PART 1

A NEWSPAPER ESTABLISHED

1. Chiltern - Location and Historical Background

In a wide and open valley seventeen miles from Beechworth and 160 1/2 miles north-east of Melbourne lies the little mining town of Chiltern. It is surrounded, but not shut in, by hills which enclose the Chiltern Valley on every side. To the east the Barrabool and Dingle Ranges separate this depression from the Beechworth district, and a long, low range of mountains to the west, as far round as Lady Franklin Hill in the north towards Barnawarra, forms the dividing range between Chiltern and Rutherglen.¹

Chiltern, so described, is part of the vast territory forming the north-east corner of Victoria (outlined in Map 1) which extends from the Great Dividing Range in the east to the Murray River in the north, as far west as Yarrawonga and then across through Glenrowan back to the Great Dividing Range.

Major Thomas Mitchell, on his return journey from the western district of Port Phillip, was the first European to pass close to what has become the present town of Chiltern. From the description given in his journal, and by reference to his accompanying map, it can be gauged that Mitchell was south of

the Murray River, near Chiltern, on 16-17 October 1836.\(^2\) The following year squatters occupied the district, but Chiltern, which until 1853 was known as Black Dog Creek, was little more than a stopping place.\(^3\) In 1846, the Reverend John Dunmore Lang, a Presbyterian minister and well-known republican, called at John Thomas' Black Dog Inn and recorded his views:

> At twenty-three miles from Albury the mail changes horses at Black Dog Creek ... It is most injudicious and exhibits a great want of commonsense and even patriotism to give such absurd names to any part of God's fair creation, especially in new colonies. Who for example, would even think of emigrating from England to live at Black Dog's Creek ...\(^4\)

Despite Lang's pessimism, squatters and their station hands settled in the district. Accompanying a letter to the Land Superintendent dated 30 November 1848, the Crown Commissioner for the Murray District, H.W.J. Smythe, enclosed applications for leases of crown land in the district and reported: "It does seem necessary to make a [town] reserve at the crossing place at the Black Dog Creek.\(^5\)

A plan for the township was ultimately approved by Governor Charles La


\(^3\) The Black Dog Creek (the Aboriginal name was Doma Mungi) was named by the first overlanders Gardiner, Hawdon and Hepburn in 1836 after Hawdon shot a black native dog whilst crossing the creek. Arthur Andrews, *The First Settlement of the North-East of Victoria*, *VHM*, Vol.5. 1916-17, p.25.

\(^4\) J.D. Lang, *Port Phillip or the Colony of Victoria* [Glasgow 1853], p.280. See the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.2. pp.76-83, for further information on Lang.

\(^5\) Pastoral Run Papers, No. 10. and Land Branch Correspondence, 1849/2507. This first settlement, on the south side of the Black Dog Creek [marked blue on Map 2], lies some distance from the present Chiltern township which grew out of the mining camps. All that now remains is John Dillon's Hotel [previously Thomas' Hotel], the early pioneers' cemetery and a few old fruit trees.
Trobe and the Executive Council on Wednesday, 19 January 1853.\(^6\) It has been suggested in previous historical accounts that this original minute was altered by a person unknown and Chiltern substituted for Black Dog Creek.\(^7\) But I am not convinced that this was, in fact, an alteration. Rather, it merely appears to be the inclusion of an omitted word, so that the amendment reads: 'The plan of a township "Chiltern" (written above the line) at the Black Dog Creek between the Ovens and Murray Rivers was laid on the table and approved'. The sub-headings for each minute were given in the margin and that opposite the above minute quite clearly reads 'Plan of "Chiltern" township'.

It is not known why the name Chiltern (altered or not) was given to the new township, but several families in the district, including the squatter Jason Withers of Ullina Station, south-west of the Black Dog Creek, came from near the Chiltern Hills in England. While it is not uncommon for emigrants to call up memories of their homeland in the names of their towns, properties and so on,\(^8\) it is also possible that the hills surrounding Chiltern which, when viewed from a distance, take on a gentle, blue appearance which belies their rugged terrain, could have reminded settlers of home. And the quiet hush which lies over the Chiltern Valley may have, likewise, recalled far-away memories.

2. Gold Discovery at Chiltern

Robert Brough Smyth's The Goldfields and Mineral Districts of Victoria is a valuable and comprehensive record of mining in Australia during the 19th

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\(^8\) Wheeler, op.cit. p.40.
century. He has told how shepherds who worked for the early settlers were the first to find gold in Victoria in the 1840’s, but occupied with the promising and more certain wealth from sheep and cattle, the settlers showed little interest in their shepherds’ small discoveries. It was not until gold was successfully mined in California that men turned their attention to the search for gold in New South Wales and Victoria. The discovery of gold at Buninyong in August 1851 heralded the first rush in Victoria which was quickly followed in the same year by others to Ballarat, Castlemaine and Sandhurst. Then one after another, the goldfields at Ararat, Dunolly and Beechworth were prospected by thousands of diggers. Although these auriferous leads (those leads on the early fields where gold was obtained by either washing the surface soil or that obtained by digging 2-30 feet below the surface, or panning in creeks and streams) were largely worked out by the late 1850’s, a new stage in gold-mining followed. As Geoffrey Blainey has explained, the new discoveries, which were far below the surface, involved a new and costlier dimension in mining. The late discovered Indigo-Chiltern field was part of this new stage in deep-lead mining.

