THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS IN AUSTRALIA 1848-1964

MIRIAM GILSON AND JERZY ZUBRZYCKI
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Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki

This is the first sociological study of its kind published since the late Robert E. Park's classic, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, appeared in the United States in 1922.

No fewer than 390 periodical publications in twenty-nine languages have been published in Australia since 1848. This work seeks to document fully the history of the immigrant press and to analyse the content of a dozen prominent newspapers currently published in Australia. The authors discuss the changing face of the immigrant press, its fluctuating success, and the contrasting fortunes of political and religious periodicals. The special functions of the press and its role in the assimilation of immigrants are carefully scrutinized in the light of a considerable quantity of evidence collected during the course of interviews with the editors and publishers.

The book is one of the very few thoroughly professional pieces of sociological investigation in Australia. It is likely to be, and to remain, of interest to students of migration, religious groups, and the press, and to historians, as well as to members of the general public who would like to find out something about 'all those foreign faces . . . at the news-stall and the delicatessen'.

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The Foreign-language Press in Australia, 1848-1964
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A study of the foreign-language newspapers published in a country like Australia may be approached in two ways. Firstly, the press can be studied from the historical angle, involving, among other things, a complete chronicle of the individual fortunes of dozens of papers together with an outline of the many practical problems which publishers of foreign-language papers have had to face, such as circulation, advertising, format, as well as editorial policies. The second method of approach is essentially sociological, and seeks to analyse the part played by the press in the process of social interaction between the immigrants and the receiving society. In this process the foreign-language press is an important medium of communication through which the course of adjustment of the immigrants may be influenced.1

How can one study the role of a medium of communication consisting, as in the case of Australia at the present time, of scores of bi-weekly and weekly newspapers, monthlies, and mimeographed bulletins published in twenty-nine languages? A comprehensive study would involve the whole spectrum of the process of communication, or, in the classic sentence by Harold Lasswell, an answer to the questions: 'Who says What in Which Channel to Whom with What Effect?'2

This book has no claim to comprehensiveness in this special sense. It certainly makes no attempt to describe the audience of this particular medium of communication beyond relating the development of the various foreign-language periodicals to specific migration movements.3

1This study does not survey the large variety of foreign-language publications imported into Australia. An attempt has been made to obtain from the customs and postal authorities, as well as from individual importers, the relevant information concerning the types and quantities of such publications, but the information is not available. The extent of the circulation of overseas-produced foreign-language papers and magazines should also be surveyed at some future date. The readers must therefore bear in mind the intentional limitations of this present study. See also pp. 141-2.


3An interesting attempt at the evaluation of the size as well as the social, demographic, and political characteristics of the readership of various periodicals is found in Alver Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain (Goteborg, 1959).
Nor is it going to assess the full effect of the foreign-language press on its readers; to do this, we think, would involve a large scale survey of selected groups of immigrants, both readers and non-readers.\(^4\)

In the present work we are mainly concerned with the sociological approach and to a lesser extent with the history of the foreign-language press. The emphasis is on Lasswell’s second and third questions, that is content analysis of the press (Chapter 3-8) and a discussion of what Robert E. Park calls in his classic, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, the ‘natural history of the immigrant press’, its major subdivisions and metamorphoses (Chapters 9 and 10). This treatment is preceded by two introductory chapters which trace the origin of this channel of communication and thus partly answer the ‘Who’ question.

The definition of the foreign-language press in this book includes periodicals in the widest meaning of the term, that is serials, issued in successive parts, not necessarily at regular intervals but intended to appear for an indefinite period. Calendars and almanacs are not included though some information on the German *Kalender* and annual publications in other languages is given at the end of Appendix C.

Throughout this work the term ‘foreign-language press’ is used interchangeably with ‘immigrant press’ and, occasionally, ‘ethnic press’. The latter term calls for special comment for it is associated with the related concept of ‘ethnic group’. By ethnic group we mean here ‘a collection of persons who, for physical, geographical, political, religious, linguistic, or other reasons, feel themselves, or are felt by others, to constitute a separate people’.\(^5\) The term ethnic group, used in such a broad sense, does not, however, include all linguistic minorities in Australia possessing their own press. Two ethnic groups have been excluded from our survey: the Chinese and the Jews.

The Chinese press has been excluded since it is an organ of a non-European minority whose process of adjustment has been and still is of a completely different character from that of the European. We feel that to do justice to this subject a special study is needed of the Chinese press against the background of changing structure of the Chinese minority\(^6\) and of Australian attitudes to non-European immigrants. Similarly we believe that a survey of the Yiddish press cannot be...
separated from a special study of the Jewish community, including that section of its press which is published in the vernacular.\footnote{The only study of the Jewish press is unfortunately out of date. See Percy Joseph Marks, \textit{The Jewish Press in Australia, Past and Present} (Sydney, 1913).}

Throughout this book the various newspapers are classified in two principal ways: first, on the basis of frequency, extent of circulation, and the technique of production; and, second, on the basis of the geographical distribution of the various countries of origin in Europe. A subsidiary basis of classification, which cuts across the first two, is introduced to separate periodicals with a distinctly political content.

The first method of classification divides the foreign-language press into the two broad groups of the mass circulation (or 'big press') and the 'little press'. Ethnic newspapers that satisfied the following criteria were classified as mass circulation papers: (a) of general rather than local or sectional news content; (b) using letterpress in production and depending on advertising as a principal source of revenue; (c) having nation-wide distribution in Australia; (d) publishing semi-weekly or weekly. The second group consists mainly of church and regional magazines, bulletins of various clubs and associations as well as a few special interest periodicals (e.g. ex-servicemen's, dramatic, or humorous) with limited circulation. Most periodicals in this group are mimeographed rather than printed; they tend to rely on subsidies from associations or individuals and subscriptions but occasionally carry some advertising.

The dividing line between the two main types of foreign-language press is a pretty tenuous one and, consequently, in a number of marginal cases in this study the decision to allocate a particular periodical to one group and not to the other was quite arbitrary. As will be shown later some mass circulation newspapers developed out of local mimeographed bulletins, so that they could be classified differently depending on the phase of their evolution. Others may be restricted in their circulation and content to the members of one specific group (e.g. trade unions, or members and supporters of an Australian political party) but nevertheless possess all other characteristics of a mass circulation newspaper.\footnote{The Greek-language trade union monthly, \textit{O Sydnikalistis}, and the monthly publication of the Italian-Australian Labour Council, \textit{Il Progresso Italo-Australiano}, could be cited as examples. Both have been classified as 'mass circulation'.}

The second method of classification has been introduced in this study to distinguish between two main types of emigration to Australia since World War II: a voluntary migration from Southern and Western Europe and forced migration from Eastern Europe. In this study the press of the latter group is referred to as the 'émigré press'. This basis of classification distinguishes not only between the ethnic groups from
different parts of Europe but also between the very different circumstances under which the majority of people in a particular ethnic group left their countries of origin. An hypothesis concerning differences in the distribution of contents between the voluntary migrant and the émigré press is tested in the course of the study.

Finally, the political press as a special group includes periodicals that can be found in any of the four classes already distinguished. A weekly newspaper with extreme left-wing sympathies, a monthly bulletin of a small group of sympathizers of a semi-fascist association, an organ of a Southern European faction of an Australian political party, as well as an émigré newspaper with a vein of persistent anti-communist paranoia—all are examples of political periodicals that are here singled out for special comment.

Titles of foreign-language newspapers are usually given in the foreign language. Some papers, particularly the Greek ones, however, are known both to their readers and to those outside the ethnic community under their English-language titles. In conformity with this usage the English-language title is used throughout the text and bibliography (Appendix C). In each case the first reference to the paper contains the original foreign-language title in brackets. As far as possible the transliteration is that used by the Library of Congress, but, particularly in the case of certain Ukrainian and Greek papers, the transliterations used by the papers themselves, or those that are more familiar to the general public, have been preferred, for example Ethnikon Vema, not Hethnikon Vema. Owing to printing difficulties all accents have been omitted with the exception of French ones.

The full bibliography of all classes of newspapers, with their places and dates of publication, also library holdings, is given in Appendix C.

Regarding the division of labour in the study, Zubrzycki was responsible for its design in its methodological and substantive aspects while Gilson carried out the content analysis and prepared the draft of the bibliography in Appendix C. Zubrzycki conducted some forty interviews with the editors, publishers, and other persons connected with the foreign-language press. In writing, one author usually prepared a draft and the other made extensive modifications to it so we cannot say, as do some authors of joint studies, that X is responsible for certain chapters and Y for the others. There is no ‘senior’ or ‘junior’ author; since one name must precede the other, the order is alphabetical.

Canberra
May 1966

M.G.
J.Z.

*There are so many different ways of transliterating Ukrainian that it has not been possible to ensure uniformity of transliteration without seeing copies of all the Ukrainian papers. Some papers themselves transliterate their titles, and to apply a further transliteration to them would add another complication.
The successful completion of a research project extending over a period of nine years and involving the accumulation of a vast amount of documentary evidence depends on the services of a team of devoted assistants. We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Mrs L. Wilson, Mrs H. Morley, Mrs N. Kuskie, Mrs N. Caiden, Mrs B. Boucher, Mrs N. Huish, and Miss L. J. H. Parke, who at various times helped us in this task. To Letitia Parke belongs credit for the final organization of the Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press (Appendix C) and the checking of the manuscript. Miss Parke’s advice extended far beyond editorial criticism as she prodded us to rethink, revise, and rethink again numerous points of substance.

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In compiling the bibliographical directory of foreign-language publications we sought the advice of many people and we gratefully
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M.G.
J.Z.
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PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
The First Hundred Years of Foreign-language Journalism in Australia

The circumstances under which Australia's first foreign-language newspapers were established in the late 1840s have much in common with the origin of the popular press in New South Wales and Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land as it was called at the time) only three or four decades earlier. Australia's first newspaper, the Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, established in 1803 almost exactly fifteen years after the settlement in Sydney Cove had been founded, was an official broadsheet published 'By Authority'. The first popular newspapers - the Van Diemen's Land Gazette (1814), the Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter (1816), the Australian (1824), the Sydney Monitor (1826), and the Catholic Australasian Chronicle (1839) - were opposed to the 'official' press censored by the Governors and their secretaries. Their editors successfully resisted the attempts of Governor Darling to license the Press and championed the interests of the settlers in opposition to those of the colonial authority.1 Even the principal Tory organ of the colony, the Sydney Morning Herald (established in 1831 and published as a daily from 1840), was described in an official report by Governor FitzRoy as one that had 'neither system nor policy except that it supported the Church of England'.2

Just as the first Australian popular newspapers were essentially organs of opposition to the authority of the Parliament more than twelve thousand miles away, so were the journals printed in primitive shacks of Tanunda, Adelaide, Ballarat, and later Melbourne and Sydney. The early German, Swedish, French, and Italian editors were all men who launched these modest broadsheets without thought of gain. The early foreign-language newspapers in Australia were organs of free opinion on political, social, and religious questions which could not be freely debated in a Europe of Frederick William III and Metternich nor, a generation later, under the circumstances in which most of the bright dreams of 1848 had been dispelled.

2Quoted by Nadel, p.101.
The history of the German press in Australia spans nearly a century and a quarter – a much longer period than that of any other foreign-language press in Australia. The reason for it is that throughout the nineteenth century the Germans made up the largest non-British white minority in Australia.

The members of the ‘Old Lutheran’ dissident group whom Pastor Kavel brought to South Australia in 1838 were the first wave of German settlers who, for religious and later for political and economic reasons, sought refuge in the Australian colonies. During the period of the gold rushes in the fifties the German settlers spread from South Australia to Victoria. Further waves of immigrants spread to New South Wales and above all to Queensland. It was in that state as well as in the original areas of immigration in South Australia that we find the characteristic pattern of German rural settlements which one writer described as ‘an almost exact replica of their life in Germany’. Under such conditions, and also in view of the strong Lutheran element in German migration, the persistence of German language and culture favoured the development of a strong German-language press.

The first German newspaper was launched by an Adelaide printer, Carl Komhardt. It was a weekly under the title Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien, with an English sub-title The German Australian Post. Die Deutsche Post was first published on 6 January 1848. The first editor was a well-known mineralogist, Johann (John)
The Sydney Morning Herald of 9 March 1848 carried this comment on the content of one of the earlier issues of the German newspaper:

A paper has been commenced at Adelaide which is published in German and English, in alternate columns, under the title of Die Deutsche Post, fuer die Australischen Kolonien. It contains no news beyond a notice of an intended land sale and a list of market prices. The first page of the number before us (that for Donnerstag, den 17 Februar) is occupied with advertisements which appear in both languages: the second and third pages contain two essays (whether original or copied is not stated), one on languages and one on music; and the fourth (besides what we have mentioned above) has a couple of extracts from English papers. The size is demy, or one half that of the Herald, and the price is five shillings a quarter. The editor is Mr. John Menge, who is favourably known for his studies of the geology of South Australia. It does not appear to us that this paper is likely to succeed, if all the numbers are on the same principle as that before us. A well-compiled digest of Australian news, published in the German language, might obtain a circulation among the numerous Germans who are now settled in South Australia, and would be useful for circulation in Germany; but as a mere vehicle for essays, half a dozen of which can be had in a number of Chambers' Journal, we

It is probable that the launching of the paper was connected with the arrival in Adelaide on 15 December 1847 of a German printing press which was brought by a group of German settlers on board the ship Hermann von Beckerath. This was reported in the Sydney Morning Herald on 10 January 1848: 'The emigration from Bremen to Texas has completely ceased, Hamburg being now the chief port of embarkation for that country. On the contrary, the emigration from Bremen is now altogether to South Australia, to which colony 300 Prussians departed last month in the Beckerath, and will this month be followed by a large number of Prussian Lutherans, under the care of their pastor, the Rev. Herr Oster, of Posen. They are to form a separate settlement, for which object the South Australian Company in London have afforded them special support. The Beckerath took out a German press, for the establishment of a German newspaper in Adelaide, where two German clergymen, Messrs. Kavel and Fritsche (both Lutherans), have resided during the last ten years. Cologne Gazette.'

'The publishing venture must have been only a relatively short episode in Menge's varied career for it is not even mentioned by his biographer. See W. A. Cawthorne, Menge the Mineralogist: a Sketch of Life of the Late Johann Menge, Linguist, Mineralogist, etc., etc. An early Colonist, and Discoverer of Precious Stones in South Australia (Adelaide, 1859). There is certainly no basis in the reference by Derek van Abbé ('The Interests of the South Australia German-Language Press in the Nineteenth Century', Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand, Vol. VIII, No. 31, November 1958, p.319) to 'the enterprising Professor Menge's 1836 Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien'. This would put the date of publication two years before the arrival of Pastor Kavel and his party.'
do not think it at all probable that Die Deutsche Post will obtain sufficient support to pay the printer.\(^7\)

The Sydney Morning Herald may have been correct in its pessimistic assessment of the future of Australia’s first foreign-language newspaper. As early as April 1848 the paper was in difficulties, and was suspended for three months.\(^8\) There is some evidence that for the remainder of that year and until May 1849 Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien was not published regularly. It reappeared in June 1849 under the editorship of Hermann Rook and seems to have had a continuous run until September 1850.\(^9\) After July 1848 the English sub-title as well as the practice of printing alternate columns in English were dropped. The character of the paper does not appear to have changed very much during the course of its existence.\(^10\) Die Deutsche Post was primarily an information organ published for the benefit of the German settlers. News from Europe, shipping news, decisions of the Legislative Council, and other information about the colony were the usual features, together with a page of advertisements. Interesting features which appeared several times in 1849 were one-page supplements containing statements by Pastor Kavel and his opponents in the doctrinal dispute that three years earlier had split the Lutheran Church in South Australia into two branches. These in the course of time became the United Evangelical

\(^7\)The character of the paper under the editorship of Menge can also be judged from the examination of the only two issues under his editorship which have been preserved by the British Museum Library and the Mitchell Library in Sydney (numbers 11 of 16 March and 7 of 20 July 1848 respectively). Menge, it seems, wrote feature articles himself and maintained high intellectual standards. For example No. 11 contains two articles by the editor that occupy half the total space: a description of his (Menge’s) journey through the Rhineland and an article describing the author’s geological explorations in Kangaroo Island. Most of the space in No. 7 is devoted to reviews of the troubled political scene in Europe and the Chartist movement in England. Another feature of the paper under Menge was the practice of printing alternate columns in English.

\(^8\)This is reported in the South Australian Register, 12 April 1848: ‘The German press here, after a series of very eccentric efforts to establish itself, is become defunct’. The publication of Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien escaped the notice of the historian of the early days of the South Australian press. (See George H. Pitt, The Press in South Australia, 1836 to 1850, Adelaide, 1946.)

\(^9\)In the issues published in June and July 1849 Rook is also referred to as a surveyor and estate agent (Landmesser und Agent). From July 1850 Georg Steinthal is listed as editor. Throughout the paper’s existence its publisher was Carl Kornhardt.

\(^10\)The only set of Die Deutsche Post available in Australia, and one that was examined by the present authors, is kept by the Mitchell Library in Sydney. It contains one issue for 1848 (No. 7, 20 July), Nos. 3-27 (June-December) for 1849, and about half the issues published between February and September 1850 (Nos. 6-37).
Die deutsche Post
für die australischen Colonien.

Australischer Band.

Im nächsten Abendblatt vom 23. Juni bringt und den Ge
richt einer Redaktion, welche fastlich in den Verlagstheilen des
es Dienstes, teilweise vielleicht hier aus-
 läufigkeit.

Seines Bemühens, die deutsche Worte, die Verse, die Ledigen, die Kasuistische, die Erzählungen, die Berichte, die Rezensionen.

Die Mitglieder des Bundes haben jährlich 200 und soll
diese Zeitung eher zur Redaktion der nachfolgenden Abga
ten des Bundes zur Vergleichung einer gewissen Zeit für den

Deutschland.
Beim Beginn eines neuen Jahrs halten wir es für
unser Pflicht, unter den Lehren eine solche wie geöffnete Belehrung über die freundschaftliche Freundschaft zu geben.

Australien's first foreign-language newspaper, Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien, 2 July 1850. The leading article discusses prospects of an Australian federation! (By courtesy of the Mitchell Library, Sydney)
Lutheran Church in Australia (UELCA) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA). The story of the first foreign-language newspaper in Australia closes with an announcement published in No. 37 of 12 September 1850. This declared that as from 1 October 1850 Die Deutsche Post would no longer be published. From that date a new newspaper, the Deutsche Zeitung fuer Suedaustralien would be published by Georg Steinthal, proprietor of Deutsche Buchdruckerei in Tanunda. The new paper duly made its appearance under the above title and there is evidence that it was published in 1851. In its content it was a continuation of Die Deutsche Post. Its publisher was the last editor of Die Deutsche Post and it was edited by the latter's predecessor, Hermann Rook.

I The genealogy of some German newspapers in Australia


"Two issues are kept in the Mitchell Library: No. 11 dated 14 March 1851 and No. 12 dated 21 March 1851. A microfilm of these is available in the Australian National University Library.
The Deutsche Zeitung fuer Suedaustralien was not the first German-language publication venture in Tanunda; another weekly newspaper had been in existence there since late 1849. This was the Sued Australische Zeitung, the paper which, in the following three decades, was involved in a series of mergers.\textsuperscript{13} This new publishing venture was destined to play a germinal part in the history of German press in Australia. The genealogy of all the important German-language newspapers almost up to the outbreak of World War II can be traced to the Sued Australische Zeitung (see Fig. 1).

The first merger involving the Sued Australische Zeitung took place in 1851 when the paper was sold by its proprietor Herr Droege to an Adelaide newspaper proprietor, Herr Reimer; the latter then launched a new periodical, the fourth German newspaper to be published in three years, under the title of the Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung. At the beginning of the 1850s the paper was published twice weekly.\textsuperscript{14}

The Sued Australische Zeitung was revived in 1859 in Tanunda and continued as a semi-weekly till 1862 when it was again taken over by the Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung. From 1863 it was published by this paper's proprietors as the Sued Australische Zeitung, a weekly paper in Adelaide.\textsuperscript{15}

Meanwhile, in March 1863, another German weekly was launched in Tanunda, the Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung.\textsuperscript{16} The paper was renamed the Australische Deutsche Zeitung in 1870 with separate editions in Melbourne and Tanunda.

\textsuperscript{13}The founder of the paper was Otto Schomburgk, a refugee from the revolutions of 1848, who came to Australia in 1849 with his brother Richard. Among his fellow passengers was Carl Linger, who later distinguished himself as composer and conductor in Adelaide. Richard Schomburgk became famous as Director of Adelaide's Botanical Gardens (L. A. Triebel, 'A Carl Linger Letter', South Australiana, Vol. II, No. 1, 1963, pp. 6-13). Otto Schomburgk later sold his business to Herr Droege, also of Tanunda. According to the manuscript 'History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia' by the late Dr Alfred Brauer, the paper was published first in 1849. The Brauer MS. is kept in the ELCA Archives at Concordia College, Adelaide. See also Lodewyckx, op.cit., p.183.

\textsuperscript{14}Lodewyckx, op.cit., p.183. The South Australian Register of 2 April 1851 carried the following notice: 'Today will be issued No. 1 of the Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung, Rudolf Reimer, Editor, which will be circulated throughout the whole colony'.

\textsuperscript{15}In the 1860s the editor of the paper was the versatile Dr Karl Muecke, a refugee of the 1848 revolutions and one of the founders of a Utopian community of German intellectuals in Buchsfelde, now Loos, S.A. See Derek van Abbé, op.cit., pp.320-1 for a survey of editorial opinions of the Sued Australische Zeitung between 1861 and 1901.

\textsuperscript{16}This paper was founded by F. Basedow and C. H. Barton (Lodewyckx, op.cit.). There is some evidence that Basedow and Barton were also proprietors of the Sued Australische Zeitung when it reappeared in 1859. (Brauer, 'History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church').
The two roots of the German press were linked in 1875 when the *Sued Australische Zeitung* and the *Australische Deutsche Zeitung* merged to form the *Australische Zeitung*, which was published as a weekly from Adelaide and Tanunda until 1916. The paper was revived in 1927, but two years later was taken over by the *Queenslander Herald*, a German-language newspaper which had been established in Brisbane in 1895. With the closing down of the *Queenslander Herald* in 1939 the long line of German newspaper history originating in South Australia came to an end.

Outside South Australia and Queensland the third main centre of the German secular press was Melbourne. The rise of the German press in the capital of Victoria was associated with the sudden increase in the German-born population of the colony during the gold rushes in the 1850s. Amongst those who flocked to Victoria was a group of intellectuals, an off-shoot of that great exodus of the 'Forty-eighters', the liberal refugees of the revolutions of 1848. One of them, Hermann Puettmann, a journalist and historian, founded in 1858 a monthly paper, the *Deutsche Monatschrift fuer Australien*. This publication went through a series of metamorphoses in the next four years. In September 1859 it was renamed the *Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung* and continued as a weekly until July 1860. Under the editorship of H. Rittmann, J. Krause, and W. A. Brahe it was a lively paper which regularly published a digest of European news, feature articles on prominent German liberal thinkers, as well as reports of German societies throughout Victoria.

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17The *Queenslander Herald* was amalgamated in 1903 with another German newspaper in Queensland, the *Nord Australische Zeitung*, which had been in existence since 1866. An admirable examination of the nature of the news and reactions to events in Europe in three of the abovementioned newspapers, the *Sued Australische Zeitung*, the *Australische Deutsche Zeitung*, and the *Australische Zeitung*, can be found in Borrie, op.cit., pp.200-9.

18The German-born population of Victoria rose from 3,955 in 1854 to 10,418 in 1861 (Borrie, op.cit., p.164).

19Cf. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952). Albert B. Faust, in his study *The German Element in the United States: with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social and Educational Influence* (2 vols., New York, 1927), describes the impact of the 'forty-eighters' on German journalism in the United States thus: 'the great progress in German journalism in the United States came with the advent of the political refugees of 1848 and immediately thereafter. A large number of new journals were founded by these "forty-eighters", and as a rule they commanded a better German style and furnished a greater amount of desirable information in politics and literature' (Vol. 2, p.369).

20Puettmann played an important part in the development of radical socialist movements in Germany in the 1840s, edited anthologies of revolutionary poems and wrote poetry himself. (For this information we are indebted to Professor Leslie Bodi of Monash University who is preparing an article on Puettmann for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*).
In 1860 the *Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung* was transformed into a monthly paper, the *Australische Monatzeitung*. Nine issues were published between August 1860 and April 1861. In May 1861 the paper reappeared under the title of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a weekly under the editorship of Hermann Puettmann. Only thirty-nine issues were published. The last issue (25 January 1862) contained an announcement by the publishers that the paper would not be published in future, and that subscriptions were being invited for the *Australische Monatzeitung* which was to be revived from February 1862. Like its predecessor, the paper lasted for only a few months: it ceased publication in July 1862.

Two other German secular papers were launched in Melbourne about the same time as the group of newspapers associated with Hermann Puettmann. The first of these was the *Victorian Deutsche Presse*, a weekly which lasted just over a year from July 1859 to September 1860. The second, the weekly *Germania*, had the longest run of all the German newspapers in Victoria. It lasted from 1861 to 1868.

The persistence of the German language and culture among the German immigrants, particularly those in group settlements in South Australia and in the second half of the nineteenth century in Victoria and Queensland, had much to do with the strength and vitality of the main branches of the Lutheran Church. It was a deep-seated belief both of the Lutheran pastors brought from Germany and the lay teachers of the church that their faith must be kept free from influences of other denominations. An important means towards the fulfilment of this objective was the church press which, like the secular press, had its main roots in Tanunda and Melbourne.

Between 1853 and 1856 Melbourne had a Lutheran monthly, *Der Pilger in Viktoria*. This magazine was evidently not a success, and it was not till 1860, when Pastor Matthias Goethe of the Lutheran Synod of Victoria launched the *Australischer Christenbote*, that a firm foundation was laid for a beginning of German-language church press in Australia.

The first Lutheran newspaper published in Tanunda was the *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung fuer Deutsch-Australische Gemeinen* established by Pastor J. C. Auricht in 1862. Auricht continued as editor until 1907, but the name of the paper was slightly changed several times during its history. For the greater part of its existence the paper was

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23Dr Brauer in his unpublished MS. 'History' suggests that the reason for the failure of *Der Pilger in Viktoria* was the lack of competent German typesetters.
24The full title of this monthly paper was *Australischer Christenbote fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Australien*. After Pastor Goethe's departure for the United States Pastor Hermann Herlitz edited the periodical from 1867 to 1910 (Brauer, 'History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church').
25See Hebart, *Die Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische...*, p.406; Lodewyckx, op. cit., p.185. Pastor Auricht was the successor of Kavel, founder of the Lutheran Church in Australia.
simply known under its abbreviated title, the *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung*.\(^2\)

The experience of the two principal organs of the main branches of what later became the UELCA suggests that the German church press proved more stable than the secular press. Both the *Australischer Christenbote* and the *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung* continued their separate existence in Melbourne and Tanunda for more than half a century. The former merged in 1911 with *Der Pilger*, a Lutheran weekly founded two years earlier in Adelaide. From 1911 until 1917 the *Australischer Christenbote* continued as a weekly.\(^2\) In 1917 when a government order prohibited printing in German the publication was suspended. It reappeared in 1918 as *The Pilgrim*, a bi-weekly organ of the General Synod of the church.\(^2\) A year earlier the *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung fuer die Lutherische Kirche Australiens* was transformed into an English-language monthly, the *Church and Mission News*. The two magazines were merged in 1921 to form in Adelaide the bi-weekly *Lutheran Herald* which is still being published.

The second main branch of the Lutheran Church, the ELCA, published its first paper, *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer Australien*, in Adelaide in January 1874. From 1883 the paper was published as a monthly and, later, bi-monthly in Hochkirch (Tarrington), Victoria; in 1903 it became the official organ of the ELCA.\(^2\) An interesting feature of this paper was that it supplied its readers with a well-balanced selection of church news and religious articles as well as general news, feature stories, serialized fiction, and other items of interest to women and children. From 1887 to 1925 it had a succession of magazine-type supplements: *Beiblatt* (1877-83), *Aus Welt und Zeit* (1884-1917), and the *Unterhaltungsblatt zum Luth. Kirchenboten fuer Australien* (1888-1904). From time to time, two other supplements appeared for the benefit of younger readers: *Der Kinderfreund* and *Der Schulbote*.

*Der Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer Australien*, in common with other German-language newspapers, was suspended in 1917 in the forty-fourth year of its publication. It reappeared in 1925 and continued until 1940. When the paper was finally closed down in June of that year it had completed a publishing history that lasted over sixty years. Judging by the longevity of *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer Australien* and its excellent news coverage as well as unusually high and enlightened editorial standards the paper represents one of the peaks of foreign-language journalism in Australia.

\(^{2}\)Hebart, op. cit., p.406, lists the editors and assistant editors. See Appendix C for a complete list of changes of title.

\(^{2}\)Pastor Basedow of Adelaide was the editor of *Der Pilger* (personal communication from Dr M. Lohe, president of the UELCA, letter dated 14 April 1965).

\(^{2}\)In 1921 the General Synod joined with other branches of the church to form the UELCA.

\(^{2}\)Its first editors were Pastor E. Homann and Pastor A. Strempel.
The First Hundred Years of Foreign-language Journalism

The history of the German press in Australia in the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of World War I remains to be written. The foregoing brief survey has merely highlighted certain features that appear to warrant further examination: the proliferation of German newspapers in South Australia in the 1850s and in Victoria in the following decade; the significance of Adelaide, Tanunda, and Melbourne as publishing centres; the activities of the German liberal intellectuals in Melbourne; the longevity of the Sued Australische Zeitung as well as of the principal organs of the two Lutheran churches. The survey has also shown two important ‘peaks’ in the numbers of German secular and church papers that were published in the late 1850s and early 1860s as well as in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Population census figures suggest that these peaks were associated with an influx of new settlers from Germany.\(^{30}\) The files of the German-language press would yield a rich mine of information to a professional historian of the German people in Australia.\(^{31}\)

The Scandinavian and the French Press

The beginnings of the Scandinavian press in Australia in the 1850s are connected with the immigration to the goldfields of Victoria where, according to a contemporary estimate, there were some 2,500 Scandinavian nationals, more than a half of whom were Swedes.\(^{32}\) In 1857 an

\(^{30}\)The size of the potential German-reading population can be gauged from the statistics given by the Lutheran church historians. For example, Hebart (op. cit., p.469) estimates that in 1901 there were in South Australia 16,000 Australian-born Lutherans, almost all of whom were the descendants of the German settlers. By adding to this figure 6,637 German-born persons recorded in the Census of 1901 we get an estimated German-reading population of over 22,000. If similar estimates are made for the other states of German settlement and if the assumptions concerning German resistance to absorption are proved valid (as in Price, op. cit., pp.15-17) then this will provide an explanation for the stability and longevity of some German secular and church newspapers.

\(^{31}\)Strangely enough, none of the historical accounts of the German element in Australia has used the newspaper files to any considerable extent. The two church histories by Brauer and Hebart, as well as Lodewyckx’s general history, make no use of newspaper files. Borrie has studied newspaper editorials for a limited purpose, but nobody has analysed the newspapers to reconstruct the social and cultural history of the German settlers and their descendants before World War I. Dr van Abbé’s plea in this regard (op. cit., p.319) has remained unanswered. Other sources of German history are the almanacs like the Australisches Volks-Kalender which appeared annually in South Australia from 1874 to 1915. A list of these annual publications is attached to Appendix C.

\(^{32}\)Corfitz Cronqvist, Vandringar i Australien aren 1857-9 (Gothenburg, 1859), p.40. One-half of the Scandinavian population, according to the author, were deserting seamen. The accuracy of Cronqvist’s estimate is open to some doubt. The Census of Victoria in 1857 included Scandinavian-born with 4,976 persons from ‘Other Europe’, a residual group that lumped together all the countries of Continental Europe except France and Germany. It is probable that the estimate was somewhat exaggerated.
enterprising Swedish compositor by the name of Corfitz Cronqvist founded in Melbourne a weekly newspaper, the *Norden*. Soon afterwards he transferred the paper to the Ballarat goldfields where a newly-founded Scandinavian society promised him some support. In fact, however, no support was forthcoming, for the society was riddled with internal factions and dissensions. On return to Sweden, two years later, Cronqvist bitterly commented on his experience:

A few members [of the Scandinavian Society in Ballarat], among them some Swedes, tried to find some bond of fellowship but that was also in vain and after three months dies the *Norden*. Such an enterprise will probably never be tried in this country again.

To tell the truth both the publisher and public were to blame. In the first place because the publisher attempted such an enterprise without finding out more about the social position *[sociala stallning]* of the Scandinavians. He did not have correspondents in all parts of the country which seems absolutely necessary and, last of all, could not afford to spend a couple of hundred pounds . . . When the *Norden* was moved to Ballarat . . . its publisher was the only person who publicly appeared at the Society's meetings and gave talks. For more than two months he went on doing so every Sunday . . . At these meetings the hall was often overfilled which shows that it could have been a good and successful Society if only the committee had tried its best. The best of Swedish and Danish poetry was read at these meetings . . . After he left Ballarat the lectures stopped and although the Society now had its own meetings hall it was usually empty . . .

A lot is written in our old *Norden* about the Scandinavians, the people’s brotherly feelings and about our Society. This was to have been a Society not bound by diplomatic strings but by the people themselves . . . One would have hoped that all Scandinavians in Australia, on hearing a call, would rush to give a hand to a brotherly association and stand under the Scandinavian flag. Where else do you need togetherness if not in a foreign country? . . . [in reality, however] we find that there remain two obstacles, self-complacency and egoism.\(^3^3\)

The pioneer publisher of the Scandinavian press in Australia was too pessimistic when he predicted that the enterprise of the *Norden* would not be tried again. Thirty years later, in 1887, the *Skandinavien*, a fortnightly printed in Danish and Swedish, was founded in Sydney. Like the *Norden*, however, the new paper lasted only a few months.\(^3^4\)

\(^3^3\)Ibid., pp.43-5. Brief references to Cronqvist and the *Norden* are also given by J. S. Lyng, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne, 1939), p.61 and 'The Swedes in Australia', *Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal* (Twentieth Anniversary Number 1911-31), June 1931, p.360. No library holdings of the *Norden* could be traced in Australia.

\(^3^4\)The founders of the paper were a Dane, Soderberg, and a Swede, S. Franzen (Lyng, op. cit., p.61).
In 1893 Pastor Pedersen in Sydney founded a religious magazine, the Hjemlandstoner, of which J. S. Lyng became the editor. The paper lasted three years and was succeeded by the Norden, the second paper of that name to be published in Australia. The Norden, at first a monthly and later a fortnightly paper, printed in the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish languages, is notable for its relative longevity. It had an unbroken existence from 1896 to 1940, despite many setbacks suffered by the publishers.35

If the beginning of the Scandinavian press in Australia can be traced to the 1850s then, in chronological order, the French-language press was the third foreign-language press to be established in Australia. In 1858 the weekly paper, Le Journal de Melbourne, made a brief appearance; only three issues were published, the last one on 11 December.

If this abortive start is ignored, the origin of the French-language press can be traced to the activities of French traders in Sydney and the close commercial ties between New South Wales and the French colony in New Caledonia. French interests in New Caledonia were prominent in the pages of the monthly Revue Australienne published in Sydney in 1873-4 as well as its successors, the short-lived Oceanien (1874) and Le Courrier Australien, Australia’s oldest surviving foreign-language newspaper.

Le Courrier Australien was first published on 30 April 1892 with the sub-title: ‘Journal Cosmopolitain du Samedi: Politique, Littérature, Sciences, Beaux Arts, Commerce, Mode, etc.’ Its founder was C. de Wroblewski, a Polish émigré who married the daughter of a French pioneer in the district of Dubbo in New South Wales, Jean de Bouillon Emile Serisier. Wroblewski, a well educated man as well as a francophile, had the idea that a French-language newspaper would serve the needs of the French residents in Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania. He also planned to appeal to the Australians interested in the study of the French language and in French affairs.36 It is likely that Le Courrier Australien’s link with Poland was responsible for the introduction in 1931 of a Polish-language column in the paper.37 It appeared for the first time on 31 July 1931 under the title, ‘Nouvelles Polonaises – Dzial Polski’. The column appeared weekly under the editorship of the official


36Le Courrier Australien, 4 May 1962 (a special issue commemorating the seventieth anniversary of foundation); also communication dated 7 July 1961 received from M. Albert Sourdin, the editor of the paper since 1940.

37In the thirties, and up to 1940, the publisher of Le Courrier Australien was Léon Magrin. His wife, née Janina Czarlinska, was Polish; Lech Paszkowski, ‘Pierwsze Pisma Polskie w Australii’, Wiadomosci (London), No. 1004, 27 June 1965. See also his Polacy w Australii i Oceanii : 1790-1940 (London, 1962).
Le premier numéro du Courrier Australien, daté 30 avril 1892, est publié en Australie, le premier quotidien en langue étrangère en Australie. Il est dirigé par L.C. Stahl, un journaliste allemand, et est destiné à une audience composée de résidents d'origine européenne. Les articles traitent de sujets variés, allant de la politique et la littérature à la science, aux beaux-arts, au commerce et à la mode.
Polish Telegraphic Agency in Sydney. In addition to news items from Poland the Nouvelles Polonaises featured reports from the Polish National Alliance of Australia. From August 1932 until its last appearance the column was written almost exclusively in English under the title ‘The Polish Affairs’. Le Courrier Australien has had an unbroken existence since 1892. The editorial policies of its founders and the layout of the paper have remained unchanged. During World War II the paper became the official organ in the Pacific of the Free French.

The publication of a foreign-language section in Le Courrier Australien was not an isolated instance of this practice. Nearly four years earlier, on 1 November 1927, the first issue of The Muses’ Magazine, a monthly review published in Brisbane and ‘devoted to the musical, artistic, literary, and intellectual life of Queensland’, began to publish a series of foreign-language pages. The following were published more than once during the existence of The Muses’ Magazine between November 1927 and January 1929: ‘Feuillets Francaises’, ‘Deutsche Blaetter’, ‘Stronica Polska’, ‘Hojas Espanoles’, ‘Pagine Italiane’, ‘Hellenic Pages’, ‘Esperanto Folio’. None of these was a strictly foreign-language section. The contents varied, but mostly included a short article in English featuring the country concerned as well as news about Brisbane cultural and national societies. For example, the ‘Feuillets Francaises’ on 1 January 1928 contained an article entitled ‘At the Roots of Paris’ as well as an item on the Alliance Francaise de Brisbane. The Polish section, ‘Stronica Polska’, had the longest run of all, for it appeared in ten of the fourteen issues of The Muses’ Magazine.

The Italian and the Greek Press

Next in order of appearance is the press of the Southern European settlers in Australia whose numbers began to increase in the early years of the twentieth century. Sydney was the birthplace of the first Italian-language newspaper, the weekly Uniamoci with an English-language motto on its first page: ‘For the cause of Justice and Liberty’. The paper was probably started in 1903 and ceased publication in August 1914. The editor was Julian H. Rusiecki of King’s Cross, Sydney.

It was edited by a Polish born musician, Stefan Polotynski, who was described as president of the Polish Association in Queensland—‘Kolonja Polska’ of Queen Street, Brisbane. In 1930 Polotynski started to publish a stencilled monthly bulletin, the Polonia Australijska. The bulletin was published from 97a Vulture Street, South Brisbane, and it appears to have had a circulation limited to Brisbane and Ipswich. Eight numbers of the Polonia Australijska were published in all: four in 1930 and four more in 1931. The last issue was dated April 1931. The circulation increased steadily from 300 to 550 (Paszkowski, op. cit., p.3). No holdings of the bulletin could be traced in any Australian library.

For an account of Southern European immigration to Australia see Charles A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia (Melbourne, 1963).
1904. It was published by Joseph Prampolini from Yurong Street, Sydney, and was an organ of a radical group of Italian émigrés who sought a temporary refuge in Australia.

The *Uniamoci* was followed by a newspaper which placed less emphasis on Italian politics and more on the needs of Italian settlers in Australia. This was *L’Italo-Australiano*, a weekly established in Sydney in 1905, the first of a great line of Italian newspapers in Australia that promote the cause of assimilation of the Italian minority. *L’Italo-Australiano* ceased publication in 1909. In 1914 it was revived and incorporated in another Sydney weekly, the *Oceania*, which had been established a year earlier.

No Italian newspaper survived till the end of World War I. In 1918 a bilingual English and Italian weekly, the *Voce d’Italia*, made a brief appearance; it seems that it ceased publication some time in 1919.\(^4\) Three years later an Italian shipping agent, Frank Lubrano, founded a paper that continued the tradition of *L’Italo-Australiano*. The new weekly publication was the *Italo-Australian*, a title that reflected the policy of its founders who wanted the paper to be a halfway house to assimilation. Although the paper was published in Sydney it had a substantial circulation in North Queensland as well as in Melbourne. The paper gave effective leadership to all Italian settlers scattered in remote parts of Australia on all public issues and chiefly during the depression years of 1929-33. Although the *Italo-Australian* was essentially a commercial venture controlled by Lubrano, and later his nephew Giuseppe A. Luciano, it came nevertheless under the influence of the Italian consular representatives in Sydney and Brisbane. In spite of this, however, its editors gave equal space to both the official Italian and the Australian point of view, emphasizing that there was nothing that should stand in the way of friendship between the two countries.\(^4\)

Another Italian paper published in the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II was a Sydney weekly, *Il Corriere degli Italiani in Australia*, established in 1929. The paper and its successor from 1932, *Il Giornale Italiano* (both strictly non-political), were published by the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Sydney, and incorporated, as a commercial supplement, the monthly *Italian Bulletin of Australia* (renamed *Italian Bulletin of Commerce* in 1932).\(^4\) This supplement contained articles in English and Italian about Italy and Australian trade with that country.\(^4\)

\(^4\)The only copy of the paper which the writers managed to locate was No. 51 for 3 April 1919 in the State Library of Victoria.


\(^4\)According to the issue of the *Italian Bulletin of Australia* dated 15 October 1926 this publication made its first appearance as an ordinary newspaper in 1922. This issue, however, is the earliest kept on the file by the Public Library of New South Wales.

\(^4\)The two Italian-language anti-fascist papers that made a brief appearance between 1927 and 1932 are discussed below.
The First Hundred Years of Foreign-language Journalism

The first Greek-language newspaper in Australia appeared in Melbourne in 1914 under the title *Australis*; eight years later it was bought out by the brothers Marinakis who transferred the paper to Sydney, where it has been published weekly under the title of the *National Tribune* [Ethnicon Vemal]. This is the oldest Greek-language and the second-oldest foreign-language newspaper in Australia after *Le Courrier Australien*.

In November 1926 another Greek weekly, the *Hellenic Herald* [Panelinios Keryx], was founded in Sydney but did not secure Post Office registration until April 1927. The only Greek newspaper in Victoria in the period between the wars was the weekly *Phos* [Light], for a time the official organ of the Greek Ex-Service Men's Legion in Australia. It was still being published in 1965. From December 1935 to September 1936 South Australia had a Greek paper, the *Pharos*, published in Adelaide. It was started as a weekly but from January 1936 the paper appeared once a fortnight.

'Die Bruecke' and the Political Press

The last of the foreign-language newspapers to be briefly reviewed in this chapter is the weekly *Die Bruecke*, founded in 1934 as the organ of the League of Germans in Australia and New Zealand and as a mouthpiece for Nazi propaganda. The publication of this paper between 1934 and 1939 highlights an important phase in the history of the foreign-language press in Australia.

The German press in Australia, as indeed in other countries, had its ups and downs throughout its unbroken existence since 1848. These fluctuations were not so much in the number of newspapers published but rather in the swings of editorial opinion with relation to events in Europe. General attitudes towards Australia and Anglo-German relations were put to the test several times up to World War I in connection with...

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46 The history of this paper was written by one of its oldest collaborators, Michael Malakias, and published in a special thirtieth anniversary issue on 15 November 1956.

such events as the constitutional struggle in Prussia in the 1860s, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1, annexation by Germany of part of New Guinea in 1884-5, and the outbreak of World War I. The columns of the German press in Australia in its treatment of these events reveal the dual loyalty to the two countries, and an earnest desire to have the best of both worlds.48

The stress on the loyalty to Australia as well as Germany can also be seen in the editorial comment of Die Bruecke, but unlike the nineteenth-century newspapers the sincerity of Die Bruecke was strongly in doubt. As Price put it ‘this stress [on dual loyalty] was part of the Nazi policy of hoodwinking unsympathetic or dubious readers into thinking that allegiance to the German “race” involved no political disloyalty to the Australian nation’.49 There seems little doubt that the German minority in Australia, like the German communities in South America and South Africa, was meant to play a part in the Nazi design for a domination of Europe and former as well as present European colonies. While paying lip service to the need for ‘unconditional loyalty’ to Australia the German minority was asked to recognize ‘that the unique personality of Adolf Hitler has a decisive significance for Germans all over the world’.50

This attitude was the theme of an article in Die Bruecke on 22 February 1936:

The policy of Die Bruecke, clearly defined from the beginning and characterised by sincere adherence to Adolf Hitler and his Movement, remains the same; it can be summed up as unfailing loyalty to the land of our adoption coupled with an acceptance of National Socialist principles in all matters cultural and philosophical and the recognition of the significance of the Foreign Organisation of the Party in the life of the German communities in Australia and New Zealand. Whoever has followed the development of the German communities in Australia and New Zealand, as we have done, will be forced to admit that the policy we pursue has penetrated all sections of the German population and is accepted and acknowledged today by an overwhelming majority.

At the congress of the Foreign Organisation of the National Socialist Party held during last year’s Party Rally at Nuremberg, Adolf Hitler said that ‘it was easier for Germans living abroad to

4S The following excerpt from the Australische Zeitung of 12 August 1914 is an example: ‘Germans, even if closest relatives are in Germany, are subjects of H.M. King George and have sworn him loyalty. They will firmly stand by their new home, which received them so readily and to which they owe so much. If they also think of close relatives left behind them in the other country, this cannot be begrudged them.’ (Quoted in Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, p.208). For a survey of similar attitudes in the German-American press see Clyde William Park, ‘The Strategic Retreat of the German Language Press’, The North American Review, Vol. CCVII, May 1918, pp.706-19.

49Price, German Settlers in South Australia, p.50.

50Ibid., p.49.
realise that they were Germans, for the greater the distance from the homeland, the smaller the influence of petty differences, and ideas of States, parties, creeds and association became submerged in the idea of the all-embracing German nation. The German communities in Australia and New Zealand, which have always instinctively felt themselves a part of the German people at large, today clearly realise that they are really one with the great German nation united under Adolf Hitler...51

The exact circulation of Die Bruecke is not known but according to Price the paper was read by many and was well served by a network of correspondents who regularly supplied reports from local groups.52

It is of some significance, too, that the paper evidently received support from German immigrants who had arrived in Australia before World War I, if not earlier; some of its supporters were possibly members of the second and third generations of German settlers.53

Die Bruecke was mainly a political newspaper and as such represents a clear break from the past trend which was characterized by the growth of a predominantly commercial press far more concerned with profitable advertising than with disseminating news and editorial opinions. The nineteenth-century German papers in Australia were established primarily to cater for the needs of the German minority. They were commercial ventures and their editorial opinion on events in Germany was rarely in conflict with the interests of Australia. The stress on dual loyalty was an effort to maintain a balance in editorial opinion as well as in news presentation to a reading public that was becoming increasingly orientated to Australia and less to their Deutschtum - the language and the culture of Germany. In this regard the German papers set the pattern for the very great majority of foreign-language newspapers in Australia in this century.

In the succeeding chapters of this book the social functions of the foreign-language newspapers are discussed in some detail and a hypothesis is advanced linking the appearance of foreign-language newspapers with the arrival of new settlers. In the case of German migration to Australia the peak period was the decade 1881-91 when the number of German-born residents in Australia rose from 37,000 to 45,000, the highest total for any census year in the nineteenth century. This period

51Quoted in ibid., pp.49-50.
52Ibid., p.52. It is highly probable, too, that the paper was subsidized by the German government and that copies were distributed free. The cause of the Nazi ideology also received considerable support in the pages of Das Kirchenblatt, the bi-weekly organ of the VELKA (see Price, op. cit., pp.70-4).
53Total number of persons born in Germany at the time of the 1933 Census was 10,826. Of these only 1,926 had resided in Australia for fewer than nineteen years at the time of the Census; a very great majority had resided for over twenty years, i.e. had arrived before World War I. The Census gives no information on the number of persons of German descent, i.e. the Australian-born children and grandchildren of the German settlers (see note 30).
also coincided with the rapid growth of German group settlements in Queensland, where the numbers of German-born reached a peak of 14,900 in 1891, almost one-third of those in Australia.

The growth of German group settlements is reflected in the rising number of German weeklies from one in 1848 to four during the peak periods 1859-64 and 1893-4. Between 1907 and 1914 only two weeklies were published. World War I marked the lowest ebb in the fortunes of the German press with the disappearance of the weekly press.54 In 1918 the Australische Zeitung, the principal pre-war German newspaper, made an unsuccessful attempt to re-start but evidently received no support.

The reason why the German minority in Australia could not support a single newspaper in the years following the war is connected not only with the absolute decline in numbers of the German-born persons – from 33,000 in 1911 to 22,000 in 1921 – but also with the changing pattern of settlement. New settlers in the decade preceding and following the war did not, on the whole, join the original group settlements in the rural areas of South Australia, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. The few that arrived settled in towns, and in 1933 over half the German-born population lived in urban areas.55

It was in these rural group settlements that the German language, culture, and customs tended to retain their hold. Their decline meant the decline of Deutschum and therefore inadequate support for a German commercial press. The reason why Die Bruecke succeeded as a publishing venture when the old established Australische Zeitung did not was probably partly because the paper was obviously subsidized by the Nazi authorities and partly because it successfully appealed to the German national spirit amongst the descendants of the original settlers. These two factors put Die Bruecke in a separate category of a political and propagandistic press.

The example of Die Bruecke is not an isolated one in the inter-war years. It was undoubtedly a newspaper with a relatively large circulation which distinguishes it from three political papers that made an appearance about the same time. Two of these were published by Italian anti-fascist groups in Sydney and Melbourne. The third one was an organ of an extreme leftist group of Yugoslav migrants in Sydney.

The Italian paper in Sydney was the monthly Il Risveglio started in 1927 by the Lega Anti-Fascista. The first issue bore the following slogan on the front page: ‘Lavoratori: non dimentichiamo che il proletariato Italiano deve essere al più presto liberato dalla tirannide fascista’. Only three issues were published. Proceedings were instituted against the

54The war did not affect the circulation of Lutheran Church magazines, the number of which rose from three to four in 1913 and was maintained at that level until 1919.
55See Borrie, op. cit., p.175.
publishers in September 1927 under the Newspapers in Foreign Language Regulations, 1921.

The second anti-fascist paper, the Melbourne monthly, *L'Avanguardia Libertaria*, was published for two years between 1930 and 1932. Its character was reflected in its sub-title ‘Mensile di Lotta e di Propaganda’.

The Yugoslav newspaper in Sydney was the *Napredak*, first published in 1937 as an organ of the Federation of Yugoslav Workers’ Educational Clubs. The Federation evolved out of a group of Yugoslav miners in Broken Hill who, in 1931, formed an organization which was known as the Workers’ Fighting Movement. In the ensuing three or four years the Workers’ Fighting Movement extended to other groups of Yugoslav immigrants in New South Wales and presently the Association of Yugoslav Immigrants was set up. The Federation of the Yugoslav Workers’ Educational Clubs was formed as part of the cultural work of the Association.

The first application by the Federation of Yugoslav Workers’ Educational Clubs to publish a weekly newspaper, which would consist of four pages in the Serbo-Croat language, was refused by the Attorney-General’s Department in 1935. There was a strong suspicion at the time that the sponsors of the *Napredak* were a crypto-communist organization. The official licence was given in November 1936 and the first issue of the *Napredak* was published in January 1937. From this date, until just before the outbreak of World War II, the newspaper, while opposing the Royal Yugoslav government and supporting left-wing movements in Australia, did not adopt a pronounced communist policy. During the critical months when the Western Powers were negotiating with the Soviet Union for a possible pact against the Axis Powers, the policy of the *Napredak* became violently anti-Chamberlain, and this tendency increased until the outbreak of war. When Finland was invaded by Soviet Russia the paper gave full support to the U.S.S.R. As the result of a progressive adoption of this pro-Russian attitude the *Napredak* was ordered to suspend publication in June 1940.

The publication of two of the above newspapers was resumed during the war. The *Napredak* reappeared in 1942 and *Il Risveglio* two years later. The reappearance of these newspapers and their continued existence beyond the years of the war provide a link between the phase in the history of the foreign-language press in Australia which ended in 1939 and the postwar period of unprecedented expansion.

The phase in the history of the foreign-language press surveyed in this chapter spans a period of nearly ninety years from the day when the four-page tabloid monthly, *Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien*, appeared in Adelaide. Its story up to 1939 is significant because it illustrates a tremendous degree of enterprise and industry on the part of publishers and editors. We have already observed that one of the characteristic features of the foreign-language press is its high mortality — a fact certainly borne out by many of the examples given
in this chapter. This is understandable if one takes into account the fact that throughout the period under discussion the number of non-British foreign-born in Australia never exceeded 80,000 or 2.5 per cent of the total population, which was the highest proportion recorded in the 1891 Colonial Censuses. With the numbers of potential subscribers greatly limited, the circulation of the principal papers was never very large and publishing never a lucrative venture. In these circumstances, the longevity of some of the newspapers is even more noteworthy.

