The real, central theme of History is not what happened, but what people felt about it when it was happening’. G M Young *

‘When the thoughts of our forefathers, common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more.’ Frederick Maitland #


In April 1802 Matthew Flinders visited Port Phillip during his epic voyage of discovery lasting from 1801 to 1803.

Matthew Flinders 1812 (1774-1814) and Wife, Ann Chappelle, (1770-1852) Carved ivory

Melbourne in 1840, Oil on canvas by C. H. (Nicholas Chevalier/George Haydon), c.1856. From a drawing by R. G. (George) Haydon Melbourne in 1840 (above) from Georgiana McCrae collection. Artist Georgiana McCrae arrived in Port Phillip March 1, 1941. Nicholas Chevalier arrived in Melbourne Dec. 25, 1854 and began a close friendship with Georgiana McCrae. He left Melbourne Nov. 1868 as part of Prince Alfred’s extensive Royal Tour arriving London in mid-1870. Nicholas Chevalier used George H. Haydon’s drawing Melbourne in 1840 to paint Melbourne 1840; which was copied for the 1875 lithograph engraving Melbourne in 1840.

Melbourne in 1840, lithograph engraving attributed to Nicholas Chevalier, c.1875. From a drawing by R. G. (George) Haydon (above top left). Published The Australian Sketcher, July 10, 1875 and Illustrated Handbook of Victoria, Australia. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886. When published wrongly attributed to a sketch from Mr. S. K. Haydon.

The 158th Victorian Anniversary Dinner and La Trobe Lecture held by The Victoria Day Council
Melbourne Club, 36 Collins Street, Melbourne, July 4 2009

Left to Right: Gary Morgan, Genevieve Morgan, Kevan Gosper, Judy Gosper Norman Kennedy, Jane Kennedy and Stewart McArthur

Women, the Media, and People from Other Countries who have made Victoria – 1851 to Today

The Victoria Day Council
2008 La Trobe Lecture
By Gary Morgan, Roy Morgan Research

Queen’s Hall, Parliament of Victoria
Saturday, July 5, 2008 at 7.00 pm
(Updated October 2022)

1. **Introduction: Understanding Victoria – The Old Colonists’ Association** presented at the Old Colonists Club, Ballarat, June 26, 2011. (More than seven years since I gave the inaugural Dr J H Pryor Memorial Lecture at the Ballarat Club, May 22, 2004. I must be first person since the Eureka Stockade to address ‘both sides’!)

2. **Foreword: – The 158th Victorian Anniversary Dinner & La Trobe Lecture** presented July 4, 2009 at The Victoria Day Council, Melbourne Club, 36 Collins Street, Melbourne.


5. **Appendix 7: – “Sham Taxes for Sham Reasons”, Over 60’s Luncheon, Hamilton Club**, presented June 18, 2010 (Pages 143-146).

6. **Appendix 8: – Charles La Trobe, Victoria’s Separation & Gold Tax - ‘turning a wild colonial into a civilised one’, Australia Day Council (Victoria) Inc.** presented May 9, 2011 (Pages 147-159). Includes “**Distinguished Members**, Sir Redmond Barry (1813-1880), presented by **Stewart McArthur**, President, Melbourne Club, June 10, 2010 (Pages 156-159).

7. **Bibliography** (Page 160).


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Lecture, Introduction & Foreword Links:
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[www.roymorgan.com](http://www.roymorgan.com)
Introduction:

Understanding Victoria

Old Colonists’ Association of Ballarat
Presented by Gary Morgan
June 26, 2011

I am pleased to be addressing the Old Colonists’ Association of Ballarat at the Old Colonists Club. It is more than seven years since I gave the inaugural Dr J H Pryor Memorial Lecture at the Ballarat Club on May 22, 2004. I must be the first person who will have addressed ‘both sides’ of the Eureka Stockade!

Understanding Victoria - where it came from, and what made it what it is today is a fascinating study. It is not just a series of successive Governments or business leaders, or any one thing or person.

It is an amazing series of events and people that have come together at various times since 1835 under incredible circumstances. Many of these people and the parts they played have gone unrecognised - nobody has written about them in our history books.

This book and its attachments cover some of these people and how my family (Morgan – Young, Masséna/Florance, Williams, Porena & Plant/Tilley) has been directly involved since separation of Victoria from NSW in 1851, and my wife’s family (Edwards – Hopper, Hazelwood, Hay & Condell, was Cundell) since June 6, 1790 in Port Jackson (NSW) and Oct 9, 1803 in Sullivan Bay (Port Phillip). I believe the information published in this book will help readers better understand events and people who have made Victoria since first settled.
For example:

- the role of **women** in education, the workplace and politics **as covered in the media** by William Williams, Sir Keith Murdoch and Roy Morgan,
- the role people **from other countries** had in the **separation of Victoria** starting with Charles La Trobe and Redmond Barry, and
- how **media publishers** such as John Pascoe Fawkner, George Cavenagh, Ebenezer Syme and Alfred Massina helped make Victoria a much better place.

Since 2004 I have been thinking about these issues, and have written some 6 papers since in 2008 when I presented to **The Victoria Day Council “Women, the Media, and People from Other Countries who have made Victoria”** – while my initial lecture covered Victoria from 1851 my additional papers briefly covered from 1788 when Australia was first settled in Port Jackson including in some detail from May 29, 1835 when Port Phillip Bay was resettled by **John Batman’s Port Phillip Association** and **John Pasco Fawkner’s party of settlers** – both groups were from Van Diemen’s Land. By 1839 when Charles La Trobe arrived in Melbourne the Port Phillip District’s population was 5,822 with about 3,000 in Melbourne. In 1846 Melbourne’s population was 10,954; in 1851 about 23,000, in 1855 about 100,000 and by 1890 about 500,000. (See below - Discovery of Port Phillip)

**Charles La Trobe** was a descendant of a French Huguenot family who fled from France in 1685 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His protestant, nonconformist, French ancestors originally moved from Europe to Ireland, and finally to the Moravian village of Fairfield near Manchester, England. The family became highly cultured Moravian missionaries – a family aligned with Wilberforce and anti-slavery. The family of La Trobe’s wife Sophie (nee de Montmollin) had close ties with Napoleon’s ‘household’ and as such I believe La Trobe was at least a sympathetic Napoleonite (most would consider Napoleonite’s such as my Masséna family to be Republicans – anti the French Monarchy although Marshal André Masséna was made the 1st Duc de Rivoli & 1st Prince d’Essling!) before being ‘advised’ Latrobe favoured the separation of the District of Port Phillip, like his ‘friends’ at the Melbourne Club.

**Note – Discovery of Port Phillip, Jan. 5, 1802** The coast of the future District of Port Phillip was first surveyed in 1798 by Dr George Bass and Lt. Matthew Flinders, then in 1800 by Lt Commander James Grant. Port Phillip was first discovered on Jan. 5, 1802 & ‘taken possession of” by Lt. John Murray on Mar. 8, 1802 (See Page xi). On April 26, 1802 Capt. Flinders entered Port Phillip, & ascended both Arthur’s Seat, eastern shore & the You Yangs ‘mountains’ on the west. Mr Charles Grimes, NSW Surveyor-General, discovered the Yarra River on Feb. 2, 1803 & it is believed ‘Dight’s Falls’ on Feb. 7, 1803. Port Phillip was first settled by Col David Collins at Sullivan Bay on Oct. 9, 1803. The Ocean which had accompanied David Collins on the Calcutta had arrived in Port Phillip on Oct. 7, 1803. David Collins & all convicts & settlers, except convict William Buckley, had departed Sullivan Bay by May 20, 1804. The District of Port Phillip was first resettled by Edward Henty at Portland Bay on Nov. 19, 1834. On May 29, 1835 the Rebecca with John Batman’s members of his Port Phillip Association anchored in Port Phillip Bay, by Indented Head. John Batman’s ‘diary’ claims members of his Port Phillip Association on June 8 came across the Yarra Yarra falls and fresh water. It was not until Aug. 21, 1835 that John Pascoe Fawkner’s party in the Enterprise ‘found’ the same Yarra location departing Sept. 5 with George Evans and his Fawkner servants remaining. John Pascoe Fawkner, son of John (convict) & Hannah Fawkner (nee Pascoe), arrived at Sullivan Bay aged 10 years on Oct. 9, 1803. On Oct. 10, 1835 Fawkner revisited Sullivan Bay in the Enterprise before the Enterprise on Oct. 11 anchored in Hobson’s Bay; just clear of the channel to the Yarra Yarra falls where Fawkner & his party arrived on Oct. 16, 1835.
During La Trobe’s period in the Port Phillip District it changed from a mainly agricultural society to a booming Victorian economy founded on one of the world’s great gold discoveries.

My May 9, 2011 Australia Day Council (Victoria) Oration covered “Charles Joseph La Trobe and Victoria’s Separation ‘turning a wild country into a civilised one’”. (See Appendix 8, Pages 144 - 156) The paper covered Charles Joseph La Trobe from before July 25, 1839 when he arrived in Sydney, and then from October 3, 1839 to June 30, 1851 when he was Superintendent of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales, and then from July 1, 1851 as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria until he left on May 6, 1854. I find this period fascinating and since becoming interested have found many personal family connections from Australia’s early convicts to early community leaders.

My wife (Genevieve Morgan, nee Edwards) is the 3x great granddaughter of Mary Ann Condell (1797–1844, changed from Cundell), from Leith Scottish brewing family, who in 1820 arrived at Hobart Town with her sister Margaret Jamison (nee Cundell) on board the Skelton. Their first cousin Henry Condell (1797–1871, also changed from Cundell) arrived at Hobart Town on board the Skelton on Dec 24, 1822. In 1843 Henry Condell was elected as the first Melbourne representative to the NSW Legislative Council (Upper House) which first sat in Sydney Aug. 1, 1843. The Council was the first representative Assembly of Australia. Henry Condell was elected as Melbourne’s first Mayor from Dec. 9, 1842 to 1844 (See Pages 8, 122 & 123).

The Edwards family is of interest because in 1848 Mary Ann Condell’s son Benjamin Brooks (b. 1822) married Caroline Hay (b. 1828). Caroline Hay’s father Robert Hay (Kirkmichael Scotland, March 31, 1774–1839) was a convict who arrived on board the Calcutta at Port Phillip on Oct. 9, 1803. Robert Hay then departed on May 20, 1804 on board the Ocean. Convict William Buckley (see rear cover) was the only member of the first settlers to live (with ‘blacks’) in the Port Phillip Bay District until resettled in 1835. On June 25, 1804 the Ocean arrived at the Derwent River, Hobart, before being sent to Sullivans Cove, Tasmania (See Page xi). Caroline Hay’s mother was Maria Hopper Hezelwood (b. Norfolk Island, 1796, d. Launceston 1880) who was the daughter of third fleet convict William Hazelwood (b. abt 1745) and Elizabeth Hopper (b. abt 1754) a convict who arrived at Port Jackson on June 6, 1790 aboard the Lady Juliana – the first vessel to arrive after the first fleet (arrived Port Jackson, Jan 26, 1888) with 221 female convicts (only 5 died on the voyage).

My 2x grandfather Dr William Florance, from an active Chichester Quaker family involved in the abolition of slavery from the late eighteenth century, first arrived in the Port Phillip District in 1850 as the Troy ship’s doctor. His cousin Thomas Florance arrived in Van Dieman’s Land in 1817 and today is

1 Quote by La Trobe’s friend, Hubert de Castella referring to how he saw La Trobe’s time in Victoria. La Trobe, The Making of a Governor, Page 189.
remembered for surveying in late 1827 the south coast of New South Wales under John Oxley. (See Pages 41-43 & 126, and Note 5, Florance Family in Australia). There is also an interesting connection between my family and the first gold miners’ newspaper. My great grandfather, William Williams (1831–1910), arrived in Melbourne in 1852 and began his printing and publishing ‘life’ working at George Cavenagh’s newspaper – The Melbourne Morning Herald (founded January 3, 1840) with George Hough and Henry Heath. On October 28 1853 Hough, Heath and Williams began The Diggers Advocate – “Voice of the Gold Diggers”. Despite having financial backing from George Cavenagh it closed after 6 issues. However, on February 24, 1854, it was again published by William Williams as The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser (No. 7–Vol. 1) with George Black as editor, H R Nicholls assistant editor, with contributions from John Pascoe Fawkner and Ebenezer Syme (eldest brother of David Syme and George Syme – great grandfather of my friend Stewart McArthur, Corangamite Federal MP, 1984-2007. See Pages 3&34). The Gold Diggers’ Advocate published throughout 1854 with its last edition published just before the Eureka uprising (Dec 3, 1854) – a massacre involving miners and troupers – all over a gold tax! It is worth pointing out that today the “Voice of the Gold Diggers” would be a ‘blog’ rather than a newspaper.

Following the Port Phillip District’s separation from NSW the Colony of Victoria was governed by the Victorian Legislative Council under La Trobe as chief executive directed by the UK Colonial Office in London. La Trobe was advised by an Executive Council of four members appointed by the Crown. These Executive Council members were long standing ‘friends’ Captain William Lonsdale as Colonial Secretary, Charles Ebden as Auditor-General, William Stawell as Attorney-General, and Redmond Barry as Solicitor-General. (All were Members of the Melbourne Club.) What needs to be understood is the role eminent Victorians from the early 1840s played in the ‘pseudo’ separation of Victoria declared on July 1, 1851 when the Colony of Victoria was still clearly being run from England with the instigation of an excessive gold licence fee (really a tax) through to the Eureka uprising and the Eureka trials. The Eureka juries’ delivered thirteen ‘Not Guilty’ high treason verdicts, eleven before Justice Redmond Barry. The first clear message was sent to England that the Colony of Victoria was now independent of colonial rulers. All these eminent Victorians actively involved in both separation and Eureka were Melbourne Club Members, including Redmond Barry, John Leslie Foster, William Foster Stawell and George Cavenagh.

During the Eureka trials Butler Cole Aspinall, a radical Liverpool barrister, acted gratuitously for Eureka prisoners charged with treason, he was instrumental in their acquittal. In 1854, before Eureka, Aspinall was Editor of The Melbourne Morning Herald. In 1856 he was elected to the new Legislative Assembly (seat Talbot) and soon afterwards became a member of the Melbourne Club. In 1856 Peter Lalor (Eureka leader) was also elected to the new Legislative Assembly.

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There were fifteen years between the first separation meeting held on May 13, 1840 in Scott’s School Eastern Hill ³ and the last Eureka ‘Not Guilty’ verdict. Redmond Barry played a significant role during this period from attending the first separation meeting through to the last Eureka ‘Not Guilty’ verdict – the “Voice of the Gold Diggers” had been heard! (Page 130)

Although during the same period La Trobe as Governor played an important role in the foundation of Victoria it was Redmond Barry and La Trobe’s fellow Members of the Melbourne Club who we need to recognise as the ‘curators’ of Victoria as we know it today. They were responsible for – “turning a wild country into a civilised one”.

The Eureka Stockade, and the outcome which followed, was a critical turning point in the path to ‘true’ separation for Victoria. Politically Victoria changed to be a democracy with newspapers, magazines and journals as the political critics – today the ‘critical’ media has been extended to cover TV, radio and the Internet.

And throughout this seminal time no one was polling public opinion – that was not begun by my father, Roy Morgan, until nearly a century later.

This book covers some of the public opinion poll and other survey results on political issues, education, women, the media and people from other countries published by my father from when he began in 1941. It also refers to newspapers, magazines, journals and periodicals printed and published from October 28, 1853 by William Williams my great grandfather. W. H. Williams was a Victorian printer and ‘radical’ publisher, as was Ebenezer Syme and David Syme of The Age, and Alfred Massina (changed from Masséna) who in 1865 began with The Australian Journal which published prominent writers of the day including Marcus Clarke and Adam Lindsay Gordon (See Pages 75-79).

Immediately following the Eureka trials social concerns became the issue of the day as out-of-work gold miners flocked to Melbourne seeking employment and accommodation. The first major dispute was over the cost to Victoria of subsidised immigration from the UK which was definitely not wanted by workers returning from the gold fields. (Nothing’s changed today!)

In 1854 the new Victorian Legislative Council was ‘forced’ by the Executive Council to legislate so funds from land sales and taxes were remitted to England under the pretence of funds needed for UK emigration! (See Pages 70, 139 & 141)

In 1855 Slater, Williams and Hodgson printed and published *Bounty Immigration*, which was a critical publication covering the allocation of excessive funds in the 1854 Victorian Budget for immigration rather than for schools (See Pages 71&72). In 1855 Slater, Williams and Hodgson also printed and published *Daniel Bunce’s Language of the Aborigines and The Settlement of John Batman in Port Philip from his own Journal* (Daniel Bunce was married to John Batman’s daughter Pelonomena) – both documents covered contentious issues of the time, as members of John Batman’s Port Phillip Association tried to re-claim land they maintained they bought in August 1835 from the local aborigines. (See Pages 70 & 71 and Page 124)

By the late 1850s the creation of ‘suburbia’ in areas such as Collingwood and Richmond switched people’s concerns to local issues such as working conditions, child labour, housing, water, sewerage and their desire to establish trade unions.

In February 1874 David Syme and William Williams worked with compositors from the Printers Union in settling a long running dispute relating to limiting the number of printing apprentices and use of child labour. In June 1874 the Printers Union combined with 17 other unions and held the inaugural meeting of the Trades and Labour Council, today the ACTU.  

Today the major work practices and taxation issue confronting the Federal Government and Unions is the ‘cash economy’ – unfortunately completely ignored by all sides of politics.

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4 *The Printers of Melbourne, The History of a Union*, Pages 34&35

5 The following is my email exchange last Saturday (June 18, 2011) with Paul Howes, National Secretary, Australian Workers Union regarding his article ‘Flying a Rebel Flag to Ensure all are given a Fair Go’ in *The Weekend Australian* (Page 14). Howes completely ignored my comment regarding the major issue of the ‘cash economy’! (See also Page 136 regarding my reference to labour market (IR) ‘rorts’.)

Dear Paul

Read your article in today’s Australian - very good, however there were many unions before 1886, the Trades and Labour Council had its first meeting in June 1874. In February 1874 my great grandfather William Williams worked with David Syme and the Printers Union in settling a major dispute on child labour - nothing much has changed today, with the large number of young adults (children) working for cash in the hospitality industry. You and I could fix a lot of problems however the ALP needs to get rid of the cash economy and make sensible changes to free up the labour market. Regards Gary Morgan

Thanks Gary - you’re right about earlier unions but we are the oldest continuous union in the world all the others folded or merged over the years.
In 1857 William Williams printed and published *The Collingwood and Richmond Observer*, Melbourne’s first ‘local’ newspaper; and in 1866 William Williams printed and published *The Australian Monthly Magazine* which contained Marcus Clarke’s (probably Australia’s most renowned writer) earliest publications under the *nom de plume* of ‘Mark Scrivener’.

In 1868 Samuel Winter founded the *Advocate*, a Catholic Weekly, with William Williams (printer) and funded by Alfred Massina. In 1871 Winter and Massina purchased the evening *Herald*. In 1881 Winter founded the *Sportsman* which later became the *Herald’s Sporting Globe*.

Many years later (1902) Alfred Massina was to become the inaugural Chairman of *The Herald and Weekly Times Limited*; other Directors included Samuel Winter, Theodore Fink, C.L. Pinschof and William L Baillieu – soon to become an admirer and friend of Keith Murdoch.

In 1936 my father, Roy Morgan, began his long association with The Herald and Weekly Times. At the request of Sir Keith Murdoch he began at the Melbourne *Herald* as a freelance financial writer while at the same time still reviewing balance sheets for the *Stock Exchange of Melbourne*.

In 1940 Roy Morgan was soon on his way to the USA to learn public opinion polling and media research with Dr George Gallup (Gallup was Research Director of Young & Rubicam in New York while operating the American Institute of Public Opinion in Princeton, NJ). Sir Keith Murdoch died on October 5, 1952 when *The Herald* circulation was 415,000 up from 243,000 in 1942.

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6 In 1857 William Williams married Mary Eliza Florance (1839–1924) whose mother’s (Eliza Lola Florance nee Masséna, 1807–1892) cousin was Alfred Massina (1834–1917). In the late 1850s Alfred Massina and Samuel Winter started their printing and publishing ‘lives’ as apprentices to William Williams.
In September 1941 Roy Morgan published his **first Australian public opinion poll finding on equal pay for women** – the issue is just as important nearly 70 years later (See Page 59). In September 1941, Roy Morgan conducted his first **Reader Interest survey for The Sydney Sun** [http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/pre-2010/19410901.pdf?la=en](http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/pre-2010/19410901.pdf?la=en). During 1945 and 1946 Keith Murdoch commissioned Roy Morgan to conduct the first Australian “reading and noting” surveys on the Melbourne **Sun** covering readership of all sections of the newspaper including **The Sun Women’s Magazine**. Keith Murdoch was well aware that to increase sales and readers of his newspapers the **interests of women** needed to be properly and fully covered. (See Page 95)

**My family’s direct involvement** with **The Melbourne Herald** ended June 30, 1973 which was 121 years after William Williams in 1852 joined **The Melbourne Morning Herald** as printer ‘overseer’.

In July 1973 my father and I published our last **Australian Gallup Poll** which since September 1941 had been published in Melbourne by **The Herald** and other newspapers throughout Australia. (Today the Melbourne **Herald Sun** is owned by **Rupert Murdoch’s News Ltd** who subscribe to our Australian newspaper and magazine readership estimates and other media & research information.)

My father and I continued publishing the **Morgan Gallup Poll** initially from July 1973 in the **Australian Women’s Weekly** then in **The Bulletin** from mid-July 1973 to the end of 1991; and then again from January 1995 until the end of 2002. (**The Morgan Poll** was published in **Time** from January 1992 until the end of 1994.)

We went about building the foundation of Australia’s largest Australian owned independent market research and information business, **Roy Morgan Research Ltd**.

Roy Morgan Research is still heavily involved in conducting research which measures political, social and media issues - many issues surveyed are much the same today as they have been since the 1850s.

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7 In 1959 immediately after leaving school and turning 18 years I began work in my father’s office in a Herald and Weekly Times’ building located at 26 Flinders Street.


My book publishes only a few results (See Pages 31, 32, 39 & 84) from the large number of surveys Roy Morgan Research has conducted over the last few years from either our Australian offices in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and Perth; or our overseas offices in Auckland (NZ), Princeton (USA), London (UK) and Jakarta (Indonesia) – and soon India! This period will be the topic of my next publication.

Apart from the absolute support from my father and immediate family it would be wrong if I did not also acknowledge the support I have received from all those people who have helped build Roy Morgan Research Ltd and our mining company Haoma Mining NL (listed under Acknowledgements are those who helped me compile this book).

All those people who have helped me can be proud that they have been part of making a significant international business in Australia.

From 1851 to today, Victoria went from;

- **Eureka** to a ‘democratic’ society
- **The Diggers Advocate** to the **Morgan Poll**
- the ‘printed’ word to the ‘electronic’ word

**Gary Morgan, June 26, 2011 (Updated Dec. 2018)**

On January 31, 1802, the **launch** of the **Lady Nelson**, sailed into Port Phillip. On Feb. 14, 1802 the Lady Nelson entered Port Phillip. On Feb. 28, 1802, the first report of sailors being granted shore leave in Port Phillip appeared in the log book - “Gave some of the people liberty on shore.”

On March 8, 1802, Acting Lieutenant Murray raised the Union Jack on Point King “taking possession” of Point King, later to be renamed Port Phillip, in the name of His Sacred Majesty George III of Great Britain and Ireland

Raising the Union Jack, Point King, March 8, 1802
(The Roy Morgan Research Centre collection)
References:

(Available on Roy Morgan website: www.roymorgan.com)

1. Women, the Media, and People from Other Countries who have made Victoria – 1851 to Today and Foreword by Gary Morgan, prepared Aug, 2008 to Dec, 23 2008 & May 2009
   Victoria Day Council Address, presented by Gary Morgan, July 5, 2008

2. Separation Tree Ceremony Oration by Gary Morgan, Nov 14, 2009

3. “Change is needed by all” - Glen Eira Council Australia Day Breakfast by Gary Morgan presented January 22, 2010
   Glen Eira Council Australia Day Breakfast

4. Sham Taxes for Sham Reasons by Gary Morgan, Hamilton Club, presented June 18, 2010

5. Charles La Trobe, Victoria’s Separation & Gold Tax – ‘turning a wild colonial country into a civilised one’ by Gary Morgan, Australia Day Council (Victoria) Inc. May 9, 2011


8. Michele Levine, May 31 & June 1 2011,
   Roy Morgan Newspaper Sectional Readership Measure.

Foreword – including the period from 1835 to Separation from NSW on July 1, 1851

Gary Morgan – La Trobe Lecture, presented July 5, 2008 (Foreword prepared over the period August 19 to December 23, 2008 and then May 2009)

Since presenting my Victoria Day Council 2008 La Trobe Lecture in Queen’s Hall, Parliament House of Victoria, many people have sent me corrections, suggestions and additions; in particular Stewart McArthur, Barry Jones, and Ian Morrison.

In addition Pauline Underwood and I have sourced numerous additional books, papers and other documents. They are listed as further references at the end of this Foreword.

I expect those who study my La Trobe Lecture and this Foreword to advise me of which aspects they disagree with and how they could better explain the points I have covered.

I do not claim to be an expert in Victorian history, or English history or any other history. However, my main conclusion is Victoria and Australia ‘came of age’ during the gold miners’ ‘diggers’ confrontation with the new Victorian Government and Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe and then Governor Sir Charles Hotham. The dispute began in earnest in mid-1853 with the formation of the ‘Anti-Gold Licence Association’ established by G. E. Thomson, Dr Jones and ‘Captain’ Edward Brown – the precursor to the Eureka Stockade, December 3, 1854. The Eureka trials ‘NOT GUILTY’ verdicts bonded Victorians with a common cause and opened the way for a vibrant Victorian Colony.

My La Trobe Lecture focused on three areas: ‘Women, the Media and People from Other Countries who have helped make Melbourne and Victoria from 1851 to Today’. I did not cover in detail the economic and social history covering the District of Port Phillip or New South Wales from 1835 until Victoria was founded on July 1, 1851. For this reason, in my La Trobe Lecture some significant historical Australian and
British events were not covered in sufficient detail. In particular, the Port Phillip District’s move from May 13, 1840 to separate from NSW and events from separation leading up to the December 3, 1854 Eureka uprising. This Foreword covers this important period of Victoria’s history.

My friend and ‘critical’ lecture advisor, Stewart McArthur, summarised my La Trobe Lecture in the following way:

**Influence of UK Laws and Customs in 1851 Victoria**

Gary Morgan’s La Trobe Lecture sets out the early political debates in the UK covering Slaves, Napoleonic Wars (Nelson, Wellington, Napoleon), the 1829 Catholic Relief Act, the 1832 Reform Act, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, and the 1850 Secular Education Bill followed by the 1870 Elementary Education Act.

In the Colony’s early formative years (up to 1829) all Colonies were dependent on UK House of Commons legislation and Parliamentary debates. All UK Colonies were subjected to the direction of the Colonial Office in London.

From as early as the mid 18th Century different dissenting religious/political groups (Irish Catholics, Presbyterians, Quakers, etc) left the UK on religious/political grounds and went to the British Colonies. There they were able to practise their religious beliefs freely and openly.

The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (‘Workhouses’ Legislation) forced those without housing to work for lodgings – indeed a further incentive to immigrate to Australia and other places.

**Culture and Attitudes**

While there were many who emigrated to Victoria for religious freedom (anti-Catholic and anti-Church of England) there were also a large number of impoverished farmers seeking ‘economic salvation’ in the new ‘Australia Felix’ hoping to generate wealth growing wool and grain (1840 to 1851). And then came the 1851 Victorian ‘gold rush’ – with huge numbers of single men impacting on a rural society structure for two or three generations – without an equal number of women.

**Women**

Women in the 19th Century UK played major roles in the suffrage vote debate and a more subtle influence on anti-slavery activities, along with their commitment to the family and the importance of education to their children (particularly those from Scotland).
The role of women in Victoria from its inception in 1851 as a separate Colony to the role of women in Victoria in 2008 is very different.


Despite the ‘Law’, there are however still some stark comparisons and areas where ‘women’ have yet to break through the ‘glass ceiling’ according to some commentators and Gary Morgan.

**Media**

From 1851 the ‘printed’ Media (newspapers, journals, letters, public documents and other publications) quickly became Victoria’s agenda setting voice and depositor on the public record – with many diverse publications publishing unrestricted content – it was the activists’ communications medium for political exchange of ideas and debates.

Adam Lindsay Gordon, Marcus Clarke, Henry Kendall, George Walstab, Joseph Winter and other prominent political advocates argued a number of propositions in the journals of the day.

With Marconi’s invention of the wireless in the 1890s, Morse code’s reach soon extended to ships at sea with the first Morse-related sea rescue in 1899 off the coast of England. With the advent of radio and the international telegraph a whole new world of communication began.

The introduction of the commercial telephone in the 1920s, crude though it was, had a major impact (particularly in rural Australia allowing rural contact with the ‘outside world’ and of course ‘neighbours’) as a means of both social and political communications.

Public debate in Australia changed forever when in 1934 ABC radio with a sophisticated radio system and network joined newspapers and journals as the major vehicles for information dissemination.

This was followed in 1956 with the advent of black-and-white television beginning with the coverage of the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games.
Today some people believe politics and cultural attitudes have become dependent on the television screen. However newspapers with the Internet have reinvented the ‘printed’ media enabling the public record of newspapers being part of an instant sophisticated exchange of information between individuals and institutions all over the world.

Roy Morgan Research is a 21st Century information provider capable of measuring the population’s attitude to political issues, usage and attitudes regarding commercial products and most public and social issues.

Today’s modern integrated telecommunications systems are a far cry from John Pascoe Faulkner’s hand written newspaper circulated throughout the fledgling Melbourne settlement on the Yarra in 1838.

**Stewart McArthur, Meningoort, Victoria**

*Note:* Stewart McArthur’s great grandfather was George Syme (1821–1894) who was the older brother of Ebenezer Syme (1826–1860) and David Syme (1827–1908). In 1856 Ebenezer Syme bought The Age for £2000. George Syme rejected religion becoming a secularist and from 1863–1885 was editor of *The Age’s* country journal, *The Leader*. In 1866 when David Syme returned to England, for eight months, George Syme edited *The Age*. (See Pages. 33 & 34)
New South Wales Governor Sir Richard Bourke,
1831–1837

From 1831 the Governor of New South Wales (until he resigned in January 1837) was Whig ‘liberal’ Governor Sir Richard Bourke (1777–1855). Apart from naming Melbourne, Bourke's contribution to New South Wales and the District of Port Phillip was significant and should not be overlooked. In addition his involvement in British Colonies from 1826 (Cape Town) had far reaching consequences both in Australia and elsewhere.

Margaret Kiddle in her book *Men of Yesterday* described Governor Bourke as “noblest Governor of them all, worried because he knew ‘much evil’ must follow ‘without the guidance and control of authority’. He (Bourke) thought it would be ‘desirable to impose reasonable conditions on Mr Batman and his associates’, to consider the capital expended by them, and so to recognise the occupation of Port Phillip”.

On June 15, 1825 Richard Bourke was appointed Major-General on the staff at Malta, but a ‘political storm blew up’ in Britain through complaints from the Cape of Good Hope about the arbitrary rule of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who was then given leave to return home to answer the charges against him.
A major cause of friction between British settlers and the Colonial Government was control of the press. Bourke was drawn into this struggle in March 1827 when he was instructed by the Colonial Office to withdraw the licences of the Colony’s only independent English-language newspaper which had been criticising Somerset. In reporting that he had done so, Bourke suggested that, when the Courts became independent of the Colonial Government, the press should be controlled not by the licenses issued or withdrawn at the Governor’s discretion, but by the due processes of the law. This suggestion was adopted in 1829 (Duke of Wellington then UK Prime Minister) when the independence of the Colony’s press was virtually secured by statute – this major legislation had long and far reaching consequences in establishing a free press in all British Colonies.