Official credit for the first discovery of gold on the Indigo field in May 1858 went to John H. Conness who received £500 reward for his discovery recommended by the Rewards Board (appointed to consider applications for rewards for the discovery of goldfields) in 1864-65. Two others - Edward Henry Morgan and Peter McAra - unsuccessfully contested his claim.

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9 Robert Brough Smyth, *op. cit.* The preface to this edition, prepared by Geoffrey Blainey, provides a background sketch on Smyth which explains his considerable mining knowledge. The son of a mining engineer, he spent his youth around the coal fields and iron works of Northumberland and County Durham, England. He was apparently familiar with many facets of geology, metallurgy and mechanical engineering. In 1852 he spent a year on the Victorian diggings. In 1853 he entered the Public Service, and by 1860 was Secretary for Mines.


Although not discussed in mining histories by Blainey or Smyth, Flett has suggested that gold was found on the Indigo before 1858, but in insufficient quantities to cause a rush. And there are stories that Eureka rioters, seeking refuge in the uninhabited gullies near the Black Dog Creek, found specimens of gold, but these finds were not made public.\textsuperscript{12}

Because many diggers had been led astray by false reports of new rushes, Conness' discovery was initially met with caution. It was not until late September that the prospects of the new field were confirmed, causing the Albury \textit{Border Post} to comment on the excitement in the district. By October, between 13,000 and 20,000 miners were estimated to have congregated on the main Indigo Lead\textsuperscript{13} (marked yellow on Map 2). Wilfred Busse, who wrote a series of articles entitled 'The History of Chiltern'; first published in the \textit{Standard} in 1922-23, has recorded an early digger's account of those first weeks:

There were about a few score men on the ground when I arrived. A few weeks later the valley and hillsides were white with tents [and] a long straggling street of stores and public houses had been run up ... the population might be counted by thousands ... and at night the dance rooms were filled with gamblers, and men attired in gala styles with cabbage hats and Bedford breeches and red silk sashes made up sets and danced [although there were yet no women to be seen in the dance houses] amid a cloud of tobacco smoke and a buzz of conversation from the surrounding benches.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Border Post}, 29 September 1858, p.2. and 9 October 1858, p.2.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Federal Standard}, 23 December 1949, p.3. The series was first published in 1922-23 and later re-published in 1949-50.
Within a few months, however, the number of miners rapidly declined. The shallow diggings were rich but the lack of a plentiful water supply was a problem.¹⁵ The Black Dog Creek usually runs all year round, but the surrounding gullies would have almost dried up by November with the onset of summer. In April 1859, John Conness advertised in the Border Post for six bullock teams to draw wash dirt from the diggings to the Black Dog Creek, for which 20s per hundred buckets would be paid.¹⁶ Probably few miners could have afforded to do likewise. They soon realised that the most valuable prospects could be found in the deeper ground - which was also beyond the means of thousands of diggers. The complexity and expense involved in deep-lead mining can be gauged from the following account given by Henry Nickless, Manager of the Extended Sons of Freedom Company:

The workings of this company are by far the most extensive in the district. They have two shafts, distant forty feet from each other, one being used for pumping and ventilation, and the other for winding ... The size of the winding shaft is six feet by six feet and has two compartments in which the cages run, which are sufficiently large to contain two trucks on the same level. The apparatus is complete and works so well that the whole of the timber when put into trucks can be sent below and conveyed to the face of the drives with as much dispatch as a single load of dirt. The average speed of winding is equal to the raising of three trucks per minute.

The engines of forty-five horse power are employed and the pumps are eleven and a half inches in diameter. There are three pudding machines, and these are emptied by steam power which effects a great saving of labour. The number of men employed is 98 ... The length of the claim is 9,999 feet, and the Company is now engaged in boring for the lead in the lower or western portion of the claim ...

¹⁶ Border Post, 27 April 1859, p.4.
More powerful machinery and a larger number of men will be employed as soon as the lower part of the lead is opened.  

While there was a lack of surface water, underground water was a continuous and costly problem on the Chiltern field. Robert Arrowsmith, Mining Surveyor at the time, reported that the Chiltern Lead was wet, and expensive machinery was required to keep the claims in such a state as to permit the washdirt being taken out. He found that the ancient underground streams had filled with sand, granite, drift and sand clays. For the Nil Desperandum Company, the horse and windlass could not haul the water up from the shafts fast enough and a steam engine was purchased for £750 to deal with the problem.

To overcome the heavy cost of deep-sinking in Victoria, it had become common practice for mining parties to form co-operative companies, financed by the savings of members or by storekeepers who were given an interest, or by 'furnishers' who supplied machinery, locally made, on similar terms. In July 1860 The Sons of Freedom Company (Homeward Bound Claim) advertised for a 'furnisher' to supply engine pumps and air gear connected. At Chiltern, too, a large number of townspeople held half-shares in mining speculations, and co-operative companies were formed, including the United Consol Company, Sons of Freedom, Extended Sons of Freedom, and the abovementioned Nil Desperandum.