After World War II, of course, came the period of large-scale immigration of non-British settlers, when conditions were very different for the nourishment of a foreign-language press. A major purpose of the chapters that follow is to analyse the pattern of its development and also to consider the role it plays in the integration of settlers to the host society.
Post-World War II Immigrants and their Press

At the end of World War II only a handful of foreign-language newspapers was in circulation. Some of them, as for example, *Le Courrier Australien*, *Phos*, *National Tribune*, and the *Hellenic Herald*, were organs of the old established groups of settlers whose political loyalty to the cause of the Allies could have never been in doubt during the years of the war. Others, like the radical *Napredak* and *Il Risveglio*, reappeared during the war as a result of pressure from left-wing groups. In addition a stencilled monthly and, later, fortnightly bulletin under the title *Wiadomosci Polskie* [Polish News] was published by the Polish Consulate General in Sydney from 1942 for circulation among Polish refugees.1 The publication of this bulletin and the changes of its appearance and control foreshadowed a new phase in the development of the foreign-language press in Australia which was to begin less than three years after the end of the war.

In the postwar years only two foreign-language newspapers made their appearance before 1948, the year which marked the beginning of a large scale immigration program aiming to add annually one per cent to the population of Australia. As a ratio of the population at the close of the war, this meant a net immigration of some 70,000 a year. In fact this target was more than doubled in 1949 and 1950 and substantially exceeded in other years.2

A striking feature of postwar immigration has been the role of assisted immigration which, during the period June 1947 to June 1958, has accounted for more than half the total permanent arrivals. In contrast with the past century and a quarter, the majority of the assisted

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1 The publication of the bulletin remained under the control of the Polish authorities until December 1945 when the Consulate was closed down. An editorial board, appointed by the Polish Democratic Society, assumed responsibility for the bulletin and issues continued until December 1947 when the publication was temporarily suspended.

2 Net permanent migration (i.e. excess of permanent arrivals over departures) was 12,186 in 1947, 48,468 in 1948, 149,270 in 1949, and rose to an all time record of 153,685 in 1950. During the following quinquennium the average annual net permanent intake amounted to 84,500 persons. For details of this movement see W. D. Borrie, 'The Growth of the Australian Population with Particular Reference to the Period Since 1947', *Population Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, July 1959, pp.4-18.
settlers were not from the British Isles but from several countries of Continental Europe. Approximately half of these settlers were Displaced Persons, and amongst these the Poles were by far the largest group. The Dutch were the largest group of non-British assisted immigrants for the whole period 1945-58, followed by the Germans, Italians, and Poles.

To complete the picture of postwar immigration it is necessary to add those paying full fares to the assisted category. When this is done the ranking of non-British national groups amongst the permanent arrivals shows the Italians to be by far the most numerous, followed by the Dutch, Germans, Greeks, Poles, Yugoslavs, and Hungarians. Former nationals of the Baltic countries (Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia) as well as other East European groups (Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Russians, and Ukrainians) have all contributed to the ethnic pattern of migration since 1947.3

**The Displaced Persons and their Press**

The first contingents of Displaced Persons to arrive in Australia from Germany in 1948 were mainly former nationals of the Baltic States. In addition several transports of former Polish ex-servicemen arrived in Tasmania from Britain and Italy. It was amongst these people that the first roneoed publications were started in order to inform the settlers about the social and cultural activities of migrant associations, religious services, and local conditions. A digest of foreign news as well as English lessons were frequent features of such publications.

At first the bulletins were local affairs serving the needs of specific settlements or migrant camps, for example the *Australijos Lietuvis* [The Australian Lithuanian] which was published for the first time in September 1948 as a bi-weekly at the Migrant Holding Centre in Leigh Creek in South Australia, or the *Nasze Wiadomosci*, a monthly organ of the Polish branch of the Rats of Tobruk Association employed in construction camps of the Hydro-Electric Authority in Tasmania.4

The greatly accelerated rate of migration by Displaced Persons in 1949 and 1950 brought about a transformation of local bulletins into what are termed here ‘mass circulation papers’.5 In some cases the transformation coincided with a move from a migrant centre to a big city.

The Polish Catholic weekly, the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, exemplifies this transformation. It was first issued in July 1949 as a small roneoed

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3Ibid., p.9. See also Appendix B, Tables 8 and 11.

4Twelve monthly issues of the *Nasze Wiadomosci* were published between January and December 1949. The bulletin never circulated outside Tasmania.

5As defined in the Preface. The mass circulation press consists of printed newspapers devoted to general information, primarily weeklies. Such papers have a substantial list of subscribers (usually not confined to one city or state) and an income from advertising.
bulletin by the Polish chaplain at the Migrant Reception Centre in Bathurst, N.S.W. As the original subscribers left the Centre and settled throughout Australia they continued to read the bulletin and support it financially. New subscribers were found during the editor's pastoral visits to Adelaide and Melbourne. In June 1951, the Tygodnik Katolicki appeared as 2,500 copies of a printed newspaper. In March 1954 the editor, Fr Trzeciak, purchased a printing plant and transferred his paper to Melbourne. By that time circulation had risen to 3,500.

The Lithuanian Australijos Lietuvis went through the period of transformation even faster. Two years after its foundation the paper was transferred to Adelaide and reappeared as an attractively printed tabloid fortnightly, set and produced by a Lithuanian publishing company.

Each of the major national groups started at least one mass circulation newspaper in circumstances similar to the Tygodnik Katolicki and the Australijos Lietuvis. The Ukrainians first published a roneoed bulletin, the Vilna Dumka [Free Thought], in Berry, N.S.W., in July 1949. Twelve months later it was published as a printed newspaper from Sydney. The Estonian weekly Mete Kodu [Our Home] has been published by the Estonian House in Sydney since August 1949. The first Latvian paper was the Australijas Latvietis [Australian Latvian] which appeared as a weekly in Melbourne in March 1949 and was still being published in 1965. Melbourne has also been the home of the Czech fortnightly, Hlas Domova. The paper was first published in January 1950 as a roneoed bulletin and from July 1951 it appeared in print. The Yugoslav settlers started a weekly paper under the title, Sloga [Unity], the first issue of which appeared in Perth in March 1950. As the title suggests the main concern of this tabloid printed paper of four pages was to promote political unity between the left-wing group in control of the Napredak and the recent arrivals with their strong right-wing political sympathies.

The Yugoslavs were not the only ethnic group amongst the former Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe who supported two mass circulation newspapers. The foreign-language press followed the immigrants who were concentrating in the state capitals. New papers were started

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6The first issue consisted of 6 pages and was stencilled in 230 copies. The story of the Tygodnik Katolicki is told by its founder and first editor, Fr K. E. Trzeciak, C.M., in the tenth anniversary issue of the paper on 10 October 1959.

7Publication ceased in May 1956. In 1965 the principal Lithuanian newspaper in Australia was the weekly Musu Pastoge [Our Haven] published in Sydney since January 1949.

8See pp.23, 147-9.

9In June 1954 the proportion of persons resident in urban areas of Australia and born in Central and Eastern Europe was well in excess of the Australian norm, i.e. 77-9 per cent. Only the Dutch and the Italian immigrants amongst the remaining groups had a lower proportion in that category (74-4 per cent and 73-1 per cent respectively). See J. Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia: a Demographic Survey Based upon the 1954 Census (Melbourne, 1960), pp.69-78.
primarily to meet the needs of immigrants in a particular city but often in competition with the existing interstate publications. This practice did not necessarily favour the continued existence of multiple organs in one language.

The Polish press is one example of such a proliferation. Four months before the first roneoed issue of the Tygodnik Katolicki made its appearance in Bathurst, in July 1949, the Sydney bulletin, the Wiadomosci Polskie was revived. It went from strength to strength and was first issued as a printed tabloid weekly in January 1951 under the auspices of the Polish Association in New South Wales. In the meantime, however, a Polish weekly, the Echo, appeared in Perth in January 1950 and was published regularly as a printed tabloid newspaper until its last issue on 15 June 1952.10 Melbourne had a roneoed Polish bulletin, the Glos Polski, between May and July 1950. The Glos Polski was revived as a printed monthly in January 1952 and published on that basis until June. In August 1952 it reappeared as a fortnightly until its amalgamation with the Sydney Wiadomosci Polskie in January 1953.

The Brisbane Polish weekly, the Polonia, had an even shorter life. It was first published in a stencilled form for five months from November 1951. In April 1952 it changed its title to Tygodnik Polski and became a weekly Polish-language supplement of the Brisbane Catholic Leader. This arrangement lasted until October 1953. Finally, the Polish people in Adelaide launched a fortnightly paper, the Nasza Droga, in December 1952. The paper is still in existence though its circulation is largely restricted to South Australia. The Tygodnik Katolicki11 and the Wiadomosci Polskie, on the other hand, circulate all over Australia.12

Six more monthly issues were published after July 1952 under a modified title, the Echo - Opowiadania : Polski Magazyn Ilustrowany [Echo - Stories : a Polish illustrated magazine]. The Echo was one of the few D.P. newspapers that appeared in print from the first issue. It had strong business backing from its publisher and editor, L. Tabaczynski, and in this sense is an exception amongst the early organs of the former Displaced Persons. These newspapers were not launched as commercial ventures but as organs of social, political, or religious groups. Their transformation into business enterprises occurred some years after they had been launched when the sponsoring group found itself unable to subsidize the newspapers.

Renamed the Tygodnik Polski in January 1965. The new title emphasizes the secular character of the former Polish Catholic weekly, since 1959 under the control of a lay editor. It also suggests that the two principal Polish papers in Australia are very much alike in editorial policy and appeal, roughly, to a similar kind of audience. The Tygodnik Polski is owned by its present editor, Mr R. Gronowski.

Owned by the Polish Association in New South Wales and leased to the editor, Mr J. Dunin-Karwicki, who operates it for profit. Current circulation figures for most foreign-language publications in Australia are not available. According to the Commonwealth Advertising Division the circulation of the Wiadomosci Polskie and the Tygodnik Katolicki in June 1961 was 8,500 and 4,000 respectively. A report in the Sydney weekly, the Observer (‘Going Broke’, 21 January 1961), confirms the latter figure but gives the circulation of the Wiadomosci Polskie as 5,000. The same source speaks of the Nasza Droga ‘and its 800 readers’. See also pp.132-6 and Table 7.
Another example of the trend toward consolidation on a national level is the Ukrainian press. In addition to the Sydney newspaper, the *Vilna Dumka*, another weekly newspaper was also started in 1949 in Adelaide, the *Yednist* [Concord]. Adelaide was the home of two other Ukrainian periodicals, the *Nash Holos*, a weekly paper of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (established in 1952), and the *Perets*, a monthly humorous journal (established in 1950). Another Ukrainian Orthodox Church paper was the monthly *Tserkovnii Vestnik* established in Sydney in 1952. A year later a monthly magazine, the *Slovo*, appeared in Sydney.

None of the above papers, with the exception of the *Vilna Dumka*, lasted more than a few years. The *Yednist* was transferred to Melbourne but ceased in 1956. The *Perets* was discontinued in 1952, while the monthly publications in Sydney lasted only a year. In 1965 there were three well established Ukrainian newspapers in Australia. The *Vilna Dumka* has nation-wide circulation and appeals to all shades of political opinion as well as the two main religious denominations amongst the Ukrainian minority in Australia. A Melbourne fortnightly, the *Ukrainets v Australii* (established in 1956) has a circulation largely restricted to Victoria. The third Ukrainian periodical is the quarterly organ of the Apostolic Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholics in Australia, the *Tzerkva i Zyttia*, established in 1960.

The example of the Polish and Ukrainian press illustrates the process of transformation which by and large was typical of other D.P. groups in Australia. From a proliferation of essentially local, roneoed, and later printed, newspapers in the early stages of its history the press of the former Displaced Persons was transformed into a national press with circulation extending to all the places of settlement throughout Australia.

The Hungarian press is an exception to this pattern. There has never been a consolidation of local papers into national ones. The proliferation of small papers has persisted since the first camp bulletin in the Hungarian language, the *Tarogato*, appeared at the Greta Migrant Centre near Sydney. This has resulted in permanent instability and high death rate in the Hungarian press. In spite of this characteristic, however, the numbers of mass circulation newspapers, religious magazines and club magazines, and other specialized publications have continued to increase from year to year.

Two factors have been at work here: first, the political splits amongst the Hungarian immigrants that have divided them into a number of factions ranging all the way from the former adherents of the Hungarista Party on the extreme right to the left-of-centre liberals and members of the Social Democratic Party; this division was reinforced after 1956 with the arrival of some 14,000 refugees of the Revolution. The second factor has been the religious division among the Catholics, the Reformed

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13The *Nash Holos* ceased in April 1965.
Churches and the Lutherans. Each of these groups and factions in the Hungarian community has been intent on producing its own paper. An unusually high proportion of intellectuals amongst the Hungarian émigrés in Australia must have played an important role in this development.14

Of the newspapers published by the extreme right-wing political groups the Sydney fortnightly *Becsulettel* (1955-8) and its successor, the *Sorsunk*, with an English-language sub-title, 'Newspaper of Anti-Bolshevist Hungarians', is worthy of note. The controlling group of this newspaper is the St Stephen Association in Sydney and it is supported by the Hungarista Party.15 Another newspaper with strong rightist political sympathies was *A Hid* [The Bridge], a weekly published in Melbourne in 1953 and 1954. It was revived in 1963 under the title *Victorvai Magyarsag* and renamed the *Ausztraliai Magyarsag* in 1964.

A Hungarian newspaper which underwent a succession of transformations is the fortnightly *Fuggetlen Magyarorszag* [Free Hungary]. It was originally founded as the *Del Keresztje* [Southern Cross] in 1951. In 1952 it merged with the Melbourne fortnightly, the *Magyar Harangok* [Hungarian Bells] which had been going since 1950. In January 1957 the title was changed to the present one. The paper evidently is widely read by the Hungarian people all over Australia. One other paper that is not connected with a specific political group and has a distinctly liberal tinge is the *Magyar Elet* [Hungarian Life], a weekly published in Melbourne since 1960.

The fragmentation, so typical of Hungarian mass circulation papers, is also evident in the religious press. Not only is each religious group intent on publishing a paper but often separate congregations produce bulletins for their members.16

Catholic publications include a weekly newspaper, the *Ausztralai Magyar Ujsag*, published in Melbourne since 1950, as well as four monthly magazines published for the local Hungarian congregations by their chaplains in Melbourne (*Regnum Marianum*, established 1952), Sydney (*Romai Katolikus Magyar*, established 1954),17 Adelaide

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14 The proportion of Hungarian-born males in the workforce shown in the 'Professional' category was 9-6 per cent according to the 1961 Census. The corresponding figures for other East European groups are: Latvians 11-0, Estonians 10-7, Lithuanians 7-2, Poles 4-0.

15 The supporters of the Hungarista Party have also published since 1951 a roneoed bulletin, the *Hungarista Tajekoztato* [Hungarian Gazette] in Melbourne. The Sydney group of the same organization issued the *Tajekoztato* at various times between 1956 and 1959.

16 The percentage breakdown according to religion of Hungarian-born persons in the 1961 Census was as follows: Catholics 55-70, Reformed Church 6-16, Lutheran 3-54, Hebrew 10-35, other religions 7-67, indefinite and no reply 16-58. See Appendix B, Table 10.

17 This official circular of the Hungarian Catholic Chaplain for New South Wales, like other bulletins published by the clergy and listed here, contains in each issue a theological article, a homily, and the report of the priest. Its research value lies in reports which list baptisms, marriages, and funerals.
Post-World War II Immigrants and their Press

(Mindszenty Egyesulet Ertesitoje, established 1951) and Brisbane (Regnum Marianum, established 1954).18 The Reformed Church has fewer adherents amongst the Hungarian immigrants in Australia than the Catholic Church and fewer publications. A fortnightly newspaper, with general as well as church news, the Uj Elet [New Life], was first published by a Hungarian clergyman in the Bonegilla Migrant Camp in 1950 and a year later was transferred to Sydney where it continued until 1955. A local Hungarian Reformed Church congregation in Sydney publishes a mimeographed bulletin, the New South Walesi Magyar Reformatus Egyhaz Korlevele which was established in 1958.19 In Adelaide the Hungarian Reformed Church Congregation attached to St Andrews Presbyterian Church in North Unley issues a monthly bulletin, the Egyhazi Ertesito. Finally, two mimeographed monthly bulletins serve the needs of the Lutheran congregations in Sydney (Hitbol Elunk, established in 1955) and in Perth (Perthi Ev. Ref. Egyhazkozseg Tudositoja, established in 1953).20

The Southern European Press

Unlike the press of the Displaced Persons of Eastern Europe, the Southern European newspapers in Australia have a long tradition going back to 1904, as we saw in Chapter 1. The story of their development since the beginning of post-World War II immigration is an impressive record of the consolidation of existing, as well as the founding of new, mass circulation newspapers and specialized publications. It is interesting to note that both the Greek and Italian newspapers did not pass through the series of metamorphoses in their make-up that was so characteristic of the D.P. press. Without exception all the principal mass circulation newspapers listed here have made an appearance as printed papers, designed for national circulation and not for local migrant communities. All have stressed advertising right from the start and are operated for profit.

The main difference between the Greek and Italian presses lies in the partisan appeal of the former as compared with the predominantly non-political character of the latter. The references to 'partisan' leanings

18Another specifically Catholic publication was the Hitunk [Our Faith] of which nine issues were published in 1952 as a supplement of the Del Keresztje.
19Another Reformed Church publication in Sydney was the Uzenet [Message]. Only two issues were published in 1960.
20The above list of mass circulation newspapers and religious magazines does not include a cultural monthly magazine, the Tukor, established in Sydney in 1963, and several bulletins issued for specific interest groups, such as the Kepes Magazin, an attractively printed and illustrated monthly published since 1959 by the Hungarian Theatrical Club in Sydney, or the Keleti Figyelo (established in 1960), the quarterly bulletin of the Turan Historical Society and the Magyar Scientific Society in Melbourne. Three monthly bulletins devoted exclusively to sport should also be mentioned: Magyar Sport (Sydney), Sportvilag (Melbourne), and Budapest Sportklub Tudositoja (Adelaide).
of the Greek newspapers are, of course, made with relation to Greek
domestic politics. As will be shown in Chapter 9 the orientation of the
Greek press tends to perpetuate political conflicts and rifts of the Greek
domestic scene. By contrast, the Italian press, with one exception, is
overwhelmingly non-political. The issues that separate the editors of
the principal Italian newspapers concern rather their attitudes to assimila-
tion, the need for retention of certain Italian national features, and the
like.21

It has been noted already that three Greek newspapers, the Phos, the
National Tribune, and the Hellenic Herald, continued publication
through the years of the war, thus satisfying the needs of Greek settlers
in New South Wales and Victoria as well as in other states. Of the three
newspapers, the Melbourne Phos has always described itself as the
‘official organ of the Greeks in Australia’ and has invariably supported
the Greek royal family and the Greek right-wing governments. The
two Sydney papers, the National Tribune and the Hellenic Herald, seem
very much alike in their neutral and detached attitude to Greek domestic
politics and, as will be argued later, are equally vehement in urging the
Greek settlers to become Australian citizens. The only point of differ-
ence is their attitude to the Greek Orthodox Church. The National
Tribune supports the Church and deplores divisions within it. The
Hellenic Herald takes the anti-clerical line and, at best, refuses to
recognize the Church’s authority.22

Even before the end of the war an attempt was made to launch a
distinctly ‘leftist’ Greek newspaper. That was the Australian Greek,
which was registered in Melbourne in August 1944. The publication
was delayed, however, until November 1949 because of newsprint
shortage.

The paper was originally planned as a bilingual publication and in
the words of its publisher and editor, Mr G. Tollis, it was ‘to circulate
throughout Australia and try to satisfy the wishes and aspirations of
all Greeks: the migrants (through the Greek Section) as well as their
sons and daughters (through the English Section)’. The policy of the
paper was itemized by the editor as follows: ‘(1) to be purely an
Australian paper – never to indulge in Greek politics but simply to
report news of general interest; (2) to be a Labour newspaper for
Greeks in Australia, adhering to the principles and platform of the

21See Chapters 4 and 5.
22The difference in attitudes is seen in the treatment of one specific news
item, namely the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Greek Orthodox Com-

munity of New South Wales on 29 September 1963. The community has broken
off relations with the officially recognized Greek Orthodox Church in Australia
and resolved not to recognize its authority. The National Tribune reported this
on its front page (2 October 1963) under the title ‘We Grieve’. The Hellenic
Herald (30 October 1963) coupled the announcement with an editorial
justifying the action of the community. See also pp.117-18.
A.L.P.; ... (4) to unify all Greek sections by presenting the A.L.P. as the middle-of-the-road party and one that satisfies the ideals of the most; ... (5) to help, educate and later induce the new emigrants to become naturalized and good citizens of Australia; (6) to invite the Australians of Greek descent to write articles for the English Section on sports, social activities and cultural matters while noted Australians in politics, literature, science, law, administration, etc. will be asked to state their views'.

The *Australian Greek* did not live up to the expectations of its founder and editor. The paper never became 'purely an Australian newspaper'. From the start it became an organ of the more 'leftist' elements of the Greek community in Melbourne and therefore a political enemy of the 'rightist' elements and their organ, the *Phos*. Throughout its turbulent history the *Australian Greek* indulged in every possible form of controversy on Greek domestic issues including the Macedonian problem, Cyprus, Greek participation in the activities of the A.L.P. as well as internal disputes within the Greek community in Melbourne. In January 1957 the control of the paper passed to an even more radically-minded group that reissued the paper a month later in the same large format but under a new title, the *Neos Kosmos* [New World].

Undaunted by the loss of control over the *Australian Greek*, its former editor launched, on 18 October 1958, a new mass circulation newspaper, the *Elliniki Foni* [Greek Voice]. This new venture made history in the publication of foreign-language papers in Australia for it was announced as a daily newspaper. Its English-language sub-title – 'Non-communist, independent newspaper expressing the official view of the Greek government and enjoying the support of the Greek community in Australia' – is a reflection on the change in the political sympathies of the former editor of the *Australian Greek*. In spite of its appeal to the rank and file of the Greek community in Australia the *Elliniki Foni* was not a success. It was published three times a week and lasted less than two months. The last issue appeared on 27 November 1958. A successor to the *Elliniki Foni* was a weekly, the *Ethnos*, established in April 1959 with a sub-title 'Non-communist, loyal to Australia, following the news and nationalistic policies of the Greek government'. The paper ceased publication in August 1961.

While Mr Tollis's journalistic ventures were quite clearly not successful, another middle-of-the-road Greek newspaper, the *Pyrsos* [The Torch], has obviously attracted and retained an appreciable proportion of Greek readers. The *Pyrsos* was founded as a weekly in September 1958 and, a year later, was said to have a circulation higher than any

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23Letter from Mr G. Tollis, publisher and editor, to Hon. A. A. Calwell, Minister for Immigration, dated 19 May 1947. Copy of the letter is kept by Mr Tollis in his Melbourne office.

24Mr Tollis was listed as editor in the first issue.
Greek paper in Victoria. In November 1963 the paper became a bi-weekly. The factors responsible for its success were not only the low price of sixpence per copy but the paper's appeal to the mass of Greek readers who were comparatively less interested in politics but more in world and local news as well as sport. The Pyrsos is strongly anti-communist but at the same time favours the Australian Labor Party and not the Liberal-Country Party coalition. Such reporting of Australian domestic politics is, however, more than counterbalanced by overseas and world sporting news as well as feature articles on art, history, religion, and education.

Three other mass circulation Greek newspapers should be listed: one current (Ta Nea) and two that have ceased publication (Hellenic Australian News and Greek Australian News). Ta Nea [The News] was established as a weekly in November 1961 in Melbourne and is edited by the former editor of the Greek Australian News, of which only two issues were published in Melbourne in 1954. The Hellenic Australian News was the only Greek newspaper in Australia which was published in Brisbane (1950-2).

Finally, a Greek fortnightly – and later, monthly – literary magazine, the Oikogenia [Family], deserves a mention. The magazine was founded in 1951 and circulates from Melbourne throughout Australia.

This survey of the contemporary Greek press in Australia has highlighted its rapid growth since the early 1950s. Much of this development must have been accelerated by the increase in the number of the Greek-born persons which, in Australia as a whole, more than trebled in the intercensal period 1954-61. The rate of increase was even greater in the metropolitan area of Melbourne, the home of three prominent Greek weekly newspapers. The later chapters will have more to say on the editorial attitudes of selected Greek newspapers. At this stage only one general point needs to be stressed, that is the pronounced pro-Labor character of some of the Greek newspapers and particularly the Neos Kosmos and its predecessor, the Australian Greek, as well as the Pyrsos. What these papers say with relation to Australian politics is, of course, a reflection of their attitude to Greek domestic politics. In this sense the polemical character of a significant section of the Greek press perpetuates political divisions among the Greek settlers. This is not,

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25J. A. Petrolias, in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Post-war Greek and Italian Migrants in Melbourne (University of Melbourne, 1959, p.171) estimated this to be 4,000 copies in the first year of the paper's existence. In 1963-4 the circulation was reported to be 16,000.

26According to Petrolias, circulation of the Oikogenia is 2,000. The magazine appeals to 'better educated Greeks who are also ethnic leaders' (ibid., p.185).

27The number rose from 25,862 in 1954 to 77,323 in 1961. See also Appendix B, Tables 8 and 11.

28The rate of increase was from 5,597 Greek-born persons in 1954 to 28,917 in 1961, or a five-fold increase.
however, true of the majority of Greek weeklies which try to give an equally impartial account of Greek and Australian political scenes.

The evidence presented to this point suggests that political fragmentation is the main characteristic of the Greek-language press in Australia. The same cannot be said, however, about the Italian press which, since the demise in January 1957 of the radical Il Nuovo Risveglio, a successor of Il Risveglio, has included only one paper with a distinctly political flavour, Il Progresso Italo-Australiano, the official organ of the Italian-Australian Labour Council in Melbourne. There are no marked distinctions among the four mass circulation papers La Fiamma, Il Corriere d’Australia, Il Globo, and the Settegiorni. The founder of La Fiamma was Father Anastasio Paoletti, an American-born Capuchine priest of Italian descent, who has had considerable experience of pastoral work amongst the Italian settlers in the United States. He and a group of three other Capuchine priests were brought to Australia by the Archbishop of Sydney, Cardinal Gilroy, and established a monastery in Leichhardt. The original plan called for the foundation of a religious monthly magazine which was to circulate amongst the Italian communities throughout Australia. The first issue of La Fiamma was published in April 1947.

The paper was not a success at first. Father Anastasio, who was the first editor, soon realized that he could never build up circulation and influence his readers if he preserved the purely religious character of the paper.

About two years after we started our newspaper I realized that it was doomed to failure. I discovered that by devoting it entirely to religious affairs we would not attract a wide readership. About that time I came across an Italian adage, Chi informa-forma. This can be translated briefly as ‘he who gives the news also educates’. As soon as I read that quotation I realized I had got to have the news in my paper in order to have it read by people who would otherwise not like to read it. From then on it was all plain sailing and when Constanzo took over he easily implemented the policy of devoting the newspaper

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See p.22.

This monthly paper, edited by Mr G. di Salvo, has one full page in English and presents its readers with the viewpoint of the Australian Labor Party. (See pp.151-2).

Some differences in editorial policy and news presentation will be discussed in Chapters 4-8.

Two other Italian-language mass circulation newspapers which were started after World War II did not last very long. The first of these was La Rivista Italiana, an illustrated fortnightly magazine which appeared in Melbourne between June 1957 and June 1958. The second was the Eco Italiano, a weekly newspaper in Perth which was published between June 1958 and February 1959.

The number of Italian-born persons enumerated in the Commonwealth Census of June 1947 was 33,600. See also Appendix B, Tables 8 and 11.

Permission to publish the paper was sought in 1946 under the name L’Apostolo.
largely to news but news presented objectively in a true Christian spirit.\textsuperscript{35}

Mr E. Constanzo, who took over as editor in August 1951, was a former member of the editorial staff of the Turin daily \textit{La Stampa}. Under his guidance the paper changed its format from a small magazine to a tabloid of 24 to 30 pages and increased circulation from approximately 2,000 weekly to the present bi-weekly total of 44,000.\textsuperscript{36} A very wide news coverage combined with editorial comment as well as short stories and special interest pages are features of this paper which rightly claims to have 'the largest audited circulation of any foreign-language newspaper in Australia'.\textsuperscript{37}

The second Italian mass circulation paper was \textit{Il Corriere d'Australia} which was established in February 1953. It was founded by the late Giuseppe A. Luciano, a successful Italian businessman, shipping agent and, later, tutor in Italian at the Institute of Modern Languages in Brisbane. He travelled all over Queensland and, according to the testimony of his son Antonio, 'knew every single family in the cane fields and the tobacco growing areas'.\textsuperscript{38} Until 1961 when it ceased, the main strength of the circulation of \textit{Il Corriere} was in North Queensland where the paper continued the traditions of the \textit{Italo-Australian}.\textsuperscript{39}

The third major Italian newspaper, \textit{II Globo}, circulates mainly in Melbourne and Victoria where it caters for the rapidly increasing population of Italian settlers.\textsuperscript{40} A Sydney edition of the paper was first published in 1963. Edited by a professional journalist, Ubaldo Larobina, \textit{II Globo} has steadily progressed since its foundation in 1959 and reached a circulation of 20,000 in 1963. An average issue runs into twenty or more pages, about as many as the midweek edition of \textit{La Fiamma}. There is one interesting point of contrast, however. After an initial period of some years as a broadsheet \textit{La Fiamma} has been published as a tabloid since October 1956. Its makeup and distribution of

\textsuperscript{35}Interview with Fr Anastasio Paoletti, 25 July 1961.

\textsuperscript{36}In 1957 Mr Constanzo started a special edition of his newspaper under the name of \textit{La Fiamma della Domenica}. This was a flop. It lasted only nine months and the company lost heavily. The reason for its failure, according to Mr Constanzo, was that \textit{La Fiamma della Domenica} was only a magazine and contained no news. After this he introduced the Saturday edition which is a greater success. Its circulation is higher than that of the Wednesday edition, probably because many Italians flock to the cities at weekends and buy their paper in the Italian shops. Christmas and Easter circulation of the Saturday edition goes up by 4,000 and the number of pages is increased to between 40 and 60 per issue.

\textsuperscript{37}For content analysis of \textit{La Fiamma} see Chapter 4, and for a summary of circulation figures see Table 7, p.143.

\textsuperscript{38}Interview, 20 October 1961.

\textsuperscript{39}See p.18.

\textsuperscript{40}The number of Italian-born persons in Victoria rose from 73,800 in 1954 to 91,000 in 1961. The corresponding increase in the Metropolitan Area of Melbourne was from 29,900 to 42,400. See also Appendix B, Tables 8 and 11.
news items, editorial page and other technical details are much as in the popular Australian press. *Il Globo*, on the other hand, continues traditions of the more dignified and conservative sections of the European press: its size is that of a broadsheet, large headlines are carefully avoided, and sub-editing is not overdone; editorial comment is published on the front page (see Plates VII and VIII).

Like the former Displaced Persons the Italians developed their own religious press. Some of these monthly magazines circulate throughout Australia and like *L'Angelo Della Famiglia*, a tabloid monthly published first in Sydney in 1943 and then in Melbourne from 1949, have had a longer run than the mass circulation papers. Another such magazine is the *Squilli Mariani* which, according to its editor Fr Boniface, is 'distributed in every Catholic parish throughout Australia for the use of all Italian families'. Three essentially local religious magazines should also be mentioned: *La Campana*, established in 1958 by the priest who ministers to the Italian settlers in the Australian Capital Territory and the adjacent part of New South Wales; *L'Emigrante*, which is published in Yarraville, Victoria and in the words of its editor is intended 'to assist Italian migrants to understand Australia and the Australians as well as instruct them in the religious and social fields'; and *Il Messaggero*, a monthly parish newsletter issued in Richmond, Victoria. The latter was at first a bilingual publication which regularly devoted a significant proportion of space to notices and articles in the English language for the children of the settlers who do not read Italian.

*The Rebirth of the German Press*

With the closing down of *Die Bruecke* and the *Queenslander Herald* in 1939 the German-language press in Australia went out of existence for nearly fifteen years. There was an unsuccessful attempt in Perth in 1952 to establish a German weekly, *Der Australische Spiegel*, but it lasted less than six months. The rebirth, of what in the previous generation was the largest and best organized ethnic press, had to await the arrival of a new wave of German settlers.

6The fourth Italian mass circulation newspaper, the *Settegiorni*, made its appearance in December 1962. It describes itself as 'the most widely circulated Italian newspaper in Sydney' and is published weekly. Overseas news, sport, and local events are the main topics. All four Italian newspapers in this category are operated for profit. *La Fiamma* is owned by a religious order; the other papers are owned by private companies.

7The magazine was transferred back to Sydney in 1957 where it has been appearing under the title *La Croce del Sud*.

6Only one German church paper survived the first year of World War II: *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote* (see p.12).

6The numbers of German nationals arriving in Australia exceeded 2,000 for the first time in 1951. From then on there was a steady increase which reached a peak of 12,980 in 1954. Austrian nationals also contributed some 18,700 arrivals to the number of German-speaking immigrants. See Appendix B, Tables 8, 9, and 11.
The year 1954, which marks the peak of German postwar migration to Australia, saw the rebirth of the German press. Two weekly newspapers were founded in July 1954: the Neue Welt in Melbourne and Der Anker in Sydney. A year later, a Lutheran monthly, Der Bethlehems Bote, appeared in Adelaide, thus restoring the link between the Lutheran press of the German settlers before World War II. In 1957 Die Woche in Australien was launched in Sydney with subsidiaries in Adelaide (Adelaider Post) and Melbourne (Die Woche in Melbourne).

The editorial policies and attitudes of the German newspapers in Australia will be discussed in Chapters 5 to 8; at this stage only one distinguishing feature of this press should be mentioned. The reborn German-language press today can hardly be described as a continuation of the press that thrived in Australia between 1848 and 1939. The contemporary German newspapers address themselves mainly to post-World War II immigrants from Germany and other German-speaking countries such as Austria and Switzerland, as well as many German-speaking persons amongst the settlers from Central and Eastern Europe. There is very little in the German press today that would specifically interest a descendant of an earlier generation of German settlers. The owners and editors of the Neue Welt and Der Anker are not German-born and they seem less interested in Germany as a political entity than in German as a language and a means of communication.

The Dutch Press

There was only a handful of persons of Dutch birth when the post-World War II immigration got under way in 1947-8, but the numbers built up quickly and by the time of the 1954 Census 42,000 persons born in the Netherlands were enumerated in Australia. At the 1961 Census the number was almost doubled and stood at 102,000.

The evidence relating to such relatively large ethnic groups as, for example, the Poles, the Greeks, and the Italians suggests that a substantial immigration movement from one country over a period of a decade or so is conducive to the growth of what we have termed here mass circulation press. This rule, however, does not seem to apply to the immigrants from the Netherlands, who support only one paper in that category, the Dutch Australian Weekly founded in 1951. Between 1955 and 1961 there appeared a second Dutch weekly newspaper, De Nieuwe Wereld, but it did not succeed in obtaining permanent support. No more successful was the Holland-Australia Post, which started in November 1962 but had to suspend publication in May 1965.

Whilst the Dutch as a group clearly do not have a need for a Dutch-

46 These include a proportion of the Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria who arrived in Australia in the late 1930s. According to the editor of the Neue Welt some 25 per cent of his circulation is amongst the Jewish people in the suburb of St Kilda in Melbourne. (Interview with Dr Mark Siegelberg, 22 March 1956.)
language mass circulation press they nevertheless support a large variety of local magazines and club bulletins as well as a large number of church magazines. Some of the local magazines have been set up with the expressed purpose of maintaining contact and giving information to Dutch settlers in certain places, for instance The Bridge (1954-5) in Brisbane, Je Maintiendrai (established 1957) in Adelaide, or the Mededelingen Ned. Vereniging “Abel Tasman” (1952-5) in Hobart. Others are simply club bulletins with restricted circulation like De Stuw, the monthly stencilled organ of the Nederlands Australische Vereniging in Illawarra, which has been in existence since 1952, or the official organ of the Dutch soccer club in Perth, the Sportblad S.C. “Windmills” (established 1958).

Each of the three main religious denominations of the Dutch settlers publishes a number of magazines for national circulation as well as for local congregations. Thus the Dutch Catholics support a monthly magazine distributed throughout Australia, the Onze Gids, established in 1950. Examples of local Catholic bulletins are the Contact in Perth (established 1955) and Het Kompas in Sydney. The Dutch Reformed Church has published since 1953 the Nederlands Kerkwerk, a monthly with a national circulation of 8,000 and with stencilled supplements in each state. The Reformed Churches of Australia and New Zealand issue magazines in four states where there are substantial numbers of their adherents: De Schakel (established 1953) in Western Australia, the Contact (1952-60) in Victoria, the Kerkelijk Orgaan (established 1953) in Tasmania, and the Kerke Brief (established in 1951) in New South Wales. A small breakaway Dutch church, the Free Reformed Church of Australia, sponsors a fortnightly bulletin, Una Sancta, published in Tasmania since 1953.

**Australian Government and the Foreign-language Press**

The large volume of immigration since 1947 presented the Australian government with the problem of how to absorb such an unprecedented
number of settlers. Amongst the various aspects of this problem was
whether the publication of all foreign-language periodicals should be
subject to government control. A legal provision for such a control
existed under the Publication of Newspapers in Foreign Language
Regulations issued, at various times, under the War Precautions Act,
1920-8. The most direct rule in this regard was Regulation No. 13 of
25 January 1934 which specified 'the consent of the Prime Minister
or the person authorized by the Prime Minister to the publication of
a newspaper or periodical, or any portion thereof, in a foreign language'.

The main conditions under which consent for publication was granted
were:

(1) that nothing be published which was likely to foment disaffection
or sedition, or to cause a breach of the peace, was offensive or
objectionable, or was in conflict with the Government's policy
of assimilation of new settlers;

(2) that at least one quarter of the publication would be in English
and that the leading article (if any) would be in English, accom­
panied, if desired, by the respective foreign-language transla­
tion.40

The main drawback of the legislation was that it could not be policed.
Whilst it was relatively easy to insist that no foreign-language news­
paper should be issued without a permit (this was reinforced during the
years following World War II by the government-controlled system of
newsprint rationing), to insist on publication of a quarter of the text in
the English language was clearly impracticable. The government's inten­
tion in promulgating this regulation was to encourage the assimilation
of settlers into the Australian community. In practice, however, the
editors found themselves forced to use their precious space for items
which very few of their readers were likely to read. Some compromised
by publishing English lessons whilst others felt unable to observe the
rule in spite of occasional reminders from the Department of Immigra­
tion.

In October 1955 the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council
discussed the position and resolved to recommend to the Minister for
Immigration that the Publication of Newspapers in Foreign Languages
Regulations be repealed. Members of the Council argued that the
evidence before them suggested that 'because of the responsible manner
in which these publications were being produced, control no longer
seemed necessary'.50 The government accepted the recommendation and
the control was relinquished from 1 January 1956.

"Statement by the Department of Immigration in a letter dated 23 February
1962.

"Ibid. For a general discussion of the status of the foreign-language press
during the years following the beginning of the postwar immigration program
see Jean Craig, 'The Social Impact of New Australians' in H. E. Holt and others,
*Australia and the Migrant* (Sydney, 1953), pp.72-3.
Two years later the position was examined again by the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council which set up the Committee to Review Foreign Language Newspapers. The Committee was asked to make a survey of the foreign-language newspapers to see whether they were serving a useful purpose in assimilating the immigrants or whether there was any suggestion that the press had been utilized as a medium of propaganda subversive to Australia. Reporting the findings of the Committee the Chairman of the Council said that no trace of subversive activity had been found. He went on:

The sub-committee found the newspapers in general tending to assist in the assimilation of migrants. They provide a valuable safety valve for migrants for letting off their grievances. They tended to be critical of the preference we gave to British migrants and employment opportunities. They commented favourably on such things as citizenship conventions and the Queen Mother’s visit, and various aspects of Australian life.51

The implications of the above statement were unambiguous and represented an important stage in the development of the foreign-language press in Australia. One hundred and ten years had passed since the publication of the first ‘migrant’ newspaper in South Australia. For more than a century the foreign-language press was, at best, ignored by the Australian people, often suspect and subject to government control, at times proscribed. Now the press received what amounted to a formal recognition as a fully responsible and mature institution that had a vital role to play in the process of adjustment of the new settlers.52

The first, and most important, trend in the period under review is the growth of the mass circulation press. We have traced this development in all nationality groups and, in the process of doing so, have seen important ethnic differences in the number of newspapers published as well as in the extent to which these newspapers reflect internal divisions within each group. Two groups in particular stand out on this count:

aSydney Morning Herald, 23 July 1958.
bThe following editorial in Tygodnik Katolicki of 11 February 1956 illustrates how the foreign-language press reacted to the change of policy:

‘The foreign-language press in Australia now has equal rights with the English press. The Immigration Department notified editors of all foreign-language papers that from 1 January 1956 the obligation of obtaining a special permit to publish a non-English newspaper is no more binding. Also the order that a copy of every issue must be forwarded to the Commonwealth Investigation Service had been abolished . . . The lifting of restrictions obviously means that the Immigration Department is trusting the editors of the foreign-language newspapers, who throughout the years have demonstrated that they care not only for the welfare of their respective national groups, but for the interests of their adopted country as well.

‘We hope that all editors will keep up to this standard and will not betray the confidence of the Immigration Department which, otherwise, could restore the restrictions.’
the Greeks and the Hungarians. Both of these minorities support a relatively large mass circulation press diversified according to the main political and/or religious divisions. By contrast the Dutch settlers – the second largest non-British minority in Australia – have never supported more than two weekly papers that cannot possibly be compared in terms of their size and circulation with any of the Greek newspapers reviewed in this chapter.

An explanation of this contrast can be put, perhaps, in terms of a hypothesis relating to the cultural distance between the particular ethnic minority and the Australian community. The settlers from the Netherlands are culturally very close to the British Australians. They learn the English language quickly and attain outward assimilation without much difficulty. The Greeks and the Hungarians, on the other hand, are much further removed from British Australian culture. For this reason they struggle hard to preserve their language and other cultural characteristics. The support they give to their mass circulation press may be a reflection of this.

The contrast between the Greeks and the Hungarians, on the one hand, and the Dutch settlers on the other, may not be as clear cut as our hypothesis would suggest. This is seen when we examine the second major trend in development of the foreign-language press since World War II, that is the proliferation of the ‘little press’ in the form of church magazines, parish newsletters, bulletins of associations, clubs, and other special-interest groups. This chapter has shown ethnic differences in the extent to which various minority groups have developed their little press. Appendix C shows that while the bulletins of Dutch clubs and associations have a relatively short expectation of life, the Dutch church magazines published by the three main denominations seem more durable. It seems then that the cultural-distance hypothesis would have to be modified to allow for religious differences between the settler minority and the host society. The situation here is paralleled by the development, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, of a strong German-language press of the two main branches of the Lutheran Church as outlined in Chapter 1. In the chapters that follow further light will be thrown on this situation.

53Watson Kirkconnell (‘The European-Canadians in their Press’ in R. G. Riddell (ed.), Canadian Historical Association Report of the Annual Meeting held at London, Ontario : May 22-24, 1940 (Toronto, 1940), p.88) showed that in terms of the number of newspapers in any given language per household of four persons in 1931, the Greeks and the Hungarians had very high averages, exceeded only by the Icelandic and the Jewish settlers.

54Zubrzycki, in his Settlers of the Latrobe Valley (Canberra, 1964), has brought out important differences in the extent of social participation in the life of the receiving community according to the denominational affiliation (p.173). A further modification of the hypothesis was the high proportion of homeland news and the relatively small proportion of text devoted to Australian news in the Dutch newspaper De Nieuwe Wereld.
PART II

CONTENT ANALYSIS
Methodology of the Survey

The introductory chapters have shown how the foreign-language press in Australia developed from its early foundations to the position it enjoys today. The trends noted in the preceding two chapters have suggested a number of possible explanations for the differences that were found to exist between ethnic groups and individual papers. In this and the following five chapters an attempt is made to present the results of a survey that was designed to analyse, in a systematic fashion, the content of selected foreign-language newspapers.

Before the survey was launched we had formulated four hypotheses. The first two of these were concerned specifically with the content and functions of the press while the other two dealt with its effect on the readers. The hypotheses were:

A. The foreign-language press is predominantly concerned with the maintenance of the cultural identity of the ethnic minority.

B. The foreign-language press is not merely a medium for the communication of local news but is also a means of translating and transmitting Australian ways and values to the immigrant.

C. The foreign-language press assists the immigrants, particularly the first generation, to orientate themselves in the Australian environment and share in the intellectual, political, and social life of the community.

D. In so far as the foreign-language press is predominantly concerned with the furtherance of the immigrant’s cultural distinctiveness it acts as a brake on assimilation.

The logical status of the four hypotheses and their role in this study have to be clarified. An hypothesis in empirical research may be one of three kinds: it may be an assertion about some property of elements in the field of study; it may have to do with the frequency of occurrences or of association among variables; it may assert that a particular characteristic or occurrence is one of the factors which determine another characteristic or occurrence (a causal hypothesis). The hypotheses formulated above are of the first kind: they assert that the foreign-language press in Australia has certain properties or characteristics and in this way they direct our search for order among facts. In practical terms this means that the abstract constructs used in the hypotheses must be capable of operational definition, a problem to which we will return later in this chapter.
In the following five chapters evidence is brought to bear on hypotheses A and B, concerned with the content and functions of the press respectively. The evidence we have assembled is of different kinds: a quantitative analysis of the distribution of space in a dozen newspapers; a qualitative assessment of the tone and intent of carefully selected extracts from a much larger number of newspapers published over a period of some twenty years; and a subjective perception of the development of the press and its functions as seen by the authors and some forty editors and publishers who were interviewed.

The study makes no attempt to consider the effect of the foreign-language press on its readers—hypotheses C and D. We know that this is a very important area of research into this medium of communication; we feel, however, that to test hypotheses C and D a special field survey would be required to discover how the foreign-language press moulds readers' attitudes, whether it does indeed act as a brake on assimilation and whether it does assist the immigrants to orientate themselves into the Australian environment and share in the intellectual, political, and social life of the community.

The criteria for content analysis were laid down by Berelson, who defined the technique as one designed 'for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'. In the light of this definition three steps seem necessary to render the analysis objective in comparison with a purely impressionistic review of communication content: (1) to design an adequate procedure for sampling newspapers; (2) to devise a simple and workable system of classification of the contents of a sample of newspapers; and (3) to select a quantitative unit in terms of which the chosen categories of contents can be measured and compared with one another. The above procedure was adopted in our survey.


2 Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), p.18.
Methodology of the Survey

Sample of Foreign-language Newspapers

The problem of sampling newspapers that constitute a particular section of the press (e.g. the morning press, the religious press, the foreign-language press, etc.) is one of considerable difficulty. It is not sufficient to list all the newspapers in a particular section of the press and draw a sample consisting of every nth title, as each section of the press is not necessarily homogeneous in its composition. Thus the morning press in a given country could be sub-divided into 'national' and 'provincial' newspapers or according to the political affiliations of newspaper publishers; the religious press could be sub-divided according to denominational groups, etc. etc. The difficulty is even greater in the case of foreign-language press embracing, in the case of Australia, a whole spectrum of periodical publications of varying frequency, type, and circulation, published in over twenty languages for the benefit of ethnic minorities that differ from one another in their socio-economic composition, period of residence in Australia, and several cultural characteristics. This suggests that a realistic sample of such a heterogeneous press should not weigh an obscure mimeographed bulletin equally with a large weekly newspaper distributed throughout Australia.³

Three practical points that emerge from this discussion have guided us in the selection of the newspapers included in the survey: first, the need for restricting the universe to a clearly defined section of the foreign-language press; second, the necessity of stratifying the universe to control into different ethnic groups; third, the exigency of numerical disproportions in the size of the different ethnic groups and the desirability of restricting the survey to the largest groups.

For the purpose of the survey the universe from which the newspapers were selected was defined as one consisting of weekly papers published in foreign languages in Australia on 1 January 1956. Twenty-three weekly newspapers were being published on that day in the following languages: Dutch (2), Estonian (1), German (3), Greek (4), Hungarian (2), Italian (3), Latvian (1), Lithuanian (1), Polish (2), Serbo-Croat (2), and Ukrainian (2).

The newspapers were next stratified on a regional basis into three broad groupings – North-western Europe, Southern Europe, and Eastern Europe. Within these regional groupings two newspapers were selected,

whenever possible, for each of the numerically larger ethnic groups. The following newspapers were selected on this basis in the first instance:

A. North-western Europe:
   1. Dutch Australian Weekly (Dutch: Sydney)
   2. De Nieuwe Wereld (Dutch: Geelong-Melbourne)
   3. Der Anker (German: Sydney)
   4. Neue Welt (German: Melbourne)

B. Southern Europe:
   5. La Fiamma (Italian: Sydney)
   6. Australian Greek (Greek: Melbourne)
   7. Hellenic Herald (Greek: Sydney)

C. Eastern Europe:
   8. Wiadomosci Polskie (Polish: Sydney)
   9. Tygodnik Katolicki (Polish: Melbourne)

The composition of this original sample was subsequently amended when the Dutch Australian Weekly was excluded from the analysis because of unsatisfactory quality and incomplete reporting of its content. Two new papers were added to the sample: Il Corriere d’Australia (Italian: Sydney) and Vilna Dumka (Ukrainian: Sydney). The addition of Il Corriere d’Australia made it possible to compare two Italian-language papers with one another (the other being La Fiamma). The Vilna Dumka, on the other hand, was included because it represented the press of another Eastern European group in addition to the Polish press. The final change in the sample occurred when the Australian Greek ceased publication in January 1957; it was replaced by the Neos Kosmos.

The amended selection of the newspapers represents not a probability but a judgmental sample, that is one which has been selected by a combination of judgment of the researcher and, in this case, some more objective procedures designed to give a balanced representation of the major language groups. All the sample claims to be is a group of newspapers which at the time of the selection (1956-7) were known to have the largest circulation in six ethnic groups whose combined total represented 68.1 and 70.3 per cent of all non-British European-born persons in the Censuses of 1954 and 1961 respectively. While the quantitative analysis in the following five chapters is based exclusively on the comparison of the ten or eleven newspapers selected by the method described here, additional examples have nevertheless been given from several other papers. This information was obtained from standardized Newspaper Work Sheets which give a summary or translation of leading articles.

*At the time when the survey got under way La Fiamma and Il Corriere d’Australia were the only two Italian language weeklies in circulation. Il Globo, the second largest Italian newspaper today, was only launched in 1959.
and an indication of the length of the articles in column-inches. The following newspapers categorized in language groups were included in this analysis:

Greek: Elliniki Foni
Estonian: Meie Kodu
Phos
Latvian: Australijas Latvietis
Pyrros
Hungarian: Magyar Elet
Ta Nea
Fuggetlen Magyarorszag

Italian: Il Globo
Russian: Edinenie

German: Die Woche in Australien

Suitable examples taken from the incomplete report on the Dutch Australian Weekly were also used in the chapters that follow.

A related sampling problem that had to be considered in this study was the selection of a period of time and of specific dates within this period for which the issues of newspapers would be analysed. Three years – 1956, 1958, and 1959 – were selected for systematic statistical analysis. Within each year the sample of newspapers consisted of twelve issues, these being the first issues published each calendar month.

The three years chosen for content analysis cover a period of sustained immigration to Australia, though not at the record levels of 1949-50. Southern Europeans and Dutch and German nationals were the dominant ethnic groups emigrating from Continental Europe in the period under review. Immigration from Eastern Europe was reduced to a trickle after 1952; the only exception was a sudden influx in 1957 of some 11,300 refugees from the Hungarian Revolution; smaller groups of Hungarian refugees arrived in 1956 and 1958.

Several important developments in 1956-9 were reflected in the newspapers we studied. In foreign affairs, there were the Suez crisis and its aftermath; the de-Stalinization campaign in the Soviet Union; liberalization of communist rule in Poland and the Hungarian Revolution; the Cyprus dispute; Indonesian demands for what was then Dutch New Guinea. On the Australian domestic political scene the leading developments included the emergence of the Democratic Labor Party as a breakaway group from the Australian Labor Party and the related issue of ‘unity tickets’ in trade union elections. There were also several

*The Newspaper Work Sheets have been developed by the Department of Immigration in Canberra in consultation with the members of the Department of Demography at the Australian National University. The form used closely resembles Part II.2 of the Analyst’s Instructions (see Appendix A). The analysts are also instructed to assess the tone towards Australia of each item as hostile, critical, neutral, friendly, or laudatory.

*In the four-year period 1956-9 net annual immigration averaged 73,000. See p.25n.

*‘Unity ticket’ is a term that describes the practice of some members of the A.L.P. to include their names together with the nominees of the Communist Party on one ballot form.
developments affecting the immigrants themselves: a controversy in the national press regarding the proportion of British to non-British immigrants in government-assisted migration; a public outcry regarding alleged discrimination against the employment of foreign doctors; criticism of the method of selection of settler delegates to the annual Citizenship Convention; a debate about the wisdom of official policy favouring immigration of men and the resulting shortage of marriageable females, particularly amongst the Southern Europeans; an unsuccessful attempt to convert the New Settler League into the Immigrant Party.

