1876 Philadelphian Centennial Exposition on a trip around the world and was most knowledgeable, but the 'heaviness' of his style and his desire for respectability and authority gave the paper a woodenness that exceeded in tone even the Times' elitism and free trade conservatism. Thus the enormous lead that the Register had given to liberal impulses in the early colony was somewhat reduced by its style in this period.¹ This allowed its rival paper the Advertiser to appear the more lively and progressive of the two journals as it overhauled the older paper in circulation and influence during this period.²

'Journalism is for him what song was to Tennyson', wrote an observer of J. (later Sir) Langdon Bonython - proprietor, manager and editor of the Adelaide Advertiser, at the end of 1892.³ From 1886, following J.H. Barrow (1859-74), W.E. Marcus (1874-86), the Reverend Dr Jefferis and Jefferson Pickman Stow, Bonython took up the editorship and retained it until 1914. With machine-like efficiency he helped produce that paper and its evening daily, the Express,⁴ which was heir to the claim of first penny paper in Australia, having bought the Daily Telegraph in 1867. A born organizer, Bonython coaxed the best from F.T. Robertson, T.P. Hill, R.S. Smythe, Ebenezer Ward, George Stevenson, E.W. Webb, C.R. Wilton and M. Mayrick his sub-editors. Bonython remained sole proprietor until 1929.

As with Syme's Melbourne Age, Bonython built up much power for himself and his paper by an aggressive policy of protectionism. The paper projected a liberal-conservative image on a nationalistic platform of support for local industry and encouragement of native products, though when founded in 1858 only 15 months before self-government in South Australia, it disavowed any party affiliation. Nonetheless, five of its staff members were to become Ministers in the government and of Bonython

¹Staff had included journalists Dr Garran, J.H. Barrow, F.M. Cutlack, W. Marcus, W.R. Lawson and Sir Richard Harrison and editors G. Stevenson, J. Allen, J. Stevens and J.H. Clark.

²The South Australian Register and the Adelaide Advertiser emphasise the differences occurring at this time between the older style of liberalism and the newer.

³Review of Reviews, Dec. 1892, p.122.

⁴See Bulletin, 4 May, 1905, p.21.

it was said 'he has occasionally been a veritable Warwick in the...history of South Australian Administrations'.¹ However, with a state population in 1908 of less than half a million, it was difficult to exceed a circulation of 75,000. As an indication of tendencies, it absorbed the Register in 1931. Bonython's slight pro-bimetallic and imperial federationist tendencies probably reflected the sentiments of his constituency, with which he was very much in touch.

Personal journalism was equally evident in Tasmania, where Hobart and Launceston shared the market for metropolitan dailies. Both cities had a population of approximately 30,000 in this period though Hobart had the status of colonial, later stage, capital. The Hobart Mercury a morning daily, was in the hands of the Davies family since beginning in 1854. It had absorbed a formidable number of rival journals and in 1883 founded an evening journal, the Tasmanian News, discontinued in 1911. John Davies ran the paper with 'abundant energy if not always equally abundant politeness' until 1872 when the paper was conducted along similar lines by his sons John George and Charles Ellis Davies. Under the proprietorship of the latter the journal flourished; reduced its price to 1d in the early 1890s and employed 130 people by 1893.² Both sons ultimately followed their father into politics and were energetic and public minded. Though Henry Richard Nicholls, a famous former editor of the Ballarat Star, had been editor since 1883 and was to remain so throughout the period, the hand of Davies was evident in the attitude of most leaders. Nicholls became one of the oldest working journalists in Australasia and was Tasmanian correspondent to the Argus and Australasian to which the paper bore some resemblance in its Tory elitism and free trade, pro-Empire, pro-federation and gold-standard policies and generally lofty (though more excitable) tone. It was probably the most conservative of Australia's metropolitan dailies.

More popular with working class men and of equal, if not better quality, were the competing Launceston evening dailies - the Launceston Examiner and the Daily Telegraph. The Launceston Examiner was the oldest journal in Tasmania and one of the oldest in Australia, having been founded in 1842. James Bonwick recounts its early struggles against the transportation of convicts to the colony which earned it a reputation for

¹ Ibid.

² Review of Reviews, Vol.111, No.3, Sept. 1893.

vigorous progressivism.¹ F.J. Prichard who edited the paper throughout this period (from 1893) carried on the clear-headed traditions of Ronald Smith and William Horne its former editors and often brought the paper to the attention of those on the mainland with his perceptive comments. From 1900 the paper was in the hands of the Rolph family and continued to express its independent liberalism and a conservatism based on the caution of experience.²

The most recent of the Tasmanian dailies was the most successful in this period. The Daily Telegraph founded in 1881, became a daily in 1883 and at 1d outpriced all Tasmanian competitors. James Brickhill its sole proprietor, edited the paper following the death of George Nixon Steward (1887). Then John Dorrian and T.H. Prichard briefly filled the post. From 1888 to 1895 William James McWilliams was editor with G.W. Batty as sub-editor. He was followed by R.G. McWilliams, then John Gunning with J.L. Melrose as sub-editor, filled the post until well after 1908, with William Alexander Whitaker as principal proprietor throughout the period being considered.³

In 1897, the paper had 90 employees. Beside the proprietor and two editors, there were six reporters, two readers, advertising manager, writer and clerk, an accountant, ledger keeper, agency clerk, two office clerks, two collectors, the publisher, a sub-collector, an overseer and sub-overseer of the compositing department, 19 compositors, 24 apprentices, a litho artist, an overseer of the machine department, an overseer of the jobbing department, an overseer of the type foundry, five machinists, ten messengers and a packer. Such a numerous staff was possibly typical of even a small daily with a circulation of probably no more than 35,000 throughout most of this period. By 1898 the paper claimed 'an agency sale of double that of any other Tasmanian newspaper'. This being the case, one might compute the Launceston Examiner's and Hobart Mercury's circulation as less than 25,000 (throughout the whole island of 172,000 in 1901) though this is guesswork. Certainly the Mercury's circulation had not reached 50,000 even by 1960.⁴ Following the Age and Advertiser, the

¹James Bonwick, Early Struggles of the Australian Press (London, 1890), p.39; Launceston Examiner, Jubilee, 1842-92 (Launceston, 1892).

²Review of Reviews, op.cit., p.208.

³Ibid., p.210.

⁴Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 22 June 1897. Diamond Jubilee supplement.