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18 Ibid, p.298 and p.89.
21 *Chiltern Standard*, 13 June 1860, p.2. No specific number was reported; Smyth, *op. cit.*, p.272, 203 and 198.
The New Ballarat Lead, later called the Chiltern Lead, (shaded pink and shown on map 2 as Ballarat Lead) was opened up in December 1858 under the auspices of the Indigo Prospecting Company. Despite encouraging results from the New Ballarat Lead, the Albury Border Post warned mining parties at a distance against rushing, without reflection, to the new diggings. For the man without a financial standby to aid him in putting down a deep hole, New Ballarat was not a desirable location.\textsuperscript{22} Even when the value of the lead was confirmed, it did not attract a sudden influx of diggers, but a gradual and steady growth largely made up of miners and storekeepers who abandoned the Indigo Lead; shifting to what is now the site of the Chiltern township.\textsuperscript{23} Wallace’s Star Hotel, a large wooden building, containing a theatre and zinc roof, was one of those taken down, and with the aid of thirteen carpenters, moved to Chiltern in the space of twelve hours.\textsuperscript{24}

3. The Chiltern Standard

By the time the Chiltern Standard was established in 1859, there were at least 30 goldfield newspapers throughout the colony.\textsuperscript{25} The newspaper had already become a useful commodity, providing news of prospects on new fields, acting as a trade and information source, and frequently taking up the urgent political demands of the miners. The 1886 Australasian Newspaper Directory\textsuperscript{26} contains a brief history of the goldfield press which notes that the

\textsuperscript{22} Border Post, 2 February 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{23} Chiltern Standard, 17 September 1859, p.2. and Federal Standard, 30 December 1949, p.3. Wilfred Busse article.
\textsuperscript{24} Border Post, 27 July 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{25} This figure was obtained by counting Victorian gold-mining town newspapers listed in Newspapers in Australian Libraries: a Union List, up until 1959. This list records only those newspapers which have survived and there could have been many more.
\textsuperscript{26} Australasian Newspaper Directory, [Melbourne 1886], Introduction.
Digger's Advocate was the first journal printed in Melbourne to reflect public opinion on the goldfields. The Weekly Argus and Weekly Herald also sold readily on the diggings at Mt. Alexander and Bendigo for half a crown (5s) per copy. It was soon found, however, that the various mining centres required, and were fully able to support, newspaper establishments of their own. The Bendigo Advertiser, published on 9 December 1853 by Messrs. Robert Ross Haverfield and Arthur Moore LLoyd, was the first paper printed on the goldfields. The Ballarat Times followed on 4 March 1854, and the Mount Alexander Mail on 6 May that year. At Beechworth the Ovens and Murray Advertiser appeared on the first Saturday in January 1855, and the Ballarat Star was first issued thrice weekly on 22 September 1855.  

A newspaper had already been established on the old Indigo field before the commencement of the Chiltern Standard, but it had only a short life. Possibly to ensure a newspaper monopoly in the district, Warren and Co., proprietors of the Ovens and Murray Advertiser at Beechworth, acquired in November 1858, the Golden Age and Murray Valley Prospector, a weekly journal previously run by Mort and Hatfield. Feeling that a more perfect identity could be established between the Indigo diggings and their local journal by adopting the name of the goldfield itself, the title of the paper was changed to the Indigo Advertiser and Ovens and Murray Gazette. Under this title it appeared for the first time on Saturday, 11 December 1858.

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27 Ibid. Withers op. cit., pp.63-66, includes an account of the establishment of newspapers at Ballarat. He indicates that there had been attempts by the proprietors of the Geelong Advertiser to establish a goldfield newspaper at Buninyong to be called the Buninyong Gazette and Mining Journal as early as October 1851, but because of a dispute with the local commissioner about the site selected on old Post Office Hill, the plan was abandoned and the press packed off back to Geelong.

28 Although no information has been found, it would seem that Mort and Hatfield had started the paper only a few weeks before when the first rush took place in October.

29 Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 10 and 11 December 1858, p3.
Despite the proprietors' intention to improve the literary and mechanical departments of the journal, and to publish the paper daily, it was only published bi-weekly and then weekly after February 1859.\textsuperscript{30} Issues of this paper have not survived, but on 31 March 1859 the plant, premises (consisting of a good double-framed tent, 20 feet by 30 feet) and copyright were offered for sale by public auction.\textsuperscript{31}

On Wednesday, 24 August 1859, the first issue of the Chiltern Standard and Murray Mining Reporter was published. A notice in the Border Post announcing the forthcoming establishment of the new journal (initially to be called the New Ballarat Standard) stated that it would be 'devoted to the Mining Interests.' In politics, it would adopt a liberal and independent course and every exertion would be made to render it a faithful record of local events.\textsuperscript{32} The Constitution at Beechworth acknowledged the new paper, noting that it was a credibly arranged journal, conducted by a gentleman not unknown to fame in the Ovens district in the capacity of editor, and wished the new proprietors success.\textsuperscript{33}

The first Standard office, reputed to have been 'an unpretentious structure with a bark roof' \textsuperscript{34}, was replaced by a new, and still existing building (now classified by the National Trust). Constructed in approximately 1861, it is a

\textsuperscript{30} Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 10 December 1858, p.3., and 17 February 1859, p.4.
\textsuperscript{31} Border Post, 23 March 1859, p.3. Notice of forthcoming sale.
\textsuperscript{32} Border Post, 20 August 1859, p.4. (Notice had run for some weeks prior to this date.)
\textsuperscript{33} Constitution and Ovens Mining Intelligence, 29 August 1859, p.3.
\textsuperscript{34} Federal Standard, 26 August 1949, p.1. This description appeared in an article prepared for the Standard's 90th Birthday in 1949. It appears to be the only surviving description of the original building; possibly handed down locally by word-of-mouth.