Classification of Content

The problem of setting up and standardizing a set of classification categories was the second methodological question that had to be solved in our survey. Three principles first applied by Willey have guided us in this regard:

(i) the system of categories must be applicable to all newspapers selected for analysis;

(ii) it must be so constructed that it will be possible to make comparisons between the same papers at different times; and

(iii) it must give a maximum precision and reduce the objective element to a minimum.

To these we added another:

(iv) the categories must be proved stable and so objectively defined that different investigators using the same material will get the same, or nearly the same, answers.

In a typical foreign-language newspaper in Australia space is allotted among six major divisions: homeland news, other European and foreign news, Australian affairs, migrant group activity in Australia, advertising, and a miscellaneous category. This sixfold classification was adopted


The classification must invariably be patterned on a number of news categories and sub-categories. Depending on the scope of content analysis the number of categories may range from a few to a very great number of classes. For example Robert E. Park's *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* has no set classification, but discusses content of the foreign-language press in the United States with reference to advertising, European affairs, the 1914-18 War, and the political views of the editors. Willey (op. cit.) used ten major categories (e.g. 'Economic News', 'Cultural News', 'Sensational News,' etc.), each of which is further sub-divided so that there are forty-nine categories in all. Willard G. Bleyer's method was too cumbersome; he proposed twenty-three 'lines of news interest', each of which was used for local, state, national, and foreign news, giving ninety-two 'lines' in all ('Research Problems and Newspaper Analysis', *Journalism Bulletin*, Vol. 1, March 1924, pp.17-23). See also those entries in the General Bibliography marked with an asterisk.
in the survey with some refinements allowing for a further breakdown of three major divisions.\textsuperscript{10}

The listing of the categories of content was not the sole purpose of the survey. We knew of the fact that a quantitative analysis of selected newspapers was only a means to an assessment of the editorial policy of each paper. To this end we developed a questionnaire addressed to our analysts which was modelled on the Newspaper Work Sheets and their assessment of attitude (\textit{intent}). Analysts were asked to give their opinion on whether editorial treatment of news from the homeland and Australian affairs was hostile, critical, neutral, friendly, or laudatory.\textsuperscript{11}

The method of classification described here made it possible to evaluate the quantitative and qualitative evidence assembled in the following five chapters in terms of its bearing on our hypotheses A and B stated at the beginning of this chapter. Two abstract constructs used in these hypotheses require further clarification: ‘cultural identity’ (hypothesis A) and ‘transmission of ways and values’ (hypothesis B).

The concept of cultural identity stands for a number of behavioural characteristics of an ethnic minority group which distinguish it from the host society. The sense of cultural identity of a minority group may be enhanced by several factors: the community of language, the shared political ‘memory’ of a past history and/or of a millenary vision, the common religious belief, the customary observances and the outward

\textsuperscript{10}See Appendix A. The original categories numbered seven, but the percentage of space allotted to legal information was so small (sometimes non-existent) that the category was omitted as a separate item in subsequent figures and tables and included instead in the miscellaneous category.

\textsuperscript{11}The analysis of content categories with regard to \textit{intent} was developed by J. A. Fishman and G. S. Fishman in ‘Separatism and Integrationism: a Social-Psychological Analysis of Editorial Content in New York Newspapers of Three American Minority Groups’, \textit{Genetic Psychology Monographs}, Vol. LIX, 1959, pp.219-61. The authors allocated each category of editorial content to one of the following classes: (a) contributing to integration-adjustment of minority ethnic groups in the United States; (b) contributing to retention-separatism of minority ethnic groups in the United States; (c) not classifiable with respect to integrationism-separatism. Another possible approach to the analysis of intent was used by Leonard Broom and Shirley Reece (‘Political and Racial Interest: a Study in Content Analysis’, \textit{Public Opinion Quarterly}, XIX, 1955, pp.6-19) who classified the content of eight newspapers with respect to the reporting of a prolonged court case of alleged Negro murders. The authors used three main ‘themes’ into which several simple diagnostic items of contents (‘symbols’) were classified: ‘Denial of Civil Rights Theme’, ‘Racial Discrimination Theme’, ‘Subversive Contamination Theme’. The most extensive work in the content analysis of newspapers has been carried out by Lasswell and his associates (\textit{Language of Politics}), who developed a system of ‘symbol analysis’. In this system the frequency with which certain symbols appear is noted as well as whether their presentation is ‘indulgent’, ‘deprivational’, or ‘neutral’.
differences in the style of housing, food, and eating habits. In the context of this study we investigate the extent to which the foreign-language press perpetuates the immigrants' sense of cultural identity. In operational terms we examine not only the number of items (as a proportion of the total space in a given newspaper) that have a bearing on some or all of the components of cultural identity but also the tone and the intent of such items.

An operational definition of 'transmission of ways and values' can be put in terms of the socializing function of the foreign-language press. Socialization is the sociologist's inclusive term for the various processes 'by which an individual learns to adjust to the group by acquiring social behaviour of which the group approves'. In the context of this study a major part of the socialization process consists of learning a great many things about Australia through the reading of the press. The foreign-language press is assumed to be a socializing agent since it provides the immigrant with a whole range of information ranging from the basic facts and figures about Australia, its history and geography, to the specific regulations and rules of conduct. By learning these things about Australian 'ways and values' the immigrant acquires social behaviour of which the host society approves.

Two further points have to be stressed in connection with the socializing function of the foreign-language press. First, it must be recognized that the press is not the only or the most important socializing agency in the process of immigrant adjustment. The ethnic community and the church, as well as other media of mass communications, play a part in this process. The socializing function of the immigrant press, however,


13 The joint appraisal of the quantitative and qualitative evidence is necessary as a precaution against unwarranted conclusions derived from one type of evidence only. For example the high proportion of homeland news, as compared with Australian news, need not affirm hypothesis A; taken by itself this characteristic of the space distribution could not be a sufficient indication of the newspaper's 'nationalistic' emphasis. To test any assertion of such an emphasis the tone of reporting and its editorial treatment must be taken into account.

14 Meyer F. Nimkoff, 'Socialization' in Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (London, 1964), pp.672-3. Although the term socialization is generally used in relation to child development (e.g. T. M. Newcomb, Social Psychology, New York, 1950), its application in sociology extends to all situations where the individual is expected to internalize the values of a new community. (See Talcott Parsons and R. F. Bales, Family: Socialization and Interaction Process, Glencoe, Ill., 1955.)
is assumed to be specially important since it 'transmits' the social norms of the host society in the immigrant's native language.\textsuperscript{15}

Secondly, the hypothesis concerning the socializing function of the ethnic press in Australia implies no assumptions as to the numbers and social characteristics of its readers. The design of the study makes no provision for the survey of the people who read the press. When we speak of the function of the press in transmitting Australian ways and values we are not making an assessment of its effectiveness or otherwise.

\textit{Unit of Measurement}

There appear to be two possibilities in selecting the unit of measurement for content analysis. One is to take a news story of a particular type or an item like an editorial and count the frequency with which it appears over a unit of time; the other is to select a linear measure of space such as a column-inch or a column-centimeter.

We have to assume first of all that the item or linear space unit chosen can be so defined as to make the content totals of one newspaper truly comparable with those of another. Secondly we must assume that the study has been undertaken on the basis that each item in the newspaper has an equal chance of being read; this implies that no allowance has been made for the fact that some items are given greater prominence by their placement on the front page, or in some conspicuous position. Our third assumption is that the space devoted to the item represents a fair index of relative emphasis devoted to that subject by the newspaper.

The last assumption raises a difficulty which must be clearly stated at the outset. The use of the space unit may lead to the belief that the attitude influencing value (intent) of an item is a function of its length, that is that a longer article is more convincing than a shorter one. We do not subscribe to this view for we know that as a basis for recording bias the simple space unit is hardly an improvement over a crude method of counting items. All we are prepared to assume is that the relative proportion of space devoted over a period of time to any one item is a reflection of deliberate editorial policy.

In the following four chapters we use inches of single column space devoted to any one of the categories described on p.50 as a proportion of the total column space in a sample of each newspaper. The distribution of space in any one newspaper is then analysed with reference to major categories and sub-categories. We are also able to compare several newspapers in terms of the proportion of space devoted to certain crucial categories (e.g. Homeland, Australian affairs, etc.). In making these comparisons we do not wish to rank categorically the

\textsuperscript{15}This is associated with the special role of the newspaper editor in the ethnic community, see pp.164-5.
foreign-language newspapers in Australia with respect to the emphasis on any one diagnostic category. Rather we use the rankings so obtained as a guide to the assessment of editorial policies and a broad indication of cultural differences amongst ethnic groups and their press. We supplement such quantitative findings with a further qualitative analysis of the newspapers concerned16 and with our own assessment of editorial policies based on interviews with those in control of the foreign-language press.

The Survey Procedure

Once the newspapers to be included in the survey were selected, several persons were appointed to analyse the distribution of space and prepare general reports on a twelve months' run of each newspaper. The analysts were all people familiar with the language and background of a given ethnic group. Each newspaper was independently reported on by two analysts whose identities were known only to us. We then compared the two reports and checked on any inconsistencies. These were mostly of two kinds: differences in the statistical distribution of categories and qualitative differences in the assessment of editorial policies. Differences of the latter kind were scrutinized with the aid of translations from the text and, whenever necessary, referred to the analysts for comment. Quantitative differences were adjusted by averaging the two percentages whenever the discrepancy for any major category did not exceed 5 per cent of the total space. If the discrepancy was more than 5 per cent — as happened in only two instances — the analysts were asked to check their work until comparable results could be produced.

In the final stage of the survey the editors of the newspapers selected for content analysis were interviewed by one of the present authors. During the interview each editor was confronted with a preliminary assessment of his paper based on the analyst's report. Some editors chose to comment in writing, others gave verbal comments and points of explanation; all offered valuable insights into their problems as journalists and leaders of their respective ethnic communities.

16See Appendix A, Part III.
Analysis of Space Distribution

The figures given in this chapter for the distribution of space in the nine foreign-language newspapers chosen for detailed content study are measurements of the percentage allocation of space by each newspaper to the content categories shown in Chapter 3. Percentage distribution is shown in tabular form and illustrated by bar graphs. A short analysis of similarities and differences in the content distributions of the newspapers is given and patterns and trends indicated, but this chapter makes no attempt to assess the significance of these figures in determining the role of the foreign-language press. This will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Average percentages of content in each category were calculated on the basis of sample issues of the three years, 1956, 1958, and 1959, in all cases except that of *De Nieuwe Wereld* where it was necessary to substitute 1957 issues for those of 1956. As can be seen from Table 1 the emphasis on each category of content varied appreciably from paper to paper. Considering the broad categories, A to F, the two papers least alike, as measured by percentage points of difference, were the *Neue Welt* and the *Wiadomosci Polskie*, closely followed by the *Neue Welt* and the *Neos Kosmos* and also *La Fiamma* and the *Wiadomosci Polskie*. It appears that the two papers produced by each ethnic group represented tended to be more similar in distribution of news content to each other than they were to the papers of any other group. The similarity of the distribution of news content in the Greek and Italian papers respectively is not apparent in the table as differing percentages of space allotted to the 'non-news' categories, advertisements and miscellaneous, obscure the news pattern. However, Table 2 reveals the similarity between *La Fiamma* and *Il Corriere* and between the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Neos Kosmos* in this field, as well as highlighting the likeness of the German and Polish papers respectively.

It may be observed in Table 1 that the proportions of space given to each sub-category of content varied widely from newspaper to newspaper. With the exception of the Greek papers there was no striking similarity between the two papers of any ethnic group in their percentage distribution of space amongst these subdivisions. The differences, rather, appear to reflect directly the editorial policies of individual newspapers.

The *Neos Kosmos* replaced the *Australian Greek* after 1956, but this represented a change of title only.
### TABLE 1  Percentage allocation of column space over the period 1956-1959 inclusive, in nine foreign-language newspapers published in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytical Categories</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Names of Newspapers</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Nieuwe Wereld</td>
<td>Der Anker</td>
<td>Neue Welt</td>
<td>Hellenic Herald</td>
<td>Neos Kosmos</td>
<td>Il Corriere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Homeland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Political</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) General</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Sport</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B European and other Foreign Affairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Australian Affairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Migration</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Political and trade union matters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Other, including general information</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table 1 continued on facing page)
### TABLE 1—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytical Categories</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Nieuwe Wereld</td>
<td>Der Anker</td>
<td>Neue Welt</td>
<td>Hellenic Herald</td>
<td>Neos Kosmos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Migrant Group Activity in Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Social life of migrants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Church matters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Native language teaching to children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Sport</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Advertisements</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Miscellaneous</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Percentages were calculated to the nearest whole number in all tables.*

### TABLE 2 Percentage analysis of news content for the period 1956-1959 inclusive, in nine foreign-language newspapers published in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Categories</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Nieuwe Wereld</td>
<td>Der Anker</td>
<td>Neue Welt</td>
<td>Hellenic Herald</td>
<td>Neos Kosmos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeland</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European and other foreign affairs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian affairs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group activity in Australia</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As an aid to making a more detailed analysis, a graph of each analytical category, according to the space percentage allotted it by each paper, is given. The bases for the construction of the graphs are figures taken from Table 1, so that the space percentages illustrated are again averages of a three years' run for each paper. Figure 2 presents a comparison of proportionate space allocated to category A, homeland affairs.

2 Category comparison: A, Homeland affairs

Percentages of space devoted to homeland affairs varied from the 9 per cent given by the Hellenic Herald to the 20 per cent by De Nieuwe Wereld. The total space given was distributed rather differently by each newspaper amongst the three sub-categories, the Neos Kosmos giving the highest percentage of all the papers to political affairs, followed by Der Anker, the Hellenic Herald, and the Wiadomosci Polskie. The Tygodnik Katolicki placed a higher emphasis than any other paper on general affairs, its proportion in this category being inflated by the inclusion of church news within this classification. De Nieuwe Wereld's percentage in this category was also considerably higher than those of the other papers. Il Corriere printed the largest percentage of sports news, followed by Der Anker, La Fiamma, the Neue Welt, and De Nieuwe Wereld, all with the same percentage, while the Greek and Polish papers presented a contrast in allowing little or no space to reports of sporting activities.

Figure 3 shows percentage allocation of space to category B, Euro-
pean and other foreign affairs. The most significant point illustrated is the comparatively high percentage of space devoted to international affairs by the Neos Kosmos. Apart from the Hellenic Herald, no paper allotted even half the Neos Kosmos's proportion of space to this category. This may be readily understood in terms of the editorial policy of this paper, which, in the period under review, was intensely preoccupied with the Cyprus question and its political repercussions in Europe.

Figure 4 compares the percentage allocation of space to category C,
Australian affairs. It shows that the Polish papers, especially the Tygodnik Katolicki, allotted a very small percentage of their space to Australian affairs, a fact which is discussed at some length in the chapters that follow. De Nieuwe Wereld also gave a small proportion of space to this category; its percentage allocation to reports on migration was not especially small but it gave scant attention to political and trade union matters and general information, probably expecting Dutch migrants, who usually have some knowledge of English, to read about those matters in the Australian press. The German papers gave the highest percentages of space to Australian affairs, particularly on the subcategories migration and general information, while the Italian papers, with comparatively high percentages, gave considerable emphasis to general information. The political flavour of the Neos Kosmos was again apparent in that it gave a higher proportion of space than any other newspaper to political and trade union matters.

Figure 5 shows a comparison of proportionate space allotted to category D, migrant group activity in Australia. It is immediately apparent that the German papers gave very little emphasis to this subject. Indeed, their combined percentage in this category was less than a single percentage given by any other paper. A part explanation may be found in the fact that the German papers are intended for all readers of the German language, regardless of their nationality, and so identification
with groups from particular areas is avoided. Most papers gave considerable emphasis to migrant group activity; *Il Corriere* gave the highest percentage of all the papers to sport, the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Wiadomosci Polskie* to social life, and the *Tygodnik Katolicki* to church matters. Only the Polish and Greek papers allotted a demonstrable percentage of space to native language teaching to children.

![Category comparison: E, Advertisements](image)

Figure 6 shows that a considerable proportion of each of the papers, just over one-quarter to just under one-half, was absorbed by category F, advertisements. The *Neos Kosmos*, a political paper, had the smallest percentage of advertisements, *La Fiamma*, a semi-weekly paper with a comparatively large circulation, the highest.²

Summarizing briefly, it may be seen that *De Nieuwe Wereld* carried a high percentage of material of special interest to immigrants and a low percentage of general news and information, while the German papers gave considerable proportions of space to overseas and Australian news, including migration problems, and very little to migrant group activity in Australia. The Greek papers published relatively high percentages of material on international affairs. In addition the *Neos Kosmos* gave considerable emphasis to homeland and Australian political affairs, the *Hellenic Herald* to the social life of migrants, while

²It seemed unnecessary to illustrate the percentage of space in publishing the variety of contents described as Miscellaneous, as it is of relatively little interest in the present analysis.
neither gave much attention to sporting activities. The Italian papers gave little proportionate space to international affairs, but both papers gave considerable attention to sports reporting, \textit{Il Corriere} giving rather more than \textit{La Fiamma}; both papers made a feature of giving information about Australia to Italian migrants and reporting their group activities in this country. The Polish papers emphasized homeland and other foreign affairs and also migrant group activity in Australia. They dwelt very little on migration problems or on giving Polish migrants a background to Australian affairs. The \textit{Tygodnik Katolicki} devoted considerable space to both homeland and Australian church matters, but it gave practically no space to reports of sporting activities. The \textit{Wiadomosci Polskie} gave a high space percentage to news of the social life of immigrants.

\textit{Changes in Percentage Distribution of Content, 1956-9}

The distribution of space in each of the nine newspapers varied somewhat from year to year in the period studied. The authors were anxious to discover whether the comparison of the percentage allocation of space of the nine newspapers for the years 1956, 1958, and 1959 respectively would reveal any consistent changes in emphasis over that period. It must be made clear that any such trends should not be attributed to the migrant press as a whole, but only to the nine newspapers analysed. However, as these newspapers are amongst the largest and most influential of migrant publications, a study of any trends which they showed as a group was felt to be of value. Their percentage distribution of aggregate column space for the years 1956, 1958, and 1959 is shown in Table 3. Tests on the distributions of the years 1956, 1958, and 1959 showed that the probability of the distribution in any one year being statistically the same as that in any other was less than one per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytical Categories</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1959</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Homeland Affairs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B European and other Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Australian Affairs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Migrant Group Activity in Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Advertisements</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Miscellaneous</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{3}The publication of \textit{De Nieuwe Wereld} ceased in February 1961, but during the period studied, it functioned as one of the two major Dutch newspapers. The other papers were still current in July 1965.
Analysis of Space Distribution

cent in all cases. It may, therefore, be claimed that percentage distribution of content differed significantly from year to year.

The most obvious trend shown was the gradual decline in the percentage of space devoted to homeland affairs; the decrease between 1956 and 1958 was statistically different at the one per cent level of significance, the decrease between 1958 and 1959 at the five per cent level. There was a small increase over the period in the percentage of space allotted to European and other foreign affairs; the increase between the years 1956 and 1958 did not attain levels of statistical significance, but the increase between 1958 and 1959 was statistically larger at the one per cent significance level. There appears, also, to have been a greater concentration on Australian affairs in 1959 than in either 1956 or 1958, a difference demonstrable at the one per cent level of significance. The percentages of space given to the other three categories—migrant group activity in Australia, advertisements, and miscellaneous material—showed only minor fluctuations over the period. From the trends indicated it would appear that these foreign-language papers, although not changing rapidly, were giving a little less space to the affairs of their homelands and a little more to those of Australia.

This study of percentages of space allocation has been made with a view to establishing the relative interests of each paper. Further comparisons of the papers and their contents are continued in the next four chapters.

This has been observed in two studies of the Polish press in Canada (V. Turek, *Polish-Language Press in Canada* (Toronto, 1962), pp.88-9), and Britain (J. Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain: a Study of Adjustment* (The Hague, 1956), pp.140-1). The American writer T. I. Woofet, jr, found this tendency also in the Czech and Polish papers in the U.S.A. after World War I (*Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life* (New York, 1933), pp.218-26.)
Loyalty like charity begins at home. You can no more make a loyal Aussie out of an alien disloyal to his own ancestry than you can make a pair of good shoes out of rotten leather. There is nothing so shallow or sterile as the man who denies his own ancestry.

*La Fiamma*, 14 December 1956

This was the answer of the editor of *La Fiamma* to a young Italian's letter published in a Sydney daily paper, and the same sentiment has been expressed with more or less emphasis by the editor of almost every foreign-language newspaper in Australia. These papers have made it one of their tasks to keep readers in touch with homeland affairs. There are two main reasons for the inclusion of homeland news in a foreign-language paper: the natural interest of the reader, and its value in maintaining identification with the country of birth. While the amount of space given to homeland affairs is a simple indication of the extent to which an editor wishes to cater for the interest of his readers in these matters, the tone and type of the articles reveal how far he is trying to sustain feelings of national identification and loyalty. Emotive reporting of homeland political affairs and emphasis on national culture both show that the editor is attempting this. The first part of this chapter examines the content of articles on the homeland in a selection of foreign-language newspapers to discover whether editorial policies have allowed the use of these two methods and, if so, how strongly they have been favoured. The analysis provides a basis for assessing how far the various editors were trying to encourage national loyalties. Much of the material discussed was taken from the nine foreign-language weeklies described in Chapters 2 and 3, but illustrations have been taken from other papers as well.

*Political News*

For the consideration of political news items from the homeland the foreign-language press in Australia was divided into two categories, one comprising the papers published by immigrants from countries under communist rule (the ‘émigré press’) and the other, the press of voluntary immigrants who constituted the bulk of the postwar intake: those people not only from the British Isles but from central, north-
western, and southern Europe.\(^1\) Émigrés published at least one mass circulation newspaper\(^2\) in each of the following languages: Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Russian, and Ukrainian; voluntary migrants in Dutch, French, Finnish, German, Greek, Italian, Maltese, and Spanish. In an émigré newspaper, as contrasted with one published by voluntary migrants, the main focus of attention was on the political problems of the home country. This does not necessarily mean that homeland problems absorbed more space but that they provided the leading articles and the emotional issues which the other group of newspapers found rather in the conditions of migrants in Australia than in overseas topics.

Numerous examples of the resentment expressed by the émigré press against the communist domination of their countries could be cited. The tone of these articles was particularly bitter where editors believed that the governments of their former countries were not only communist but also under Russian control. An occasion for anti-Soviet articles was the commemoration of the anniversary of the Russian occupation. In this connection, the editor of the Latvian newspaper, *Australijas Latvietis* wrote (11 June 1960):

On 15 June 1940 about 300,000 Russian troops attacked Lithuania and on 17 June they attacked Latvia and Estonia. They took away the freedom of these countries and made them Russian colonies. By this attack and its treatment of the Baltic countries the U.S.S.R. has violated U.N. declarations in the Atlantic Charter, the U.N. charter and the convention on Genocide in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all of which the U.S.S.R. has signed.

When the Australian Prime Minister, then Mr Menzies, denounced Soviet colonialism in the United Nations General Assembly, a congratulatory letter from the leaders of the Union of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia was published in the *Vilna Dumka* on 4 September 1960. This letter included the following remarks:

You and the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr Diefenbaker, have named the Soviet Union correctly: the largest colonial system in the world and a prison of nations. Our native land, Ukraine, which is the second largest federal republic of the Soviet Union and has a population of 45 million, is being mercilessly exploited and oppressed by Communist imperialism. We are extremely grateful to you for your warning to the world about the real situation in East Europe.

Émigrés, as people no longer under communist political restriction, were often encouraged by their newspapers to use their new freedom to act as genuine spokesmen for their countries. This was apparent in the

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\(^1\) See Appendix B.

\(^2\) See pp. vii-viii. A small number of papers satisfying the first two criteria stated but published less frequently than once a week were included amongst the mass circulation papers as they were considered important representatives of the press of certain ethnic groups.
following extracts from the *Wiadomosci Polskie*:

Polish political emigration has been caused by oppression of the country. As long as this oppression exists, the activity of emigrants cannot be limited to giving material help to the country as the communist régime would have it. (19 January 1958.)

Our mission is to influence constantly and with all the means at our disposal the opinion of the free world, to convince them that we have a right to freedom and independence and remind them that, thirteen years after the War, Poland is still occupied. (22 June 1958.)

This newspaper clearly felt that it was the duty of every Polish settler to try to assist Poland politically. A similar responsibility was placed on Hungarians in a leading article in the *Magyar Elet* of 7 April 1960, in which the writer dealt with the anti-communist demonstrations by Hungarians during the visit of Mr Khrushchev to France. He stated that it was the duty of Hungarian settlers to remind people of the ‘Free World of the Soviet threat and thus help to prevent agreement between the Soviet and the West at the cost of Hungary's freedom’.

The editor of the Hungarian paper, the *Fuggetlen Magyarorszag*, expressed similar views. His article on ‘The Hungarian question in 1960’, published on 15 January 1960, stated that Hungarian immigrants to Australia, although enjoying the privileges of life in a democratic country far away, should continue to show an active interest in the internal politics of Hungary. This article, however, drew many replies from readers who doubted that the immigrants had sufficient power to influence conditions in their homeland.

Although they may have approved specific policies, émigré papers were generally antagonistic to the governments of their home countries. By terming them ‘régimes’ they implied that the governments were illegitimate. News about governmental policies and undertakings was often selected to highlight the failures and shortcomings of communist administrations. Here it is important to distinguish between attitude to the country and attitude towards the country’s government. A love of the first and a hatred of the second were continually emphasized. On the occasion of the death of Boris Pasternak, the Russian weekly, the *Edinenie*, published a leading article (10 June 1960):

All the free world was shocked on the receipt of the news that the Russian poet, Pasternak, had died, but the Russian people were only informed of his death in a few lines on the last page of a Moscow newspaper. The communists expected a mass demonstration on the occasion of Pasternak’s death as a protest against the régime of slavery. At present there is no one in the Soviet Union who has not read at least a few of Pasternak’s works and *Dr Zhivago*, published in the West, is sold on the Soviet black market for a very high price. The Soviets hope that if the name of Pasternak is not mentioned in the press the people may forget him. But they are wrong. The people will not forget a poet who praised truth and beauty and who loved his country so dearly.
The Polish papers, the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, approved of at least one aspect of homeland governmental policy. While outspokenly against communism or any pro-Russian action, they applauded the stand taken by the Polish government against German demands for the return of her former eastern provinces, which had been placed under Polish rule after World War II. On this matter the *Tygodnik Katolicki* quoted with full approval the following statement of Bishop Choromanski, speaking on behalf of the Episcopate of the Catholic Church in Poland:

> We cannot remain indifferent in the face of threats to our fatherland and peace. The Episcopate stands with the nation for the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse line. It sees in the unity and strengthening of the nation's defence capacity the best guarantee of security. (4 June 1955.)

This was one of the very rare occasions when the *Tygodnik Katolicki* showed any approval of the Polish government; as a Roman Catholic paper it was extremely critical of the government's treatment of the church, and its subservience to Russia.

A common pattern was clearly discernible in the treatment of homeland political news items by the émigré newspapers. They expressed resentment against the foreign control of their governments, frequent disapproval of government activities, and a conviction that émigrés should attempt to assist their countries by publicizing happenings there. In contrast, the newspapers of voluntary migrants varied considerably in their treatment of homeland politics. As their homeland governments were not under foreign control they were not subjected to blanket criticism. Evaluation of governmental policies and actions varied, therefore, according to the differing outlooks of individual editors.

Probably the only paper of voluntary migrants which matched the antagonism towards the homeland government of the émigré press was the Greek paper, the *Neos Kosmos*. As a markedly radical paper, taking much of its material from leftist newspapers in Greece, it consistently criticized the government. On the subject of Greek municipal elections, it quoted as follows from an Athens paper (1 April 1959):

> During the elections which have now reached their final stage the Greek nation has had the opportunity to demonstrate against the government and its policy. Fully aware of the dangers of such a situation, the government has taken drastic measures to quash the demonstrations. Reports received from various districts revealed that government measures have brought terror among the population. The *Neos Kosmos* could not be regarded as a fair representative of the six Greek-language weeklies published in Australia, but the *Hellenic Herald* had much in common with the other four. It gave a good factual coverage to political news from Greece with few editorial comments except on news items of an international character. Its reports on
III The Hellenic Herald, official organ of the Greek community of Sydney. The reports on this page deal with President Tito's visit to Cyprus, Mr Khrushchev's resignation, and the electoral victory of the British Labour Party.
homeland politics tended to show the government in a favourable light. Both the Neos Kosmos and the Hellenic Herald disagreed in principle with the establishment of American missile bases on Greek territory, but for different reasons. The Hellenic Herald stated editorially that while such bases would afford some protection to Greece, they could also mean disaster. Greece should not commit 'the same political blunders as before in being too compliant, too obliging to her allies, too prompt in accepting commitments without proper recompense.' But, presuming that Greece would once more yield to an ally's request, the editor concluded with the following comments (25 June 1959):

The Greeks, of course, like praise, and the truth is that the rest of the world is quite aware of that. Whilst caught in the net of praise, the Greeks can do wonders – but mostly for those who hold the net. That is precisely the truth to which the Greek nation is beginning to awaken. But will it awaken properly or will it fall back in slumber lulled by more praise and more political caresses? That is a question to which no Greek has a decisive answer, for he knows that Greece, obliging by nature and ever reluctant to displease her friends, may once again risk personal annihilation for the sake of friendship and freedom. If only Greece were as bold and united in peace as she is in war!

This approach, combining mild criticism with patriotic pride, appears essentially moderate in comparison with the attitude of the Neos Kosmos which described the American installations as 'Bases of death in Greece' and stated (3 June 1959):

On the occasion of his visit to Albania, Mr Khrushchev warned the Greek government against the establishment of rocket bases in Greece. He added that if the Greek government authorised the establishment of such bases, Russia would immediately establish bases in Albanian territory. The population of Greece is seriously concerned about the dangers which the nation would be facing if Greece were to become a military outpost of NATO.

In this paragraph, as in much of its reporting of political news, the Neos Kosmos publicized the Russian point of view.

On the occasion of its sixth anniversary (8 January 1959), the Italian paper, Il Corriere, announced:

Il Corriere is at the doorstep of its seventh year of existence and is proud to symbolize the Free Italian Press. Our newspaper is the only Italian weekly that is not assisted financially and the only Italian paper that is free from political ties. Therefore, the words 'Non-political' and 'Independent' which appear at the top of our journal are not just publicity slogans, they are facts. They are our creed . . .

The paper's claim that it was non-political was certainly true as regards its reporting of homeland politics. Articles on this subject were few, written objectively, and almost entirely without editorial comment.
Two other Italian papers, *Il Globo* and *La Fiamma*, were rather more nationalistic in their approach. At the beginning of 1959 the London press published comments on the Italian political crisis to the effect that Italy could afford to change its government every now and again without endangering the continuity of Western policy because Italy, unlike France, had no territorial problems. The ironical reply of the editor of *La Fiamma* to the London press was an apt illustration of his attitude towards homeland politics:

How surprising! We have no problems like those of the French, the British or the Dutch. Of course our problems have been solved by our conquerors who have taken from us those of our African and national territories which interested France or Yugoslavia.

We have no problems like Algeria. The only perils that threaten Italy are those of a 'Nenni' [Socialist] or a 'Khrushchev' government. As far as Fanfani is concerned, we have dealt with him by throwing him out. What kind of government was the one that was 'liquidated' last week? It was a coalition between a Christian party which boasted of being Catholic and a Socialist party which boasted of being Marxist. Such a coalition is impossible for, in order to govern, both parties must forsake their own convictions. . . . (4 February 1959.)

In addition to being somewhat nationalistic, editorial comment in *La Fiamma* stemmed also from a Catholic and therefore anti-communist viewpoint. However, where these issues were not involved, reports were given in a straightforward fashion with little editorial discussion.

The three main German-language weeklies in Australia, the *Neue Welt*, *Der Anker*, and *Die Woche in Australien*, were alike in their attitude to homeland politics in so far as they favoured the Bonn government over that of Eastern Germany. The following comment, typifying those in all three papers, was taken from the *Neue Welt* of 9 October 1958:

The undeniable fact that even technicians and scientists, on whose active co-operation tremendous value is placed behind the Iron Curtain, are prepared to exchange a reasonably good life for asylum in the West, illustrates clearly enough the strong pressure of lack of freedom which burdens intellectual work in the Eastern Zone. Although the *Neue Welt* and *Der Anker* generally sympathized with the policy of the West towards German politics, they were very wary of any decision which could have involved Germany in a third world war, and they conveyed a considerable degree of opposition to the nuclear arming of German military forces.

Neither paper abstained from criticizing the Hitler régime. A reader of the *Neue Welt*, protesting at the paper's inclusion of 'dirty articles about the former Third Reich', drew this reply from the editor on 9 May 1957:

Serious public opinion, the press, and both the great political parties which today represent the overwhelming majority of German voters,
do not in any way shrink from exercising the strongest criticism in relation to the Third Reich, and are clearly at pains to draw a definite line between the Germany of today and the régime of the years 1933-45 . . . .

The editor concluded by saying that the correspondent was doing a disservice to the land of his birth by proclaiming himself this type of 'German-conscious migrant', which condemnation was also an expression of the paper's policy on nationalism. Neither the Neue Welt nor Der Anker attempted to promote a close identification of the reader with Germany itself. Both papers wished to appeal to all the German-speaking peoples of Australia and items of news from Eastern and Western Germany, Austria and Switzerland were presented as homeland affairs. In this way the German papers were less narrowly nationalistic than, for example, the Hellenic Herald or La Fiamma.3

Although the Dutch papers, De Nieuwe Wereld and the Dutch Australian Weekly, gave a relatively large percentage of space to homeland affairs,4 they treated them in a more neutral fashion than did any other migrant newspaper so far discussed. Government legislation such as taxation, tariff charges, emigration policy, and similar political problems were reported objectively and entirely without editorial comment. A reader of these papers would have found it hard to discover whether the editor was socialist or conservative, Protestant or Catholic. Where an issue involved national feeling, as for example the differences between Holland and Indonesia on Dutch New Guinea, the papers followed the official policy of the Dutch government, as will be shown later in this chapter.

An additional point, already touched on in Chapter 2, is that the Dutch immigrants tend to learn English quickly and find most of the foreign and other news in the Australian daily press. What they do not find is a full coverage of the homeland and other news relating to the Netherlands. They look upon their weekly newspapers such as the Dutch Australian Weekly as the main source of such news. Moreover, the Dutch mass circulation press is relatively insignificant and presumably is read by a small section of the community.5 Whether that group of the Dutch immigrants is also the section of the community which supports the relatively strong Dutch religious press must remain a point of conjecture.

3Extracts have been taken from the Neue Welt rather than from Der Anker although it has been claimed that their editorial policies are practically identical. The reason for this lies in their different methods of presentation, not in their slant on news published. The Neue Welt, with its rather popular type of journalism, tends towards shorter and a wider range of comments, while Der Anker, interested in appealing to the intellectual cosmopolitan, has a more leisurely, discursive, less quotable style.

4See Fig. 2.

5See Table 7, p.143.
Items on Culture and Tradition

An emphasis on ethnic culture and traditions may be as efficacious in sustaining national loyalties as emotive political reporting. It might be expected that migrants from countries under foreign control would seek to perpetuate their remembrance days and customs, and the content of the émigré newspapers supported this hypothesis. National days and celebrations were given unfailing publicity. The Wiadomosci Polskie often published special issues, or at least devoted considerable space in ordinary issues, to national days such as the anniversaries of the Constitution of 3 May 1791, the battle of Warsaw in 1920, the battle of Monte Cassino in 1944, the Warsaw uprising in 1944, and to other days of remembrance. The Tygodnik Katolicki voiced bitter annoyance, in a front-page article on 3 August 1957, when the Consulate-General of the Polish People's Republic in Sydney gave a cocktail party to celebrate the Polish National Day on 22 July, instead of on the traditional 3 May. The party was, as the editor of the Tygodnik Katolicki pointed out, to commemorate the introduction of the 'Lublin Committee', the Soviet-sponsored government in Poland; the article went on to summarize with trenchant irony the 'blessings' brought to Poland by the U.S.S.R. As a final example of publicity given by the émigré press to the celebration of national days, here is an extract from a leading article in the Australijas Latvietis (3 December 1960):

Latvia's National Day, 18 November, was celebrated in all the capital cities [of Australia]. In Sydney, Mr E. Tidemanis, the speaker at the memorial ceremony, mentioned that much blood was shed for freedom but the gain was great, for in 1918 Latvia's independence was declared. He also felt that the youth of Latvia would rise up and carry on the traditions of its forefathers.

Both the Wiadomosci Polskie and the Tygodnik Katolicki published frequent articles on Polish history, the stories of towns and biographies of Polish heroes. In the Tygodnik Katolicki, the festivals and other observances of customs reported often related to the Catholic Church; major religious events such as the annual mass pilgrimage to Czestochowa were reported in detail. These occasions have not only religious, but also considerable national, significance.

In Greece as in Poland religious and national feelings are so interwined that it is almost impossible to estimate their relative strengths. The Hellenic Herald firmly believed that national and religious ties with Greece should be maintained, and it took many opportunities to keep the migrants' patriotic and religious feelings alive. It highlighted such occasions as Greek Independence Day, Easter, and Christmas. On another occasion the paper expressed indignation at the fact that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney, Dr S. H. Roberts, in his book A History of Modern Europe, had neglected to mention the heroic Greek resistance in the Greek-Italian war of 1940-1. Dr Roberts's
ПАМЯТНИК Т. Г. ШВЕЧЕНКОУ
У НАШТИНГТОНІ, 21 ЧЕРВНЯ 1941.

МІЖНАРОДНИЙ ОБЗОР

Вістки з Австралії

IV Vilna Dumka, a Ukrainian paper published in Sydney. The picture on the front page shows the monument to Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko, just unveiled in Washington, D.C. The leading article deals with Ukrainian church affairs in Australia.
defence that space in his book had to be rationed was attacked on the grounds that,

while not devoting a single word to that epic battle of Albania, so triumphant and elating at the time to the free peoples of the world, it makes special mention of the despatch of British Empire troops to Greece, who fought after all what may be called rearguard action. (30 October 1957.)

The editor commented that this was a text-book used in the high schools, colleges, and probably universities in Australia and was depressed at the thought that Australians had been ‘left in the dark’ as to the history of modern Greece and its people. He asked whether the average Australian could be blamed if he considered the Greeks as ‘no more than a race of milk-bar proprietors’.

The Hellenic Herald also published articles on various aspects of Greek history and culture. The Neos Kosmos, in contrast, was interested almost solely in the political aspects of homeland affairs and published virtually no cultural material.

A similar contrast, though not so marked, was found in the editorial attitudes of the two Italian papers, Il Corriere and La Fiamma. Il Corriere concentrated so little on Italian history and custom that its few articles could have had no influence on the patriotic sentiments of Italian migrants; La Fiamma gave them considerable space and attention and could undoubtedly have sustained national loyalties. For a number of years it published a regular ‘Letter from Italy’ reporting various aspects of Italian life such as famous trials, festivals, recent literary publications, the music and film world, and the latest discoveries in the medical field. In 1956 it ran a series of articles on ‘A Hundred Cities of Italy’. Easter and Christmas festivities were recorded as well as the movements and speeches of the Pope and other church dignitaries. In connection with a Liberation Day anniversary a front-page article in La Fiamma reported (2 May 1959):

Throughout Italy celebrations took place on 25 April in commemoration of the fourteenth anniversary of the liberation from foreign occupation. In a message to the nation, [Signor] Segni declared that 25 April was a most significant date in the country’s history. Many men had fallen and others had performed actions of great heroism which could not be forgotten.

The German papers Der Anker and the Neue Welt gave many accounts of German films, theatres, book reviews, and music festivals. In addition they frequently presented portraits of German classical writers and composers on the anniversaries of their births or deaths. These articles were written in an enthusiastic and often slightly nostalgic tone.

The Dutch papers did not publish much material related to culture and custom, apart from articles on the activities of the royal family. An exception was the introduction of a column ‘For the Young People’
in April 1956 by the editor of the *Dutch Australian Weekly* who explained its purpose as follows:

Now the *Dutch Australian Weekly* is appearing in larger format, the editor intends to present articles for the children of immigrants from the Netherlands, who are in a way between two worlds. At school they learn about Australia and the history of the British Commonwealth, but it is also important for them to know something about the country of their parents and ancestors - the Netherlands. And so the articles will be published regularly for the young people in English to teach them something about what the Netherlands was and is, did and does - in brief to keep awake their interest in their country of origin.6

**General News**

Nearly all migrant newspapers published homeland news relating to crime, natural disasters, development, and miscellaneous local problems. These topics have been grouped under the classification of 'general news'.

In the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki* the treatment of general news was often influenced by the attitude of those papers towards the Polish government. An analyst says of the *Wiadomosci Polskie*: 'Positive achievements in the cultural, scientific and technical spheres were hailed as proof of the unbent spirit of the patriotic people in the home country, who, in spite of the régime and the conditions, contributed to Poland's progress and the enrichment of mankind'. The *Tygodnik Katolicki* ran a regular column entitled 'News from Poland' which gave information about progress, industrialization, and reconstruction in a factual way.

The *Hellenic Herald* published some general news, with an emphasis on two problems vital to Greece, those of migration and merchant shipping. These were closely linked, but apart from the topic of migration, publicity was given to the efforts of the Greek government to impress on all Greek ship-owners the necessity of registering their ships in Greece. To maintain a sound economic stability Greece had to encourage emigration, and emigration figures, as supplied by the Statistical Service in Athens, were published. In 1959 the problems of Greeks returning from Egypt were discussed; many of these have ultimately proceeded to Australia, Brazil, or the U.S.A. but a number have preferred to remain in Greece.

The *Neos Kosmos* gave little general news, devoting a single column on page 8 of each issue to 'News from the Greek Provinces'. Trade news, accounts of murder and rape and damage to crops, were typical of the material in this column. The analyst of the 1959 issues of the

*Articles for the children appeared during 1956 on such diverse topics as Rembrandt, the fishing industry, and the Dutch custom of riding bicycles.*
Neos Kosmos claimed: 'I must say I have not read one piece of cheerful news from Greece in the Neos Kosmos and a small, temporary economic crisis in any branch of trade or industry will more than likely be magnified by the newspaper, and reported as "Acute Economic Crisis in Greece" or "Greece is threatened to remain for ever a backward nation".' These were, in fact, the title and sub-title of an article published by the newspaper on 6 May 1959.7

La Fiamma's 'Letter from Italy', which contained much material of a general nature, has already been mentioned. In addition, this paper and Il Corriere covered other local news, particularly that referring to developments and achievements, in an objective fashion.

Both the Neue Welt and Der Anker also reported general news factually.

If the Dutch Australian Weekly and De Nieuwe Wereld could be said to have made any appeal to national pride in their reporting of homeland affairs, the claim would be based on their treatment of general news. Items showing the Netherlands in a favourable light predominated, and national achievements were publicized in a moderate way. Successes of the Board of Waterworks, responsible for all extensions and upkeep of most dikes, waterways, and seawalls were recorded, and achievements of big Dutch businesses like K.L.M., Philips, and Shell were described. However, the setbacks were not entirely neglected.

Sports News

Homeland sport was given considerable attention in some of the leading migrant newspapers and very little in others. The bulk of sports reporting was about soccer competitions which were often treated in great detail, with description of play, scores, and notes about the players. Articles on boxing, tennis, cycling, swimming could also be found, and in 1959 and 1960 preparations for the Rome Olympic Games were reported extensively.

De Nieuwe Wereld gave detailed accounts of the Dutch National soccer competition in Holland, publishing long lists of results and scores, as many Dutch migrants still 'barracked' for soccer clubs in Holland. Swimming activities were also reported in this paper, though to a considerably lesser extent. The Neue Welt devoted almost two pages an issue, and Der Anker at least one, to European sport, the emphasis again being on soccer.

La Fiamma was as informative on the subject of sport as any specialized sports magazine. This newspaper allotted two pages to European sport, pride of place being given to soccer events in Italy and

7 The political line of the papers, in reporting other foreign news, is shown in headlines like: 'Fascist Provocations Over Berlin' (29 August 1962), and 'After 284 years of Slavery' [a report on the transfer of West New Guinea to Indonesia] (22 August 1962).
to international soccer match results. Boxing, Davis Cup tennis, and cycling were also fully reported. *Il Corriere* had given ever-increasing space to sport over the years and by 1959 homeland and local sport together covered about a quarter of the paper. Its emphasis again was on soccer, Italy’s national game. In 1960 considerable attention was given to the Rome Olympic Games.

The Polish papers gave relatively little attention to sport. The *Wiadomosci Polskie* published a special sports supplement from time to time and in 1961 the *Tygodnik Katolicki* introduced a short weekly sports summary. Both papers referred to sport in Poland in their reviews. The Greek papers rarely mentioned sporting activities in Greece.

We have been particularly concerned in this analysis to find out how far the various editors were concerned with catering for their readers’ interests rather than maintaining homeland ties. Apparently the emigre newspapers believed they had a mission to sustain feelings of identification with, and responsibility for, the mother country. The *Hellenic Herald* and *La Fiamma* attempted to keep national feelings alive more consciously and rigorously than the other newspapers of voluntary migrants included in this discussion. The *Neue Welt*, *Der Anker*, *Il Corriere*, and the *Neos Kosmos* made a limited appeal to national sentiment, while the Dutch papers, *De Nieuwe Wereld* and the *Dutch Australian Weekly*, did not encourage close ties with the homeland. It appears, then, that national attitudes determined the editorial emphases of the emigre press whilst the policies of the newspapers of voluntary migrants tended to reflect the personal attitudes of their editors and owners.

*Other Foreign Affairs*

Editorial selection and treatment of world news often revealed the policy of a newspaper more clearly than did the more exhaustive coverage of homeland affairs. Some editors of foreign-language newspapers chose to give the essence of world news while others selected a narrower range of topics according to their interests. Whichever plan was followed, editorial comment on international events was frequent. In the following pages the presentation of seven topics of international interest within the period studied are discussed.

**THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING, 1956**

Many foreign-language newspapers, including the *Neue Welt*, *Der Anker*, *La Fiamma*, the *Dutch Australian Weekly*, the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, and the *Wiadomosci Polskie*, gave reports on the Hungarian uprising at the end of 1956. Without exception, these papers criticized the intervention of the U.S.S.R. in Hungarian affairs and its methods of putting down the revolution. Their reports often expressed sympathy with the Hungarian people.
An illustration of such unequivocal condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Hungary can be found in a leading article in the *Wiadomosci Polskie* which alleged that the uprising was 'brutally suppressed by Soviet armed intervention' and that it was dismayed at the failure of the United Nations to prevent the 'Soviet rape of Hungary' and at the helplessness of the U.S.A. However, it was appreciative of Australia's efforts to help Hungary both in the United Nations Organisation and through the decision of the federal government to bring to Australia 10,000-15,000 Hungarian freedom fighters as assisted immigrants.

**THE CYPRUS DISPUTE**

The pages of the Greek newspapers, the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Neos Kosmos*, were saturated with editorials, despatches, and articles on the question of sovereignty in Cyprus during the years 1956-9. After February 1959, when the London Cyprus agreement was signed, the volume of news gradually declined, and in 1960 and 1961 only occasional references were found. Although it published a greater volume of material on Cyprus, the *Hellenic Herald* was more moderate and less bombastic in its approach than either the *Australian Greek* or the *Neos Kosmos*. It emphasized the age-old friendship of Britain and Greece and took care to avoid building up resentment in Greek migrants against British peoples. Criticisms were directed at the 'English', not 'British', government and hopes were expressed that it would, in time, become more favourable to self-determination of rule in Cyprus. When Mr Macmillan took over from Mr Eden as British Prime Minister, the *Hellenic Herald* published the following comment (17 January 1957):

Mr Macmillan, the new British Prime Minister, is known to be a philhellen. He has visited Greece on a number of occasions and he has studied ancient Greek. With Mr Macmillan as Prime Minister, Greece has hopes for improved relations between the two countries.

The *Australian Greek* had a more pessimistic attitude:

The new Macmillan government has apparently every intention of following Eden's steps. The people of Cyprus should not expect any better treatment from the new government and their struggle for freedom should be intensified. (16 January 1957.)

Both papers were critical of the British approach but, while the protests of the *Australian Greek* were vehement, the *Hellenic Herald* adopted a more conciliatory attitude. In a front-page article the *Australian Greek* commented (4 July 1956):

The use of force by the British in Cyprus has failed. In spite of the deportation of Archbishop Makarios and the execution of Karaoli and Dimitrion the spirit of the Cypriot people has not changed. The Cyprus dispute would have ended long ago had the British not used medieval means to torture the freedom-loving people of the island. If Britain continues to apply such a policy in Cyprus, not only will she fail in her aims, but her relations with Greece will deteriorate to a much greater extent than they have so far.
This attitude was in contrast to that revealed in the following words of the *Hellenic Herald*:

Greece has offered Great Britain all her islands and ports, including Cyprus, to be used as bases, but in spite of Greece's sacrifices for the protection of British interest, Britain has forsaken her century-old friend, to run to new friends, the Turks, the Bulgarians, and other nations who have shown her nothing but enmity.

The people of Britain sympathize with Greece and the Greek people, but there are also the British politicians who do not wish Greece to become a great nation. (15 March 1956.)

The reporting on the Cyprus dispute reached a climax in the first quarter of 1959 just before and after the London negotiations on Cyprus. Neither editor approved of the agreement reached. On 26 February 1959 the editor of the *Hellenic Herald* stated that he did not fully share the enthusiastic views expressed in other quarters regarding the Cyprus agreement. He condemned Turkish demands that the Turkish vice-president's powers in the National Assembly should be almost equal to those of the Greek president and concluded the editorial by stating that if Makarios failed to achieve his presidential aspirations, the cry for Enosis [Union with Greece] would again resound in Greece and Cyprus. The editor of the *Neos Kosmos* condemned the London agreement and all who took part in it, including the Greek government.

Now that the details of the London Agreement are known, one hears from everywhere the public outcry that the Cypriot cause has been betrayed by the parties responsible for bringing it from the heroic summit of the struggle for self-determination to the shameful level of negotiations in London. (Editorial, 4 March 1959.)

Centuries of bondage have not succeeded in accomplishing in Cyprus what was accomplished in a matter of hours by Greece, namely the complete liquidation of the island. (Editorial, 1 April 1959.)

Further news of Cyprus was published in subsequent issues of the papers, including a strong protest by the *Neos Kosmos* on the occasion of Cyprus becoming a member of NATO, before the intensity of the issue faded.

**NUCLEAR WARFARE**

The possibility of a third world war is an issue which vitally concerned the editors of the *Neue Welt* and *Der Anker*. They opposed any development which could lead to war, especially the testing of atomic weapons and nuclear arming by any country, Germany in particular. The *Neue Welt* published over two issues, 15 and 22 August 1957, Dr Albert Schweitzer's celebrated and lengthy appeal to the world to abandon radio-active weapons. Throughout 1957, in a series of long discussions in *Der Anker*, a number of German migrants debated the chances of avoiding another war and attempted to calculate the degree of destruction which could result from an atomic war.

In connection with the arming of the German forces with nuclear
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weapons, *Der Anker*, in its issue of 22 March 1957, published a report from West Germany which claimed that men of a certain West German battalion in training were opposed to the revival of militarism. The *Neue Welt* has more than once published protests from Germans against the nuclear arming of the German forces. On 3 July 1960 it reported that 'more than 40,000 people in Hanover [had] demonstrated against the equipping of the armed forces with atomic weapons'. The report claimed that this 'was the biggest anti-atom demonstration yet in Lower Saxony'.

As can be deduced from the examples given, the editorial attitudes of the *Neue Welt* and *Der Anker* towards nuclear rearmament were almost identical.

**GERMAN REVISIONISM**

The editors of the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki* watched the revisionist activities in the German Federal Republic carefully, especially those relating to the German-Polish frontier on the Oder-Neisse line. Agreements with East Germany reaffirming this boundary were reported by these papers and any demands by West Germany for the restoration of her former eastern provinces, placed under Polish sovereignty, were condemned as being directed against European peace and security. Related to this issue was the fear, expressed by these two Polish papers, of resurgent German militarism and imperialism; this led them to support the plan of the Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Rapacki, who called for an 'atom-free' zone in central Europe, covering the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East and West Germany. Although the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki* rarely sided with the Polish government, they supported it in these issues, except that they warned against the danger of Soviet re-entry into Rapacki's proposed neutralized zone.

**THE RUSSIAN SPACE EXPLORATION**

The entirely different attitudes of three migrant newspapers towards the Soviet Union were revealed by their comments on the successful trip around the sun of the Russian planet, 'Lunik', early in 1959. As compared with the exultation of the *Neos Kosmos* and the anti-Soviet remarks of *La Fiamma*, the following extract from *Il Corriere* appears quite objective:

Last week, a Russian planet, 'Lunik', was launched. It is the first planet built by man. Last Sunday the planet was travelling in the vicinity of the moon (about 5,000 miles from the moon) and heading towards the sun. On 4 January Lunik will reach the point closest to the sun, a distance from the sun of approximately 91 million miles; in September, it will reach the farthest point, approximately 123 million miles from the sun. Moscow was jubilant in its announcement of the launching of 'Lunik' and the Soviet newspapers already talk of interplanetary travel as though it were about to happen. (8 January 1959.)
The editor of the *Neos Kosmos*, commenting on the successful launching of the new Russian satellite, wrote (14 January 1959):

The New Year started with man's greatest conquest – the Soviet planet, which opens a new era of peaceful triumphs. Peace on earth is the symbol of the Soviet Union but today that symbol is complemented with the motto 'let's conquer the stars' . . .