Daily Telegraph was a vigorous advocate of protectionism and this mainly distinguished it from its rivals. True to the mould of the former two, it claimed to be more liberal and appeal to both middle and lower middle classes without a lowering of tone. Nonetheless, it urged caution during the period of 'boom' financing in the 1880's and took up the position of equal state representation in the Senate or no federation, and though militantly democratic, in many ways it conformed to the liberal-conservatism of its mainland peers.

By 1890 Western Australia had barely achieved full colonial status. On 15 August of that year Queen Victoria passed a Bill enabling West Australia to have a constitution providing for a governor, an elective legislative assembly and a legislative council to become elective when the population reached 60,000 - which it did in 1893. Gold discoveries in 1888 at Yilgarn, 1891 at Murchison, 1892 at Coolgardie and 1893 at Kalgoorlie began a rush which, combined with rail links from Perth to Albany (1889) and later to Geraldton and Kalgoorlie begun during the energetic premiership of John Forrest (1890-1901), opened the country. By 1901 the population tripled to reach 180,000 and had added close to another 100,000 by 1908.¹ Until 1901, Forrest led an ultra-conservative government dominated by the primary producing interests and by no means interested in federation. Very late did Western Australian join the federal movement and then entered on special conditions. The gold rush helped produce a labor party in politics, though this did not have much impact until 1905. After 1906, with the decline of alluvial mining, agriculture again received a boost, particularly wheat farming. These factors, combined with the sheer geography of a colony 975,920 sq. miles in area, lying over 2,000 miles from the east coast of the continent unconnected by rail, and serviced by its own cable to London, produced a press situation that was often more conservative and insular than most.

The West Australian, Perth's most important journal, typified these attitudes. This morning paper, a daily since 1885 was begun 5 January 1833, only four years after the foundation of the colony and was almost the age of Australia's oldest daily in the east, the Sydney Morning Herald. During the period under consideration, the paper was edited by its famous

¹ See F. Crowley, Australia's Western Third (London, 1960) and J.S. Battye, History of Western Australia (Oxford, 1924).

proprietor the Honourable Sir John Winthrop Hackett, who was ably assisted by Alfred Langler after 1895 (associate editor, 1902). Though Hackett supported Forrest, he was more pro-federation than the premier and was a delegate to the Federal Conventions of 1891 and 1897-98, where he argued his colony's case. Probably no other editor was more public-spirited. His gift of the paper to the University upon his death in 1926 enabled that institution to become the only university in the whole British Empire not to charge fees. Support for public works and facilities was ceaseless, so that a liberal-progressive tone was achieved while retaining a proper free trade, pro-Empire, xenophobic and otherwise loftily conservative stance. At one high point in the 1890's an issue sold 60,000 copies throughout the colony, though circulation was probably usually closer to no more than 45,000 (colony-wide) at best. In foreign affairs the paper was almost religiously Times oriented. In later days, perhaps to compensate for its isolation, it achieved a higher foreign news-coverage than any other Australian daily.¹

Despite Perth's small population of 46,000 (1903), a rival appeared in the shape of the Perth Morning Herald on the first day of 1896. By 1901 it had incorporated Perth's third important daily, the Stirling Brothers' Inquirer and Commercial News. Both failed at the beginning of 1909. The venture, also floated by the Stirlings as a co-operative, failed for being too like its more venerable rival. J.L. Nanson, a leading local politician, had control in 1904-5. Mismanagement after 1905 by its new proprietor, Dr Gibney, Archbishop of Perth, saw its end. In Sydney's terms it attempted to play the role of Daily Telegraph to the West Australian's Sydney Morning Herald. It appealed to the same farmer-miner constituency, but with a heavily Conservative, even more Tory tone than its well-established rival. A large broadsheet, eight pages for 1d was produced on the latest machinery, but probably never achieved 30,000 copies circulation. At its opening it boasted having the 'cream of reporters from the English journals'. Nonetheless, its English-oriented mental horizon did not go far past the Pall Mall Gazette and Westminister Budget. A. Lovekin and S.B. Stronach as editor and sub-editor, probably conceived of themselves as liberals in Western Australian terms, but were far to the right of the conservative-liberal spectrum in Australian terms.

¹H. Mayer, op.cit., p.214.

The paper was as much parochial as the older journal. It was said to have failed finally, for having provided an inadequate sporting coverage. The Sunday Times of Perth, founded by F.C.B. Vosper in 1900 and only recently deceased, also had considerable influence in Western Australia to 1908.

What can be said of these daily broadsheets in summary? Inevitably, the morning journals, being able to offer not only all the previous day's local and Australian news, but also the news from overseas, were in an advantageous position. The evening dailies carried less weight in both spheres. The period was dominated by the two Melbourne journals - the Age and the Argus and the two Sydney Journals, the Sydney Morning Herald and the Daily Telegraph, though not necessarily in that order. Most other journals found it hard to ignore either these four or their own capital city dailies. There is much evidence of inter-state influence as well. For example, the Melbourne papers can be found often referred to in South Australia, Tasmania and Queensland. Within each state their capital city dailies were widely distributed. Remembering their duality, one simple ranking on a spectrum of 14 key dailies in Australia might be (reading from top left to bottom right):¹

LIBERAL-Conservative	CONSERVATIVE-Liberal
Age	Argus
Advertiser	Sydney Morning Herald
Daily Telegraph (Sydney)	South Australian Register
Daily Telegraph (Launceston)	Brisbane Evening Observer
Launceston Examiner	Courier
Australian Star	Perth Morning Herald
Herald	West Australian
Evening News	Mercury

¹For this period, the terms 'liberal' and 'conservative' cannot be briefly or closely defined without some oversimplification. They refer in the main to internal relative differences, one paper from the other. All metropolitan papers contained some aspect of political, social or economic conservatism, just as all metropolitan papers were to some degree politically, socially or economically liberal. Despite 'grey' areas of little differentiation, as between the Argus and the Evening News, it is clear for example, that the Age is generally more liberal than the Mercury; the West Australian is in general more conservative than the Advertiser in most social, economic and political attitudes and reactions. The work of historians and political scientists such as J.A. La Nauze, Peter Loveday and others move toward defining 'liberal' and 'conservative' for the period, without confining the label to political affiliation. See the discussion on liberalism in transition in Chapter One.