The present building has been described in the Historic Structures Report, prepared for the National Trust of Victoria, as one of the few known substantially intact provincial newspaper offices of the gold-mining era.

The Historic Structures Report, prepared by architect Elizabeth Yines, was commissioned by the National Trust in 1980 following its purchase of the building in 1972. The aim of the report was to establish the architectural, historical and cultural significance of the office. p.12.
Illustration 1. The Standard Newspaper Office
Illustration 2. Plan of Standard Newspaper Office

EX: Location of fittings and equipment (information from Mr Jim Hart)
Equipment (information from Mr Jim Hart)
Small printing press 3. Cases of type 4. & 5. Printer's stone and layout
Original printing press 8. Pit.

Standard Newspaper Office
plain, oblong, red-brick building of strictly utilitarian construction with a low-pitched, gabled and corrugated iron roof.'\(^{35}\) (Illustration 1) Although it was surely reported, an account of the opening of the new building has not been located. But it was probably constructed before the new steam machinery, formerly used to print the Argus, and capable of printing 2000 impressions an hour, was installed on 23 October 1861 when about 50 persons assembled at the Standard office to assist in christening the new equipment. A bottle of Albury wine was broken over the fly-wheel by the proprietor's five-year old daughter Ada, and the machinery set in motion.\(^{36}\)

The layout of the building, its fittings and equipment, is shown in a plan prepared for the Historic Structures Report (Illustration 2). The interior is hall-like with no division except for the original half-wall in the entrance corner of the building which served as an office and front counter. Beyond this entrance lies the area of activity - the workroom where the pages of the Standard came off the press. The original Albion press\(^{37}\) used to print the first issues has not survived but it was similar to a later model still located at

\(^{35}\) As described in Supplementary notes on Federal Standard Newspaper Office, prepared by Clarrie Moon, National Trust file, No.2040. The Historic Structures Report, p.31, states: 'There is no evidence to suggest that the original sheeting was shingles, although the date of construction would appear to be too early for the use of galvanised iron as the first roofing material ... it is possible that the whole roof was reconstructed when galvanised iron was installed, leaving no evidence of earlier shingles.'


\(^{37}\) The Albion press was invented and manufactured in approximately 1822. Together with the Columbian press, which was designed in America in 1817, it was one of the most popular of the iron presses which followed the Stanhope in 1800. The Stanhope, which was soon used by book and newspaper printers, including The Times, was an alternative to the traditional wooden or common press. It incorporated a system of compound levers which made it capable of greater pressure than the common press, and it had a platen (a plate which presses against the type) which could cover the whole forme (the locked in and set page of type), whereas the common press only had a platen half this size and needed two pulls to print a full-sized forme. Michael Twyman, Printing 1770-1970 (London 1979), pp.50-51.

The Historic Structures Report, p.32 and p.41, notes that the printing equipment in the Standard office provides the most complete collection of printing equipment that survives in the State. Only one item of equipment is dated and this is the platen jobbing press marked 'Golding and Co. Boston, U.S.A. 1888'. All the heavy printing machinery appears to be American. Estimated dates for the Flatbed Double Royal press are 1880, and for the foolscap-sized platen press, possibly 1900 or earlier.
Illustration 3. Albion Printing Press
Illustration 4. Wooden 'cases' containing printing type
Illustration 5. Type used to print Standard
the **Standard** office (Illustration 3). Clifton Mott recalls his father saying that his grandfather - the proprietor - paid £38 for the original machine.

Placed along the walls of the work area are wooden cabinets (Illustration 4) containing shallow trays, called 'cases.' These cases which stand on sloping desks are divided into compartments or boxes into which each particular type or letter is placed (Illustration 5).\(^{38}\) It was from these cases that John Riall, who was possibly the first compositor when the **Standard** began\(^ \text{39} \), set the paper which was printed on 17 by 22 1/2 inch Demy-sized paper (Illustration 6).

The paper, when printed, was laid out in a style similar to that which characterised country newspapers for years.\(^ {40} \) The front page, below the ornate Saxon Black masthead (Illustration 7)\(^ {41} \), consisted of advertisements; the second page, local news, parliamentary and law reports, and letters to the editor; the third page was filled with colonial and miscellaneous news and more advertisements; notices and advertisements filled the back page. On

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\(^{38}\) The object of these cases, designed by John Walter I in England in 1784, was to enable a compositor to take from his case a combination of as many letters as possible at each movement, but at the same time not to have so many combinations that time would be lost in finding those required. Wickham Steed, *op. cit.*, p.120.