In 1831 New South Wales’ total population was about 51,000 of whom about 21,000 were convicts. By 1837 there were 32,000 convicts however, the population had increased to 97,000 helped by the assisted ‘Bounty’ immigration system proposed by Bourke in 1835 and controlled and organised from the Colony. In November 1836 the District of Port Phillip’s European population was 324, by 1839 the District’s population numbered 5,822 and by 1840 10,291 – a significant increase partly assisted by ‘Bounty’ immigrants (the scheme was abandoned in 1841).

Independence of the Colony’s press played an important part in the District of Port Phillip’s move to separation from the first separation meeting held May 13, 1840 at Scott’s School, Eastern Hill. (Presiding, Major George Mercer. Of the nineteen speakers, fourteen were at the time members of the Melbourne Club.)

The ‘Separation Association’ was formed June 4, 1840 – more than eleven years before happening. Over the period (May 13, 1840 – July 1, 1851) there were numerous meetings and publications – newspaper, journals, diaries, letters, government papers – which in different ways debated and fully reported the social and economic issues regarding separation.

Strong advocates were the newspaper publishers including John Pascoe Fawkner. (From 1838–1845 publisher of the Port Phillip Patriot. Fawkner is believed to have written the following for The Melbourne Morning Herald:

1The British Government hastily decided to divide Cape Colony and create a separate Government in the Eastern District as recommended by a Commission of Inquiry at the Cape. On July 4, 1825 Bourke was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern District, on the understanding that he should be Acting Governor of the whole Colony in Somerset’s absence. As an avowed Whig ‘liberal’, he was a surprising choice for a Tory Government, but his tact and ability had favourably impressed Wilmot Horton http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010514b.htm at the Colonial Office. Bourke arrived at Cape Town in February 1826, and took office as Acting Governor on March 5, 1826 when Somerset left.
Boon of the Separation of the Province of Victoria, November 19, 1850. http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/2008/20080711.pdf?la=en), George Cavenagh (Publisher of the Port Phillip Herald, January 3, 1840-1853 & 1855; nine times President of the Melbourne Cricket Club.), William Kerr (1840 editor Port Phillip Herald, 1841–1845 editor rival Patriot, 1845 for a few months editor of The Melbourne Weekly Courier, 1846–47 founder, joint owner and publisher of The Argus.), George Arden (Co-Publisher Port Phillip Gazette) and Samuel Goode (Publisher of The Melbourne Courier 1844–1846 and Albion 1847–1848. In March 1848 Samuel Goode was prosecuted for an “outrageous slander” against Barrister Sidney Stephen and sentenced to 2 months imprisonment. The Albion, as a consequence “burst up”).

The first public separation meeting was held Dec. 30, 1840 in Mr Isaac Hind’s store in Flinders Lane near Queen St (Chaired by William Verner, Melbourne Club’s first President, 1840). Other separation advocates were some members of the Port Phillip Association, a representative body of 15 squatters and businessmen from Van Dieman’s Land, led by John Batman, who first settled Melbourne on May 29, 1835, Edward Curr (Prominent Irish Roman Catholic who contested Melbourne’s first election for Mayor.), Henry Condell, Dec.9, 1842 Melbourne’s first Mayor (Brewer and publican from Leith Scottish brewing family.), and as mentioned many members of the Melbourne Club including: Major George Mercer (Separation Association first President, 1840.), Redmond Barry (Melbourne Club Secretary 1841, President 1844, 1846 & 1858.), Dr James Palmer (Second Melbourne Mayor, 1845.), A Bolden (Melbourne Club Vice President, 1840/41.), Henry Gisborne, Dr Farquhar McCrae, Niel Black, William Stawell, George Cavenagh, Dr W. D. Bernard, A. F. Mollison and others.(See P. 12, Note 3)

Henry Condell (1797–1871) Melbourne’s first Mayor – Dec. 9, 1842–1844. In 1843 elected first Melbourne representative to the Legislative Council (NSW Upper House) which first sat in Sydney on Aug. 1, 1843. The Council was the first representative Assembly of Australia. Henry Condell is a cousin of Genevieve Morgan’s (nee Edwards), 3x great grandmother Mary Ann Condell from a Leith, Scottish, brewing family.
Published in The Melbourne Morning Herald – Tuesday, November 19, 1850.
‘Men of Yesterday’ and ‘Strangers in a Foreign Land’

Following my La Trobe lecture I was fortunate enough to read Margaret Kiddle’s *Men of Yesterday* (1961) and the recent publication by Maggie MacKellar, *Strangers in a Foreign Land* (2008). Both books cover in considerable detail the life in the District of Port Phillip from 1834 to 1851.

Much of ‘Part 1’ of Margaret Kiddle’s *Men of Yesterday* was based on the diaries of Niel Black who arrived in Adelaide in July 1839 and then investigated pastoral properties there as well as near Melbourne and Sydney. In 1840 Black decided to settle at Glenormiston Station near Camperdown.

Maggie McKellar’s *Strangers in a Foreign Land* publishes as source material Niel Black’s original diary entries which outline in considerable detail the local difficulties encountered by Black at his Glenormiston Station over his first 15 months.

Black’s thoughtful diary comments support my overall thesis that the squatters up to the 1851 ‘gold rush’ were extremely influential in the early development of the District of Port Phillip before Victoria became a separate Colony.

Apart from both books contributing to the understanding of the pastoral District of Port Phillip before the ‘gold rush’, they also give some important insights into the circumstances in Europe up to and during this period.

The District’s economy was mainly agricultural with ‘squatting’ farmers claiming leasehold properties controlled under ‘Government’ by a small military force instructed from Sydney. Squatters were often dissatisfied with the cumbersome ‘Sydney’ decision making processes and held strong local feelings that the District was hindered by oppressive rules and delays.

According to Maggie MacKellar by 1840 the Western District population consisted of three groups of settlers. (In 1840 the Western District supported 242 sheep runs compared to the next ‘richest’ district with 44 sheep runs!):

“The Vandiemonians pushed out from around Geelong, Melbourne and Portland to occupy the country further inland. Second were the overlanders, who drove their cattle and sheep from Sydney following Mitchell’s path to meet with the first illegal squatters. As they travelled they established stations on the way. Third came the men with money and the assisted immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, who either landed in Port Phillip or tried their luck driving stock overland from Sydney.”

The reader of Black’s Journal entries (published in Maggie Mackellar’s *Strangers in a Foreign Land*) is left with little doubt that Black settled on
Port Phillip as the site of his pastoral empire in part because he thought it a “Scotch settlement”, not yet riddled with the “vice and greed” that he saw in Sydney.

The early Western District squatters, about half Scottish, had a culture of education and a frugal approach which was very different than elsewhere in the District of Port Phillip and the rest of NSW. With hard work the ‘rich’ Western District pastures soon made the early squatters extremely wealthy and prominent ‘rulers’ of Victoria!

My La Trobe Lecture did not cover in detail the Aboriginal peoples’ problems in the District of Port Phillip. On Page 72 I refer to Daniel Bunce’s Language of the Aborigine published by Slater, Williams, & Hodgson, 1856. (In 1856 Daniel Bunce was married to John Batman’s youngest daughter, Pelonomena. In 1847 Daniel Bunce accompanied Joseph Leichhardt on his second, ‘east-to-west’ expedition across Australia. I suggest the Aboriginal problems in the District of Port Phillip are covered in a future La Trobe Lecture.)

At the same time Melbourne was led by a small core of leaders including ‘self educated’ John Pascoe Fawkner (son of a convict - sawyer, journalist & printer) who from January 1, 1838 published The Melbourne Advertiser; then from February 6, 1839 the Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser, plus

2 Excerpt from ‘John Batman the Founder of Victoria’ by James Bonwick, 1867, P 98.

“The reader may wonder why Mr. Fawkner should take such pains to render ridiculous and despicable the man against whom he writes so bitterly. His egotism may be one cause. But he was evidently jealous of the attention paid to his rival by all new comers, especially official ones. He rather absurdly put this forth in The (Gold) Diggers’ Advocate above a dozen years ago: ‘And yet Mr. Batman got power, not only to hold the land and the house he built (on Batman’s Hill) but also a large section on the Yarra River. Reader, butter, and milk, and eggs, and a few fowls, &c. &c., are very acceptable when travelling in an almost uninhabited country, and of these a very copious supply found their way into the large tent of Governor-in-Chief whilst he sojourned at Port Phillip. The writer of these reminiscences was never given to ‘grease the fat pig,’ nor fawn to men dressed in a little brief authority, but kept on an even tenor of his way.’”

Old Robson* has a fling at the writer (John Pascoe Fawkner) of the above story in the following words:— “You were the founder of Melbourne, as you like to be styled; why, did not Governor Bourke pay you a visit when at Melbourne, and make you a present of four cases of wine, as he did John Batman? Ah, well, you might think it very cool of him, but he did, for I tasted it, and it was excellent. But, Johnny instead of running down John Batman you ought to raise a monument to him, and him alone you ought to thank. His perseverance was beyond everything I ever saw. It might well be said he was the real founder of Melbourne, and I don’t suppose there is a street named after him. No, it is you, and the likes of you, that wish the honour he earned at the risk of his life may be buried with him in his grave.”

*Captain Robson Coltish, an ‘old seafaring man’ was master of the barque Norval that bought John Batman and his fellow members of the Port Phillip Association to the Yarra settlement in 1835
Redmond Barry (lawyer and barrister – in 1840 elected to the Committee of the Melbourne Club, Secretary 1841 and President 1844, 1846 and 1858. The Melbourne Club was founded Nov 17, 1838. In March 1855 Justice Redmond Barry was the Judge at the trial of ‘Eureka prisoners’ Timothy Hayes and Rafaello Carboni – the Jury’s verdict in both cases ‘NOT GUILTY’.), Bishop Dr Charles Perry (Established Melbourne Diocesan Grammar School in April 11, 1849, Geelong Grammar School in 1857 and Melbourne Grammar School in 1858. Bishop Perry’s arrival gave Melbourne the status of a city.), Rev James Forbes (“Victoria’s first Public Educationalist”), Ebenezer Syme (Journalist and editor The Age 1854−56, buying The Age in June 1856.), and others who where responsible for establishing a culture in Victoria involving open debate and a desire for better education which in most instances persists today and is still the envy of the other Australian States.

Much more needs to be presented on why such significant differences existed from the time of the early District of Port Phillip settlement through to the land boom and subsequent land bust in the 1890s.

3The promoters of the Melbourne Club first met on Nov. 17, 1838 at the Officers’ Quarters in the Melbourne Barracks, with many of the Club’s early members being part of the Port Phillip District administration and military. The Melbourne Club’s first general meeting was held at George Smith’s Lamb Inn on January 1, 1839. Those present included Magistrate and District Administrator Captain William Lonsdale and George Arden, 1838−1842 joint proprietor of the Port Phillip Gazette. Despite attending the first meeting Captain Lonsdale did not become a Melbourne Club member until September 3, 1851. (Charles La Trobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip District, arrived in Melbourne on September 30, 1839. He became a Melbourne Club member on October 12, 1844 and submitted his resignation in December 1852. La Trobe departed Victoria on May 6, 1854.) On May 30, 1839 George Arden fought a dual with Dr Barry Cotter (Cotter opened Melbourne’s first ‘druggist’s’ shop) and after this was expelled from the Melbourne Club. On June 1, 1839 the Melbourne Club leased for 5 years John Pascoe Fawkner’s Shakspere Hotel on the south-east corner of Collins St and Market St. (See Page 13, and the inside and back cover.)

In June 1841 there was a very public dispute between some members of the Melbourne Club and John Pascoe Fawkner in the pages of his Port Phillip Patriot and the Port Phillip Herald, published by Melbourne Club member George Cavenagh. ‘Completion’ between Fawkner / Syme family/The Age and Herald ‘people’ – George Cavenagh/Edmund Finn/William Williams/Alfred Massina/Marcus Clarke/Theodore Fink/Sir Keith Murdoch/Rupert Murdoch continues ‘today’. Following Victoria’s separation and Victoria’s ‘gold rush’ the Melbourne Club membership changed to consist mainly of those from, or associated with, the District’s squatters – some Melbourne Club members ‘controlled’ the Colonial Government of Victoria and some became very wealthy farmers.
In my paper, with examples, I pointed out that from the 1850s, Melbourne in particular, became the home of the ‘serious, radical and provocative’ media. *(The Bulletin*, published in Sydney and ‘viciously racist’, did not begin until January 31, 1880.)*

From 1852 the newly-established Victorian Government and Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe (followed by Governor Charles Hotham) received much criticism from Melbourne’s ‘serious, radical and provocative’ media. The media initially focused on the concerns ‘gold diggers’ had over the Government ‘Gold License – One Month, £1 fee’ charged by the newly-established Victorian Government which was controlled by the squatters.

While there were many early Melbourne printers and publishers the ‘gold diggers’ cause began in earnest on October 28, 1853 when G. E. Thomson and *(Henry)* Heath & Co. (George Hough and William Williams), with help from George Cavenagh of the Herald, began *The Diggers Advocate* – “voice of the gold diggers”. On Page 14 is the November 10, 1853 No.2 issue, (National Library of Australia).


Then on February 24, 1854 George Black with support from John Pascoe Fawkner and H. R. Nicholls an editor and contributor began *The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser* (No.7-Vol.1 printed by F Sinnett & Co in Melbourne February 24, 1854, with later issues printed by Herald ‘people’.*) which campaigned ‘relentlessly’ for the gold miners up until the Eureka Stockade uprising on Sunday December 3, 1854.

George Smith's Lamb Inn, c 1840
by Joe Levine, June 2009

John Pascoe Fawkner's Shakespeare Hotel, Melbourne Club: June 1, 1839 – September 1844, *Port Phillip Patriot* Office, c 1840
by Joe Levine, June 2009
The Diggers and the Leases.

We have expressed our opinion before to the diggers that their leases are not worth the only grovians they would be required to fight against, and every groven will much more the truth of that opinion. As soon as the licenses shall be required in any greater numbers, there will be a corresponding number of private companies. This is a question of great moment in the mining district, and determined steps should at once be taken to stop the diggers will find themselves in the company of a few who are ready but willing to buy the very earth from under their feet, and for small sums the squatters will edge, the diggers may go or do the best for both for leveling in this direction.

We have kept our eyes and ears open, and now we have been in town, and we know that the diggers, in the eyes of the "fat and gaudy citizens of Melbourne," are but "a class of weedy putrid scum that are living by digging for gold and opposing the Government," and that their rights and claims are to be talked of as a talk of a thing of no consequence, and whose internal life is a straggley sit down and mop in our own interest.

It is thus with all the diggers and the proprietors, and the prosperity and safety of this diggings depends very much on the help and encourage of the mining district.

It is not possible to write better from our friend and best supporter, the "Herald," in the words of the "state," but the words are worth a lot better.

"That such should be the case seems the more probable, because even when we, who have no interest, nor do we care for the other—those who have no policy to serve, no pets to provide for—get into a company, and the politicians upon the subject, that we will not condone nor do as the truth be the case. One of the received conclusions, inferring as much as possible, is that the diggers of this district have been abandoned by individual diggers, that with them it is "the old woman and the dog," the dog of the diggers. If there are no so-called interior diggers in the present lease, there is a square mile of country has been, or is always to be, held by the diggers. Many of these individual diggers being precluded from taking a front lot of a big lease, are as well disposed and impulsive and a matter of necessity.

The news of the day, the weather, the politics, the public health, the public opinion, the public capabilities, the public holdings, the public public holdings, all of which are in a very great degree, secret, it is important to know that the proposed leases are not interfered with, and that the diggers with the diggers—and, in the present, and the public.

The news of the day, the weather, the politics, the public health, the public capabilities, the public holdings, the public public holdings, all of which are in a very great degree, secret, it is important to know that the proposed leases are not interfered with, and that the diggers with the diggers—and, in the present, and the public.
The Gold Diggers' Advocate and Commercial Advertiser was a remarkable newspaper covering in detail Victoria's early problems associated with the Victorian 'gold rush' which campaigned for "miner's rights" and "denouncing the racist sentiments of the Bendigo digger" by calling on diggers to welcome the Chinese. (Also The Chinese Puzzle, May 1855, see Page 72.)

There were other 'serious, radical and provocative' publishers such as The Age (1854, not then Syme owned) who were "...practically the mover in all the democratic agitations" including campaigning strongly for gold miners rights before and during the Eureka trial; Slater, Williams, & Hodgson (1854) who criticised 'Bounty Immigration' and promoted 'Aboriginal rights': Ebenezer Syme who in July 1854 wrote for The Argus while contributing to The Gold Diggers' Advocate; W. H. Williams who published John Bateman's Journals (1856) and the first works of Marcus Clarke (1866); A. H. Massina & Co. (1859) who commissioned and published in The Australian Journal 'His Natural Life' by Marcus Clarke (March 1870 – June 1872) and later most of Adam Lindsay Gordon's many works; and finally Marcus Clarke himself who published The Colonial Monthly (1868) and Humbug (1869).
The subsequent Eureka trials (1855) and judicial ‘NOT GUILTY – without prejudice’ verdicts were the beginning of Australia’s independence and ‘roots’. Over time many of the young Victorians involved in the turbulent Eureka period changed from independent diggers to company mine workers and by Federation (1901) the workers’ ‘statesmen’.

At Federation the ‘older radical miners’ then favoured a ‘white’ Australia and were protectionists with publications such as *The Age* and *The Bulletin* supporting their causes. Their political supporters included people such as Alfred Deakin (Federal Member for Ballarat!)

In a period of approximately 35 years Victoria’s capital, Melbourne, was transformed from a rural society (initially with many squatters having a strong desire to return to their homeland) into one of the great industrial cities of the world, with the expansion of the time only equalled by Paris and New York.

Melbourne during this period constructed many spectacular buildings – Government House (over 4 years from 1872), the Exhibition Building, Parliament House, many grand city buildings (Old Treasury Building, Customs House, ANZ Banking Chamber – corner Queen and Collins, The Block Arcade, The Australian Club, Windsor Hotel, etc) plus thousands of grand suburban and country residential homes which were serviced by an extensive railway network both state-wide to rural Victoria and throughout suburban Melbourne. There is little doubt that by the 1880s **Marvellous Melbourne** and its surrounds had become one of the great cities of the world with the world’s tallest building on the corner of Elizabeth St and Flinders Lane.

In a short time period I have studied many important books, documents and references. George (Dick) Meudell’s *The Pleasant Career of A Spendthrift* published in 1929 [http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/2008/20080804.pdf?la=en](http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/2008/20080804.pdf?la=en) and his subsequent *The Pleasant Career of A Spendthrift and His Later Reflections* (1935) helped me better understand many Victorian ‘personalities’ covering more than 40 years. (Ian Morrison lent me his copy of *The Pleasant Career of A Spendthrift* – I was ‘lucky’ Ian Morrison had the book as two years ago he had offered his copy to a prominent Melbourne Library who preferred not to have the book on their shelves!) The following Press Reviews give an accurate summary of its contents. George Meudell was one of Australia’s most colourful personalities – irrespective of whether readers agree or not with the accuracy of Meudell’s writings – when reading the book readers need to be aware that for 40 years Meudell was a regular contributor to *The Bulletin*. (See Appendix 4)
The following are Press Reviews of *The Pleasant Career of a Spendthrift* by George Meudell, 1929. The book contains a lot about the period before and after the 1890s land bust.


Gary Morgan, prepared over the period August 19, 2008 to December, 23, 2008 and then May 2009.
Press Reviews of

"THE PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT"

By

GEORGE MEUDELL

in 1930

"Financial Times," London.—"Thoroughly entertaining and informative."

Melbourne "Age."—"A racy account of a varied and an active life, historically interesting and entertaining."

"Saturday Review," London.—"Mr. Meudell rambles in his book as widely and as rapidly as he seems to have travelled over land and sea."

"Manchester Daily Dispatch."—"Book full of racy stories about gold, diamond and silver mining."

"Sunday Times," London.—"A rolling stone who has travelled on over 400 steamships and seen 450 cities."

"Manchester Evening Chronicle."—"A whole series of racy reminiscences, told in an original and sparkling style."

"Birmingham Post,"—"A book about that wonderful land, Australia."

"Sydney Sun."—"A book of most unconventional reminiscences, concerning the land boom and bank crisis of 1893."

"Financial World," London.—"The author has been well to the fore in the great Australian mining, banking, and land booms."

"Yorkshire Post."—"Has travelled 400,000 miles in 40 countries, and has been a banker, a stockbroker, and a mining agent."

"Sunday Times," London.—"The author boasts that Australia is the best country, and the Australians the best people in the world, pure bred, and of one race—the British."

"Daily Telegraph," London.—"A collection of dogmatic statements, but their cardinal virtue cannot be denied."

"Daily Truth," Broken Hill.—"Gleaning of 40 years of world travel and an infinite range of mementoes."

"The Harbour," Sydney.—"Travels have been wonderful. A capital book for holiday reading."
See Appendix 4 for extracts from George Meudell’s 1935 ‘expurgated version’

THE PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT
and His LATER REFLECTIONS (1935)

1. SIDNEY MYER, Pages 227 – 229
2. THE LATE L. K. S. MACKINNON, Page 229
3. THE HON. THEODORE FINK, Pages 231 – 240
4. THE BULLETIN, Page 259
5. THE ‘MELBOURNE REVIEW’, NEWSPAPERS, MELBOURNE NEWSPAPERS, Pages 260 – 263
6. MELBOURNE ‘ARGUS’ AND ‘ORIEL’ COLUMN, Pages 266 – 267
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Kirkpatrick, R., *Eureka and the editor: A reappraisal 150 years on*


McCarthy, P., *150 Years of Gold*, La Trobe University, Sir John Quick Bendigo Lecture, 2001


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Eureka by August Blackman, 2008
Today we are here to reflect on July 1, 1851, when – 157 years ago – Victoria became a Colony of the United Kingdom – a Colony without convict labour! The Victorian Legislative Council first met in November 1851 at St Patrick's Hall in Melbourne – today I am presenting this paper in Queen’s Hall, Parliament of Victoria, where Federal Parliament was conducted from 1901–1927.

It is an honour to be presenting this lecture today for my family and all those who have been part of Roy Morgan Research from the time my father was sent by Sir Keith Murdoch in 1940 to work in the US with Dr George Gallup. In 1941, my father published the first Australian Gallup Poll for The Melbourne Herald, The Sydney Sun, the Brisbane Courier Mail, the Adelaide Advertiser, and the Hobart Mercury.

When asked to speak I thought the last thing needed was another general review of Victorian history. So, I have decided to focus on three areas: women, the media and people from other countries who have helped to make Australia and Victoria.

Today, women hold, and have held, many positions of power in Australia and Victoria.

**Women in Positions of Power in Australia and Victoria**

- Julia Gillard, Deputy Prime Minister
- Quentin Bryce, first woman Governor-General
- Carmen Lawrence, first woman Premier of an Australian State (Western Australia)
- Joan Kirner, first woman Premier of Victoria
- Gail Kelly, CEO of Westpac (currently involved in Australia’s largest financial merger between Westpac and St. George Bank)
- Marilyn Warren, Chief Justice (Victoria)
- Pamela Tate, Solicitor General (Victoria)
- Helen Silver, Secretary of Premier and Cabinet (Victoria’s most senior Public Servant)
- Christine Nixon, Chief of Victoria Police
- Prof. Sally Walker, Vice Chancellor of Deakin University
- Prof. Margaret Gardner, Vice Chancellor of RMIT
- Five women Victorian Ministers
- Eight women Parliamentary Secretaries

We forget that when Victoria was formed, women had few – if any – rights or opportunities.

Today, people of many backgrounds have made a major contribution and hold, or have held, important positions in Australia and Victoria.
Yet, in the Nineteenth century, and even after the Second World War, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, including those from Ireland, were frowned upon, discriminated against and not wanted by many Victorians.

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**People from Other Countries in Positions of Power in Australia and Victoria**

- Prof. David de Kretser (Ceylon), Governor of Victoria (from April 2007)
- Sir James Gobbo (Italian parents, childhood in Italy), Governor of Victoria (1997–2000)
- Sir Gustav Nossal (Austria), Eminent Scientist
- John So (Hong Kong), Lord Mayor of Melbourne
- Sir Arvi Parbo (Estonia), former Chairman of Western Mining and BHP
- Prof. Hatem Salem (Egypt), Australian Centre for Blood Diseases
- Prof. Victor Yu (China), Monash University Medical Centre

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‘His smile it was pensive & childlike,
Which we had a small game,
At last he put down a right bower,
In his sleeves, he had twenty-four packs’.

Today, media is a big international business. We are often critical of the media; we question its accuracy, fairness and ethics. Legislation is carefully crafted to limit the control and power of media – in 1851 just print, after World War 1 print and radio, and in 2008 print, radio, TV and the Internet. But we forget the crucial role that the media, especially newspapers and other publications, played in raising and airing the issues that shaped Victoria, and recording the history of this State from the 1850s.

The first Victorian newspaper was *The Melbourne Advertiser*, which was handwritten and published by John Pascoe Fawkner on January 3, 1838.

The next eight issues of *The Melbourne Advertiser*, until February 26, 1838 were also handwritten.

From Volume 1, Number 10, published on March 8, 1838, *The Melbourne Advertiser* was in printed form.
While there were only free-settlers in Victoria, I have not found out exactly why the people in the Port Phillip District separated from New South Wales. However, from 1842 only a limited number of people living in the Port Phillip District were able to vote for their representatives in the NSW Parliament, with only two-thirds of the representatives elected. There were issues of temperance and convict-labour settlement, but I suspect Melbourne people thought Sydney was ‘crook’, even then!
In 1946, Roy Morgan published the first Australian ‘media involvement’ survey comparing media usage of Australians and Americans. The survey found that 87% of Australians read a daily newspaper regularly (as did 74% of Americans) and 74% of Australians listened to radio news regularly (as did 71% of Americans).

Rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne

[1850 era]
There was then plenty of rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne. An anonymous Melburnian in The Age was quoted to say: “Melbourne is generally a much finer and livelier place than Sydney, but, being younger, and not having had the equivocal advantage of convict labour, it lacks the substantiality of its sister metropolis…Sydney is about seven times the age of Melbourne – which was a mud village but the other day – and is, it would almost seem as a consequence of this seniority, about seven times more comfortable to live in. In support of this, I may mention that Sydney has by this time a well-arranged, and all but complete, system of sewerage; while the Victorian capital, whose geographical position requires it far more, is woefully deficient in this particular … Melbourne itself is splendid. Fine wide streets – finer and wider than almost any in London – stretch away, sometimes for miles, in every direction. At any hour of the day, thousands of persons may be seen scurrying along the leading thoroughfares, with true cheapside bustle and eagerness. Hundreds of cabs and jaunting cars rattle through the streets; all the classic cries of London, from hot pies to iced ginger beer, echo through the town; restaurants and well-furnished coffee-houses send out the alluring perfumes of their shilling luncheons at every hundred yards; while, at each populous point of the city, rival news boys make both day and night hideous with their constantly and competitive yelling’s.” (The First Ninety Years, pp. 28 – 29)

[1850s]
“The roads were anything but safe for solitary travellers…and crimes against persons and property were frequent enough at the goldfields, but when one remembers the vast influx of immigrants; the inefficiency of the police force; the feeling of unrest developed when a large number of people abandon their usual pursuits for such an occupation as gold-seeking; and the crowds of ex-convicts who made their way from Tasmania and New South Wales, one is struck with admiration and astonishment at the peaceable manner in which most of the cosmopolitan arrivals settled down as colonists.” (pp. 29 – 30)
### First Roy Morgan Australian (February 1945) & US (June 1944) Survey on Media Involvement


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 1: “Do you read a daily newspaper regularly?”</th>
<th>Question 2: “Do you listen regularly to news over the radio?”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australia</strong></td>
<td><strong>USA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>87 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No or occasionally</td>
<td>13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>74 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>74 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No radio</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Australian Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll” Survey 121, Q6, Sept 28, 1956

**Radio is top entertainment**

Listening to the radio is our chief leisure-time occupation, a Gallup Poll at the end of September shows.

Throughout Australia, people were handed cards listing six ways of spending spare time. They were asked which was their favorite way of spending their evening leisure, both Saturdays and week-days. Answers show radio is top favorite, both on weekday evenings and Saturday evenings. During the week reading is second favorite, but movies are second on Saturday evenings.

**Evening Leisure Week Saturdays days**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favorite</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of answers regarding Saturday evenings, favorite Saturday evening pastime, declines steadily with age, from 17 p.c. at 21-29, to only 8 p.c. after 60.
In September 1956, a Roy Morgan Gallup Poll found that listening to radio was the most popular way of spending spare time on weekdays (39%), followed by reading (25%), movies (8%), visiting friends (5%), cards (5%), working (5%) and dancing (2%).

Newspapers and magazines continue to be ubiquitous and are today read by almost everyone. But TV and, increasingly, the Internet are now providing alternative sources of news and record.

Indeed, newspapers are transforming from their traditional hard-copy paper version to on-line news sources – not only in Australia but also in the US and UK. http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/2007/20071204.pdf?la=en
USA & UK NEWSPAPERS TRANSFORMING RATHER THAN DISAPPEARING WITH GROWTH IN “ONLINE” MEDIA

**USA NEWSPAPERS “ONLINE” REACH** *(Nov ’07)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>“Online”</th>
<th>Total*</th>
<th>Additional Reach#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>’000</td>
<td>’000</td>
<td>’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>4,525</td>
<td>8,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td>1,955</td>
<td>4,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA Today</td>
<td>6,812</td>
<td>4,173</td>
<td>10,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles Times</td>
<td>3,367</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>4,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>4,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>2,517</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>3,225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total refers to the combined total of newspaper readership and “online” reach, which means people that use both the newspaper and “online” are only counted once.

#Additional “average” daily newspaper ‘reach’ with “online” over newspaper reach only (%)

---

**UK NEWSPAPERS “ONLINE” REACH** *(Aug ’07)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>“Online”</th>
<th>Total*</th>
<th>Additional Reach#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>’000</td>
<td>’000</td>
<td>’000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>1,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>2,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independent</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>1,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Standard</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>7,865</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>8,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>6,098</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>6,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>4,076</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>2,123</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2,189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total refers to the combined total of newspaper readership and “online” reach, which means people that use both the newspaper and “online” are only counted once.

#Additional “average” daily newspaper ‘reach’ with “online” over newspaper reach only (%)
HOW DID IT ALL HAPPEN IN VICTORIA?

Before July 1, 1851, Victoria was part of the Colony of New South Wales governed under British laws. Today, Australia is a Federation of States and Victoria is a State in its own right, governed up until the Australia Act of 1986 under the UK Victoria Constitution Act of July 16, 1855 and Commonwealth Constitution of 1900.

Victoria began as a farming community. On November 19, 1834, Edward Henty sailed into Portland Bay from Tasmania on board the Thistle, accompanied by livestock and a ‘small party’. His brother, Francis Henty, followed a month later bringing with him the first merino sheep to the then Colony of New South Wales and together, unknown to the Sydney authorities, the Henty brothers established Portland – the first settlement in Victoria.4

In March 1831, Major Thomas Mitchell commenced his first expedition south from Sydney into Victoria (then southern New South Wales). In March 1835, Mitchell commenced his second expedition to the southern Australian coastline. The expedition party were surprised when they came across the Henty brothers at Portland, who had been there since November 19, 1834 and had built dwellings and sheds.