B. Country Press

If the capital city dailies serviced a total population of almost one and a half million people in 1904 or 37.5 per cent of the total population of four million, then the country (or provincial) newspapers serviced the remaining 62.5 per cent. The 1901 census revealed that 25.5 per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture, fishing and forestry and 7.4 per cent in mining. This may mean that much of the population may not have been in contact with any other than the local or area newspaper production. Certainly their attention would have been focussed by that paper which they considered most served their own interests. The country press of each colony is important because of its local status and loyalties, its readership - especially the large town dailies that commented on foreign events - and the pool of journalistic talent it trained before often losing its best to the cities.

A writer in 1907 assured his readers that the history of the country press

teems with incidents, adventures, trials, tribulations, adversities, successes, triumphs and achievements...brave ambitions, pleasant surprises, Quixotic enthusiasms, daring exploits and improbable heroisms. It compasses much of the pathos, joy and power of Australian life.... The printing press...gave to rude, crude, outlandish township and mining camp the most desired and most distinctive mark of modern civilization.¹

The fruits of that pioneering effort were evident in the New South Wales of 1904. In that year, ten dailies - six morning and four evening newspapers - were published, as well as seven tri-weeklies, 83 bi-weeklies, 110 weeklies and three monthlies, totalling 213 newspapers.² By 1907, the number was 230.³

Of the dailies, the Newcastle Morning Herald founded in 1858 and serving in a morning edition, the general and coal-mining interests of a population of 70,000 (1904), was the most important. Through encouragement of a historian of British provincial journalism, G.A.

¹Review of Reviews, 1 Nov. 1907, p.445.

²Numbers calculated from Reuter's Telegram Co. Lists of Australasian Newspapers (London, 1904). All population figures for provincial areas are based on the same source. They are undoubtedly inflated to refer to the city or town and its surrounding area.

³Review of Reviews, op.cit., ibid.

Cranfield,¹ the Herald has been among the few newspapers to be treated by a historian.² Generally in the liberal-conservative framework outlined, papers serving mining interests are biased to the left, while those serving rural interests (agricultural and pastoral) are biased to the right of the frame and can be called conservative-liberal. The Newcastle Morning Herald, true to this generalization was both more liberal and protectionist than other New South Wales organs due to its situation at port of the richest coal-field in the southern hemisphere, the Hunter Valley.³

Another of Cranfield's students is in the process of writing the history of the Maitland Mercury founded in 1843 - the second oldest newspaper in New South Wales after the Sydney Morning Herald.⁴ Liberal and pro-labor, the daily differed from its coastal counterpart in the Hunter Valley by being free trade. This first of the country journals on the mainland⁵ founded by Richard Jones and Thomas W. Tucker, and situated in the heart of the coalfields, exerted an influence won by trust out of all proportion to the population of 16,000 which it served.

Other journals enjoyed impressive continuities. The Goulburn Herald, though not a daily, was founded in 1848, served a population of 22,000 in their pastoral and agricultural interests and survives still. The Evening Penny Post in the same town, also a tri-weekly on alternate days, was founded in 1870, ran during the period under consideration as a conservative-liberal and was incorporated into the older paper in 1927.

Bathurst, a town of similar population and interests (including mining) could better sustain two dailies. The Bathurst Daily Argus a morning paper founded in 1858 and the National Advocate an evening paper founded in 1889 saw no need to amalgamate until 1963. Grafton and

¹G.A. Cranfield, The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760 (London, 1962).

²J.D. Moody, 'The Development of the Newspaper Press in Newcastle and Its Political and Social Influence', unpublished M.A. thesis, 1971, University of Newcastle.

³The Newcastle Morning Herald is one of the few newspapers with an index.

⁴E. Guilford, 'The Maitland Mercury', 1843-1960 - The Role of a Local Newspaper', M.A. in process, University of Newcastle.

⁵The Tasmanian of Launceston was older (1825).

Wollongong also had daily newspapers from the 1850's.¹

On a smaller scale, Albury's 8,000 inhabitants, engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits on the Sydney-Melbourne border and athwart road and rail connections were also well served by the Border Morning Mail from 1903; a daily which not until 1925 absorbed its evening rival the Albury Daily News. Until 1902, the old Border Post (founded 1856) had also been important.

Further west in the Riverina, serving a population of 12,000 engaged in similar pursuits were two alternate day tri-weeklies - the Wagga Wagga Express, founded in 1858 and the Wagga Wagga Advertiser. The former survived until World War II, the latter still survives.

Yass, in the heart of one of the richest wool-growing areas in the world served the pastoral interests of a small population of 4,000 with two long surviving bi-weeklies. The Yass Courier, founded in 1854 and the Yass Evening Tribune founded 1879 did not merge until the eve of the great depression (1929). In a roughly similar environment, the Braidwood Despatch continued from 1855 to the present day.

Among the other important newspapers in this period was the Barrier Miner of Broken Hill, a daily broadsheet whose editor after 1902, Samuel Henry Prior, wrote for a community of 28,000 silver, lead and zinc miners. The Barrier District Council of the A.L.F. founded the Barrier Truth in 1895. Issued weekly, it became a daily in 1908. It had several editors: Charles Maley, 1895-89, George Black, 10 September-30 December 1898, until Maley resumed editing 1899-1902. J.W. Kilner succeeded him in 1902-3, then Tom Lander 1903-4; Robert Ross 1905-6 and Will A. Jones after 1907. The Riverina Herald, which had so impressed C.W. Dilke during his visit at the end of the 1860's was still an evening daily in the heart of the wool area of Moama-Echuca though it served a population of only 4,000.² Orange, in western New South Wales, serving a pastoral, agricultural and mining population of 10,000 had two morning dailies in this period: the Leader and the Western Advocate. Significant journals were also produced at this time in Armidale (Express and Chronicle); Cooma (Express and Monaro Mercury); Dubbo (Despatch and Liberal); Forbes (Gazette and

¹ Clarence and Richmond River Examiner (Grafton, 1859) and the Illawarra Mercury (Wollongong, 1855).

² C.W. Dilke, Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 & 1867 (London, 1869), p.34.

Times); Grafton (Examiner, Argus and Clarion); Lismore (Chronicle and Northern Star); Mudgee (Western Post and Guardian); Murwillumbah (Tweed Advocate, Tweed Herald); Nowra (Telegraph, Colonist, Leader, News); Parkes (Examiner, Western Champion); Parramatta (Times, Argus); Tamworth (Observer, News); Windsor (Gazette, Hawkesbury Herald); Wollongong (Times, Illawarra Mercury); Singleton (Argus); Grenfell (Vedette) and the Queanbeyan Age among others.