When the editor of *La Fiamma* criticized Mr Khrushchev's report to the 21st Communist Congress, he added:

Meantime, we must say that the Russians who own a 'Lunik' that circles the sun and a 'sputnik' that circles the earth do not own enough bicycles to carry labourers to and from work. They have little meat in their saucepans, very few radio sets and watches and very few good clothes. Khrushchev promises a 40-hour week for 1962. But the Western Powers, who are more concerned about the earth than they are about the moon, have already achieved this. (16 February 1959.)

**THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL RIOTS**

The majority of migrant newspapers in Australia were aroused by the incidents at Sharpeville, South Africa, in March 1960, when police fired on a crowd of Africans, killing or wounding about two hundred people.

Some papers, including the *Neos Kosmos* and certain émigré newspapers, reported the situation and then used it to promote their own objectives. The *Neos Kosmos* made it an excuse for personal criticism (30 March 1960), claiming that: 'All Australia condemns [the South African government] but Menzies is silent and the Greek Archbishop shows no interest'. To the Russian paper, the *Edinenie*, and the Estonian weekly, *Meie Kodu*, it was ammunition for their attacks on the Soviet Union. The *Edinenie* claimed in a leading article entitled 'The Awakening of Conscience' (1 April 1960) that:

Great events are necessary to awaken the conscience of the people. Until 1956 it was not a secret that people under Communist régimes were put into concentration camps and thousands every year died in unsuccessful fights against totalitarian régimes. Only the uprising in Hungary, where not only men but also women and children took part, awakened the world press which suggested that the problem of Communist inhumanity be put before the United Nations. The same is happening now with South Africa. For years the whites have been carrying out an apartheid policy and nobody has been particularly worried, but now all over the world the press is raising the alarm. The free nations have asked their governments to intervene. The governments of the Afro-Asian bloc have asked that this question should be put before the General Assembly and have demanded the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The time is approaching when the United Nations will have to change its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries.

Not all émigré newspapers treated the news from South Africa in this way. The *Tygodnik Katolicki* in an article, ‘A Shame of the 20th Century’, on 2 April described ‘the massacre of negroes in South Africa’ and quoted the London *Daily Mirror* as saying that these events could lead to open revolution. In a later article (23 April) it commented critically on racial disturbances and discrimination in South Africa and described the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister. The *Wiadomosci Polskie*, also, condemned the policy of apartheid without relating it to communist abuses. *La Fiamma* on 2 April, and the *Hellenic Herald* on 7 April, published editorial surveys of the South African riots; both papers were critical of the killing of the Africans by the police.

**AUSTRALIA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET**

The last topic which will be briefly mentioned here is Australia’s attitude towards the negotiations in Brussels during the European winter of 1962-3 concerning Britain’s entry into the European Economic Community. Without exception the foreign-language newspapers criticized the Australian government for its opposition to Britain’s accession to the Treaty of Rome. Typical of the editorial comment was the following leader entitled ‘The Lotus Eaters’ in *La Fiamma* (5 February 1963):

> The Queen is coming to Australia – long live the Queen! We wish that the country may revel and may sing anthems to the august Sovereign and to the Duke her consort without, however, forgetting the serious problems of the moment. We wait for the Prime Minister Menzies to step out of his dignified reserve and tell us eventually whether Australia must be happy or sad about the blow de Gaulle has inflicted on England.

> The integrity of the Commonwealth is restored and the Queen comes back to seal the continuity and the indestructibility of the relations between Australia and the Mother Country. But Menzies, so hostile to a close relationship between England and Europe (so hostile that he did not hesitate to dismiss Minister Bury who was in favour of the ‘marriage’), must tell us, now that the ‘marriage’ is off, whether we have to cry or to be jubilant.

> We do not want righteous exultation on the arrival of Queen Elizabeth to be an easy pretext to dodge the new responsibilities with which we are confronted. We do not want the Australians to become something of the mythical companions of Ulysses, the lotus eaters, who drown their consciences in feasts and in wine. ‘The English’, Macmillan has said, ‘must roll up their sleeves because it is not possible any more to live on the past; the English must modify the structure of their economy and bring it sufficiently into line with that of the European countries.’
One thing seems to be certain; in order to survive economically the English need Europe. Since the negotiations have failed they will find other ways to penetrate into the citadel. Australia must be on the alert lest it pay for the ventures and the misfortunes of the mother country.

Extracts from many foreign-language newspapers have been given in this chapter to illustrate their interest and intention in reporting homeland and, to some extent, other foreign affairs. The émigré newspapers, influenced primarily by the type of home government, whether democratic or communist, had almost identical policies in their treatment of European and other foreign affairs; the papers of voluntary migrants, affected by the varying philosophies and political standpoints of individual editors, varied considerably in their selection and presentation of such news. Furthermore, while the main focus of the émigré press was on the country of origin, that of the other papers was on their new homeland, as is shown in the next chapter.

The quantitative and qualitative evidence presented here does not give us a firm ground for accepting or rejecting our hypothesis A. All that can be said at this stage is that there are important ethnic differences in the treatment of news and the intention of the editors in selecting items that report on the affairs of the country of origin and other foreign news. The significance of these differences is examined in the following three chapters.
Australian Domestic Politics and Trade Union Affairs

Although we may appear at times to offer our readers some instruction in politics, it is not the aim of this journal to take political sides. Those of our subscribers who have the right to vote may exercise that right according to their own beliefs and conscience. In our disinclination to support openly one party or another we rest in the belief that all three parties are imbued equally with patriotism and that none of them is influenced by un-Australian motives.

Hellenic Herald, 19 March 1959

The views of most migrant newspapers have found expression in these words of the editor of the Hellenic Herald: although they have usually kept their readers informed about Australian politics, most editors have felt that it is neither wise nor right to propagate the views of only one political party: not wise, because attempts to ally migrants with a particular party involve the danger of migration policy being formulated on the basis of party politics; not right, because choice of party affiliation should be based on individual opinion.

The idea that migration should be kept out of party politics was forcibly expressed in the Neue Welt after riots had taken place in the migrant camp at Bonegilla in 1961. The article accused Dr J. F. Cairns, a prominent member of the Australian Labor Party and member of the Federal Parliament, of using the incident as 'party capital'. It claimed that he had put up bail for some of those arrested after the riots to give weight to his later assertion that it was not the rioters who should be punished but the Australian government, as an agency responsible for the unemployment. The following is an extract from this article (8 August 1961):

The protest action had no political character. What could the camp inmates, who had not been long in Australia, know about Australian politics? The stones which they threw in the heat of battle landed without their intending it in the still pond of Australian party politics where they have caused some disturbance . . . Migration must be kept out of party politics. The danger of a party's siding with migrants and at the same time using them for its own purpose, has probably always existed, but it needed the hail-stones in Bonegilla to bring it to our notice.
A small number of migrant papers did not follow the non-partisan policy of the majority. It is of some interest that the editor of *La Fiamma*, who subsequently changed his policy so as to indicate no party preference, in 1956 pleaded the cause of the Anti-Communist Labor Party, later renamed the Democratic Labor Party. On several occasions he published denunciations of Dr Evatt and some of his ‘pro-Communist’ followers while concurrently attacking the objectives and actions of the Liberal Party. His attitude was made clear in his conclusion to an analysis of the state of the Labor Party in connection with Liberal Party gains in the New South Wales state elections of 1956:

> The Anti-Communist Labor Party . . . is at the present time initiating its difficult penetration into the life of the country in order to introduce ideals of justice and liberty, witnesses of a Christian pledge which Australia should recognize if she wishes to survive . . . Laborism, properly understood, stands apart from Marxist ideology; it is the child of Christianity in so much as it suffers for the humble and for the weak, shares the cause of the disinherited, gives birth . . . to the ideals of justice and of liberty which are results of the ‘good tidings’. (9 March 1956.)

The fact that an editor with such an obvious party preference should have subsequently decided to refrain from expressing it in his paper lends weight to the idea that support for a particular party was held to be unwise policy. There were, however, several migrant papers which disagreed with this attitude of which the two noteworthy ones were an Italian paper, *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano*, which was published by the Italian-Australian Labour Council and promoted the official line of the Australian Labor Party, and the Greek paper, the *Neos Kosmos*, also an A.L.P. supporter. Pre-election propaganda presented by the *Neos Kosmos* in 1963 included instructing readers not to vote for Mr Menzies (‘Menzies incapable of holding office’, ‘Menzies government must be driven out’) and alleging that his type of government neglected the interests of migrants because it favoured the development of big business monopolies; this meant that it was not interested in the fate of the worker. The articles implied that full employment would follow an A.L.P. victory.

Although most migrant papers did not take sides, they usually attempted to enlist the interest of their readers in Australian politics. Especially around election times, articles explaining the electoral system, instructions on how to vote, outlines of the programs and policy speeches of the Liberal, Country, and the two Labor parties were usually published. Some papers gave straightforward explanations of Communist Party programs also but the two Italian newspapers, *Il Corriere* and *La Fiamma*, and the émigré press, invariably condemned the objectives of this party.

Discussing this point, the editor of the *Tygodnik Katolicki* stated (18 May 1957):
The Church does not want to interfere with political parties and their programs except when the latter are in open contradiction to the Divine and natural law. But, it is comprehensible that the Church might use the power of Catholic citizens active in politics to oppose anti-religious trends and decisions incompatible with Christian moral principles . . . Moreover, from the Catholic point of view, outspoken warnings against the denouncement of political parties, which, as the Communist Party, have programs basically opposed to the Christian faith and morals, cannot be regarded as interference in the party struggle. A priest condemning Communism and Marxist Socialism from the pulpit is, in fact, discharging his moral duty.

Some papers encouraged migrants to take an active part in Australian politics. Dutch readers were reminded in an editorial in *De Nieuwe Wereld* on 10 April 1959 that they were part of the Australian community and influenced its politics whether they wished to or not. This being the case, the editor suggested that it was better to present their ideas and complaints directly to the political authorities instead of grumbling amongst themselves; he regretted that Dutch migrants had a tendency to 'abstain from politics'.

The Italian weekly *Il Globo* put this point even more strongly in a comment on the influence of the migrant vote (22 October 1963):

Where, however, do the naturalized migrants stand in this electoral saraband and where are our Italian migrants? They stand where they deserve to stand, in prominent places, often in key positions, where the fate of parties will be decided on. They are the small but significant weight that may force the scales of the balance to go down or to rise. Their votes are sought after today by political parties, they are studied, they are lured with thousands of promises on the ground of presumed meritorious services rendered by migrants. These are important votes because there is no decision yet, these are elections where no party can allow itself the luxury to alienate or underestimate any vote.

Again, while remaining non-partisan, most migrant newspapers did not hesitate to evaluate political ideas and actions in the light of their own philosophies. As the editor of *Der Anker* expressed it on 29 October:

We will naturally not advance any party propaganda, because we are of the opinion that all migrants, including all naturalized citizens of German and Austrian origin, should and can establish their own political position on the basis of their personal experience and views. Naturally, however, one cannot discuss public events here without exercising positive and probably often sharp criticism which might hurt sometimes the Right, sometimes the Left.

Within this framework the émigré press and the two Italian papers, *La Fiamma* and *Il Corriere*, attacked any political action or policy statement which reflected compromise with communism. However, the main topics of political discussion in migrant newspapers were the immigration policies of various parties. Many of the papers, including the *Wiadomosci*
Polskie, the Tygodnik Katolicki, the Neue Welt, and Der Anker made attacks on the A.L.P. following a Labor Party conference in Brisbane in 1957. At this conference the Federal Executive of the A.L.P. submitted a report on new Australians claiming that there was considerable ‘rightist’ activity amongst migrant organizations with consequent unfriendliness towards the A.L.P. An example of the resentment felt by many migrants about this report is given below in the form of a condensed extract from an unusually long editorial in the Wiadomosci Polskie on 31 March 1957:

The A.L.P. is a great political party representing nearly half of the Australian electorate. Therefore such irresponsible assertions [as made in the report] have to be taken seriously as statements of some political significance. This particular report, however, might also be regarded as an attempt at blackmail on a grand scale...

How should we react? In the first place we should ask these gentlemen to retract their baseless accusations. However, the moral terror inside the A.L.P. is so acute that we cannot expect the artisan of the big immigration scheme, Mr Calwell, to undertake our defence. We shall have to do it ourselves. We should do it in such a way that the ill-inspired leader of the A.L.P. and his impotent assistants will think twice before they attack us again. Those of us who belong to a union should seek protection there. Those who are already naturalized should remember these offences when next going to the polls...

We have given a sharp reply to the A.L.P.; nevertheless we wish to stress, in conclusion, that we would be very happy indeed if from the present turmoil inside the party, a new, democratic and responsible leadership emerged. If this happened there would be no quarrels between the Polish community in Australia and the A.L.P.; our relationship would become truly confident and friendly.

This editorial gives an indication of the highly responsible attitude of the foreign-language press in so far as it acted as an agency to introduce immigrants to Australian politics without, in most cases, telling them how to vote. It is clear that those who formulated the policies of the various newspapers aimed to promote a better understanding of Australian politics and at the same time insisted that the newcomers should have a say in the councils of Australia’s major political parties. Hence the resolutions or actions of any party were criticized or praised in the light of the various standpoints of the papers.

Australian Trade Unions

The principle of unionism was not contested in foreign-language newspapers. With the exception of a considerable percentage of the émigré press,¹ most foreign-language papers gave some attention to explaining...

¹An examination of reports on the 1960 issues of six émigré newspapers revealed an almost complete lack of material on trade unions.
the role of unions in Australian public life, to reporting results in the elections of officials, and to giving accounts of important resolutions and activities. Their presentation of trade union affairs was similar to that of political matters in so far as reports were given in an unbiased manner without either praise or blame, except in cases where it was felt that the underlying principles of the papers were contravened or that migrants were receiving unfair treatment.

The Greek papers, the *Australian Greek* and the *Neos Kosmos*, and the Italian, *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano*, placed more importance on trade union activity than most migrant papers and gave the unions unqualified support. The *Neos Kosmos* constantly urged its readers, not only to join a union, but also to take part in protest meetings and lawful strikes, believing that the conditions of workers could best be improved by strong union activity. The following extract from an editorial in the *Australian Greek* of 31 October 1956 illustrates the conviction of the editor that workers, especially migrant, were engaged in a struggle with their employers for equitable treatment and indicates that the editor trusted the unions to play a part in this contest:

> It has come to this newspaper’s notice that some unscrupulous employers have decided to take advantage of the present acute unemployment situation by offering jobs at wages well below the ‘basic’ wage and expecting their ‘victims’ to work longer hours. These unscrupulous employers victimize the migrants because they know that the latter are not conversant with the laws of the country. We, therefore, must warn Greek migrants against such illegal practices. There are, however, cases where migrants who are fully conversant with the laws of the country accept jobs under the above-mentioned conditions because they need them very badly. By doing this, these migrants encourage these illegal practices. We have heard of the case of a migrant who has agreed to work 80 hours a week in a café in Albury for a salary of only £9. Migrants have a duty to report such instances to their respective unions.

Other foreign-language newspapers besides the *Neos Kosmos* encouraged their readers to participate in trade union activities but for a different reason; they would have liked the unions to include large numbers of active members who agreed with their principles and would have guided union policy accordingly. Thus the Italian paper *La Fiamma*, the Polish papers, the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, and the Russian paper, the *Edinenie*, urged their readers to join a union so that they would be in a position to oppose the policies of pro-communist members. The following extract from the *Tygodnik Katolicki* of 9 May 1955 has been selected as an illustration. The editor published a summary of an article by Mr V. L. Borin,² in which the

²Borin is a Czechoslovak journalist and writer. For some years he was editor of the Czechoslovakian newspaper, *Pacific* (Sydney), which ceased publication in December 1960; he later edited an English-language bulletin entitled *Pacific Newsletter* (see last section of Appendix C).
The author claimed that there was a 'Communist conspiracy in the Australian unions' and that new Australian workers should not only join the unions but 'actively combat their moral enemy communism in the trade union movement'. Editorial comment on this article was:

In connection with the condensed version of Mr Borin's article published above, we wish to remind all Polish members of Australian unions that, as Catholics, they are under a moral obligation to combat Communism within their respective unions, in the first place by voting against Communist candidates. We did not come to Australia, after having refused to return to our Communist dominated country, only to fall under the heel of Communist power here.

These anti-communist migrant papers were especially critical of two practices of certain unions, firstly the use of union dues to send delegates to visit communist countries abroad or for the entertaining of visitors from communist countries and, secondly, the use of unity tickets in trade union elections. The following presentation of the first point was taken from the Wiadomosci Polskie of 3 June 1956:

We pay the union fees but do not usually bother where the money is going. Can we, Polish migrants, afford to ignore the fact that in many unions huge sums are being distributed to strengthen the activities of our arch-enemy, who expelled us from our homeland? These activities aim at reducing us in due course to the status of 'red' slaves. In several unions, one being the A.R.U. [Australian Railways Union], important sums have been earmarked by the Communist-ridden management for trips of union delegates to Communist China, Russia, for peace congresses abroad and to various protest meetings against nuclear weapon tests by democratic countries. Thus, the workers' money is being spent for political purposes which have nothing in common with the declared tasks of the unions.

The Russian paper, the Edinenie, attacked the Australian Council of Trade Unions on the same point (2 September 1960):

The A.C.T.U. has decided to introduce a special levy on its members to enable the Council to cover the expenses of sending representatives of the Australian Trade Unions overseas and receiving representatives from overseas countries in Australia. However, the fact is that these delegates have been sent in the first place to the countries behind the Iron Curtain where there are no trade unions in the Australian sense at all . . . The introduction of this new levy may lead to a split in the trade union movement of Australia.

On the subject of unity tickets, the editor of the Tygodnik Katolicki wrote at the time of an election of the Iron Workers' Union officials (17 December 1955):

There is no possible doubt about the outcome of the election in the Iron Workers' Union. It came as a shock to the A.L.P. left-wingers.

See p.49n.
Our readers will remember that the latter had arranged for unity tickets with Communists. In principle, the A.L.P. had repeatedly rejected unity tickets; however, this time the party executive did not object to this unsavoury deal in order to defeat those who had stubbornly opposed Communism in the Iron Workers' Union.

As stated above, migrant papers did not hesitate to attack unions which discriminated against migrants. Probably the most notable example of this in the period studied was the criticism of the Musicians' Union by De Nieuwe Wereld and the Neue Welt. This union introduced two practices which were distasteful to migrants, namely a limitation on the proportionate numbers of migrant players in professional orchestras and the exaction of higher union fees from migrants than from Australians. The Neue Welt commented on several occasions on the first regulation:

Players are protected by a union and they [Australian musicians] enjoy a certain amount of preference, as only a small proportion of players not born in Australia are admitted as members of an orchestra. . . . (27 February 1958.)

The Australian Broadcasting Commission has made an agreement with the Musicians' Union, namely that only 30 per cent of new Australians may work in the orchestra employed by the Commission. (3 August 1960.)

De Nieuwe Wereld was particularly concerned that migrants were required to pay higher union dues than Australians. On 13 March 1959 it published an article claiming that the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Australian Musicians' Union charged a five guinea fee for Australians but a twenty guinea fee for new Australians. It stated that migrants were unpleasantly surprised that they had to pay a higher fee and that this discrimination ridiculed the notion that 'democratic rights' existed in Australia. Dutch societies were urged to attempt to right this injustice. The complaint was restated in the following edition of De Nieuwe Wereld, 20 March 1959, with the addition of a statement to the effect that many Australians were also indignant about the rules of the Musicians' Union, proving that a desire for justice had not disappeared in Australia.

An account of the attitude of the migrant press to trade unionism would be incomplete without a discussion of a specific type of trade union with an exclusively migrant membership, the New Citizens' Council. This organization was formally registered in February 1959. Its founders, Mr J. Bielski, a Pole who had been a full-time official in the Australian Workers' Union, and Mr S. Baltinos, a Greek immigrant, felt that such a union was needed to protect the interests

*A working understanding was reached in April 1964 between the Musicians’ Union and the Australian Broadcasting Commission that orchestras which broadcast should have a limited percentage of migrant players. The union fees were set at £5. 5s. for both new and old Australians.*
of migrants who, they alleged, were subject to neglect or discrimination in many Australian unions.

The N.C.C. received little attention at the time of its inception, but in June 1959 it was criticized by the Department of Immigration as a body likely to perpetuate differences between old and new Australians. These statements were widely recorded and approved by the Australian press. It is of some significance, however, that none of the papers included in this study was prepared to support the N.C.C.: their attitudes ranged from neutrality to emphatic disapproval. In an editorial of 3 July *De Nieuwe Wereld* stated that the N.C.C. solved no problems. It was of the opinion that union membership should be decided on the basis of one's profession, not according to whether one was a migrant, and that the formation of a separate trade union could not be expected to prevent discrimination against migrants. The *Hellenic Herald* commented in a front-page article on 2 July 1959 that while it did not doubt that the N.C.C. was acting in good faith, the motives for the formation of a new union did not appear to be strong enough. It felt that migrants should avoid joining the N.C.C. as Mr J. J. Maloney, Minister for Labour, New South Wales, advised. The *Neos Kosmos*, a strong supporter of orthodox trade unionism, condemned the new venture in no uncertain terms. However, *La Fiamma* offered information about the N.C.C. and its program in a neutral fashion, with no editorial comment.

At the Citizenship Convention in February 1960 the N.C.C. distributed pamphlets describing its achievements in its first year. This document and its distribution were severely criticized by Mr Monk, the president of the A.C.T.U., and a few days later the Minister for Immigration, Mr Downer, issued an appeal to migrants requesting them not to form or join migrant trade unions. There was a little criticism of this action of the N.C.C. in the foreign-language press, but many papers reported the occurrence quite objectively, and *Der Anker*, which had previously been neutral about the N.C.C., was mildly favourable to it on this occasion, as shown in this extract dated 19 February 1960:

The N.C.C. distributed a pamphlet to the delegates of the 11th Immigration Convention in which remarkable things were stated which could be used in favour of, as well as against this organization. It was small wonder that some delegates, amongst whom was the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Mr Monk, agitated violently against this pamphlet. Mr Monk called it 'deliberate propaganda to prejudice immigration'. In addition to accusations of discrimination, the pamphlet stated that migrants paid more than two million pounds a year to the trade unions and received nothing in return. Whatever one's opinion on that point, the information in the pamphlet that the N.C.C. provided 7,000 jobs (which could not be found by the Commonwealth Employment Service) in one year, the fact that it found 900 homes for migrants and managed to get £80,000 of unpaid wages released should not be disregarded. It does not
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seem to be important any more whether or not the Council is dissolved. It has caused a great stir and this should have been sufficient to open many Australian eyes to many things that are not perfect in this sunny country.

Soon after the Citizenship Convention, the N.C.C. withdrew its trade union registration and became a political party. Again this action was not recorded immediately by most of the foreign-language newspapers. An exception was *Il Corriere* which, on 25 February 1960, published an announcement of the forthcoming transfer of status of the N.C.C. and in the same issue publicized an appeal to the immigrants by the Minister for Immigration, Mr Downer, to avoid joining such organizations. The *Wiadomosci Polskie*, also, was quick to comment on the N.C.C.’s becoming a political party. Its attitude was more overtly critical than that of *Il Corriere*. On 20 March 1960 its editor wrote that the N.C.C. as a political party could be a ‘political ghetto for migrants’ and could cause considerable ill-feeling between them and the Australian people. He considered the change to be a ‘suicidal move’. Many other foreign-language newspapers commented later in the year on the N.C.C., the reports being, in general, critical both of its assumption of the status of a political party and of its very existence as a body separating migrants from the rest of the Australian people.

As these extracts and summaries from leading foreign-language newspapers indicate, the N.C.C. provoked their criticism rather than their support. Much of the criticism followed statements by Australian authorities condemning the organization, and in some cases it is not easy to decide whether the papers really disapproved of the organization or whether they considered it unwise to disagree with its condemnation by Australian leaders of public opinion. Whatever the reasons behind it, the general attitude of the foreign-language press towards the N.C.C. is another illustration of its considered, responsible approach to its assessment of the role of the immigrant in Australian affairs.
The Immigrant Press and the Australian Society

It might be expected that foreign-language newspapers would regard as one of their tasks the explanation of Australian society to their readers and the outline of their conception of the role of the immigrant in this society. This hypothesis is examined in the following section with particular reference to the views of the foreign-language press on assimilation, the extent to which it championed migrant rights, and the information and guidance given to assist migrants to achieve satisfactory resettlement.

A number of the stated aims of the immigrant press embodied one or more of these points. *La Fiamma* emphasized its functions as a defender of migrant rights:

*We undertake to uphold the defence of the interests of the Italian migrants with firmness and courage, certain that, by doing so, we shall be working in the interests of Australia, for which country there can be neither merit nor honour until the great problem of immigration has been transformed into an equality of conditions both material and spiritual amongst its peoples.* (19 October 1956.)

The official aims of the *Hellenic Herald*, printed on its title page, stressed migrant adaptation:

*To promote friendly relations between the Greek and Australian people and to educate and instruct the Greeks in Australian sentiment and develop a sense of good citizenship.*

Some papers gave more importance to the subject of the immigrant role in Australian society than others. The émigré press, with its foci on homeland issues and ethnic group activity in Australia, tended to give it more cursory treatment than the press of voluntary migrants. An extreme example of the approach of an émigré paper is that of the Ukrainian newspaper, the *Vilna Dumka*, which in 1960 allotted only 2 per cent of its space to Australian affairs; this was used to convey general information about Australia. The Polish papers, the *Wiadomości Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, gave Australian affairs relatively more attention but treated the issues more briefly than most papers produced by voluntary migrants.

*Views on Assimilation*

All the foreign-language newspapers included in this survey recom-
mended that migrants should attempt to adjust to life in Australia and play an active part in it, but while they exhorted and helped their readers to become good Australian citizens none have conceded that this need mean the loss of ethnic identity. On the contrary, migrants were often urged by their papers to retain their national ideals and traditions but at the same time to learn the English language, the laws and customs of Australia, and to associate with Australians. Articles expressing these sentiments were often written in a defensive tone as the writers appeared to believe that this type of assimilation was not as complete as that demanded by Australian public opinion. Of the numerous examples of this conception of assimilation and attempts to foster it to be found in the foreign-language press, two papers had especially interesting things to say. In 1956, the *Wiadomosci Polskie* ran a ‘Discussion Forum’ on assimilation; in a concluding article on 21 October the editor expressed his own views as follows:

Assimilation does not mean loss of national identity . . . I believe that this attitude will not be appreciated by Australians, who desire to assimilate the mass of immigrants as soon as possible. But, for us, assimilation does not necessarily mean loss of national identity. A person can be a very good and loyal Australian citizen, while remaining a Pole.

By assimilation I understand, above all, the acquisition of a complete command of the language and a thorough knowledge of the laws and customs of the country of settlement. We can learn a lot from Australians and they can learn something from us. Whether people like it or not, assimilation is a two-way process . . . .

On many occasions, the *Hellenic Herald* expressed the idea that while first generation migrants would and should retain their Greek traditions, their children would be completely assimilated. The following words of the editor of the *Hellenic Herald* (18 October 1956) illustrate this:

The migrants’ children will be citizens of Australia. The migrants themselves will become members of the Australian community and whilst our children will adapt themselves easily to the Australian way of life, we who were born in Greece shall further the traditions we have inherited from our parents and, to achieve this, we should build churches and community centres, not with a view to clashing with the Australian way of life but because we cannot foresake our national customs and family traditions. We shall always remember Greece but will, at the same time, make every sacrifice to defend Australia, our country of adoption.

The *Dutch Australian Weekly, De Nieuwe Wereld*, the *Neue Welt, Der Anker*, and the *Neos Kosmos* did not defend the retention of ethnic identity as strongly as did the *Wiadomosci Polskie*, the *Tygodnik Katolicki, Il Corriere, La Fiamma*, and the *Hellenic Herald*. However, they did not advocate dispensing with it in the interests of speedy assimilation, and they applauded any indication that Australia was
becoming more willing to accept a variety of customs and traditions. The **Neue Welt** expressed this sentiment on 1 June 1960:

> Mr Calwell, Leader of the Opposition, recognizes the great contribution of immigration to the development of the fifth continent. 'Immigration has changed the cultural outlook of Australia as surely as development has changed its physical appearance', was the evaluation of this prominent politician of the influence of immigration in modern Australia. More than one and a half million people achieved this after the end of the war. Previously many Australians were of the opinion that migrants would abandon their European way of life. They should adopt the Australian way of life. Today people enjoy the multitude and colour of the national costumes and habits of people who represent about thirty European nations.

Many migrant papers, including *Il Corriere* and *La Fiamma*, preferred to use the word integration – 'combining into a whole' – rather than assimilation – 'absorbing into the system'. In the following definition from *La Fiamma*, the concept of assimilation was equated with that of integration:

> Assimilation can be interpreted in many ways but it has one object: the integration of migrants into the Australian community. True integration is bi-lateral – not uni-lateral – and in the same way as an Australian cannot expect a foreigner completely to change his personality, the foreigner cannot expect Australians to adopt his tastes and way of life. In other words true assimilation is a process of giving and taking and it therefore implies mutual understanding, respect, consideration, tact, tolerance, and goodwill. Prejudice and racial discrimination must be barred. Co-operation and assistance must be extended to migrants to help them overcome the difficulties of language, habit, and adaptation. Assimilation or integration is understood to be a pattern of Christian life by which humans help each other and live together in harmony without distinction of race, creed and colour as sons of one Divine Father. (15 April 1959.)

The latter part of this quotation exemplifies another aspect of assimilation stressed by most foreign-language newspapers, namely that it is a two-way process requiring the efforts of both Australians and migrants. This conviction was stated in *Der Anker* on 14 September 1956:

> We feel that the whole problem of the Australian way of life needs sober and sensible treatment: it is up to the Australians to help us more than they have done so far so that we can take part in their thought and activities.

This was a comparatively mild statement of the feeling that Australians should help and not hinder migrant settlement. Strong criticisms of lack of friendliness towards migrants and discrimination against them were to be found in almost any foreign-language paper. Such behaviour was deprecated not only because it acted as a deterrent to assimilation.
but also because the papers felt that they had an intrinsic duty to protect the rights of migrants, to prevent their being exploited or being regarded as ‘second-class citizens’.

Whatever the differences in the definition and treatment of assimilation, the foreign-language press clearly saw its duty in assisting the immigrants in this process. As the Italian newspaper put it (7 January 1959):

*La Fiamma* must help Italians discover, appreciate and love Australia, and the language, the literature, and the good habits and customs of Australians. In his slow, laborious and inevitable process of assimilation the Italian reader must receive from *La Fiamma* an intelligent, sincere, honest and efficacious assistance.

**Defence of Migrant Rights**

Discrimination against immigrants was attacked whatever its source; press articles, occupational restrictions, public opinion and behaviour in state and federal laws and policies. The attitudes of the immigrant press to governmental laws and policies are discussed later in this chapter, but some examples of criticism of discrimination from the other sources are given here.

In 1960 the kidnapping and murder of a small boy, Graeme Thorne, was widely publicized by the Australian press. Even before the kidnapper was identified many newspapers claimed that the crime must have been committed by a new Australian, as the act of kidnapping was hitherto unknown in Australia. This assumption was strongly criticized by a number of foreign-language papers which condemned ‘the irresponsibility of the Australian press’. The editor of *La Fiamma* discussed the matter over three issues of the paper. The following is a quotation from his first article on 16 July 1960:

The newspapers proclaim that kidnapping is an un-Australian crime, a crime entirely foreign to the Australian mentality. I should like to ask the authors of Australian opinion what there is that is Australian in your newspapers, in your radio and TV programs apart from the bickering of political parties, sectarian controversies and discussions between old and new Australians . . . The bosses of the concerns who today tear their hair and offer £15,000 for the rescue of little Graeme Thorne are morally responsible for this horrible crime. It is they who suggested it and placed it within the minds of individuals corrupted by the thirst for riches. It is they who fostered this crime.

On 28 October *De Nieuwe Werelcl* stated in a front-page article:

Pastor David Streklan (Victoria) gave a radio speech on Sunday morning and spoke about the lack of understanding between old and new Australians. Too many old Australians think that new Australians are not like them but come, as it were, from another planet. These feelings were intensified when Bradley was arrested as a kid-
napping suspect. Why should people be happy that they can blame a new Australian? Even the Australian press played its part in this unfortunate state of affairs. Pastor Streklan stated that the crime rate was higher amongst old Australians than amongst new Australians. The Australian press should assist in eliminating any bad feelings between old and new and the government could assist by telling Truth\(^2\) to foster unity instead of disharmony.

The difficulties of migrants in entering and remaining in suitable occupations were widely publicized in the foreign-language press. The Neue Welt, Der Anker, and La Fiamma appeared to be particularly concerned about these problems, but articles on non-registration of migrant doctors, non-acceptance of European trade apprenticeships, employment of Australians rather than equally well-trained migrants, and dismissal of migrants before Australians when labour is to be ‘laid off’, were to be found in many foreign-language newspapers.

The Neue Welt waged an untiring battle in the interests of migrant doctors by fighting for the recognition of their qualifications, urging that they be allowed to practise in all parts of Australia, and applauding any moves to hasten their general acceptance. In the six months following the publication of the first editorial in July 1956 it published seventeen articles on the subject of migrant doctors. It was still campaigning for the cause of migrant doctors in 1961; to a lesser extent Der Anker and La Fiamma have also shown sympathy with migrant doctors in their struggle for acceptance.

Claims of migrants that they had been by-passed in favour of an Australian occupant for a job or that, being migrants, they had been refused work which they could have undertaken satisfactorily, were sometimes found in the form of letters to the editor. One such letter was published in the Neue Welt on 18 May 1960. In it the writer claimed that he had been in Australia for twenty-one years, spoke English perfectly, and was working as a salesman with a big firm in Melbourne. When applying for a similar job with another firm he was informed that new Australians and foreigners were not acceptable as applicants. He concluded his letter by stating that this and similar incidents did not help assimilation and that such discrimination should not be tolerated in a democratic country.

A furore was created in the migrant and also the local press on the occasion of the proposed dismissal of some employees from the Lithgow Small Arms Factory in 1956. The Minister for Defence Production, Sir Eric Harrison, announced that the dismissals would take place in the order of (1) unmarried Australian women, (2) new Australians, and (3) unmarried Australian men. The protests of the public and the intervention of the Minister for Immigration led to a review of this.

\(^2\)It will be noticed that this extract mentioned a specific paper, Truth; papers of this sensationalist type are frequently attacked by migrant newspapers, the Neue Welt and Der Anker describing them customarily as ‘the gutter press’.
decision, and it was finally decided that the employees taken on last would be the first to be dismissed irrespective of their national origin.

Most migrant newspapers criticized the first decision strongly and commented with relief and approval when it was changed. The *Hellenic Herald* said on 19 July:

> Each man must be judged according to his skill, honesty, initiative and efficiency and not his nationality. This simple fact was unknown to Sir Eric Harrison, whose action was reminiscent of the Australia of 50 years ago. Sir Eric Harrison ordered the dismissal of employees without taking into account either individual capabilities or whether the employees to be dismissed were heads of families. His main concern was the factor of nationality.

Fortunately, the intervention of the Minister for Immigration, the outcry of the local press and the protests of thousands of migrants were strong enough to make Sir Eric realize that his approach to the problem was wrong for it meant discrimination which could only shake the faith of migrants.

The interest shown by Mr Holt (Minister for Immigration) in this case is worthy of praise and his attitude has once again given the migrants an assurance that their rights as citizens of this country are safeguarded.

Some other migrant newspapers were more outspoken in their indignation, as shown in an excerpt from an English-language editorial in the *Dutch Australian Weekly* of 13 July 1956:

> Every migrant in Australia will be deeply shocked by the statement attributed in the press to the Federal Defence Production Minister... The discrimination made between new Australians and single Australian men in the order of dismissal differs so blatantly from the promises made to prospective migrants in Europe that many migrants will feel themselves betrayed...

> This is what this newspaper will fight with all the means at its disposal. This feared, unfair, unjust policy of 'migrants out first'!

The *Australian Greek* treated the Lithgow factory dismissals in an entirely different way from that of any other migrant newspaper studied. Its complaint was directed against the government for dismissing workers and no reference was made to the fact that migrants were to be dismissed before Australians. It stated that 254 employees were to be dismissed from the Lithgow Small Arms Factory and added (17 October 1956):

> A representative of the Metal Workers’ Union has declared that his Union is considering calling a 24-hour stoppage as a protest against the government’s decision and will ask the government to find alternative jobs for all the employees who have received dismissal notices.

This approach of the *Australian Greek* was consistent with its overall policy of being pro-worker before pro-migrant; its not infrequent articles
on discrimination were usually complaints of governmental mis-treatment of the Australian and migrant worker.

Discrimination against migrants by the Australian public was another subject discussed by the foreign-language newspapers. Most of them published articles and letters expressing disappointment that migrants, in specific cases, had not been welcomed with greater friendliness. In addition, Australian preference for certain racial groups over others was never condoned and it was not unusual to find a migrant paper of one ethnic group pleading for the acceptance of the members of another. The Neue Welt, Der Anker, and De Nieuwe Wereld have on several occasions regretted the discrimination shown against Southern Europeans. In an editorial of 19 June 1959 De Nieuwe Wereld commented:

I would like to ask you to be patient with one contingent of the migrant force, the Italians. The Italians, too, long for the grasp of a friendly hand and for the warmth of a kindly heart.

Gratitude towards Australia

It would be a mistake to think that the foreign-language newspapers, by asking for just and friendly treatment for migrants and by providing a media for them to express their grievances, were attempting to build up a resentment towards Australia and its institutions. On numerous occasions editors have tried to pacify indignant correspondents by showing that alleged discrimination was the result of a misunderstanding or encouraged readers to overlook petty slights. In the words of Der Anker (31 August 1956):

We feel that we must remind our fellow countrymen again, that they should not get upset by discriminating statements in the press or in private life; they should not forget that the Prime Minister declared publicly during his state visit to Germany that since the war forty thousand Germans and tens of thousands of Austrians have migrated to Australia, and that all these have proved to be good settlers helping Australia's economic progress by their industry.

In addition to such reminders, the immigrant press published testimonials to the kindness, friendliness, and generosity of the Australian people, testimonials which are likely to have mitigated any resentment aroused in the minds of readers by accusations of discrimination against migrants. Nursing care in hospitals, help in the event of sickness and death in a migrant family and aid in obtaining employment or accommodation were some of the subjects of letters and articles expressing gratitude towards Australians. When the migrant vessel, S.S. Skaubryn, was wrecked off the Australian coast with no loss of life but almost total loss of the possessions of passengers, the Neue Welt published a front-page article on aid for the victims of the disaster (10 April 1958):
The Foreign-language Press in Australia

The fact that the widespread organization of the Australian Red Cross has offered its facilities causes one to expect that wide circles of the Australian population can be encompassed — that population, which, in such cases, always demonstrates noteworthy generosity and understanding. Moreover, the government itself has indicated the possibility of its giving extensive aid.

One occasion on which some migrant newspapers took the opportunity of expressing gratitude to Australia was that of Australia Day, as illustrated by the following paragraph from the *Hellenic Herald*, 26 January 1956:

Today is Australia's National Day. This gives us, members of the Greek Community, an opportunity of expressing our heartfelt greetings and our gratitude to the people whose land we are now sharing and which has become our country of adoption; the land in which our children will grow up and prosper; the land whose people have always shown a friendly attitude towards our mother country, Greece.

**Assistance in Assimilating**

A most valuable part of the program of a foreign-language newspaper was the assistance which it offered a migrant with the problems of settling in a new country. Again, the emphases of papers varied widely but most offered encouragement to migrants to persevere in the face of difficulties, to try to understand Australian ways and to learn the English language as soon as possible. Information was given on legal and practical matters and various aspects of local background and current affairs. Some foreign-language newspapers published series of English lessons and nearly all advertised the location and times of the free English lessons organized by the Department of Immigration in cooperation with the Commonwealth Office of Education.

The German papers, the *Neue Welt* and *Der Anker*, were sometimes quite insistent in their appeals to migrants to show patience and perseverance in dealing with the difficulties of settling in Australia. In the words of the *Neue Welt*:

Not even in Australia do roast doves fly into a man's cooking pot . . . a little courage and patience are necessary everywhere. (3 January 1957.)

*Der Anker*, concluding an article on Australia's economic development, urged all migrants 'from the German area' to say despite all the difficulties they might encounter: 'Here we came and here we stay. And what we are, we give to you, Australia!' (8 November 1957). The *Hellenic Herald* offered the following editorial encouragement:

The wise, the hard-working and the disciplined migrants will progress and become good citizens . . . Migrants must always remember that their good actions will reflect favourably upon our Community. (12 January 1956.)
Both directly and indirectly, the majority of migrant newspapers encouraged migrants to meet Australians in private groups and in communal activities. One indirect way often used was a congratulatory announcement when a migrant had been elected to a committee of an organization such as the Good Neighbour Council or the Red Cross.

All the foreign-language papers examined in the present study actively encouraged their readers to learn English. In an editorial on 12 April 1956 the *Neue Welt* claimed that 'the conquest of the English language is the migrant's key to assimilation'. The article stressed that knowledge of the English language bridged the gap between old and new Australians and that by learning English migrants would meet old Australians half-way in the process of assimilation. It suggested that the best test of this theory was a serious attempt to learn the language, and criticized those who had lived fifteen or twenty years in Australia without acquiring an adequate knowledge of it. The *Hellenic Herald*, also a strong advocate for the learning of English, advised its readers (17 April 1957):

The secret of learning English is to associate with English-speaking people. This is why so many Greeks and other Southern Europeans fail to learn English. These people, more than others, have a tendency to congregate amongst themselves and to avoid social intercourse with Australians . . . .

*Il Corriere*, in a regular column published in both English and Italian, had this to say about the need for learning English:

A migrant owes it both to himself and to the community to learn to speak English. He will not make his stay in the country a pleasant one if he has to keep to himself or mix only with his compatriots because of his inability to speak English. He will only vegetate in the gloom of self-pity. (5 March 1959.)

*Il Corriere* not only encouraged the acquisition of the English language and made a regular feature of publishing articles in English with an Italian translation, but also presented series of English lessons for beginners and more advanced students. Other papers which have offered instruction in the English language are the *Neue Welt*, *Der Anker*, the *Wiadomosci Polskie*, and the *Tygodnik Katolicki*. The two latter papers were, at one time, very active in advising migrants to learn English, but mention of the subject had become progressively less frequent on the assumption that most Polish settlers would have acquired some knowledge of the English language, since the majority had arrived in Australia before 1951. Similarly, the Dutch papers placed little stress on the learning of English, partly because many Dutch people had some knowledge of the language before they came to Australia.

Nearly all the papers gave some account of laws and legal requirements with an emphasis on those especially relevant to migrants; readers were advised of the necessity to complete taxation forms and
were shown how to do this; legal formalities in such matters as buying houses or land were sometimes explained; the social services and medical benefit schemes were described. Many papers gave advice on such practical matters as house-building, methods of obtaining work, housekeeping and farming. Explanations of local customs could be found, as for example the warning given by the *Neue Welt* that crossed flags at the beach mean 'no swimming'. These matters were presented in articles or in regular columns such as the legal section, 'What you should know', in the *Wiadomosci Polskie*; the 'Farmers' Corner' and 'Penelope's Answers to Readers' Problems' in *Il Corriere* and 'Gianna's Corner', a feature for women in *La Fiamma*. Another way in which information on legal and practical matters was given, especially in the German and Italian papers, was by answers to letters to the editor. The following example of a letter and reply was taken from *La Fiamma*, 3 October 1959, whose editor answered all correspondence in a most meticulous fashion:

I came to Australia as an assisted migrant in 1957. I would now like to make application for my wife and two small children to join me. After making such an application, I would like to make a short trip to Italy. Would my trip prejudice the entry of my wife and children and would it affect my return to Australia?

Reply: Since you are an assisted migrant, your wife and children can also benefit from assistance from both governments. Your trip to Italy will not prejudice the entry of your wife and children but it is suggested that you lodge your application prior to your departure; you may then make your own return trip to Australia coincide with the entry of your wife and children.

Information on local background differed greatly from paper to paper, both in type and amount. In 1957 *Der Anker* stated its intention of acquainting migrants with their new surroundings, 'for what one does not know, one cannot love'. There followed a series of long articles on Australian history and economic development. The *Neue Welt* published explanations of Australian customs and institutions such as the political structure. In a regular feature, 'Australian Observatory', *La Fiamma* gave a round-up of agricultural, economic, civic, industrial, social, and cultural affairs in each state. The following example was written about the commemoration of Australia Day, 1959:

Australia's National Day. Sydney commemorates Cook's landing. All the cities of Australia have participated in the commemoration of the great national event with civic and religious manifestations, especially in Sydney which can be described as the cradle of Australia. Religious ceremonies have taken place in churches throughout Australia. Speaking from the Botanical Gardens, the Governor-General appealed to all Australians to make greater efforts towards national development . . . The manifestations at Brisbane coincided with the Centenary celebrations of the state. (4 February 1959.)

Up to 1960, *Il Corriere* gave less emphasis to local background informa-
tion than many other migrant papers, but in that year, under the aegis of a new editor, it began to take great pains to acquaint its readers with early Australian history and to explain the constitution at some length. De Nieuwe Wereld, in 1957, published several travelogues describing various areas in Australia and has included articles on Australian history. The Hellenic Herald published articles on the Australian economy, literature, and history, and while the Neos Kosmos concentrated mainly on politics, it devoted a little space to Australian history. The Tygodnik Katolicki included very little material under this heading, the Wiadomosci Polskie rather more. The latter paper published articles, either as incidental paragraphs or as part of its regular column, ‘Australian Commentary’, on Australian social life, its economy, and certain institutions. These examples show that the immigrant press made an honest attempt to give its readers some background to the Australian scene.

Finally, the foreign-language press tried to educate its readers to conform to the norms of behaviour of Australian people. The editor of La Fiamma wrote (20 January 1956) about the excitable temperament of the Italian and encouraged him to laugh at his own faults and see the Australian point of view. For instance an Adelaide judge gave a young Italian ‘ten minutes jail to cool down’, while, after a stormy cycling event, when Italian enthusiasts invaded the ground, they were advised to remember that they were guests in Australia and would do better to go and cool off by taking a dip at one of the many beaches with which the cities were provided.

In a more serious vein the editor of the Hellenic Herald castigated his compatriots:

In the neighbourhood of various Greek Clubs we often see groups of Greeks standing on the footpath and talking loudly and gesticulating. Australian passers-by cannot help looking amazedly at such noisy demonstrations, probably wondering what nationality the groups in question belong to.

This is a free country and discussions in the street are not prohibited; but we must not forget that talking loudly and gesticulating in public denote a serious lack of education and good behaviour.

Unless, therefore, we refrain from such demonstrations, our hosts will have every reason to believe that we are nothing but a lot of savages. (12 April 1956.)

**Naturalization**

In general, the foreign-language press encouraged the migrant to apply for Australian citizenship when possible, while believing that no one should be forced to do so. The attitudes of the papers varied from the tacit approval indicated by publication of accounts of naturalization ceremonies in a neutral fashion and without comment, to the more obvious approval giving rise to direct advice to migrants to seek naturalization.
Der Anker is one of the foreign-language papers which consistently advised migrants to become naturalized. It stated in an editorial on 12 October 1956: ‘As a migrant paper, we, of course, encourage migrants to become naturalized as quickly as possible. It is one of our main tasks to help actively with the assimilation of migrants...’ La Fiamma also supported migrant naturalization in a definite manner. In answer to a letter from a reader who had asked about ‘the difference between the rights of Australian citizens and those of foreigners’, its editor replied (8 August 1956):

You would do well to apply for naturalization as soon as possible... Only Australian citizens have the right to vote, without which the migrant represents nothing but a statistical unit lacking that dynamic force, that power, that marvellous and amazing right of the citizen which consists in intervention in the fundamental actions of the life of the country... This is the meaning of Democracy; this is the supreme right of citizenship in free countries; this is the goal to which every migrant who has chosen Australia as his place of residence should aspire. There are also practical advantages attached to the acquisition of citizenship and one of these is the right to an old-age pension... But Italians should understand that the important thing is to be able to take an effective part in the life of this country.

The readers of the Tygodnik Katolicki were advised to apply as early as possible for Australian citizenship while remaining faithful to their Polish heritage. The attitude of the Wiadomosci Polskie towards naturalization conformed strictly to the resolutions passed by the Federal Council of Polish Associations, resolutions which stated, in effect, that it was advantageous for a migrant to become naturalized but that there should be no pressure placed on anyone to do so. De Nieuwe Wereld was interested enough in the concept of naturalization to discuss its advantages and disadvantages and to criticize alleged deficiencies in the Nationality and Citizenship Act, but no record of its directly advising migrants to become naturalized has been discovered in reports on this paper. While advising migrant naturalization, both the Neue Welt and the Hellenic Herald pointed out that there were reasons for migrants not becoming naturalized or at least not as soon as the authorities would have liked. The Neue Welt wrote on 24 August 1960:

The Minister for Immigration said again that the percentage of eligible migrants who become Australian citizens is relatively low. The press found many reasons for it. We wish to state some of them: it is not a simple problem and many factors influence it. Some people have relatives in the old country and prefer to retain their original citizenship. Many do not care what citizenship they hold. If they think that they have built up a good future here, they intend to stay in this country but do not bother to change their citizenship. Finally, many think that when they are naturalized, they are ‘second-rate’ citizens.
The *Hellenic Herald* argued that five years was sometimes not long enough to decide whether to become naturalized or not. It claimed that the principal factor in the decision was the treatment received in daily contacts with people in the land of adoption.

Certain foreign-language newspapers have put forward forceful objections to some clauses of the Nationality and Citizenship Act. Probably the one to arouse most resentment was that which stated that the Minister might by order deprive a naturalized person of his citizenship for any one of five reasons: disloyalty to the Crown, assisting an enemy, having registered by means of fraud, being of poor character at the time of registration or having within five years of registration been sentenced in any country to imprisonment for a term of twelve months or more. The *Neue Welt*, *Der Anker*, and *De Nieuwe Wereld* expressed frequent complaints about this clause, which has subsequently been considerably modified. Since October 1958 the only reason for which the Minister might deprive a naturalized citizen of his Australian citizenship by order has been that the citizenship was obtained by means of fraud or false declaration.

Some sections of the immigrant press voiced several less universally felt criticisms of parts of the naturalization law or procedures. A letter to the editor of *De Nieuwe Wereld* stated that the writer had no objection to becoming an Australian citizen but resented the necessity of becoming a British subject at the same time. This paper also suggested, in an editorial, that the paraphernalia of a naturalization ceremony did not appeal to many migrants. The *Dutch Australian Weekly* criticized tardiness in dealing with applications for naturalization; the *Neos Kosmos*, the refusal of naturalization on political grounds. Some of these points of criticism as well as other arguments were put forward in an *Il Globo* editorial on 2 July 1963:

Among the principal reasons why migrants refuse to be naturalized we mention:

1. Prejudices and false fears – migrants who have had arguments with Australians, or fights, migrants who hate certain exaggerated manifestations in the way of life of the country where they live, i.e. drinking, religious bigotry, systematic separation from the family and juvenile delinquency. Even if they appreciate the advantages of the economic system they take refuge within their family and their own community. Sometimes they may have a nervous collapse.

2. Environment and customs – ‘We vegetate here well’, many say, ‘but we do not live’. ‘This country is rich but we do not like it. So why should we become assimilated?’

3. The working conditions and social services. Australia is still the only modern country where a worker can be dismissed with one week’s notice without being entitled to compensation. Then there is the means test which makes it impossible to earn money above the old-age pension. So where are the advantages, material, immediate, direct, of citizenship of this country?
STILL WITHOUT BEING NATURALIZED THE MIGRANT IS A CIVILIAN WHO IS DEAD, A MAN WHO HARMS HIMSELF SINCE HE CANNOT TAKE PART IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.

Changes in the Nationality and Citizenship Act were often recorded by migrant newspapers. At the end of 1960, the naturalization procedure was simplified by the abolition of the requirement of three character references and of the obligation for an applicant to make a statutory declaration of his name, age, birthplace, and occupation before a Justice of the Peace. *Il Corriere* reported this change in a completely neutral manner; the *Hellenic Herald* made a friendly comment, while the *Dutch Australian Weekly* criticized both clauses and complained, further, that there were other changes more necessary than these.

Most of the criticisms of the naturalization laws and procedures stemmed from the feeling that migrants, even when naturalized, were regarded as 'second-class citizens'. The Dutch and German newspapers were particularly resentful of any such discrimination between old and new Australian citizens.