Major Mitchell found excellent grazing land – land richer than any he had found in New South Wales – and named this country ‘Australia Felix’. Major Mitchell’s 1837 report on his expedition started a ‘land rush’ of farmers, initially from New South Wales but soon also from the United Kingdom, all wanting to start a new life in richer pastures.

On May 29, 1835, members of John Batman’s Port Phillip Association aboard the 30 tonne schooner Rebecca anchored in Port Phillip Bay by Indented Heads. On June 6, 1835 Batman purchased land under a treaty with the Aboriginals leaving on June 12, 1835 for Launceston while eight (three ‘servants’ and five Sydney Aboriginals) stayed at Indented Heads.

It was not until August 21, 1835 that John Pascoe Fawkner’s party in the Enterprise ‘found’ the same Yarra location departing September 5, 1835 except George Evans and his Fawkner servants stayed.

John Batman’s ‘diary’ claims members of his Port Phillip Association on June 8, 1835 came across the Yarra Yarra falls and fresh water. While there is no doubt Bateman’s Port Phillip Association settled in Port Phillip first (Indented Head); John Pascoe Fawkner’s party were first to settle on the Yarra near Yarra Yarra falls where the Custom’s House/Immigration Museum is today.

4 http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010565b.htm
The ‘Land Rush’ to the Lush South

Two families who travelled to Victoria in search of the ‘lush farming land’ described in Mitchell’s report were the Docker Family and the McArthur Family.

The Docker Family

Joseph Docker, originally a Church of England clergyman, arrived in NSW in 1828 and established a farm in Richmond, NSW. In February 1838, along with his family, servants, a flock of sheep, some cattle and a boat, set out from Sydney destined for south of the Murray River, encouraged by the accounts of Major Thomas Mitchell’s explorations in the area.

The party crossed the Murray River at the Crossing-Place (now Albury) and arrived at the Ovens River in north-east Victoria in September 1838. Joseph Docker obtained the squatting rights to a property called Bontharambo by the local Indigenous people.

Docker was compassionate and respectful to the Indigenous locals, earning him their assistance and friendship. He prospered and by 1857 was able to build his third house with a labour force of between 180 – 190 workers. A grand brick mansion in the Italianate style was completed in 18 months, which today remains in the Docker family, and is one of Australia’s finest homesteads.

The McArthur Family

In 1839, Peter McArthur and his family migrated to Victoria from Islay, Argyllshire, Scotland. They arrived in Geelong via Sydney and settled near Camperdown in the Western District of Victoria. In 1832 Peter McArthur’s brothers and other family members had migrated to the UK Colony of Jamaica. Before leaving Scotland in the late 1830s, Peter McArthur decided Australia was the best place for farming as his family had advised him that farming in Jamaica was no longer as lucrative, since slave labour had finally been abolished in all UK colonies in 1838. (See ‘Note’ Page 5)
At the same time in 1835, back in the UK, Lord Melbourne (after whom our city was named in 1837) had begun his second term as British Prime Minister after defeating Tory’s Prime Minister Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington (then Foreign Secretary) in the April 1835 Election.

Lord Melbourne’s first term as UK Prime Minister came to an end when he was dismissed by King William IV in the wake of the Great Reform Act of 1832 – the last time a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was dismissed by a British Monarch. During his second term, Prime Minister Lord Melbourne (1835–1841) was responsible for implementing the Poor Laws (1834) which restricted the terms on which the poor were given Government assistance and established ‘compulsory admission’ to workhouses for the poor. This Act was not adopted in the Australian Colonies and encouraged masses of the impoverished poor and working class in Britain to want to leave the United Kingdom for a new country (such as Australia), hoping for a better life.

By November 1835, John Batman was sufficiently recovered to return to Port Phillip, where he joined Fawkner by the Yarra. The two men agree to co-exist: Fawkner would move his farm to the south bank of the river but keep the cottage he’d built on the other side. Batman too built a house near the river, on the little hill that Flemming and Grimes and climb: he grazed his stock on the low-lying land around wetlands to the west and established a depot to pay tribute as the treaty prescribed.

Making Modern Melbourne
by Jenny Lee
Published by Arcade Publications, 2008

Until 1850, Victoria was an agricultural community and Melbourne a small country town, with a population of just 10,954 in 1846 and 23,000 in 1851.

There were no issues like the Republic vs. Monarchy, racism, alcoholism, etc. It was just a tough life for farmers and their shepherds. On February 6, 1851, Victoria experienced horrific bushfires, later known as ‘Black Thursday’, which some have claimed burnt half of the Colony. The fires were so fierce and far-reaching that the glow could be seen by ships in Bass Strait. Many lives were lost, livestock destroyed, and land and property damaged.
Then came the ‘gold rush’. Victoria’s gold discovery at Clunes in June 1851 changed a small rural community forever, with thousands of young people, mainly men and many ex-convicts, flocking to the goldfields around central Victoria from all parts of the world. Victoria was a male dominated society with employment opportunities for women limited to domestic services, shops, schools and hospitals.

However, the period in Victoria from the ‘gold rush’ in the 1850s to the spectacular land boom then bust in 1890 (when Melbourne’s population was over 500,000) was not without its social and economic problems.

In 1853 and 1854, Victoria experienced a major recession with many merchants and traders going bankrupt, particularly dealers in ‘luxury lines’ – however, alcoholic liquor was always an exception, for which there was “as usual, a brisk demand, no matter what the price”!

The young Victoria was soon also facing many social issues. Geoffrey Blainey in *Black Kettle and Full Moon*, fully covers many of the issues that faced Victorians on a day-to-day basis, during and following the Victorian ‘gold rush’. Because so many of those who ‘rushed’ to Victoria were young men with a complete lack of family, it was not long before Melbourne had more ‘pubs’ per head than any other city in the world – with large numbers of men each day spending freely on alcohol – as Blainey says, “the sober period commenced when the money ended”!

During the ‘gold rush’, there were few professionals, tradesmen or those skilled in commerce. The number of educated ‘middle-class’ were few, and school facilities were mainly private tuition, with a limited number of Government schools and church schools.

By 1855, business in Victoria was improving: Melbourne’s population was 100,000 and Victoria’s was greater than 250,000. (*The Land Boomers*, p. 24)
“Family life became stronger as the proportion of women increased. Many women deplored the fact that hotels were open for sixteen or eighteen hours a day, and therefore a continuing temptation to men. In Victoria in 1885 more than 45,000 women signed a temperance petition which formed a roll of paper half a kilometre long. Their petition denounced the liquor traffic ‘as the most prolific source of broken hearts, ruined homes and blighted lives’…

[In South Australia] The hope was that their vote would help to tame the liquor traffic, and it did. The crusade against alcohol was perhaps the most powerful episode of women’s liberation in the country’s first century. Here was indisputable evidence that Australia was no longer simply a man’s land.” (Geoffrey Blainey, Black Kettle and Full Moon, pp. 352 – 354)

The 1870s saw the rise of the Victorian temperance movement with the building of ‘coffee palaces’ which were heavily financed by those involved in the movement to provide a place for “travellers to stay without being tempted by the demon drink” (The Land Boomers, p. 118). Melbourne’s first temperance hotel was the Victoria Coffee Tavern, opened November 1, 1890 at 89 Bourke Street and designed by William Pitt – a prominent architect of the period. It was the first building in Melbourne to have ‘electric lights’ in all rooms.

Other well-known ‘coffee palaces’ include the Grand Hotel, now Windsor Hotel, (built in 1883 and opened in December 1888) and the Federal Coffee Palace (built 1888–1890).
THE CONTEXT

Although geographically distant, Victoria did not evolve in isolation. The importance of Victoria Day and the foundation of the Colony of Victoria cannot be fully appreciated without also looking at what happened over the last 200 years – unfortunately a period full of conflicts. In this period, the four major conflicts resulted in the pointless deaths of millions of people all over the world.

1. Napoleonic Wars,
2. The American Civil War – fought over slavery,
3. The First World War, and
4. The Second World War.

Reasons for these wars are complicated – economic access, greed, power and the gap between rich and poor. The outcomes were horrific and all involved the underlying themes of oppression, race and religion.

All had a defining impact on Victoria, either directly or indirectly, via their influence on the homeland England.

Today’s ‘War on Terror’, although not having anything like the same number of casualties, is important because it has divided East and West on religion.
Just focussing on today’s ‘War on Terror’, the results from a recent Roy Morgan Research survey covering five Asian countries and Australia are important – everyone sees the situation differently and lays the blame in different places. While no-one really knows, the significance of the results is even more important if we have learnt from the world’s history over the last 200 years. The issues today are the same as ever before.

Roy Morgan Research

Roy Morgan Research is today Australia’s largest social and marketing research company with over 1,000 employees with offices in all mainland State capitals, London, Princeton (USA), Jakarta and Auckland – a truly Melbourne international company.
KEY ISSUES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM THAT SHAPED VICTORIA

Up until 1829, before Victoria became a Colony, all Bills introduced in the United Kingdom Parliament were automatically incorporated into Colony Laws. Therefore, we can not begin to understand Victoria without appreciating the social and legal ‘movements’ which occurred in England.

Four UK Acts were of particular importance:


1) The 1807 Slave Trade Act prohibited British ships from engaging in the slave trade with the Americas and the UK Colonies (the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 abolished slavery throughout the majority of the British Empire).

In 1787, the ‘Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade’ was formed by nine Quakers and three Anglicans. With the 1807 Act in England, the Whigs outlawed English involvement in slavery. Quakers, especially the women, played a major role campaigning for this Act.
**Quaker Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade**

In 1652 George Fox (1624–1691) founded the first formal organisation that is considered the birth of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).

In 1727 English Quakers began to express their official disapproval of the slave trade and promoted reforms.

From the 1750s, a number of Quakers in Britain’s American Colonies also began to oppose slavery. They called on English Quakers to take action and encouraged their fellow citizens, including Quaker slave owners, to improve conditions for slaves and educate them in Christianity, reading and writing, and gradually emancipate them.

In 1783, an informal group of six Quakers pioneered the British abolitionist movement when the London Society of Friends’ yearly meeting presented its petition against the slave trade to the UK Parliament, signed by over 300 Quakers. They subsequently decided to form a small, committed, nondenominational group in order to gain greater Anglican and Parliamentary support.

On May 22, 1787 the ‘Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade’, a British abolitionist group, was formed when twelve men gathered together at a printing shop in London, United Kingdom. The new, nondenominational committee had nine Quaker members, who were debarred from standing for Parliament, and three Anglicans, which strengthened the committee’s likelihood of influencing the UK Parliament.

Nine of the twelve founding members of the ‘Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade’ were Quakers: John Barton; William Dillwyn; George Harrison; Samuel Hoare Jr; Joseph Hooper; John Lloyd; Joseph Woods Senior; James Phillips; and Richard Phillips. Five of the Quakers had been part of the informal group of six Quakers who had pioneered the movement in 1783 when the first petition against the slave trade was presented to UK Parliament. The three Anglicans who co-founded the committee were: Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp and Philip Sansom.

In 1791 William Wilberforce introduced the first UK Bill to abolish the slave trade, which was easily defeated by 163 votes to 88. As Wilberforce continued to bring the issue of the slave trade before the UK Parliament, Clarkson and others on the Committee continued to travel, raise funds, lobby, and to write anti-slavery works. This was the beginning of a protracted Parliamentary campaign. Wilberforce introduced a motion in favour of slave abolition almost every year until it was passed in 1807.
(the 1807 Slave Trade Act) after Charles James Fox and William Wyndham Grenville formed a coalition in 1805—however the Reform Bill was abandoned and not passed until 1832. (See Memoir of Mrs Eliza Fox p.176) http://www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/20080605.pdf.

**Women’s involvement**

Women played a large role in the anti-slavery movement. As they were not eligible to be represented in the British Parliament, they often, in the manner of the times, had to form their own separate societies. Many women were horrified that slavery involved women and children being taken away from their families.

Two Quaker women, Priscilla Wakefield (1750–1832) and Maria Hack (1777–1844), daughter of John Barton, were particularly active and published numerous works on children and the development of scientific literature.

Maria Hack and her half-brother, John Barton, were members of the Chichester Society which from 1793 regularly held meetings in the large drawing room of the house of Chichester Barrister James Florance (1770–1838) – see Memoir of Mrs Eliza Fox, pp. 15-16. On April 20, 1820, James Florance’s daughter, Eliza (1793 – 1869), married Unitarian Minister, Rev William Johnson Fox (1786–1864), a relative of George Fox. Memoir of Mrs Eliza Fox includes extracts from journals and letters from her husband William Johnson Fox, MP for Oldham, was published in 1869 after they had both died. The book gives considerable insights into the 1815 thoughts of British Napoleonite Fox – ‘with certain reservations’ (See Memoir of Mrs Eliza Fox, p. 56) http://www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/20080605.pdf

In 1827, one of James Florance’s ten children, Dr William Florance, married Eliza Lola Masséna, a daughter of Dr Louis Masséna (originally from Levens near Nice) who had been one of Napoleon’s doctors. Dr Masséna was a first cousin of Jewish Napoleonic Marshal Andre Masséna (1st Duc de Rivoli, 1st Prince d’Essling, born May 6, 1758, died April 4, 1817) who was defeated at the Battle of Fuentes de Onoro (1811) in the Peninsular Wars by General Arthur Wellesley (Wellesley was subsequently made Duke of Wellington in 1814). After Napoleon escaped from Elba, Marshal Andre Masséna supported the Bourbon Monarchy and refused to follow Napoleon in his return to power. During the treason trial of Marshal Ney in 1815, Masséna refused to give evidence against him. (Marshal Ney fought
under Masséna in the Peninsula Wars). Dr Masséna’s brother, Charles Masséna (1783–1850), was the father of Alfred Henry Massina – changed from Masséna (1834 – 1917). In 1902 Alfred Henry Massina was the inaugural Chairman of The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd. (See Appendix 2: Australian Messéna Families).

**Gradual abolition of slaves**

Even with all of this support for slave abolition, it took twenty years of work by the ‘Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade’ and others – including captive and freed Africans, missionaries and evangelical movements in the Colonies – to achieve the first stage of legal emancipation in the Colonies.

Abolition itself followed slowly, as agreements were concluded by the Colonial Office and the various semi-autonomous Colonial Governments. After further British Parliamentary legislation, *slaves in all of Britain’s Colonies were finally emancipated in 1838*. Even then, however, many of the ‘replacement’ indentured labour schemes had to be challenged, then reformed substantially or abolished over time through renewed anti-slavery campaigning, since Colonial schemes could be used to thwart emancipation in all but name. Moreover, slavery continued on a large scale in American States until the South, where the problem was most widespread, was defeated in the American Civil War of the mid nineteenth century.

Without slaves, many countries such as the United States and Jamaica, became less attractive to English farmers. Australia’s access to cheap labour, with a steady flow of released convicts, made the Australian Colonies a more attractive destination than the United States for farmers wanting to make a new life on their own land.

**2). The 1829 Catholic Relief Act**

The UK 1829 Catholic Relief Act was introduced into Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales in January 1830. This reform involved Catholic emancipation and the granting of nearly full civil rights to all Catholics in the UK and all British Colonies.
The Duke of Wellington, who had grown up in Ireland, became UK Prime Minister in 1828 and being well aware of ‘republican unrest’ in France since 1815, was responsible for the passing of the important Catholic Reform Act 1829. Despite this reform, the Duke of Wellington’s Government fell in 1830 following a wave of riots that swept England (known as the ‘Swing Riots’ – the result of the poor living conditions and the agricultural depression, which started after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815).

The Duke of Wellington  1769 – 1852

After the Battle of Waterloo, despite being ‘sympathetic’ to Napoleonites, Wellington reinstated the Bourbon Monarchy. This didn’t solve the problem, and there was continued unrest, eventuating in the 1830 French Revolution that installed a liberal Monarchy with an alliance with the Republicans, which lasted until the second Revolution in 1848 with the return of the Napoleonites.

Wellington had for years feared a Napoleonic type revolution in England since his victory at the Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) where, with help from the Prussian army (under the command of Gebhard von Blücher), England won the day. (See note on Napoleon’s reaction – he ‘turned pale, “comme ça” pointing to the table-cloth’ – when he was told ‘the Prussians appeared’, Memoir of Mrs. Eliza Fox, p. 58).


From this time, Wellington was particularly careful to stay out of French ‘politics’ and from the beginning was against Marshal Ney’s treason trial, instructing his Generals not to get involved in the trial and subsequent execution. Wellington went out of his way to help Napoleon’s Generals and followers to leave France, with many settling in America and even some in England – all except Napoleon who, on his way to St Helena, anchored off Plymouth for a week trying to negotiate with Prince Regent for asylum in England – an ‘English squire’ was intriguingly not to be!

After Waterloo, Marshal Masséna was too ill to leave France, however most of the Masséna family went to the US, while his cousins, Dr Louis Masséna (one of Napoleon’s doctors, great-great-grandfather of Roy Morgan) and Charles Masséna (father of Alfred Henry Massina – changed from Masséna) were allowed to settle in England.
Sir Arthur Wellesley became the 1st Duke of Wellington when Napoleon abdicated in 1814. Reluctantly he became Tory Prime Minister in 1828. His opposition to Parliamentary Reform made him unpopular and he antagonised sections of his party by forcing through the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829). Wellington’s Government fell November 16, 1830. When the Tory Government returned to power November 17, 1834, Wellington was acting Prime Minister until December 9, 1834 and then served as Foreign Minister until April 8, 1835. Wellington remained a Minister without portfolio and Leader in the House of Lords until he retired in 1846.
The issue of Catholic equality has been important in Australian history. Although there were many conflicts during the 1800s involving the large number of working-class Irish Catholic immigrants up to the First World War and the Italians and Greeks after the Second World War, these conflicts were all peaceful.

Unlike Europe, Australia has had only one revolution, the Eureka Stockade on December 3, 1854, fought over miner’s rights and taxes (not religion). However, many would claim that, despite the Duke of Wellington’s 1829 Catholic Relief Act that gave Catholic’s equal rights in the UK and all British colonies, Archbishop Daniel Mannix successfully ran a peaceful ‘revolution’ for 50 years, from his arrival in Melbourne on March 23, 1913 until he died aged 99 in November 5, 1963. Mannix changed Australia’s political scene forever.

In November, 1949, a Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll” showed more Australians agreed that religion had more influence on their life (56%), than politics (20%) – men 49% to 26%, women 64% to 13%. While opinion on the greater influence on the community in general was evenly divided – religion 43%, politics 42%.
In 1943, Sir Keith Murdoch and Robert Menzies (both Presbyterians) called on Roy Morgan to ask him to interpret the 24% of people who ‘named other parties’ in the May 1943 Australia-wide Roy Morgan Gallup Poll, ‘Poll Shows Drift From Main Political Parties’. Using these results, Menzies decided that the only way he could return the United Australia Party (UAP) to Government was to create the Liberal Party, combining UAP, Country Party and supporters of minor parties, including the Queensland Women’s Electoral League. In 1944, Robert Menzies was instrumental in the formation of the Australian Liberal Party, and was to become Australia’s longest-serving Prime Minister, in office from 1949 until he retired on January 20, 1966.

“The relationship between KM [Sir Keith Murdoch] and Menzies held many complications, even contradictions.

Both men shared the view that Australia needed to revive the spirit of market-oriented enterprise and break away from the deeply entrenched acceptance of centralised government regulation of economic activity; KM had strongly supported the concept of a new political party embodying the liberal philosophy—an idea turned into reality by Menzies in founding the Liberal Party of Australia. KM recognised the intellectual power shown by Menzies, but questioned his electoral appeal...
In 1947 a defining exchange of letters between the politician and the journalist developed after *The Herald* ran the results of an opinion poll revealing that Menzies lacked voter appeal.”


Despite Menzies’ unpopularity, he won a close 1949 Federal Election on the issue of ‘bank nationalisation’.

The Catholic Acts (UK 1829, Van Diemen’s Land & New South Wales Acts, January 1830), or the issue of Catholic equality, made it possible for the formation of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) on April 9, 1955 – a splinter group of the Labor Party with a strong affiliation with the Catholic Church and Archbishop Mannix, in particular.

This kept the Menzies L-CP (L-NP today) Government in office from then until Whitlam won the 1972 Federal Election.
At the November 1966 Federal Election the Holt L-CP Government defeated the ALP with the aid of DLP preferences. Arthur Calwell retired on February 8, 1967 and Gough Whitlam became leader. New ALP leader Whitlam polled poorly in the November 1967 half Senate Election, again due to the L-CP receiving aid from DLP preferences (DLP polled 10%), resulting in much debate over whether Whitlam and the ALP should negotiate with the DLP.
A Roy Morgan Gallup Poll conducted in June 1968 found that, when electors were asked:

“If the ALP split into a group led by Dr. Cairns, and a group led by Mr. Whitlam and the DLP joined Mr. Whitlam’s group, which of the groups listed on that card would you then vote for?”

Of all electors 44% would have voted for a combined Whitlam ALP & DLP, 15% Cairns ALP, 26% Liberal, 6% Country, 1% Independent and 8% Unmarked.

On July 8, 1968, The Herald refused to publish this significant Roy Morgan Gallup Poll result.

During Roy Morgan’s 31-years of polling, from the first poll in September 1941 until the last Roy Morgan Gallup Poll conducted in November 1972, this was the only Roy Morgan Gallup Poll The Herald refused to publish. (From the end of 1972 to the end of 1991 and from January 1995 until November 27, 2001, the Morgan Gallup Poll was published – without influence – in Kerry Packer’s The Bulletin. The Morgan Poll was published in TIME from January 1992 until the end of 1994.)

If Whitlam, in 1968, had done a ‘Don Chipp’, he would have been Prime Minister four years earlier.

In late June/early July 1973, I answered the phone when Arthur Calwell called my father. I asked, “How are you now getting on with Whitlam?” Reply: “Gary, I wouldn’t be buried in the same graveyard, even if it were the size of the Northern Territory”. Arthur Calwell died on Sun. July 8, 1973!

3). The 1832 Representation of the People Act (commonly known as the Reform Act)

In 1832, the Reform Act changed forever ‘democracy’ in the United Kingdom and Colonies. For the first time people, (white males) other than prominent land owners could vote, enabling the rise of modern democracy in the UK. However, this still only equated to about one-in-seven adult men and the new Reform Act specifically disenfranchised women. It was a long time before women were able to vote. In 1918 after World War 1, women in the UK over the age of 30 were given the vote. However, it was not until 1928 that women under 30 were granted the right to vote on the same terms as men. (The 1928 Representation of the People Act, sometimes known as the Fifth Reform Act, was introduced and passed after a century of campaigning by women’s groups and sympathetic others, such as prominent political ‘liberal’ John Stuart Mill.)
Australia was the second country in the world (behind New Zealand) to extend suffrage to women, when South Australia granted women the right to vote in 1894. In 1902, the Commonwealth Government passed legislation to allow all white women to vote in Australia’s second Federal Election in 1903, although South Australian and Western Australian women were able to vote in the 1901 Federal Election as women’s suffrage had already been achieved in those States.

In 1908 Victoria was the last Australian State to grant women the vote. (Indigenous women could not vote until the 1962 amendment to the Commonwealth Electoral Act, which gave all Indigenous people the right to vote.)

4). The 1850 Secular Education Bill

In 1850 a UK Bill to promote the secular education of all the people was introduced by William Johnson Fox, husband of Mrs. Eliza Fox. It was the final UK reform that helped substantially to shape education in Victoria. The Bill was initially defeated on July 5, 1850 in the UK House of Commons, (287 votes to 58), as the ‘Establishment’ had no interest in advocating the education of the ‘working class’, and the ‘working class’ themselves had no real interest in education. The Bill was eventually passed as the Education Act 1870 and in Victoria as the Education Act in 1872, resulting in at least two years compulsory education for all children aged between five and 13.

William Johnson Fox, husband of Mrs Eliza Fox
by Eliza Florance Bindell
National Portrait Gallery, London

Although technically both were ‘self-governing’ colonies, not countries.
In Victoria, the minimum school-leaving age of 14 was introduced in 1872, it changed to 15 in 1943, and 16 from 2006. (New South Wales is yet to change the compulsory age to 16, but it is scheduled for 2009.)

In September 1949, a Roy Morgan Gallup Poll showed that majorities of Australians favoured 16-years as the school-leaving age for boys (62%) and girls (55%).

The 1872 Bill introduced secular education into Government schools.

In 1852 Victoria had non-religious schools and in the 1854 Budget education was allocated £155,000, while £869,000 went back to the UK to cover the cost of bringing New settlers to Victoria.

At this time, the issues around education focused on keeping children in school, religion being taught in Colony schools and Government-funding of church schools.
State-Aid to Religious Schools

The issue of state-aid for religious schools was vigorously debated in Victoria in the 1850s, leading up to the 1872 Education Act. Marcus Clarke in his weekly journal of satire, Humbug, vehemently opposed preferential treatment for Protestants and Catholics.

**Humbug: A Weekly Journal of Satire, Vol. 1, No. 1, Melbourne, publisher Marcus Clarke, September 8, 1869.**

Editorial:

“State-aid to Religion – The vexed question of State-aid to Religion seems nigh settlement. The opinion of the Country appears adverse to any division of loaves and fishes, unless such division be equitable.

The dissatisfaction with which the rumour of a speedy withdrawal of Government assistance was received by many of the clergy, only confirms us in our belief that such withdrawal is advisable. We are not among those who sneer at Religion; on the contrary, we have the deepest respect for good men, no matter of what creed, and hold that to advance the interests of Religion is to advance the interests of the State. But we do not believe such advancement will be affected by subsidising any particular sect: and in the eyes of all unprejudiced people, Protestants and Catholics are as much sectaries as are Wesleyans, Baptists or Independents… Either give an equal amount of substantial aid to each particular sect, or abolish the system of relief altogether. We think that the general opinion will be in favour of abolition.”

Today, we have the same debate over Commonwealth and State-Governments providing funds for the Catholic Systemic System and Independent non-Government schools for capital facilities and student costs.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN EARLY VICTORIA

The important role that women played in shaping Victoria can already be seen in crucial legislative changes – and all without the right to vote.

We can also glean a little insight into what life might have been like for women by looking at the women’s publications of the day.

Is the Property of Married Women Justly Protected by British Law?, a paper read by A. Geo. Dumas, Barrister-at-Law, at a Meeting of the Melbourne Debating Society, October 21, 1878.

The Australian Woman’s Magazine and Domestic Journal, No. 3, Melbourne, publisher W. H. Williams, June 1882.


Geoffrey Blainey’s book, Black Kettle and Full Moon, states that Australian women from the early 1800s played a crucial role in the social and educational process in Australia – women were the ‘teachers’ and ‘drivers’ of social justice, obtaining a vote in Federal politics in 1902 but without a vote in Victorian politics until 1908!
In 1882, eight women compositors were employed [by]…Massina and Co. They worked in separate rooms, were not permitted to mix with men, and were paid piece-work rates, though on a lower level than their male colleagues. The Typographical Society objected to their employment, but a compromise was reached, the firm undertaking to replace them with men as they left (The First Ninety Years, p. 110).

The employment of women and girls in various other capacities in the printing and publishing trade soon became general, however, Massina and Co. were the only Australian printers ever to have used their services as compositors (p. 110).

It is surprising to find women working in such a capacity so many years ago, when, generally speaking, the only positions open to them were in domestic service, shops, schools and hospitals (p. 110). History gives us nothing but the picture of a row of girls busy at their cases, their faces, innocent of powder and lipstick, pale in the light of the hissing gas jets, their swirling skirts pinned up to avoid the dust of the composing-room floor (p. 111).

[1884–1885]  
In 1884…nearly 100,000 copies of The Australian Melodist were sold… Gordon's Poems was another best-seller [with], 20,000 volumes being disposed of [sold] between 1880 and the end of the decade… The year 1885 must have been an unlucky one for women in love, over 1,000 copies of Men & How to Manage Them being bought, but the sales soon shrank, for in 1890 only thirty-one ladies wanted to learn the secret, and in 1893 a mere dozen thought it worth while to study the question. On the other hand, 134 acquired a new work, entitled How to Read Men, which presumably covered the same ground, while – not, let us hope, as a result – over three hundred copies of the new Divorce Act were sold during the following twelve months (pp. 111 – 112).

The first “Gallup Poll” my father, Roy Morgan, conducted was on ‘equal pay for men and women’. Survey began September 15, 1941 and on October 4, 1941 the first finding was release:- 59% of Australians agreed with equal pay. Sixty-seven years later, May 2008, a Morgan Poll found that 98% of Australians believe in equal pay for women – attitudes of Australians have changed!
PAY EQUALITY FOR WOMEN FAVORED BY 60 PER CENT.

Result Of Australia's First Gallup Poll

Should women receive the same pay as men for doing similar work? As a result of women's increasingly active part in our wartime economy keen interest is again being taken in the question.

It was put to a representative cross-section of the community recently in the first Gallup Poll to be held in Australia.

Nearly 60 per cent. of those interviewed declared that they favored equal pay for women.

This poll was conducted by Australian Public Opinion Polls (the Gallup Method), and the analysis of the answers throws an interesting light upon the views held by people of all occupations and grades of income.

Wording of the first question was: "Do you favor equal pay for men and women doing the same work?" Any spontaneous comments were recorded with the answers.

This table shows that nearly 60 per cent. of the cross-section interviewed were in favor of equal pay. Only 33 per cent. were against the idea and 8 per cent. were undecided. Apart from the undecided people, equality of pay was supported by six out of 10 men and seven out of every 10 women interviewed.

- Australia-wide opinion:
  - Favor equal pay: 59 per cent.
  - Against equal pay: 33 per cent.
  - Undecided: 8 per cent.
  - 100 per cent.

Opposition was stronger by better off people, among whom relatively few women work. A common reason given for a "no" answer was that "women's place is in the home." Some thought that women were temperamentally and physically not so fitted for wage earning.

Those in favor of equality usually based their decisions on the arguments of equal rights and the need for protecting wage standards. The second argument is reflected in the fact that working people are strongest supporters of equality of pay.

How People in Different Circumstances Look at the Question

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Against</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfortably off</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocracy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

People in the lower income groups who said "No" to the question often based their decision on the assumption that most women have not the same responsibilities as men. On the other hand, "Yes" votes were frequently cast on the grounds that most working women have dependents.

Partly, being far removed from the workshops and offices where men and women work shoulder to shoulder, were slightly less favorable to equal pay, but a substantial majority supported the idea.

Attributes of People in Different Localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Against</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital Cities</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cities &amp; towns</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
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</table>

Two out of three supporters of the Labor Party voted "Yes" on the question. Non-Labor people who had formed opinions on the subject were five to four in favor of equality.

Attributes of Party Supporters

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor voters</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other voters</td>
<td>60</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OTHER FINDINGS LATER

Other questions included in the same survey dealt with compulsory saving, official representation in Russia, how people felt about the last Government's basic war effort, Australian representation at meetings of the British War Cabinet, an all-party wartime Gracie featuring professional sport during wartime, experience with price control, and preference for taxation or inflation. Findings of the poll on these figures will be published as they become available.

It cannot be guaranteed that the poll gives exactly the same result as a full and expensive referendum. But the Gallup method in America and England has been proved to be a good indicator with a margin of error of only a small percentage.

The Gallup method, in brief, consists of obtaining opinions by personal interview, from a typical cross-section of people in all walks of life; in the various localities throughout Australia; and in different economic circumstances; in as nearly as possible the same proportions as they exist in the population as a whole.

Interviewers are warned against any voice inflection or action that might bias people's replies. They are instructed to repeat the question, if need be, in the exact words, but under no circumstances to simplify or explain it.