Several journalists on quite modest newspapers had achieved an Australia-wide reputation for their efforts in forming first, a New South Wales, then in co-operation with other states, a Commonwealth Country Press Association (1906). Their members were prominent at the Imperial Press Conference of 1909. These co-operatives protected the country newspapers from the depredations of unscrupulous advertisers and allowed for combined action toward businessmen and cablemen in their own united interests.¹ John Gale of the Queanbeyan Age and James Torpy, associated with the press and politics of Orange, were considered the 'grand old men' of the movement. Also prominent were Thomas Temperley of the Richmond River Times, J.C. Leslie of the Corowa Free Press and T.M. Shakespear of the Forbes Gazette and Grafton Argus. The latter successfully managed the New South Wales Press Co-operative Co. with imagination and foresight throughout much of this period. Also instrumental in the success of the venture were G.H. Varley of the Clarence & Richmond Examiner, W.H. Midgley of the Moree Examiner, Frederick Pinkstone of the Kiama Independent, Goulburn Herald and Cootamundra Herald, J.L. Trefle of the Temora Independent, A. Colless of the Nepean Times, J. Ryan of the Lithgow Mercury and A.J. Douse of the Bathurst Argus.

The Victorian country press in 1904 had 212 newspapers - almost exactly the same number as in New South Wales. These consisted of 14 dailies (nine morning and five evening), 19 tri-weeklies, 49 bi-weeklies, 128 weeklies and two monthlies. Computing the more important of these - the dailies and tri-weeklies, the number comes to 33, almost exactly twice the number of dailies and tri-weeklies in New South Wales. This fact makes the Victorian country press by far the most significant in Australia and due weighting has been given it in this thesis, where a greater emphasis on Victorian provincial newspapers is to be found.

¹ Review of Reviews, 1 Oct. 1906, pp.346-51.

The most important of this group was the Ballarat Courier. In 1898, its circulation was 82,000 - the largest of any paper in Victoria outside the metropolitan area and larger than that of many metropolitan dailies in the other colonies.¹ One publication in 1894 called it the 'third most valuable paper in Victoria'.² Robert Clark, with Bateman, had started the paper in 1867 and by 1889 was its sole proprietor. Clark, a Scot, had a career typical of many newspapermen in those turbulent pioneering times. At the age of 14 he had worked as a printer with the Glasgow Daily Mail; had later visited Gavan Duffy in Dublin when the latter was editor of the Freeman and worked in London for four years in the heart of the journalistic world. In 1854, he took ship for Australia, printed 1,500 copies a week of a shipboard journal and shared the voyage with Tom Bury, who as 'Tom Touchstone' was to enliven Clark's Ballarat paper some years later. In Melbourne, Clark worked 18 months for the Argus and then as a compositor for Henry Seekamp, the proprietor of the Ballarat Times who was horse-whipped by the fiery Lola Montez. In 1856 he was with the Ballarat Star, but wished to begin a journal of his own. From 1862-65 he began the Back Creek Register, then the North-West Chronicle, called later the Talbot Leader. For two years he was mayor of Talbot, then left to manage the Ballarat Sun, before founding the Courier.

From 1889 to 1902 Clark, although he did not again enter politics, wielded considerable power through his journal. He became the very model of the progressive editor interested in the local as well as the colonial scene and his ideas were carried on after 1902 by his sons. Protectionism and concern for local mining and fruit growing and federation filled editorials assisted in the writing by O.P. Law, Colonel Williams and T.W. Cotton. The conservative side of his liberalism was revealed in his imperialistic fostering of several patriotic funds; his donation of a soldier's statue, and his racism. Having begun with a circulation of 1,100, it was a high moment in the paper's history when on the 10 June 1901 at the newspaper's 34th anniversary the State Premier opened the new printing plant. It used Hoe machinery worth £15,000, capable of producing 24,000 copies an hour. As with the metropolitan dailies, this morning daily (serving 60,000 people) revealed a Liberal-Conservative

¹ See Ballarat Courier, Jubilee Notes, 11 June 1917.

² W.B. Kimberley, Ballarat and Vicinity (Ballarat, 1894), p.64.

duality, in this case leaning more to the left.¹

Such a paper naturally attracted a rival. The Ballarat Star, begun before the Courier in 1855, was the town's second morning daily. Its beginnings were inauspicious.² P.D. Wheeler described how 'its first number was printed and published in the middle of a hurricane and inundation, with the printers nearly up to their middle in water' in Bridge Street before the levels there were raised.³ The Star which sold at 1s 6d a week was quickly surpassed in circulation at the end of the 1860's when the Courier chopped its price to 6d a week. As a business, the paper passed through troubled times until Martin and Grose stabilized it in 1871, running it in conjunction with the Creswick Advertiser.

Edward Grose proved a competent business manager during the 1890's and other than a free trade bias the paper successfully advocated many of the same liberal-conservative-progressive ideas as the Courier, championing democracy, labour, and civic improvements just as sincerely. In 1925, the paper that had recorded the Eureka Stockade, was absorbed by the Courier. Its circulation in this period, probably half that of its rival, perhaps reached 45,000 (considering state-wide distribution).

Bendigo, Ballarat's sister gold-rush town, claimed the first paper on any goldfield, the Bendigo Advertiser first published in 1853.⁴ A daily since 1856, its price in 1882 was 1d. In 1893 it was using linotype and printing with a gas driven Wharfedale and had the largest circulation in northern Victoria - perhaps as high as 65,000 copies a day. The paper was firmly in the hands of the Mackay family and George Mackay, Bendigo's historian, was editor throughout the period under consideration.⁵ Angus Mackay and Robert Ross Haverfield had since 1855 established the paper as a vigorously progressive journal in general and a democratic

¹ See Law-Crisp-Edmond debate on federating the Empire, Review of Reviews, 20 June 1905, pp.565-70.

² W.B. Withers, History of Ballarat (Ballarat, 1887), pp.63-6.

³ The 'Welcome Nugget' was discovered virtually at the Star's doors when the paper was only three years old. See Memorial Edition, Ballarat Star, 23 Sept. 1905; Kimberley, op.cit., p.156.

⁴ Bendigo Advertiser, Jubilee Edition, 9 Dec. 1903.

⁵ G. Mackay, The History of Bendigo (Melbourne, 1891), p.142; G. Mackay, Annals of Bendigo, 1892-1909 (Bendigo, 1916), Vol.III, p.212.

miners' advocate in particular, using Edmund Harrison and J.B. Thompson as editors. The paper fostered several public men and trained many competent journalists such as Dr Quick, J.S. Stephens and J.H. Nish before losing them to the Melbourne press. Its free trade preference expressed its conservative side.