A notice announcing the death of John Riall in 1901 indicated that for some years he was associated with the mechanical department of the journal and afterwards entered into partnership with George Anderson. *Federal Standard*, 6 September 1901, p.2. However, Riall appears to have temporarily taken control of the **Standard**. On 3 January 1872, p.2, it was announced: '... we have to inform our subscribers that the next issue of this journal will be under the auspices of a new proprietor', and on 10 January 1872, p.4, the imprint read: 'Printed and published by John Riall'.

\(^{40}\) Walker, *op. cit.*, p.44, gives description of lay-out of N.S.W. papers. Similar styles are evident in Victorian papers such as the *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, *Ovens Constitution* and *Mt. Alexander Mail*, even though there were some variations when the paper contained more than four pages.

\(^{41}\) The ornate masthead was typical of mastheads favoured by other 19th century colonial newspapers such as the *Argus*, *Melbourne Morning Herald* and the *Age*, as well as country papers like the *Mt. Alexander Mail*. 
The Chiltern Standard, Saturday, October 1, 1859

Postal Arrangements.

By the recent rearrangement of the postal system, the Chiltern Standard will now be more suitably for the benefit of the public.

AGENTS.

Agents for the Chiltern Standard.

E. T. Ball, at No.

Notice.

The Chiltern Standard.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1859.

FURTHER REVIEW.

The meeting of the new Assembly, as we are informed for Thursday the 25th instant, is likely to be marked by a decision on the present question, which is likely to be taken up by the middle of the month. The present position of the House of Commons is not likely to be changed before the end of the month. The present situation of the House of Commons is not likely to be changed before the end of the month.

The Colonial Intelligence.

The Chiltern Standard.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Chiltern Standard.

At the Chiltern Standard.

Winston's Court, Judges.

INDIA MINING REPORT.

The Chiltern Standard.

MINING NEWS.

The Chiltern Standard.
Illustration 6. Sample page of Standard - date.
NEW ARRIVALS. NOW OPENING.

T. BROWNELL & CO.

If attending the New Arrival of S Yadisome, will especially attract the attention of their friends and customers. Our stock of Cotton, etc., is superior in quality and actions have been received on the fine New Arrivals.

THE WELCOME HOUSE.

JUNCTION NEW BALLAarat AND INDOO ROADS.

JOHN ROWEY

Wines and Spirits of the best Brands. Good Stabling.

TURLAND'S LIVERY & BAIT STABLES

STAR HOTEL, Main and Connex Streets, New Ballarat. HORSES ON HIRE.

Livery-Maids, etc., for Hire. All kinds of Liveries and Carts. Day Hire and Out Hire. Day and Out Hire. Day only.

Fees including Horses to W. C. Turland, can be depended on being there when called for.

BOXES KEPT FOR ENTIRE HONOR, 2s. 6d.

SUTHERLAND & SHANNON, COACH BUILDERS, WHEELwrights, and GENERAL BLACKSMITHS, MAIN STREET, NEW BALLARAT.

COACHES, CARRIAGES, and WAGGONS.

Collars, Collars, and Collars.

If you want a good Collar, come to SUTHERLAND & SHANNON, No. 58, Main-street, New Ballarat.

THE ALLIANCE HOTEL;

FIRST CLASS WINES AND SPIRITS. DURING EVERY ELECTION.

MEDICAL.

Dr. BROWN, Surgeon, Medical and Surgical Practitioner. All kinds of goods for sale. Also medical and surgical apparatus. Goods may be had on the best terms.

THE MEDICAL HALL,

MOUNT PLEASANT, LOWER LEAD.

David Anderson, Saddlers and Harness Makers, respectively sell the articles of the trade, and to the best advantage. Goods may be had on the best terms.

THE CLYDESDALE STORE,

MARTINSON & HAMILTON, WHOLESALE GROCERS.

Wine and Spirit Merchants, Beer Cellars, and Dealers in all kinds of Dry Goods.

THE IMPERIAL HOTEL.

J. McCall, Proprietor.

T. BROWNELL & CO., CLYDESDALE STORE, MOUNT PLEASANT, LOWER LEAD.

THE GERSHAW SCARF.

E. W. GERHAW, Proprietor.

THE THEATRE.

A. Goodward, Manager.
Illustration 7. Chiltern Standard Masthead - date
occasion, when advertisements and notices filled all available space, a half-page, three-column news supplement was added.\textsuperscript{42}

The first issues of the Chiltern \textit{Standard} were priced at 6d for single copies and 12s, 14s if posted, for quarterly subscriptions which became due on 31 March, 30 June, 30 September and 31 December. Only at the end of each period could subscriptions be cancelled by giving written notice and paying the amount owing up to the end of the quarter. New subscribers could be enrolled at any time by paying a subscription proportionate to the period in the quarter remaining unexpired.\textsuperscript{43} Readers could obtain copies of their paper, comprising four, six-column pages, every Wednesday and Saturday morning from agents who were also authorised to collect accounts and receive subscription rates, advertising, and orders for job-printing.\textsuperscript{44} Edward Fallon of Indigo Creek (as distinct from Indigo Lead) and Messrs. Watt and Reid of Barnawartha were appointed agents within a month of the paper being established. Other agents were located on the Indigo, Upper New Ballarat and Sulphur Leads and Beechworth. Residents living in the vicinity of these places were advised that they could obtain their copy on arrival of the coach from Chiltern or from runners on horseback, who delivered and took orders for the paper on the diggings. Rae and Thorpe's coach ran several services each day between New Ballarat and the Lower Lead, Indigo, and by early 1860, Wylde's new coach, the 'Confidence', left the Empire Hotel each morning at 7.30 a.m. for the various leads, and continued to run throughout the day.\textsuperscript{45} Later agents were appointed at Wangaratta, Melbourne and Sydney, and by 1861, as far distant as London.