Pros and cons of public opinion polls have been extensively studied in various research foundations, and extensive literature on the subject exists. All knowledge and experience has been carefully applied to the Australian organisation, in the creation of which The Herald took the initiative, cooperating with newspapers in the other States. It is proposed to conduct a series of Australia-wide polls or important public questions to help indicate what is in the public mind.
In the 1940s and 1950s Roy Morgan “Gallup Polls” were conducted on the many issues relevant to women:

Australian Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll”,
Survey 6, Q 6, April 30, 1942

SINGLE WOMEN FOR WAR WORK
Only One In 10 Says “No”

Only one person in 10 answered “No” to the question—“Should single women be called up for war work as they are needed?”—asked in an Australia-wide Gallup Poll during May.

Since March the Government has had power to employ anyone anywhere for the war effort. A census of manpower and womanpower was taken in April to disclose the untapped resources.

Already most young men have been drafted into the armed forces and older men are being called-up for the Civil Construction Corps. As yet, however, nothing has been done to assure that women will be available for the auxiliary services or for the numerous munition factories now nearing completion.

To ascertain the public’s attitude toward the problem, the interviewers of Australian Public Opinion Polls—the Gallup Poll of Australia—called on men and women of all ages in a full range of economic circumstances in all States.

Of each 100 interviewed:

82 had no objection to single women being called up as needed;
18 were against applying the draft to women; and
8 were undecided.

TYPICAL COMMENTS

The general attitude is indicated by the comments:

“It’s an all-in war. We should all be in it”; and

“It would release men for military service.”

A minority, however, added qualifications such as—(1) “Only if absolutely necessary”; (2) “Clerical and light work only” or (3) “Provided all are called up first.”

Some suggested upper age limits of 30, 35, 40 or 50.

Typical comments by people who are against the call-up of single women were:

Women are not required. Plenty of men are available; and

They can volunteer if they want to.

A carpenter in St. Peter’s (Sydney) said: “Even in wartime, a woman’s place is in the home.” And a photographer in Clifton Hill expressed much the same attitude when he said, “War is a man’s job.” The voting, however, shows that such sentiments have been suppressed by the vast majority of Australians.

WOMEN’S OPINIONS

Approval for applying the draft to single women was stronger among women, at 80-in-the-100, than among men, 80-in-the-100.

Older people were not quite so keen on the idea, but even among them the “Yes” vote was 78-in-the-100.

Wealth or poverty had little bearing on the voting, and there was hardly any variation State by State, except in South Australia, where approval reached 90-in-the-100.

Among Labor Party supporters the “Yes” vote was 78-in-the-100, compared with 83-in-the-100 among people who usually vote U.A.P. or Country Party.

Australian Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll”,
Survey 35, Q 1, July 28, 1945

Jobs For Men Before Women

MEN should have first preference for jobs in the post-war period, according to a recent Gallup Poll.

Women are almost as insistent as men that this should be so. They say it is the man’s place to provide for the family.

A REPRESENTATIVE cross-section of Australian voters was asked:

After the war, do you think employers should give men the first chance of jobs—or should men and women have equal opportunity?

Almost eight out of 10 people answered “men first”:

- Men Both Under first, equal, cited
- Men’s opinions 80 18 2
- Women’s opinions 76 22 2

Replies are identical in the age, economic and political groups.

“Man is the breadwinner” and “A woman’s place is in the home” were repeated throughout the Commonwealth.

The minority who think opportunity should be equal usually said something like:

“Widows and single women have a right to live” (Taylor’s wife, Redfern, N.S.W.), or

“Women and men gave equal service in the war and should have equal opportunity in peace” (wife of carpenter, Camberwell, Vic.).
THE ROLE OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

The important contribution of immigrants to Australia is today well recognised. However, until 1973 Australia still had the vestiges of the White Australia Policy, which was eventually abolished by the new Whitlam Labor Government in 1973. The White Australia Policy can be traced back to the 1850s and white miners’ resentment toward the industrious Chinese diggers, which accumulated
in violence on the Buckland River in Victoria and at Lambing Flat (now Young) in New South Wales.

In response, the Governments of Victoria and New South Wales as early as 1861 (repealed 1867) first introduced restrictions on Chinese immigration.

Up until the Second World War, Australians were against large numbers of immigrants, even from the UK.

In February 1943, the first Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll” on immigration, asking about immigration after the war, found that white immigration was strongly supported but coloured immigration was opposed (51%). In 1944, Jewish settlement in Australia was opposed by 47% of Australians, with only 37% in favor. Germans were not wanted, Italians were not wanted, and in 1947 58% of Australians were opposed to Australia joining a worldwide plan to take in some of the homeless Jewish people of Europe.
The Chinese were not the only minority group resented by the mainly Anglo-Saxon and Irish Victorian population. Working-class migrants from Europe, such as Italians and Greeks, were also held in low esteem.

The passing of bi-partisan Calwell Migrant Plan in 1948 (approved of by 51% of Australians) was the beginning of Australia’s largest migrant intake since the ‘gold rush’, changing Australia forever.

Non-European migration to Australia did not occur until after the Menzies Government (elected 1949), when Immigration Minister Harold Holt allowed 800 non-European refugees to remain in Australia and Japanese war brides to enter Australia. (During this period Roy Morgan was contacted regularly by Harold Holt regarding public opinion on this issue.)

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**Most Australians Oppose Taking Homeless Jews**

According to a Gallup Poll taken in March, almost 6 out of every 10 Australians think this country should not join in a world-wide plan to take in some of the homeless Jewish people of Europe.

There are said to be 600,000 Jewish people in Europe looking for homes in other countries, and it has been suggested that a certain number should be taken in each year by every country, on a population basis. People interviewed were told of this suggestion and were then asked: “Do you think Australia should, or should not, take part in such a plan?”

Of every 100 interviewed:
- 58 say Australia should not take part.
- 37 say Australia should, and 5 are undecided.

Neither sex, age, nor political affiliation makes any difference to people’s opinions. Analysis by occupation, however, shows that professional people and business executives are almost equally divided on the question. On the other hand, 2 out of 3 semi-skilled and unskilled workers are opposed to any extension of Jewish immigration to Australia.

**People’s Comments**

Analysis of comments indicates that much of the opposition to Jewish immigration arises from the acute housing shortage. “We can’t find homes for our own people,” the comment of a grocer, of Essendon, Vic., is typical. Another large group thinks there are enough foreigners in Australia already.

Most of the minority who favor the plan to admit more Jewish people say it will help increase Australia’s population. Others with the humanitarian aspect in mind, say: “Live and let live.”

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**Calwell Migrant Plan Approved by Public**

Mass migration from England, as proposed by Immigration Minister Calwell, is approved by most Australians.

There is, however, a big minority (largely women) who would limit the number of migrants from UK until the housing shortage is eliminated.

Mr Calwell announced his plan on March 5, and within a few days the Gallup Poll’s nation-wide network of trained interviewers began asking people:

*Do you think the NUMBER of immigrants from England to Australia should be unrestricted or limited?*

This “sampling referendum” is an excellent example of modern high-speed democracy and Australia’s reaction to the Calwell Plan can now be stated as:—

- 51 per cent, favor unrestricted immigration from England to Australia;
- 47 per cent, want some limit on the flow of migrants; and
- 2 per cent, have no opinion on this subject.

Most of those who want to limit British migration are women. Of men, however, 60 per cent favor unrestricted mass migration from U.K.

**Housing Shortage**

People were asked to give reasons for their opinions, and the explanation for so many voting for “limited migration” is provided by the frequency of remarks such as: “We can’t house our own people.” Relatively few expressed
Let Germans Compete At Olympic Games

Most Australians would not object to Germans competing in the next Olympic Games. Opinion is evenly divided on whether Japanese should also take part.

The Games will be held at Helsinki, Finland, in 1952. The International Olympic Committee has recommended inviting both former enemy countries to send representatives. If the Finns do invite Germans and Japanese, they will, of course, establish a precedent for the 1956 Games in Melbourne. Consequently, Australians had a real interest when interviewers for the Gallup Poll asked the two questions—

(1) Would you favor, or oppose, German athletes competing again in the Olympic Games?

(2) What about Japanese athletes?

The answers were—

Germans at Olympics:
In favor... 80 per cent.
Opposed... 15 per cent.
Undecided... 5 per cent.

Japanese at Olympics:
In favor... 47 per cent.
Opposed... 47 per cent.
Undecided... 6 per cent.

About Germans, men and women think alike.
Women, however, are 5-to-4 against Japanese at Olympics, although men are 8-to-4 in favor.

People in each of the six states held almost identical opinions on both questions. It is noteworthy that people in the twenties and thirties are 10 per cent more favorable than people of both questions than are the "fifty and over."

Issued by Aust. Public Opinion Polls, 352 Collins St., Melbourne

Let some Asians settle here

In recent years there has been a marked swing of public opinion in favor of allowing some Asians to come and live here permanently, the Gallup Poll finds.

In this survey, in December, people were asked whether they favored or opposed allowing a certain number of Asians to settle here each year.

People interviewed in Queensland and New South Wales are fifty-fifty on this question, but in other States most people would allow some Asians to settle here.

Australia-wide opinion is:

Admit some Asians 55 p.c.
Admit none 34 p.c.
Undecided 11 p.c.

All age groups from the twenties to the sixties, and all denominational groups, gave answers like those above.

Six out of 10 Liberal and Country Party voters favor admitting some Asians. Labor voters answered:
Admit some 60 p.c.; admit none 39 p.c.; Undecided 11 p.c.

People in favor of letting some Asians settle here were asked: "About how many each year from all of Asia?" and "Of that number, would you have a fixed quota from each Asian country, or would you have..."
**English and Italian Grandmothers**

Like many Australians born either just before or just after the Second World War, most of the best insights I received about Victoria’s history, apart from my parents, came from my grandmothers (both my grandfathers’ Morgan and Plant died when I was very young). At the time, and for many years later, I believed them to be from completely different ethnic backgrounds – one ‘English’ and the other ‘Italian’ – today I know how wrong I was!

**‘English’ Grandmother’s Family, Mary Eliza (May) Williams, 1876 – 1969**

In 1850, my great-great-grandfather, Dr William Florance – a Quaker, (grandfather of my grandmother Morgan, nee Williams) visited Sydney and the small Port of Melbourne as the ships doctor on the ‘Troy’.

William Florance liked Melbourne, so in 1853 returned in the ‘temperance’ ship ‘California’ – however Melbourne was then far from a ‘temperance’ town with masses of young men searching for their gold fortunes!

Between 1853 and 1855, Dr Florance’s schoolmistress wife, Eliza Lola (nee Masséna), and nine of the 16 Florance children, arrived in Melbourne – at the time, such a large family emigrating as one was an uncommon occurrence. The Masséna family initially came from Levens near Nice, a part of France from 1792 until 1814 when it reverted to Sardinia, until again a part of France, under Napoleon the Third, in 1860.

**‘Italian’ Grandmother – Beatrice Marie Plant (nee Porena), 1882 – 1953**

In 1888 Ludovino Fausto Mario Porena (born Rome 1852, in 1876 married Beatrice Dimera Maria Angelina Anne Galatrona Poggi) with his 5 year old daughter Beatrice Marie Plant, born 1882 (nee Porena, Gary Morgan’s grandmother) arrived in Sydney from Rome, later moved to Melbourne and in 1891 was the honorary Italian Consular Secretary.

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6 From January 1853 to February 1855, the Florance family (Dr William Florance’s children) migrated to Australia in several groups. Alfred (aged 12) and Hubert (13) arrived on the ‘Medway’ in January 1853, the majority of the family arrived in July 1854 on the ‘Maria Hay’: Eliza (42), Roland (22), Fanny (16), Matilda (14), Mary (13), Egbert (7), Charles (5) and Mary Jane (3) and, finally, William Henry arrived on the ‘Canaan’ in February 1855. In 1857, the eighth Florance child, Mary Eliza Florance, married William Henry Williams and had 7 children, including my grandmother (Mary Eliza) – today I have many Florance and Masséna (Massina) relatives in Australia!
Porena in 1896 was a co-founder of the Dante Alighieri Society and was Melbourne’s last Honorary Italian Consul, in 1901 representing Italy at Australia’s Federation celebrations with my step-great grandmother, Sarah Elizabeth Louisa (nee Plant, born 1864, cousin of my grandfather Bertram Marples Plant, born 1880). Up until Federation there were few professional Italians in Australia. (See The Italians in Australia, p. 54)

In 1899, Porena, as Acting Consul in Melbourne, warned the Italian Government in Rome that “foreign professional people cannot find employment in these colonies; in fact, while some years ago two Italian architects were practising their profession in Victoria with moderate success, recently one was compelled to return to Italy and the other lives, almost forgotten, in a small township in the outback.” (The Italians in Australia, pp. 48–49)

In 1901, Porena warned yet again that “the future of Italians in Australia is in the hands of these few malefactors”, since political crimes eventually committed by them would undoubtedly result in “the expulsion from Australia of all Italians”.

In 1901 there were only 1,525 Italians in Victoria – 1,289 men and 236 women! Gianfranco Cresciani described Italians in Australia as “Australia came face-to-face with the differences existing between the two Italies, the two cultures, the two societies represented by the vastly different kinds of Italians who had landed on her shores. One was the small, mostly invisible nucleus of educated middle-class Italians – those who came to Australia as consular representatives, as traders and businessmen, executives of shipping companies or just as visiting celebrities. The other society comprised the overwhelming majority of migrants: destitute peasants, illiterate or semi-literate, who would at best be neglected and forgotten by the governments of liberal as well as fascist Italy….In fact barriers against Italian emigration to Australia were set up almost immediately after Federation. The Immigration Restriction Act No. 17 of 1901 not only prevented the landing in Australia of people who were illiterate, but also of people who had obtained a work contract from an Australian employer.” (The Italians in Australia, pp. 54-55)

Anti-Italian propaganda was prevalent in the 1890s and from Federation some influential sections of the Australian Press showed a “discernible bias against migrants” (The Italians in Australia, p. 57). The newspaper Smith’s Weekly distinguished itself for its “rambling xenophobia and unfounded accusations” (The Italians in Australia, p. 57). In 1904 a “wave of anti-Italian feeling broke out in Western Australia, where the Press and the Labor Party accused the Italians of being ‘scabs’...The accusations of
Italians selling their labour cheaply, of being scabs, was perhaps the most consistent slur, and two Royal Commissions, one in Western Australia in 1904 and the other in Queensland in 1925, were set up to enquire into the reasons behind the widespread anti-Italian feeling so prevalent among the local residents.” The pages of Smith’s Weekly “were filled with vicious anti-Italian propaganda, a fair example being the slur printed in 1926 that Italians were a ‘dirty Dago pest’ and ‘that greasy flood of Mediterranean scum that seeks to defile and debase Australia’.” (The Italians in Australia, p. 57)

In the 1930s, the Dante Alighieri Society in Italy was linked to the rise of fascism. As my Italian great-grandfather was involved in the Dante Alighieri Society in the 1890s, during the war my Italian grandmother was made to report to the Australian Government authorities on a regular basis, while my two uncles (Arthur Plant and Bertram Plant) fought in New Guinea and my mother (Marie, nee Plant) worked in an arms factory in Richmond!

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN VICTORIA'S FORMATION

Today we have public opinion polls recording the views of the public. When Victoria was first settled, there were no opinion polls – the issues were raised, debated and recorded by newspapers and a few magazines, books and a limited number of thought-provoking public documents.

**LETTER FROM EBENEZER SYME TO JOHN PASCOE FAWKNER CONCERNING THE GOLD Diggers’ ADVOCATE**

My Dear Sir,

An apology is due to you for the apparent want of courtesy which Mr Black has shown in addressing you, & acknowledging your kindness in sending the MS of your interesting history, as well as in transmitting the slips you requested. But I can assure you that this is only apparent—not real. Mr Black has been laid inside for some time with a serious attack of inflammation in the lungs, & has been reduced very low in consequence. And as he was recovering he received intelligence by the Queen of the South of the death of his wife in England, to whom he was much attached, & whose loss he has severely felt.

In consequence of this illness, many things have been neglected in connection with the paper, at least in the department of correspondence which Mr Black himself attended. As I hold my appointment on the Arsena, & can only devote a limited amount of attention to the Advocate, I have not been able to supply Mr Black's place in this respect, though the circumstances of the paper now induce me to write to you on this occasion. When you sent me the MS, the paper was in a precarious state, owing to the sudden appearance of winter, & the necessity of employing pack-horses. Had that necessity continued, the paper would have come down, & in that case your MS was, on my advice, not inserted, as I thought it would be better to take advantage of a proposal which you said you had met in prospect of the paper continuing & so finishing the series of your articles. We deemed it just to notify you in time to retain the MS till a better prospect dawned. That prospect has come.

From the new Postage Act having fixed a paid pro quo for taking newspapers, it seemed to us fair to try them, & sent our country papers through that medium. The Postmaster General not only offered no objections, but every assistance was rendered by the officials at the Post Office. This has continued for several weeks, & has enabled us to keep square with the Herald people who still print it. Ante only have been made through the government to prevent the P.O. from taking our papers, but without effect. The P.M. General seems resolved to carry out the act, whether it be to their disadvantage or otherwise. Now, all that the paper needs is a little capital to get an office of our own. We receive about £120 weekly from the sale of the Gold Fields, £100 of which goes for printing. We can print it ourselves for £48. See what a profit the Herald has, & what a saving we get. That saving would be partly, Franklyn (printers’ brokers) offers to set up an office for from £400 to £500—a half cash, half bills. What we should save from the Herald would pay this in a few weeks. Can you possibly help us? I put the question this frankly in your letter, Mr Black’s behalf, for I have faith in the concern if it were on its own legs, & because I deeply sympathize with the noble effort Black has made to create an organ for the diggers. I have no share in the paper, & have not been able to pay so much attention to it as I would have wished, or as I shd do were it success placed beyond doubt by having the requisite machinery. I believe that with £200 it cd be made into both a powerful organ of opinion, & a paying speculation. You can protect yourself by the limited partnership plan or by lending us the machinery, holding it in your own name. It never was in such a promising state. Its establishment on the gold fields is long since a fixed fact, & a little money wd make it a bonâ fide property. With my best respects to Miss Fawkner, & wishing you a pleasant sojourn at Sydney,

Melbourne, July 6, 1854

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,
E. Syme

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Melbourne’s first newspaper, (See page 27) the *Melbourne Advertiser* was first published by John Pascoe Fawkner from January 1, 1838. It became *The Port Phillip Patriot* and *Melbourne Advertiser* from February 6, 1839 to September 30, 1845 when it ceased publishing. It became the *Melbourne Daily News* from October 9, 1848 until incorporated in *The Argus* on January 1, 1852.
Of the 75 newspapers that began in Australia in the period 1840 – 1845, there were only six operating in 1855 and only one in Victoria – the **Geelong Advertiser** (first published on November 21, 1840). **The Argus** was first published on June 1, 1846 and **The Age** on October 17, 1854. When Victoria was founded, publishing was not a big business. The early settlers looked forward to newspapers printed in England. From the late 1850s until the Second World War, many English newspapers and other periodicals were re-printed in Australia – demonstrating a continued demand for news from Britain. Today, the Internet has revived access to news world-wide.

An example of a newspaper sent to Australia from London (and later published in Melbourne) is **Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper**. Shown below is the April 1, 1854 London edition of **Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper**, Vol. 1, No. 14, John Cassell. It includes two pages with illustrations; **Melbourne, Port Phillip**.

The first edition of **Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper** printed in Melbourne was **Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper** and **The Melbourne Advertiser**, (Vol.1-No.1) published September 23, 1856 by Slater, Williams & Hodgson.

London edition, **Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper**, Vol.1-No.14, April 1, 1854

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**Melbourne’s ‘serious, radical and provocative’ media**

Publishing in Victoria in the 1850s and later was much broader than just newspapers it covered journals and newsletters.

**In the 1850s, Melbourne in particular became the home of the ‘serious, radical and provocative’ media** many years before **The Bulletin** was first published in Sydney on January 31, 1880.
It was not long before the newly-established Victorian Government, Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe (July 1, 1851, submitted resignation Dec. 1852, relieved May 6, 1854), Governor Sir Charles Hotham (June 22, 1854 – Dec. 31, 1855), and others received the attention of Melbourne’s ‘serious, radical and provocative’ media, from publishers such as Hough, Heath & Williams and contributor G. E. Thomson (1853); George Black and H. R. Nicholls (1854); Slater, Williams, & Hodgson (1854); Ebenezer Syme who in July 1854 wrote for The Argus while contributing to The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser; The Age (1854); W. H. Williams (Dec. 1856); A. H. Massina & Co. (1859); and finally Marcus Clarke (1868).

William H. Williams (1831–1910), my great-grandfather, arrived in Melbourne in October 1852. Aged 21 he soon began employment as the printer ‘overseer’ at The Melbourne Morning Herald with George Hough and Henry Heath. (In 1839 George Cavenagh moved from Sydney to Melbourne and on January 3, 1840 began The Port Phillip Herald before changing to The Melbourne Morning Herald in January 1849, and on September 8, 1855 changing again to The Herald which became an afternoon newspaper on January 4, 1869.)

In 1953 the three men in partnership purchased the firm Coonebee & Mould and established Hough, Heath & Williams with Heath as the registered printer and publisher. On October 28, 1853 they published the ‘first voice of the gold diggers’ – The Diggers’ Advocate (See page 14) – more than a year before the Eureka Stockade uprising on Sunday December 3, 1854. The printing and publishing firm Hough, Heath & Williams was “short-lived” with The Diggers’ Advocate closing after six issues.

In January 1854 William H. Williams established his own printing firm at 79 Elizabeth Street and printed Dr L.L. Smith’s Medical Journal of Diseases of the Colony.

On February 24, 1854, The Diggers’ Advocate was again published by William Williams as The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser with George Black as editor, H. R. Nicholls assistant editor. The first edition was printed in Melbourne by F Sinnett & Co, (See page 16, No.7-Vol.1) who also printed & published The Melbourne Morning Herald.

Then later in 1854 William Williams, with George Slater, established the printing and publishing firm Slater, Williams and Hodgson at 94 Bourke Street East and Market Square Castlemaine.

On July 6, 1854 Ebenezer Syme sent a letter to John Pascoe Fawkner concerning the then printing of The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser by Herald ‘people’ – F Sinnett for William H. Williams (See page 67).
From September 1854 to 1856 Slater, Williams, and Hodgson printed and published numerous publications which give an insight into social and political Victoria.

In 1855 Slater, Williams and Hodgson published Th. Berigny, Medical Philosophy: An Appeal to the people of Australia, for the Candid Investigation of Practical Medicine, lectures on Homeopathy, delivered in the Protestant Hall, Melbourne.

Also in 1855 Slater, Williams, and Hodgson published for an anonymous author: “One who has handled the spade”, Bounty Immigration: A letter to the Members of the Legislative Council, Melbourne & Castlemaine.

‘Bounty Immigration’ was the earliest known critical comment on the allocation of funds for immigration and for schools in the 1854 Budget. In the 1854 Budget speech, the Council stipulated that £155,000 be allocated for education and “…£400,000 should be transmitted, according to law, for the purpose of promoting immigration from the United Kingdom.” It also stipulated “That this Council cannot sanction, either as a loan or as an appropriation, the sum of £869,000, being an amount of money solemnly guaranteed by Act of Parliament for the purposes of emigration. (Resolutions of the Legislative Council, passed on the 13th of December, 1854… Mr O’Shanassy’s Speech.)

“With reference to ‘the misappropriated moiety of the land fund, it had been defended as merely borrowing from the left hand to the right. But they overlooked the wrong done to the poor of Great Britain and Ireland, who were not represented in the House, but who were so deeply interested.” (Mr Mollison’s Speech.)
In 1855 Slater, Williams, and Hodgson, Melbourne & Castlemaine, published *Rusticus*, *How to Settle in Victoria, or, Instructions on the purchase and occupations of the land, with observations on gardening and farming, the growth of the vine and other fruit trees, the nature and quality of the Australian soils and on the use of manures*. …

Other titles published by Slater, Williams, and Hodgson included, *Black and White List; The Victorian Electors’ Guide*, *The News Letter of Australasia*, first published in July 1856 by George Slater and printed by W. H. Williams - see below. See other W. H. Williams publications shown on Introduction page ix, pages 14, 55, 70, 72, 73, 74, 124, 141 and Appendix 1a & 1b - pages 86, 87 & 88.

In 1856 Slater, Williams and Hodgson, Melbourne & Castlemaine printed and published for Daniel Bunce his second edition, *Language of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria, and other Australian Districts: with parallel translations and familiar specimens in dialogue as a guide to Aboriginal Protectors, and others engaged in ameliorating their condition*. (In 1846 Daniel Bunce explored Australia ‘east-to-west’ with Ludwig Leichhardt, Bunce’s second wife was John Batman’s youngest daughter, Pelonomena.)

In 1856 George Slater published and William Williams printed *The Settlement of John Batman in Port Phillip from His Own Journal*. (See page 124.)

In 1856 George Slater and William Williams also printed and published *The Journal of Australasia and The News Letter of Australasia*.


In 1857 William Williams as sole-proprietor of his own business *W. H. Williams* located at 87 Brunswick St, Collingwood, printed and published one of Melbourne’s first suburban newspapers, the *Collingwood and Richmond Observer* (See below, September 12, 1857 issue).

**Samuel Winter** (1857) and **Alfred Massina** (about 1858) joined *W. H. Williams* as apprentices. In 1871 Winter, Massina with John Halfey, purchased the evening Herald. In 1902 Alfred Massina was Inaugural Chairman, The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd and Samuel Winter Managing Editor. (See page 75.)
In 1860 W. H. Williams moved his business to 23 Post Office Place, between Queen and Elizabeth Streets, followed by 72 Little Collins Street West, and then 83 Queens Street. From 1865 to 1867 The Australian Monthly Magazine, Melbourne, was published and printed by W. H. Williams at 23 Post Office Place. In May 1866 it contained Marcus Clarke’s earliest publications under the *nom de plume* of ‘Mark Scrivener’.


(*See Appendix 1b for front covers of publications*)
THE AUSTRALIAN
MUSICAL & DRAMATIC REVIEW:
A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

No. 2.
MELBOURNE: MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1866.

THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC REVIEW.
All communications for the Editor to be addressed to Mr. H. Compton, Musical and Dramatic Agency, 33 Collins street east.

THE AUSTRALIAN MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC REVIEW will be forwarded direct from the office, through the Post, for 3s. for the half year (payable in advance).

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Advertisements, when inserted by the half year, will be taken at a reduction of twenty per cent.

NOTICE.
THE MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC REVIEW is published for the Proprietor, the 1st of every month, at 33 Collins street east, and sold by the Music and Book Sellers in the principal towns of the Australian colonies.

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All Advertising for the "Australian Musical and Dramatic Review" must be sent, not later than the 5th of each month, to the office, 33 Collins street east.

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ATTENDS or receives Pupils in Singing, the Pianoforte, or Harmonium, at Mr. Glen's, music warehouse, Collins street, or at his private residence, 4 Alma terrace, Chapel street, St. Kilda.

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THE VICTORIAN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, 119 Collins street east. Instruction in the various branches of a thorough Musical Education can be obtained. For terms apply to Herr Schul, principal.

HEERR THEHL.
ALL communications to be addressed 146 Collins street east.

MADAME STUTTAFORD
BEGS that all communications referring to Concert Engagements or Pupils may be addressed to her residence, Point Hill, South Yarra.

LADIES and Gentlemen desirous of joining an AMATEUR OPERATIC PARTY now forming, please communicate with "Crotchet," office of this paper.

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Professor of Elocution.

COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to Mr. Compton, 33 Collins street east.

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M. CHARLES H. COMPTON will be happy to make arrangements for delivering the following LECTURES:—
1. The Luscious Side of Life.
2. Novels and Novellae.
5. Old Times.

For the musical lectures a pianoforte will be required. For terms, &c., apply to Mr. C., office of this paper.

http://www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/200
In 1856, Alfred Henry Massina (See page 89-91, changed from Masséna) his wife and baby, arrived in Melbourne on the George Marshall. Massina initially went to the goldfields while his family stayed in Melbourne, however he returned to Melbourne around 1858, destitute and disenchanted, and began his Melbourne ‘printing life’ as an apprentice working for his cousin’s son-in-law, William Williams. Also working for Williams, was a young Samuel Winter. From this time and for more than 40 years, Williams, Winter and Massina were significant contributors to Melbourne’s newspaper and magazine publishing and printing industry, involving – in their day – many ‘serious, radical and provocative’ newspapers, magazines, journals and other publications.

**The Age and the Eureka Stockade, December 3, 1854**

[Dec 1854]
The *George Marshall* was a 13-year-old full-rigged ship, frigate built, of 1,361 tons register… What was even more to the point, she (*The George Marshall*) carried a qualified surgeon. The ship was crowded with over three hundred passengers, few of whom had ever been to sea before. (*The First Ninety Years*, pp. 15-16.)

[April 1855]
When the *George Marshall* plunged her anchor into the mud off Williamstown, she joined a fleet of thirty-seven full-rigged ships, sixty-four barques, fifteen small steamers, and innumerable brigs and schooners (p. 19).

Sandridge, Watercolour, by Edmund Thomas, c.1853
(The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd collection)
Upon reaching Melbourne, the trial of the ringleaders (of the Eureka Stockade) was in its last stages, and one of the first things the disembarking passengers read in *The Age* (founded October 17, 1854) – which claimed a circulation of four thousand, and proudly boasted that none of its advertisements were dummies – was the report of their acquittal. Possibly young Massina, used to the law-abiding sentiments of the English press, was amazed to read that – “The Attorney-General did everything that an unscrupulous, factious, heartless Crown lawyer could do to induce the successive juries to return a verdict of ‘guilty’, but it was all in vain; the juries were inflexibly upright, and would not be either cajoled or bullied.”

The same newspaper (*The Age*) added that the trial was: “…as criminal a piece of folly, and as gross a burlesque on law and justice as ever was enacted by the authorities in any part of the British Dominions at any period of British history. The Lieutenant-Governor (Charles La Trobe) is thoroughly and universally despised; there is but one sentiment respecting him pervading the whole community; he has no supporters, no party, no friends”. Journalism packed a punch in those days! (p. 21.)

In 1868, Samuel Winter founded the *Advocate*, a Catholic Weekly, with William Williams (printer) and Alfred Massina it published from 1868 to 1872. “One day when there was insufficient money in the till to pay the staff, Massina saved the day by arriving in a cab with five hundred pounds in cash” (p. 116). In 1871, Winter, Massina with John Halfey purchased the evening *Herald*, and its price changed to a penny then in 1881 Winter founded the *Sportsman*, which later became the Herald’s *Sporting Globe*.

In 1867 The *Australian Monthly Magazine* was bought by Clarson, Massina, & Co. and its name changed to The Colonial Monthly. In 1868 The *Colonial Monthly* was sold to Marcus Clarke. The *Colonial Monthly* lives in Australian literary history because of its brilliant writers, including Adam Lindsay Gordon, Henry Kendall, George Walstab and Marcus Clarke himself. (Redmond Barry appointed Marcus Clarke as Secretary to the Trustees of the National Library and Museum Marcus Clarke was a member of the Melbourne Club from April 1868 until he became insolvent, for the first time, in July 1874! He is looked on in Australian literary history as a traditional erratic genius, dying in 1881 at the age of 35.)
State Library of Victoria,
Oil on canvas.
Attributed to Jacques Carabain c. 1880

Roy Morgan collection


Roy Morgan collection
Melbourne Newspapers and Journals in the 1860s [1860s]

“In comparison with other trades in the 1860s, journeymen printers were fairly well paid, about three pounds a week being the ruling rate… The principal trouble seems to have been the excessive employment of boy labour… It was a long time before the juvenile labour question was settled, but it would appear that, almost from the first, Clarson, Massina, & Co.’s establishment was regarded as a ‘good union shop’, even when such places were rare. The conditions in the printing trade were generally a little ahead of the standards of the time. Two o’clock closing on Saturday afternoon was instituted as far back as 1857, in marked contrast to many other trades which had to wait years for a weekly half-day holiday. Later, in the ‘seventies, Clarson, Massina, & Co. became, through The Australian Journal, strong advocates of the Eight Hours Movement, then regarded as ‘a most radical suggestion, and one likely to lead to the decline and fall of the country’.” (The First Ninety Years, pp. 33-34.)