The Bendigo Independent, its protectionist rival since 1862, claimed to be the first penny newspaper in Victoria (1877). Since 1869 the paper had been in the hands of the Edwards family and throughout the period 1889-1908 was dominated by John Gregory Edwards. It became the organ of the Liberal party and grew in influence and circulation to rival, if not surpass, the Bendigo Advertiser due to an efficient network of agency outlets. It saw itself as more to the left than its competitor and under its editor E.A. Banks, championed miners' causes.¹

Both these Bendigo journals, including a competing evening daily from 1894, the Bendigo Evening Mail (soon to be dominated by proprietors William F. Wilkins and Robert Walker) considered themselves 'sane' Socialists and only mild Radicals.² The evening paper copied something of the format of the Melbourne Herald with some moderate concessions to the 'New Journalism' such as news on the front page. The venture survived only until the eve of World War One, having made the mistake of so many others of being too much like its closest rivals. Serving the population of 50,000 engaged in mining and wine-making, with its own telegraph service, the paper, an advocate of free trade and 'advanced liberalism' was in constant trouble securing advertisers. The year 1895 had been a crisis period following the resignation of H.G. Mather as manager and R.B. Young as editor. Young was replaced first by Lyons then H.S. Webb and finally by James Rossitter, who stayed.

Geelong, with a population of 36,000 engaged in agriculture and manufacturing, south of Melbourne, also had with Bendigo two important morning dailies as well as an evening paper. The Geelong Advertiser was historically the most important, being the oldest morning newspaper in Victoria with the exception of the Melbourne Herald. The paper, begun in 1840, had been bought for £2,500 in 1861 by Alfred Douglass, who became sole proprietor in 1864. Under its talented early editor James Harrison, the paper became according to one historian, the 'first

¹ G. Mackay, Annals, op.cit., p.197.

² G. Mackay, Annals, op.cit., pp.240-1.

newspaper advocate of protectionism in Victoria',¹ giving a valuable lead to the Age's radicalism.²

Much more restrained in its liberalism was the mildly protectionist Geelong Times re-established in 1875 upon the death of its radical predecessor founded in 1857. James Bell, son of William Bell the mayor of Geelong, took over the proprietorship from his father in 1894 and remained in the post and in parliament until his death in 1908. Benjamin Hoare, who followed Rowcroft, was its most talented editor until he left and joined the Age in attacking the paper's elitist conservatism and luke-warm federalism.³ Despite its pretensions the paper and its offshoot, the Geelong Evening Star, were clearly redundant by 1908, a position not helped by their parochial attitudes.

'I never knew any town of any size where people were content with a single local journal', Hoare wrote of Australia in general. The statement held true for Castlemaine, a once important gold-rush town which had also impressed Dilke⁵ in the mid-1860's. Though with a population of only 13,000, engaged chiefly in mining, fruit and agricultural pursuits there were two dailies - the Mt. Alexander Mail a morning production and the Castlemaine Leader in the evening. The earlier paper was the more impressive. Founded in 1854, its history is contemporaneous with Castlemaine's.⁶ C.A. Saint, its first editor, had been instrumental in obtaining a rail link from Melbourne. He established the paper's progressive reputation, carried on by James Robertson (the oldest journalist in the colony), A.L. Windsor and Frank McKillop - 34 years editor and public benefactor. In the period under consideration it was however largely conservative-liberal. With the Warrnambool Standard a daily evening paper of similar policies, serving an agricultural and dairy area of 20,000, it had an excellent coverage of foreign events and a bold

¹C.E. Sayers, David Syme - A Life (Melbourne, 1965) p.62.

²W.R. Brownhill, The History of Geelong & Corio Bay (Melbourne, 1955) pp.616-18.

³B. Hoare, Looking Back Gaily, op.cit., 'Worries of Newspaper Building', pp.76-82.

⁴Hoare, op.cit., p.76.

⁵Dilke, Greater Britain, op.cit., p.27.

⁶R. Bradfield, Castlemaine: A Golden Harvest (Kilmore, 1972), pp.50, 51.

editorial commentary. C.H.A.T. Opie (to 1898) and M.M. Hassett after 1903, encouraged in the latter paper a staff of leader writers, including J.D. McKellar prominent in the press association, J.F. Archibald, later founder of the Bulletin, Ernest Scott, the war historian, and Walter Murdoch, the essayist, historian and biographer of Deakin. Both papers had area circulations probably in the vicinity of 20,000 per day. Christopher Crisp (1844-1915), editor of the Bacchus Marsh Express, the paper of a small town outside Melbourne, was highly influential for his perceptive comments and correspondence on national and international trends.¹

In 1891, the Victorian Country Press Co. Limited was formed on the fourth attempt, two years after its New South Wales equivalent. Prominent in the movement were John Bouser M.L.A., editor of the Wangaratta Chronicle and one of the chief organizers, H.F. Swords of the Dandenong Advertiser, A.A. Luke of the Gippsland Mercury, J.D. McKellar of the Camperdown Chronicle and Fred Martin of the Horsham Times. After 1901 the telegraphic stereo plate and weekly supplement service was improved. Managing director was E.F. Hughes of the Casterton News and Portland Chronicle. J.D. McKellar, also of the Numurkah Standard and most of the earlier group.² The latter became chairman in 1905-6 and was delegate to the New South Wales, New Zealand and Commonwealth Conferences of the Country Press Association. The Commonwealth Association in 1907 was aiming for an independent cable service, revision of libel laws and uniformity on cable copyrights and press agencies.

Other important Victorian newspapers included the Maryborough Advertiser founded in 1856. Associated with it had been J.W. Banfield, later proprietor of the Ararat Advertiser in the period 1889-1908 and Julius Vogel - onetime editor, and later premier of New Zealand. E.H. Nuthall and J.H. Gearing were also important names connected with it. Other significant journals were at Bairnsdale (Advertiser, Courier); Beechworth (Ovens and Murray Advertiser, Ovens Register); Colac (Reformer, Herald, Daily News); Benalla (North Eastern Ensign and Standard); Kyneton (Guardian, Observer); Sale (Gippsland Mercury, Gippsland Times) and St Arnaud (Mercury, Times). As well, the Portland Guardian (1842) and Port Fairy Gazette (1849) were among the oldest surviving journals

¹For Crisp, see National Dictionary of Biography, op.cit., Vol.3, p.495.