\textsuperscript{42} The only change to this format was shortly after the size of the paper was increased to eight pages on 30 October 1861.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 27 August 1859, p.2.

\textsuperscript{44} The occasional notice cautioning readers that a certain agent was no longer authorised to collect accounts for the paper, suggests business irregularities on behalf of some appointed agents.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 21 December 1859, p.1, and 15 February 1860, p.3.
4. The Standard's Proprietors

The first proprietors of the Chiltern Standard were Felix Ashworth, James Boyer and George Mott; the imprint (see below) on the second issue\(^{46}\) being 'printed and published by Felix Ashworth for the proprietors, Ashworth, Boyer and Co., at the office of the Chiltern Standard, Main Street, Chiltern Lead, Victoria.'\(^{47}\) Only seven months later, a notice dated 31 March 1860 and inserted in the Standard, announced that this partnership had been dissolved by mutual consent, and that George Mott and his brother Arthur would continue to publish the paper.\(^{48}\) Ashworth and Boyer, it said, would continue to run the Border Post. The partnership with Arthur Mott was apparently only a temporary arrangement since his name no longer appears in the imprint after 4 May 1860.

The law required that every newspaper issued bear an imprint setting out the name and address of the printer, publisher, and editor. The press and type of any premises were to be registered before they could be used and every newspaper was to be registered, with the proprietor and editor finding security against future prosecution for libel.\(^{49}\)

It was not until 21 October 1867 that Mott and Anderson (then joint proprietor) appeared before a police magistrate of the colony to register the Standard and to take out the required recognizance. A condition was that they

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\(^{46}\) See page 3 of Introduction for explanation regarding missing first issue.

\(^{47}\) Chiltern Standard, 27 August 1859, p.4. None of the proprietors have been recorded in the ADB.

\(^{48}\) Chiltern Standard, 4 April 1860, p.3.

\(^{49}\) Walker, op. cit., p.2.189 and 190 refers to early Australian libel laws, and Mott in an editorial in the Border Post, 19 January 1859, p.2. outlined the mechanics of what he thought were stringent libel requirements.
'pay to Her Majesty every fine or penalty ... inflicted upon them by reason of any conviction for printing or publishing any blasphemous or seditious libel ...'. Accompanying the proprietors were Sallust Ruppin, Publican of Chiltern, and Thomas Marum, Chemist of Chiltern, who acted as guarantors, and, together with Mott and Anderson, 'acknowledged themselves to owe our Lady the Queen three hundred pounds each of good and lawful money ... if they ... shall fail in the conditions endorsed.'50  (Appendix A). The paper was again registered on 23 February 1869 when Anderson assumed sole proprietorship. (Appendix B). 

While Ashworth and Boyer were named as proprietors and publishers they appear to have played no active part in the Standard's publication, but, instead, provided George Mott with the capital necessary to publish the paper. Although as R.B. Walker has indicated, it required only £200-300 to establish a country newspaper in the 19th century51, Mott, as we shall see, probably had little available capital left. Possibly because of the temporary conditions under which goldfields newspapers were established (in tents and slab huts), few records of establishment costs survive. However, in 1899, £500 was the purchase price of the West Wimmera Mail52, and the circumstances

It is not known why Mott and Anderson neglected to register the paper before this time, but it is possible that while the paper was owned by Ashworth and Boyer, and then later, in 1860, when the Albury Border Post was incorporated with the Standard, that the latter was covered under the same registration as the Border Post in New South Wales.
51 Walker, op. cit., p.179.
The Camperdown Chronicle, established in 1875 with an initial capital of £1,500 (Margaret Kiddle, op. cit., p.457), was probably not typical of earlier country newspapers, and no doubt the amount included the cost of a substantial building and more elaborate printing machinery.
52 Allan Lockwood, op. cit., p.28.
surrounding the establishment of the *Newcastle Chronicle and Hunter River District News* in New South Wales lend support to Walker's estimate.\(^5\)

On 5 October 1860, Felix Ashworth drowned whilst crossing the Billabong Creek in southern New South Wales. He was returning from Deniliquin with two companions (which perhaps suggests he had property interests there). In attempting to cross the stream, swollen by recent rains, it was believed he slipped from his horse. His companions were trying to cross further upstream, and on looking for Ashworth, he was found missing, his horse standing by the stream. His body was recovered that evening and an inquest held. At the Divine Service held at St. Matthews Church, the Albury Lodge of Oddfellows attended, attired in the costumes of their order.\(^5\)

There is little available information on James Boyer except that he was of advanced years and died on 1 November 1861.