“The greater portion of the newspaper press has either ignored the existence of the magazine or criticised it in a manner which neither reflected credit upon their judgement nor evinced a friendly feeling towards a publication of this nature.” It is ‘sad’ to read that: “These remarks apply chiefly to the newspapers of Victoria; in other colonies The Australian Monthly Magazine has been welcomed by the newspaper press. Modern newspapers and magazines usually maintain a sort of armed neutrality among themselves, but the morning paper of the ‘fifties’ and ‘sixties’ was worth reading not only for what it had to say about public questions, but for its opinions of ‘our reptile contemporaries’, among which, apparently, the unfortunate Australian Monthly Magazine was included.”

In May 1866 The Australian Monthly Magazine published Marcus Clarke’s first work, at the same time he joined the staff of The Argus and The Australasian.

[1866] “For a mere boy, as Clarke then was, the quality of his work was amazing. No other Australian writer of the same age has shown talent so precocious.” (p. 80)

“Whether due to press opinions or to its own inability to interest, The Australian Monthly Magazine did not prosper. In 1867 Clarson, Massina, & Co. bought it. Perhaps they were doing so well with The Australian Journal that they imagined that they could put the other magazine on its feet. Their first move was to change its name to The Colonial Monthly.” (p. 46.) Unfortunately The Colonial Monthly was doomed and was sold to Marcus Clarke (aged 21) in 1868.
From Michael Cannon, The Land Boomers, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966

The financial crash in the early 1890s, bankrupted many prominent Melburnians, most of whom survived to see another day because of the then company and insolvency laws, under which formal bankruptcy could be avoided if creditors agreed to compound the debts of firms or individuals, with the approval of the court. The 1894 Victorian election resulted in a humiliating defeat for the conservatives, including people such as the Speaker, Thomas Bent (beaten in Brighton for the first time in nearly twenty-five years), Sir Bryan O’Loghlen (crushingly defeated at Port Fairy), Alexander McKinley and Thomas Langdon (both defeated in Toorak) and Joseph Harris (who lost South Yarra).

It was a sweeping victory for The Liberal-Protectionist Party, whose candidates were heartily supported by The Age, which reported that: “The country has spoken, and its voice is a rout for Toryism… The Patterson Government, bad as it was, was a sort of blessing in disguise. The very monstrousness of its sins made the populace revolt, and Parliament is swept as with a broom by a fiery breath of public indignation” (p. 37).
George Turner headed the ‘cleansed Parliament’, with Isaac Isaacs as Attorney-General (p. 38). The consequences of this change in government were far-reaching: reform of the solvency laws, reform of the company laws, and reform of the banking system.

In 1894, Joseph Winter and W. A. Trenwith established the first embryonic Parliamentary Labor Party in Australia with 16 members. Joseph Winter, a relative of Samuel Winter, was M.L.A. for South Melbourne “was a paper-ruler” journalist and former President of the Trades Hall Council. Winter was made Chairman of the Royal Commission on State Banking, which in 1895 reported adversely on the private bank’s “unsafe policy of investment” during the boom (p. 200). This led to the establishment of a “state-credit foncier system”, which later became the State Bank of Victoria. Joseph Winter managed to stave off his creditors just before his premature death in 1896 aged 43.

When the day of reckoning came, Joseph Winter had accumulated debts of 50,000 pounds and could only repay threepence in the pound. In 1892, Frederick Derham, went bankrupt with 550,000 pounds and made a secret conversation with his creditors of a penny in the pound. Member for Toorak and newspaper publisher, Alexander McKinley (*The Daily Telegraph* and *Melbourne Punch*), also made a secret conversation and paid threepence in the pound (1895). In 1892, Benjamin Josman Fink (B. J. Fink) had debts of over 1.5 million pounds, and paid a half-penny in the pound before departing for London forever. His brother, Theodore Fink, avoided bankruptcy twice in the same year, paying his creditors three shillings in the pound the first time and sixpence in the pound the second. Joseph Harris MLA owed 40,000 pounds and paid seven-pence in the pound.

**Theodore Fink**

His varied and increasingly secure life was shattered by the collapse of the land boom. In 1886 land values were already high. The partnership flourished, but he began to speculate and by 1891 owed £70,000. Falling values made nonsense of his assets. Fink’s speculations had largely been in ventures started by Benjamin, yet he defended his brother (and other land boomers) against accusations of culpably reckless speculation, preferring an explanation which stressed impersonal international factors as much as local greed for unrealistically high returns on investment. Theodore resolved his own financial difficulties by taking advantage of a procedure which avoided the scandal of a public bankruptcy. Such private compositions were in principle legal, but open to misuse. He himself made two private compositions of his debts, in January and July 1892. Furthermore, as a
partner in the restructured firm of Fink, Best & Hall he arranged compositions for many of the major speculators.  

**W. L. Baillieu**

In July 1892 Theodore Fink, as Baillieu’s solicitor, applied to the court for permission to call a meeting of creditors, a less happy task than his role as Master of Ceremonies at W. L.’s (Baillieu’s) wedding. On 26 July, 1892, at separate gatherings, creditors of the partnership and of Baillieu himself agreed to accept 6d. in the pound. More remarkable than W. L.’s involvement in the land boom was his exceptionally expert recovery from the depression, though the later success of the Baillieus made it inevitable that this early discomfiture would echo in public memory.

In 1902, with the ‘land crash’ all but over, Alfred Henry Massina and his financial backers established *The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd* with a circulation of 50,000. Massina was the inaugural Chairman, with fellow Directors Theodore Fink, William L Baillieu and Samuel Winter who was the Managing Editor. In January 1922, Fink and Baillieu appointed Keith Murdoch as Editor in Chief of *The Herald and Weekly Times*. *The Herald* circulation was 105,000 when Murdoch took charge and by March 1922 had grown to 144,000, and by 1942 it was 243,000.

In May 1928 Roy Morgan was presented the Commonwealth Accountants Students Society’s Trophy. On January 21, 1929 Roy Morgan became licensed to act as an Auditor for Companies and on May 15, 1934 a Member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants.

While initially specialising in insolvency, Roy Morgan was soon working at J. B. Were for Staniforth Ricketson as a public company financial analyst (his early J.B. Were reports are now held at The University of Melbourne). From November 1934 to April 22, 1940 Roy Morgan was the Reviewer of ‘balance sheets’ for the ‘Stock Exchange of Melbourne’ Official Record. In addition, from July 1934 to October 1936, Roy Morgan was employed by *The Argus* as a contributor in the highly “specialised and exacting work of analysing accounts of public companies for publication in the Financial page”.

At the request of Sir Keith Murdoch, Roy Morgan, in 1936, began at the Melbourne Herald as a freelance financial writer of “Company Reviews” while at the same time still reviewing balance sheets for the Stock Exchange of Melbourne.

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2 [http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080524b.htm](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080524b.htm)
3 [http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070145b.htm](http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070145b.htm)

Roy Morgan was soon on his way to the USA to learn public opinion polling and media research with Dr George Gallup (Gallup was Research Director of Young & Rubicam in New York while operating the American Institute of Public Opinion in Princeton. NJ). (See Pages 248 to 250 Keith Murdoch, Founder Of A Media Empire, R.M. Younger). Sir Keith Murdoch died on October 5, 1952 when The Herald circulation was 415,000. Roy Morgan worked closely with Sir Keith Murdoch for more than 16 years covering finance (from 1936 Roy Morgan was responsible for many public companies releasing their financial results in the morning so they could be published in the first edition of the afternoon Herald, rather than the morning daily newspapers), public opinion polling (Australian Gallup Poll) and media research. In September 1941, Roy Morgan conducted his first Reader Interest survey for The Sydney Sun. http://www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/19410901.pdf During 1945 and 1946 Keith Murdoch commissioned Roy Morgan to conduct the first Australian “reading and noting” surveys on the Melbourne Sun covering readership of all sections including The Sun Women’s Magazine.

Details of Roy Morgan’s work during the 1940s–1950s is covered in a paper presented by Michele Levine (CEO) and Gary Morgan (Executive Chairman), The Power of Newspaper Editorial & Advertising to the Country Press Association at their 106th Annual Conference at Parliament House NSW on October 26, 2006 (See Appendix 3).

GARY MORGAN’S OWN EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY

In 1959, after finishing 12 years at Melbourne Grammar and 4 years at Preshill, I was within a week working with my father at The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd in a small office in a Herald and Weekly Times building (Lindrum Building, 3rd Fl, 26 Flinders Street). My father had a staff of about 12 people – 3 males and 9 young girls who had mostly completed typing and shorthand at the Methodist Ladies College, all non-smokers!

During those early days, my father continually emphasised the importance of understanding history, maintaining it was ‘absurd’ for Universities to teach specialised subjects for degrees before a student had a sound education in history – to his horror I ignored him, majoring at The University of Melbourne in Pure Maths and Economics – only talking and thinking about the future!

My father was right, over the last two months I have learnt more about the last 200 years than I realised was possible – and at the end of this paper I will make some suggestions for the future!

My feelings are well summarised in Benjamin Schwartz’s article “Waste not, want everything” Australian Financial Review – June 6, 2008. He noted that historian G M Young wrote that “the real, central theme of History is not what happened, but what people felt about it when it was happening”. He then refers to Philip Sidney’s phrase, “the affects, the whispering, the motion of the people”. Benjamin Schwartz goes on to quote Frederick Maitland, who believed this would only be so “When the thoughts of our forefathers, their common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more”.

WEDDING:
Herbert Edward Morgan
(b.1874)
&
Mary (May) Eliza Williams (b.1876),
March 28, 1901
(See page 90 & 92)
IN CONCLUSION AND THE FUTURE

Environment Most Important Issue for Australia

Future Summit 2008
Sydney, Australia
May 12-13, 2008

Presented by
Michele Levine, Chief Executive
Roy Morgan Research Pty Ltd
Melbourne, Australia

The environment (including climate change/global warming, water resources, drought, famine) is the most important problem facing the World and Australia.

China is the most important region to Australia for economic purposes; Indonesia is most important for security purposes; and Japan is the country Australia can most effectively work with on both.

The Number One for Government Policy over the next ten years should be monitoring a balanced Budget and no increase in Public Debt, according to a special Roy Morgan survey for the Future Summit 2008.

As a World problem, 35% (up from 14% in 2006) of Australians consider the environment the biggest problem, ahead of economic issues (24% up 5%) and terrorism, wars, safety and security (14% down from 32% in 2006). 30% (up from 8% in 2006) of Australians consider the environment the biggest problem facing Australia, ahead of economic issues (23% up 3%) and social issues such as education, drugs, and other societal problems (11% unchanged). Concerns about terrorism are now only seen as a major issue of Australia by 3% (down 9%).

When asked what Australians consider the most important environmental issues facing the World today – global warming and climate change top the list at 55% (down 1%), ahead of pollution 23% (down 4%) and water management and including drought (21% up 9%).

However, water emerged this year as the most important environmental issue facing Australia 46% (up 3%) of Australians mentioned water management issues and drought as the most important environmental issue facing Australia, ahead of global warming 28% (up 2%) and pollution 19% (down 3%).

Despite increased awareness of the environmental issues as problems for the World and Australia the research shows a slight softening in urgency. Now 19% (up 6%) believe environmental concerns are exaggerated. The majority 64% (down 3%) believe if we don’t act now it will be too late, and 14% (down 1%) that it is already too late (3% can’t say).
Today, when we survey Australians on what they see as most important, the issues are – environmental issues such as global warming, economic problems caused by interest rates and inflation, the energy crisis, etc. Michele Levine presented these results at the Future Summit 2008, Sydney, Australia (May 12–13, 2008) in her paper, *Environment Most Important Issue for Australia.*


The human issues – drugs and alcohol; homeless and disenfranchised young people; mental health and depression; crime and social exclusion are the same today as they were in the early years of Victoria.

Our research and my own exploration of history reinforces that some things are the same the world over and time immemorial – things like wars. And some things change – things like the contributions of women, migrants, free speech and the role of communications.

I believe the future depends on education – especially education about history. My father was right!

I also believe all schools should be co-educational. I have now seen the crucial role women played in shaping society – despite having no formal access to power.

In the near future, women will take their rightful place in the world, at every level of every institution and every decision. Unless men and women work and learn together as women take their place in society, women will run the world (and men will surely be left behind).

The Duke of Wellington and some fellow Tory MPs founded the Carlton Club in 1832. On May 20, 2008, the Members voted to change the Club by-laws so ladies could become Ordinary Members. I hope co-education in all Australian schools takes less than 166 years!

*The Illustrated Journal of Australasia*  
No. 11-Vol. 2. May, 1857

*View in the Botanical Gardens,*  
S. Calvert woodcut print from original von Guérard drawing.  
No. 11-Vol. 2. May, 1857

*Tribute to Burke & Wills*  
*News Letter of Australasia*  
No. 64. December 1861.
Appendix 1a:

Lists some titles published by Slater, Williams and Hodgson:

*Cassell’s Illustrated Family Paper and The Melbourne Advertiser, Melbourne, publisher Slater, Williams, Hodgson & Co., 1854*


Berigny, Th., *Medical Philosophy: An appeal to the people of Australia, for the candid investigation of practical medicine: lectures on homoeopathy*, Melbourne, publisher Slater, Williams, and Hodgson, 1855.

Anonymous author – One who has handled the spade, *Bounty Immigration: A letter to the Members of the Legislative Council*, Melbourne, publisher Slater, Williams, and Hodgson, 1855.

Bunce, D., *Language of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria, and other Australian Districts: with parallel translations and familiar specimens in dialogue as a guide to Aboriginal Protectors, and others engaged in ameliorating their condition*, Melbourne, publisher Slater, Williams, and Hodgson, 1856. (In 1846 Daniel Bunce explored Australia ‘east–west’ with Ludwig Leichhardt, his second wife was John Batman’s youngest daughter, Pelonomena.)

Rusticus, *How to Settle in Victoria, or, Instructions on the purchase and occupations of the land, with observations on gardening and farming, the growth of the vine and other fruit trees; the nature and quality of Australian soils, and on the use of manures*, Melbourne, publisher Slater, Williams, and Hodgson, 1855.


*The News Letter of Australasia*, George Slater and W. H. Williams publishers, W. H. Williams printer, then at the “Herald” Office for the Proprietors. Printed on superfine paper and included blank pages for letter writing. Often included illustrated engravings by F. Grosse, Samuel Calvert, Nicholas Chevalier and Cyrus Mason. Many engravings also published in *The Illustrated Journal of Australasia* which was sold by all booksellers for 6d, published from July 1856 to at least the Dec. 1861 issue No. 64 which paid tribute to the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition. It included an engraving ‘at Menindie’ from a drawing by Ludwig Becker who died during the expedition.
Appendix 1b:

Some other publications of W. H. Williams, Printer and Publisher (1857 – 1885)

The News Letter of Australasia, Melbourne, publisher and printer W. H. Williams, January, 1857

Australian Tit-bits, No.59-Vol.11, Melbourne, publisher W. H. Williams, July 23, 1885.
(See three different W. H. Williams “printing” advertisements on the front page.)
The Tomahawk: A Journal of Satire, No.1, Melbourne, publisher W. H. Williams, Saturday, March 6, 1880.

The Australian Woman’s Magazine and Domestic Journal, No 3, Melbourne, publisher W. H. Williams, June 1882. (First edition April 1882, Last edition September 1884.)

The Tomahawk: A Journal of Satire, No. 27, Melbourne, publisher W. H. Williams, Saturday, September 4, 1880.
Appendix 2a:  
(Pages referred to from *The First Ninety Years – The Printing House of Massina, 1859 to 1949* by Ronald G Campbell)

**Australian Masséna Families (Pages 8-11)**

1. Jean Charles Domenica Antoine Paul Masséna b abt 1783. In 1822 married Susannah Reynolds b 1802. Parents of 8 children including Alfred Henry Massina b 1834 and Charles Edward Paul Massina b 1825, and

2. Dr Louis Yehuda Leib Masséna b 1775 Levens, and wife (nee Countess Lula Van Lear b 1775 Lear, Belgium), parents of:
   i) Eliza Lola Masséna* b 1807 in Westham, Essex. In 1827 married Dr William Florance* b 1800 – a daughter (one of at least 16 children Mary Eliza Florance b 1839, married William H. Williams in Melbourne, 1857 (Pages 32, 45, 80 and 115),
   ii) John Nathaniel Messeena b 1796 Netherlands (Surgeon). Page 9 and below Notes and Queries – 1917, and

Antoine-Francois Masséna (b 1733) was the father of Charles Masséna and Louis Masséna. He was an uncle of Napoleonic Marshal Andre Masséna. 1758-1817 (Page 8).

*Great grandparents of Roy Edward Morgan (1908-1985) – founder of the Australian Gallup Poll (today Roy Morgan Poll). On April 1, 1940 Roy Morgan was appointed to the staff of The Herald & Weekly Times Limited by Keith Murdoch, Managing Director. Prior to this Roy Morgan was a freelance ‘Financial writer’ for The Herald, The Argus, and General Manager, The Stock Exchange of Melbourne.

Roy Morgan Research office from 2006 to 2017 was at 401 Collins St. (See *The First Ninety Years* before page 129 the 1949 photo of 401 Collins St building.)

The above note on the Masséna family in Australia was prepared in December 2007 by Gary Morgan, son of Roy Morgan.

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**NOTES AND QUERIES.**

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**(12.8. III. MARCH 3, 1917.**

**Queries.**

We must request correspondants desiring information on family matters of only private interest to affix their names and addresses to their queries, in order that answers may be sent to them direct.

John Nathaniel Messeena was a son of one of the medical attendants on the first Napoleon. The father subsequently had a fashionable practice in Abernake Street, and he and his wife were buried at Portsmouth. John Nathaniel had a practice in the East End of London. Jonathan Pereira, 1804-33 (‘D.S.B.’), was the paternal uncle of his wife. I should like some corroboration of this family tradition. Did the Messenas hold English degrees? Were they natives of this country? Any additional biographical details will be much appreciated.

Israel Solomons.

* Dr Louis Masséna

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ROY EDWARD MORGAN 1908 - 1985
In 1941 founded Australian Gallup Poll, today Roy Morgan Poll
The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd (May 1959)
Dr. Louis Masséna brother of Jean Charles Domenica Antoine Paul Masséna (Pages 9 and 10, *The First Ninety Years*)

Madame Masséna (Countess Lula Elizabeth Antoine-Francois Van Lear, 1775-1864)

Eliza Lola Florance (nee Masséna), 1807-1892 in Bairnsdale. Cousin of Alfred Henry Massina, great grandmother of Roy Edward Morgan. (See page 83 & 92)

William Henry Williams, 1831 - 1910, grandfather of Roy Edward Morgan (Pages 32, 45, 80 and 115)
ALFRED HENRY MASSINA (changed from Masséna)
1834 – 1917

Founder, The Printing House of Massina (1859)
Inaugural Chairman, The Herald and Weekly Times Limited (1902)
Appendix 2b:

In the 1940s and early 1950s, Roy Morgan, under the direction of Sir Keith Murdoch, conducted many surveys for The Herald and Weekly Times, Associated Newspapers, News, Advertiser, etc. The studies focussed on understanding reading preferences and behaviour.

After Sir Keith Murdoch died on October 5, 1952, little interest was shown by Herald executives in this kind of newspaper research – the focus shifted to sales, i.e. circulation and readership audience measures to demonstrate ‘reach’ to advertisers.

Michele Levine and Gary Morgan
Country Press Association 106th Annual Conference
Parliament House NSW, October 6, 2006
The following examples show just some of the learning’s from those times (1941–1952) ⁹

On the front page of *The Sun*, Melbourne, Wednesday May 1, 1946: The headline “Plot to kill MacArthur” was read by 100% of readers – male (red) and female (blue). The “Surprise Senate Move” was read by 100% of males but only 50% of females.

The picture at the bottom left hand corner was looked at by 93% of male readers.

At first glance, it looks as though the further down the page, the lower the reading levels. This is not a general phenomenon as we’ll see later.

⁹Source: Archival material from The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd.

*The Sun*, Saturday November 17, 1945, demonstrates the interest in local news.

A small article, tucked away in the right hand column, “Tram stop talks postponed” was read by 65% of male readers (20% of female readers).

Again, it’s clear the pictures are noted by large proportions of readers.

Page 6 of *The Sun*, Wednesday April 3, 1946, shows cartoons have strong appeal among “Artisan” (blue collar) readers. (High readership of cartoons is still true today.)

The cartoon, “*Mr. Melbourne Day by Day*” was read by 96% of male readers and 88% of female readers.
Even the tiny “Sleepwalker” cartoon at the bottom of the page was read by 92% of male readers and 60% of female readers.

If we now look at the Editorial on this page, female readers were consistently more likely to read the Editorial than were male readers.

If we look at the Editorial on Page 6 of The Sun, Tuesday January 15, 1946, we see male readers higher than female readers for most parts of the Editorial. It would seem people will look to the Editorial, but will only read the topics which interest them, and not surprisingly, different things interest different people.

This page also shows high levels for Artisan (blue collar) readers of FIFTY-FIFTY (letters), 67% of male readers and 72% of female readers.

This “letters” reading is particularly interesting. We tend to think of interactivity as a recent, or even new phenomenon. This data from 1946 suggests that feedback, the opportunity to have your say, or hear what others like you have to say, is perennial.
If we now look at two *J Kitchen & Sons* soap ads – we see one for *Velvet Soap* on Page 9, read by 6% of male readers and 6% female readers, and one for *Lux* on Page 19 which was read by 17% of male and 39% of female readers – the highest on the page (*The Sun*, Tuesday January 15, 1946).

From an editorial perspective, at face value, this example is less than interesting. However, there are several important myths exploded here – of relevance for both editorial and sales:

(a) The later page (Page 19 cf Page 9) did **not** receive less reading;
(b) A soap ad can attract interest with the right “creative” picture;
(c) The top of the page is better for attracting attention.

We now come to an early newspaper-inserted (magazine) supplement – *The Sun Women’s Magazine* – Wednesday April 3, 1946. At least the front page of this supplement was read by 84% of female readers and 46% of male readers.

It is important to note that a newspaper-inserted (magazine) supplement, like any article or component of a newspaper, will not be read by everyone – and that those who choose to read it may have a different profile from the total reader base.
This is relevant for some of today’s newspaper-inserted magazines such as *The Weekend Australian Magazine* which has more readers than *The Weekend Australian* (To March, 2003: 927,000 readers cf 910,000 readers); and more female readers.

Other newspaper-inserted magazines also have fewer readers than the newspaper which carries them.

The data also shows evidence that different subgroups in the community have different degrees of interest in various topics. For instance, “*MONEY MARKETS, MINING*” on Page 17 of *The Sun*, Tuesday February 5, 1946, was of much greater interest to the “Better off” people than “Artisans” (blue collar), Page 23 of *The Sun*, Saturday June 22, 1946 – see all the zeros!

But note the cartoon at the bottom of the page achieved 75% of male and 71% of female artisan readers.
The same page, “MONEY MARKETS, MINING” on Saturday June 1, 1946, did achieve interest from Artisans, with the headline “General Motors – Holden’s Preparing For Production of Australian Car” – read by 24% of “Artisan” males and 5% of “Artisan” females. This was obviously something that held some relevance for the group – even though as a general rule, company information was not of interest.

Sport, it appears, was not as important in 1946 as it is today. This is an interesting phenomenon, a man-made phenomenon – even a media-made phenomenon.
Finally, like today, there is now no doubt that “Beautiful Women” interests both male and female readers – 62% of women, 61% of men, see Page 7 of The Sun, Tuesday February 5, 1946. It is worth noting the high readership by women (57%) of the “STRAIGHT or Swirl” advertisement while 71% of men read “Double Tax Deadlock with Britain”.

Appendix 4: (Prepared by Gary Morgan, August 2008)

The Pleasant Career of a Spendthrift (1929)

BY

GEORGE MEUDELL

‘My way of joking’, Meudell wrote, ‘is to tell the truth’.

LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
Broadway House: 68-74 Carter Lane, E.C.

Printed in Great Britain by
The Bowering Press, Plymouth

MEUDELL, GEORGE DICK (1860–1936), was one of Australia’s most colourful personalities.

George Meudell was born on January 29, 1860 at Sandhurst (Bendigo), Victoria, son of William Meudell and his wife Elizabeth Strachan, née Taylor. Educated at Warrnambool Grammar School and Sandhurst High School, he matriculated aged 14.
A childhood accident left George Meudell blind in one eye which frustrated his intention of reading for the Bar so he joined the Sandhurst branch of the Bank of Victoria, where his father, a university-educated Scot, was Manager.

George Meudell’s father, William Meudell (1831–1911) had migrated to Victoria in 1852 and joined the Bank of Victoria in 1854. The Bank of Victoria had been founded in 1852 by Colonial Secretary, Henry ‘Money’ Miller.

In 1881 William Meudell was appointed by Henry (‘Money’) Miller General Manager in Melbourne and in 1889–1991 was Manager in London – prior to the Bank of Victoria being forced to close.

Meudell was a stockbroker, company promoter and accountant. In 1907 George Meudell contracted tuberculosis however he defied doctors’ predictions of imminent death to travel the world looking at oilfields and return to an unsuccessful nineteen-year attempt to launch an Australian oil industry. This was one of many abortive schemes: it was preceded by enthusiasm for brown coal and hydro-electricity, and followed by an interest in oil-shale.

In 1929 George Meudell chose to tell the truth (through his “eyes”) about the Victorian 1880s land boom in his autobiography, *The Pleasant Career of a Spendthrift*, its publication in 1929 caused a sensation.

On the instruction of Robertson & Mullen’s Chairman J. M. Gillespie, a ‘land boomer’, Robertson & Mullen’s withdrew the book, and other booksellers were warned of possible legal consequences of stocking it.

For a time Meudell sold his book privately and in 1935 published an “expurgated version”, *The Pleasant Career of a Spendthrift and His Later Reflections*. This later book looks at many people (Theodore Fink, Sidney Myer, Marcus Clarke, etc) and institutions (*The Herald*) in a significantly better ‘light’.

George Meudell’s 1929 cryptic attitudes can be better understood in *The Pleasant Career of a Spendthrift* with the knowledge of his father’s (William Meudell) involvement in the Bank of Victoria. George Meudell was ‘kind’ to Henry Miller while not to others when he wrote: “The only man with whom I used to discuss seriously the absurd chopping and changing of city and suburban land allotments was my father who protested to his Directors of the Bank of Victoria against loans to the champion land boomers like B. J. Fink, G.W. Taylor, Thomas Bent and W.L. Baillieu. Old ‘Money’ Miller, unfortunately for the Bank of Victoria, was in his dotage and off the Board or it would never have collapsed” (Pages 32 & 33).
In 1935 Meudell covers Theodore Fink’s “remarkable career” (Pages 231 – 240) and states he was “a friend” (Page 260).

In 1929 Meudell claimed: “(Sidney Myer) has crippled all his big rivals in the city and smothered dozens of small shops in the suburbs.” However, by 1935 Sidney Myer was the “…brightest commercial genius who has ever built a first-class business out of almost nothing.” (Pages 227 – 229.)

For 40 years Meudell was a regular contributor to The Bulletin. “No paper in the Empire has done more to mould the thought and guide the policy and politics of a great continent destined to house a great nation, than the Sydney Bulletin founded by Jack F. Archibald, an Australian to the backbone and spinal marrow.” (Page 257, Bulletin’s Editor, Jules Francois Archibald was known from Meudell’s early Warrnambool days.)

It is understandable why The Bulletin magazine has been described as ‘viciously racist’ when you read Meudell’s comment on Page 237; “At my suggestion Archibald used as The Bulletin motto, “Australia for the Australians” and when a ‘White Australia’ became a living question he changed it to the meaningless phrase, “Australia for the White Man”. Immigration is a needless curse to Australia and some day we may have to give battle to stop it.”
In 1929 Meudell (Page 263 & 264) had little time for “popular Australia fetishe” Marcus Clarke “no literary merits nor any right to live”, Adam Lindsay Gordon “second-rate poetry” and many other successful Victorian people and institutions – the Eureka Stockade riot “was a comic opera rebellion …ought to be banned and forgotten”! “…The Herald (Melbourne), a shockingly inferior yellow paper” (Pages 272), “wallowing in the mire of mere incompetence” and “was obscure…not an attraction” (Page 218 & 219).

Many of Meudell’s 1929 thoughts on The Herald (Melbourne) are not surprising as he believed his long time friend John F. Archibald as “…next to David Syme of The Age the greatest publicist in Australia” (Page 236).

Before the Eureka uprising (1853–1854) Colonial Secretary Miller was a strong supporter of the squatters while The Melbourne Morning Herald and their associates at The Diggers Advocate and The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser supported the gold miners.

Nineteenth century ‘truthful’ reporting of the day was often ‘sledging’ those who were successful – today it is more subtle!

Gary Morgan, August 19, 2008

In 1935 George Meudell published his “expurgated version”

THE PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT and His LATER REFLECTIONS (1935)

1. SIDNEY MYER Pages 227 – 229
2. THE LATE L. K. S. MACKINNON Page 229
3. THE HON. THEODORE FINK Pages 231 – 240
4. THE BULLETIN Page 259
5. THE “MELBOURNE REVIEW”, NEWSPAPERS, MELBOURNE NEWSPAPERS Pages 260 – 263
6. MELBOURNE “ARGUS” AND “ORIEL’ COLUMN Pages 266 – 267
SIDNEY MYER.

SIDNEY MYER.

This young Russian immigrant was the brightest commercial genius who has ever built up a first-class business out of almost nothing.

After some primitive trading he began in Bendigo in a modest draper’s store, and enlarged its business through the northern districts of Bendigo by constant activity.

A kindly Ballarat citizen helped him with cash and credit, with which he established a large drapery business in Bendigo, where he speedily got a firm footing, and was able to enlist the co-operation of a leading wealthy Melbourne investor, who took an interest in the emporium and in later years was bought out at a handsome advance.

Myer then boldly invaded Melbourne, and was joined by Lee Neil, a shrewd man of the old-fashioned firm of Wright and Neil, drapers. Myer early visioned the revolution of the drapers’ day. He commenced his dream by building up a colossal store on London and American lines. As he purchased adjoining properties he quickened the whole pace of business methods, but with ideality of purpose on good lines. Melbourne citizens have seen the rapid growth of his great enterprise. His sympathetic treatment of his army of employees produced keen and bright service, an asset to any progressive concern.

He gave much and repeated evidence of good citizenship by generous gifts for public purposes. One was a very large parcel of shares in Myer’s Company to the University, yielding a good return. When some years later a new issue of shares was made, he furnished the amount necessary to take up the University’s proportion. He gave £10,000 to the Alexandra Avenue extension, and another £10,000 to the Open-Air Symphony Concerts in the Botanical Gardens, and numerous other gifts. He refused no appeal of merit.
PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT.