*Comments on Government Immigration Policies*

Policy speeches and announcements made by the Minister for Immigration have received fairly general publicity in the foreign-language press which has evinced considerable interest in the facts, figures, and trends of migration to Australia. Most migrant newspapers reported the announcement by the Minister for Immigration at the beginning of World Refugee Year, 1960, that Australia would admit 14,000 instead of 3,000 migrants that year. Another speech of the Minister's that was widely recorded and favourably received was the Roy Milne Memorial Lecture, 1960, entitled 'The Influence of Immigration on Australia's Foreign Policy'. A précis of the *Neue Welt* account of this speech stated (10 August 1960):

In his speech in Sydney, Mr Downer said that many European migrants do not want to become naturalized because they do not want to swear allegiance to the British Crown. England and the Crown mean nothing to them. They consider their birthplace in Europe or Australia as their country. Many Australians are proud of their English heritage but it is as well to recognize early this tendency to change. The Australian immigration program will probably mean a loosening of ties with England, but Australia can only preserve its nationhood by accepting among other things the philosophy of life imported by the newcomers. Mr Downer also referred to the increasing importance of migrant votes in the Australian elections.

The *Hellenic Herald*, the *Dutch Australian Weekly*, and the *Wiadomosci Polskie* also reported this speech without comment, while *La Fiamma* praised the Minister's clear-sightedness and courage in making it, remarking amongst other observations (6 August):
At last someone has opened the windows to freshen the stale air of conformism and allegiance that was stifling our homeland. Let us therefore thank Mr Downer for having invited Australians to think.

The migrant quota was an aspect of governmental policy of particular interest to the newspapers, most of which were opposed to any reduction in the annual migrant intake. In 1956 a series of articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald* advocating some curtailments in the migration program provoked a number of objections from migrant newspapers. *La Fiamma* wrote on 27 January:

Mr Holt, Minister for Immigration, will defend the present immigration quota . . . A group composed of influential men of affairs hold that it is dangerous to try to keep the quota at 125,000 . . . If Mr Holt loses, his prestige will be diminished and his immigration program will be reduced. For us, this would mean that Carmelo, Giovanni, and Maria would have to wait a few more years on the quays of Naples or Messina and family reunions would have to be put off till a later date.

On 19 January the *Hellenic Herald* wrote:

Some Sydney newspapers have published comments by noted economists to the effect that cuts in the migration program should be introduced and maintained until the country's economy becomes more stable . . . Any such moves are bound to meet with serious opposition from the Minister for Immigration who advocates the continuation of the migration program on the present scale.

The *Wiadomosci Polskie* considered it unrealistic to believe that a 'temporary' limitation of migrant numbers was possible. It quoted Mr Holt's warning that the flow of migration did not depend solely on Australian wishes, but that if migrant intake were reduced Australia might find it difficult to obtain the desired number of immigrants in future, especially if conditions in Europe improved. This paper considered that Australia needed migrants for economic and security reasons:

Moreover, Australia's security is threatened from the north by greedy communism, which is one more reason to speed up the process of development.

In the last few years the tremendous economic development of this country was only possible because of the substantial contribution of migrant labour. If this tempo of development is to be maintained the present influx of migrants must continue undiminished. (24 June 1956.)

The *Australian Greek* and the *Neos Kosmos* were the only foreign-language newspapers discovered to have supported reduction of migrant intake at any time, the papers accepting, as usual, the official policy of the A.L.P. The editor of the *Australian Greek* stated on 29 January 1957:

Menzies promises everything. He has supported mass migration and has added that there will be adequate measures taken to facilitate
the entry of migrants into this country and to alter the law of deportation. Dr Evatt and many other Labor leaders say that under this scheme, the present difficult conditions will only be intensified, as there is no work and shelter for the future newcomers and there is not enough work for native Australians. Labor supports the policy of restricted immigration, which would be consistent with changes in conditions.

Another topic of significance to the foreign-language press was the comparatively small intake of migrant women. *La Fiamma* frequently expressed concern about this, deprecating the resultant loneliness and unsettled condition of many male migrants. This paper was also quick to report any amelioration of the situation. The lack of female companionship for many migrants was a recurring topic in the *Neue Welt* also. Its attitude may be illustrated by its report that Senator McManus had advocated the immigration of greater numbers of women and girls from Europe. The paper commented that 'a speedy solution of this problem would be of no little significance for the many bachelors from Germany and Austria'.

On a number of occasions the foreign-language newspapers have remarked on the preference of the Australian government for British migrants. The *Hellenic Herald* and the *Neos Kosmos* both conceded that there was some reason for giving British subjects preferential treatment as migrants but felt that they did not necessarily become better Australian citizens than European migrants. The *Neue Welt* and *Der Anker* protested strongly against the 'Bring out a Briton' campaign in 1957, taking particular exception to the frequently used postmark, 'Sponsor a British Migrant'. The following editorial from *Il Globo* (27 August 1963) has been taken as an example of the attitude of the foreign-language press to the policy of the federal government of maintaining a relatively high proportion of British settlers in the total migrant intake; the occasion for this comment was an announcement by the Minister for Immigration regarding the target for 1963-4:

We do not want any discrimination in the comparison with British migrants, we do not want to make nasty parallels based on nationalistic feelings, but this cannot prevent us from observing that there is a marked difference between British migration to Australia and Italian migration: the first, quite strange indeed, fails to find in this country a fertile soil, the second, however, has always proved to be an extremely suitable element in all sectors of Australian national expansion.

The free Italian migrant is a very small burden to the Australian taxpayer: he pays his trip out of his own pocket, settles nearly always permanently in this country by his own means, he is diligent, tenacious and abstemious, contributes to a high degree to national savings and even if we must agree that he has some difficulty in assimilating himself within the local environment he certainly succeeds in finding his social balance and the reason for his existence within
his own family. In doing so he is an exemplary citizen. Although the English migrant has excellent moral qualities which make him different from the Italian migrant, he is a burden for the Australian national budget from the very moment he leaves England. Indeed he is always an assisted migrant and in spite of a common language and certain affinities of tradition he succeeds only with difficulty in acclimatizing in Australia. This is proved by the exceptionally high number of those who return to their country, disappointed and frustrated.

It is not difficult to understand which of these two types of migrant is of more real and durable gain to Australia, which wants today 'new citizens at the lowest cost'. If the federal government wants indeed migrants in a constructive and permanent way there are not many countries where it can look for them but Italy.

Many of the difficulties encountered by migrants in Australia related to housing and employment, and some newspapers have blamed the Australian government for not ensuring these for incoming migrants. In 1957, at the conclusion of a long editorial on unemployment, the Hellenic Herald commented that Australia did not deserve all the blame for the existing unemployment as bad conditions all over the world had contributed, but added that 'while she is bringing out people from other countries, Australia should see that they are adequately catered for'. The Australian Greek, concluding an article on the Greeks at Bonegilla migrant camp, commented on 19 September 1956:

We feel that it is the duty of the Australian government to keep the promise it made to migrants to the effect that jobs would be available for them on arrival in Australia.

Migrant camps and hostels were the topics of many letters and articles in the foreign-language press. Some attacked the policy of placing migrants in such institutions upon their arrival in Australia; many more accepted the necessity for this but deplored the atmosphere and poor conditions found in many of these places. On 21 August 1959 De Nieuwe Wereld published a letter from a reader who complained about the misleading information which an intending migrant was given about hostel life in Australia. The writer stated that he had found conditions very disappointing and more like an army barracks than a second-class hotel. Letters such as this were to be found in many immigrant newspapers, especially the Dutch and German.

The Nationality and Citizenship Act, which has already been considered, provoked more discussion than any other federal or state law, but there was some critical comment on Australian social security provisions in the Dutch and German papers. Their main point of criticism was that non-British migrants were required to complete twenty years' residence in Australia before they were eligible for an old-age pension. Der Anker, writing on the subject on 1 June 1956,

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3This restriction was abolished in the Social Services Act of 1962 which reduced the residence qualifications to ten years.
stated that as most non-British migrants came to Australia before they were forty they should be able to qualify for an old-age pension in due course. However, there were also many older people who might suffer severe hardship, particularly in 'The Australian Welfare State where begging is illegal and [where] there is no legal obligation upon young people to support their older dependants'.

In 1956 great interest was shown by the foreign-language press in the results of a request from the Yugoslav government for the extradition of a naturalized Australian citizen and former Yugoslav subject, Bogoljob Rancic; it was claimed that he had stolen £1,000 before leaving for Australia. Rancic denied the theft and claimed that Yugoslavia wanted his extradition for political motives as he had once fought against 'Tito's communist régime'. The Australian government refused to extradite him unless the theft could be proved before a local court. This decision afforded considerable relief to the émigré press and was also applauded by many of the newspapers of voluntary migrants. After describing the case, La Fiamma commented (20 April 1956):

We have never doubted that a country like Australia, heir to all the most glorious liberties of England, would refuse to extradite a subject, whom a régime of oppression and tyranny, like that of Yugoslavia, wants to incarcerate in the country's jail . . . to 'give an example' to the reactionaries at home and abroad. Thank God we live in a free country and this thought, which the Rancic case recalls to us today, suffices alone to compensate us for all the trials of our poor daily existence.

Der Anker made the following comment on the case (27 April 1956):

Many migrants will be much relieved to hear this [the government's decision not to extradite Rancic]. It confirms the promise of the Minister for Immigration, Mr Holt, that the Australian government is ready and has the power to ward off any attempts on the freedom they have found in their new country and to protect them. As we have said before, the lesson is to apply for naturalization as early as possible.

Both the Wiadomosci Polskie and the Tygodnik Katolicki, while greeting with satisfaction the government's decision not to repatriate Rancic, expressed the opinion that émigrés would feel more secure if the Australian government were to renounce 'extradition conventions with Communist states'. In spite of this one implied criticism, the overall impression conveyed by the migrant press on this occasion was one of satisfaction with the action of the government.

There were occasional complaints in the newspapers about discrimination against migrants in some state housing and land laws. Most states were gradually reducing any inequalities in these laws and this tendency was often recorded with approval by migrant newspapers, as exemplified by the following remark from the Neue Welt (7 September 1960):
From now on migrants who are not yet naturalized will have equal rights with respect to purchase and lease of land in South Australia. Until now, every such transaction had to be approved by the Minister for Lands and there were some other restrictions on migrants in this field. The law was changed on the suggestion of the Minister for Immigration, Mr Downer.

The activities and discussions of the Good Neighbour Council, an agency set up by the government to assist migrants with the problems of settling in a new country, and the Citizenship Convention, an annual conference held in Canberra, were sometimes reported in the migrant press. Delegates to the Citizenship Convention were invited by the Minister for Immigration either personally or as representatives of certain selected organizations.

Items on the Good Neighbour Council were almost invariably favourable to this body. In the main they consisted of announcements of forthcoming district and state-wide conferences, reports on the discussions at such meetings, and notes on migrants prominent in the affairs of the Good Neighbour Council. Discussion on the teaching of English to migrants at the Adelaide Good Neighbour Council's annual meeting in 1959 stimulated the interest of La Fiamma and Il Corriere; La Fiamma reported the speech of an old Polish lady who pleaded that migrants be allowed to retain their culture, history, and language, while Il Corriere showed approval of the speech of Mr Macdonald, the President of the Adelaide Good Neighbour Council:

Referring to the question of assimilation, the President, Mr Macdonald, stated that migrants were not expected to forget the country of their birth. He received hearty applause when he said that in spite of his being a second generation Australian, he could not help loving Scotland, perhaps more than he loved Australia. Such a statement may sound strange to those who are inclined to think that once a man has left the country of his birth to migrate to another country, he must endeavour to forget his homeland, his own language and traditions. In our opinion, such a way of thinking is utterly absurd. (12 November 1959.)

The reporting of the Australian Citizenship Convention changed in a significant fashion towards the end of the 1950s. While the majority of the foreign-language newspapers gave this annual gathering in Canberra a reasonably full and factual coverage, the two Polish weeklies and the Dutch Australian Weekly were, for several years, highly critical of some aspects of the Convention.

Il Corriere was always ready to publicize the Convention, while the Hellenic Herald commented on certain topics such as the naturalization of migrants which was discussed at the 1959 and 1963 Conventions. Both the Tygodnik Katolicki and the Wiadomosci Polskie, however, were critical of the method of selecting the migrant representatives to the Convention. They expressed the opinion that migrant delegates should be able to act as spokesmen for their respective ethnic groups and that this was not possible when they were selected by the Good
Neighbour Council in the various states and invited on the discretion of the Department of Immigration. They claimed that this method of selecting delegates meant, in addition, that few migrants were admitted to the Citizenship Convention. A highly critical article on the Eleventh Citizenship Convention which covered the entire front page of the *Wiadomosci Polskie's* issue of 6 March 1960 was headed 'The Immigration Conference without Migrants'. *De Nieuwe Wereld* was extremely critical of the attitude of the 1959 conference, stating that the Convention regarded British migrants as first-class citizens, European migrants as second-class. The following extract of 20 February is typical:

The Annual Citizenship Convention has outlived its usefulness. Originally, it performed a much-needed function. Now it is doing more harm than good. Originally it was established in an attempt to create a bi-partisan approach to immigration; it has degenerated into a forum for party politics. It has degenerated to such a degree that it is doing positive harm to Australia's immigration program. This year's convention has proved an affront to Canberra's diplomatic community. Not so much the speeches but the inferences which lay behind them gave the unmistakable impression that as far as the federal government and the opposition are concerned, there are two types of people in the world - British and others. The British are the salt of the earth. The others are undesirables to be allowed in this country only on sufferance . . . .

Four years later, after the 1963 Citizenship Convention, the same paper was prepared to admit, however, that the scope of the Convention had been considerably widened and that it had 'developed to become a real forum of public opinion'. A much more favourable tone of reporting of the annual conventions dates from the time when delegates from several foreign-language newspapers were invited to join the newly formed Immigration Publicity Advisory Council.

It is apparent that most foreign-language newspapers had similar editorial policies towards the presentation of Australian politics, trade union affairs, and the immigrant's place in Australian society. This similarity of approach reflected the generally uniform aims of the immigrant press: assistance in migrant settlement in Australia and help in securing most favourable conditions for migrants. Thus there was usually strict avoidance of partisan presentation of such topics as national politics and trade union affairs. Such a presentation could obviously have involved the danger of linking migration policy with party politics. These aims also led the papers to provide background information about Australia, to encourage their readers to participate fully in Australian life, and to expose and condemn conditions or behaviour discriminatory to migrants. One may conclude that the editors followed very similar policies in their promotion of satisfactory migrant settlement even though they differed somewhat in their judgment of the adjustments necessary to achieve this aim.
Migrant Group Activity in Australia

In the foregoing three chapters the editorial attitudes of a number of leading foreign-language newspapers towards homeland and other European affairs and towards Australian affairs have been discussed in a comparative way. There remains one other important part of the content of a foreign-language paper to be similarly examined, that of migrant group activity in Australia.

Foreign-language newspapers may present reports of group activity in an objective fashion with the sole aim of catering for the interest of their readers in the activities of their own ethnic groups, or they may attempt to act as agents of social control by advising migrants on the way in which their corporate life should be conducted and criticizing any trends of which they disapprove. The analysis on the following pages compares the aims and methods of the various papers.

The geographical coverage of migrant group activities in the papers was usually much wider than the particular city or state in which the newspaper was published. Der Anker usually confined its reports to activities in Sydney and Melbourne and the Neue Welt omitted those in Perth, but the other papers reported activities in all the main cities in Australia and many included those in smaller centres — an example being Il Corriere which gave special attention to happenings in many areas in Queensland. Consequently a migrant subscriber to one of these papers could follow the activities of his compatriots throughout Australia.

There were considerable differences in the proportionate amount of space allotted to reports of group activity by the sample of migrant newspapers. The German papers, Der Anker and the Neue Welt, gave few reports of this nature, while Il Corriere, the Wiadomosci Polskie, and the Hellenic Herald gave more space to them than to any other content category except advertisements. The Vilna Dumka, whose distribution of content was measured for the year 1960, devoted a very high proportion of its space in that year — 37 per cent — to migrant group activity in Australia.

The Luciano family, proprietors of Il Corriere, have strong personal links with the Italian settlements in North Queensland. See G. A. Luciano's memoirs, Italians: As They Are.
Social and Cultural Activity

The most light-hearted reporting of social events in the newspapers studied was found in the Italian papers, especially *Il Corriere*, which was essentially a social newspaper. Its emphasis was on social rather than on cultural clubs and it gave considerable attention to their activities in a style reminiscent of that in the social pages of the Sydney Sunday newspaper, the *Sun-Herald*:

A very short letter this week, dear readers, but honestly I don’t know what to write. You all know the news — there isn’t much of it anyway. We all know, for instance, that the social committee of ‘Juventus’ announced that the Miss Juventus contest will be held in July next, at the Centennial Hall and that the election of the Queen of the Julian-Dalmatian League will be held in February at Centennial Hall. What else is there? Oh yes, I missed the masked ball because I just did not know what to wear and I rejected the many suggestions offered by some friends of mine. And I believe that, because of my absence, the ball was a success. (5 February 1959.)

An Easter Carnival at the Casa d’Italia in Sydney was reported in similar fashion. The paper stated that brilliant artists and generous donations had contributed toward making the occasion an ‘unforgettable event’ and that ‘one of the indefatigable organizers, Sig. Peter Gavagna, had kept his promise so that nobody went home empty-handed’. The report went on to say that the ball of the Flotta Lauro on 5 April would include the election of ‘Miss Flotta Lauro’ who would ultimately compete in the ‘Miss Casa d’Italia’ contest. In addition to such reports, *Il Corriere* publicized the meetings of several clubs, such as the Italian-Australian Welfare Centre in Sydney, whose membership included both Italians and Australians.

*Il Corriere* advertised and described migrant group activities in a completely objective way, making no attempt to influence the behaviour of groups or their members. *La Fiamma*, on the other hand, urged Italians to take an active part in the social and cultural life of the Australian community. This paper also supported the various clubs run by Italians for the purpose of bringing together Australians and Italians. It put forward the opinion that clubs, such as the Dante Alighieri (in all capital cities) and the Club for Assistance to Italians (Perth) tended ‘above all to promote the integration of new arrivals with the Australian community and to enable the new arrival in Australia to turn to best advantage the new surroundings in which he finds himself’ (10 February 1956).

Typical reports in the same paper of meetings of the Dante Alighieri Society noted any large proportion of Australians in the audience.

For example in 1959 and again in 1960 and in 1961 the paper encouraged Italians in New South Wales to play an active part in such local celebrations as the Lismore Flower and Music Festival, the Wollongong Flower Festival, and the Griffith Annual Show.
with implicit approval. *La Fiamma* also published many reports of a purely social nature, similar to those which made up the bulk of the social reporting of *Il Corriere*, as for example:

Christmas in Melbourne. The members of the ‘Fogolar Furlan’ met in the hall of the Cavour Club during the afternoon of 28 December to listen to the transmission of radio messages from ‘home’. Later in the evening, the drawing of a lottery on a gigantic turkey took place and the rest of the evening was spent dancing to the rhythm of the ‘Arcobaleno’ [Rainbow] Orchestra. (3 January 1959.)

A photograph published on the front page of this issue depicts the four winners of a Model Child Contest organized by the Myer Emporium of Melbourne. Yvonne McKay is the winner with Italian Sandra Manco in second place. (4 November 1959.)

However, *La Fiamma* placed greater emphasis on cultural activities than did *Il Corriere*, and numerous reports of such events as art exhibitions, especially those of the work of Italian artists, were to be found in its pages.

The German papers *Der Anker* and the *Neue Welt* showed an even more marked leaning towards cultural clubs than did *La Fiamma*. In their relatively small coverage of social and cultural group activities, mention was made of such groups as the Goethe Society, the German-Austrian Club, German theatre, the German-Australian Welfare Society, and the German Reading Circle. Reference was made also in *Der Anker* to the activities of a Swiss and a Hungarian group, indicating the absence of a narrow nationalism in the approach of this paper, as there was also in the *Neue Welt*. In *Der Anker* references to these societies and to organized dances, balls, concerts, and picnics were usually evident only in advertisements and announcements, while the *Neue Welt* sometimes gave reports of meetings and activities in addition to publicity before the events. One society to be given more space than most by both papers was the German-Australian Welfare Society. The contribution of Australian-born members to the work of this society was praised, and support from migrants was requested. In this way *Der Anker* and the *Neue Welt* used their influence to promote cooperation between Australians and migrants in their group activities.

The Dutch newspapers, the *Dutch Australian Weekly* and *De Nieuwe Wereld*, like the German papers gave their approval to migrant clubs which admitted Australians to their membership. The following extracts are examples of the publicity given to such organizations:

The Dutch Club in Sydney held a meeting in the Lecture Room of the Royal Commonwealth Society. They decided that the meetings in future would be held in English. The latter decision was taken in connection with the fact that Australians would in future be admitted to full membership. (*Dutch Australian Weekly*, 19 August 1960.)

The Dutch Association in Sydney has taken the initiative in arranging business lunches to which guest speakers will be invited. This is a
step nearer to the desire of many to transform this Dutch Association into a representative body, such as the Australian-American Association... (*De Nieuwe Wereld*, 30 September 1960.)

These papers often suggested also that Dutch migrants should join in Australian club activities. Group activity reporting in *De Nieuwe Wereld* tended to refer mainly to Dutch social club activities, while that in the *Dutch Australian Weekly* included also many references to cultural clubs and events.³

The Ukrainian newspaper, the *Vilna Dumka*, gave wide coverage to reports and comments on the activities of the Ukrainian migrant cultural and social organizations. Each issue of this paper in 1960 described several different activities of Ukrainian groups; in one issue alone (7 August 1960), there were articles on a meeting in Sydney for the discussion of problems confronting the Ukrainian community; the opening of the Ukrainian centre in Melbourne; a meeting in Canberra in commemoration of S. Petliura and E. Konovaletz; Ukrainian dancers in Hobart; activities of the Ukrainian community in Adelaide; performances of the Ukrainian variety theatre; the Ukrainian 'Kolomika' choreographic society; news from the Ukrainian community in Perth; and the duties of Ukrainian migrants in connection with the World Refugee Year. The reports on group activities in this paper continually stressed the need for ethnic cohesion and the retention of Ukrainian aims and ideals. An article on the Ukrainian Scout Movement in Australia, published in the Jubilee edition of the *Vilna Dumka* (July 1959), expressed these ideas as follows:

Besides fulfilling their special obligations as expressed in the motto 'God and Ukraine', the Ukrainian boy scouts actively collaborate with the Ukrainian church, Ukrainian schools, and community organizations. First of all our boy scout units, just like the rest of our organizations, devote all their energies towards preserving for our Ukrainian cause as many of the younger generation as possible. Another problem also exists: how to reconcile loyalty to this state with our national consciousness and, especially, how to stand up to the unprincipled pressure towards assimilation... The Polish papers, the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, also encouraged the maintenance of ethnic cohesion. They both stressed the need for centres and clubs where Polish migrants could meet, as shown by the following statement of the editor of the *Wiadomosci Polskie* in an article on Polish community life:

New settlers, relaxing at the weekend, would like to meet their old friends and countrymen. For this purpose Polish clubs and community centres are needed. We have started to build them as well as Polish children's homes in all the capital cities of Australia. Polish com-

³For example the events publicized in an issue dated 15 July 1960 included the first concert of a Dutch choir in Perth and an art exhibition by a Dutch painter in Melbourne.
Migrant Group Activity in Australia

Community centres are being established in many suburban areas, in remote towns and even small townships. The number of associations joining the Polish Federal Council is growing steadily. According to press reports, thousands of people participate in our National Day celebrations . . . . (14 October 1956.)

The Polish National Day, 3 May, was an occasion on which Polish migrants were reminded of their ethnic unity and identity, and accounts of celebrations, speeches, and articles were published in both papers. For example the Wiadomosci Polski printed on 1 May 1960 an article written by the President of the Federal Council of Polish Associations, summarizing the achievements of the Polish community and stressing the importance of bringing children up in the Polish spirit and according to Christian ethics. Both Polish papers gave extensive reports on the discussions and recommendations of the bi-annual conventions of the co-ordinating body of Polish organizations, the Federal Council of Polish Associations in Australia.

Occasionally there were accounts in the Polish papers of purely recreational or cultural activities, such as a description in the Wiadomosci Polskie (17 April 1960) of a picnic tour to Kiama organized by the Polish Youth Club in Sydney, and in a later issue (1 May 1960) the review of a play staged by a Polish theatrical society during the Moomba Festival in Melbourne.

The Greek newspapers, the Hellenic Herald and the Neos Kosmos, gave detailed reports of the conventions of the Federation of all Greek Communities, a body which unifies and guides the local Greek communities. Its belief that Greeks should retain ethnic unity, traditions, and ideals was strongly supported by both papers.

Latterly the most important topic in the local Greek press concerning migrant group activity was the struggle between lay and ecclesiastical leaders for the control of the Greek Orthodox Communities which cater, without distinction, for all the interests, social, religious, cultural, and charitable, of their members. The Greek Communities in Australia have a strongly democratic tradition and many members resented the attempts of a new Archbishop to enforce the policies advocated by the Patriarch of Constantinople which would have placed both religious and secular matters under direct ecclesiastical control.

Archbishop Ezekiel, the new Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox churches of Australia and New Zealand, arrived in Sydney in April 1959. Prior to his arrival (5 March) the Hellenic Herald published a short history of his background as a church leader, adding the comment: 'Bishop Ezekiel's appointment as Archbishop of Australia and New Zealand has been received with great enthusiasm. This appointment will mark a new era in Greek Christendom in Australasia.' The Neos Kosmos reported his arrival in an objective fashion, but a few months later published a series of editorials on the polemics between the Church and the Communities and warned the Communities against the
introduction of Archbishop Ezekiel's system which, if applied in Australia, would mean, virtually, 'everything for the Church and nothing for the Communities'. In one of these editorials (7 October 1959) it stated:

After four generations have toiled with zeal and enthusiasm to erect churches and schools, without the slightest financial support from the Government or the Church, the 'Holy Fathers' now appear on the scene and with 'new systems and circulars' want to take the fruits of our efforts away from us.

The *Hellenic Herald*, a more moderate paper than the *Neos Kosmos*, registered a certain unease in its report of a disagreement between the Archbishop and some members of his congregation during a wreath-laying ceremony on 28 October 1959, but its reports did not assume a note of urgency until the second half of 1960. In an editorial on 15 September 1960, the rift between the Greek Communities and the Archbishop was discussed and the editor concluded that, if the Archbishop did not give in, there would be disastrous results. On 13 October 1960, this paper published several letters to the editor expressing different points of view on the disagreements between the Greek Archbishop and many members of the Communities. It appeared that, at this stage, the situation had got out of control and that there were some unpleasant court activities in the offing.4

This matter has been treated at some length, partly because it was a subject of importance in the Greek papers and partly because it illustrates the difficulty of dividing Greek migrant group activity into social and cultural, as opposed to church, affairs. The *Hellenic Herald* made no such division but grouped social and cultural events and church activity under the heading 'Community Matters'. Neither did the *Neos Kosmos* attempt to separate these activities.

Both papers stressed the need for good recreational clubs for Greek migrants, instancing the fact that in the past some Greek clubs had been virtually 'gambling dens' which had discredited the Greek communities. The *Hellenic Herald* showed continued interest in the erection of a Hellenic centre in Sydney, the object of which was to unite various groups such as the Macedonians, the Castellorizians, and the Rhodians, who had come from different regions in the homeland and had very

4See article by A. W. Sheppard, 'Our Greeks in Schism', *Nation*, 24 February 1962, pp.5-6; also a letter of rejoinder by Rev. V. Christofis, secretary of the Mixed Council of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and New Zealand, *Nation*, 10 March 1962, pp.15-16. This example of conflict between the immigrant press and the state church of the country of origin is not an isolated one. See, for example, an account of the opposition in the 1870s of the liberal newspaper *Budstikken*, in Minneapolis, to the introduction of parochial schools by the Norwegian Lutheran pastors (Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America: the American Transition* (Northfield, Minn., 1940), pp.272-4).
strong local loyalties. According to the *Hellenic Herald*, the social schism created by the existence of these separate bodies had weakened the Greek national group in Australia and made it incapable of great achievements. The Hellenic Centre, a five-storey building in Elizabeth Street, Sydney, completed in 1959, was described by the *Hellenic Herald* as 'a corner of Greece in Australia', which would have club amenities and a bi-lingual library.

The *Hellenic Herald* was not the only Greek migrant paper to criticize the large number of small clubs founded by groups of migrants from the various districts and islands of Greece. The local Greek press, as a whole, was definitely against these small regional organizations which contributed little to the welfare of the general community and were at the same time an obstacle to assimilation in that they constituted minor national bodies whose main object was to preserve the uses and customs of the group’s island or district of origin. Nevertheless, both the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Neos Kosmos* gave publicity to these regional clubs to the extent, at least, of reporting their annual general meetings together with lists of the names of newly-elected office bearers.

Accounts of sermons and addresses, notices of church festivals and ceremonies, and reports on social activities of church groups were to be found in both papers. Greek National Day, 25 March, was celebrated by both with accounts of some of the activities associated with this occasion.

The *Hellenic Herald* paid some attention to cultural events and activities, the *Neos Kosmos* practically none. The leftist sympathies of the *Neos Kosmos* were apparent in some of its group activity reporting such as in its frequent references to and descriptions of the Atlas Organization, a Greek left-wing club, and in its account on 24 February 1960 of a reception held in honour of the crew of the visiting Soviet scientific ship *Zaria*. This reception was sponsored by the Greek organization, Democritos, and included many pro-Soviet speeches.

Judging by the illustrations given, *Il Corriere* seems to be the most objective of all the papers discussed in its presentation of migrant group activities. The other Italian paper studied, *La Fiamma*, the German papers, and the Dutch papers often gave straightforward reports of migrant group activities but at times used gentle persuasion to encourage co-operation between Australians and migrants in social functions and associations. In contrast, the Ukrainian paper, the *Vilna Dumka*, the Polish and the Greek papers, especially the *Hellenic Herald*, seeing themselves as agents of social control, actively sought to influence their readers towards a greater measure of ethnic cohesion and the retention of the national aims and ideals specific to each ethnic group.

**Religious Activity**

The Italian, Greek, and Polish papers studied and the Ukrainian paper,
V (left) An example of a regional bulletin: the monthly Millenium published by the Polish Catholic Chaplain in Canberra

VI (right) Pedsekis [The Pathfinder], a monthly bulletin in the Lithuanian language containing information on theoretical and practical scouting
the *Vilna Dumka*, presented religious matters in the form of sermons, liturgy, apologetics, and articles for special days in the Christian calendar. These papers also devoted varying amounts of space to reports of such church affairs as diocesan and parish activities, organizational matters, and the biographies of church dignitaries. In contrast, the Dutch and German papers examined gave no space to religious matters and very little to church affairs. *De Nieuwe Wereld* and the *Neue Welt* published some notices of church services without indicating a preference for any particular denomination. *Der Anker* advertised the service times of several Lutheran and Catholic congregations and very occasionally gave accounts of the activities of Lutheran church youth groups.

*La Fiamma*, founded by a Capuchine priest, was originally a purely religious paper. Later, it developed as a paper devoted largely to news but retained its connection with the Roman Catholic Church to whose activities and beliefs it gave expression on numerous occasions. Sermons were published in a regular column under the heading 'The Chaplain Speaks'. Biographies of various church dignitaries and accounts of their movements were given. Descriptions of festivals and group activities associated with the church were also frequently found in this paper. Although *Il Corriere* had no special section for church activity, occasional sermons and activities relating to the Roman Catholic Church were included in its pages.

The *Tygodnik Katolicki*, as its title indicates [Catholic Weekly], was closely associated with the Roman Catholic Church. This was apparent not only in articles specifically devoted to the exposition of Christian doctrine but throughout the whole paper. Each issue contained readings from the Bible; many contained sermons and religious articles, as for example the Easter issue, 9-16 April 1960, which included a two-page article written by Father Janus on the subject, 'Christ Has Risen' and also a story, 'The Easter Experience'. Many articles were devoted to the biographies and activities of church leaders; on 23 January 1960, an account was given of the silver anniversary of Father F. Arciszewski's priesthood with its associated celebrations, and on 2 April 1960 appeared a biography of the late Father Joseph Wojcik. This priest, who died on 19 March of that year, had been a Polish chaplain in Melbourne and a co-editor of the *Tygodnik Katolicki*. Numerous other such examples could be given.

The *Wiadomosci Polskie* did not give nearly as much space to religious and church matters as the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, but its selection and presentation of such items were similar. It also gave an account of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Father Arciszewski's priesthood and published an Easter article, 'Christ Truly Risen' in its issue of 17-24 April 1960.

5. See pp.35-6.
The Ukrainian paper, the *Vilna Dumka*, likewise gave some account of religious matters and church affairs. Most Ukrainian migrants belonged either to the Eastern Orthodox or to the Eastern Catholic churches and publicity was accorded to the services and affairs of these bodies. A large part of the space devoted to church matters by the *Vilna Dumka* was taken up with expressions of different views on a dispute which had split the members of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church of Australia into two dioceses.

**Native Language Teaching to Children**

It was concluded at the end of the section on social and cultural activities in this chapter that the Ukrainian, Polish, and Greek papers, unlike the Italian, German, and Dutch, strongly encouraged ethnic cohesion and the retention of ethnic distinctions. Consequently it might be expected that the former papers would have placed a greater emphasis on native language teaching to children than the latter. In the following pages we will see whether this was so.

Many ethnic groups in Australia had classes for the purpose of teaching migrant children their native language and sometimes, in addition, the history and culture of the homeland of their parents. These classes were frequently held on Saturdays and were referred to as the 'Saturday Schools'. On 14 October 1956 the *Wiadomosci Polskie* reported that there were then fifty-five Saturday Schools throughout Australia for Polish children. Both the *Wiadomosci Polskie* and the *Tygodnik Katolicki* supported the Saturday Schools and repeatedly urged parents to see that their children were taught the Polish language and customs. The essence of a long article, published by the *Wiadomosci Polskie* on this subject on 9 October 1960, was:

> It is most important that parents should send children to the Polish Saturday schools to learn the Polish language, history and geography. Parents are urged to cultivate Polish customs and traditions at home — if they do not, their children, on growing older, will neither understand nor respect them.

The editor of the *Tygodnik Katolicki* wrote several main articles on the wisdom of retaining and teaching the Polish language. In an editorial on 5 March 1960, he stressed how important it was for migrant children to learn their parental language and use it at home. He claimed that even the special government committee investigating the behaviour of migrant children was of the opinion that migrant families should preserve their bi-lingual character⁶ and stated that it was unreasonable and stupid to let children learn foreign languages in high schools and at the same time purposely to force them to forget the language which they had already learned to speak. Both these Polish papers warned against the use of books supplied by the Polish government to some

of the Saturday Schools in Australia, alleging that these publications contained communist propaganda. The Wiadomosci Polskie further assisted Polish children to learn their native language and customs by including a Polish Children’s Supplement, consisting of a page of poems, stories, and puzzles of a typically Polish nature, in every second issue of its paper.

The Neos Kosmos gave little space to the subject of native language teaching to children. However, it did print notices with details about the classes where Greek was taught with the advice that it was the duty of Greek parents to see that their children attended these afternoon classes. The Hellenic Herald stated quite emphatically that the Greek language should be learnt by children to ‘protect national-religious character against the possible effects of too complete an assimilation’. In an editorial on 3 March 1959 it claimed that some Greek parents did not send their children to Greek schools (in 1959 eleven afternoon schools were operating in Sydney, with seven hundred children attending) because they thought that such schools were not necessary in Australia. The editor felt that this way of thinking could have unhealthy effects not only on Greek schools but also on Greek Orthodox churches, because the new generation would tend to become estranged from Greek national and religious precepts. Not content with urging parents to have their children taught Greek and advising them of afternoon classes for this purpose, in 1960 the Hellenic Herald began to publish a series of Greek language lessons which it introduced as follows:

The Hellenic Herald will begin next week the publication of Grammar of Modern Greek, a self-teaching manual (not yet published in book form) written by A. V. Fatseas.

In writing this book, the author had in mind the needs of thousands of Greek children living in English-speaking countries such as Australia, the United States, South Africa and elsewhere. Children attending higher Greek classes in the main cities of those countries have not yet had a book of this kind to assist them – to guide and facilitate the work of their teachers in the course of instruction.

In addition, many hundreds of young Greeks living in country towns, where no Greek teaching facilities exist, should find in these weekly instalments the long-awaited answer to their problem ...

(28 April 1960.)

The Vilna Dumka paid considerable attention to the teaching of their native language to Ukrainian children and to the affairs of the Ukrainian schools, believing that the preservation of the native language was a potent factor in the maintenance of ethnic individuality and cohesion. At the beginning of the school year, on 7 February 1960, practically a whole issue of the Vilna Dumka was devoted to persuading Ukrainian parents to have their children taught Ukrainian. The following lines are taken from this issue:
Without native language there can be no native literature and culture; without native literature and culture there can be no nation . . . The Ukrainian language is the greatest treasure of our nation. Send your children to Ukrainian schools! . . . When one comes across Ukrainian children who do not know Ukrainian one can easily form an opinion of the national consciousness and the moral standards of their parents . . .

References to native language teaching were to be found in Italian-, German-, and Dutch-language papers but their occurrence was less frequent and their tone less emphatic than those in the papers of the ethnic groups already discussed.

The only reference to the subject in *La Fiamma* during 1959 was this paragraph on 4 February:

The Italian-Australian Association of Newcastle has organized a course in Italian for children between the ages of 7 and 14. This initiative is certainly worthy of encouragement as Italian children, who leave Italy at a tender age, easily forget the tongue of the land of their birth. The course, which will start on 21 February, will be held each Saturday between 10 a.m. and 12 noon. Parents are requested to complete forms which should be submitted by 14 February at the latest to the Italian Centre, 46 Beaumont Street, Hamilton.

There was no mention of native language teaching in *Il Corriere* in 1959; the sole one found in the 1960 reports on this paper was an announcement on 3 March to the effect that free courses in Italian, organized by the Scalabrini Fathers, were held weekly on Saturday, at 80 Albion Street, Surry Hills, Sydney.

The *Neue Welt* gave little space to native language teaching but, judging from the following statement (31 July 1958), it favoured the retention of the native language:

*Neue Welt* has pledged itself from the beginning to the assimilation of migrants . . . It is, however, of the opinion that assimilation should not and need not mean the shedding of the mother-tongue. In this opinion it is supported by leading psychiatrists whose researches . . . have led to the acknowledgment that further cultivation of the mother-tongue (naturally with simultaneous learning of the English language) is unconditionally required for the spiritual equanimity of the migrant.

One of this paper's infrequent references to German classes was an article on 27 March 1958 on the formation in Melbourne of a branch of the Pestalozzi Society for the teaching of German to children.

*Der Anker* from time to time published announcements about German Saturday Schools without discussing their value.

The reports on *De Nieuwe Wereld* contained no references to native language teaching; those on the *Dutch Australian Weekly* showed that the editor had occasionally advised his readers not to forget the Dutch language. It would be fair to say that these Dutch papers showed less
Migrant Group Activity in Australia

concern about native language teaching to children than any of the other papers studied.

It may be concluded that while the Italian, German, and Dutch papers were generally in favour of native language teaching to children, the Ukrainian, Polish, and Greek papers urged it more frequently and more emphatically.

Sport

Many of the ethnic groups represented in Australia have their own sports clubs. Soccer clubs predominate but there are also some ethnic organizations for swimming, boxing, cycling, table-tennis, water-polo, and other sports. These clubs have teams which participate in competitions with other teams of the same ethnic group or, more frequently, against Australian teams and those of other groups.

With the exception of the Tygodnik Katolicki which until recently rarely mentioned sporting events, the foreign-language newspapers studied had sporting columns in which matches were described, the quality of players assessed, and the scores of matches recorded. All sports reporting followed a similar pattern.

The Hellenic Herald, in its columns entitled 'Athletic News', extolled the Greek soccer team in Sydney, the Panhellenic, stating that in 1959 it had scored seventeen victories in the twenty-six matches in which it took part. Also in 1959, this paper devoted several articles to the successes and activities of Jim Londos, the Greek wrestler who visited Australia in that year, and gave some publicity to boxing and swimming contests.

In each issue of the Neos Kosmos there was a special heading for sports activities entitled 'Life and Sports', with brief accounts of sporting events involving Greek teams and sportsmen.

La Fiamma, in its sports reporting, gave pride of place to soccer and also gave good coverage to boxing events. It followed closely the matches of Italian soccer teams, such as A.P.I.A., Juventus, Roma, Savoy, and Julia and in 1959 organized a competition in which readers were asked to vote for the fairest and best soccer player. The winner received a free return-trip ticket to Italy.

Il Corriere gave a much larger percentage of space to sport during 1956-9 than any other paper of which the content was measured. Its sporting section, 'Il Corriere Sportivo', comprised four pages, and its reports, especially those on the Sydney competitions, were given in great detail, but followed the same general outline as reports in the Neos Kosmos.

Other Migrant Activities

Other activities of ethnic groups or their members, sometimes recorded

7 The Tygodnik Katolicki introduced a small sports section in 1961. In 1962 this was expanded to become a sports page.
by foreign-language newspapers, were the establishing of services by and for migrants, charitable ventures, radio programs, and past or present-day migrant achievements.

On 6 April 1960, the *Neos Kosmos* reported that a Welfare Office for migrants, the first of its kind, had been established by Photios Iosephides and Levkios Papadopoulos. This service, known as 'Hermes', was situated at 141 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne. On 15 July of the same year the *Dutch Australian Weekly* announced that a Netherlands Information Service had been opened in Adelaide in early May for the purpose of giving advice to Dutch migrants.

A number of the ethnic groups in Australia had formed organizations with a view to raising money for gifts to institutions in their homelands, for help to needy migrants, or for certain Australian causes. Many of the Greek societies, such as AHEPA, the Hellenic Youth Clubs, and the Daughters of Penelope, had both recreational and benevolent activities. For example, AHEPA was noted for its valuable gifts to hospitals and sanatoria in Greece. An account of one of these gifts was given by the *Hellenic Herald* on 2 April 1959:

The AHEPA organization in Australia received a letter from the Committee for the Protection of Crippled Children, Athens, stating that there was need for a mobile x-ray unit. Enough funds were raised by the three Australian lodges, Prometheus, Anatoli and Diogenes and the x-ray unit was ordered from Germany for delivery to Greece.

In 1960 the Dutch community in South Australia held a 'Holland Festival', the proceeds of which were donated for the building of a Children's Hospital in Adelaide. *De Nieuwe Wereld* announced the coming festival in a long article which said, amongst other things, that it would set an example for the rest of the Dutch community in Australia, and increase knowledge about Holland in Australia. During the festival, this paper published the comment:

The Holland Festival in Adelaide, which was organized by the Dutch Community, should be seen as an expression of gratitude by this community, for what Australia has done for migrants in the past ten years . . . . (26 August 1960.)

The *Dutch Australian Weekly* also publicized the festival (26 August):

Sir Thomas Playford opened the Adelaide Holland Festival and said in his speech that at the moment there are 20,000 Dutch migrants in South Australia, but that they could send us another 20,000. The Netherlands Consul in South Australia said that the idea of organizing a Holland Festival came from the Netherlands Emigration Officer in S.A., Mr Jaap Teekens. Sir Thomas expressed his appreciation for the message from Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands. He also told the audience that he was very pleased with the initiative shown by the Dutch migrants. Dr Insinger, in his reply, stated that the Dutch migrants, by organizing this festival, had shown themselves to be real citizens of South Australia.
The Greek community made arrangements with certain local radio stations to broadcast half-hour programs in Greek. The programs, usually comprising a short summary of news from Greece, local community and church notices, advice to migrants, and Greek recorded music, were occasionally mentioned in the *Hellenic Herald* and the *Neos Kosmos*.

Most foreign-language newspapers devoted some space to describing the present-day and past experiences and achievements of individual immigrants. The *Vilna Dumka* published many biographies of Ukrainian settlers; *La Fiamma* gave accounts of the achievements of Italian immigrants, and the *Hellenic Herald* frequently wrote of the successes of Greek settlers and their children, in farming, professional careers, or university examinations, with such comments as:

Congratulationsto young architect, D. A. Aristotelis, for winning the Architecture Contest organized by the Timber Development Coy of Western Australia. A home will be built on Mr Aristotelis’s plan and will be exhibited at the Home Exhibition next April. (5 March 1959.)

Accounts of ethnic group history were found in some of the papers, especially the Italian and German as the record of migration in this country of these two ethnic groups was longer than that of any other whose newspapers were being considered. Thus an article in the *Neue Welt* on 11 September 1958 described the celebrations of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sydney, giving details about the founding of the church and its early pastors. *La Fiamma* paid tribute to past Italian migrants in such articles as ‘Nollamara Park bears the name of an Italian’ (17 June 1959) and ‘Monument to Cane-Cutters’ (28 January 1959).

The foregoing analysis has dealt with the manner in which all types of foreign news, matters relating to Australia and the immigrant minority itself are reported and treated editorially. Does the evidence reviewed in the preceding five chapters support the hypotheses A and B of Chapter 3?

A general comment must be made before we can consider each of the two hypotheses. Much emphasis has been placed in Chapters 4-8 on the differences in the editorial treatment and the distribution of space between individual papers in each language group as well as among several language groups. For this reason we cannot speak of the foreign-language press as a whole, as if it were a homogeneous entity. There are, obviously, important differences within the press and any assertion made about this medium must, of necessity, deal with the broad trends and tendencies.

One such tendency that we have observed is that the foreign-language press is not ‘predominantly concerned with the maintenance of the
cultural identity of the ethnic minority’ as asserted in hypothesis A. It is true that by using the vernacular the press perpetuates a linguistic separateness of the ethnic minority; doubtless also it contributes to the maintenance of the group’s cultural identity in all its aspects. But these are not the predominant concerns of the section of the immigrant press analysed in this and the preceding four chapters.

The degree of objectivity and the tone of reporting varies, however, with the subject matter in the foreign-language press. We have observed that in the matters affecting the corporate life of their ethnic groups the editors were not content with the mere objective reporting of events as they were when dealing with Australian and, to a lesser extent, with European affairs. It is clear from the evidence presented in this chapter that the editors deemed it their prerogative and indeed duty not only to report but to exhort, criticize, and give praise. This attitude, common to most foreign-language newspapers in Australia, underlines the very important sociological aspect of this press as an agency of social control. In our view, however, the attitude is not a reflection of the preoccupation with the maintenance of the cultural identity. The immigrant weeklies that we examined are, by and large, commercial enterprises preoccupied with the problems of advertising and circulation. They are, above all, concerned with the supply of news; their concern with the cultural identity of the group which they serve is, in the majority of cases, of secondary importance.

We have no reservations concerning hypothesis B which, in our view, is fully supported in terms of the evidence presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The socializing functions of the press in the context of the process of adjustment of the immigrants in Australia are as important as its role as an agency of social control within the ethnic group. Both these aspects impinge on the behaviour of immigrants and this, too, underlines the sociological significance of the foreign-language press. This subject will be further examined in the third part of this book which surveys the characteristics and the role of the foreign-language press in Australia.
PART III

CHARACTERISTICS
AND FUNCTIONS
The Changing Face of the Foreign-language Press

The close relationship between migration peaks, rate of assimilation, and the existence of the foreign-language press which was discussed in earlier chapters, highlights the instability of this medium. Changes in demand for foreign-language newspapers explain many changes in the face of the press: the numbers of newspapers and their circulation, changes in frequency of publication, title, and appearance.

One of the most notable features of the foreign-language press reported by its students in the United States and Canada is its impermanence and changeability. Many periodicals are started, but only a few survive permanently. Others are published at irregular intervals, move from one location to another, amalgamate with others, change their titles, and frequently fold up. In addition foreign-language papers inevitably face the problem of whether or not to introduce sections in English in order to hold their readership. In fact, as one American authority points out, 'the more a foreign-language paper seeks, by introducing features characteristic of the local press, to hold its readers who are becoming assimilated, the more it hastens its loss of support by furthering of the process of assimilation . . . The life cycle


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of the foreign-language commercial press thus ends in suicide or obsolescence.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{The Fluctuation of the Ethnic Press in Australia}

Do the characteristics of the North American ethnic press apply to Australia since World War II?\textsuperscript{3} The evidence used to answer this question is contained in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 shows how the numbers of what are termed in this book mass circulation newspapers have steadily increased since the beginning of a large-scale immigration program in 1947-8. Indeed the relationship between immigration flows and the number of newspapers is quite unmistakable. This is seen, especially, in the dramatic increase in numbers between 1949 and 1950: of the eleven newspapers started during the year nine were established by East European groups whose immigration reached a peak about that time. As other groups of immigrants began to play a more prominent part in the second half of the 1950s (Greeks, Italians, Germans, and Hungarian refugees after the revolution of 1956), new newspapers were started. With the exception of four years (1954, 1955, 1959, and 1962) there has been a steady increase in the total number of mass circulation newspapers in the eighteen-year period under review. True, many newspapers ceased publication after a few months or years of existence. Those that have stopped, however, have been replaced by new ones, mostly in other languages. All in all, sixty-six mass circulation foreign-language newspapers started between 1946 and 1964: thirty-two of these (or 48 per cent) stopped publication.\textsuperscript{4}

The trend in the mass circulation press does not give an impression of the turbulence and instability experienced in the United States and to a lesser degree in Canada. Several factors combined to create this pattern in North America: the high mobility of the ethnic communities in their early period of adaptation as a result of land speculation; the comparative ease with which foreign-language papers could be started without competition from established newspapers and without much

\textsuperscript{1}Caroline F. Ware, 'Foreign Language Press', \textit{Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences}, Vol. 6 (New York, 1931), p.380.

\textsuperscript{2}The history of the foreign-language press in Australia before World War II does not lend itself to a comparison with the corresponding period in the U.S.A. or Canada. As noted in Chapter 1, this type of press was not sufficiently diversified, the German-language press being the only exception. On the other hand there is no published evidence relating to the stability of the North American ethnic press since World War II.

\textsuperscript{3}Park (op. cit., p.313) shows that the percentage of stops to starts of what he calls 'principal' foreign-language newspapers in the U.S.A. between 1884 and 1920 was 92. Excluding German-language newspapers the ratio was 73. Admittedly he is dealing with a considerably longer period than the one under analysis in Australia. Nevertheless his figures convey an impression of greater instability than that experienced by the foreign-language press in Australia.
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<td>30</td>
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<td>35</td>
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</table>

GRAND TOTAL | 1 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 17 | 30 | 29 | 32 | 40 | 38 | 32 | 43 | 47 | 51 | 50 | 51 | 50 | 48 | 46 |

† At least 15 other Greek club bulletins were produced in the 1950s and 1960s, but their dates of issue are too uncertain to be included.
capital outlay; the support of American political parties and municipal pressure groups who often lavished promises, and even funds, to secure the votes of ethnic minorities, only to withdraw their support after the election, leaving publishers to their own devices; the irresponsible manner of often scarcely literate adventurers who, compelled to leave their native countries, found ready employment in ethnic journalism where there was a severe shortage of really qualified editors.5

None of these forces has been much in evidence in Australia since World War II. Immigration, and to some extent the process of initial resettlement and adjustment (particularly in the case of former Displaced Persons),6 has been strictly controlled by the government: newspaper publishing is a costly business in Australia for it involves heavy financial outlay for the purchase of printing machinery, type with foreign accents or non-Latin characters, and the employment of highly paid and scarce compositors; and, by the same token, few foreign-language newspapers have become spokesmen of Australian pressure groups. Finally, there is much less evidence of irresponsible journalism in the Australian foreign-language press which, to maintain its existence, has relied heavily on its appeal to the moderate elements in each community.

The analysis of the papers that have stopped and started shows an interesting difference between the two groups, the ‘émigré’ papers started by former refugees from Eastern Europe and the press of the voluntary immigrants. The émigré press shows a higher stability in the period 1946-64 with the percentage of stops to starts at 44; voluntary:

TABLE 5 Number, net increase, and ratio of foreign-language publications, 1946-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number* 1946</th>
<th>Number* 1964</th>
<th>Net Increase</th>
<th>1946–1964 Started</th>
<th>1946–1964 Stopped</th>
<th>Starts to Stops %</th>
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<tr>
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<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>32‡</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>(a) Voluntary Settlers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17‡</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>(b) Emigré Press</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Church Papers</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29‡</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Club and Special Interest Bulletins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>92§</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Include papers started and papers stopped during year.
† Includes Greek newspaper Oikogenia which ceased publication in 1964.
‡ Includes Ukrainian Church paper Pravoslavna Ukrajina; 3 issues only were published in 1964.
§ Includes Hungarian periodical Tukor which ceased publication in 1964.

5See Park, op. cit., pp.277-86; Ware, op. cit., p.380; Olszyk, op. cit., pp.43-4; Turek, op. cit., pp.60-1.
TABLE 6 Annual birth and death rates of foreign-language publications, 1946-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Church Papers</th>
<th></th>
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<th>Club and Special Interest</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. in existence</td>
<td>Starts</td>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Stops to starts (%)</td>
<td>No. in existence</td>
<td>Starts</td>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Stops to starts (%)</td>
<td>No. in existence</td>
<td>Starts</td>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Stops to starts (%)</td>
</tr>
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<td>100</td>
<td>46</td>
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</table>
immigrants, on the other hand, have a proportion of 53 per cent. If, however, the Chinese-language press is not included, the proportion of stops to starts drops to 47 (see Table 6). These figures, on the whole, confirm the relative stability of foreign-language mass circulation papers and emphasize the greater stability of those of Australia’s refugee settlers. The period under review is, however, too short and the number of papers too small to warrant further speculation about the reasons for these differences. It may well be that the trend will be reversed in a generation’s time.7

The other two kinds of foreign-language paper, the church periodicals and special interest bulletins, are typically monthlies, often mimeographed rather than printed, and distributed free of charge to the members of a parish, residents of a given locality, or members of an association. The circulation of such periodicals is usually restricted and they generally carry little or no paid advertising.8

We have tried to include in Appendix C titles and other information about the church and the special interest and club bulletins. The list is no doubt less exhaustive than that of mass circulation papers. Some of the bulletins of the past are lost in oblivion since no copies have been preserved and even the titles were not recorded.