In 1980, Clifton A. Mott (grandson of George Mott) prepared a chronicle of the Mott family. This useful background source not only traces the family to Kent in 1746, but provides a glimpse of their life in England, and, later, the arrival of some members in Australia.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) The proprietors, McDicken and Baker had less than £100 between them. They knew they would have been able to obtain a second-hand press and some type for that money, but needed something to keep the machinery moving for at least three months. They were able to obtain an advance of £100 after the first issue. (Reg Pogonowski, 'The History of Journalism and Printing in the North of New South Wales', Royal Australian Historical Society Journal, Vol. 21, 1938, p.419.)


It is not known what became of Mrs. Ashworth who, six months after her husband's death, gave birth to a daughter. *Federal Standard*, 6 March 1861, p.2.

\(^5\) C.A. Mott, *The Runaway Family* (privately printed, Wodonga 1980). I have not been able to check his facts (particularly those concerning the family in England), but Mott appears to have been responsible in compiling his history based on information he has gathered from the many members of the Mott family, research in England, and surviving family documents. He has stated that it is impossible to establish absolute truth, but his policy was to take into account all available evidence, to accept what appeared to be true, and where there was any doubt, to give the story and source, and stop there. p.32.
Illustration 8. George Henry Mott
A photograph of Mott (Illustration 8), believed by Clifton Mott to have been taken while he was at Chiltern or shortly after, shows him as a distinguished, well-dressed gentleman with dark-greying hair and beard, fine, definite features, and gentle, but alert eyes.

The son of Dr. Isaac Henry Robert Mott, George Henry Mott was born on 13 May 1831 at Blythe House, Hammersmith, London. Apparently his family was accustomed to some comfort in a substantial home, but Clifton Mott found no evidence of great expectations, so that the chance of wealth in a new land, he believes, must have been alluring.56 The Motts were possibly like many emigrants to Australia, described by Professor Ken Inglis, as people from families of precariously gentility, struggling to keep up accustomed ways of life - of income, wealth and manners.57

An interpretation of early 19th century British social structure given by Professor R.S. Neale provides some understanding of the background of these families.58 The early stages of industrialisation in Britain, he has indicated, brought about a proliferation of small businessmen and professional men in addition to the big industrial capitalists. With an acceleration in the rate of industrial growth, there were more opportunities for advancement, but at the same time, the population grew and there were more applicants for old and new opportunities. The children of the small businessmen and professionals flooded the private and grammar schools, but were ill-fitted for industrial employment and added to the competition for the limited number of respectable places in law and medicine. Even where opportunities for

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56 There is a degree of romance surrounding Mott's background. Clifton Mott has indicated that while fact and fiction cannot be separated, he is satisfied that the romantic novel, Blythe House (written by Mott's half-sister) could be taken as giving a picture of the life and times of the Motts before their immigration to Australia, pp.80, and 91.


advancement existed, traditional restraints associated with status were a
barrier. Many of them lacked the capital and connections as well as education
necessary to gain a foothold.⁵⁹ Therefore, Professor Neale believes that
the three-class model of social structure in the 19th century - of aristocracy,
middle class and working class - is inadequate for any rigorous analysis of the
relationship between class, class consciousness and ideology in the early 19th
century.

He has extended the traditional model to include two further categories, so
that his five-class model comprises: upper class, middle class, middling class,
working class A and working class B. The category relevant to this study is
that which he has termed the 'middling' class. Unlike the traditional middle
class, made up of industrial and commercial property owners, senior military
and professional men aspiring to acceptance by the upper class (described as
aristocratic, authoritarian and exclusive), the middling class comprised small
businessmen, aspiring professional men, other literates and artisans who were
less deferential and more concerned to remove the privileges and authority of
the upper class in which, without radical changes they could not hope to share.

Mott was educated at a Grammar School in London. He was not a
journalist but apparently worked in the office of a relative who was one of the
leading stock-brokers on the London Stock Exchange at the time. There is
some suggestion that he qualified as a solicitor (although his son, Hamilton
Mott, was unaware of this fact)⁶⁰ but he is listed in neither the London Law
Society records nor the Law Lists. Since he was only 21 when he left
London, the Society believe it is doubtful his name would have been listed.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 22-23.
⁶⁰ Mott, op. cit. p.13.
⁶¹ Correspondence received from Records and Statistical Department, The Law Society Services Ltd.
An element of drama surrounds the circumstances leading up to Mott's departure for Australia. When considered along with Professor Neal's interpretation of the 19th century 'middling class', the account goes some way towards understanding the bitterness and disgust directed at the British monarchy and old-world hierarchical values which, as will be demonstrated, emerge again and again in Mott's writings. His childhood and youth coincided with a period of economic and social upheaval associated with the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the new political thinkers, especially Marx and John Stuart Mill. The latter described the period as a time when '... human beings are no longer born to their place in life.'\textsuperscript{62} And the temper of the middle class Anti-Corn League during the 1840's was at times almost as threatening as that of the Chartist extremists. 'Its denunciations of the landed aristocracy were bitter ... '.\textsuperscript{63} We do not know what other events may have influenced him before he left England, but the following episode seems to have been the last straw and to have left a lasting scar.