His spectacular success has stimulated his competitors in the city and suburbs to establish concerns in Bourke Street, helping to vitalise the drapery business, with the result of further expanding the city and making its main thoroughfare a continuous centre of modernised competition. This is a great gain to the community, owing to Sidney Myer’s spirited leadership. Myer’s Emporium today is one of the biggest and best in the world. In area it is larger than Selfridge’s great shop in London, and it has no equals in artistry in America or Paris. These figures prove the solidity and the profitableness of this big venture. Capital issued in Melbourne and Adelaide is £3,176,950, with reserve funds of £627,696, which is an extraordinary result in so short a time. Myers is still expanding, and is now managed by one of the most capable groups of business men in the metropolis. The late Sidney Myer’s brother and nephew, imbued with the spirit and the high aims of the founder of the business, are working on sound lines. Mr. E. B. Myer is the chairman of the company, and his son, Mr. Norman Myer, is the managing director. The directors and associate directors are the experienced heads of the various departments, selected and trained by Mr. Sidney Myer. The growth of the concern during the years following Sidney Myer’s demise bears witness to the soundness of the policy framed by him and followed by his successors, whose names follow:—

Directors:
Elcon B. Myer, Chairman of Directors.
Norman Myer, Managing Director.
Beresford R. W. Barry.
Arnot H. Tolley.
Robert Thomson (London).
Ernest M. Ricker.

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THE LATE L. K. S. MACKINNON.

Associate Directors:
Claud W. J. Buchanan.
Donald MacGregor.
Keith Roberts.
George S. Moore.
Reginald F. Baillieu.
Naham Spencer.
Maurice Patkin.

THE LATE L. K. S. MACKINNON.

This was a gallant and picturesque figure, of fine spirit, whose death was a great loss to the State, and particularly to the higher area of horse racing, known popularly as the Sport of Kings. Scobie Mackinnon rose to a great height of public responsibilities. No better illustration could be afforded of his generosity: The Chairman of the War Council wrote an appeal to many leading men on behalf of the returned soldiers. Mr. Mackinnon and his colleagues, Messrs. Byron Moore and Prince Baillieu, called on Mr. Fink, the Chairman, and, after having the matter explained, convened a meeting of the V.R.C., V.A.T.C., Williamstown and Moonee Valley Racing Clubs, as a result of which they handed over as a donation the greater amount of their reserve funds, amounting to £35,000, to the War Council.

THE HON. THEODORE FINK.

Theodore Fink is one of the few remaining figures of the remote past.

His career has been often written from different points of view. Sketches in law journals portray him as he appears to his brother lawyers. Soldiers' magazines set out his services to soldiers on the State War Council and Commonwealth Repatriation in Victoria. "Who's Who?," the London publication, sets out his professional, political and newspaper activities, and so on, from artistic and other more or less intimate sources.
PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT.

On July 8 he entered his 81st year without any lessening of vitality or human interest. Well known to-day as Chairman of the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd., his later life is marked by activities which would fill the best part of an average career, including five years' constructive work as President of the two Royal Commissions on technical education and on University education—tasks reviewing every department of education from Kindergarten up to the University.

And after his 60th year, the Great War imposed on him another period of four or five years of engrossing work as Vice-Chairman of the State War Council, followed by the Chairmanship of the Commonwealth Repatriation system for Victoria.

Recently "Rydge's" Journal (of Sydney) set out his life in their gallery of public men from the points of view of business enterprise, and I have ventured to make the following quotations from it:

"One page is not enough on which to record even briefly all the activities of Theodore Fink's long life. Barrister and solicitor, ex-Member of Parliament, company director, educationalist, intimate of the great, patron of the arts, newspaper magnate, and one of Australia's youngest old men, he has packed into eighty years a great deal more than most men could have done.

"He was born in Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands. He was five years old when he reached Victoria with his parents in 1860, and most of his boyhood was spent at Geelong.

"After some years at the Flinders National Grammar School and Geelong College, he went to the Church of England Grammar School, Melbourne. He matriculated in 1871, and was articled to one of Melbourne's leading solicitors.

"But law did not satisfy his interest entirely. (At school he had formed a friendship with Alfred
THE HON. THEODORE FINK.

Deakin.) Fink says:—‘We used to read at the Public Library for hours daily. After I was ushered out of the Library I used to seek the bright lights of Bohemia. We attended the Eclectic Societies held at the Royal Society’s Hall, and met literary men, Bank managers, Agnostics and others to discuss life’s problems. From there I sometimes drifted for the post graduate course to Jerry Boland’s, in Fitzroy, where the higher thought was stimulated by the conversation of authors, poets, and an occasional vagrant or homeward-bound politician.’

‘Having passed the necessary University examinations, he was admitted in 1877, when, without any clients in sight, he commenced practice. ‘In those days,’ he says, ‘it was perhaps easier to become known than now.’

“They were stirring days. In the elections of May, 1877, the Conservative Government and nearly all of its supporters had been swept away, and the famous Berry Government came into office. Mr. Graham Berry had Peter Lalor, leader of the Eureka Stockade riot, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, and other radical and forcible characters as colleagues. Their regime was referred to by their opponents as the ‘Berry Blight,’ and their policy as ‘Broken Heads and Flaming Houses.’

“Such a period was one in which youths of spirit like Theo. Fink revelled. And it brought him his chance. Very shortly after the elections he was retained by the Constitutional Party to defend an important election petition presented against a member of the defeated party.

“To the ups and downs of the seventies and eighties, Theodore Fink to-day looks back with longing. Melbourne was a very interesting place at that time, alive with vivid personalities—public men, leading actors, judges, picturesque lawyers, mer-
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chants, auctioneers, surgeons, wool and cattle men—all known to the community. 'Life was rich in adventure and variety,' says Mr. Fink, 'and the vital people of early settlement—the many foreigners, the gold diggers and business pioneers—had not yet been melted into the average citizen.'

"Amongst them moved young Theodore Fink. He was a youthful attendant in a group of literary men—of whom Marcus Clarke was the most notable. He became intimate with the late J. F. Archibald before Archibald left Melbourne to establish the Sydney 'Bulletin.'

"In 1879 Theodore Fink became the youngest member of the Yorick Club. It was then a famous club, with a strict qualification for membership. There young Fink rubbed shoulders with leading journalists, literary and artistic figures and men of science. He came to be recognised as an after-dinner speaker, and in the Yorick proposed at midnight suppers the healths of distinguished visitors like Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain, and others. He is now the Yorick's oldest surviving member.

"Mr. Fink has also taken great interest in art, enjoying the friendship of men like Mackenial, Longstaff, Roberts, Withers, McCubbin, Streeton, the veteran Julian and Rossi Ashton, Phil May, Hopkins, of the 'Bulletin,' Conder, Ford Paterson, and others. Since the 'eighties he has been a welcome figure amongst them, and at the Art Society's smoke nights and other gatherings on Eastern Hill he usually presided.

"Meanwhile his practice was flourishing. Four years ago the Victorian Law Journal said: 'Theodore Fink is one of the best-known citizens, not only in legal circles, but in the whole community. He was engaged in many celebrated cases, and was retained in the great prosecution of the Premier Permanent Building Society as counsel for two of the directors—one a Minister of the Crown—and
later for Sir Matthew Davies, an ex-Speaker of the Assembly, chairman of directors of the Mercantile Bank, charged, with others, with conspiracy.

"One of his services to the legal profession was the framing of and getting passed the Act establishing the Council of Legal Education, which also provided for reciprocity of admission between the States.

"His most enduring life work was that in connection with education. He was president of the Royal Commission on technical education, which functioned between 1899 and 1901. Sir John MacFarland, Chancellor of the Melbourne University, was vice-president. The Commission's reports on primary and technical education led to the reconstruction of the education system.

"Later he was made President of the Royal Commission on the University, which produced the well-known 'Fink Reports,' which were followed by an increased grant and many reforms. These reports are still regarded as of great value.

"Parliament was Theodore Fink's next sphere of action. In 1894 he was elected to the Victorian Assembly, and during his ten years in Parliament his knowledge of affairs caused him to be accepted as an authority on finance, tariffs, and constitutional questions. He took a leading part in company legislation. His speeches on several of the above subjects were reprinted and widely circulated.

"A speech on National Education on the eve of his leaving Parliament produced a great sensation and really compelled Government to vigorously commence to carry out the numerous reforms his royal commissions had advocated. This was followed by his receiving the thanks of Parliament, which has been previously referred to.

"After leaving Parliament he was accorded the great honour of receiving the thanks of Parliament
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for his services as president of the University Commission. He was admitted to the Floor of the Assembly to receive the resolution and an address by the Speaker.

"In 1889 he became one of a group interested in the 'Herald,' which was then Melbourne's only evening paper. This was owned by Mr. S. V. Winter, a veteran journalist, and Mr. John Halfey. On Mr. Halfey's death, Mr. Winter invited Mr. Fink and others—Mr. A. H. Massina (publisher of the works of Marcus Clarke and Adam Lindsay Gordon) and Mr. W. L. Baillieu—to acquire Mr. Halfey's share. The whole concern was then valued at about £20,000, and was not paying at that.

"The story of the 'Herald's' growth into the mighty newspaper of to-day, and the part played by Theodore Fink in that development, is an inspiring romance too long to be told here.

"All this time Mr. Fink was taking an active part in public affairs. Two important conferences, called by the Governments of the day (1906-08 and 1911) to deal with the apprenticeship question, claimed his co-operation. During the war he was vice-chairman and working head of the State War Council, and, on its establishment, the first president of the Commonwealth Repatriation Board for Victoria.

"He was one of the original members of the Empire Press Union, founded in London in 1909. Now he is president of the Australian section of the Union."

As an after-dinner speaker, Mr. Fink has never had an equal in Melbourne, and most of his addresses were as brilliant as they were gay and witty.

To-day those who listened to his light and airy utterances feel that years have not damped his gaiety or humour.

Mr. Fink's services during the war have received repeated recognition. At a luncheon by the State
THE HON. THEODORE FINK.

War Council the Chairman (the late Hon. Donald Mackinnon) said "how much the Council valued his great services. He had been the mainstay of every effort, and in his capacity of vice-chairman had carried out a tremendous amount of work. Indeed, to a very great extent he had carried the movement on his shoulders. Nothing had given him greater pleasure than to be associated with Mr. Fink.

"All had learned to respect his determination and zeal in his work in connection with the soldiers and the alleviation of the difficulties of the soldiers' lives. One of his greatest achievements was the raising, while he was chairman of the finance committee, of £140,000 at a time when the State seemed to have been squeezed dry."

At a gathering of his colleagues and friends in the "Herald" on his 80th birthday, presided over by the vice-president (Mr. S. Fripp), Major-General R. E. Williams, commandant of Victoria in the war years, recalled part of the inside history of the State War Council, on which he represented the Government.

"For four years," he said, "he had sat in the council with Mr. Fink, who represented humanity. The council was vitalised by Mr. Fink's humanitarian outlook.

"Most of the best of the provision made for the repatriation of our soldiers," he declared, "was due to Mr. Fink's initiative. Our system of repatriation is admitted the best of all in the armies which took part in the war. I say in all sincerity that its salient features were the result of Mr. Fink's wisdom and justice."

SPEECHES.

Apart from Mr. Fink's after-dinner, social, artistic, and literary speeches, from time to time his utterances, in Parliament and out, have helped to form public opinion. Even to-day some of his outstanding deliverances are remembered. As far back as 1893,
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a striking address (which time has proved true) to the Bankers’ Institute, on the subject of “Foreign Loans and a Young Democracy,” attracted great attention, and excited favourable criticism in all sections of the Press.

He predicted that excessive borrowing abroad, bad finance, and oppressive taxation were likely to cause the Australian States serious trouble, and the proof lies in our difficult financial position to-day. The economic limits to the power of a young country to absorb capital were clearly set forth. Absenteeism, and the advantage of Local Loans, besides other grave questions of finance, were dealt with in a masterly manner.

This address was reprinted, and greatly affected public opinion, and it should be circulated extensively.

After the War, a series of articles, “Blood Debt of Australia,” published in the “Herald,” destroyed a futile Government proposal as to repatriating soldiers by individual gifts, and helped to force the adoption of a national system.

Although a strong advocate of the Federal constitution as it left the convention, he pointed out the National folly of the Amendment insisted on by George Reid, the Premier of New South Wales, omitting what was called the “Braddon Blot,” which secured three-fourths of the Customs Revenue to the States, and the omission left State finance, after 10 years, at the mercy of the Federal Government. This has proved dangerous, and it may eventually squeeze the States to unification under the financial despotism of Canberra.
SPEECHES.

(Article London "Observer," 8th May, 1927.)

When in London, Mr. J. L. Garvin, the well-known Editor of the National London "Observer," commissioned Mr. Fink to write an article to appear on the 8th May, 1927; that is, the Sunday preceding the Monday fixed for the opening of the first Federal Parliament in Canberra in 1927.

"Mr. Fink examined the question as to how a capital city and seat of Government, so remote from the crowded centres of Australian life and activities, influence the work of Parliament and our public life of Australia. To-day Parliaments in many countries suffer a diminishing authority.

"The drama of public life has been fitly staged and played before great audiences. Can these conditions be repeated except in a great centre—a capital city in fact, and not merely in name?

"A great city is the receiving and clearing house for all the ideas expressing the personal and collective ideals of a people. The House of Commons, on the whole, reflects the views of the people with sustained vitality. It is difficult to imagine the Houses of Parliament of Great Britain deliberating in a remote spot.

"Our Parliament is a very small one. Smaller Parliaments have proved less able or willing to control Public expenditure."

This article crystallised the opinions and doubts of many thoughtful Australians, who felt this distant Parliament would provide less and less independence of criticism and action.

("Empire Trade." London Press Conference, 1930.)

A recent memorable speech delivered in London by Mr. Fink on the subject of "Empire Trade," setting out the position and aspirations of Australia, at the Fourth Imperial Press Conference, following
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the address of a British Minister, dealt spiritedly with some rumours current about Australia's credit. An impromptu address, delivered with great feeling, and setting out our position as to public finance and private enterprise, it elicited prolonged applause, and was the only speech apart from those of British Ministers specially printed and circulated. A good summary was cabled to Australia and elsewhere.
THE "BULLETIN."

No paper in the Empire has done more to mould the thought and guide the policy and politics of a great continent destined to house a great nation, than the Sydney "Bulletin," founded by Jack F. Archibald, an Australian to the backbone and spinal marrow. Convention, ritual, tradition are the three curses of the British people, especially those of them living in that funny little group of islets in the North Sea, all cold, wet, dank and damp. These three characteristics make the British a placid, long-suffering, contented people, accepting without complaint just whatever their betters, meaning those in the rich and ruling classes and castes, choose to give or allow them. J. F. Archibald denied the value of convention and scoffed at ritual. He possessed a brilliant intellect and powerful will, and clamped his views and opinions on the life and thought of Australia, so that to-day it is a freer country than any other, and follows the true and proper policy for any country desiring to be great, of being intensely selfish and self-protective. More than six thousand stories and poems, and over five thousand drawings reach the "Bulletin" annually. They come from every corner of the Commonwealth, Maoriland, New Guinea, Fiji and the other islands that dot the Pacific. Every overseas mail brings contributions—from a diplomatic office in Spain; from a farmer in Paraguay; from an artist in Paris; from a journalist at Toronto, Canada; from a musical critic at Manchester; from an Inland Mission station in China; from a bank in Constantinople. The list of Australian contributors runs far into four figures, and embraces almost every walk of life, from Judges up or down to fruit hawkers. I am proud to be the oldest living contributor of the "Bulletin."
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THE "MELBOURNE REVIEW."

The "Melbourne Review" was founded by Henry Gyles Turner, Arthur Patchett Martin, Alexander Sutherland, A. M. Topp, Theodore Fink, and H. K. Rusden, all friends of mine. H. G. Turner asked me to contribute to the "Review," and I wrote several slashing articles on "Australia for the Australians" and "Imperial Federation" from a purely Australian angle, which did not increase my popularity, because my contention was that the Australian is an improved edition of the British up in Europe. It is a pity the "Melbourne Review" closed down in 1885, for a magazine of its high standard was and is badly wanted in Australia to present the Australian view of every public problem in politics, in economics and in sociology. What our grandparents thought right and true in Great Britain, a cold, small, overcrowded country, is frequently grotesque and unsuitable in a young, immense, and intensely progressive country like Australia. I have contributed articles on a myriad of subjects to most of the leading journals and newspapers, and have always found the best channel for any patriotic thoughts and views to be the Sydney "Bulletin," the only journal that does not mix Imperialism with Australianism. I believe in a Monroe doctrine for Australia—"Hands off and Keep out."

NEWSPAPERS.

On 16th March, 1887, forty years ago, I was elected a Fellow of the Statistical Society, London, for work done for the defunct Melbourne "Daily Telegraph," a morning daily newspaper of Conservative principles mixed with religious tenets and narrow wowsersish views about drink and sport. It was extremely chauvinistic in its support of good little Queen Victoria. The "Telegraph's" editor, the Rev. W. Fitchett, a military historian of high repute, was a good leader writer, but not worldly
MELBOURNE NEWSPAPERS.

enough to thrust his paper forward as David Syme was at that time pressing the Melbourne "Age" upward past the Melbourne "Argus." Alexander McKinley and his brother, James, managed the paper, and George Wamsley made a most competent financial and commercial editor. It was always supposed the Davies group of land speculators supplied the capital, of which there was not enough, and the paper lay down and died. As I had done a lot of journalism by this time, Angus Mackay, the owner of the Bendigo "Advertiser," asked me to go to Sydney on the office staff of the Sydney "Daily Telegraph," then being founded by J. B. Watson, the Bendigo millionaire, Sir (then Mr.) Malcolm McEacharn, his son-in-law, the shipping potentate, Angus Mackay and Sir John McIntyre, with other Bendigo investors. As I was that rare bird in those days, a certified Pitman shorthand writer, Mackay offered me six pounds a week. The salary being puny, I declined the offer.

MELBOURNE NEWSPAPERS.

One of the greatest chances of my life was lost when it looked so easy to grasp.

In 1907 I conceived the idea of raising £200,000 cash in London to start a morning daily paper in Melbourne, preferably one to be published simultaneously in Sydney. The success of the Melbourne "Herald" and steady growth of population were the basis of my conviction that a newspaper would pay well. In 1907 the population of Melbourne was 525,000 and of Victoria 1,000,000. The circulations of the daily papers were, roughly, "Age," 100,000 to 105,000; "Argus," 55,000 to 60,000; and "Herald," 50,000; while their profits were "Age," £70,000 a year; "Argus" and "Australasian," £40,000; and "Herald," £40,000 a year, taken from its published balance-sheet. One could see the population of Melbourne growing faster proportionately
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than that of Victoria. Outside Melbourne there was no country newspaper worth a pinch of mustard seed, nor is there now, and it looked an easy task to smother them to extinction. There was only one great business journalist in Melbourne in those days —David Syme, of the "Age," and his intellectual successor has not so far popped his head up over the journalistic horizon. David Syme had a long struggle to establish the "Age" on a firm foundation. His was a strong despotic personality, eager to enforce his views and will on politicians. He had an almost fierce spirit of independence combined with great assertiveness. David Syme knew the value of a good editor, and he took Arthur Lloyd Windsor away from the "Argus," and as editor of the "Age" he reigned nearly forty years and carried the paper fast and well ahead of the "Argus" in power and popularity. The "Age" has always been characterised by a spirit of progressiveness, and its leader writing is always strongly affirmative and positive. The "Age" has always warmly advocated the broad interests of the community at large, and by its steady and energetic championship of protection to Australian industry has done more to build up Australia solidly as a nation and as a manufacturing country than any other paper in the Commonwealth except the Sydney "Bulletin." David Syme was a great Australian, and the influence of his life's labour will be felt by this country for a hundred years, because it is embedded in the spirit of the people of Australia. David Syme bought out his nephew, Joseph Cowen Syme, paying £140,000 for his one-fourth interest, and so valuing the "Age" at £576,000. To-day it is worth £1,000,000. The real founder of the "Argus" was Edward Wilson, a glowing enthusiast about the foundations of British Colonies like Edward Wakefield of South Australia.

Next I propounded a scheme to my cousin, Sir Robert Inglis, Chairman of the London Stock Ex-
PLEASANT CAREER OF A SPENDTHRIFT.

change, to buy the business of James MacEwan and Company, the leading ironmongery and hardware business in Melbourne. "Bob" Inglis held £20,000 of "B" debentures and wanted to realise. He sent me on to Mr. Bruty, his solicitor, but we could not arrange with the London liquidator of the company, Mr. R. J. Jeffrey, so another good money-maker went wrong from my standpoint. Thomas Luxton, an ex-sharebroker, who bought MacEwan's business from the liquidator, funked the responsibility and died, but his sons have pulled it through and placed it on its former pedestal as a paying business. In some former state of transmigration of my soul I feel sure I must have either been a black cat or a Bolshevik, my luck has been so bad and despicable. Well, what does it matter! I have had a happy and merry life, full of delightful experiences around and over all the Seven Seas.

MELBOURNE "ARGUS" AND "ORIEL" COLUMN.

Not many people know how the amusing "Oriel" column was started in the Melbourne "Argus" in 1890 or thereabouts. At that time newspaper men were underpaid, reporters especially. There were half a dozen brilliant young men on the "Argus" and "Age" who met in Matooreko's fish café in Elizabeth Street, near Hosie's Hotel. One Saturday
evening, and over "one doushaine of the besht" oysters, they decided to add to their £4 10s. a week by publishing a paper of their own. Donald Mac-Donald, the best of all Australian journalists, was elected editor. The most of the copy was written by John Sandes, B.A., and Davison Symmons, known to our coterie as "Peter," two capable journalists, as versatile as they were brilliant. The two clever Blair sisters, daughters of a famous literary man of the Early Victorian period, David Blair, were co-opted on the staff. The rest of us wrote pars, for honour's sake. "Bohemia" was a brilliant journal of wit, satire and humour, which had no right or need to perish. General Manager L. C. Mackinnon, of the "Argus," consulted General Manager Joe Syme, of the "Age," over the telephone about the excellent stuff their reporters were manufacturing in their own time. The upshot was that Mackinnon called his men in, and said he would pay them each £2 a week more to open a column in the "Argus" on Saturday for verse and persiflage and stifle "Bohemia." Unluckily this was done, and a journal of distinction, that ought to have become "The Literary Digest" of Australia, was quietly chloroformed, or had its throat cut, I forget which. Johnnie Sandes named the column "Oriel," after his Oxford College. "Peter" Symmons has never had an equal on the Melbourne press as a writer of light verse, and he had an uncanny power of ridicule. There were some good chaps on the "Herald" when Sam Winter was editor. It is a pity the "Evening Standard" had not enough capital to turn the corner. Rea and O'Toole, two Irishmen, and Jack Blackham, a Bendigo journalist, were on the staff for years, and the only tip-top journalist the paper ever had before Theodore Fink breathed his divine afflatus into the "Herald" was Jack Nish, the ideal great sub-editor, for many years on the "Argus."
Appendix 5:

VICTORIAN DAY COUNCIL
SEPARATION CEREMONY ORATION
by
Gary Morgan
November 14, 2009 - updated April 2020

Town Crier, Brian Whykes
Left to Right; Gary Morgan, Anthony Cree
and Norman Kennedy,
Chair of the Victoria Day Council

Victorian Colonial Troops
(In 1850’s uniform)

Reading of the 1850 Proclamation of Separation,
by the Town Crier, Brian Whykes

Victorian Re-enactment Society Inc and Victorian
Colonial Infantry Association Inc. (In 1850’s uniform)

Oration and Presentation of Essay Prize
by Gary Morgan

Left to Right: Gary Morgan, Cr Helen Whiteside
(Mayor, City of Glen Eira), Cr Dick Ellis (East
Gippsland Shire Council) & Kim Ellis, Cr James Long
(Mayor, Bayside City Council)
Acknowledgements:
Ian Morrison, Stewart McArthur, Shane Carmody (Director, Collections & Access, State Library of Vic.)

Since November 19, 1834, when Edward Henty (aged 24 years) arrived at Portland Bay, there have been three major political events which have shaped the State of Victoria to make it what it is today:

1. **Separation of the Port Phillip District (Victoria) from New South Wales** – July 1, 1851 – the *Separation Association* (formed June 4, 1840) was strongly opposed to convict labour and convict settlement, and English military administration from Sydney,

2. **The Eureka uprising in the Victorian goldfields**, December 3, 1854, and subsequent ‘Not Guilty’ verdicts involving the Melbourne legal establishment many of whom had been vocal supporters of the Separation of Victoria and opposed to the oppressive English military administration, and

3. **Federation of Australia**, January 1, 1901 – making it possible for Australian’s democracy which is today run from Canberra – Australia’s greatest self-made disaster. (I first went public on the issue of Canberra as the Federal Capital on March 3, 1998 at *The Melbourne Convention - Federation: into the Future* in my paper: *The Asian Crisis means we need major change for Australia - if not, we need to destroy the Federal System of Government as we now know it - and start again!* [http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/pre-2010/19980303.pdf?la=en](http://www.roymorgan.com/~media/files/papers/pre-2010/19980303.pdf?la=en) - I am pleased former Prime Minister Paul Keating now agrees with me – it took him a while, however better late than never!)

On November 11, 1850, the news reached Melbourne by way of Adelaide, that the UK Imperial Parliament on August 1, 1850 had passed an Act which constituted that the *Port Phillip District (Victoria) would be a free province from the Colony of New South Wales*. During the days that followed there was much celebration.
We are here today to celebrate Friday, November 15, 1850, a public holiday. On that day Charles La Trobe, Superintendent of the Port Phillip District, commemorated the advent of separation after a Grand Separation Procession which included the opening of Princes Bridge. (The Princes Bridge Foundation Stone was laid March 25, 1846.)

The Separation Procession began in front of the Government Offices in William Street (now the Law Courts) and proceeded over the new Princes Bridge to the area we are at today in the Botanic Gardens near the present Government House. (See front page of this oration)

*Garryowen* (Edmund Finn, from July 1844 to 1858 a journalist, initially for George Cavenagh’s *Port Phillip Herald*), See Page 916, says: “The procession and the crowd jammed the streets numbered about fifteen thousand persons – an immense aggregation for the period.”

There were “banners, emblems and regalia” representing many different interest groups. *Garryowen* maintains the “greatest novelty of the occasion” was a printing press (belonging to the *Port Phillip Herald*) mounted on a “huge wagon” drawn by eight horses for Melbourne’s printers. Included was a platform as standing room for John Pascoe Fawkner “the father of Port Phillipian Press” (*Port Phillip Patriot*), William Clarke and Samuel Goode (Goode published *The Melbourne Courier* and *Albion*). (See Page 8.)

On Page 9 is the November 19, 1850 front page of *The Melbourne Morning Herald* and *General Daily Advertiser* prepared by John Pascoe Fawkner – ‘Boon of the Separation of the Province of Victoria from the Colony of New South Wales’ – only 15 years after Melbourne was founded by Fawkner’s party.

I am sure there are today many Victorian families with ‘colourful and interesting’ 19th Century Australian histories like mine – full of excitement, fear and sadness. My family had no direct involvement in the Separation of Victoria but they were directly involved in Victoria’s 19th Century publishing and printing business (newspapers, periodicals, journals and magazines) during the periods from ‘Separation to Eureka, Federation and later’. (William H. Williams (1831-1910) in 1853 with George Hough & Henry Heath founded *The Diggers Advocate*, see Pages 13-17, 69-74 & Appendix 1a, 1b & 2. Alfred H. Massina (1834-1917) printer and publisher see also Pages 75-79 & 89-91.)
However, the family of my wife, Genevieve Morgan (nee Edwards) was involved from when:

1) Port Philip District was in 1803 first settled at Sullivan Bay by Col. David Collins when her 4x great grandfather Robert Hay (born Kirkmichael Perthshire, Scotland, March 31, 1774–1839) arrived as a convict before in 1804 being transferred to Sullivan’s Cove (today Hobart). John Pascoe Fawkner was aged 10 years, son of John (convict) & Hannah Fawkner (née Pascoe), also arrived at Sullivan Bay on October 9, 1803; then 12 years later on Nov. 20, 1815 John Fawkner Snr. witnessed Robert Hay’s marriage to Maria Hopper Heazlwood, (See Page v of Introduction).

2) “Early in the year 1835 Mr Fawkner… organized a party, consisting of Messers. Lancey, Robert Hay, Marr, George Evens, and Samuel and William Jackson “for the purpose of forming and expedition to colonise Port Phillip...”.¹ On July 27, John Pascoe Fawkner’s party put to sea from George Town. Details of Fawkner’a party was first published by his request in The Digger’s Advocate, No.1, Oct. 28, 1853, published and printed by The Herald for Heath, Hough & Williams.² (Marr was Robert Hay Marr, b.1803, Peebleshire, Scotland, married Margaret Marshall in Launceston, 1825. It is not known if Robert Hay is a relation of Robert Hay Marr.), and

3) Separation of Victoria. Genevieve Morgan’s 3x great grandmother was May Anne Condell (1797-1844, changed from Cundell, Leith Scottish brewing family), arrived Hobart 1820 with sister Margaret Jamison (nee Cundell). Their first cousin Henry Condell (1797-1871) (See Page v of Introduction) arrived in Hobart Town 1822 then Melbourne 1839. He was a brewer and active in the Separation of Victoria and elected Melbourne’s first Mayor December 9, 1842 standing down in November 1844. From June 1, 1843 to February 1, 1844 Henry Condell was Melbourne’s first elected representative to the NSW Legislative Council (NSW Upper House).³
On May 29, 1835 the 15 tons Rebecca with John Batman’s party anchored in Port Phillip Bay by Indented Head (near St Leonards). With John Batman were members of the Port Phillip Association (a representative body of 15 squatters and businessmen from Van Diemen’s Land⁴), three servants and seven Sydney Aborigines. John Batman maintains in his Journal (diary) that on June 6, 1835 he and his party met with the local Aboriginal people, eight aboriginal chiefs among them, not far from the site of Melbourne and purchased land (“about 600,000 acres more or less”) under a treaty he then made with them.⁴

John Batman’s also claims in his ‘diary’ on June 8, 1835 members of his Port Phillip Association came across the Yarra Yarra falls and fresh water. (Today the location of Melbourne’s Custom’s House/Immigration Museum.)

On June 9, 1935 John Batman left Indented Head leaving eight of his party to remain at Indented Head and returned to Launceston arriving June 12, 1835.

In August 1835, members of John Batman’s Port Phillip Association returned to Port Phillip and settled near the Heads of Port Phillip Bay at Indented Head.

On November 9, 1835 John Batman, Dr Barry Cotter and others, plus 500 sheep for members of the Port Phillip Association, arrived in Hobson’s Bay on the Norval.

It was not until Aug. 21, 1835 that members of John Pascoe Fawkner’s party in the Enterprise ‘found’ the Yarra Yarra falls location. On the Aug. 28, 1835 the Enterprise was moored to the trees which grew on the river banks. Most of the party departed Sept. 5, 1835 except George Evans, his servant and Fawkner’s servants stayed. (Details on members of John Pascoe Fawkner’s party was first published, by his request, in No.1, Oct. 28, 1853, The Diggers Advocate published and printed by The Herald for Heath, Hough & Williams.)⁵
Shortly after Fawkner’s party arrived at Yarra Yarra falls members of the Port Phillip Association arrived in the same area on the Yarra Yarra, maintaining that John Batman in June, 1835, representing the Port Phillip Association, had purchased the land from the local aborigines – “about 600,000 acres more or less”.

“Wedge (John Helder) reported this troubling turn of events to Batman after his party landed there (in the same area on the Yarra) shortly afterwards. Fearful that the Association would lose the land they had allegedly purchased to Fawkner’s party, he was more apprehensive that conflict between the two would prompt the NSW government to interfere and dispossess both.” (The Settlement of John Batman in Port Phillip. From his own Journal. Joint proprietor and printer W. H. Williams, joint proprietor and publisher George Slater).6

On Oct. 10, 1835 John Pascoe Fawkner revisited Sullivan Bay in the Enterprise before the Enterprise on Oct. 11 anchored in Hobson’s Bay; just clear of the channel to the Yarra Yarra falls where Fawkner’s party arrived on Aug. 21, 1835.