The information at our disposal, however, enabled us to analyse the proportion of stops to starts for these two types of periodicals as follows: church bulletins - 64 started, 29 stopped between 1946 and 1964, i.e. 45 per cent; special interest and club bulletins - 136 started, 92 stopped, i.e. 68 per cent (see Table 5). We have also analysed the annual ‘birth’ and ‘death’ rates (see Table 6).

It is not easy to interpret the above statistics. The first impression they give is of the much greater stability of the religious press compared with that of either the mass circulation newspaper or the little press. This finding is in line with the experience of the German-language Lutheran press and its remarkable tenacity in the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.9 On the other hand the growth of the religious press has been in response to the needs of diverse religious groups that have entered Australia since World War II. The largest of these groups amongst non-British immigrants was

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7Our cultural distance hypothesis could perhaps be applied here. The difficulty, however, would be to take voluntary immigrants as one group. In fact, this particular group is very heterogeneous, embracing minorities with different cultural distances to the British-Australian stock.

8The content of what we earlier termed the ‘little press’ is confined mostly to matters concerning the members of the organization, reports of meetings, changes of membership, and an occasional polemical article as well as reminiscences of the last war. Church bulletins contain sermons and items of apologetics, church news from Europe, as well as reports of christenings, weddings, and funerals. Much of this material provides a valuable source for the history of local settlements.

9See pp. 11-12.
made up of adherents to the Roman Catholic Church and they brought with them some chaplains as well as several religious orders of priests and nuns. Periodicals like the Italian-language L'Angelo della Famiglia, the Square Marianni, La Campana, Il Messaggero, the Polish-language Millenium, and the Hungarian-language Regnum Marianum are examples of monthly publications produced by Catholic chaplains and circulated mainly within one state or city.

The Lutheran churches also publish a variety of bulletins for the benefit of their adherents amongst the immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, for example, the Tee ja Tode (Melbourne) and the Lounaristi all (Adelaide), both in Estonian; the German-language Lutherbote; and the Hungarian-language Uzenet (Sydney); the Bzniczas Zinas and the Apartraksts, two Latvian-language bulletins, published in Melbourne.

The Orthodox churches have the majority of their adherents amongst immigrants from Greece, Yugoslavia, Russia, and the Ukraine. There are no separate church papers in the Greek and Serbo-Croat languages but the Russian-language Tserkovnoe Slovo and the Ukrainian Tserkovnii Vestnik (both published in Sydney) are official organs of the respective autocephalic Orthodox churches.

One Protestant minority group which publishes a relatively large number of bulletins is known as the Reformed Churches of Australia. This particular denomination is based on the teachings of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the Netherlands and finds most of its adherents amongst Dutch immigrants. A strictly orthodox Calvinist group, the Reformed Churches in Australia publishes a number of printed bulletins for its members in several states (e.g. Contact, described in its subtitle as ‘Official Organ of the Reformed Churches of Australia, classis Victoria’ and Kerkelijk Orgaan, organ of the Reformed Churches of Australia in Tasmania), as well as more modest, usually mimeographed, publications for specific congregations. An interesting feature of these publications is that they are bilingual and often their titles are in English, for instance the bi-weekly Church Paper of the Reformed Church of Dandenong or the Trowel and Sword, another bi-weekly published in Geelong.

The special interest and club bulletins represent a highly heterogeneous group of periodicals ranging from specialized cultural magazines with Australia-wide circulation, like the Czech political bi-monthly

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11 See p.37.
12 See pp.30-1 for a survey of religious publications in the Hungarian language.
13 See p.39.
Za Svobodu and the Hungarian theatrical publication the Kepes Magazin,\textsuperscript{14} to essentially local bulletins as, for example, two Canberra publications, the C.S.S.C. Be Quick Club News (an organ of the Dutch soccer club) and the Biuletyn Polski which was distributed free of charge to members of the Polish Club in the A.C.T. between 1954 and 1958. While the religious publications derive their stability from the personnel of full-time ministers and the support of their congregations, the regional and club bulletins often have a fluctuating body of volunteer and part-time editors, organizers, and supporters. Specialized publications and cultural magazines tend to rely mainly on subscriptions and usually to a small degree on advertising. They are therefore less likely to resist pressures of assimilation and geographical mobility in the ethnic minority.

\textit{The Struggle for Existence}

The different patterns of transformation of ethnic newspapers discussed here in relation to the émigré press, the press of voluntary immigrants, church newspapers, and the club and special interest bulletins, all point to the two hypotheses advanced earlier in this study: the 'demographic' hypothesis linking the 'peaks' in the numbers of papers in circulation with an influx of new settlers and the cultural distance hypothesis which assumes an inverse relationship between the degree of support given by an ethnic minority to its press and the degree of the group's remoteness from the British-Australian culture.

The two hypotheses can only be satisfactorily tested with reference to the few instances when a given language press has existed sufficiently long to have been exposed to the relevant demographic and cultural factors. The case of the German press, from its beginnings in the middle of the nineteenth century, would seem to support the demographic hypothesis. This press clearly developed in response to the demand of new settlers right up to World War I. But development of the German press also shows that its continued survival seems to have been due to the support it received from many closely-knit rural communities of German origin. So we see that our cultural distance hypothesis does not necessarily apply here, assuming that the Germans are culturally closer to the British Australians than many Southern and Eastern Europeans. Nevertheless the conditions under which the settlements of the German people developed in Australia produced the same effects as cultural distance. In addition the perseverance of the

\textsuperscript{14}Another example of a Hungarian-language publication in this category is the Szabad Szaj, an independent satirical monthly which has substantial circulation in Australia as well as amongst Hungarian migrants in many overseas countries.
German religious press can be wholly attributed to the doctrinal orthodoxy of the two principal branches of German Lutheranism.15

Again the examples of *Le Courrier Australien* and the *Norden*, two newspapers with an impressive record of longevity, show that the demographic factor played little part beyond giving an initial impetus to the foundation of these periodicals. *Le Courrier Australien* has never been an exclusively French-Australian foundation; its circulation in French colonies in the south-west Pacific and amongst many French-speaking Australians makes it the least 'ethnic' of all minority group newspapers in Australia. The *Norden* on the other hand developed into a bilingual newspaper, and in the last decade of its existence catered as much for the Scandinavian-born residents and short-term visitors to Australia (sailors and businessmen) as it did for the Australian-born children of Scandinavian settlers. Besides, it received strong support from the Lutheran Church.16

The trends since World War II have not been in operation long enough to test the two hypotheses. Nevertheless the information that does emerge suggests that the demographic and cultural factors by themselves are not sufficient to explain the course of development of the main groups of periodicals. This is seen, for example, in the case of the Dutch-language press. Dutch settlers in Australia, it seems, are not prepared to support a mass circulation press on anything like the scale of the three largest minority groups — the Italians, Greeks, and Germans.17 Circulation figures are not available for all foreign-language newspapers and it is therefore impossible to make precise comparisons of the kind that would show circulation per head as in American and Canadian studies.18 Nevertheless it is possible to compare the combined weekly circulation figures of the press of two ethnic groups of roughly equal size: an estimated 108,000 Dutch settlers and some 110,000 Greek-speaking settlers in June 1963.19 According to Table 7 the combined weekly circulation of the *Dutch Australian Weekly* and the *Holland Australia Post* was, at about the same time, 10,700. This can be contrasted with the circulation of the Greek newspapers which we

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15See pp.11-12.
16See p.15.
17See Appendix B.
19The figures given here are estimates based on the country of birth in the June 1961 Census and in the statistics of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals for 1961-2 and 1962-3. No allowance has been made for any return movement after June 1961. The Greek-speaking settlers include persons born in Greece and in Cyprus.
The Foreign-language Press in Australia

estimate at 65,300:20 two Melbourne papers, the Neos Kosmos and the Pyrsos, alone published 28,000 copies twice a week.21

The contrast between the support given to their mass circulation papers by these two groups of comparable size would seem to support our demographic and cultural distance hypotheses. The picture, however, is obscured by the great multiplicity of Dutch-language church papers and local bulletins. This suggests that while the very great majority of Dutch settlers read the Australian daily press (and possibly peruse newspapers published in the Netherlands and sent here by their relatives) they nevertheless maintain strong ties with their churches22 and are prepared to support local Dutch associations and clubs.

Our two hypotheses also only partially apply to the post-World War II development of the German press in Australia. The demographic factor has certainly contributed to its growth from two weeklies in the early 1950s to three weeklies in 1963-4 with a circulation of about 25,000. The cultural factor cannot be easily applied here for the readers of the German press are a heterogeneous group consisting not only of former Germans, Austrians and Swiss nationals but also of many refugees from Eastern and Central Europe for whom German has been a second language. The picture is further obscured by the importation of large quantities of German newspapers and magazines from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

Two clearcut instances where the demographic and the cultural distance hypotheses seem to fit neatly are the Southern European press and the émigré press. We have already noted the remarkable growth

20This figure is based on the incomplete data of varying accuracy given in Table 3 for 1960-1 and (whenever available) for 1962-3. The Ethnos was no longer published in 1962-3 and a new weekly, Ta Nea, started in Melbourne in 1961; its circulation is not known. Even if allowance is made for possible overstatement in reporting the circulation figures, the total is large both in the absolute and the relative sense. Allowance must also be made for the circulation of the newspapers published in Greece and despatched to Australia by airmail. There is no record of the numbers of newspapers sold in this way but the newsagencies in the areas of Greek concentration are reported to be doing more business each year.

21The Greeks' 'hunger for news' (to quote the editor of the Hellenic Herald, July 1961) and the diversification of the press has been stressed already not only in Australia but also in Canada (see p.42n.). Greeks living in the Diaspora, however, do not seem to differ much in this regard from their brethren back home. The pattern here is much the same. For example in 1963 Athens (population 1,900,000) had no fewer than nineteen daily newspapers and Saloniika (population 550,000) had four.

The Changing Face of the Foreign-language Press

and volume of Italian and Greek papers and the extent to which they seem to supply a comprehensive news coverage as well as a whole range of features that are normally to be found in the Australian

TABLE 7 Circulation statistics* for selected mass circulation newspapers, 1954–1964

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* Unless stated otherwise these statistics have been taken from G.A.A.R.D.S. [General Media Australian Advertising Rate & Data Service], Sydney.
† Figures supplied by the Department of Immigration.
‡ Figures supplied by the publishers.
metropolitan press. In this sense it could be argued that the large Southern European newspaper like *La Fiamma*, *Il Globo*, the *Pyrros*, and the *National Tribune*, to name only a few, are near substitutes for Australian newspapers. In these Southern European papers the reader will find not only good coverage of news from Europe, not only information about the activities of his group in Australia, but also a comprehensive round-up of Australian news.

The émigré press does not offer anything like the coverage of Australian news that the Southern European newspapers do, and is therefore not a substitute for an Australian newspaper. The fact of its persistence in the face of competition from the Australian daily press shows that its readers look upon it as a source of news from the home country and of the local immigrant group. Unlike the large Southern European newspapers, the émigré press consists of small, tabloid size papers of rarely more than eight to twelve pages which cannot compete with the large Australian newspapers. This means that the immigrant is forced to find his news in papers with a completely Australian outlook, while at the same time his inherited language and continued interest in his homeland and the immigrant group strongly perpetuate a consciousness of difference. This tendency will be reinforced if he espouses a political ideology which is in opposition to the political system in his homeland.

The implications of the political stand of the ethnic press are examined in the final section of this chapter, but now we have to consider the final stage of the life cycle of the foreign-language newspaper referred to at the beginning of this chapter. Does the Australian experience suggest that the life cycle of the foreign-language press ‘ends in suicide or obsolescence’?

The answer to this question is, on the whole, in the affirmative. Although precise circumstances are rarely made public the evidence of high mortality of immigrant newspapers suggests that suicidal tendencies are by no means uncommon. The experience of several German newspapers in Melbourne in the 1850s, the story of the first *Norden*, the short-lived Italian radical papers in the inter-war period, are examples of, perhaps, unpremeditated journalistic ventures that ended in suicide. These, as well as more recent attempts to establish ‘quality’ magazines for specialized audiences, show how often this type of journalism leads to self-destruct, particularly when the publisher’s resources have all been sunk in the production of a journal that can never attract either revenue from advertising or a stable readership. If the editor decides to persevere despite the lack of sufficient support, he must be heading for suicide. By the same token so long as he is able to secure stable advertising income his paper will continue in publication.

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23For example the Hungarian monthly, the *Tukor*, the Polish *Najpiekniejsze Opowiesci*, the Czech *Jiskry*, and the Italian *Roma*. 
The changes of securing advertising income depend to a large extent on two factors: the size of potential readership as a market for advertisers and the extent to which members of the immigrant group use the old language. In a large and constantly growing minority which is slow to learn the English language there is never any shortage of potential advertisers: shipping lines, real estate agencies, overseas parcel services (mainly to Eastern Europe), shops selling products — chiefly foodstuffs — of the old country, business and professional services as well as personal notices such as births, deaths, announcements of engagements — are examples of advertising copy supplied mainly from within the immigrant group. Advertising from outside is supplied chiefly by banks, insurance companies, and occasionally by employers seeking labour. When, however, a steady influx of immigrants no longer renews the reading public and when the public abandons the old language, the foreign-language newspaper drops in circulation and loses advertising income.

This stage heralds the paper's imminent death, for the fact is that most foreign-language editors rely on the fact that they write in the migrant's own language to hold their readers rather than the superior character of their journalism, and they become obsolete when their public abandons the old language and the advertisers prefer to reach the English reading public through the medium of the Australian press. The stage of incipient obsolescence is usually heralded in the foreign-language newspapers by appeals to readers to support, by personal donations, a publishing fund. The appeals for help regularly found in the émigré press are indicative of its desperate struggle for survival.

How do the foreign-language papers react to the threat of collapse? In the United States the editors sought to avert loss of readership by giving over part of their space to articles and editorials written in English. The experiment, however, did not seem to work. There were exceptions like the weekly *Greek Star* in Chicago and several Spanish papers along the Mexican border but in other ethnic communities the expedient has been abandoned. It seems clear that the mixed newspaper can only succeed where the community is permanently bilingual and spatially segregated. But once the immigrant can read English

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24 Ware, op. cit., p.380 and Hunter, op. cit., pp.48-9; Park, op. cit., Chapter XIII.

25 This process in the American setting is described by Hunter (op. cit., p.48), as follows: 'Mixed . . . papers satisfied neither the one nor the other, and the expedient has been abandoned . . . the expertly edited *New York Staats Zeitung und Herold* experimented with an English-language section, providing it with a fine staff. Yet to no avail. It was a waste of pages to those who could read only German, and a waste, too, to those who knew English for they preferred a whole paper to half. The fact was that once a subscriber was able to read English, the nationality paper simply could not compete in providing the all-round news and features that helped him to feel at home in America. The English-language newspaper was the symbol that a person had to read in order to cross the divide.'
The Foreign-language Press in Australia

and earns a livelihood and maintains social contacts mainly outside his ethnic community he will invariably turn to the Australian newspaper. This is what is beginning to happen in the émigré press in Australia. The trend will be accelerated when the first generation passes away. The second generation brought up in the English-speaking environment will not be interested in giving the foreign-language press much support.26

The Changing Fortunes of Political Periodicals

We have emphasized in the preface to this study the heterogeneous nature of that section of the foreign-language press which consists of the periodicals that subscribe to a distinctly political philosophy espoused by a political party in Europe or in Australia. A few examples of what was described as 'an essentially political and propagandist press' in the 1920s and 1930s were given in Chapter 1. In this section we examine the changing fortunes of the two political periodicals that survived beyond World War II, as well as of the few selected examples of periodicals in that category in the postwar period.

Of the two political periodicals that had been founded before World War II the Italian-language Il Risveglio27 got off to a good start when its publication was resumed in 1944. As an anti-fascist newspaper it was politically acceptable to the Australian authorities and no restrictions were placed on its contents and circulation; as the only Italian-language mass circulation newspaper it had a monopoly of the press. In March 1945 4,000 copies were printed every fortnight and there was little in the paper that would testify to its distinctly left-wing politics. The aims of the paper were stated by the editors as, firstly, 'to cement the bonds of friendship between the Australian and Italian people' and, secondly, 'to improve the culture and social welfare of Italians in Australia'.28 A leading article published when all of southern and central Italy were liberated from the Fascists urged that 'Italians must become assimilated with Australians'.

26In an attempt to attract the second generation of immigrants (i.e. children born or educated in Australia) several church magazines have introduced sections in English. For example, the Hungarian Presbyterian monthly newsletter, the Egyhazi Eresito in Adelaide, has a regular feature in English which tells the story of the Reformation in Hungary; news items concerning the progress of Hungarian children in their schools, excursions and socials are also given in English. Likewise the Polish-language Millenium in Canberra devotes one page in each issue to a chapter of Polish history or an item on the Catholic Church in Poland. Several publications of the Reformed Churches of Australia and New Zealand were begun as Dutch publications but now are published wholly in English (e.g. Church Letter). The principal organ of the Reformed Church, the Trowel and Sword, has a small Dutch supplement called De Kleine Krant.

27See pp.22-3.

28Il Risveglio, 7 March 1945.
The Changing Face of the Foreign-language Press

Under the sponsorship of the organization known as 'Italia Libera' the paper was published from the premises of the Italo-Australian Club in Sydney and for a while acted as an unofficial spokesman for the Italian settlers as well as former Italian prisoners-of-war who were awaiting repatriation.\footnote{The fortunes of the paper changed, however, soon after \textit{La Fiamma} made its appearance. The latter newspaper became an object of violent attacks in \textit{Il Risveglio} which showed clearly its political line:} we concede to all religions the right of propaganda and proselytism. But our concept of liberty abhors the licence of any church to use religion as a barrier to social improvement of the workers. We have published our balance-sheet and we are not afraid to submit to the critical eye of the public our financial position. We are proud of our poverty and we are proud to be kept in existence by the help of those sharing our ideas. (17 September 1947.)

A fortnight later (1 October) the paper commented:

\textit{La Fiamma} does not care for the interest of Australia and the British Commonwealth – as is evident by its attitude of admiration towards the U.S.A. and the praise for everything that is American.

In spite of its claims about being an organ of the Italian people in Australia \textit{Il Risveglio} did not succeed in building up its circulation and the revenue from advertising. Appeals for donations to maintain the paper were published in each issue but evidently to no avail. Between 1948 and 1956 \textit{Il Risveglio} appeared at irregular intervals. In that period approximately half of its space was devoted to the news about the World Peace Council and other communist-front organizations, reports about left-wing politics in Italy, and critical accounts of American foreign policy. Sports news and short stories filled the rest of the pages.

In April 1956 the name of the paper was changed to \textit{Il Nuovo Risveglio} with a sub-title 'Il Giornale dell' Emigrante Italiano in Australia'. Despite its sub-title the paper made no effort to inform Italian migrants in Australia about any matters concerned with their settlement. The new \textit{Risveglio} was only a disguise for the old paper and contained much the same type of political news and comment. It lasted only nine months. The last issue appeared in January 1957.

The other survivor from the prewar days, the \textit{Napredak}, had an equally chequered history.\footnote{An article in the issue dated 13 November 1946 speaks of the advisory and welfare functions of \textit{Il Risveglio} to the Italian nationals deprived of normal consular protection.} After publication was resumed in December 1942 the paper as an organ of the anti-royalist Association of Yugoslav Immigrants gave enthusiastic support to Tito's People's Army of Liberation in Yugoslavia. In December 1945, at the annual conference of the Association, the communist government of Yugoslavia was acclaimed with enthusiasm and the editorial policy of the \textit{Napredak} was given full

\footnote{See p.23.}
support. It was decided to expand the newspaper to twelve pages and to organize a campaign to increase the number of subscribers.

The editor of the Napredak from 1937 to 1945 was a prominent member of the Yugoslav community in Australia and an active communist named Kosovic. He was also secretary of the Association of Yugoslav Immigrants. In June 1945, as a result of the change of government, he was appointed Yugoslav Consul for Australia and New Zealand and so resigned his positions both as editor of the Napredak and as secretary of the Association.

From December 1945 until 1948, when the split occurred between the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Cominform, the Napredak experienced its greatest success. During these three years the contents of the newspaper consisted of news items on the economic and political progress in Yugoslavia, articles supporting the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and consistent criticisms of Anglo-American policy on particular issues such as Trieste, Palestine, and Western Germany. The Napredak gave support to the other Balkan powers which had established communist governments, and was vehemently against the Greek monarchical régime.

Throughout the period the Napredak regularly published information on repatriation to Yugoslavia. Yugoslav settlers were encouraged to return to Yugoslavia. While the repatriation of some 1,200 persons in 1948 was publicized, little space was devoted to Australian news. At that stage the Napredak was simply an organ of the communist government of Yugoslavia although published in Australia.

The dispute between the Yugoslav Communist Party and its expulsion from the Cominform profoundly shook the Napredak. The editor and those in control of the paper were obviously alarmed at the possible repercussions of the split on the Yugoslav community in Australia. For the next few months comments on the events in Yugoslavia were guarded and reference was made to the need for unity.

The Conference of the Association of Yugoslav Immigrants in December 1948 was a turning point in the history of the Napredak. The Association emphatically condemned the Yugoslav Communist Party and declared its support for the Cominform. It was decided that the Napredak should in the future be more concerned with Australian affairs and with the lives of the immigrants in Australia, and that less emphasis should be placed on foreign affairs.

After the 1948 conference it became clear that the attempts which had been made to preserve the unity of the Association of Yugoslav Immigrants had not been successful. The Yugoslav Consul had remained loyal to Tito and was expelled from the central executive of the Association.

Throughout the ensuing two years the finances of the Napredak appear to have been very shaky. From January 1952 the paper was issued fortnightly instead of weekly, and in an endeavour to increase
circulation there was a marked rise in the space devoted to Australian affairs. At the annual conferences of the Association in this period, members requested that more space should be given to articles on the life of immigrants in Australia, trade union matters, and other aspects of what was described as the Australian democratic movement. At the 1955 conference the *Napredak* was criticized for not fulfilling its role among the postwar immigrants from Yugoslavia: 'Postwar migrants constitute the majority of migrants in general. We cannot be contented while so many are part of the progressive movement.' A month later the editor admitted that the form of the paper and its contents could not appeal to the recent immigrants and promised to print more news about Australia and Yugoslav communities in the country.

There is evidence in the changing contents of the *Napredak* in 1955–7 that the paper became less political in outlook. The reconciliation between Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union meant a removal of a *cause célèbre* which for the past seven years had preoccupied the paper and antagonized many of its subscribers. In spite of the fact that the *Napredak* shifted its emphasis to Australian affairs the paper never recovered the ground it had lost. In March 1958 publication was suspended due to lack of funds. One issue of a roneoed bulletin appeared in July, after which the publication ceased.

A third example of a newspaper with a distinctly political outlook was the *Makedonska Iskra* [Macedonian Spark]. Like the *Napredak* it was a newspaper controlled by extreme left-wing elements. What makes it more interesting in the Australian context and in comparison with other foreign-language newspapers is the fact that it was also an organ of an irredentist organization, the Macedonian People's League. This organization was established in Western Australia in 1946 to promote the incorporation of the territories inhabited by the Macedonian-speaking people (in Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia) in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

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31 In an official statement on policy the editor referred to the difficulties caused by the loss of a 'large number of subscribers' who were repatriated in 1948 and 'the betrayal of the Tito clique'. To make up for the discontinued weekly edition the editor promised to issue 'from time to time' a roneoed bulletin containing news from Yugoslavia (*Napredak*, 12 January 1952).


33 *Napredak*, 23 April 1955.

34 A factor which must have contributed to the demise of the *Napredak* was its pan-slavic outlook which denied a leading role to any of the ethnic minorities that constitute modern Yugoslavia. In a leading article on 7 August 1954 the paper was described as a 'non-party and non-sectarian organ which gathers together immigrants from Yugoslavia - Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Montenegrins and all Slav Macedonians'. It seems that few Yugoslavs were prepared to subscribe to such a doctrine, quite apart from the paper's radical left-wing politics. The few successful Yugoslav newspapers started in Australia since World War II have been published for the benefit of the Serbs (e.g. *Sloga* and *Srpski Glasnik*), the Croats (e.g. *Spremnost*) and the Slovenes (e.g. *Misli*).
Like the _Napredak_, the _Makedonska Iskra_ was thrown into confusion by the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform. After a few months of uncertainty the paper came out strongly against Tito's Yugoslavia. From then on the position of the Macedonian minorities in Yugoslavia and Greece was described in equally gruesome terms as, for example, in the following leading article:

Our aim is to fight for freedom and independence for the Macedonian people who have suffered so much. For the first five hundred years under the Turks and then, after 1912, for forty more years under the rule of Athens and Belgrade and the Czar Ferdinand [of Bulgaria] until 1944, the persecution of the enslavers was ruthless... Now we are enslaved by the agents of imperialism of whom Tito is one. In Greece the English handed over their authority to the American Van Fleet who is intent on destroying our National Liberation Army. Greek fascist courts condemn whole towns to die... (Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1954.)

The article, typical of the many that appeared in each issue, concluded with an appeal for donations for the publishing fund:

The _Iskra_ is the only nationalist paper for Macedonian migrants. It teaches them how to resist political adversaries and specifically those who represent western imperialism – the eternal devil and enslaver of Macedonia. We show you how to avoid listening to the agents of Greek and Bulgarian fascism whose leaders live under American protection and are armed with American dollars. We want to organize our own lives!

Throughout its existence, until it ceased publication in February 1957, the _Makedonska Iskra_ remained an exclusively political newspaper. No attempt was made to introduce news items on Australian affairs or articles dealing with the problems faced by the Macedonian migrants other than straight reporting of drives for funds and political manifestations in support of the Macedonian People's League. It is evident that the paper received less and less support as time went on. In the history of the foreign-language press in Australia the _Makedonska Iskra_ occupies a special place as a paper which was almost wholly orientated to the 'old country'. To those in control of the paper Australia was only a moderately safe base for the mobilization of a movement for national liberation of a suppressed minority.

The examples examined so far of the newspapers with a distinctly political outlook have two characteristics in common: they all espoused a European political ideology (e.g. Nazism in the case of _Die Bruecke_ or Communism in the case of the _Makedonska Iskra_) and were only interested in Australian politics in so far as they could count on mobilizing some local support for their cause. There is, however, another section of the press in this category which has to be considered, namely the foreign-language newspapers mainly orientated to specific Australian political parties.

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35Our survey of the 'European-oriented' political publications in foreign
One example of such a newspaper is *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano* which was begun as a monthly in Melbourne in 1957. The paper is published by Il Consiglio Italiano-Australiano del Lavoro, an organization which aims at mobilizing Italians to support the Australian Labor Party. The Federal Parliamentary Leader of the A.L.P. is president of the Consiglio. *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano* is a general-interest magazine which devotes a generous proportion of its space to feature articles, editorial comment and, to a lesser extent, to news items; advertisements occupy a prominent position in the paper. An unusual feature of *Il Progresso* is the regular practice of publishing feature articles in English which take up to about one-fifth of the total space. Editorial comment invariably reflects the views of the A.L.P., while the news items are concerned with the activities of the Consiglio, reports on statements of federal and state leaders of the A.L.P. and on trade union matters. Federal and state elections receive special publicity, and the platform of the A.L.P. is given particular emphasis, as the following extract from an editorial shows. It was entitled ‘Dear Italo-Australian voter! You have to vote and vote well!’, and was printed by the side of an article which reported a statement of the then A.L.P. leader, Dr Evatt, who said that, if the Labor Party were elected to govern the country, all applications for the immigration of relatives from Italy that had so far been refused would be re-examined.

22 November 1958 will be one of the most important days in Australian history. On that day, you, like all other voters, will vote in the election of the 23rd Federal Parliament. Be sure to understand the value of your vote, because it can constitute the decisive factor for your wellbeing and your family’s... What are the things you desire? Undoubtedly, a good job and a good house. Also, being reunited with your family and considered by Australians an Australian, like the other immigrants from Europe... But you certainly know that only men who understand your rights may satisfy your desires: these men are found only in the A.L.P. They are the only ones, who, when elected into power, will assure you tranquillity in life and the abolition of the regulations prohibiting the immigration of your family... Dear voter! Here is the most important point in the A.L.P. platform: simplification of the procedure for the reunion of the immigrants’ families... Remember! It is your sacred duty to better the conditions of your life!30

languages in Australia is not meant to be comprehensive. We have not been able to include in this section several anti-communist periodicals – many of them mimeographed sheets with a small circulation – published by the émigrés from Eastern Europe. Likewise we have left out the small publications which perpetuate diverse factional fights and hates of the immigrants’ European heritage. The Hungarian-language press is a case in point.

The political character of *Il Progresso* can also be seen in its hostile comment on the activities of the Democratic Labor Party which is supported by a predominantly Roman Catholic vote and, as the paper admits, appeals to many naturalized Italians. Other Italian newspapers, and particularly *La Fiamma* and *Il Globo*, are criticized for their alleged hostility to the A.L.P.37

The strongly articulated political views of the *Neos Kosmos* have already been examined in Chapter 6. In spite of its editorial line the *Neos Kosmos* is nevertheless a predominantly commercial newspaper which, if it is to survive, must cater for the everyday needs of the general public. Our analysis of the distribution of space in the *Neos Kosmos* confirmed that this paper, like the great majority of ethnic mass circulation newspapers in Australia today, is preoccupied with a multitude of problems facing the new settlers. The Greek hunger for news is abundantly clear to anyone familiar with the expansion of the Greek press since World War II. News from Greece and Cyprus and news of social, cultural, and sporting activities of Greek communities throughout Australia fill the pages of the *Pyrsos, Hellenic Herald, National Tribune, Phos, Ta Nea*, and *Neos Kosmos* alike.

This survey of politically-oriented journalism shows that it occupies a relatively insignificant place within the spectrum of the foreign-language press in Australia. What Robert Park described as 'propaganda papers'38 have had evidently as little success in Australia as in the United States. The few chauvinistic newspapers that circulated in Australia were all connected with extreme left- or right-wing political ideologies that flourished in Europe in the thirties and forties. The defeat of fascism and Nazism in World War II and the breakdown of unified control of the world communist movement in the fifties have contributed to the trend away from radicalism in the majority of Australia's foreign-language newspapers.39

37Another example of a newspaper which seeks to mobilize foreign-born people to support a particular Australian political party is the Greek-language *O Syndikalistas*, which supports the policy of the A.L.P.

38The Immigrant Press and Its Control, p.305.

39The Czech press in the United States is an interesting example of the trend away from radicalism. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the Czech papers were strongly radical and anti-clerical and they were fighting the cause of the national radicals in the former Austria-Hungary. The liberation of the Czech lands in 1918 has considerably affected the attitude of the Czech press in the United States. In the early thirties the Czech press was described as 'predominantly conservative with a distinct church background'. In 1933 there were a dozen pro-church publications to three radical journals (T. J. Woofter, jr, Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life (New York, 1933), p.218). Another example is the changing emphasis in the Spanish-language press in New Orleans in the second half of the nineteenth century. The early Spanish newspapers founded during the 1830s and the 1840s by groups of resolute exiles from Hispana America were predominantly political in character. As the influx of refugees from revolutionary movements diminished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the emphasis of Spanish journalism centred upon commercial publications which proved more stable.
There is, of course, plenty of political emphasis in the émigré press, just as there are occasional political accents in the Greek press over the Cyprus question or in the German newspapers that are opposed to the re-militarization of West Germany and the creation of the Bundeswehr. But these political accents are not the dominant themes in the mass circulation press. It is therefore possible to distinguish clearly between essentially political and chauvinistic periodicals and the remainder of the foreign-language press. The disappearance of *Il Risveglio*, the *Napredak*, the *Makedonska Iskra* (not to mention *Die Bruecke*) shows that the chauvinistic press receives little support from the rank and file of European settlers in Australia once the major political causes and movements which justified the continued existence of these papers disappear or lose their urgency.

These examples have also shown another aspect of the changing face of the foreign-language press in Australia, namely the influence of the different waves of immigration on the character of the press. In the earlier chapters we distinguished between forced and voluntary movement in Australia’s post-World War II immigration. Our analysis of content of selected periodicals published by the two groups of immigrants did not reveal striking differences in the distribution of space. With few exceptions (e.g. in some Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Lithuanian periodicals) the press of the post-World War II immigrants has been concerned with European politics to a lesser degree than the press of numerically smaller but politically more conscious groups of the earlier generation of settlers. Examples examined in this section have shown that the majority of Australia’s postwar generation of settlers were not keen to support newspapers that were prepared to revive political hatreds and ideological splits of the Old World.

Against this background it is obvious that the category of political press exemplified by *Il Progresso Italo-Australiano* has to be distin-


*See Chapter 4.

guished from the chauvinistic press. While papers like the _Makedonska Iskra_ are preoccupied with a cause not even remotely connected with Australia, _Il Progresso_ is an unofficial organ of a major Australian political party. In this sense the paper is linked with a significant stream of Australian political thinking. Its launching in 1957 represented a recognition not only of the numerical strength of a potential ethnic voting bloc but also of the role that a foreign-language newspaper can play in the integration of migrants. This aspect of the ethnic press will be examined in the concluding chapter.
The Role of the Foreign-language Press

The goal of La Fiamma is expressed in its title: 'The Flame'. The paper recalls the image of the heart, the centre of the family, from which springs a feeling of peace. The reading of its pages informs one without exciting any passions whatsoever, orients one toward the good in all fields, entertains one without offending chastity, raises in our souls an enthusiasm for truth in our minds and love in our hearts. La Fiamma is in a special way the paper of the Italians in Australia, because it keeps awake their hopes in it, because it infuses respect, understanding, and love for it, above all because it is a bond of union among the members of the Italian community dispersed in this immense continent . . . It does help Italians preserve their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and his Church, their civility, their language, and their good traditions, and follow the happenings in Italy. And it does help them love Australia, its language, and the good habits and customs of its people. The typical Italian reader – and there are tens of thousands of them – does receive from La Fiamma an intelligent, sincere, honest, and effective assistance.

The Apostolic Delegate in Australia, Archbishop Carboni,
in La Fiamma, 7 January 1959

Throughout this book we have been concerned with the foreign-language press in Australia as a separate entity with its special problems and functions. Any comparisons introduced were restricted to examples taken mainly from the history of the immigrant press in the United States and Canada. This chapter examines the role of the foreign-language press in relation to the indigenous press in Australia,¹ or

indeed to the press of any country with a predominantly literate population.

A modern newspaper has to perform a variety of different functions and satisfy different, often disparate, interests, demands, and tastes. It has, in the first place, to provide news or day by day information about what is going on in a number of different worlds. Different people are curious about different sorts of things and, consequently, their notions of what is news are very different. To satisfy their tastes the newspaper has to provide a large range of news.

Secondly, the modern newspapers have established an unrivalled place for themselves as organs of opinion; they provide a running commentary on public affairs, not only in the world of politics but also in the worlds of sport, fashion, and 'society'; they serve as a forum for the expression and exchange of opinions of the reading public.

Finally, the newspapers have acquired a multitude of subsidiary functions which could be summarized as instruction and entertainment. These functions extend beyond the provision of news. A feature article, whether it is concerned with political developments, scientific discoveries, or literary criticism is, above all, an instrument of public instruction. In a similar fashion a short story, a cartoon, or a 'gossip' column is a medium of entertainment, for most newspapers belong to the entertainment industry; they exist to amuse and provide relaxation. Underlying all these functions is the conception of the dual nature of the newspaper as both business and public utility enterprise. The newspaper, to pay its way, must make money. This commercial interest must be reconciled, however, with the social objectives of the newspaper as illustrated in the multitude of its functions.

The foreign-language press arises out of predominantly social needs of the immigrants. It seeks to provide news of the world that the settlers left behind and to instruct them about the new world; it comments on migrant affairs and serves as an outlet for the airing of grievances and complaints. As such it exists because it fulfills a very real need of the immigrants who cannot turn to the local newspapers. The commercial interest comes only later when the immigrants are able to read local newspapers and the foreign-language periodicals no longer enjoy a monopoly of the press.


In this concept of the foreign-language press we see the main point of difference as compared with the large national or metropolitan newspapers: the immigrant press has to satisfy a much wider range of unanticipated social, political, and emotional needs. In a special sense the foreign-language press is more like the community press although its readers may be spread all over the continent. A spirit of intimacy exists between the editors and the readers in immigrant newspapers which may be contrasted with the essentially impersonal manner in which a large national or metropolitan newspaper conducts its business. "The common experience of having gone through thick and thin together, the letters to the editor, the column of domestic, medical and even financial advice, the visiting hours in the editor's office -- these are all indices of the "phatic communion" which often exists between the foreign-language newspaper and its public."

Functions of the Foreign-language Press
The great function of foreign-language journalism in Australia, as in many other countries, has been to prepare the immigrant population for good citizenship. As Chapters 5 to 8 have shown, the foreign-
ECCO I RISULTATI

La Fiamma

Il giornale degli Italiani in Australia

VII Front page of the tabloid La Fiamma of 28 January 1964, with comments on the alleged Mafia crime wave in Victoria Market, Melbourne.
Dopo le rivelazioni di questo giornale

Un'inchiesta del Governo sulle attivita' del Victoria Market

Sono state proposte severe misure legislative per stroncare le illegittime attivita' speculative del Victoria Market e per sconfiggere i forti interessi che spingono alcuni fino al delitto.

ESONERATI ALCUNI ALTI DIRIGENTI TECNICI

Per la catastrofe del Vajont dispotita l'inchiesta parlamentare

E' stato indotto a procedere all'inchiesta parlamentare dopo le rivelazioni del giornale e il dispetto del Ministro Saragat verso l'opposizione e l'opinione pubblica.

Dovere di italiani

Dopo le rivelazioni esistenti del giornale, il dovere di italiani è di rispondere sdegnosamente all'insulto di un giornale al nobile popolo calabrese in Italia e in Australia.
language press, by offering the immigrant the news of his new environment in his own language, provides a most valuable instrument of cultural, social, political, and economic integration. The press performs this function by providing for its readers a stepping-stone from an old life to a new. It caters for the desire for news of the homeland and advises retention of some of the old loyalties, believing that an abrupt break with the past leads to feelings of insecurity, loss, and bewilderment. At the same time, by instructing its readers in Australian ways, by encouraging them to overcome difficulties, and to co-operate actively with their new countrymen, it leads them towards an understanding and acceptance of their future in Australia.

The differences in approach of the various newspapers do not falsify this definition of the role that the foreign-language press plays in Australia as they are merely relative emphases on the old and the new. Although the émigré press attempts to sustain active loyalty to the homeland in a way not attempted or even desired by the press of voluntary migrants, and places considerable emphasis on ethnic group cohesion within Australia, it also advises and helps migrants to adjust to life in Australia and, in many cases, to seek naturalization, believing these adaptations to be compatible with retention of strong ethnic group loyalties. In comparison, the press of voluntary migrants focuses more attention on Australian affairs and treats the problems of migration more extensively, giving its readers much information, advice, and encouragement with a view to their becoming contented settlers. With the exception of the Greek papers studied, these newspapers encourage the admission of Australians to many ethnic group associations and activities and vice versa, advising their compatriots to take part in Australian organizations. While favouring the retention of the native language and some customs from the homeland, they are much less emphatic in their advice on these matters than is the émigré press. Both sections of the immigrant press seek not to set the immigrant apart but to guide him, through the only language he knows well, into an understanding of the ways of his new country and to encourage in him not only a loyalty but also a comprehension of Australian civilization. We have seen that the periodicals which have served ulterior purposes or pandered to nationalist fanaticisms are the exception rather than the rule.

The second main group of functions of the foreign-language press concerns its special responsibilities to the immigrant community. Mass circulation newspapers, in particular, provide links between local communities, clubs and societies. They bring news from one community to another and facilitate the growth of national organizations. Accounts of social events in various associations offer a challenge to other groups of similar interest to emulate their activity. In publishing the

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7On this point compare Fishman and Fishman, op. cit., pp.241-51.
8That is organizations with membership recruited from all over Australia.
names of the leading members of various local societies the press offers public recognition; to see one's name in print for participating in some activity is peculiarly satisfying.9

The immigrant press also functions as an educational agency to its readers. We have seen in Chapter 6 how it helps the immigrants to understand the Australian way of life, legal and political institutions, and generally assists them in learning as much as possible about their new country.10 Provision of economic intelligence on things like employment opportunities,11 housing, and shopping facilities is a further educational function.

A third function of the foreign-language press is as a powerful instrument of social control in an immigrant community. It can criticize, admonish, or extol members of the community to a degree far greater than a large metropolitan or national newspaper, as the following examples show:

Henry, a boy aged 13, has written a letter to the editor. We quote a few excerpts from this letter.

Sir,

I have been attending the Polish school12 for last six years. As to my family, I have only a father because my mother left me a half-orphan when I was eight, and since then she never saw me; we cannot see my sister Sophie who went to live with mother. Last time I saw my sister two years ago and now we do not even know where she lives because they change address very frequently, so we would not be able to find them. I am now 13 years old . . . (signed) Henry.

It is a shocking and tragic letter. This young boy speaks for many, alas very many, children who live in similar conditions. How many 'half-orphans' are seeking in vain their mothers or fathers, their brothers or sisters? Every one of us knows such cases of broken families.

9Cf. V. Turek, Polish-Language Press in Canada, pp.31-2. Turek also mentioned a related function of the foreign-language (in this case Polish-language) press in offering an outlet for journalists, writers, and scholars whose 'intellectual skills cannot be employed in a wider field because of their inadequate knowledge of the language of the country of settlement' (p.32). Many émigré newspapers in Australia perform a similar function.

10One outstanding case, and a major feat of publishing, was a 60-page supplement on Adelaide in La Fiamma, 10 December 1963.

11The following letter to the editor of the Hellenic Herald (9 August 1956) by a Greek settler from Mount Isa in Queensland is interesting:

'I read your newspaper regularly and wish to express my gratitude for the good advice which you give us migrants. I work at Mount Isa. It is a small community but life here is very pleasant and my work is good. I am pleased to say that we, Greeks, are well liked and our work is appreciated. You are right in saying that if a man wants to be successful, he must not change jobs every week but he must learn to like his work and improve his knowledge of English. So, please carry on with your good work of enlightening the migrants. We are very grateful to you.'

12This is a reference to one of the so-called 'Saturday Schools'.

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What is happening among us? Where lies the reason for this spreading evil? After all, Poles have always been renowned for their attachment to the family and for their love of children. Why, then, this sudden change? The main reason is, probably, the lack of adaptation to the new life conditions which we have found. Before, struggling for existence, the families were closely knit. Every piece of bread was won by common effort with the children foremost in mind. Father and mother were then ready even to give their lives for their children. Any misfortune would only bind us closer together. How frequently the crying of a hungry child tortured us at night. We dreamed of personal freedom and of getting rid of the nightmare of hunger.

Today all is different. We have quickly forgotten how it was. We have reached a high standard of living. There is a roof over our heads and food on our tables. Many of us have beautiful houses, furniture, refrigerators, television sets; some have cars as well. Nevertheless there is frequently emptiness in these houses and there is no family life we used to dream about.

What happened?

When we came to this country we could see prosperity all around us. We then decided to catch up with our neighbours. Father went to work, mother went to work.

The house became merely a sleeping place. All that mattered was more overtime, and making money quicker. Before long we started to buy blocks of land, to build houses, to furnish them. But there was no end to it for we still wanted this and that and the other thing. Yes, we have got it all through our own hard work. But have we not paid too high a price? Husband and wife became partners and ceased to be consorts. In the pursuit of money, family life disappeared. Before, the welfare of children and their good were the main concern of parents — and this was binding them. Now money became their main aim, children being an 'obstacle' to bigger earnings. How frequently children had to look after themselves, growing up in the street. A day came when father and mother were not able to talk to their children in their own native language. Parents ceased to understand their sons and daughters any more. They stopped taking interest in their experiences, their joys and their sorrows.

Gradually we have caught up with our neighbours. We have got what they have, sometimes even better. We show our pride in our achievements by inviting acquaintances: let them see and admire. One party follows another. New dresses and new acquaintances. And, somehow, this over-worked husband and this wife prematurely aged by hardship appear so plain and so unattractive. Then more parties and receptions. We seek consolation in drink and we look for . . . 'new happiness'. Children do not stop us, because we do not understand them any more, anyway. They live their own lives. So we abandon everything that used to be our purpose of life.

It is by a process like this, or similar, that little Henry or little Sophie became half-orphans, either without mother or without father. And Henry seeks in vain his sister Sophie.
Mother and father where are you? (Wiadomosci Polskie, 25 June 1961.)

Why should we keep silent any longer, why should we protect the blackmailers of the Market who carry Italian names? If we had kept silent any longer we would have misled our readers, we would not have performed the functions of a free press and we would have betrayed these Italians who have suffered for years unspeakable torments and injustices in the fields of Victoria; we would have let down those who among the Calabrian and Sicilian women were strong and patient and embittered — the most enduring and most generous ones of Italy, who were prematurely aged, whose hope for a better life was destroyed in hard labour badly paid from daybreak to the night in the fields of Victoria; we would have deserted the children of our migrants, the delicate, suffering, sad Italian children, slaves from their first tender years in a generous country, which brings fruit for others but not for them. We would have abandoned whole families of Italian migrants, mostly Sicilians and Calabrians, who live in Mildura, Robinvale, Shepparton and other places in dilapidated huts with corrugated iron roofs in an atmosphere of lasting misery and subjection to the wealthy merchants of the Victoria Market whose debtors they will remain for life. What would we have received in exchange for our silence and for our betrayal? No more than the friendship of a group of old Italians of the Melbourne Market and their young Australian children for whom we have the deepest aversion, a contempt motivated by a precise knowledge of the way they live, of their feelings, their activities and in many cases also of their criminal records which are blacker than a night of mid-winter. By the initiative of this paper a group of hypocrites has been exposed in whose midst there may also be assassins. Owing to its initiative this paper has received the unanimous approval of the Italian and Australian public — it has received the gratitude of the forces of order who have now at last got better clues and who know in which direction to move — it has induced the government of Victoria to prepare an extensive legislative apparatus to control strictly and without any mercy the activities of the general markets and to safeguard the interests of the agricultural workers; it has wrecked the wall of silence and of criminal solidarity which humiliated us in front of the whole people and it has shown in an unambiguous way that the Italians of Australia have a deep-rooted conscience of civil responsibilities. Neither menaces, nor sacrifices, nor notices served will force us to deviate from the line of conduct we have conscientiously taken because this is the only way which has been traced out for us by our duty as Journalists and as Italians. (II Globo, 28 January 1964.)

13The writer, Signor Ubaldo Larobina, editor-in-chief of Il Globo, himself a native of Calabria, won public approval for his action in exposing the 'Mafia' type of criminal activities centred on the Victoria Markets in Melbourne.
The social controls provided by the foreign-language press are deemed indispensable in the maintenance of social cohesion at the family and community levels;\textsuperscript{14} equally they bring a strong pressure to bear on the minorities within the community that do not conform to the accepted standards of behaviour. The threat of social and economic ostracism, directed against the criminal element amongst the Italian fruit and vegetable merchants in Melbourne, is an example of the role of the immigrant press as an instrument of social control.

\textit{The Editors and their Public}

We have seen that the foreign-language editor is not a more or less anonymous individual like his Australian counterpart. He is rather like the editor of a country newspaper or what we earlier described as the community press.\textsuperscript{14} In order to meet the expectations and demands of his readership the editor must participate in the activities of the immigrant community and win its respect and confidence.

This social role of the editor calls for considerable versatility and skill. The following account by a Canadian writer seems applicable to Australian conditions:

in the eyes of many newcomers, the editor becomes an omnipotent father image whose duty is to help them, advise them and care for their wellbeing . . . . An ethnic editor may have to find an obstetrician in a hurry, advise on a real estate deal, recommend a reliable plumber, attend christenings and funerals and even write school compositions on Prime Minister Diefenbaker.\textsuperscript{15}

In the words of the editor-in-chief of one of Australia's largest foreign-language newspapers:

While in the early years of my editorship I was mainly concerned with building up circulation figures and the supplying of news, now I am becoming aware of my responsibility as an editor. Readers demand leadership of the editor and I am constantly asked for advice on all possible matters. You therefore become more devoted to your readers and consequently begin to feel the tremendous responsibilities you have to your readers. I receive about fifty letters every day addressed to the editor with a request for comment, advice, or assistance. Some of these letters I pass to my sub-editors. The letters with the more important problems I answer myself. You cannot be just a reporter when you run a migrant newspaper. You can be a reporter when you run a large metropolitan newspaper but in a migrant newspaper you are responsible for the advice you give to

\textsuperscript{14}Cf. characteristics of the country editor as described by Willey, \textit{The Country Newspaper}, p.15. See also Janowitz, op. cit., Chapter VI.

\textsuperscript{15}From a feature article 'Everything that's fit to print in every language fit to read' in \textit{MacLean's Magazine} (Toronto), 18 June 1960, quoted in Turek, op. cit., p.95.
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your compatriots in the first years in Australia. For this reason I consider that the most important part of my newspaper is the page which contains letters to the editor and my replies. Many people come here every day and seek my advice. I listen to them, act as a lawyer and help them in their financial problems, problems of employment and personal worries.16

The editor's office looks more like a social agency than a newspaper office. People come with their income tax returns and seek advice about the completion of forms; others inquire about the sending of remittances to their relatives in Europe, assistance in dealing with their landlords, employers and authorities, and different kinds of legal counsel. Often the editor has a subsidiary line of income and acts as a shipping agent for a company that brings immigrants from Europe; real estate, advertising, and employment agencies are also complementary business lines to foreign-language publishing.

While this versatility of functions may be a social necessity for a foreign-language editor often it is also an economic necessity. The financial difficulties of the immigrant newspapers, particularly in the early years of their existence, force the editor to assume many other roles in addition to that of being a journalist. The editor, often single-handed, has not only to fill the newspaper, but also to look after the management and subscriptions, solicit advertisements, and sometimes give a hand to the compositor and linotype operator. He may be his own secretary, office boy, and proof reader. He is expected to perform all these services and also to participate in the social and organizational life of his community. He plays a leading part in the community because of his position but rarely derives substantial material rewards for his services and personal sacrifices.

Who are the men who have to fulfil so many diverse social roles? Some foreign-language press editors are trained journalists who were attracted to Australia by publishers of immigrant newspapers. The two leading Italian-language newspapers as well as the three German weeklies are edited by professional journalists. Several of the émigré newspapers are also edited by persons with formal journalistic qualifications or by intellectuals with journalistic experience acquired in Europe or during the years of exile.17 Journalism, however badly paid, provides a natural outlet for intellectual skills for people who cannot practise their former professions in Australia.

In addition to these two classes of editors, foreign-language journalism in Australia, as in other countries, has attracted many energetic men

16Interview with Signor Larobina, editor of Il Globo, 15 December 1965.
17For some of these men the years spent in Displaced Persons' camps after the end of World War II provided an opportunity for acquiring journalistic skills. Newspaper publishing and educational activities of all kinds were much in demand while the relative boredom of waiting for resettlement replaced the horrors of imprisonment and forced labour.
without journalistic training and often with very little formal education.\textsuperscript{18} Some of the most successful Greek newspapers and at least one Italian newspaper are edited by men who do not make any pretensions to education. These men, however, know their public and print in their newspapers what their subscribers are interested in and able to read. Their native intelligence and realism, combined with intimate contact with the readership, have produced some outstanding examples of leadership in immigrant communities. It is because of these characteristics that so many of the periodicals reviewed here look upon themselves as Australian newspapers produced in a foreign language.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{The Foreign-language Press Comes of Age}

The story of the foreign-language press in Australia and the analysis of its characteristics and functions have emphasized its potentiality to operate in such a manner as to retain association with the country of origin, but at the same time to serve as a medium for extending knowledge of the country of settlement. The majority of newspapers reviewed have succeeded in maintaining a healthy and responsible balance between the two, seemingly contradictory, aims. A few, however, have not succeeded in this task: some have transferred to the Australian environment the social and political divisions that existed back in the ‘old country’; others have used the press as an organ of propaganda of a chauvinistic character. It was this latter class of foreign-language periodicals that came into prominence in the 1930s and created an unfavourable image of the press.\textsuperscript{20} The closing down of the Italian and German periodicals on the eve of World War II left behind a legacy of suspicion which, some years later, was directed even at the anti-fascist newspapers.

There is no place in our Australian economy for foreign communities as communities, nor for their foreign-language newspapers. Early in the war Smith’s objected to Carrie Fallon’s Queensland \textit{Worker} printing a supplement in Italian for Dago members of the AWU.


\textsuperscript{19}There is no Australia-wide professional association of foreign-language journalists. The Association of Foreign Language Newspapers in Australia is restricted to Sydney. Its president is the doyen of foreign-language journalism in Australia, M. Albert Sourdin, editor of \textit{Le Courrier Australien}. Objects of the Association are: ‘to promote the highest possible standard for foreign-language newspapers in particular and to serve the freedom of the press in general. The Association also aims to promote the best possible understanding between Australian citizens and people who come to reside in the Commonwealth of Australia, after having grown up in some other part of the world.’ (Association of Foreign Language Newspapers in Australia \textit{Constitution}, p.6).