²Review of Reviews, 1 Nov. 1907, pp.445-51.

during the period.

Certainly few overseas - perhaps few in Australia - realised the strength in numbers of the Queensland country press. In 1904, the state produced outside the metropolitan area nine dailies - five evening and four morning papers, ten tri-weeklies, 14 bi-weeklies, 55 weeklies and two monthlies for a total of 90 newspapers. The total of dailies and tri-weeklies (19) surpassed even that of New South Wales. One commentator, in 1907 could thus write: 'in journalistic enterprise, North Queensland is conspicuous, both as to the quality and quantity of its newspapers'.¹

We have little space to enter into the development of these journals, made strong by their isolation. Townsville, Charters Towers and Cairns boasted cable services to equal those in the capitals during this period. Due to lack of metropolitan domination one observed could write, 'the journalism of Queensland is characteristic of the northern state - full of light and life and virility'.² The doyen of the Queensland press in his role of President of the Queensland Provincial Press Association was J.K. Mehan, managing editor of the North Queensland Herald and Townsville Daily Bulletin which he helped found in 1881.

Toowoomba's evening daily, the Darling Downs Gazette had been founded in 1858 and the tri-weekly Chronicle, in 1861. The latter was under the proprietorship of the Hon. W.H. Groom (formerly speaker of the Queensland House of Assembly). Both papers circulated widely among the 30,000 farmers of the Darling Downs. The Queensland Times at Ipswich was first published as a weekly in 1859 and was in this time a tri-weekly dominating the readership of the 20,000 inhabitants, interested mostly in agriculture and mining. Maryborough's daily, the Maryborough Chronicle, dated from 1860 and flourished under C. Hastings Barton as editor from 1867 to 1902 and G. Roberts as editor after 1905. W. Keith, who owned and edited the Wide Bay and Burnett News, challenged it for patronage in an agricultural and mining area of 22,000. Gympie's interests were mainly mining and the area of 20,000 inhabitants was served by two tri-weeklies, the Gympie Times and the Gympie Miner.

¹ Review of Reviews, 1 Nov. 1907.

² Review of Reviews, op.cit., p.451. In general, see L. Spencer Brown, A Journalist's Memories (Brisbane, 1922).

Further north, the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin dated from 1861. W.H. Buzacott was until 1880 a proprietor and editor. Then William McIlwraith (brother of Sir Thomas McIlwraith) was editor and part proprietor when in 1883, Stewart Williamson Hartley joined the firm also as part proprietor. The Daily Northern Argus begun in 1863 in Rockhampton, became in the period under consideration the Daily Record - an evening daily. It was the first penny paper published north of Brisbane.¹ The paper to 1880 was owned and edited by A.L. Bourcicault, who later owned and edited the Gympie Miner. Both papers beside serving a district of 30,000 interested in pastoral and mining activities, circulated widely in central and western Queensland. Mackay, centre of the sugar industry, had three tri-weeklies, serving a population of 10,000: the Mercury owned by Hodges and Chattaway, the Standard, owned by H.B. Black and Co. and the Chronicle begun in 1895 and in 1905 incorporated in the Mercury. Both the Mercury and Standard were ably edited.

Townsville, in an area serving 30,000 interested in mining and pastoral activities, exhibited great growth in newspaper work. The Daily Bulletin, a morning journal and the Evening Star, were both dailies, the former being founded in 1881 and a daily from 1883. Others, like the Northern Age (founded 1885) soon died. Charters Towers, 80 miles by rail from Townsville, also had two dailies in a mining area of 20,000. The Northern Miner, edited by Thadeus O'Kane, was famous for its libel suits. The Evening Telegraph was also left-leaning like other papers in the area. The Herald and Times were short lived dailies (1888-1899). Cooktown's two bi-weeklies, the Independent and Endeavour Beacon were short-lived as was the Courier (ceased 1895) and the Endeavour Times (ceased 1891). They served a population of 2,500. The Courier was the paper of the Palmer Gold Rush and boasted Carl Fielberg, St Just De B. Mackay and the explorer Captain Armit, as former editors as well as having the oldest printing press in Queensland, a small hand-powered 'Albion' which had printed the first copy of the Moreton Bay Courier. The Cairns Argus was a daily evening paper among a population of 5,000 interested in sugar and mining. The Norman Chronicle became a weekly as population abandoned Normanton.

¹Gordon and Gotch, op.cit., p.40.

Other papers must be mentioned as quickly: the other four large areas well served by the press were Bundaberg (Star, Mail) in a mining area of 10,000; Warwick (Examiner & Times, Argus) in an agricultural and pastoral area of 10,000; Roma (Western Star, Maranoa Advocate) in an agricultural and pastoral area of 8,000. As in other areas purely mining papers tended to be radical-liberal, while agricultural and pastoral areas were more conservative. Areas of mixed economies were often as liberal-conservative or conservative-liberal as others described elsewhere. Given the unusual geographic spread of population in Queensland, its journalistic pattern is the most decentralized in Australia. No provincial press more needs and deserves a historian. Especially is this so in the light of the successful socialistic and trade union developments in the colony culminating in Australia's first Labor government in 1899 and the role of journalism in this advance.

A completely opposite picture is evident in the provincial press of South Australia. Unlike Brisbane in relation to Queensland, Adelaide virtually dominated in a centralised way the press of South Australia. Outside the capital in 1904 there was not one daily or tri-weekly. Of bi-weeklies there was only six. Of weeklies there were 22. There were no monthlies. The provincial press of South Australia was a scanty 28 newspapers. The Port Pirie Recorder and Port Pirie Advertiser both begun in 1898 served a population of 11,000 in agriculture and shipping as a bi-weekly. In Mt Barker, the Mount Barker Courier had served an agricultural population of 15,000 since 1880. Mt Gambier's population of 10,000 similarly in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, was served by two bi-weeklies, the Border Watch since 1861 and the South-Eastern Star, since 1877. Beside the Adelaide papers, the trains delivered the Melbourne papers here simultaneously. The Gawler Bunyip first entitled in 1863 the Gawler Humbug Society's Chronicle, served weekly a population of 8,000 engaged in agriculture and mining. Two weeklies served the 7,000 miners at Moonta: the York Peninsula Advertiser (1872) and the People's Weekly (1890-1906), a Labor paper. The Kapunda Herald served Kapunda's 6,000 inhabitants engaged in agriculture and mining.