In late April, 1836, John Batman brought his wife, seven daughters and servants to Port Phillip on the Caledonia and established the ‘homestead’ of his first sheep station on the site which became St James Church. John Batman died on May 6, 1839 aged 39 years. (John Batman’s only son, John Charles, was born in the Yarra village on November 5, 1836. On January 11, 1845 he drowned playing in the Yarra Falls – where the present Queen’s Bridge is situated.)

Before John Batman died the Melbourne Club was founded (November 1838) by prominent Port Phillip District citizens (many of Irish, including Anglo Irish, and Scottish descent) who started seriously questioning the ‘heavy handed’ NSW Colonial Government which was dominated by the English military. It was these dynamic men, many young, who began in earnest the Separation of the Port Phillip District from New South Wales.
On May 24, 1839 the newly formed **Melbourne Club** (some members were either members of the **Port Phillip Association** or closely associated with the Port Phillip Association) agreed to lease Fawkner’s Shakspeare Hotel for 5 years from June 1, 1839. The ‘amicable’ relationship between the Melbourne Club/Port Phillip Association and John Pascoe Fawkner didn’t last long and finally came to a head in June 1841 when there was a very public dispute between members of the Melbourne Club and John Pascoe Fawkner. (See Page 11, Note 2 and see Page 12, Note 3).

However both sides and Melbourne’s newspaper publishers and printers (John Pascoe Fawkner, George Cavenagh, George Arden, William Kerr, and Samuel Goode – See Page 8) were from Batman’s death and for more than 10 years united in their drive for the **Separation of the Port Phillip District from New South Wales.** (See Possession: Batman’s Treaty and the Matter of History, Page 65)

The first Separation Meeting was held in Scott’s School, Eastern Hill on May 13, 1840. Presiding was Major George Mercer, a Scot and member of the Port Phillip Association. Of the 19 speakers, 14 at the time were members of the Melbourne Club.

On June 4, 1840 the **Separation Association** was formed, only five years after Melbourne was first settled in 1835.)

Mr Henry Fysche Gisborne, a public servant and member of the Melbourne Club, then prepared the ‘First Petition to the Imperial Parliament’ which in due course was forwarded to London. (In 1841 Gisborne left the Colony and died at sea aged 26 years.)

While today most immigrants arrive in Australia by aeroplane, the recent publicity on ‘boat people’ should remind Australians that before the 1970s migration to Australia was by sea, and during the 19th Century it was a long and perilous trip with many lives lost at sea – ‘boat people’ dying at sea or being lost at sea is not new to Australia! (Two members of my family were lost at sea, Captain Nathaniel Florance on the ‘Rover’ near Batemans Bay, 1841 and Captain James Florance on the ‘Brisbane’, wrecked near Jervis Bay, 1832.)

The **Separation Association** appointed three Committees (See Garryowen, (Edmund Finn), Page 907):

(1). **To obtain signatures to the Petition**, and to solicit subscriptions in aid of the objects set forth, viz, Jonathan Binns Were, Andrew Muirson M’Rae and Redmond Barry, Esqs.


The first public Separation Meeting was held December 30, 1840 in Mr Isaac Hind’s store in Flinders Lane near Queen St (Chaired by William Verner, Melbourne Club’s first President, 1840). Other separation advocates present were some members of the Port Phillip Association, Edward Curr (Prominent Irish Roman Catholic who contested and lost, Melbourne’s first election for Mayor, 1842.), Henry Condell (later Melbourne’s first Mayor) and as mentioned many members of the Melbourne Club including: Major George Mercer (Separation Association first President, 1840.), Redmond Barry (Melbourne Club Secretary 1841, President 1844, 1846 & 1858.), Dr James Palmer (Third Melbourne Mayor, 1845-1846.), A Bolden (Melbourne Club Vice President, 1840/41.), Henry Fysche Gisborne, Dr Farquhar McCrae, Niel Black, William Foster Stawell, George Cavenagh, Dr W. D. Bernard, A. F. Mollison and others. (See Page 12, Note 3).

Garryowen (Edmund Finn) points out on Page 907 that from 1840 little was done for four years:

“Little, however, was effected for the next four years, except that the continued injustice suffered under the Government of New South Wales pressed as an incubus, of which everyone was tired and were longing to shake off.” (Garryowen, Page 907).

Most of the Port Phillip District early settlers were squatters with sheep and some cattle. By March 1841 the population of Melbourne, Geelong and surrounds had grown to only 4,479 – 2,676 males and 1,803 females. In 10 years (1851) Victoria had separated from New South Wales and the population had increased at a significant rate to 97,489; however the squatters, while
significant contributors to the economy and politically important, were very much a minority by numbers.

By 1844, apart from the squatters, most settlers involved in the Port Phillip District commerce and trade were strongly opposed to accepting convicts. Despite this the British Home Government wanted to still ‘foist a semi-diluted felony upon the district, in the form of conditionally pardoned convicts from the penal depôts in England’. (Garryowen, Page 908). In addition Garryowen (Page 907) ‘explains’ that by 1844 the English dominated administration in Sydney had imposed property taxes in and about Melbourne which caused great concern.

As a consequence an important Separation Meeting was held on March 22, 1844 at the Royal Hotel, where Mr Archibald Cunninghame, Barrister and member of the Melbourne Club, declared: “that it was more than time that this fair province should have a Government and Governor of its own, with a Legislature empowered to frame laws suited to the circumstances of a free colony adapted to the exigencies of her own position, aiding in the development of her vast resources, and in spreading population over these fertile plains, which have given to this portion of Australia the envied appellation of ‘Felix’. Till separation be obtained we can, at best, but float like a dismasted and deserted hulk on the surface of the water, without captain to direct, without sails to impel, without helmsman to guide us, floating, more or less easily, as the waters may be smooth or troubled, but in either case, alike aimless and objectless. Separation will be to us at once, captain and helmsman, wind and sail.”

The meeting passed a resolution affirming: “That total Separation from the Middle District (of New South Wales) is an indispensable pre-requisite to the just or beneficial working of any scheme of taxation, which has for its object the improvement of this district.”

Garryowen records on April 16, 1844; “a District Legislative Nomination was fixed for holding of an important meeting to advance the Separation Cause”. The Chair was taken by the Mayor (Henry Condell), Edward Curr submitted a “remarkably able and convincing Report” and several “effective” speeches were delivered by Edward Curr and Dr James F Palmer. “A resolution was also affirmed, inaugurating a Society for attaining the Financial, Political, and Territorial Separation of Port Phillip from the Middle and Northern Districts of New South Wales.” (Garryowen Pages 907 & 908)

On November 28, 1845 “the most successful public meeting yet mooted was convened on requisition” by Dr James Palmer who from November 1845-1846 was Melbourne’s third Mayor.

The speakers were the Chairman (Mayor, Dr James Palmer), Messrs. Edward
Curr, John Leslie Foster, William Foster Stawell, E.J. Brewster, Thomas Willis, J.A. Marsden, W. M. Bell, William Kerr, J.P. Fawkner, Niel Black and Dr. P. M’Arthur. The principal resolution was nominating Archibald Cunninghame, Esq., a Delegate to represent the interests of the people of the province of London. Messrs. Edward Curr, Thomas Wills, and William Westgarth were charged with the duty of instructing the Delegate, and to be the authorised instrument of communication with him in London. It was estimated that £1000 would be a sufficient sum to raise by subscription.

_Garryowen (Page 908)_ records the occasion as follows:

“To petition Parliament against pledging the Crown Lands of the district jointly with those of the Sydney district in security for a loan for immigration purposes; and to consider the propriety of appointing an agent to proceed to England to oppose the project and to advance generally the Cause of Separation.”

“Prior to the departure of the Delegate (January 5, 1846), he (Archibald Cunninghame) was entertained at a public breakfast in the Royal Hotel, with Mr E. Curr in the Chair. On the termination of the matinée, Mr Cunninghame was escorted to the wharf, thence to the steamer ‘Vesta’, by which he travelled to Geelong, whence he sailed for England”. (_Garryowen_, Page 908)

Unfortunately Archibald Cunninghame did not express the views of those he had returned to England to represent and was consequently openly “denounced as a traitor”, he did not return to Australia although his brother and several of his five sisters came to Port Phillip and stayed in Australia.

In 1846 Dr Palmer as Mayor, prepared a paper thought to have been written too “plainly”; for the Governor (Sir G. Gipps) returned it with a “cutting memo”:

“His Excellency has yet to learn that because a gentleman had by fortuitous circumstances been made Mayor of Melbourne for one year, he was to insult the person of the Queen’s Representative.” (_Garryowen_, Page 909)

It was not until 1848, that it was ascertained that the Separation of Port Phillip was seriously contemplated by the British Home Government, but the precise form in which the constitutional changes were to be effected was not acceptable. Delay was interposed, and in 1849, after the Separation Bill had been introduced in the House of Commons, it was withdrawn.

An “indignation meeting” was then held on November 26, 1849 in the Melbourne Mechanics’ Institute, the Mayor (Dr Greeves) in the Chair.
“Resolutions of an uncompromising character were passed, unmincing in language, declaring that though intensely loyal, it was not possible to brook further delay, and adopting Petitions to the Queen and the Imperial Parliament. The speakers were Messrs. John Leslie Foster, Henry Moor, William Hull, Thos, M’Combie, J.P. Fawkner, C.H. Ebden, George Annand, William Kerr, John Stephen, David Young and Captain Cole.” (Garryowen, Page 909)

On July 5, 1850 amendments to the Australian Colonies’ Bill were made in the House of Lords, and agreed to in the Commons on August 1, 1850 to only await the Queen’s signature to become the law of the land. “The long-oppressed, long-buffeted Port Phillip is at length an Independent Colony, gifted with the Royal name of Victoria, and endowed with a flourishing revenue and almost inexhaustible resources; let all classes of colonists then not lose a moment in their hour of triumph in celebrating the important epoch in a suitable manner, and observing one General Jubilee….The Royal Assent to the Separation Bill was deemed a matter of form, and it was afterwards ascertained that this final ceremony was performed on the 5th of September 1850.” (Garryowen, Page 910)

On July 1, 1851 Victoria became a Colony of the United Kingdom. It was more than eleven years since the first Separation Meeting of May 13, 1840 with Major George Mercer (Member of the Port Phillip Association) presiding followed by the June 4, 1840 meeting and formation of the Separation Association. Redmond Barry was involved in both meetings while on June 4, 1840 William Kerr, Editor of George Cavenagh’s Port Phillip Herald was made Secretary of the Separation Association.

Many of those involved in the Separation of Victoria from the early 1840s were members of the Melbourne Club and after July 1, 1851 members of Victoria’s first Government or members of Victoria’s legal establishment. They included Redmond Barry, appointed Victoria’s first Solicitor General, a position he held briefly before January 1852, when aged 38, he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria, John Leslie Foster, born 1818, from July 20, 1852 Colonial Secretary to Victoria’s first Government and appointed Administrator of Victoria from May 6, 1854 to June 1854, and his cousin William Foster Stawell, born 1815, in 1851 appointed Attorney General in the first Legislative Council by Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe. (In September 1853 Foster was appointed to the committee to draft a new constitution for Victoria. He and Stawell dominated the committee and the Constitution – acknowledged as skillfully framed for its democratic features more than its conservatism.)
Redmond Barry, John Leslie Foster and William Foster Stawell all attended Trinity College, Dublin; as did Peter Lalor, born 1827, leader of the Eureka uprising.

Separation Association supporters and Melbourne Club members – Redmond Barry, John Leslie Foster, William Foster Stawell and George Cavenagh (Irish Protestant proprietor of The Melbourne Morning Herald and financial backer of The Diggers Advocate – Friends I Shelter Foes I Crush, first published October 28, 1853. In February 24, 1854 it became The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser, published by George Black with contributions from H. R. Nicholls and support from John Pascoe Fawkner and Ebenezer Syme – both publications were the “voice of the gold diggers”), and George Black and Peter Lalor were consequently involved in the December 3, 1854 Eureka uprising in the Ballarat goldfields and the subsequent Eureka Trials with ‘Not Guilty’ verdicts – all Eureka prisoners free and Victoria ‘saved’. I will cover this period of Victoria’s history in my next Lecture!

Gary Morgan.

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4) Boys, Robert Douglass, First years at Port Phillip, 1834 – 1842, 1959, Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens,

5) Butler, R., Eureka Stockade, 1854, Angus & Robertson Publishers


7) Garryowen (Edmund Finn), The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, Vols 1-2, Fergusson and Mitchell (Melb, 1888)


11) *James Fenton, A History of Tasmania – From its Discovery in 1642 to the Present Time – first published 1884, reported from of The Digger’s Advocate, No. 1, Oct. 28, 1853.*


NOTES:

1 “Early in the year 1835 Mr. Fawkner conceived the idea of establishing a colony in the promising country he had so early visited. To this end he organised a party, consisting of Messrs. Lancey, Robert Hay, Marr, George Evens, and Samuel and William Jackson, for the purpose of forming and expedition to colonise Port Phillip.” The Hon. John Pascoe Fawkner, M.L.C. *Our Portrait Gallery, The Illustrated Journal of Australasia,* joint proprietor and printer W. H. Williams, joint proprietor and publisher George Slater, April 1857.

2 “On the 27th (July), the “Enterprise” put to sea from George Town, the port of clearance, having on board Messrs. Wm. Jackson, Geo. Evens, Robert Hay Moor (Marr), Captain John Lancey, and John Pascoe Fawkner. Mr. G. Evans took over one servant, and J. P. Fawkner put on board James Gilbert, blacksmith, and his wife Mary, Charles Wise, ploughman, and Thomas Morgan, general servant.” First published The Digger’s Advocate, No.1, Oct. 28, 1853, published and printed by The Herald for Heath, Hough & Williams. James Bonwick republished, Discovery and Settlement of Port Philip; being A History of the Colony now called Victoria, 1856 reported from Up to the arrival of Mr Superintendent LaTrobe, in October, 1839, Melbourne, 1856.
Henry Condell arrived in Van Dieman’s Land in 1822 departing for Melbourne in 1839. His life was not always ‘smooth sailing’. In Van Dieman’s Land he was critical of officials’ stealing Government property and brewers adulterating their beer. Henry Condell was involved in several court cases including being charged with manslaughter (which was subsequently changed to assault and dropped). Henry Condell with wife, Marion, and only son, William Vallange (b. 1827), left Van Dieman’s Land in 1839 for Melbourne where he established a successful brewery in Little Bourke Street and in 1842 was elected Melbourne’s first Mayor. In 1840 Henry Condell’s daughter Jane Eliza (1822-1904) arrived in Hobart Town with her sister. Henry Condell, wife and son spent about 30 years in Australia however they had no known contact with their daughter Jane Eliza who in 1844 married Thomas Brooks (1810-1894) a convict pardoned in 1845. By 1846 the Brooks family had moved to Mortlake, Vic. where they brought up their 11 children and Jane Eliza’s first son, John Brooks (1841-1915). Henry Condell was a “rich man” when he left Melbourne in 1853 with his wife on the P. & O. Bombay for England (which nearly sank with its passengers and their gold). After Henry Condell died in England in 1871 his son, William Vallange, gave the City of Melbourne a portrait of Henry Condell and the clock for the Town Hall Tower which still operates today (See back cover of The La Trobe Society Early Melbourne Paintings catalogue, December 7, 2012).

4. The Port Phillip Association Members:

5. Information on the ‘Fawkner’s party’ was also covered by:


“The party who embarked on board the Enterprise consisted of Messrs. J. P. Fawkner, William Jackson, George Evans, Robert Hay, Man (Marr), and John Lancy. Mr. Fawkner also took on board, James Gilbert, blacksmith, with his wife, Mary; and two servants, named Charles Wise and Thomas Morgan. The Ship went to sea on the 27th July, with a fair wind, which unfortunately changed before many hours, and the vessel was detained within sight of land. Mr Fawkner was attacked with sea sickness, and under the necessity of returning by George Town to Launceston.”
2) James Fenton, *A History of Tasmania* – From its Discovery in 1642 to the Present Time – first published 1884, reported from of The Digger’s Advocate, No.1, Oct.28, 1853.

“The members of Fawkner’s association were, himself, Robert Hay, George Evans and his man Marr, Evan Evans, and William Jackson. Fawkner also took over a ploughman, shoemaker, and blacksmiths with a wife. A friend, Captain Lancey, also accompanied him. This little party, intent on founding a new colony, sailed out of the Tamar Heads on 28th July; but the weather was stormy, and after beating about for two days and nights, the vessel put back to George Town. Fawkner’s health gave way, and he was unable to proceed with the vessel: he gave instructions, however, to his associates, and to Captain Lancey, who took charge of the expedition. The Enterprise put into Western Port on her voyage, entered Port Phillip on August 15th, and proceeded up to the Yarra river. On the 28th she was moored to the trees which grew on the banks of the river, where the great city of Melbourne now stands.”

6. John Batman’s Journal (Copy of front cover Page 124): Extracts from John Batman’s own Journal are available from the La Trobe State Library. “The Settlement of John Batman in Port Phillip from his own Journal” https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/ The extracts were first published in 1856 by George Slater and printed by William (W. H.) Williams, my great grandfather. In 1855 and 1856 George Slater and William Williams also published as Slater, Williams and Hobson, 94 Bourke Street East, Melbourne. (See Pages 69-74 and Appendix 1a, 1b & 2)


8. Florance Family in Australia: In 1850, my great great grandfather, Dr William Florance, first arrived in Melbourne after visiting Sydney as the ‘Troy’ ship’s doctor, while a few years earlier two other members of the Florance family were ship captains and lost at sea off the New South Wales coast.

William Florance’s cousin, Thomas Florance, arrived in Van Diemen’s Land in 1817 and today is remembered for surveying under John Oxley the south coast of New South Wales in late 1827 and 1828 on the 13-tonne Wasp from Jervis Bay to Moruya (225 km from Victoria’s border) – he recorded
in his diary some perilous incidents at sea. Accompanying Thomas Florance were two ‘free’ seamen, another surveyor (Abbott) and a crew of convicts. Florance survived his ‘assignments’ south but after disagreeing with **Major Thomas Mitchell** resigned as a Government surveyor and left New South Wales for New Zealand in October 1834 – before Major Mitchell had found the **Henty brothers** at Portland Bay and Melbourne had been established!

9. During the **Eureka trials** **Butler Cole Aspinall**, a radical Liverpool barrister, acted gratuitously for Eureka prisoners charged with treason, he was instrumental in their acquittal. In 1854, before Eureka, Aspinall was Editor of *The Melbourne Morning Herald*. In 1856 he was elected to the new Legislative Assembly (seat Talbot) and soon afterwards became a member of the Melbourne Club. In 1856 **Peter Lalor** was also elected to the new Legislative Assembly.

GOLD Diggers' FUELING MACHINE.

Our sketch illustrates the Gold-fueling process, commonly known as Fueling. The machine, in such a simple arrangement, consists of a large circular, or rather annular trough, in which are two or more heavily loaded barrels. These are dropped into the trough, and then worked up with water into a state of coarse pulp. It is then removed to the finer one or other apparatus to be washed, by being thoroughly agitated with water until the clay has been washed away, and the gold left with the other heavy substances at the bottom. The deposit is then removed for final washing.

MELBOURNE: PUBLISHED FOR THE PROPRIETORS BY JOHN P. BROWN, 120, ELIZABETH STREET.

Proprietor W. H. Williams (1839-1910), grandfather of Roy Morgan (1908-1985). Wood etching by Frederick Grosse of Nicholas Chevalier sketch, April 1858
Appendix 6:

Glen Eira Council Australia Day Breakfast

‘Change is needed by all’

by

Gary Morgan
Executive Chairman
Roy Morgan Research
January 22, 2010

Acknowledgments:
Professor Geoffrey Blainey, Michele Levine, Julian McCrann, Alex Farquharson and Stewart McArthur.

Governor Arthur Phillip and British Military (19 officers and 191 marines) with convicts (717 including 188 women) founded Australia on January 26, 1788. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/phillip-arthur-2549

From 1788 there were over 3,000 convict sites established in Australia – nothing to be proud of!

It took more than 100 years for Australia’s convict involvement to finally end with the 1886 closure of the Fremantle convict prison. So why are we celebrating Australia Day today? If we need a day to celebrate our ‘foundation’ as a nation then it would be better to celebrate Eureka Day, December 3, 1854.

In June 1790 John Macarthur (1767-1834), a Lieutenant in the New South Wales Corps, and his wife, Elizabeth (1766-1850), and sickly child arrived in the Colony of Port Jackson aboard the Second Fleet after a journey of 6 months.

John Macarthur’s life was full of controversy involving major disagreements with the Governors of the Colony. He was involved in forcing the departures of Governors Arthur Phillip (December 1792), John Hunter (1795-1800), Philip King (1800-1806), William Bligh (1806-1808) and Lachlan Macquarie (1810-1821).

John Macarthur spent many years in England involved in two English court martials. He spent 4 years (November 1801-1805) contesting his own court martial; then leaving the Colony in March 1809 for 8 years in England initially supporting Major George Johnston at his court martial for his role in the Rum Rebellion which resulted in Governor Bligh’s deposition.
By breeding pure merino sheep John Macarthur was responsible for the initial growth in the Colony’s fine wool industry. Because of his pure merino sheep monopoly he was despised by many other wool growers.

John Macarthur’s fellow pastoralists judged him much less flatteringly than popular history has done. After John Macarthur’s death in April 1834 there was scarcely a notice in the Sydney papers and no memorials. This was despite fine Merino wool then being Australia’s major export and about 2 million sheep in Australia.

In 1831 NSW’s population was about 51,000 of whom 21,000 were convicts. In 1837, the population had increased to about 97,000 with 32,000 convicts. Most of the 65,000 free settlers were either in the military or had been in the military or been convicts.

With the 1838 British abolition of slaves in all colonies many countries such as the United States and Jamaica became less attractive to English farmers. Australia’s access to cheap labour, with a steady flow of released convicts, made the Australian Colonies a more attractive destination than the United States for farmers wanting to make a new life on their own land.

Victoria was first settled on November 19, 1834, when Edward Henty (aged 24 years) arrived at Portland Bay.

Officially Melbourne, founded 1835, was not a convict settlement. In November 1836 the District of Port Phillip’s European population was 324, by 1839 the District’s population numbered 5,822 (Melbourne’s about 3,000) and by 1840 10,291 – a significant increase partly assisted by ‘Bounty’ immigrants, a scheme abandoned in 1841. At the March 22, 1841 census Melbourne’s population was 4,479 – 2,676 males and 1,803 females.

During the 1840s the Port Philip District accepted many ex-convicts from Van Dieman’s Land and shipments of convicts with conditional pardons from Britain. They laboured on public works, in spite of opposition from the new Melbourne Town Council (founded December 1842); others were sent to work on pastoral properties beyond Melbourne.

By 1844, apart from the squatters, most settlers involved in the Port Phillip District commerce and trade were strongly opposed to accepting convicts. Despite this the British Home Government wanted to still ‘foist a semi-diluted felony upon the district, in the form of conditionally pardoned convicts from the penal depôts in England’. (Garryown, Page 908). In addition Garryown
‘explains’ that by 1844 the English dominated administration in Sydney had imposed property taxes in and about Melbourne which caused great concern.

By 1850, within 15 years of settlement, about one-quarter of the men in Port Phillip were ex-convicts.

Since Melbourne was founded in 1835 there have been three major political events which have shaped the State of Victoria and Australia to make it what it is today:

1. **Separation of the Port Phillip District (Victoria) from New South Wales** – July 1, 1851 – the *Separation Association* (formed June 4, 1840) was strongly opposed to convict labour and convict settlement, and English military administration from Sydney,

2. **The Eureka uprising in the Victorian goldfields**, December 3, 1854, and subsequent 13 ‘Not Guilty’ verdicts involving the Melbourne legal establishment many of whom had been vocal supporters of the *Separation of Victoria* and opposed to the oppressive English military administration, and

3. **Federation of Australia**, January 1, 1901 – making it possible for Australian’s democracy which is today run from Canberra – Australia’s greatest self-made disaster. (I first went public on the issue of Canberra as the Federal Capital on March 3, 1998 at *The Melbourne Convention - Federation: into the Future* in my paper: *The Asian Crisis means we need major change for Australia - if not, we need to destroy the Federal System of Government as we now know it - and start again!* http://www.roymorgan.com/~/media/files/papers/pre-2010/19980303.pdf?la=en – I am pleased former Prime Minister Paul Keating now agrees with me – it took him a while, however better late than never!

It was the Victoria’s gold discovery at Clunes in June 1851 which changed forever Australia and the small rural Victorian community, with thousands of young people, mainly men and many ex-convicts, flocking to the goldfields around central Victoria from all parts of the world. Victoria was a male dominated society with employment opportunities for women limited to domestic services, shops, schools and hospitals.

“The roads were anything but safe for solitary travellers…and crimes against persons and property were frequent enough at the goldfields, but when one remembers the vast influx of immigrants; the inefficiency of the police force; the feeling of unrest developed when a large number of people abandon their usual pursuits for such an occupation as gold-seeking; and the crowds of ex-convicts who made their way from Tasmania and New South Wales, one is struck with admiration and astonishment at the peaceable manner in which most of the cosmopolitan arrivals settled down as colonists.”

Following Victoria’s gold rush and the subsequent 13 ‘Not Guilty’ Eureka verdicts in the Victorian Supreme Court, Melbourne boomed with a large, in some instance trained, labour pool eager and willing to create real wealth – some would say a very different Australia and Victoria than we have today!

Melbourne, with New York and Paris, in a short number of years was created as one of the great cities of the 19th century. Melbourne’s population in 1850 was 20,500 by 1880 it was 281,000.

Today we are not one of the world’s great cities, although a great place to live and visit for a holiday! So where does Melbourne and Australia go today?

Yesterday we released our weekly Roy Morgan Consumer Confidence rating, in a week it is up 1.1 points to 130.0 the highest since February 2005.  
http://www.roymorgan.com/morganpoll/consumer-confidence/consumer-confidence

We also released our latest Morgan Poll showing the Rudd Government leading well in our latest Morgan Poll – ALP 58.5% L-NP 41.5%, an ALP landslide!  
http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4463-201303010301

Australia is booming thanks to China’s demand for our minerals, in particular iron ore and coal. **But all is not well,** while the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) says we have 5.5% unemployed Roy Morgan says the figure is 6.8% - that is not all. 8.2% are underemployed - so the ‘lucky’ country has 14.9% (1.706 million) 
Australians in the workforce unemployed or underemployed - far too many.  
http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4454-201303140316

A fact ignored by Prime Minister Rudd and Deputy Prime Minister Gillard. We are a ‘stupid’ country to tolerate such a high unemployed and underemployed number while our mineral exports are ‘booming’.

On Monday January 18, 2010, a special Roy Morgan survey was published
which showed Australian are evenly divided on the BHP Billiton/Rio Tinto iron ore merger in the WA Pilbara Region.\[http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4461-201302250426\]

Slightly more Australians agree (44%) than disagree (39.5%) that BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto should be able to merge their Iron Ore operations in Western Australia while 16.5% can’t say. (These results are according to a special Roy Morgan telephone survey with an Australian wide cross-section of 659 respondents aged 14+ conducted on the nights of January 13/14, 2010.)

The Roy Morgan survey asked: “In recent months Australia’s largest mining companies, BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto, have proposed merging their iron ore mining operations in Western Australia to create a joint venture covering all current and future Australian iron ore mining assets of the two companies. In your opinion should BHP Billiton and Rio Tinto be allowed to merge their iron ore mining operations in Western Australia?”

The political ‘sleeper’ for those wanting this merger to go ahead is ‘foreign ownership’ and the sheer size of the combined entity and associated reduction in competition. The following are examples of some of the comments.

“It would become a monopoly, creating a lack of competition.”
“Because of the virtual monopoly they will have.”
“It will become too much of a monopoly and that makes me worried.”
“I don’t like things being joined together as one. I think there needs to be competition for things to be fair.”
“I don’t like things being in just a few hands.”
“It will become more of a monopoly and it wouldn’t be good for the economy.”

**Change is needed by all** – Local Government, ‘yes’ the Glen Eira Council, the Melbourne City Council, the State Government and the Federal Government.

We need fewer and overall lower taxes NOT more taxes or overall higher taxes – put up the GST but only if payroll tax and other taxes that discourage employment are abolished – it is essential to create more jobs,
We need to change ‘work practices’, ‘Fair Work’ needs to be ‘Fair Choice’,
We need to stop the cash society,
We need to stop corporate rorts,
We need massive infrastructure expenditure on ports, roads and railways,
We need to export finished goods – from many new industries, etc

The BHP Billiton/Rio Tinto merger must **not** go ahead unless their duopolistic
control of the railways and ports in the Pilbara is made an independent authority – then all Australians will benefit from the merger not just the BHP Billiton/Rio Tinto shareholders, employees concerned and higher taxes.

And at the same time the Federal Government needs to cut out the union supported labour market (IR) ‘rorts’ which keep holding Australia back – if not unemployed and under-employed in Australia will soon be 3 million.

If neither is done Australia’s boom will soon be over, like the initial boom in merino wool which began more than 200 years ago and today is an industry which makes only a relatively small contribution to Australia’s economy!

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(Available on Roy Morgan website:  www.roymorgan.com)

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7. Garryowen (Edmund Finn), The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, Vols 1-2, Fergusson and Mitchell (Melb, 1888)

8. Tout-Smith, Deborah with many contributors, Melbourne, A city of stories, Museum Victoria, 2008
The next Federal Election will decided on whether Australian electors accept or reject the proposed 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax - the result will go down in Australian history as one of the most important decisions regarding the future of Australia.

The following are five significant Australian political history dates which are responsible for Australia’s democratic system as it is today:

- January 26, 1788 – Foundation of Australia for UK Convict Settlement in Sydney.
- July 1, 1851 – Separation of the Port Phillip District (Victoria) from New South Wales.
- December 3, 1854 – The Eureka uprising in the Victorian goldfields after the imposition of a mining gold licence tax of £1 a month.
- January 1, 1901 – Federation of the Australian States.

The sixth significant date hasn’t happened yet - it will be when the future of the proposed 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax is decided - perhaps another Eureka!
On June 24, 2010 Julia Gillard replaced Kevin Rudd as Prime Minister. On July 2, 2010 the Gillard Government made major changes to the proposed **Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax**.

At the Federal election on August 21, 2010 a hung Parliament was elected. On September 7, 2010, Julia Gillard formed a minority Labor Government with support from the Greens and three Independents. As of today the proposed mining tax, now called the **Mining Resource Rent Tax (MRRT)** has yet to be legislated.

There is little doubt that Victoria and Australia would be a very different place today if early Port Phillip settlers had not on July 1, 1851, after 11 years, obtained **Separation of Victoria** from NSW and subsequently in 1855 recognised the inequity of the mining tax that started the Eureka Stockade, resulting in the 13 defendants found ‘Not Guilty’ of treason at the **Eureka trials**. (Many of Melbourne’s legal establishment at the time had since the early 1840’s been vocal supporters of the Separation of Victoria. - See Attachment 5, Pages 130 & 131)

The Eureka uprising was about a sham mining tax, I am sure many Australians see the similarity to today’s 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax.

In 1854, under Governor Sir Charles Hotham and before the ‘Eureka uprising’, the Victorian Legislative Council Budget stipulated £155,000 pounds be allocated to education and “...£400,000 should be transmitted, according, to law, for the purpose of promoting immigration from the United Kingdom” – an obvious legislative ‘sham’ ordered by the British Administration as a reason for transferring funds collected mainly from miners and land sales to the UK.