\textsuperscript{20}See pp.19-23.
which he called ‘Il Supplemento Italiano del Worker’. Now another Italian-language newspaper, *Il Risveglio*, has cropped up in Sydney and, in the interests of Australian unity, it ought to be banned ... *Smith’s* has always opposed the printing within the Commonwealth of papers in foreign languages as being dangerous in war-time and detrimental in peace-time. They tend to develop, or to maintain, within our community national sections which, so long as they retain their language, cannot possibly become absorbed into Australian life. Because of that they should be banned. (*Smith’s Weekly*, Sydney, 3 March 1945.)

This kind of agitation against the foreign-language press led to the imposition of restrictions requiring the publishers to seek special permits from the Department of Immigration and to print at least 25 per cent of the text in the English language. As noted in Chapter 2, the restrictions were not removed until 1955.

Australia was not the only country which went through the phase of restrictions engendered by imaginary or real abuse of the foreign-language press.21 Canada enforced registration of the press during World War II and so did the United States.22

The experience of Brazil provides an interesting object lesson of a country in which all foreign-language publications were banned for eight years. Whether the existence of a minority press performs a useful function of bridging the cultural gap between the country of origin and the Brazilian society has always been a matter for debate in Brazil. Most Luso-Brazilians would deny this and would assert that newspapers published in the language of immigrant groups are a major obstacle to integration. For this reason the interdiction of the minority press by President Vargas in 1938 was supported by public opinion. This is


how two eminent Brazilian social scientists described the consequences of this action:

German, Italian, Japanese and even, in our own days, Greek newspapers have been established. What was not appreciated – and this helped to keep the immigrant still more isolated from the Brazilian scene – was that those papers, even written in the settlers' own tongues, were potentially excellent vehicles for acquainting their readers with, and integrating them into, Brazilian life . . . Specifically, the initial phase of the immigrant's adjustment could have been eased by using the foreign-language press to make him better acquainted with Brazil and its people and thus to enable him to understand them better. Instead we chose to isolate them and do nothing to prepare them for their contacts with the new country at the very stage – the initial phase of their residence – at which they were most receptive.23

The final stage in the process of emancipation of the foreign-language press came at the Citizenship Convention in Canberra in January 1961. Nine representatives of the immigrant press were invited to attend a session chaired by the late Sir Richard Boyer, Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Commission and a prominent member of the federal government's Immigration Advisory Council. This group, reinforced by the representatives of the metropolitan and provincial press and of television and radio, resolved to set up a permanent body to be known as the Immigration Publicity Advisory Council. The Council, formally convened by the Minister for Immigration in 1961, consists of three nominees of each of the four mass media. It meets twice each year and advises the Minister on all aspects of publicity for current immigration programs. The foreign-language editors on the Council signify by their presence the government's recognition of the role they play in Australia. This is shown in the words of Sir Richard Boyer – an Australian of French descent, by the way:

We feel that the time is long passed when there should be any basis of suspicion as to the bona fides and usefulness of the foreign-language press generally. The committee sees nothing but good which can come from the destruction of the last vestige of suspicion in relation to the foreign-language press. We feel that their representation on the standing committee is justified and that their close relationships with the department and the Good Neighbour Councils could bring nothing but good . . . We hope that the spectre of suspicion that the foreign-language press is inimical to our immigration programme may be laid forever.24

24The Australian Citizenship Convention, Canberra, 1961, official transcript, p.95.
But the role of the foreign-language press does not end here. It can and should play an important role in enriching the Australian culture by introducing into it the immigrants' European heritage.

If Australia's isolation from the rest of the world has one major disadvantage, it is that most of us are of necessity unilingual and will remain so throughout our lives, so missing a great part of European culture. With this in mind, the foreign-language press in Australia can take on a new significance. In our view, it is not only a bridge between the country of origin of many of our migrants and this country, but it is also the means whereby the multilingual culture, which we have never had before, might be encouraged in this country.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{25}Sir Richard Bryer in ibid., p.94.
Appendix A

Instructions to the Analyst for Collecting Data in the Research Project on the Foreign-language Press

Part I General Information on the Newspaper
1 Name of the newspaper, English sub-title, year and volume number. Total number of parts in the volume.
2 Publisher and address from which distributed.
3 Format of the newspaper. Average number of pages per issue.
4 Circulation figures, if any.

Part II Content Analysis of the Newspaper

1 The sample
The sample size will consist of 12 issues, being the first issues published each calendar month.

2 Analytical categories
The following analytical categories and sub-categories will be used:
A - Homeland
   (a) Political
   (b) General
   (c) Sport
B - European and other foreign affairs
C - Australian affairs
   (a) Migration
   (b) Political and trade union matters
   (c) Other, including general information
D - Group activity in Australia
   (a) Social life of migrant groups
   (b) Church matters
   (c) Native language teaching to children
   (d) Sport
   (e) Other
E - Legal information
F - Advertisements
G - Miscellaneous

3 Examples of placement
The seven analytical categories are clearly defined and it is not expected that special difficulties will be encountered in allocating material. The following notes, however, are given to guide the Analyst.

A - Homeland
Editorials and news items mainly concerned with the political affairs of homeland or with the immigrants' attitude to the politics of the homeland should be placed in (a). Under 'General' (b) items dealing with day-to-day life, housing, culture, employment.

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C — Australian affairs
Matters concerned with the Australian immigration program, attitudes to immigrants, the problem of assimilation, and the Good Neighbour Movement should be placed in (a). Under 'Political and trade union matters' (b) items dealing with federal and state politics, trade union elections, problems of industrial relations, and the recent attempts to set up special industrial and political organizations for New Australians, Charitable work of ethnic groups, appeals for funds for needy immigrants, reports of functions and societies are to be included in (a).

D — Group activity in Australia
Section (b) 'Church matters' includes all items relating to the work of migrant chaplains as well as readings from the Bible and short sermons.

E — Legal information
Topics instructing an immigrant on Australian law and legal processes (e.g. Income Tax regulations), social services, customs and obligations.

G — Miscellaneous
This category includes, among other things, serialized fiction, natural history, chess, humour, crossword puzzles.

4 Measurement of column space allocation
The units of measurement for the purpose of content analysis are inches of single-column space. The amount of space allotted to each category (and sub-category) in the sample should be totalled and then these figures are to be added to find the grand totals of space for the sample covered. For the purpose of comparison between newspapers the totals for each category (and sub-totals within categories A, C, and D) are to be expressed in percentages, total column space being 100-0 per cent.

Part III Editorial Policy
This part of the Report is to be based on the reading of the total run of the newspaper for a given year.
1 Describe the general trend of editorial treatment of items placed in category A — Homeland. Is it the aim of the newspaper to promote close identification of the reader with his country of origin? In other words does the newspaper promote patriotic and nationalist sentiments oriented towards the country of origin, or is its treatment of this topic purely factual? Give examples.
2 Is it your impression that the readers of the newspaper are given a measure of introduction to Australian society and its institutions? Give examples.
3 What is the treatment of Australian affairs? Give some estimate of the proportion of items falling under each of the following categories: (hostile, critical, neutral, friendly, laudatory). Give examples of items falling under each category.
4 What were the principal events in Australia (if any) that received special mention in the period under review?
5 Does the newspaper take sides in such Australian affairs as the federal, state or trade union elections? Are the views of any particular Australian political party given special publicity? Give examples.
6 Does the newspaper encourage migrants to learn the English language?
7 What is the attitude of the newspaper on the subject of naturalization?
8 Does the newspaper ever publish special items in the English language? Give examples of the content of such items.
9 Give examples of items in category E — Legal information and G — Miscellaneous.
10 What is your overall impression of the attitude of the newspaper in the matter of assimilation? Does the paper urge its readers to become assimilated
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to the Australian way of life, is it neutral in this matter, or is it attempting to slow down the process of assimilation? Give examples.

Part IV Ethnic Group History

The analyst is asked to record all items dealing with the history of the early settlers, societies, newspapers and their contribution to the development of Australia. There is no need to translate such items except in so far as their treatment may have a bearing on any of the questions asked in Part III above. In most cases all that will be necessary will be to note the subject matter of an article, the volume and number of the issue and the date of publication.
# Appendix B

Statistics of Postwar Immigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8 Birthplaces of the Australian population, 1947, 1954, and 1961 Censuses</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Birthplace</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust. External Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Isles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td><strong>W. and C. Europe</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. Europe</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Romainia</td>
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<td>Ukra ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.
† Included in U.S.S.R.
‡ Albania, Bulgaria.

(Continued on next page)
### TABLE 8—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>30 June 1947</th>
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<th>30 June 1954</th>
<th></th>
<th>30 June 1961</th>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>1,719</td>
<td>0.02</td>
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<td>4,026</td>
<td>0.05</td>
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<td>47,385</td>
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<td>85,929</td>
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<td>131,648</td>
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<td>Total born outside</td>
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### TABLE 9 Religious creeds of the Australian population, 1947, 1954, and 1961 Censuses

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<tr>
<th>Creed</th>
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<th>30 June 1954</th>
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<th>30 June 1961</th>
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<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
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<td>127,444</td>
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<td>1,586,738</td>
<td>20.94</td>
<td>2,060,986</td>
<td>22.94</td>
<td>2,620,011</td>
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<td>Church of England</td>
<td>2,957,032</td>
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<td>3,408,850</td>
<td>37.93</td>
<td>3,668,931</td>
<td>34.91</td>
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<td>Congregational</td>
<td>63,243</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>69,452</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>73,526</td>
<td>0.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>74,745</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>154,924</td>
<td>1.48</td>
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<td>Lutheran</td>
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<td>116,178</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>160,181</td>
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<td>Methodist</td>
<td>871,425</td>
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<td>977,933</td>
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<td>Protestant, undefined</td>
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<td>8,033,754</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Jewish</td>
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<td>0.54</td>
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<td>54,817</td>
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<td>Indefinite</td>
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<td>8,986,530</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>10,508,186</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>C. of E.</td>
<td>Greek Orth.</td>
<td>Luth.</td>
<td>Presb.</td>
<td>Other Christian</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>British Isles</strong></td>
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<td>13.85</td>
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<td>15.48</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>11.93</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>0.03</td>
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<td>1.40</td>
<td>5.39</td>
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<td>5.09</td>
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<td>3.63</td>
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<td>0.22</td>
<td>2.96</td>
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<td>12.70</td>
<td>9.31</td>
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<td>3.64</td>
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<td>3.24</td>
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<td>10.53</td>
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<td>Total Europe</td>
<td>34.35</td>
<td>24.85</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>9.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Europe (number)</td>
<td>548,377</td>
<td>396,611</td>
<td>99,121</td>
<td>62,385</td>
<td>115,205</td>
<td>144,058</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes no religion.  † Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.
## Statistics of Postwar Immigration

### TABLE 11 Permanent and long-term arrivals by country of birth, 1961-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australasia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>12,371</td>
<td>13,452</td>
<td>15,293</td>
<td>15,602</td>
<td>56,718</td>
<td>9-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua and N.G.*</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>1,715</td>
<td>0-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>3,321</td>
<td>4,436</td>
<td>5,466</td>
<td>16,847</td>
<td>2-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>16,283</td>
<td>17,212</td>
<td>20,138</td>
<td>21,647</td>
<td>75,280</td>
<td>13-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Isles</strong></td>
<td>43,605</td>
<td>39,734</td>
<td>58,615</td>
<td>73,558</td>
<td>215,512</td>
<td>37-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>W. and C. Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1,191</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>3,691</td>
<td>0-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>0-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>1,963</td>
<td>0-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>3,561</td>
<td>3,746</td>
<td>4,507</td>
<td>16,997</td>
<td>2-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5,311</td>
<td>2,899</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>3,030</td>
<td>13,750</td>
<td>2-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>0-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13,083</td>
<td>8,269</td>
<td>8,450</td>
<td>10,072</td>
<td>39,874</td>
<td>6-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E. Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>7,975</td>
<td>12,304</td>
<td>11,108</td>
<td>18,459</td>
<td>49,846</td>
<td>8-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>18,137</td>
<td>17,115</td>
<td>14,189</td>
<td>13,329</td>
<td>62,770</td>
<td>11-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>2,152</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>4,479</td>
<td>5,899</td>
<td>14,940</td>
<td>2-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1,439</td>
<td>4,019</td>
<td>2,161</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>8,358</td>
<td>1-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29,703</td>
<td>35,848</td>
<td>31,937</td>
<td>38,426</td>
<td>135,914</td>
<td>23-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>0-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>1,877</td>
<td>0-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td>1,401</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>6,139</td>
<td>1-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>0-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>0-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>4,411</td>
<td>4,418</td>
<td>5,168</td>
<td>5,685</td>
<td>19,682</td>
<td>3-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8,085</td>
<td>7,222</td>
<td>7,450</td>
<td>7,997</td>
<td>30,754</td>
<td>5-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>5,231</td>
<td>0-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Europe</strong></td>
<td>96,152</td>
<td>91,873</td>
<td>107,391</td>
<td>131,869</td>
<td>427,285</td>
<td>74-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rest of World</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>7,903</td>
<td>7,952</td>
<td>7,509</td>
<td>8,385</td>
<td>31,749</td>
<td>5-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2,892</td>
<td>2,589</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>4,313</td>
<td>13,526</td>
<td>2-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>America</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada, U.S.A.</td>
<td>3,429</td>
<td>4,308</td>
<td>4,180</td>
<td>5,132</td>
<td>17,049</td>
<td>2-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other America</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1,171</td>
<td>0-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>3,804</td>
<td>0-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15,151</td>
<td>15,900</td>
<td>16,639</td>
<td>19,609</td>
<td>67,299</td>
<td>11-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total born outside Australia</strong></td>
<td>115,215</td>
<td>111,533</td>
<td>128,875</td>
<td>157,523</td>
<td>513,146</td>
<td>90-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>127,586</td>
<td>124,985</td>
<td>144,168</td>
<td>173,125</td>
<td>569,864</td>
<td>100-00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Other Australian territories included in rest of world.
† Included in other countries of Europe.
Appendix C

Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press in Australia, 1848-1964

The following list of foreign-language newspapers and periodicals in Australia has been arranged alphabetically under language headings. Publications whose main, or even only, language has gradually become English, are included with the same national group, with the addition of the notation 'E'. Some papers have English rather than foreign-language titles but it can be assumed that the text is in the language of the section heading unless the paper is marked E.

The information comprises the title of the paper (transliterated if necessary), followed by its translation or English sub-title where this is available. The place of publication, the frequency and years of publication are also indicated. Where necessary a short description of the publication has also been given. English sub-titles or translations are listed with a cross-reference to the foreign-language title. Where a paper has changed its title, or been incorporated with another paper, the details are given under the latest title and former titles are cross-referenced to the latest one. Exceptions to this general rule are some of the German newspapers whose relationships are very complicated. In these cases the entries have been made at what seems suitable points in the histories of the papers. The library holdings are those that have been sighted, given in the Union List of Newspapers in Australian Libraries, or known from other reliable sources, such as librarians in charge of various libraries. The Department of Sociology in the Research School of Social Sciences of the Australian National University holds a card index of the publications listed and can supply fuller information than could be included in this bibliography. This information includes, for most papers, names of editors and publishers, addresses, descriptions of format, and further details about type of content and years and frequency of publication.

ABBREVIATIONS

d. daily
w. weekly
bi-w. every two weeks
tri-w. every three weeks
2w. twice a week
3w. three times a week
m. monthly
bi-m. every two months
q. quarterly
a. annually
irreg. irregularly

- following a date indicates that the publication is current. When this is a holdings date it indicates that the library concerned is still receiving the publication.

1See p. viii.
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

* A mass circulation paper which started after 1946.
† Library file estimated to be 75-95 per cent complete.
‡ Library file estimated to be less than 75 per cent complete.

UELCA United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia.
ELCA Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia.

LOCATION SYMBOLS

ALA Australian Lithuanian Archives; contact Mr B. Zalys, 9 Lloyd Avenue, Yagoona, N.S.W.
ANU Department of Sociology, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T.
EAA Estonian Archives, Estonian House, 141 Campbell Street, Sydney, N.S.W.
ELCA Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia Archives, 46 Cheltenham Street, Highgate, Parkside, S.A.
ML Mitchell Library, Public Library of New South Wales, Sydney, N.S.W.
NLA National Library of Australia, Canberra, A.C.T.
NPL General Reference Department, Public Library of New South Wales, Sydney, N.S.W.
NU Fisher Library, University of Sydney, Sydney, N.S.W.
QPL Public Library of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland
Q.Parl. Parliamentary Library, Brisbane, Queensland
QU University of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland
SALA South Australian Lithuanian Archives Museum, 9 Westbourne Street, West Croydon, S.A.
SPL Public Library of South Australia, Adelaide, S.A.
SU University of Adelaide, Adelaide, S.A.
TU University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tasmania
VELKA United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia Archives, Lutheran Church House, 58 O'Connell Street, North Adelaide, S.A.
VSL State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria
WSL Library Board of Western Australia, Melbourne, Victoria

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ALBANIAN
Albanian Home, see Vatra Shqiptare
*Vatra Shqiptare [Albanian Home], Melbourne, m.
  Organ of the Union of Albanians in Australia
NLA: October 1950 to October 1951

ARABIC
Home and Abroad, Sydney, irreg.
  Organ of Lebanese Cedars' Association
NLA: 1957-8  ‡

ARMENIAN
Light, see Looyce
Looyce [Light], Sydney, m.
  Bulletin of the Armenian Church in Sydney
NLA: July-August 1959-  ‡
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

BULGARIAN

*Zavet, Adelaide, irreg. 1953
NLA: August to December 1953

CHINESE

*Australia-China Times, Sydney, w. 1954-7 1902-15
Formerly 1917-57
  Chinese Times, Melbourne 1902-15
  1917-22
Chinese Times, Sydney 1922-54
NLA: 5 January 1956 to June 1957
VSL: 5 February 1902 to 26 December 1914
  20 December 1919 to 22 July 1922 †
ML: 10 October 1955 to 13 June 1957
Chinese Australian Herald, Sydney, w. 1894-1923
ML: 1 September 1894 to 15 October 1897;
  10 February 1899
  Chinese Republic News, Sydney, w. 1914-37?
ML: 21 February 1914 to 1937
Chinese Times, Melbourne, see Australia-China Times
Chinese Times, Sydney, see Australia-China Times
Chinese World's News, Sydney, w. 1920-51?
  Official organ of the Chinese Masonic Society of
Australasia
NLA: 11 January 1951 to 3 May 1951 †
Sino-Australasian Times, Sydney, w., E 1930
ML: July to 10 October 1930
VSL: June to 10 October 1930
Tung Wah News, see Tung Wah Times
  Tung Wah News 1902-36? 1898-1936?
Formerly
Tung Wah Times, Sydney, 2w., w. 1898-1902
ML: 29 June 1898 to 18 June 1902
  16 August 1902 to 1936

CZECH

Beseda, see Zivot 1953-60
Cech v Australii, Adelaide, m. 1954
  A Roman Catholic paper for Czechoslovakian
  migrants
Ceske Slovo, see Slovo
Chechitik, Sydney, irreg. 1954
  A humorous and satirical magazine. 4 issues only
  were published.
Czechoslovak Protestant in Australia, The, see Ceskoslovensky Protestant v Australii
Ceskoslovensky Protestant v Australii [The Czechoslovak Protestant in Australia], Melbourne, irreg. 1952-3?
NLA: July 1952 to November 1953
For Freedom, see Za Svobodu
Frankly Speaking 1952
  A publication of the Czechoslovakian Club in
Queensland
One issue only; February 1952
*Hlas Domova [Homeland's Voice], Melbourne, bi-w. 1950-
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NLA: July 1951-
VSL: July 1951-
Homeland’s Voice, see Hlas Domova

Jiskry, Melbourne
4 issues only

Nový Den, Melbourne, irreg.
A publication of the Vojtech Dundr Club
3 issues only were published.

Pacific, New Zealand, see Pacific, Sydney
*Pacific, Sydney, m., bi-w., bi-m.

Formerly
Pacific, New Zealand
1950-2

NLA: February 1952 to December 1960
ANU: July 1956 to 1960
ML: 1957 to 1960

Plensky Prazdroj, Sydney, irreg.
A humorous journal. 4 issues only were published.

Revue, Brisbane, m.

NLA: July 1954 to December 1955
Slovo, Brisbane, m.
Information Circular of the Czechoslovakian Club in Queensland

Formerly
Ceske Slovo, January 1951

Sokolsky Vestnik Telovicna Jednota “Sokol” v Sydney, see Vestnik Sokola v Sydney Australie

Vestnik Sokola v Sydney Australie, Sydney, m.
A periodical of the Sokol Gymnastic Association, Sydney

Formerly
Sokolsky Vestnik Telovicna Jednota “Sokol” v Sydney
1957-64

Archives of the Sokol Gymnastic Association, Sydney: May 1957-

Za Svobodu [For Freedom], Sydney, bi-m.
A publication of the Czech National Group in Sydney
NLA: 15 January 1953 to August-September 1954
Zivot, Adelaide, q.
A publication of the Czechoslovakian Club of South Australia

Formerly
Beseda
1950-4
1959-61

ANU: 1962 to 1964

Zpravodaj, Sydney, m., irreg.
Organ of the Czechoslovak Association in Sydney
ANU: May to December 1964
Archives of the Czechoslovak Association in Sydney: 1957-

Dutch
Organ of the Australian Dutch League

Band die Bindi, De, see D.S.C. News of the Latrobe Valley
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*Bridge, The*, Brisbane, m., bi-m. 1954-5
A periodical for maintaining contact with and giving information to Dutch people in Queensland
NLA: January to August-September 1955

*Bulletin of the Netherlands-Australian Association of Victoria*, Melbourne, m., irreg. 1951-60
Formerly

*Nieuws van de Dutch Club in Victoria* 1951-6
NLA: 1953 to 1955; July and August 1957

*Church Letter*, Sydney, tri-w., q., E 1951-
A periodical to strengthen fellowship within the Reformed Churches of Australia in New South Wales
Formerly

*Kerke Brief* 1951-?

*Church Paper of the Reformed Church of Dandenong*, Dandenong, bi-w. 1961-
A parish paper

*Church Review*, Brisbane, bi-w. 1958-
A periodical of the Reformed Church of Australia in Queensland

*Contact*, Melbourne, bi-w. 1952-60
Official Organ of the Reformed Churches of Australia, classis Victoria
ANU: 6 May 1960

*Contact*, Perth, m. 1955-
Official organ for Dutch Roman Catholic migrants in Western Australia

*Contactblad* [Netherlands Male Voice Choir Contact Paper], Perth, m. 1961-
An information bulletin of the Netherlands Male Voice Choir of Perth

*C.S.S.C. Be Quick Club News*, Canberra, m. 1957-63?
Magazine of Canberra Social Soccer Club

*D.S.C. News of the Latrobe Valley*, Morwell, m. 1957-
Formerly

*De Band die Bindt* 1957-60?
*D.S.C. News, Morwell* 1960-?
ANU: 22 April 1960; March, April, June 1961
VSL: 22 January 1962-

*D.S.C. News, Morwell*, see *D.S.C. News of the Latrobe Valley*

*Dutch-Australian Club*, Canberra, see *Netherlands-Australia Club*

*Dutch Australian Weekly*, Sydney, w. 1951-
NLA: 5 October 1951-
ANU: 2 January 1959 to 2 September 1960 †
SPL: 1962-
VSL: 27 May 1955- †

*Holland-Australia Post*, Melbourne, w. 1962-
VSL: 5 December 1962-

*Je Maintiendrai*, Adelaide, m. 1957-63
A paper to give Australian news to the Dutch community in South Australia
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Kerke Brief, see Church Letter 1952-6
Kerkelijk Orgaan, Kingston, Tas., bi-w.
Organ of the Reformed Churches of Australia in Tasmania
NLA: 18 April 1953 to 4 February 1956 1953-
Kerkklok, De, Perth, m.
For West Australian Dutch Presbyterians – A Supplement to Nederlands Kerkewerk
Kleine Krant, De, see Trowel and Sword
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A paper for Dutch Roman Catholic migrants in New South Wales
NLA: 1 April 1962- 1959-
Link, The [Schäkel, De], Perth, bi-w.
Official circular of the Reformed Churches of Western Australia
Maandelijks Contact Orgaan van de Nederlandse Protestantten in Australie [Monthly Contact Organ of the Dutch Protestants in Australia], Sydney, m.
A paper for the Dutch Congregation in the Presbyterian Church in Australia
Mededelingen Nederlands Vereniging “Abel Tasman” [Bulletin of the Netherlands Tasmanian Association of ‘Abel Tasman’], m., bi-m.
NLA: August-September 1952 to April-May 1955 1952-5
Nederlands Kerkewerk; Maandelijks Orgaan, Uitge­geven Door de Nederlandse Predikanten, Werkzaam in “The Presbyterian Church of Australia”, Melbourne, Sydney, m.
Organ of the Dutch Ministers in the Presbyterian Church of Australia. Local editions are published.
NLA: May 1954 to November 1957 1953-
ANU: June to December 1959 †
VSL: February 1962-
Nederlands Nieuws, Het, Sydney, w. 1951
Netherlands-Australia Club, Canberra, irreg.
Formerly
Dutch-Australian Club, Canberra 1952-63
New World, The, see Nieuwe Wereld, De
*Nieuwe Wereld, De [The New World], Geelong, bi-w., w. 1955-61
NLA: 1955 to February 1961 †
ANU: January 1957 to February 1961 †
ML: January 1958 to February 1961
VSL: November 1959 to February 1961
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A paper to assist Dutch Catholic migrants
NLA: 1953- †
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VSL: October 1961-
Una Sancta, Launceston, bi-w. 1953-
Paper of the Free Reformed Churches of Australia

ESPERANTO

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A publication of the Benalla Esperanto Club
Australian Esperantist, The, Melbourne, m. 1940-
Formerly
La Rondo, Melbourne, m. 1940-58
The official organ of the Australian Esperanto Association since October 1941
Kuiiero, La, Canberra, m. 1920-34
A publication of the Canberra Esperanto Club
Rondo, La, see The Australian Esperantist
Southern Cross, The, see Suda Kruco, La
Suda Kruco, La [The Southern Cross], Melbourne, m. 1920-34
A publication of the Australian and New Zealand Esperanto Associations

ESTONIAN

Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Ringkiri, see Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Teataja
Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Teataja [Advertiser of the Adelaide Estonian Society], m., bi-m. 1958-
Formerly
Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Ringkiri [Circular of the Adelaide Estonian Society] 1958
EAA: April 1958-
Advertiser of the Adelaide Estonian Society, see Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Teataja
Break of Day, see Koidikul
Calling Voice, The, see Huudja Haal
Circular of the Adelaide Estonian Society, see Adelaide' i Eesti Selsi Teataja
Eesti Spordileht [Estonian Sports News], Northbridge, N.S.W., irreg. 1957
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Esna, Eesti Skautlikud Noored Austraalias
[Estonian Scouting Youths in Australia], Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, irreg. 1950-9
A magazine edited by the Estonian Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Association
Incorporated
Vikerlased [The Vikings], Melbourne, irreg. 1951-3
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EAA: 1950 to August 1959
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† Hyphen, The, see Mottekriips

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EAA: 19 August 1949-
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VSL: 11 June 1959-
Melbourne Estonian Bulletin, see Melbourne’i Eesti Teateleht
Melbourne’i Eesti Teateleht [Melbourne Estonian Bulletin], Melbourne, m., bi-m. 1950-5
Formerly
Melbourne’i Eesti Uhing “Kodu” Informatsiooni-Leht
[Information Bulletin of Melbourne Estonian Society ‘Home’]
EAA: 1950 to 1955
Melbourne’i Eesti Uhing “Kodu” Informatsiooni-Leht, see Melbourne’i Eesti Seltsi Teateleht
Mottekriips [Hyphen], Sydney 1955-
Formerly
Vikerlased [The Vikings], May 1955 only
A magazine edited by the Estonian University Students’ Association in Sydney
EAA: May 1955
August 1955-
Olion: Eesti Rahvusliku Ideoloogia, Kultuuri ja Majanduse Ajakiri
[Past and Present; Journal of National Ideology, Culture and Economics], Sydney, q. 1956-60
EAA: November 1956 to January 1960
NLA: November 1956 to January 1960
Our Home, see Meie Kodu
Past and Present; Journal of Estonian National Ideology, Culture and Economics, see Olion: Eesti Rahvusliku Ideoloogia, Kultuuri ja Majanduse Ajakiri
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**Sporditeel** [Sporting Way], Melbourne, irreg.
- A Magazine published by the League of Estonian Sporting Associations in Australia
- EAA: November 1960-
- Sporting Way, see Sporditeel
- Sydney Eesti Ev.-Lut. Usu Jaani Koguduse Teataja
- EAA: December 1935 to February 1936
- *Tee ja Tode* [The Way and the Truth], Melbourne, bi-m.
- Organ of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Parish in Melbourne
- EAA: May 1959
- Under the Southern Cross, see *Loumaristi all*
- *Vaike Küt* [Little Ray], Thirlmere, N.S.W., irreg.
- Edited by the Estonian Sunday School in Thirlmere, N.S.W.
- EAA: November 1956 to 1957
- *Vikerlased*, Melbourne, see *Esla; Eesti Skaatlikud Noored Austraalias*
- *Vikerlased*, Sydney, see *Mottekriips*
- *Vikings*, The, Melbourne, see *Esla; Eesti Skaatlikud Noored Austraalias*
- *Vikings*, The, Sydney, see *Mottekriips*
- *Way and the Truth, The*, see *Tee ja Tode*

**FINNISH**

*Suomi*, Brisbane, m., bi-w.
- A Finnish Lutheran Paper
- Formerly
- *Suomi*, Melbourne
  - A paper published by the Finnish Seamen's Missions' pastors
- NLA: June 1962-

**FRENCH**

*Courrier Australien, Le*, Sydney, w.
- Formerly
- *Frangais en Australie, Le; Journal de la Jeunesse Australienne, Melbourne, m.
  - 1913-22? 1903/4-22?
Formerly
Le Français à l'Université de Melbourne, Journal d'Education 1903/4-6
Merged into
Trident 1906-8
Continued as
Le Français Classique; Journal de l'Etudiant Australien et Organe du Club Français de l'Université de Melbourne 1908-10
Merged into
Le Petit Français; Journal de la Jeunesse Australienne 1907/8-12

Journal de Melbourne, Le, Melbourne, w. 1858
VSL: 27 November 1858 to 11 December 1858
Land of France, see Pays de France
Oceanien, Sydney 1874
Pays de France [Land of France], Adelaide, m. 1951-2
NLA: November 1951 to November 1952
Petit Français, Le; Journal de la Jeunesse Australienne, see Français en Australie, Le; Journal de la Jeunesse Australienne

Revue Australienne, Sydney, m. 1873-4
Trident, see Français en Australie, Le; Journal de la Jeunesse Australienne

GERMAN
Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung, see Sued Australische Zeitung, Adelaide 1859-74
Adelaider Blatter fuer Ernst und Scherz, Adelaide, w. 1864 to 1870
NLA: 1864 to 1870
VSL: 19 September 1866
ML: 1862 to 1874
SPL: 1862 to 1874
SU: 1865 to 1869
Adelaider Post, see Die Woche in Australien
Anchor, The, see Anker, Der 1954-
*Anker, Der [The Anchor], Sydney, w. 1954-
NLA: 9 June 1954-
ANU: 8 July 1960-
ML: 11 January 1957-
VSL: 10 November 1961-
Incorporated
Rundschau fuer Europaeische Einwanderer [Geelong Commercial News], Geelong, m. 1954-60
Formerly Wiadomosci Handlowe [Polish Commercial News], Geelong, m. 1953-4
NLA: April 1954 to May 1960
VSL: January 1958 to December 1960
Aus Welt und Zeit, Adelaide, m., bi-m. 1884-1917
A magazine supplement to Der Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer Australien
ELCA: 1884 to 1917
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Australian Lutheran, The, Adelaide, m., bi-w., E 1913-
In 1918 when Der Kirchenbote could not be published this paper became the official organ of ELCA.

Incorporated
The Queensland Messenger, Brisbane, E 1926-58
NLA: 1960-
SPL: 1913
ELCA: 1933-
VELKA: 1933-

Australian Mirror, The, see Australische Spiegel, Der
Australier, Der, Toowoomba
This paper lasted six months only.

Australische Christenbote, Der, Adelaide, w. 1911-17 1860-1917
Official organ of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church

Formerly
Australischer Christenbote fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Australien, Adelaide, m. 1860-2
Australischer Christenbote fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Australien, Melbourne, m. 1862-1911
VSL: 31 January 1860 to 18 December 1917
SPL: 3 January 1911 to 25 December 1917
VELKA: 1860 to 1917

Incorporated
Der Pilger, Adelaide, w. 1909-10
Organ of the Immanuel Synod auf alter Grundlage
SPL: 1909 to 1910
VELKA: 1909 to 1910
See also Lutheran Herald

Australische Deutsche Zeitung, see Australische Zeitung, Tanunda

Australische Monatzeitung fuer die Colonien und Deutschland, Melbourne, m. 1862 1858-62

Formerly
Deutsche Monatschrift fuer Australien, Melbourne, m. 1858-9
Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung, Melbourne, w. 1859-60
Australische Monatzeitung, Melbourne, m. 1860-1
Deutsche Zeitung, Melbourne, w. 1861-2
VSL: September 1859 to July 1860; February 1861; May 1861 to July 1862

* Australische Spiegel, Der [The Australian Mirror], Perth, w. 1952
NLA: 4 July 1952 to 17 December 1952
WSL: 4 July 1952 to 17 December 1952

Australische Zeitung, Adelaide, Tanunda, see Australische Zeitung, Tanunda

Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, bi-w. 1927-9 1863-1929
SPL: 2 June 1927 to 4 July 1929

Formerly
Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung, Tanunda, w. 1863-70
ML: 6 January 1865 to 1869
SPL: 20 March 1863 to 31 December 1869
VSL: 21 September 1866
Australische Deutsche Zeitung, Melbourne, Tanunda, w. 1870-4
ML: 7 January 1870 to 30 December 1870
SPL: 1870 to 31 December 1874
VSL: 7 January 1870 to 30 December 1870
Merged with
*Sued Australische Zeitung, Adelaide, w.* 1849-74
Continued as
Australische Zeitung, Adelaide, Tanunda, bi-w., w. 1875-1916
Suspended
Revived as
*Sued Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, w.* 1921
Two issues only were published.
ML: 1875 to 29 December 1915
SPL: 1875 to 15 March 1916; 6 July and 13 July 1921
See also *Sued Australische Zeitung, Adelaide,* the *Queenslander Herald,* Australisches Unterhaltungsblatt : Belletristische Beilage zur Australischen Zeitung, and Blumenlese auf dem Felde der Neueren Literatur.

Australischer Christenbote, see Australische Christenbote, Der

Australisches Unterhaltungsblatt, Brisbane
This was a supplement to the Queenslander Herald.
NLA: 1 April 1896
Australisches Unterhaltungsblatt : Belletristische Beilage, w., irreg. 1862-1916
This is a supplement to the *Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung,* Sued Australische Zeitung, and the Australische Zeitung, Adelaide, Tanunda. See *Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung,* Sued Australische Zeitung, and Australische Zeitung.

NLA: 1882 to 1883
ML: 1862 to 1863; 1883 to 1884; 1886 to 1887; 1889 to 1890
SPL: January 1875 to January 1876; 1879 to March 1916
ELCA: 1885; 1888 to 1889; 1891 to 1893; 1912
Beiblatt, Adelaide, m. 1877-83
A magazine supplement to *Der Lutheranische Kirchenbote fuer Australien*
ELCA: 1877-83

Bethlehem-Bote, Adelaide, m. 1955-
A Lutheran Paper for Newcomers to Australia
NLA: August, September, October, November 1955
Blumenlese auf dem Felde der Neueren Literatur, Tanunda, irreg.
This was a supplement to the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung* and Australische Deutsche Zeitung. See Australische Deutsche Zeitung
ML: 1864 to 1873 †
SPL: 1863 to 1873 †
VSL: 21 September 1866
Bridge, The, see *Bruecke, Die*
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Bruecke, Die [The Bridge], Sydney, w. 1934-9
NLA: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939
NPL: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939
NU: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939
QPL: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939
VSL: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939
VU: 24 February 1934 to 2 September 1939

Children's Friend, The, see Kinder Freund

Church and Mission News, see Lutheran Herald

Deutsch-Australische Post, Sydney, w. 1893-1906?
ML: 20 March 1893 to 29 December 1894; 1899 to 1906

Deutsch-Australisches Echo, see Echo, Das

Deutsche Monatschrift fuer Australien, see Australische Monatzeitung fuer die Colonien und Deutschland

Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien, Die, see Deutsche Zeitung fuer Suedaustralien

Deutsche Zeitung fuer Suedaustralien, Tanunda, w. 1850-1 1848-51
ML: 14 March and 21 March 1851
ANU: 14 March and 21 March 1851 (microfilm)
SPL: 14 March and 21 March 1851 (microfilm)

Formerly

Die Deutsche Post fuer die Australischen Kolonien [The German Australian Post], Adelaide, w. 1848-50
ML: July 1848 to September 1850
SPL: 20 July 1848 to 12 September 1850 (microfilm)
ANU: 20 July 1848 to 12 September 1850 (microfilm)
16 March 1848 (microfilm, British Museum Newspaper Library, London)
VELKA: 16 October 1849 (Supplement)

Echo, Das, Sydney, w. 1895

A political and literary journal published by the German Literary Institute
Contained a supplement, Deutsch-Australisches Echo, Sydney, bi-w.
ML: August to December 1895

Geelong Commercial News, see Anker, Der

German Australian Post, The, see Deutsche Zeitung fuer Suedaustralien

Germania, Melbourne, w. 1861-8
VSL: 1861 to 1868 †

Hausfreund, Der, Adelaide, w. 1894

SPL: 3 March 1894 to 3 May 1894

Hydro-Press, Launceston, w. 1953

A Bulletin for the employees at the Hydro-Electric Camp at Marawalee

NLA: 3 January 1953 to 24 October 1953
Ille, Australiens Bildzeitung, Geelong, w. 1961-2

NLA: 30 November 1961 to 14 February 1962
VSL: 30 November 1961 to 14 February 1962

Kinder Freund [The Children's Friend], Adelaide, w. 1930

A Children's Sunday School Paper, published by UELCA
VELKA: 1930
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Kinderfreund, Der, Adelaide, irreg. 1895-?
An occasional supplement to Der Lutheranische Kirchenbote fuer Australien
ELCA: 1895-?

Kirchen und Missions Zeitung, Tanunda, w. 1888-1917 1862-1917
An organ of the Immanuel Synod

Formerly
Kirchen und Missions : Blatt fuer Deutsche : Australische Gemeinen 1862-4
Kirchenblatt fuer die Lutheranische Kirche Australiens 1865-6
Kirchen und Missionsblatt fuer die Lutheranische Kirche Australiens 1867-9
Kirchen und Missions Zeitung fuer die Evangelische Lutheranische Kirche Australiens 1870-87

SPL: 7 January 1903 to 28 December 1917
VELKA: 1862 to 1917 †
ELCA: 1872 to 1873; 1878; 1886 ‡
See also Church and Mission News and Lutheran Herald

Kirchenblatt, Das, see Lutheran Herald

Kosmopolit : Deutsche Zeitung fuer Australien, Melbourne, 2w. 1856-7?

VSL: 11 November 1856 to 6 November 1857
Lutheran Herald, Adelaide, bi-w., E 1921-
The official organ of UELCA

NLA: 19 January 1952 to 27 December 1952
SPL: 1921-
ELCA: 1921-
VELKA: 1921-

A German edition was also published
Das Kirchenblatt, Tanunda, bi-w. 1924-40

SPL: 13 October 1924 to 16 September 1940
VELKA: 1924 to 1940

Formerly
Church and Mission News, Tanunda, w., E 1918-21
This paper was the successor to Kirchen und Missions Zeitung, organ of the Immanuel Synod.
SPL: 18 January 1918 to 28 June 1921
VELKA: 1918 to 1921

and
The Pilgrim, Adelaide, bi-w., E 1918-21
This paper was the successor to Der Australische Christenbote, organ of the General Synod.
SPL: 1918 to 7 June 1921
VELKA: 1918 to 1921

Lutheran Letter, The, Sydney, m., E 1950-
The official organ of the N.S.W. District of UELCA
NLA: 1958-
ML: December 1950-
VELKA: 1950-

Lutheran Messenger, The, Adelaide, Melbourne, q., irreg. 1950-8
A publication of ELCA 1960-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Formerly

_The Migrants' Messenger_, Adelaide, m., irreg.

NLA: March 1954 to December 1958; April 1960-

Lutheran News, Melbourne, m., E

The official organ of the Victoria District of UELCA

VELKA: 1946-

Lutheran Truth, see _Lutherischer Zeuge_

_Lutherbote_, Sydney, bi-m.

VELKA: 1950 to 1960?

_Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer Australien, Der_, Adelaide, Hochkirch, Adelaide, m., bi-m.

It became the official organ of ELCA in 1903.

NLA: 1939 to 1940

SPL: October 1924 to June 1926

ELCA: 1874 to 1917; 1925 to 1940

VELCA: 1874 to 1917; 1925 to 1940

See also its supplements, _Belblatt, Aus Welt und Zeit, Unterhaltungsblatt zum Luth. Kirchenboten fuer Australien, Der Schulote and Der Kinderfreund_

_Lutherischer Zeuge_, Tanunda, bi-m.

The organ of ELCA

Formerly

_Lutheran Truth_, Tanunda, E

The first issue only was printed in English.

SPL: October 1924 to June 1926

_Melbourner Deutsche Zeitung, see Australische Monatzeitung fuer Colonien und Deutschland_

_Migrants' Messenger, see Lutheran Messenger, The_

_Neue Deutsche Zeitung fuer Australien, Adelaide, w., 2w._

SPL: 7 October 1875 to 11 September 1876

*_Neue Welt [New World]_, Melbourne, w.

NLA: 10 July 1954-

ANU: 6 January 1960-

VSL: 3 January 1957-

_A New Citizen, The, Sydney, m., E_

_A publication of the German and Austrian refugees from Nazism_

NLA: April 1946 to 1954

ML: November 1948 to May 1954

New World, see _Neue Welt_

_Nord Australische Zeitung, see Queensland Herald_

_Pilger, Der, see Australische Christenbote, Der_

_Pilger in Victoria, Der_, Melbourne, m.

_A bulletin published by the pastor of the first Evangelical Lutheran parish in Melbourne_

VSL: July to December 1853

_Pilgrim, Der_, Adelaide, irreg.

_A Lutheran paper for German migrants_

NLA: March and third quarter 1951; April-May 1954

_Pilgrim, The, see Lutheran Herald_

_Queensland Messenger, The, see Australian Lutheran, The_

_Queensland Lutheran, Brisbane, E_

_An organ of the UELCA in Queensland_

QPL: April 1949 to October 1953; January 1958-

1943-6
Queenslander Herald, Brisbane, w. 1895-1939 1866-1939
NLA: 1 April 1896
QPL: 14 September 1932 to 13 June 1934
Incorporated

Nord Australische Zeitung, Brisbane, w. 1867-1903
Formerly a supplement to Queenslander Herald 1866-76
ML: 1 December 1877 to 1886; 1896 to 1903
QPL: 1866; 1868 to 1869; 1871 to 1903
Q.Parl: 3 February 1886 to 1903
SPL: 21 August 1875 to 1903
VSL: 21 August 1875 to 18 December 1882;
27 June 1885 to 1903
WSL: 1898 to 1903

Incorporated

Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, w. 1927-9
See also Australische Zeitung, Tanunda and Aus-
tralisches Unterhaltungsblatt, Brisbane
Rundschau fuer Europaeische Einwanderer, see
Anker, Der

Schulbote, Der, Adelaide, irreg. 1895-?
An occasional supplement to Der Lutherische
Kirchenbote fuer Australien
ELCA: 1895-?

Sued Australische Zeitung, Adelaide, w., 2w. 1863-75. 1849-75
SPL: 9 January 1863 to 29 December 1874
ELCA: 5 February, 25 November, 2 December 1864;
3 March 1865; 25 June 1872

Formerly

Sued Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, w. 1849-51
Incorporated in

Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung, Adelaide, w. 1851-9
Revived as

Sued Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, 2 w. 1859-62
SPL: 1 January 1862 to 24 December 1862
ELCA: 16 August 1862
Incorporated again in

Adelaide Deutsche Zeitung, Adelaide, w. 1859-62
SPL: 27 July 1860 to 26 December 1862

See also Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, Adelaider
Blaetter fuer Ernst and Scherz, and Australisches
Unterhaltungsblatt: Belletristische Beilage.
Sued Australische Zeitung, Tanunda, see Australische
Zeitung, Tanunda.

Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung, see Australische Zeitung,
Tanunda.

Unterhaltungsblatt zum Luth. Kirchenboten fuer
Australien, Adelaide, m., bi-m.
A supplement to Der Lutherische Kirchenbote fuer
Australien
ELCA: 1888 to 1904
Victoria Deutsche Presse, Melbourne, w. 1859-60
VSL: 15 July 1859 to 21 September 1860
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

*Widening Horizons*, Melbourne, m. 1950-1?

A publication of the State Electricity Commission for their new Australian employees

NLA: 1950 to 1951

*Woche in Australien, Die*, Sydney, w. 1957-

NLA: 8 August 1957-

NPL: 8 August 1957-

NU: 9 May 1961-

Special editions were published in Melbourne and Adelaide

*Die Woche in Melbourne, w.* 1957-62

*Adelaider Post, Adelaide, w.* 1958-62

*SPL: 3 October 1959 to 1962

*Woche in Melbourne, Die, see Woche in Australien, Die Zuentadeln, Melbourne, m.* 1873

**GREEK**

*Acropolis*, Sydney 1960-?

A publication of the Greek Romanian Society, 'Acropolis'

Athletic Echo, see *Athlitiki Echo*

Athletic Flame, see *Athlitiki Flogo*

Athletic News, see *Athlitika Nea*

*Athlitika Nea* [Athletic News], Melbourne, irreg. 1958-61

A sporting paper

*Athlitiki Echo* [Athletic Echo], Melbourne, w. 1963-

A sporting paper

*Athlitiki Flogo* [Athletic Flame], Melbourne, ? 1962

A sporting paper

VSL: 30 March to 25 July 1962

*Australian Greek, The*, Melbourne, w. 1949-57

NLA: November 1949 to 16 January 1957

ANU: 31 October 1956

ML: 1955 to 1957

*Australian*, see *National Tribune, The*

Beacon, The, see *Pharos*

Beacon of the Athenians, The, see *Pharos ton Athenaios, O*

Bugle, see *Salpinx*

*Community Activities*, Melbourne, m. 1960?

A bulletin published by the St. John the Baptist Community

Community News, see *Koinotika Nea*

Community Press, see *Koinotika Nea*

*Confederation Journal*, Adelaide, irreg. 1955?

The official organ of the Confederation of Youth Organisations

*Deltion Tes Panelladikes Enoseos* [Panhellenic Bulletin], irreg. 1954?

The official organ of the Panhellenic Society of S.A.

*Elefthera Phoni* [The Voice of Freedom], Perth, bi-w., irreg. 1956-7

WSL: 20 July 1956 to 9 May 1957

*Eleftheria* [Liberty], Sydney, irreg. ?-1964

*Elliniki Fon*i, see *Ethnos*

Emigrant Mytilenean, see *Xenetemenos Mytilenios*
Ergates [Worker], Sydney, irreg. 1948-56 1962-

A publication of the Greek Centre, 'Atlas'

Formerly

Floga, Sydney, irreg. 1948-56

O Metanastes [The Immigrant], Sydney, irreg. 1962-4

Ergatika Nea [Workers' News], Adelaide, irreg. 1957-

The official organ of the Greek Workers' Educational Association of South Australia, 'Plato'

Estia [Hearth], Sydney, w., bi-w., 3w., d. 1956-9

This started as an advertising circular and grew into a paper. Free distribution.

Ethniki Salpinx [National Bugle], Melbourne, w. 1922-5

VSL: 29 November 1922 to 30 July 1924

24 December 1924 to September 1925

Ethnikon Vema, see National Tribune

*Ethnos [Nation], Melbourne, w. 1958-61

Formerly

Elliniki Foni [The Greek Voice], Melbourne, 3w. 1958

NLA: 15, 22, 25, 27 November 1958;

11 February 1960 to 14 August 1961

ANU: October, November 1958;

11 February 1960 to 14 August 1961

VSL: 16 July 1959 to 14 August 1961

Family, see Oikogenia

Floga, see Ergates

Greek Australian Review, Melbourne, m. 1951-3

ML: 1951 to 1953 †

NLA: 1951 to 1953

Greek News, see Hellenika Nea

Greek Voice, The, see Ethnos

Greek Youth, Adelaide, irreg. 1948-57 ?

The official organ of the Hellenic Youth Club of S.A.; sometimes the title used was Hellenic Youth.

*Hellenic-Australian News, Brisbane, w. 1950-2 ?

NLA: 19 April 1951 to 20 March 1952

Hellenic Herald; Greek Australian Journal [Panelinios Keryx], Sydney, w. 1926-

NLA: 12 January 1950-

ANU: June 1958- †

ML: 16 November 1926-

Hellenika Nea [Greek News], Adelaide 1961

Two editions only were published

Hearth, see Estia

Holy Trinity, Sydney, m. 1960?

A bulletin published by Holy Trinity Church

Immigrant, The, see Metanastes, O

Koinotes, Sydney, Melbourne, m., bi-m. 1960-

A publication of the Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia

Koinotika Nea: Community Press [Community News], Sydney, irreg. 1964-

The official organ of the Greek Orthodox Community of N.S.W.

Kyriake [Sunday], Sydney 1959-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Liberty, see Eleftheria

*Macedonian Herald, The*, Melbourne, bi-w. 1962-

**VSL:** 2 June 1962-

Metanastes, O [The Immigrant], Adelaide, irreg.

A bulletin published by the Greeks of Egypt and Middle East Society of South Australia

Metanastes, O [The Immigrant], Adelaide, m. 1960?

A publication of the Greek Christian Union in Adelaide

Metanastes, O, see Ergates

Moreas, Adelaide, irreg. 1961

The official organ of the Peloponnesian Brotherhood of S.A.

National Bugle, see Ethniki Salpinx

National Tribune, The [Ethnikon Vema], Melbourne, Sydney, w. 1914-

Formerly

Australis, Melbourne, Sydney, w., irreg. 1914-22

**NLA:** 4 January 1950-

**ML:** 19 August 1956-

**SPL:** March 1959-

*Nea, Ta* [The News], Melbourne, irreg. 1954

In order to meet the Department of Immigration regulations the publishers printed at irregular intervals and varied the title of each issue; Greek Community News, Greek News, Greek Australian News, etc.

**NLA:** 7 May and 21 May 1954

**VSL:** 7 May and 21 May 1954; 6 August 1954

*Nea, Ta* [The News], Melbourne, w. 1961-

**NLA:** 1962-

Nea, Ta [The News], Sydney, m. 1960?

A bulletin published by St George's Community of Rose Bay

*Neos Kosmos*, Melbourne, w. 1957-

**NLA:** February 1957-

**ANU:** 2 October 1957-

**ML:** February 1957-

**VSL:** 8 January 1958-

News, The, see Nea, Ta

North Epeirian Struggle, The, see Voreiolpeirotikos Agon

Oceanis, Adelaide, Sydney, w. 1914-16

*Oikogenia* [Family], Melbourne, m. 1951-64

**NLA:** 15 February 1951 to 1964

**VSL:** April 1951 to 1964

Panelinios Keryx, see Hellenic Herald : Greek Australian Journal

Panhellenic Bulletin, see Deltion Tes Panelladikes Enoseos

Pedalion, Melbourne, m. 1960?