Outside of Hobart and Launceston, Tasmania had five newspapers in 1904: two dailies, two bi-weeklies and a weekly. The Times & Advocate at Burnie, served an agricultural population of 7,000. Since its foundation in 1890, it had had a variety of names: to 1897 it was the Wellington Times & Mining and Agricultural Gazette and came into the possession of the

Harris family. To 1899 it was the Emu Bay Times and North-West and West Coast Advocate. To 1908 it was the North Western Advocate & the Emu Bay Times. In 1899 it absorbed the Devonport North-Western Advocate. This left Devonport with the bi-weekly North-West Post which had run since 1887. At Zeehan, the 7,000 miners had been served since 1890, by the Zeehan & Dundas Herald, a daily.

The provincial press of Western Australia was by far the most impressive due to its rate of growth in the 1890's. In 1904 it had 32 newspapers - five dailies (three evening, two morning), four tri-weeklies, six bi-weeklies and 17 weeklies. It fell clearly into two divisions: papers serving the ports and agricultural areas and those serving the goldfields. Of the former, the Albany Advertiser had since 1888 been a bi-weekly serving a port population of 6,000. The tri-weekly Southern Times at Bunbury served a timber, agricultural and pastoral population of 9,000, from 1892. The Bunbury Herald another tri-weekly, similarly dated from 1892. The Fremantle Mail an evening daily from 1903 served the general port area of 24,000 as did the Evening Courier, a daily lasting only a year, 1902-3. Weeklies such as the Echo (1905), the Empire (1907), Liberty (1891), The Messenger (1895), Once A Week (1889), The Times (1896) and The Umpire (1897) were mostly ephemeral and lasted less than a year. The Newcastle Herald serving an area with 10,000 in agriculture lasted only from 1902 to 1911. The Northam Advertiser and Kanowna Democrat, the former edited by J.A. Cohen, were also important.

Of the other areas, Geraldton, with 6,000 people in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, had been served from 1878 by the Geraldton Express. In the 1890's this paper went through several changes of title. In 1905, it absorbed the tri-weekly Geraldton Advertiser, published since 1890 and was in turn swallowed by the Geraldton Guardian founded in 1906. It lasted until 1928 and employed some of the best journalists in the State. The Geraldton-Murchison Telegraph lasted from 1892-98, while the Morning Post lasted only from 1895 to 1896.

Coolgardie with a gold-mining population of 15,000 isolated inhabitants, had the daily Coolgardie Miner from 1894. F.C.B. Vosper, A.G. Hales and W.E. Clare left their mark as editors in this period. The Coolgardie Mining Review, a weekly, lasted from 1895 to 1897; the Coolgardie Pioneer from 1895 to 1901; the Hockings' Golden Age from 1894-1896; the Goldfields Morning Chronicle from 1896-1898; the Herald from 1899-1901; the Tothersider only April-August 1897 and the West

Australian Goldfields Courier 1894-1898: flourishings that were as ephemeral as the plants of the desert after rain.

The most important of the provincials took root at Kalgoorlie where gold seams were deeper and more lasting. The Kalgoorlie Miner served from 1895 and survives today. In 1904, the population was 50,000 - substantial by any standards. It produced a substantial man, in the person of the Hon. John Waters Kirwan, M.L.C., the paper's editor in chief. In 1901 he was elected to represent Kalgoorlie in the Commonwealth parliament and was an important Australian delegate at the Imperial Press Conference of 1909. S.E. and P.C. Hocking bought the weekly Western Argus from the Mott brothers for £250. It then became the Miner's weekly. Five years later they refused £150,000 for the establishment. But the town had its crop of ephemerals. Some were the Goldfields Advocate (1902); Hannans Hatchet (1902); Kalgoorlie & Boulder Standard (1897); Sporting Life (1905) and the Westralian Clarion (1903). The Sun which had the lively H. Mahon as editor from 1898-1900, lasted until 1928.

Boulder City, with a mining population of 12,000 had a sickly plant in the Miners' Right (1897), but a healthy service after 1898 from the Evening Star, an evening daily. At Cue, the Murchison Times run by James Thomson of the Melbourne Herald, and the Murchison Advocate, served a mining population of 6,000, as did the Day Dawn Chronicle.

From 1889, when the first Country Press Association was formed, the country press of Australia gained a new confidence in the role it was playing. In 1908, one of their number wrote:

The Country Press of Australasia is a very potent factor in the development of the Commonwealth. Probably in no country in the world is the country press of a cleaner and higher type than here.

This sense of achievement had been won in the face of great material difficulty.¹

C. Weekly Magazines

The great city dailies and the multitudinous country journals are very like the same classes of papers in other lands; but the great weekly journals of Australia have no exact equivalent elsewhere,

¹Review of Reviews, 23 Nov. 1908, p.xcvi.

wrote an observer in 1892. The American writer Mark Twain remarked in 1895:

The bulky weeklies such as are printed in Australia and New Zealand are unknown to us. The rapidity of transmission of the daily journals prevents this altogether. They are unique combining as they do the magazine, the sporting paper, the illustrated paper and the special features of a daily journal.

Such a unique production evoked a special pride. One contemporary writer remarked:

If the literary taste of the colonies had to be judged by any single test, any wise Australian, we imagine would gladly consent that we should be judged by the standard of our great weeklies.

Frank Bullen considered the weeklies 'marvellous'.¹

These weeklies, which were usually published by the great metropolitan newspapers on Thursdays and shipped to the country areas for the weekends, were well illustrated and carried their own editorial comment and news summaries as well as literary and country sections. The most outstanding were the Australasian, published by the Argus since 1864; the Sydney Mail, published by the Sydney Morning Herald since 1860; the Australian Town & Country Journal, published by the Evening News since 1870; the Queenslander, published by the Courier since 1866; the Observer, published by the Register since 1843. The Leader published by the Age; the Weeklies Times published by the Herald; the Chronicle published by the Advertiser; the Capricornian published by the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin; the Bendigonian published by the Bendigo Advertiser and the Western Mail published by the West Australian were also creditable weeklies.

From a single number of the Australasian a man of the world visiting the colonies could form a capital idea of Australian life and Australian interests...a journal such as the Australasian is the Spectator, the Field and the weekly edition of the London Times thrown into one - and it is well nigh as large as the three journals named put together,

a commentator wrote in 1892. D. Watterson (who had covered the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition) was its editor in the 1890's. Edward T. Fricker, who had been with the Argus since 1889, edited the paper from August 1903. Throughout the period it produced 100 pages for sixpence. Its circulation was Australasian-wide, thus living up to its title. Cartoons by T.