In 1855 Slater, Williams (my great grandfather) and Hodgson sent a critical letter, “Bounty Immigration”, to all Members of the Victorian Legislative Council strongly objecting to the ‘sham’ misappropriated allocation of funds by the Victorian Government “…promoting immigration from the United Kingdom”. (See Pages 70 and 141)

Today, 156 years later, the Federal Government is proposing to legislate a 40% **Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax** – like in 1854, a proposed legislated ‘sham’ – on the ‘false’ premise that the minerals owned by a State are the property of the Federal Government to freely distribute to other States – for all Australians to benefit - a ‘sham’ reason!

Stopping the 40% **Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax** is as important today as the 1851 ‘Separation of Victoria’, the 1854 ‘Eureka Uprising’ and in 1949 stopping ‘Bank Nationalisation’.
The 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax is:

– retrospective on existing mines and has already significantly damaged Australian’s ‘sovereign risk’ as a country worthy of investment and safe to invest in – both for mining projects and other projects
– a Federal Government tax on mines and minerals – which are owned by the States

The 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax will have far reaching consequences.

Making the tax 40% on the profit of an individual mining project means the npv (net present value after tax) used by financial institutions to lend funds for that project is now significantly lower so fewer mining projects will begin – 40% tax = 40% nationalisation.

The net effect:

• Value of mining companies now lower
• Dividends to be lower
• Superannuation assets lower, and
• Lower employment due to a weaker mining industry:
  – fewer new mines opened
  – fewer mining related/service industries
  – less mineral exploration

Acceptance or not of the 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax will be decided at the next Federal election – if stopped, Australia will continue its remarkable growth; if rejected and legislated it is the beginning of the nationalisation of many other Australian industries – the beginning of Australia with a ‘Greek’ economy!

Our latest Morgan Poll conducted June 12/13, 2010 gave the ALP 51.5%, L-NP 49.5% – forget the published telephone polls showing the L-NP with a big lead – the Federal election will be close, and the ALP people I have spoken to (all close to ‘god’) know where the ALP now stands – in a good position to win the next Federal Election – then Australia will need more than ‘god’ to help us!

The 40% Mining ‘Super Profits’ Tax issue is bigger than the Mining Companies (not wanting to pay more tax), the issue is bigger than the L-NP Opposition wanting to win the next Federal election – it is about the future of Australia and all Australians.
In 1852 my great grandfather, **William Williams**, began his printing and publishing life working at George Cavenagh’s *The Melbourne Morning Herald* with Henry Heath and George Hough. On October 28 1853 Heath, Hough and Williams, with support from George Cavenagh, began *The Diggers Advocate* – “Voice of the Gold Diggers” which closed after 6 issues and on February 24, 1854 published as *The Gold Diggers’ Advocate* with George Black as Editor, H R Nicholls as Assistant Editor and during 1854 up to its last edition published before Eureka (December 3, 1854) contained contributions from John Pascoe Fawkner and Ebenezer Syme (eldest brother of David Syme and George Syme – Stewart McArthur’s great grandfather).

My family’s involvement with *The Herald* in Melbourne ended June 30, 1973 – 121 years after William Williams joined *The Melbourne Morning Herald*. By that time my father and I had conducted our last **Australian Gallup Poll** which since September 1941 was published in Melbourne in *The Herald* and other newspapers throughout Australia. **Gary Morgan, June 18, 2010**

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4. Butler, R., Eureka Stockade, 1854, Angus & Robertson Publishers


6. Morgan Poll, conducted June 12/13, 2010 [http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4463-201303010301/ALP would win close Election – ALP (51.5%, down 0.5%) cf. L-NP (48.5%, up 0.5%)](http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4463-201303010301/ALP would win close Election – ALP (51.5%, down 0.5%) cf. L-NP (48.5%, up 0.5%)
Appendix 8:

Charles La Trobe, Victoria’s Separation & Gold Tax – ‘turning a wild country into a civilised one’

Australia Day Council (Victoria) Inc.
Oration by Gary Morgan
May 9, 2011

Acknowledgements:
Dianne Reilly, Secretary, The La Trobe Society, Stewart McArthur, President, Melbourne Club, 2010/2011, Michele Levine, CEO, Roy Morgan Research Pauline Underwood, Collins Street Gallery, Blayney Morgan, Roy Morgan Research Centre, Alex Farquharson, Roy Morgan Research.

On July 25, 1839 Charles Joseph La Trobe arrived in Sydney. From October 3, 1839 to 1851 he was Superintendent of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales and on July 1, 1851, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria until he left Melbourne on May 6, 1854.

During this period Victoria changed from a mainly agricultural society to a booming economy founded on one of the world’s great gold discoveries.

La Trobe was a religious, well educated, sensitive person, with the highest ethical and social values; however he had little, if any, training or experience in administrating such a transformation which he was soon to be involved in.

La Trobe was a descendant of a French Huguenot family who in 1685 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes fled France. His protestant, non conformist, French ancestors originally moved from Europe to Ireland, and finally to the Moravian village of Fairfield near Manchester, England. The family became highly cultured Moravian missionaries – a family aligned with Wilberforce and anti slavery.

1 Quote by La Trobe’s friend, Hubert de Castella referring to how he saw La Trobe’s time in Victoria. La Trobe, The Making of a Governor, Page 189
In October 1824, Charles La Trobe, as a young unmarried man, became the tutor to the oldest, 12 year old son (Albert-Alexandre) of the Comte Frederic de Pourtales family who lived in Neuchatel, Switzerland.

Of importance Frederic himself gained the honour of attachment in 1809 to Napoleon’s household as Master-of-the-Horse to Empress Josephine. In due course, on November 18, 1811, Frederic married Josephine’s lady-in-waiting, the Comtesse Marie-Louise-Elizabeth de Castellane-Norante.

La Trobe tutored Albert-Alexandre until February 1827 and from then kept in close contact with the de Pourtales family. La Trobe in 1835 married the Count’s cousin Sophie de Montmollin.

On arriving in Melbourne on October 3, 1839, La Trobe was accompanied by his family and initially stayed at the ten-month-old Melbourne Club, at that time, occupying the Shakespeare Hotel (east corner of Collins St and Market St) owned by founding colonist John Pascoe Fawkner. (The Melbourne Club was established in 1839 to be run on the principles of London clubs. Bankrupts or those with a criminal record could not be Members.)

At the invitation of the Melbourne Club Committee La Trobe became a Member of the Melbourne Club on October 12, 1844.

La Trobe was premature when he wrote at the end of 1840 that ‘recent intelligence from home’ indicated separation in the near future.

Obviously La Trobe had not been opposed to the separation of the Port Phillip District from his beginning, but, like his superior officer, Sir George Gipps, La Trobe considered in his early years as Superintendent that the timing was not right due to the District having only been settled a few years before he arrived. It was to be a long, slow process to self-determination and La Trobe accepted progress in this way - his character was predisposed to gradual, orderly change. It was easy for the Port Phillip Colonists at the time to interpret La Trobe’s gradualism as lethargy.
The Colonists became impatient and considered La Trobe’s slowness to move on their behalf was due to his inactivity.

Personally I believe La Trobe’s inactivity was more due to his lack of authority than desire. His wife’s family had close ties with Napoleon’s ‘household’ and as such I believe La Trobe was at least a sympathetic Napoleonite (Most would consider Napoleonite’s to be Republicans – anti the French Monarchy) and in favour of separation like his ‘friends’ at the Melbourne Club.

The first separation meeting was held on May 13, 1840 – 14 of the 19 speakers were Members of the Melbourne Club. The first public meeting was held on December 30, 1840 in Isaac Hind’s Store in Flinders Lane near Queen St. While the separation movement accelerated in the first few years that La Trobe was resident; the desired goal was no closer to achievement.

In 1842 those in favour of separation managed to persuade voters not to nominate Port Phillip District representatives for the Legislative Council in Sydney. This was maintained until mid 1843 when Henry Condell was elected Melbourne’s first representative of Port Phillip District for the Legislative Council in Sydney – the first representative Assembly of Australia. (On December 9, 1842 Henry Condell was elected Melbourne’s first Mayor.)

In January 1845 a petition requesting separation was sent to the Colonial Office in London from the six minority Port Phillip Representatives of the New South Wales Legislative Council in Sydney; however separation still eluded the Port Phillip District.

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1 Of the speakers at first Separation Meeting (Scott’s School, Eastern Hill, May 13, 1840) 14 of the 19 were Members of the Melbourne Club. The speakers were Major George Mercer presiding and Messrs. H.F. Gisborne, A.M. M’Crea, C.H. Ebden, James Montgomery, Arthur Kemmis, Arthur Hogue, J.D.L. Campbell, P.W., Welsh, A. Bolden, Redmond Barry, J.C Riddell, W. Verner, T. Arnold, W. Meek, W. Ryrie, R. H. Browne, Dr. M’Crae, and Dr. Greeves.

2 The first Public Separation Meeting was held Dec. 30, 1840 in Mr Isaac Hind’s store in Flinders Lane near Queen St (Chaired by William Verner, Melbourne Club’s first President, 1840). Other separation advocates were some members of the Port Phillip Association, a representative body of 15 squatters and businessmen from Van Dieman’s Land, led by John Batman, who first settled Melbourne on May 29, 1835, Edward Curr (Prominent Irish Roman Catholic who contested Melbourne’s first election for Mayor.), Henry Condell, Dec. 9, 1842 Melbourne’s first Mayor (Brewer and publican from a Scottish brewing family.), and as mentioned many members of the Melbourne Club including: Major George Mercer (Separation Association first President, 1840.), Redmond Barry (Melbourne Club Secretary 1841, President 1844, 1846 & 1858.), Dr James Palmer (Second Melbourne Mayor, 1845.), A Bolden (Melbourne Club Vice President, 1840/41.), Henry Gisborne, Dr Farquhar McCrae, Niel Black, William Stawell, George Cavenagh, Dr W. D. Bernard, A. F. Mollison and others.
However, Governor Gipps believed La Trobe was convinced of the sense and the inevitability of a separate colony and, in 1845, stated in a confidential letter to La Trobe: "…and that I am not averse to separation".

A year later (1846) Gipps formally recommended separation of the Port Phillip District to the Colonial Office in London. It was seen that Gipps had confidence in La Trobe as the Administrator, and in the future Colony of Victoria. La Trobe had every reason to be glad that his persistence and reasoned arguments for separation had at last prevailed upon the Governor, although the act of separation would not be proclaimed for another five years.

While it was reported in the press that La Trobe placed himself in the way of the people’s yearnings for increasing political privileges and self-government it is difficult to believe the delays were due to La Trobe. La Trobe himself had made it known he was tired of waiting for separation to come. *However the administration in Sydney was not concerned with the delay in separation. The blame can be linked to the Colonial Office in London who was eager to use Australia as a ‘dumping ground’ for the ‘undesirables’.*

In 1846 the residents of Melbourne made it clear that convicts, once they were emancipated, except for some squatters were not wanted in the southern areas of New South Wales (Melbourne).

It is important to understand from La Trobe’s family and background as a young man in England and then in the West Indies, that one of his strongest characteristics was his desire for equity.

Despite this desire, it appears that La Trobe favoured the squatters. He spent much of his time travelling the Port Phillip District including making sketches and water colour paintings of the places he visited. La Trobe knew many of the squatters personally, especially after 1844 when he was elected to the Melbourne Club, where some were Members.

While the imperial policy protected squatters’ rights, La Trobe was concerned that although squatters did not have title to their land they had a ‘virtual monopoly’ on land tenure.

The media world was La Trobe’s greatest critic especially Edward Wilson, an English journalist of radical views, who in 1848 bought *The Argus* newspaper.

There is little doubt La Trobe was afraid of making decisions in those areas which might be ‘wrong’ in the eyes’ of Governor FitzRoy in Sydney and the Colonial Office in London. However on August 10, 1849 La Trobe sent the following important note to FitzRoy:
“The longer separation is delayed, the more difficult becomes the task of governing the district. Separation will remedy much, but any constitution which takes government away from a Governor, Executive Council and nominee Legislative Council (and substitutes a representative body for the latter) is unsuitable to the colony and will render its administration a task of great difficulty”.

In the lead-up to separation, Wilson continued to insult La Trobe’s manner of fulfilling his role as a representative of the Crown, calling him in The Argus on September 20, 1849 ‘that ruler with whom Providence has thought proper to afflict us...this caricature of Royalty!’ Then a week later The Argus implied La Trobe was a traitor – a very unfair accusation.

Royal assent for separation of Port Phillip had been given by Queen Victoria to the Imperial Australian Constitutions Act on August 5, 1850. The news of the UK Government agreeing to separation reached Melbourne in November 1849 with separation implemented on July 1, 1851 just after gold was discovered at Clunes prior to June 1851!

La Trobe’s overall general lack of action was being criticised by those elected to the Legislative Council, by the press and by the ‘man in the street’. However, George Cavenagh’s The Melbourne Morning Herald on November 14, 1850 had a long editorial ‘Our First Governor’ which referred to La Trobe’s fallibility but sought to do him justice.

**From July 1, 1851 the Colony of Victoria was soon to be a very different place with a massive population influx** – mainly young men from all parts of the world but also many ex-convicts from NSW and Tasmania – many with radical views on how ‘modern’ governments should be run!

The new Victorian Legislative Council under La Trobe as Chief Executive was advised by an Executive Council of four members appointed by the Crown. These were Captain William Lonsdale as Colonial Secretary, Charles Ebden as Auditor-General, William Stawell as Attorney-General, and Redmond Barry as Solicitor-General. (All were Members of the Melbourne Club.)

On August 15, 1851 La Trobe as Victoria’s new Lieutenant-Governor issued a proclamation in the Government Gazette asserting the rights of the Crown to all minerals. A licence fee of thirty shillings per month would be levied on every gold seeker from September 1, 1851.

Turbulent times, and a constantly changing focus for La Trobe’s attention as more and more problems came before him for resolution, eroded any decision-
making ability La Trobe had remaining, and destabilised his judgement.

Unfortunately it became ‘too hard’ for La Trobe and he submitted his resignation to the Secretary of State in London on December 31, 1852 although he did not leave the vibrant but turbulent Colony of Victoria until May 6, 1854. (Governor Hotham arrived in Melbourne on June 22, 1854.)

The height of the persecution of La Trobe was reached in April and May 1853 when Wilson ran a serial advertisement in *The Argus*: ‘Wanted a Governor. Apply to the People of Victoria’. By this time there was little popular support from anyone for La Trobe.

In June 1853, an **Anti-Gold Licence Association** was formed at Bendigo where about 23,000, or nearly half the total number of diggers in the Colony were located. They gave voice to their many grievances, the central focus being the licence fee, which even at its original cost, was considered too stringent. The leaders of the Association were G. E. Thomson, Dr Jones and ‘Captain’ Edward Brown.

They drew up a petition (13 meters long) signed by 5,000 diggers which articulated their grievances and met La Trobe in his office on August 1, 1853.

Dianne Reilly, Secretary of the La Trobe Society in *La Trobe* Page 224 puts it this way:

“The meeting was not a success. La Trobe responded defensively and coldly to each of the clauses put forward. He was aloof from the miners partly because of his own attitude regarding his position of authority as Lieutenant-Governor, but also because of his fear of the ‘mob’, the ‘canaille’ he had scorned in his earlier travels. He was the person in command, and by distancing himself from the miners, he maintained his authority. This moment of meeting with the miners could have changed history. Had La Trobe been able to act differently, perhaps the tragedy of Eureka would have been averted. But La Trobe could not put himself in the miners’ shoes. He could not feel for them in their struggle for basic acknowledgement and rights. He did not have the force of personality, the experience of what it was like to really struggle to stay alive, nor the ability to place himself on their level - man to man."

La Trobe on August 30, 1853, at the opening of the next session of the Victorian Legislative Council proposed new legislation to totally abolish the licence system, in its place imposing an export duty on gold. In this way, taxation on the precious metal would only be paid according to the actual earnings of a miner.
Dianne Reilly in *La Trobe* Page 226 puts it this way:

“A select committee was set up to consider the matter, but it resolved to maintain the licence fee, albeit on a reduced and sliding scale: £1 for one month, £2 for three months and £5 for a year. The Goldfields Management Act was proclaimed in November 1853 after poorly handled debate in the Legislative Council which decided to introduce a sliding scale of fees from £1 for one month to £8 for twelve months, and gave the franchise only to miners who took out annual licences.³ Geoffrey Serle described the outcome as ‘barefaced trickery, for as things stood almost no one was taking an annual licence as there was no financial incentive to do so’.”⁴

Dianne Reilly concludes La Trobe’s history in her doctoral thesis this way:

“La Trobe’s August 1, 1853 meeting with the gold miners changed Victoria’s history. Had La Trobe been able to act differently, perhaps the tragedy of Eureka would have been averted. But La Trobe could not put himself in the miners’ shoes, as he was fearful of anarchy on the goldfields. In fact, it could be said that La Trobe panicked before ‘the mob’. The time was not there for him to deliberate. He had to make decisions, quick decisions, and these were sometimes the wrong decisions.

“The historian Geoffrey Serle, in his definitive study of the gold rush, came to the conclusion that, when La Trobe was faced with the appalling difficulties of the times, La Trobe had tried to ‘govern chaos on a scale to which there are few or no parallels in British colonial history’.

“La Trobe had, in fact, managed to keep the colony for which he was responsible operating in circumstances ‘in which the archangel Gabriel might have been found wanting’.”

The miners’ resentment of the ‘authority’ and tax: £1 for one month was never going to be accepted – resulting in the Eureka uprising on December 3, 1854, the subsequent Eureka Trials and ‘Not Guilty’ verdicts – resulted in Victoria and Australia being changed for ever.


³ Inglis, Australian Colonists, p. 228

What needs to be understood is the role eminent Victorians of the day played in the separation of Victoria, the gold licence fee (really a tax) through to Eureka and the Eureka trails (where juries’ delivered thirteen ‘not guilty’ verdicts, eleven before Justice Redmond Barry). All these eminent Victorians were Melbourne Club Members, including: Redmond Barry, John Leslie Foster, William Foster Stawell and George Cavenagh.

George Cavenagh was the proprietor of The Melbourne Morning Herald and financial backer of The Diggers Advocate – Friends I Shelter Foes I Crush, first published October 28, 1853. In February 24, 1854 it became The Gold Diggers’ Advocate and Commercial Advertiser, published by George Black with contributions from H. R. Nicholls and support from John Pascoe Fawkner and Ebenezer Syme – both publications were the “voice of the gold diggers”.

There were fifteen years from the first separation meeting held on May 13, 1840 in Scott’s School Eastern Hill to the last Eureka ‘Not Guilty’ verdict. Redmond Barry played a significant role in the separation of Victoria from the first meeting through to the thirteen Eureka ‘Not Guilty’ verdicts.

While during the same period La Trobe played an important role in the foundation and eventual separation of Victoria, it was Redmond Barry and many of La Trobe’s fellow Members of the Melbourne Club who worked tirelessly as the ‘designers’ of Victoria as we know it today. We need to recognise these early settlers as the ‘curators’ of Victoria, they were responsible for – ‘turning a wild country into a civilised one’.

Gary Morgan, July 20, 2010 (Presented to the La Trobe Society), updated and presented on May 9, 2011 to the Australia Day Council (Victoria) Inc

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5 During the Eureka trials Butler Cole Aspinall, a radical Liverpool barrister, acted gratuitously for Eureka prisoners charged with treason, he was instrumental in their acquittal. In 1854, before Eureka, Aspinall was Editor of The Melbourne Morning Herald. In 1856 he was elected to the new Legislative Assembly (seat Talbot) and soon afterwards became a member of the Melbourne Club. In 1856 Peter Lalor was also elected to the new Legislative Assembly.
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3. Victoria Day Council Separation Tree Ceremony Oration, November 14, 2009

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5. La Trobe, The making of a Governor, 2006 by Dianne Reilly Drury


Wood etchings:
Lyrebird by Frederick Grosse from Nicholas Chevalier sketch, March 1858
Bridge on the Yarra at Richmond from Nicholas Chevalier sketch, May 1858
Gentleman, Redmond Barry was one of our most distinguished Members. His contribution to the colony, the young and thriving village of Melbourne and the Club was amazing. He joined the Club on 7th October 1840, having arrived in Melbourne a year earlier. He remained a Member for 39 years and was President on three occasions.

Redmond Barry was born in County Cork, Ireland, was of upper class Anglo-Irish background, educated at Trinity College, Dublin and in 1838 called to the Irish Bar. Lack of legal work in Dublin encouraged him to seek fame and fortune in the Colonies, so he came to Australia.

A lot is known about Redmond Barry as he kept a Day Book, which was in modern terminology, his diary in which he entered many intimate details of his professional and private life.

Redmond Barry was always physically active, tall, fit, had well cut features and was not a little vain in his appearances. He had an amorous nature which manifested itself throughout his life.

His appreciation of the fairer sex became clearly evident on the 16 week voyage from Plymouth to Sydney on the HMS Calcutta when he had a very open and scandalous affair with a Mrs Scott, wife of a fellow passenger.

This did not enhance his reputation in Sydney with the Governor and the leading lights of the Colony.
Obviously he was active in the formation of the Melbourne Club and it is reported he was instrumental in developing the Black Swan as our emblem and motto, ‘rara avis’. The motto emerged from Barry’s classical scholarly background and a casual interpretation of the motto could suggest that a black swan is as rare as a perfect wife.

Barry led a diverse social life, supporting the aborigines, being a Supreme Court Judge, a friend of the Governor, a senior Member of the Melbourne Club. The “cheery, cultured, convivial Redmond Barry, stalwart of the Melbourne Bar, attractive bachelor and could be relied on to charm the ladies”. But there was another side to this public character.

His famous duel with Snodgrass in 1841 over a defamatory letter has attracted much attention over the years. Snodgrass is related to our immediate past President Bill Shelton.

In the duel, after both contestants stepped out 12 paces and turned to face one another, Snodgrass, with nervous agitation, discharged his pistol prematurely. Barry fired into the air and was declared the winner with honour.

Redmond Barry remained a bachelor all his life and lived in Carlton and East Melbourne frequented the Melbourne Club. However, he retained the affections of one Louisa Barrow, his mistress for 34 years. Louisa was the mother to his 4 children.

It’s also noted in his day book that he had a number of assignations with a Caroline and other female companions. His four children took his name and his elder son attended Melbourne Grammar under Headmaster Bromby, which gave his family an air of respectability.

Redmond Barry’s huge energy and commitment ensued that Melbourne’s cultural institutions had solid foundations. He was the first Chancellor of Melbourne University in 1853. He was the driving force in the creation of the Melbourne Public Library, Melbourne Museum and President of the Commissioners of the first Melbourne Exhibition (1854 - see page 159). He was an active and conscientious Judge on the Supreme Court, often travelling through Victoria on horseback.

His range of interests was remarkable. First President of the School of Mines, Ballarat. First President of the Horticulture Society of Victoria, and active on his own property, Sabine Farm. He was also the first President of the Philharmonic Society, established in 1853 with Governor La Trobe as its patron. It remains active to this day.
Redmond Barry was extremely well read and had his own extensive library of classical literature, to which he had annotated extensively. He was ahead of his time in that he invited members of the public to his home to share his library and love of classical literature.

This idea formed the basic policy for the State library which allowed access to members of the public to read books. A controversial approach at the time.

Whilst Barry was a strong advocate of a classical university education he rejected the notion that women should be students although they were entitled to matriculate under the State Secondary system. Three years later, in Barry’s absence, the University Council overturned the ruling and allowed females to attend University.

Redmond Barry could claim credit for the construction of the Wilson Hall. In December 1874, Mr Samuel Wilson, a Melbourne Club Member and squatter from Ercouldine, wrote out a cheque to Barry as Chancellor for £30,000.

It’s reported that Wilson, like all pessimistic wool growers felt that his wool cheque would be down, but made an offer to Barry over a whisky and a glass of wine at dinner at the Club, that if the wool cheque was up, he would give a donation to the University. The Melbourne University is forever thankful that the wool price was good that year and Melbourne Club Member Wilson kept his word.

He implemented the law often with a death sentence which was in accord with the convention and laws of the day. He participated in the Eureka Trials in 1855 and the controversial decision to free 13 of the accused miners.

Barry was active in the move to separate the Port Philip District from the Colony of New South Wales. According to my very good friend Gary Morgan, Barry should be given much credit for his influence and also that of other the Melbourne Club members in agitating for Separation and the creation of Victoria as a State in July 1851.

The public face of Sir Redmond Barry is inextricably linked with the trial of Ned Kelly. Ned Kelly was the last of the bushrangers, gentlemanly, polite to the women, a fine bushman and developed a legendary status in rural northern Victoria.

Sir Redmond Barry sentenced the prisoner to death in the usual form, and covering his wig with a black cloth, ended with the words:
“May the Lord have mercy on your soul.”

To which Kelly replied:

“I will go further than that and see you there when I go.”

Twelve days later Sir Redmond Barry KB KCMG died from a diabetic condition at the age of 67 years, weighing 16 stone.

History does not relate as to the conversation between Ned Kelly and Sir Redmond Barry at their final rendezvous.

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Edward Turner (1836-1913) original 1856 pencil & water colour drawing of 1854 Melbourne Exhibition Building (NW angle).
S.T. Gill used the above Edward Turner drawing for his 1856 Melbourne Exhibition etching.
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BACKGROUND
Gary Morgan is Executive Chairman of Australia’s most highly regarded
information and research company Roy Morgan Research, a substantial market
research business now operating in Australia, New Zealand, USA, UK and
Indonesia. Clients include most major Australian companies, multi-national
companies and institutions. Roy Morgan Research, most recognised for its
political polling and print, TV and other media research, employs more than
1,000 people and is an authoritative source of information across a range of
industries including media, tourism, finance, IT, retail, health, etc.

As Australia’s leading pollster, Gary Morgan is seen as having his ‘finger on
the pulse’ of issues in Australia. He is often called upon to provide political and
social comment on research based understanding of the public’s view on many
different issues covered by the television, internet, radio and press media.

As a businessman and a Melburnian, Gary Morgan is committed to Melbourne
– and the drive to ensure Melbourne maintains its position within the business
world. Gary Morgan was critical in the foundation and development of the
Committee for Melbourne – a group of leading business people and influential public sector people, dedicated to the task of increasing Melbourne’s world position.

**Other business achievements include:**
Continuously publishing Australia’s longest running and most widely accepted social and political polls – founded by Roy Morgan in 1941.

In 1996 the launching of Roy Morgan Single Source – an Australia-wide database of 55,000 respondents surveyed each year. The data produced allows advertisers, marketers, governments and institutions to access a ‘total market’ intelligence system covering product usage, social attitudes and media usage – readership of newspapers and magazine, TV viewing, radio listening, Internet usage, cinema attendance, etc. Now also conducted in New Zealand (from 1990), USA (2000), UK (2001) and Indonesia (2004).

In 1987 the Roy Morgan Research successful Joint Venture with A.C. Nielsen produced and marketed retail warehouse withdrawal information and Australia’s first television meter rating measurement system. In 1991 A.C. Nielsen bought back Roy Morgan’s 50% share.

Gary Morgan also has extensive gold mining interests in Australia. He is Chairman of Haoma Mining NL, which has many mining tenements located in the Marble Bar/Pilbara Region, Western Australia and at Ravenswood, Queensland

**Roy Edward Morgan, ACA (1908 – 1985):**

*(Some of Murray Goot’s biography on my father is ‘fake news’, particularly ‘why’ in 1973 my father and I ‘left’ The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd. The Board and Management were initially annoyed from the time I began measuring Australia-wide readership of newspapers and magazines, Gary Morgan)*
In 1941 Roy Morgan founded the Australian Gallup Poll, (today Roy Morgan Poll) for *The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd* (Sir Keith Murdoch) and other Australian newspapers.

Prior to this Roy Morgan was a freelance ‘Financial writer’ for *The Argus* then *The Herald*, and General Manager, The Stock Exchange of Melbourne.

In 1959 he founded The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd Australia’s leading consumer and business marketing research company; today Roy Morgan Research Ltd.

**In 1959 Roy Morgan was elected as a City of Melbourne Councillor (1959 to 1974), after standing as a ‘Progressive Independent’. He was a Member and Chairman (1973-74) of the council’s Civic Group and chaired the Town Planning Committee who were involved in negotiations that led to the development of the City Square (south of the Town Hall).**

**Membership and Affiliations**

- Founding Member, Public Relations Institute of Australia (1949),
- Founding Member & Life Member, Market Research Society of Australia (1955),
- Founding Member, International Association of Public Opinion Institutes (Gallup International),
- Member of the sponsoring committee that founded, American Association for Public Opinion Research & the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR),
- First ‘overseas corresponding’ Member, European Society for Opinion and Market Research (ESOMAR).

**MAJOR PAPERS:**

**The History of Roy Morgan Research**, founded by Roy Morgan in 1941.  

1. **Brumby’s attack on Baillieu’s real estate windfall ‘bombs’ with voters — November 24, 2010**  

2. **The State of the Nation & Victoria after the Federal Election — October 1, 2010**  

3. **Who will be the next Prime Minister of Australia? A Women and it will be sooner than you think! September 10, 2008.**  


16. What Customer needs are — January 7, 1998


19. Proof! Same Budget, get 30%–50% greater value! — May 7, 1998


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Australia www.roymorgan.com

Melbourne from the Yarra,
watercolour by Nicholas Chevalier, c.1868.
Drawn engraving by E. Brandard c.1874, published in Australia by Edward Carton Booth, 1873-1876.

Melbourne from St Kilda Road,
watercolour by Nicholas Chevalier, c.1865.
Drawn engraving by J C Armytage c.1874, published in Australia by Edward Carton Booth, 1873-1876


Melbourne in 1840, lithograph engraving attributed to Nicholas Chevalier, c.1875. From a drawing by R. G. (George) Haydon (above top left). Published The Australian Sketcher, July 10, 1875 and Illustrated Handbook of Victoria, Australia. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886. When published wrongly attributed to a sketch from Mr. S. K. Haydon.
Women, the Media, and People from Other Countries who have made Victoria—1851 to Today

The Victoria Day Council
2008 La Trobe Lecture
By Gary Morgan, Roy Morgan Research
Queen’s Hall, Parliament of Victoria
Saturday, July 5, 2008 at 7.00pm

‘The real, central theme of History is not what happened, but what people felt about it when it was happening’. G M Young

‘When the thoughts of our forefathers, common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more.’ Frederick Maitland

Lecture, Introduction & Foreword Links:
Powerpoint link:


Gary Morgan and Dr Kevin Murfitt,
Vision Australia
Gary Morgan and Norman Kennedy,
Chairman, The Victoria Day Council
Gary Morgan and Michele Levine,
CEO, Roy Morgan Research

Left to Right, Monte, Blayney and Portia Morgan
Stewart McArthur, former Federal Member for Corangamite, Vic, and Pauline Underwood
Left to Right, Margaret Wood, Annabel Edwards, Xenia Morgan, Judge Wood and Roger Blythman

William Buckley The Wild White Man, Indented Head, Port Phillip, 2pm July 6, 1835
O. R. Campbell, Oil on canvas, c 1862,
Canvas: Winsor & Newton, 38 Rathbone Place, London c 1860

John Batman’s men ‘left behind’: Jim Gunn, Alex Thompson, Will Todd and 4-of-5 ‘Sydney blacks’ known as Pigeon, Bullet, Bungett, Old Bull and Joe the Marine.

Early Melbourne, c 1840 by Joe Levine, June 2009
John Pascoe Fawkner and his Shakspere Hotel (Melbourne Club leased, June 1, 1839 – September 1844) and George Smith’s Lamb Inn. (More details, page 13)