A religious periodical published by the Philoptochos Christian Brotherhood of Melbourne
Pharos [The Beacon], Adelaide, bi-w. 1935-6
Formerly
The Weekly Pharos Bulletin, w. 1935-6

SPL: December 1935 to May 1936
VSL: 2 February 1936 to 30 May 1936
Pharos ton Athenaion, O [The Beacon of the Athenians], Melbourne, m. 1959
A bulletin published by the Council of the Athenian Society of Melbourne
Phos, Melbourne, w. 1936
NLA: 31 May 1950- *
VSL: 13 October 1937- *

Ptolemaios, O [Ptolemy], Sydney, m. 1960
A bulletin published by the Hellenic Estia [Union of Greeks from Egypt]

Ptolemy, see Ptolemaios, O

*Pyrsos [The Torch], Melbourne, w., 2 w. 1958
NLA: 6 May 1960-
VSL: 13 October 1961-

Roundabout, Perth, irreg. 1955
The official organ of the Perth Club of the Hellenic Youth Association

Salpinx [Bugle], Melbourne, w. 1917
Simera [Today], Melbourne 1958
Sphigga [Sphinx], Melbourne, m. 1960
A periodical published by the Union of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East in Melbourne
Sphinx, see Sphigga

Syndicalist, The, see Syndikalistis, O
*Syndikalistis, O [The Syndicalist], Melbourne, m. 1962
Today, see Simera

Torch, The, see Pyrsos

Voice of Freedom, The, see Elefthera Phoni

Voreioelpeirotikos Agon [The North Epeirean Struggle], Melbourne, m. 1957
A bulletin published by the Union of North Epeireans
Weekly Pharos Bulletin, The, see Pharos

Worker, see Ergates

Xenetemenos Mytilenios [Emigrant Mytilenean], Melbourne? 1959
A publication of the Mytilenean Brotherhood of Melbourne

HUNGARIAN

Auroroa Australis, Melbourne, m., E 1951
NLA: July 1951 to December 1951
WSL: July 1951 to December 1951

Australian Hungarian News, see Magyar Ujsag
Ausztraliai Magyar Ujsag, see Magyar Ujsag

*Ausztraliai Magyarsag [Hungarians of Australia], Melbourne, Sydney, m. 1953-4 1963-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

**Formerly**

A Hid [The Bridge] 1953-4
Revived as

*Victoriai Magyarság* [Hungarians of Victoria] 1963-4
NLA: 1953 to 1954; October 1963-
VSL: October 1963-

*Becsulet tel*, see *Sorsunk*

Bridge, The, see *Ausztraliai Magyarság*

*Budapest Sportklub Tudostója* [The Reporter of the Budapest Sports Club], Adelaide

*By Faith We Live*, see *Hitbol Elunk*

Circular of the Hungarian Reformed Church in New South Wales, see *New South Walesi Magyar Reformatus Egyház Korlevele*

*Del Keresztje*, see *Fuggetlen Magyarorszag*

*Egyházi Ertésito*, Adelaide, m. 1963-

A paper published by the Hungarian Presbyterian Reformed Church of South Australia

ANU: November 1964-+

*Free Hungary*, see *Fuggetlen Magyarorszag*

*Free Speech*, see *Szabad Szaj*

*Fuggetlen Magyarorszag* [Free Hungary], Sydney, bi-w. 1957-1950-

Formerly

*Magyar Harangok* [Hungarian Bells], Bathurst, Melbourne, bi-w. 1950-2

Incorporated in

*Del Keresztje* [Southern Cross], Sydney, bi-w. 1951-6

NLA: 1 March 1951 to 24 December 1952; 11 March 1953-

NPL: 15 November 1954-

ML: 15 November 1954-

ANU: January 1956-+

*Havi Korlevel*, Sydney, m. 1953-4

A monthly circular published by the St Stephen's Association

*Hid, A*, see *Ausztraliai Magyarság*

*Hitbol Elunk* [By Faith We Live], Sydney, m., bi-m. 1955-

Hispanic Lutheran Magazine

NLA: 1955-

*Hitunk* [Our Faith], Sydney 1952

Nine issues published as a Roman Catholic supplement to *Del Keresztje*

Hungarian Bells, see *Magyar Harangok*

Hungarian Gazette, see *Hungarista Tajekoztato*

Hungarian in Australia, The, see *Magyarok Ausztráliaban*

Hungarian Life, see *Magyar Elet*

Hungarian Magazine, see *Magyar Magazin*

Hungarian News; Monthly Review of the Victorian Hungarian Church, see *Magyar Ujsag; A Victoriai Ev. Ref. Magyár Egház Havi Szemleje*

Hungarian News, see *Magyar Ujsag*

Hungarian Sport, see *Magyar Sport*

Hungarian Voice, see *Magyar Szo*

Hungarians of Australia, see *Ausztraliai Magyarság*

Hungarians of Victoria, see *Victoriai Magyarság*
Hungarista Mozgalom: Ausztriai Szovanyok: Tajekoztato Szolgala, Merredin.
An information bulletin published by the World Association of Anti-Communist Hungarians.
WSL: 1956-

Hungarista Tajekoztato [Hungarian Gazette], Melbourne, irreg.
Gazette of the Hungarista Party
Illustrated Magazine, see Magyar Magazin
Keleti Figyelo [Orient Observer], Melbourne, q.
Journal of the Turan Historical Society
NLA: November 1960
Kepes Magazin, see Magyar Magazin
Kereszte, Del, see Fuggetlen Magyarorszag
*Magyar Elet [Hungarian Life] Melbourne, w.
With a Sydney edition, Sydneyi Magyar Elet
NLA: May 1960-
VPL: 20 October 1960-
Magyar Harangok, see Fuggetlen Magyarorszag
Magyar Magazin [Hungarian Magazine]
Formerly
Kepes Magazin [Illustrated Magazine], Sydney, approx. bi-m.
Magazine of the Hungarian Theatrical Club
Formerly
Magyarok Ausztraliaban [The Hungarian in Australia]
NLA: 1959 to April 1960
Magyar Sport [Hungarian Sport], Sydney, m.
A sports magazine with international and local Hungarian sports news
NLA: 28 August 1958 to 20 November 1958
*Magyar Szo [Hungarian Voice], Melbourne, w.
NLA: 17 March 1960 to 1962
VPL: 6 October 1960 to 1962
*Magyar Ujsag [Hungarian News], Melbourne, m.
Mainly a religious periodical but contains other news
Formerly
Ausztraliai Magyar Ujsag [Australian Hungarian News], w.
Magyar Ujsag: A Victoriai Ev. Ref, Magyar Eghaz Havi Szemleje [Hungarian News; Monthly Review of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church in Victoria]
These two papers combined under the title Magyar Ujsag
NLA: 1951-

Magyar Ujsag: A Victoriai Ev. Ref. Magyar Eghaz Havi Szemleje, see Magyar Ujsag
Magyarok Ausztraliaban, see Magyar Magazin
Message, see Uzenet
Mindszenthy Egyesulet Ertesitoje, Adelaide, m.
News Sheet of the Mindszenthy Association
Mirror, see Tukor
New Life, see Uj Elet

NLA: 1956-
New South Walesi Magyar Reformatus Egyhaz Korlevele [Circular of the Hungarian Reformed Church in New South Wales], Sydney, q., irreg. 1958-61

Orient Observer, see Keleti Figyelo

Our Faith, see Hitunk

Our Fate, see Sorsunk

Perthi Ev. Ref. Egyhazkoseg Ertesito

Formerly

Perthi Ev. Ref. Egyhazkoseg Tudositoja, Perth Circular of the Presbyterian congregation in Western Australia 1953-

Regnum Marianum, Brisbane, m. 1954-5

Official Circular of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Chaplain in Queensland

Regnum Marianum, Melbourne, m. 1952-

Official Circular of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Priest in Victoria

NLA: October 1955-

Regnum Marianum Ertesitoje, see Romai Katolikus Magyar Lelkipasztori Korlevel

Reporter of the Budapest Sports Club, The, see Budapest Sportklub Tudositoja

Romai Katolikus Magyar Lelkipasztori Korlevel, Sydney, m. 1954-

Official Circular of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Chaplain in New South Wales

Formerly

Regnum Marianum Ertesitoje 1945-5

*Sorsunk [Our Fate], Sydney, bi-w., m. 1955-

Formerly

Becsulet [With Honour] 1955-8

NLA: 23 January 1955-

ML: 1955-

Southern Cross, see Del Keresztje

Sports World, see Sportvilag

Sportvilag [Sports World], Melbourne, m. 1953-5

Formerly

Sportvilag [Sports World], Brisbane 1953-4

NLA: 26 August 1953 to August 1955

Sydneyi Magyar Elet, see Magyar Elet

*Szabad Szaj [Free Speech], Melbourne, m. 1964-

A Hungarian Satirical Magazine

NLA: 15 June 1965-

Tajekoztato, Sydney, irreg. 1956-9

A publication of the Association of Hungarian Organisations in New South Wales

Tarogato, Greta Camp, Sydney, irreg. 1950

Mainly religious contents — 6 issues appeared

Tukor [Mirror], Sydney, m., irreg. 1963-4

A pictorial, social, literary, political magazine. Only five issues.

NLA: October 1963 to April 1964

Uj Elet [New Life], Sydney, bi-w. 1950-5

A literary periodical, published under the auspices of the Hungarian Presbyterian clergymen in Sydney.

NLA: 1 September 1950 to August 1954
Uzenet [Message] Sydney
  A paper of the Hungarian Presbyterian Community,
  New South Wales; 1 or 2 issues only
Victoriai Magyarsag, see Ausztraliai Magyarsag
Voice of Europe, Melbourne, w.
NLA: 1 March to 8 May 1953
With Honour, see Sorsunk

ITALIAN

Angelo della Famiglia, L', see Croce del Sud, La Avanguardia Liberia, L'; Mensile di Lotta e di Propaganda
VSL: 14 June 1930 to 15 November 1932
Awakening, The, see Nuovo Risveglio, II
Campana, La, Canberra, w., bi-w.
  A Roman Catholic publication with news and religious items
NLA: 1958 to 1963
Campanile, Melbourne, w.
  A Roman Catholic Religious Paper
Canguro, II, Melbourne, bi-w.
ANU: 1 August to 15 August 1959
*Canguro, II, Perth, w.
NLA: 6 May 1955 to 1 April 1957
WSL: 6 May 1955 to 8 April 1957
*Corriere d'Australia, II [The Courier of Australia], Sydney, bi-w., w.
NLA: 1953 to December 1961
ANU: December 1958 to December 1961 †
ML: 1953-61
SPL: March 1959 to December 1961
Corriere degli Italiani in Australia, II, see Giornale Italiano, II
Courier of Australia, The, see Corriere d'Australia, II
Critica, La, Sydney, m., E
  A cultural monthly
NLA: 1959- †
Croce del Sud, La : Mensile Cattolico, Sydney, m.
1943-60
Formerly
  L'Angelo della Famiglia, Melbourne 1943-57
  An Italian religious magazine
NLA: January 1948 to October 1960 †
ML: June 1957 to October 1960 †
VSL: December 1958 to October 1960 †
*Eco Italiano, Perth, w.
NLA: 4 June 1958 to February 1959
WSL: 4 June 1958 to 11 February 1959 †
Emigrante, L' [The New Australian], Melbourne, bi-m., q.
  A Roman Catholic publication for Italian migrants
VSL: June 1961-
NLA: April-June 1964-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

*Fiamma, La [The Flame], Sydney, w., 2 w.  
Fiamma della Domenica was a Sunday supplement 1957-8

NLA: 1948-
ANU: 13 January to December 1956; 14 March 1958-
ML: July 1957-
NU: 1960-

Fiamma della Domenica, see Fiamma, La
Flame, The, see Fiamma, La

Giornale Italiano, II, Sydney, w.

Contained Italian Bulletin of Commerce, Sydney, m. as a supplement

Formerly
Il Corriere degli Italiani in Australia

Contained Italian Bulletin of Australia, Sydney, m. as a supplement

ML: 19 March 1932 to 5 June 1940
VSL: 5 February 1936 to 5 June 1940

*Globo, II, Melbourne, w.  
VSL: 9 December 1959-
NU: 1961-

Italian Bulletin of Australia, see Giornale Italiano, II
Italian Bulletin of Commerce, see Giornale Italiano, II


Italiano-Australiano, L', Sydney, w.

Ceased publication 1909; revived 25 July 1914, and incorporated in Oceania

NPL: 11 March 1905 to 30 January 1909

Italiano-Australian [The Italo-Australian Weekly Journal], Sydney, w.

ANU: 15 December 1928 to 13 April 1929
ML: 6 July 1927 to 8 June 1940

Let Us Unite, see Uniamoci

Messaggero, II, Melbourne, m.

Parish paper, Richmond, Victoria

Messaggero del Sacro Cuore, Melbourne, bi-m.

A religious family magazine published by the Jesuit Fathers

NLA: July 1962-

New Australian, The, see Emigrante, L'
New Awakening, The, see Nuovo Risveglio, II

Nuovo Paese, II, Melbourne, bi-w.

Nuovo Risveglio, II: Il Giornale dell' Emigrante

Italiano in Australia [The New Awakening], Sydney bi-w., m.

Formerly
Il Nuovo Risveglio [The New Awakening], Sydney 1927

Three issues only were published in 1927

Il Risveglio [The Awakening] 1944-56

NLA: 23 November 1948 to January 1957
ANU: 20 January 1956 to October-November 1956

Oceania, Sydney, w.

See also Italiano-Australiano, L', Sydney 1913-15 ?

NPL: 12 July 1913 to February 1915
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

*Progresso Italo-Australiano, II*, Melbourne, m. 1957-
A publication of the Italian-Australian Labour Council, Melbourne
NLA: February 1959-
VSL: June-July, 1960-
*Risveglio, II*, see *Nuovo Risveglio, II*
*Rivista Italiana, La*, Melbourne, bi-w., w. 1957-8
NLA: June 1957 to June 1958
*Roma*, Adelaide, irreg. 1957-9
Organ of the Juventus United Sports and Social Club
SPL: April-May 1957 to 1958
*Settegiorni*, Sydney, w. 1962-
Stampa Italiana, La, Perth, w. 1931-2
WSL: 3 December 1931 to 9 September 1932
Squilli Mariani, Sydney, m. 1960-2
A Roman Catholic religious magazine
Sunday Times, The; Edizione Italiana, Perth, w. 1958-9
This was a two-page supplement to the Sunday Times.
WSL: 1958 to 1959 *Uniamoci [Let Us Unite], Sydney, w. 1903-4
NPL: 18 July 1903 to 27 August 1904
Vigilante, Melbourne, m., w. 1918-19
VSL: July 1918
*Voce d'Italia [Voice from Italy], Melbourne, w. 1918-19 ?
VSL: 3 April 1919
*Voce d'Italia, La*, Melbourne, w. 1961-2
VSL: 19 June 1961 to 6 February 1962
Voice from Italy, see *Voce d'Italia*

LATVIAN

*Apkartraksts*, Melbourne, irreg. 1958- ?
Circular of the Victorian Evangelical Lutheran Latvian Society of St John
NLA: May, June, December 1958
Australian Latvian, The, see *Australijas Latvietis*
*Australijas Latvietis* [The Australian Latvian], Melbourne, w. 1949-
NLA: 1949-
VSL: 4 July 1959-
*Australijas Latviesu Katolu Biletens* [The Catholic Latvian Bulletin], Melbourne, but changes every two years, Adelaide, Sydney, Melbourne, m. 1951-
Formerly
*Latviesu Katolu Biedribas Australija Apkartraksts* 1951-8
NLA: September 1958-
*Baznicas Zinas* [Church News], Melbourne, bi-m., m. 1949-
A Latvian Lutheran paper
Formerly
*Migrant Messenger*
NLA: 1953-
Catholic Latvian Bulletin, see *Australijas Latviesu Katolu Biletens*
Church News, see *Baznicas Zinas*
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Church News, see Draudzes Vestnesis
Draudzes Vestnesis [Church News], Sydney, q. 1950-
A periodical for the Latvian Lutheran congregation of Sydney
Ev. Lut. Sv. Pavila, Draudzes Zinas, Perth, irreg. 1958-
A publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St Paul, Perth
WSL: July-August 1961-
Informacijas Vestnesis, Perth, bi-m. 1956-
A bulletin published jointly by the Latvian Library Club and the Latvian Relief Society
WSL: 1956-†
Latviesu Katolu Biedribas Australija Apkartraksts, see Australijas Latviesu Katolu Biletens
Latvian, The: Australian Latvian News Bulletin, see Latvis; Latviesa Lakraksts Australii
SPL: 30 May 1949 to 25 February 1950
Latvju Zeltene, Melbourne, irreg. 1951-2
NLA: 1951-2
Migrant Messenger, see Baznicas Zinias
New Farmers’ Club in Exile, The, see Trimdas Mazpulks
*Pasaule [The World], Sydney, w. 1953
NLA: 25 October 1953 to 21 November 1953
Trimdas Mazpulks [The New Farmers’ Club in Exile], Melbourne, m., irreg. 1954
NLA: No. 4 and No. 5, 1954
Viesis [Visitor], Adelaide, m.
A literary paper
NLA: January to May 1954
Visitor, see Viesis
World, The, see Pasaule

LITHUANIAN

Adelaide Lithuanian News, see Adelaides Lietuviu Zinios
Adelaides Lietuviu Zinios [Adelaide Lithuanian News], Adelaide, bi-w. 1960-
A publication of the Lithuanian Society in Adelaide
SALA: 1960-
ALA: 1960-
Australian Lithuanian, The, see, Australijos Lietuvis
*Australijos Lietuvis [The Australian Lithuanian], Adelaide, bi-w. 1948-56
NLA: January 1951 to 14 May 1956
SPL: 9 January 1950 to 14 May 1956
SALA: 1948 to 1956
ALA: 1948 to 1956
Bell, The, see Varpas
Biuletinis, see Musu Pastoge
Brisbanes Apvlinkes Lietuviu Biuletenis, Brisbane, irreg. 1962-
A publication of the Brisbane Lithuanian Community.
Two issues only were published.
ALA: 16 February 1962
Bulletin of the Building Progress of the Lithuanian Hall in Canberra, see *Lietuviu Namu Canberroje Statybines Eigos Biuletenis*

Bulletin of the Lithuanian-Australian Club in Canberra, see *Canberros Lietuviu Australu Klubo Biuletenis*

*Canberros Lietuviu Australu Klubo Biuletenis* [Bulletin of the Lithuanian-Australian Club in Canberra], Canberra, irreg. 1960-

Formerly
   *Canberros Ziniu Biuletenis*, Canberra, m. 1960-2
   A bulletin published by the Lithuanian Community in Canberra
   ALA: 1960-
   *Canberros Ziniu Biuletenis*, see *Canberros Lietuviu Australu Klubo Biuletenis*

Cane, The, see *Rykste*

Echoes of Homeland, see *Teviskes Aidai*

Geelong Lithuanian, The, see *Geelongo Lietuviu Bendromb. Biuletenis*

*Geelongo Lietuvis*, see *Geelongo Lietuviu Bendrom. Biuletenis*

*Geelongo Lietuviu Bendrom. Biuletenis*, Geelong, irreg. 1958-

A publication of the Geelong Lithuanian Community

Formerly
   *Geelongo Lietuvis* [The Geelong Lithuanian], m 1958-60
   ALA: 1958 to 1960; 1964-
   SALA: 1958 to 1960

*Lietuviu Namu Canberroje Statybines Eigos Biuletenis*, Canberra, m. 1963

A bulletin published by the House Building Committee in Canberra

ALA: 1963

Lighthouse, The, see *Svyturys*

*Musu Pastoge* [Our Haven], Sydney, w. 1949-

Incorporated

*Uzuoveja* [Shelter], Bathurst, Sydney, m. 1949-50

Formerly

*Biuletenis*, Sydney, m. 1949

One issue only was published under this title.

NLA: 1950- †

VSL: 15 February 1950- †

SALA: 1949-

ALA: 1949-

*Newcastelio Apylinkes, Lietuviu Biuletenis*, Newcastle, q. 1959-

A bulletin of information for Lithuanians in Newcastle

Formerly

*Newcastelio Zinios* [News of Newcastle]

ALA: 1959-

*Newcastelio Zinios*, see *Newcastelio Apylinkes Lietuviu Biuletenis*
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

News Digest International, Sydney, q., E 1963-
A publication of the Lithuanian Information Alliance
AL: 1963-

News of Newcastle, see Newcastle Johniskes
Lietuviu Biuletines

Our Haven, see Musu Pastoge

Pathfinder, The, see Scout Papers, Sydney

Rykste [The Cane], Melbourne, irreg. 1951-4
A satirical, humorous magazine
SALA: 1951 to 1954
AL: 1951 to 1954

Scout Camp Papers, Sydney
These papers contained information and humour, and were published daily at the annual camps.
Ziezirbos, d. 1955-64
Kibirkstye, d. 1957-62
AL: 1955 to 1964; 1957 to 1962

Scout Camp Papers, Victoria
These papers contained information and humour, and were published daily at the annual camps.
Lievneles [The Little Flames], Mornington, d. 1958-9
Pusyno Aidas [The Echo of the Pine Forest], Mt Crawford, d. 1963-1964
Krambambulis, Mt Martha, d. 1963-1964
AL: 1958 to 1959; 1963; 1964

Scout Leaders' Bulletin, Melbourne
Liepsnojanti Lelija, irreg. 1953-8
This was published by the Chief Commissioner of Lithuanian Boy Scouts in Australia.
AL: 1953 to 1958

Scout Papers, Sydney

Pedsekis [The Pathfinder], m. 1955-
A periodical containing information on theoretical and practical scouting
AL: 1955-
SALA: 1958-
Lauzu Atosvaistes, irreg. [The Reflections of Camp Fires] 1955-6
Joudoji Kauke [The Black Mask], irreg.
These papers contained entertainment and humour
AL: 1955 to 1956; 1958 to 1961

Sekmadienis [Sunday], Melbourne, w. 1950-5
A bulletin containing information for Lithuanian Roman Catholics in Melbourne
AL: 1950 to 1955

Shelter, see Musu Pastoge

Sunday, see Sekmadienis

Sunday Voice, The, see Sventadienio Balsas

Sventadienio Balsas [The Sunday Voice], Adelaide, w. 1953-
A Bulletin containing information for Lithuanian Roman Catholics in Adelaide
SALA: 1953-
AL: 1953-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Svyturys [The Lighthouse], Melbourne, irreg.
An Australian-Lithuanian Catholic Cultural Magazine
SALA: 1953 to 1955
ALA: 1953 to 1955
*Teviskes Aidai [Echoes of Homeland], Melbourne, w.
A publication of the Lithuanian Catholic Federal Committee
NLA: 11 February 1956- †
VSL: 15 March 1956- †
SALA: 1956- †
ALA: 1956-
Uzuoveja, see Musu Pastoge
Varpas [The Bell], Melbourne, irreg.
A publication of the Melbourne Lithuanian Sports Club ‘Varpas’
SALA: 1954 to 1956
ALA: 1954 to 1956

MACEDONIAN

Macedonian Herald, see Makedonski Glas
Macedonian Spark, see Makedonski Glas
Makedonska Iskra, see Makedonski Glas
*Makedonski Glas [Macedonian Herald], Sydney, m.
Formerly
Makedonska Iskra [Macedonian Spark], Sydney, Melbourne, m., bi-m.
Organ of the Macedonian Australian People’s League
NLA: 1949 to June 1958
ANU: September 1950 to February 1957 †

MALTESE

Island Fortress, The, Melbourne, m.
A few issues only were published
Lehen il Malti, see Maltese Herald, The
Malta, Sydney, Melbourne, m.
A publication of the Maltese Settlers’ Association to help immigrant assimilation; to stimulate interest in Maltese film production
NLA: May 1956
ANU: March, April, September, October 1959; January, September 1960; February, September 1961
Malta News, see Maltese Herald
*Maltese Herald, The, Sydney, bi-w.
Formerly
Lehen il Malti, Sydney, bi-w
Incorporated in Malta News, Sydney, bi-w.
NLA: 18 April 1958 to 29 May 1959 †
2 April 1959 to October 1959
28 July 1961-
ML: 18 April 1958 to 29 May 1959 †
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Maltese News, Melbourne, m., E
Organ of the Maltese Society of Victoria
NLA: 1951 to August 1952
1943-53

Maltese Settler, Sydney, m.
A publication of the Maltese Settlers' Association
NLA: August 1953
1953-8

MULTI-LINGUAL

Neue Leben, Das/Novi Zivot/La Vita Nuova/Nowe
Zycie/Jauna Dzive [The New Life], Adelaide, w., bi-w.
NLA: 17 August 1950 to 30 June 1951
SPL: 17 August 1950 to 19 July 1951
1950-1?

New Life, The, see Neue Leben, Das, etc.

Trade Unionist, The, Richmond, Vic., m.
A paper published by the Trade Unionist Advisory Committee
ANU: 1957 to 1958
1957-8

POLISH

Biuletyn, Hobart, q.
A publication of the Council of Polish Organizations
In Tasmania
ANU: September/October/November 1961
1961-2?

Biuletyn Informacyjny SPK w Australii, see Kombatant w Australii

Biuletyn Informacyjny Stowarzyszenia im T. Kosciuski w Darra, Queensland, bi-w.
1955-60

Biuletyn Polski [Polish Bulletin], Canberra, m.
Formerly
Biuletyn Polskich Organizacji w A.C.T.
NLA: September 1954; May 1955; July 1956
1954-61

Biuletyn Polskich Organizacji w A.C.T., see Biuletyn Polski

Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Polakow w Queensland, Brisbane, irreg., m.
The Bulletin of the 'Polonia' Association, Queensland
Published as a supplement, Tygodnik Polski, in The Catholic Leader, Brisbane
1951-4

Formerly
Polonia, Brisbane, W.
NLA: November 1953 to December 1954
1951-2

Biuletyn Związku Polskiego w "Ognisko", Newcastle, m.
Bulletin of the Polish Association in Newcastle
1954-5

Courrier Australien, Le: Polish Affairs, Sydney, w.
1931-2

Formerly
Le Courrier Australien: Nouvelles Polonaises; Dzial Polski
1931-2

NPL: 1931 to 1932

*Echo Opowiadania: Polski Magazyn Ilustrowany,
Perth, w., bi-w., m.
1950-3
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Formerly

*Echo: Polski Tygodnik Niezależny 1950-2*
with

*Echo Opowiadania* as a monthly magazine supplement.
The magazine then superseded the paper.

NLA: 16 December 1950 to July 1953
WSL: 16 December 1950 to 15 June 1952

*Echo: Polski Tygodnik Niezależny, see Echo Opowiadania*

Forum, Sydney, w.

NLA: June to July 1953

*Glos Polski, see Wiadomosci Polskie: Pismo Polakow w Australii i Nowej Zelandii*

*Glos Polski: Informacyjny Miesiecznik Zwiazku Polakow Stanu Victoria, see Wiadomosci Polskie: Pismo Polakow w Australii i Nowej Zelandii*

*Kombatant w Australii, Canberra, Sydney, q.*
A publication of the Polish Ex-Servicemen’s Association

Formerly

*Biuletyn Informacyjny SPK w Australii 1959-62*

*Komunikat, see Komunikat Informacyjny*

*Komunikat Informacyjny, Hobart, m.*
A publication of the Polish Association in Hobart

Formerly

*Komunikat ANU: October 1961; February to December 1964 *

*Milletium, Polski Biuletyn Stoleczny, Canberra, bi-m.*
A magazine published by the Polish Catholic Chaplain in Canberra

ANU: May to December 1964

*Najpiekniejsze Opowiesci, Adelaide 1955*
A literary magazine

NLA: 11 November 1955

*Nasza Droga, Adelaide, bi-w.* 1952-

NLA: 24 December 1952-

ANU: 15 January 1956- *

SPL: 24 December 1952-

*Nasze Wiadomosci [Our Monthly News], Tasmania, m.* 1949
A publication of the Rats of Tobruk Association

*Nouvelles Polonaises: Dzial Polski, see Courrier Australien, Le: Polish Affairs*

*Nurt Digest, see Nurt: Miesiecznik Soleczny*

*Nurt: Miesiecznik Soleczny, Sydney, q.* 1963-
A privately printed magazine of topical interest.
It contains an 8-page supplement in English,

*Nurt Digest*.

NLA: December 1963-

*Our Monthly News, see Nasze Wiadomosci*

*Pochodnia [The Torch], Perth, m.* 1954-61?
A Polish Christian monthly

NLA: November 1954

*Polish Affairs, see Courrier Australien, Le: Nouvelles Polonaises*
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Polish Bulletin, see Biuletyn Polski
Polish Commercial News, see Wiadomosci Handlowe
Polish News, see Wiadomosci Polskie: Pismo Polakow w Australii i Nowej Zelandii
Polish Voice, see Wiadomosci Polskie

Polonia Australijska, Brisbane, m.
A bulletin published by 'Kolonja Polska', the Polish Association of Queensland

Torch, The, see Pochodnia

*Tygodnik Katolicki*, Melbourne, w.

NLA: August 1951-
ANU: January 1956- †
ML: 16 October 1954-
VSL: 28 August 1954-

Tygodnik Polski, see Biuletyn Stowarzyszzenia Polakow w Queensland

Wiadomosci Handlowe [Polish Commercial News], Geelong, m.

Ceased in March 1954 and a German paper published instead, see Anker, Der in the German section

NLA: Easter 1953 to March 1954 †

Wiadomosci Polskie: Pismo Polakow w Australii i Nowej Zelandii [Polish News], Sydney, w., bi-w.

Incorporated

Glos Polski: Informacyjny Miesiecznik Związku Polakow Stanu Victoria, Melbourne, m.

A publication of the Polish Association in Victoria

Formerly

Glos Polski [The Polish Voice], Melbourne, w.

A publication of the Polish Association in Australia

NLA: January 1951- †
ANU: 12 January 1958- †
ML: 18 August 1957-
NU: 1961-

ROMANIAN

Buletin de Informatii al Asociatiei Romanilor din Australia (A.R.A.) [Bulletin of the Association of Romanians in Australia], Sydney, m., bi-m.

NLA: 1952- †

RUSSIAN

About Time, see Pora

Alien Shores, see Chuzhaina

Berega [Shores], Melbourne, m., irreg.

A Literary Journal

NLA: 1957-60

NU: Issues 1-10, 1957

Bogatyri, see Griadushchee
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Bratskii Biulleten [Fraternal Bulletin], Melbourne, bi-m., q. 1954
- A Slavic Christian Magazine
NLA: January to December 1954
Campfire Sparks, see Iskry Kostra
Church and Science, Sydney, m. 1933-9
- NLA: August 1936 to October 1936
NU: 7 issues
The Church Bell, see Tserkovnyi Kolokol
Chuzhbina [Alien Shores], Brisbane, m. 1930
- A Literary Journal, 12 issues only
Division of the Monarchist Movement: Reports, see Otdel Monarkhicheskogo Duizhenia: Vestnik
*Edinenie [Unification], Melbourne, m., w. 1950-
- NLA: January 1951-
SPL: March 1959-
VSL: December 1950-
Emigrant’s Way, The, Sydney, m. 1935-41
- NLA: April 1936 to 1938 \*
NU: 12 issues
Fraternal Bulletin, see Bratskii Biulleten
Griadushchee, Sydney, m. 1955-6
- Formerly a political journal, Bogatyri
NU: 1955 to 1957
Iskry Kostra [Campfire Sparks], Sydney, irreg. 1958-
- A publication of the National Organization of Russian Scouts in Australia
NLA: 19 December 1961-
Knowledge and Unity, Brisbane, m., Nos. 23-68, E 1917-21
- A publication of the Russian Communists of Brisbane, Nos. 65-68 were the official organ of the Communist Party of Australia, Brisbane branch.
ML: 1918 to 23 July 1921
Nasha Rodina [Our Native Land], Sydney, w., m., irreg.
- Organ of a group of ‘monarchist youth’
NU: 1961-
NLA: April 1961-
Nasha Zhizn [Our Life], Melbourne, m. 1955-6
- A publication of the Russian Anti-Communist Centre in Victoria
NLA: October 1955 to March 1956
Orthodox Christian, The, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, m. 1953-4
NLA: 1953 to 1954
Otdel Monarkhicheskogo Duizhenia: Vestnik [Division of the Monarchist Movement: Reports], Sydney, irreg. 1952
NLA: July, December 1952
Our Life, see Nasha Zhizn
Our Native Land, see Nasha Rodina
Pora [About Time], Brisbane, q. 1937
- A Journal published by the Union of Russian Imperialists. 4 numbers issued.
NU: Number 2 and Number 3 1937
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Rabochaya Jizn [Worker's Life], Brisbane, w. 1914-18
A publication of the Association of Russian Workmen in Australia

Russian in Australia, The, Sydney, m., irreg. 1937-8

NLA: August 1950-
ML: 1937 to 1938; 1950-
NU: 1937 to 1938; 1950-

Russian Truth, see Russkaya Pravda

*Russkaya Pravda [Russian Truth, Free Voice of National Russia], Melbourne, w. 1961-
VSL: 25 November 1961-
ANU: 24 March 1964-

St Vladimir's Leaflet, see Under the Southern Cross
Shores, see Berega

Sydney Bell, The, Sydney, irreg. 1932-5
A literature and current events publication
NU: 6 issues

Tserkovnoe Slovo [Word of the Church], Sydney, m. 1955-
A publication of the Diocesan Administration of the Australia and New Zealand Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church outside of Russia
NLA: 1956-
NU: 1956-

Tserkovnyi Kolokol [The Church Bell], Sydney, irreg. 1932-4
4 numbers only were issued

Under the Southern Cross, Sydney, irreg. 1957-
Formerly
St Vladimir's Leaflet

Unification, see Edinenie
Voice of Free Russia, Melbourne, E 1954
2 numbers only were issued

NLA: Number 1 and Number 2
NU: Number 1

Word of the Church, see Tserkovnoe Slovo
Worker's Life, see Rabochaya Jizn

SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

Hjemlandstoner, Melbourne, twice yearly 1893-6
Kirketidende, Melbourne, bi-w., m. 1898-1900
VSL: 15 May 1898 to October 1900

Messenger, The: For the Church of Denmark Abroad, Brisbane, Sydney, m. 1928-61
A publication of the Danish Lutheran Church in Australia
ANU: February 1961

Norden, Melbourne, Ballarat, w. 1857?

Norden: In the Interests of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, Melbourne, m., bi-w. 1896-1940
VSL: 20 November 1897 to March 1940

Skandinavien, Sydney, bi-w. 1887
SERBO-CROAT

Far Away, see Tamo Daleko: Casopis Srba v Slobodnom Svetu
         Hrvatski Dom, Sydney, Melbourne, m.  1958-
         A magazine published by the Croatian Chaplaincy
         in Australia

Informativni Bulletin: Mjesecnik, Hrvatskog Prosvjetnog i Dobrotvornog Drustva “Dr Vladko
         Macek” [Monthly Bulletin ‘Dr Vladko Macek,
         Croatian Cultural and Welfare Association]
         Melbourne, m.  1961-

ANU: July and November 1964

Monthly Bulletin ‘Dr Vladko Macek’ Croatian
         Cultural and Welfare Association, see Informativni
         Bulletin: Mjesecnik, Hrvatskog Prosvjetnog i
         Dobrotvornog Drustva “Dr Vladko Macek”

Napredak, Sydney, w.  1937-40  1943-58

NLA: 14 January 1950 to 1958
SPL: 1957 to 1958

News, see Viesnik

News, The, see Novosti

*Novosti [The News], Melbourne, bi-w.  1963-

VSL: October 1963-

Preparedness, see Spremnost

Serbian Herald, The, see Srpski Glasnik

Serbian Way, The, see Srpski Put

*Sloga [Unity], Perth, w.  1950-

NLA: March 1950-

WSL: March 1950- †

Spremnost [Preparedness], Sydney, m.  1958-

ANU: September 1961-

NLA: 1962-

Srpski Glasnik [The Serbian Herald], Adelaide,
         bi-m., m., irreg.  1960-

NLA: 1960- †

ANU: May, July, September 1960

Srpski Put [The Serbian Way], Sydney, m.  1949-52

Bulletin of the Serbian Cultural Club in Sydney

Srpski Put za Victoria

May 1952

1 issue only in Victoria

NLA: August 1949 to November 1952

Tamo Daleko: Casopis Srba v Slobodnom Svetu
         [Far Away], Melbourne, q.  1958-

A literary magazine

Unity, see Sloga

Viesnik [News], Perth, m.  1954-5

NLA: January 1954 to May 1955

SLOVAK

Shield, The, see Slovensky Stit
Slovak Shield, The, see Slovensky Stit

Slovensky Stit [The Slovak Shield], Sydney, m., bi-m.,
         irreg.  1951-
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Formerly

Stit [The Shield], m. 1951-3

NLA: September 1951 to 1953; 1954 to 1956 †; 1963-

Stit, see Slovensky Stit

SLOVENE

Glow, The, see Zar: Slovenski polmesecnik v Avstraliji

Misli [Thoughts], Sydney, m. 1952-

A Catholic paper for the Slovene Community in Australia

NLA: 1952- †

Slovenska Kronika, Sydney, m. 1954-5

NLA: February to October 1954

Slovenski Vestnik [Slovene Messenger], Melbourne, m. 1955-

A publication of the Melbourne Slovene Association

NLA: 1964-

Thoughts, see Misli

*Zar: Slovenski polmesecnik v Avstraliji [The Glow], Sydney, bi-w., m. 1957-61

NLA: August 1957 to 1961

ML: 25 September 1958 to 1961

SPANISH

Bulletin of the Spanish/Latin-American Society, Canberra, m. 1959-

An information bulletin in Spanish and English

*Cronica, La, Melbourne, w. 1964-

UKRAINIAN

Biblioteka Plastovoho Vychovnyka, Melbourne, irreg. 1964-

The official publication of the Executive of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts Association

Church and Life, see Tserkva i Zyttia

Church Messenger, see Tserkovnii Visti

Church News, see Tserkovnii Visti

Circular of SUOA, see Obiznik SUOA

Circular UHVR, see Obiznik UHVR

Concord, see Yednist

Congregational News, see Duspastyrske Visti

Critic, see Krytyka

Duspastyrske Visti [Congregational News], Melbourne, Sydney, Newcastle, irreg., m. 1950-1962

A news bulletin published by the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Free Thought, The, see Vilna Dumka

Information Letter of ABN [Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations], see Informatyvnii Listok ABN

Informative and Methodological Letter of the Ukrainian Central School Council in Australia, see Informatyvno Metodychnyi Listok Ukrajinskoji Centralnoji Skilnoji Rady v Avstraliji
Informatyvnyj Listok ABN [Information Letter of ABN], Melbourne, Sydney, irreg. 1957-
A circular letter of the Ukrainian Division of ABN in Australia

Informatyvno Metodycnyj Listok Ukrajinskoji Centralnoji Skilnoji Rady v Awstraliji [Informative and Methodological Letter of the Ukrainian Central School Council in Australia], Melbourne, m., irreg. 1964-
The official circular of the Executive of the Ukrainian Central School Council

Krytyka [Critic], Adelaide 1962
A publication of the Association of Ukrainian Students in South Australia; one issue only was published.

Nash Holos [Our Voice], Adelaide, irreg. 1952-4
An official publication of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand.
Formerly

Nash Holos [Our Voice], Adelaide, irreg. 1952-4
A paper for the Parish of St Mikhail

NLA: 1952-

Nash Visnik [Our Bulletin], Melbourne, Adelaide, m. 1951
A literary and cultural magazine; one issue only.
Formerly

Nash Visnik [Our Bulletin], Melbourne, m. 1950
Intended as an official monthly of the Ukrainian Association in Victoria; one issue only.

ANU: January 1950; October 1951
News Letter of UHV, see Visti UHV
News of the Boy Scouts Executive, see Vistnik K.P.S.
News of the Church Building Committee, see Visti Komitetu Budovy Cerkvy

Obiznik SUOA [Circular of SUOA], Sydney, Melbourne, irreg. 1954-
A circular published by the Executive of the Federation of Ukrainian Associations, covering activities and policies

Obiznik UHVR [Circular of UHVR], Melbourne, irreg. 1957-
The circular letter of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council Representative in Australia Orthodox Church, see Pravoslavna Ukrajini
Our Bulletin, see Nash Visnik
Our Voice, see Nash Holos
Pepper, The, see Perets
Perets [The Pepper], Adelaide, m., bi-m. 1950-2
A Ukrainian humorous magazine

NLA: May 1950 to May-June 1952
Pravoslavna Ukrajina [Orthodox Church] 1964
Issued by 'Bratstvo za objecnannia ukrajinskych pravoslavnych cerkow'. 3 issues were published.

Promin [The Ray], Sydney, m. 1954-6
A publication of the Association of Ukrainian Youth
Ray, The, see Promin
Slovo [The Word], Sydney, m., irreg. 1953-4
A Literary Magazine
NLA: September 1953 to March 1954
Tserkovnii Vestnik, see Tserkovnii Visti
Tserkovnii Visti [Church News], Sydney, m. 1952-3
A publication of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Australia
Formerly
Tserkovnii Vestnik [Church Messenger], Sydney, m. 1952
NLA: 1952
Tserkva i Zyttia [Church and Life], Sydney, Melbourne, q. 1960-
The official organ of the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in Australia
*Ukrainets v Australii [Ukrainian Settler], Melbourne, bi-w. 1956-
NLA: 12 December 1956-
Ukrainian Settler, see Ukrainets v Australii
*Vilna Dumka [The Free Thought], Sydney, w. 1949-
NLA: 28 January 1951-†
ANU: 1957-†
ML: 9 September 1956-†
Visti Komitetu Budovy Cerkvy [News of the Church Building Committee], Sydney, Melbourne, irreg. 1956
A publication of the Ukrainian Catholic Congregations in Sydney and Melbourne
Visti UHV [News Letter UHV], Melbourne 1962
A publication of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria; one issue only was published.
Vistnik K.P.S. [News of the Boy Scouts Executive], Residence of Executive, irreg. 1953-
Official Circular of the Executive of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts Association in Australia
Word, The, see Slovo
Yednist [Concord], Adelaide, Melbourne, w. 1949-56
NLA: January 1950 to 23 September 1956
SPL: 16 October 1949 to 22 May 1955

WELSH
Yr Australydd, Melbourne 1871-2
VSL: April 1872

GERMAN ALMANACS

In addition to the periodical publications listed above another type of foreign-language publication has been prominent in Australia: the annual calendars and the books and pamphlets printed for special occasions. Following is a list of the German-language almanacs that have been published at various times since the middle of the nineteenth century by the editors of both the religious and the secular newspapers, such as Pastor J. C. Auricht, Pastor M. Goethe, Hermann Puettmann and others. The almanacs (Kalender) contained astronomical and

See pp. vi, 11.
other data together with a selection of short stories, cooking recipes, advice to farmers, etc.

There was considerable variation in title year by year, although the almanacs themselves were part of the same series. Comparatively few copies appear to have been preserved in libraries, although further research might reveal more. These facts have made it extremely difficult to compile an adequate list of the Kalender and this list must therefore be considered only a preliminary one.

_Aurichts Christlicher Haus und Kirchen Kalender fuer Australien_, Tanunda, Pastor J. C. Auricht

**VELKA:** 1873
_Australian Lutheran Almanac, The_, Adelaide, The Lutheran Publishing House

Formerly
_Der Christliche Volkskalender, Hochkirch, Tarrington, Victoria, Oscar Miller Printery_,

**VSL:** 1868

_Australischer Kalender, Melbourne, H. Puettmann & Co._

Formerly
_Christlicher Kalender, Melbourne, Pastor M. Goethe_,

**VELKA:** 1872-3

_Victorias Deutscher Kalender, Melbourne, Pastor M. Goethe_,

**VSL:** 1854-5; 1857
_Christlicher Kalender fuer die Ev. Deutschen in Australien fuer 1861, Melbourne, Pastor M. Goethe_

**VSL:** 1862-3
_Des Australischen Christenboten Kalender fuer die Evangelischen Deutschen in Australien, Melbourne, H. Puettmann & Co._

**VELKA:** 1882-1915?
_Australischer Volks Kalender, Adelaide, Basedow, Eimer & Co._

**VELKA:** 1882, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915
_Australischer Volks Kalender, Melbourne, Sued Australische Zeitung_

**VSL:** 1866
_Deutscher Kalender fuer Queensland_

**VELKA:** 35th Year, 1914; 36th Year, 1915; 37th Year, 1926; 38th Year, 1938
_Lutheran Almanac, Adelaide, Lutheran Book Depot_

Formerly
_Der Christlicher Volkskalender fuer Australien, Tanunda, Pastor G. Auricht_,

1884-1918
_Aurichts Book Almanac, taken over by UELCA in 1921_,

1918-26

1926-1940?
_Puettmann's Australischer Kalender, Melbourne, H. Puettmann & Co._

1876-94
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

Formerly

Hermann Puettmann's Australischer Kalender, Melbourne, H. Puettmann & Co. 1867-75


Queensland Christian Book Almanac
Merged into
UELCA Almanac

Queensland Deutscher Kalender: Zwanziger Jahrgang:
Herausgegeben von den Eigenthemen der Nord-Australischen Zeitung 1879-?

QL: 1899

Tanunda Volks-Kalender, Tanunda, Sued Australische Zeitung's Druckerie, Georg Eimer & Co. 1863?

VELKA: 1863

UELCA Almanac (English edition) 1925-40
UELCA Almanac (German edition) 1926-40
VELKA: Complete sets of both editions

SOME SPECIAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE AND FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS

There are a number of publications that, although periodical or semi-periodical, do not rate classification in the main section of this Appendix, chiefly because publication is so irregular or intervals between issues are so long. They have been published by or for migrants, either in English or in foreign languages, or in a mixture of several languages.

The Commonwealth Department of Immigration publishes a number of information pamphlets in English and foreign languages but most of them are intended for the migrants before they leave their homelands. The Commonwealth Bank, several commercial banks, and various departments or associations concerned with public health also publish explanatory booklets and pamphlets in foreign languages, which although revised frequently are in no sense periodicals.

The publications included below have been divided into five sections, but the placing of a particular item in one section or another has had to be somewhat arbitrary.

1 Official Publications. These are usually in English but sometimes contain a small foreign-language section. They are not necessarily intended solely for migrants but are of interest to them.

Australian Worker, Sydney, bi-w. 1893-

The official organ of the Australian Workers' Union. Between August 1950 and February 1958 it included information about New Australian activities in English and in foreign languages. German, Polish, and Italian were used frequently; French, Lithuanian, Czech, Croat, Spanish, etc. were used from time to time.

NLA: 1891 to 1906 †; 1909-
ANU: 1956 to 1958 ‡

Good Neighbour, Melbourne, m. 1949-

A bulletin published by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration, giving news of migrant activities.
Formerly

*The New Australian*, Melbourne, m. 1949-50

**Good Neighbour Newsletter**, Adelaide, m. 1952-
A publication of the Good Neighbour Council of South Australia

**Good Neighbour Newsletter**, Perth, m. 1952-
A publication of the Good Neighbour Council of Western Australia

**Neusiedler, Der** (The New Settler), Bathurst, d. 1950-?
The organ of the authorities of the Reception and Training Centre, Bathurst, N.S.W.

**Tomorrow's Australians**, Melbourne, m. 1948-9
A general bulletin issued by the Department of Immigration

2 **Commercial and Non-official Publications**. These are in English or foreign languages, or a mixture of both. Some of them contain general information of use or interest to the migrants and others are particularly intended to give commercial information.

**Advance, The**, Parramatta, N.S.W., w. 1955-?
A small newspaper chiefly in English but with a half-page supplement in other languages. It circulated in the Municipality of Fairfield and the Leightonfields Housing Commission Settlement.

ANU: 1956, Vol. 1, Nos. 38, 40-7

**Advertiser, The**, Parramatta, w., bi-w. 1932-
A small newspaper in English, but at times it had a 4-page supplement in foreign languages

ANU: 1956, Vol. 10, Nos. 44-6
ML: July 1956-

**Annuaire François d'Australie**, Sydney, a. 1957-
A directory of French firms, enterprises and organizations established in Australia. It is published by *Le Courrier Australien*.

NLA: 1957-

**Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce**, Sydney, m. 1946-
A magazine in French and English; the official organ of the French Chamber of Commerce in Australia

NLA: 1946-

**Italian-Australian Bulletin**, Sydney, m. 1948-
A magazine in English; the official organ of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Australia

NLA: August 1957-

**Initiative Weekly, The**, Melbourne, bi-w. 1955-62
A magazine in English, to help understanding between new and old Australians

**Migrant Guide**, Sydney, a. 1955-62
A general handbook for migrants, in English, published by Anthony Hordern & Sons Ltd.
New Citizen, The, Sydney, m. 1946-54  
A bulletin published in English by the Association of New Citizens  
NLA: 1946 to May 1954

New Settler, The, Perth, m. 1950-60  
A publication by Paterson Brokensha Pty Ltd, to assist and encourage migrants, particularly in shopping
Formerly The New Settler in W.A.  
NLA: 1950 to 1960

Our Life, Melbourne, m. 1955-6  
A magazine in English to help understanding between new and old Australians. Sometimes contained a foreign-language supplement.

Percival Publishing Company Ltd, Sydney  
This company has published the following:  
Migrant Voice; only two issues appeared 1960  
British Voice; one or two issues 1961  
Deutsche Stimme in Australien; one or two issues 1961  
Italiana Voce; one issue only 1961  
Since 1961 it has published handbooks of information for migrants; these are revised every two years.  
Dizionario : Italiano-Inglese : Per gli Emigrante Italiani  
Taschen-Woerterbuch fuer Deutsch-Sprechende Immigranten  
Torch, Bankstown, N.S.W., w. 1950-  
An English newspaper with a small foreign-language supplement for New Australians  
NLA: 1955-  
ANU: 1956 to 1960

3 Publications by Immigrants for the English-speaking Australian Public.  
Several foreign-language communities have made efforts to put forward their views and to explain their ideas to their English-speaking neighbours.  
Australian-Slavonic Review, Sydney, m., bi-m. 1946-9  
A magazine published by Central Committee of the Australian Slavs' Congress. It contained chiefly overseas news and was sympathetic to Russia  
NLA: 1946 to 1949

Free People, Sydney, bi-m. 1945-  
A publication of the People's Union Research-Publicity Group. It was printed by the Metro Press, the printers of the Czech paper, Pacific  
NLA: 1945-

Polish News, Sydney 1952-4  
A publication of the Federal Council of Polish Associations in Australia 1956  
Formerly Polish Bulletin, Sydney, m. 1952-4; 1956  
This was sometimes printed as a part of Wiadomosci Polskie, and sometimes as a separate supplement  
NLA: June 1952 to July 1954; August 1956
4 Annual Publications. These were published regularly in foreign languages.

*Almanacco Cappuccino*, Leichhardt, N.S.W. 1957-62
This was published in Italian by the Capuchin Friars to give information and advice to newly arrived Italian migrants

*Almanah Slogo* [Sloga Year Book], Perth 1951-60
A Serbo-Croat annual produced by the publishers of the newspaper, *Sloga*

NLA: 1953; 1955; 1956; 1959; 1960
WSL: 1951 to 1960

*Australian Slovaks* [Sloga Year Book], Melbourne 1952-7
A publication in Latvian containing useful information for members of the Latvian Community

NLA: 1953 to 1957

*Revuo, La*, Perth 1934-9
A publication of the Esperanto League of Western Australia

*Vade Mecum*, Sydney, Melbourne 1934-9
A large illustrated magazine published by *Il Giornale Italiano*

NLA: 1934 to 1939

*Vestnik*, Adelaide 1957-
A bulletin published in Czech of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Democratic Organizations in Australia and New Zealand

NLA: 1957-

5 Other Foreign-language Publications. These have appeared either at very irregular intervals, usually to mark special occasions, or appear regularly but with a different title for each issue.

**ITALIAN**

A large supplement published by *La Fiamma*, in Italian and English, on the history of Adelaide

SPL: 1963

**LATVIAN**

*Arhives : Humanitaru Rakstu Krajums*, Sydney 1962 ?
A literary publication of the *Australijas Latviesu Centralais Archivs*. At least three issues appeared.

NLA: No. 3, 1962

**LITHUANIAN**

*Lituanicum*, Melbourne 1954-5
A journal published at irregular intervals by the Lithuanian Culture Fund. It contained a correspondence course in the Lithuanian language. Eight numbers were published.

ALA: 1954 to 1955

Magazines of humour and satire
Almost every year the Lithuanian Community produces one of these, to mark a special occasion such as April Fool's Day, or a press ball.

*Neimk i Galva* [Don't Worry], Melbourne 1952

*Kuolas* [The Stake], Melbourne 1954
Bibliography of the Foreign-language Press

5 Ikī XII [From 5 to XII], Melbourne 1955
Patapas [The Flood], Melbourne 1956
Subatvakario Balsas [The Voice of Saturday Night], Adelaide 1958
Beatniku Pastoge [The Heaven of the Beatniks], Sydney 1960
Atskalunu Balsas [The Voice of the Heretics], Sydney 1961
Blezdingele Anapus Torrenso [The Blezdingele (Dance) on the other side of the Torrens River], Adelaide 1963
Jesu Palube [Under Your Ceiling], Sydney 1964

ALA: 1952 to 1964

SERBO-CROAT
Srpska Misao [Serbian Thought], Melbourne 1956-
This Society publishes two books in Serbian each year; these include books of poetry, stories and history. Each title is different.

NLA: 1957-
VSL: 1957-
Veliki Narodni Kuvar: Izlazi Jednom Mesecno, Perth 1958
A Serbo-Croat cookery book which was published in two parts by the Sloga Printing Company.

NLA: March 1958, pt. 1

UKRAINIAN
Novii Obrii [New Horizons], Adelaide 1954; 1960
An anthology devoted to the literature, art, and other cultural activities of the Ukrainian migrants in Australia. It was published by the Zastivka Publishing House, to celebrate the fifth and tenth anniversaries of the arrival of the Ukrainian migrants in Australia.

VSL: 1954
General Bibliography


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--------, Italians and Germans in Australia: a Study in Assimilation, Melbourne, 1954.


Bray, T. C., A Newspaper's Role in Modern Society, Brisbane, 1965.


Cawthorne, W. A., Menge the Mineralogist: a Sketch of Life of the Late Johann Menge, Linguist, Mineralogist, etc., etc. An early Colonist and Discoverer of Precious Stones in South Australia, Adelaide, 1859.


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Fox, Paul, The Poles in America, New York, 1922.


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Integration of Immigrants in Canada, The,' a report prepared by the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration, for UNESCO, *Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants*, Havana, April 1956, document no. UNESCO/SS/Mig. Conf. 12.


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———, *German Settlers in South Australia*, Melbourne, 1945.


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†Wachtli, K., Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, 1944.


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