¹ Review of Reviews, 1892, Vol.1, No.1, p.13; Table Talk, 6 Dec. 1895; Frank T. Bullen, Advance Australasia, pp.260-1.

Carrington assisted its popularity.¹

C.B. Fletcher said of the Sydney Mail in the late 1880's, 'no paper of its character could have been better edited'. He was referring to its brief period under F.W. Ward, before he left, with H. Gullett, editor of the Australasian, for the Sydney Daily Telegraph. Nonetheless, William Charlton performed creditably as editor from 1905 upon the death of J.P. Dowling. The paper which was taken up more with rural technicalities after 1890, was only half the size of the Australasian (50 pp. for sixpence), though of similar format.²

Of the other weeklies, the Leader had one of the most independent editorial policies. H.M. Green reserved special praise for the Queenslander, which attracted a wide number of promising literary contributors. It was edited for much of the period by William J. Buzacott, son of the Courier's editor. In 1893 it was described as 'one of the most influential of the leading weeklies of the colonies'. Its cartooning was good and it ran to 46 pages for sixpence. The Chronicle offered 48 pages for fourpence; the Capricornian, 36 pages for sixpence and the Bendigonian, 20 pages for threepence. Smaller weeklies such as the Maitland Weekly Mercury repeated verbatim the most important editorials of the daily edition and had little original opinion to offer on American affairs.³

D. Satiric Weeklies

Not all weeklies were family reading. Australia's most notorious weekly publication was Sydney's Truth. It first appeared in 1879, two years after London's Truth and described itself as a 'fearless exposé of Folly, Vice and Crime'. After a lapse, it was restarted in 1890 by William Nicholas Willis and William Patrick Crick. Its radical, protectionist, irreverent and pro-worker sympathies established it as a crusading paper of low-brow tastes, similar in style and tone to the Denver Post. It gained its constituency during the great 1890 Maritime

¹Review of Reviews, Sept. 1892.

²C.B. Fletcher, op.cit., p.126; Review of Reviews, Vol.II, No.8, Feb. 1895, p.39.

³H.M. Green, op.cit., pp.339-40; Review of Reviews, op.cit., ibid.

Strike and never failed to amuse it by the fury of its abuse of the establishment.

From April 1891, John Norton, a London adventurer, was its editor, and was continuously involved in brawling and litigation with men such as George Black, sub-editor of the Bulletin (1889-91). T.O. Keating (alias J.J. Crouch), W.H. Traill and A.G. Taylor briefly edited the paper, but during the period under discussion the Truth was dominated by the belligerent personality of John Norton, often described as a miniature version of William Randolph Hearst. Though comment on foreign events was usually shallow, his paper skilfully blended demagogic and muckraking-progressive elements supposedly in the cause of the little man, but most often to feed the cynical, undoubtedly criminal ego of Norton himself. The weekly succeeded. In 1905, the paper that had coined the word 'wowsler' in 1899 to satirize puritanical authority, was selling 125,000 copies per issue by one (probably inflated) estimate. It had branches in Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth and a plant worth £75,000. It was the one clear and noxious example of the worst of the 'Yellow Press' in Australia.¹

The single most famous paper both in and outside Australia, a weekly primarily satiric, but of central importance to the growth of Australian nationalism, was the Sydney Bulletin. In 1894 the world traveller, Max O'Rell described it as,

in its way...the most scathing, most daring, the wittiest, the most impudent and best edited paper I know. Nothing quite so audacious exists, even in America, where all sorts of journalistic audacities are permitted.

In the same year it was described by another as '...the most powerful journal of its class in the colonies' - violently hated and fervently loved.²

The paper was admired for the catholicity of its abuse as well as criticized for the lack of discrimination in its attacks on all aspects of authority. This 'Carlylean hatred of shams and injustice' won it a wide radical-progressive readership. Few knew its circulation except that it was generally considered to be higher than any other Australian

¹Cyril Pearl, Wild Men of Sydney (Melbourne, 1958), pp.10-26, 37-70, 110-34, 163-200.

²Review of Reviews, Jan. 1894, pp.21-6, Dec. 1894, pp.486-91.

journal, due to its Australia-wide appeal. It was probably well in excess of 150,000 copies per week. Able and courageous and with reform, republican, protectionist, xenophobic, democratic, socialistic and nationalistic biases, it mercilessly satirized the Anglophile-Imperialist-Religious-Free Trade-Capitalist establishment. Yet one commentator criticized it for lack of influence on men and events in Australia. Certainly its comment on foreign affairs was minimal: its fort  was domestic politics.¹

First published in 1890 by John F. Archibald and John Haynes, the paper came to be dominated by Archibald. W.H. Traill, an ex-editor of the Sydney Mail edited the paper into particular success. This was done in two ways - through spectacular libels which established the paper in the people's eyes as their energetic tribune and through the hiring of two brilliant comic cartoonists - Phil May and Livingstone Hopkins. These two - the latter through the whole of this period 1889-1908, did much to popularize the paper. William Macleod was the capable managing director, while Archibald as editor was assisted by George Black to 1891; Alfred George Stephens on his return from the United States in 1894 - founder of the famous 'Red Page' of literature (1896-1906), and James Edmond sub-editor since 1892; editor from 1903.

Of Archibald it was written, 'as a paragraphist, satirist and epigra-matic writer, he has few equals'. And 'he knows the public men in the colonies as the monk knows his rosary beads. His searching eye is everywhere and nothing escapes him'. The paper was usually pointed, virile and relevant, but not always consistent in its policies. Its ornament since 1882, the American Livingstone Hopkins, was described by Stephens as 'one of the most humorous and original of the world's illustrators'. Norman Lindsay's drawings enlivened the paper after 1905. One commentator wrote of the paper: 'It rivalled Syme's Age as a political influence and surpassed that of all other journals as a stabilizer of national emotions and desires'.³

¹ Review of Reviews, Jan. 1894, p.21, Feb. 1894, pp.47-51. See Christie Murray's impressions in Contemporary Review.

² For Archibald, see Quiz & Lantern, 27 Apr., 4 May 1899 and 'The Genesis of the Bulletin', Lone Hand, June 1907, p.163.

³ Review of Reviews, 20 Feb. 1905, pp.143-50. See also P. Cady, 'The Political Policy of the Sydney Bulletin, 1890-1901', B.A. Honours Thesis, University of New England, 1962 and N.D. Green, 'The Bulletin - Political Changes, 1900-1913', B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of New England, 1963.