On 18 December 1852 at St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, London, he indulged in a runaway marriage to Allegra Haideé Charnock, third daughter of Richard Charnock, Clarendon Road, Notting Hill, London, barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, and for some years one of the Queen's gentlemen-at-arms (members of the guard who attend the British Sovereign on ceremonial and state occasions). Reprinted in the \textit{Runaway Family} is the letter Allegra kept which her father wrote to Mott accusing him of lacking the candour or manliness to state his intentions towards his daughter (many years later, Allegra explained that her father had wanted his daughters to marry wealthy, older men). He claimed Mott's visits to his home were made clandestinely in his absence, but

\textsuperscript{63} Read, \textit{op.cit} p.53.
Allegra insisted, 'George never came without my mother's permission'. On 4 December 1852, George replied to this letter, indicating how any such suggestion was ridiculous. He usually rang the bell, entered at the front door and was received with kindness. He concluded his letter by assuring Charnock that he would never again invade his domestic circle. So upset was he following Charnock's letter, that he wrote to Allegra indicating he had booked his passage to Australia. Allegra went to George where they planned their secret marriage.

On the day of their marriage, George arranged to have a hansom cab waiting at the end of Clarendon Road to hurry them to the church. Apparently Allegra's mother and two sisters, whose suspicions were aroused, pursued the pair, but arrived at the church after the Minister had recited the closing words of the ceremony. On hearing a piercing shriek in the church the newly-wed couple rushed from the vestry into the church to find one of Allegra's sisters collapsed at the altar.

So outraged was Charnock at his daughter's marriage that he let his house, dismissed his servants and sold his carriages. He refused to have anything to do with his wife, whom he blamed for condoning Mott's visits. and until their estrangement ended on her deathbed, she lived in exile in Europe.

64 Ibid. p.21. In addition to the letters between Mott and Charnock reprinted in the Runaway Family, the story of Allegra's marriage, migration to, and life in Australia, is believed to be her own account, which was written and printed (probably by her son Melbourne Mott for her birthday in 1894). Birthday greetings from three of her children, Ada, Decimus and Hamilton, in their handwriting, are included in the original edition.

65 Ibid. pp.77-78, and p.25. Because of their haste they were married with another couple who were servants or tradefolk. Allegra recalled forty years later how she was shocked at the time, but 'forty years in the colony have taught me more sense'.

66 Ibid.
Two weeks after their marriage on 1 January 1853, Mott, together with his wife and 17 year old brother Arthur, sailed for Australia. They left London in the brig Elizabeth Wilthen of 232 tons and disembarked at Sandridge in the middle of the night on 21 June 1853.67

At the height of the gold-rushes in Victoria, the demand for labour, both manual and professional was high and Mott soon found employment in a commercial capacity at the office of the Argus newspaper.68

His arrival in the colony coincided with great turmoil on the goldfields resulting from, as Governor Charles La Trobe noted, the 'ill-judged, if not improper conduct of the authorities'.69 Only weeks before his arrival, Castlemaine was on the 'eve of revolution'; earlier at the Ovens there was unrest70, and the following year there was Eureka at Ballarat.

Mott's first employers, Wilson and McKinnon, proprietors of the Argus, championed the rights of the miners in the colony. It was Edward Wilson who coined the slogan 'Unlock the Lands' in the early 1850's, and who

67 Shipping Lists, Public Record Office. Elizabeth Wilthen entry, p.1. The listing for the Motts is given as: 'Mr. Mott-22 years, English, Gentleman; Mrs. Mott-21 years, Lady; Master Mott-17 years, Gentleman'. (There is apparently a slight discrepancy over the departure and arrival dates of the Elizabeth Wilthen. Clifton Mott has pointed out that La Trobe Library shipping records give departure date as 1 or 3 January. The Argus shipping notice of 20 June 1853 gives the arrival date as 18 June).
68 Essendon Gazette, 11 January 1906, p.3. Mott's obituary notice. (The Essendon Gazette was owned by two of Mott's sons - Melbourne and Sydney Mott).
70 Ibid. Serle provides details of incidents which added to the slowly building up resentment on the goldfields.
opposed officialdom on the goldfields until the events at Eureka. After a couple of months, Mott left the Argus to join the Melbourne Morning Herald, then in the zenith of its prosperity under Sennett and Co. The Herald, too, backed the miners. At Castlemaine in 1853, 1,300 diggers pleaded with the Government for local land sales, but action was slow. 'Land must be had, and land they will obtain at any sacrifice ...' wrote the Herald correspondent.

Mott's reactions to events at Albury and later at Chiltern, suggest the newly arrived young man was impressed by the diggers' determination to uphold the rights of the people against the wrongs of despots' by 'bloody revolution', if necessary, and the pressure exerted by his employers - the major metropolitan papers.

While at the Herald, Mott met Richard Warren, a printer in Cornwall before coming to Victoria. When the Herald proprietors started the Mt. Alexander Mail at Castlemaine in 1854, Mott became its representative (possibly selling advertising space or collecting accounts), and later in 1854, when the paper was purchased by Matthew and Saint, both Mott and Warren went up to Castlemaine; Mott accepting the editorship, with Warren taking charge of the printing department.

71 Australasian Newspaper Directory, op. cit. pp.25-6, Sayers, op. cit. p.46 and Alexander Sutherland, Victoria and its Metropolis: Past and Present (Melbourne 1888), p.494 who includes a biographical note on Wilson, indicating that after Eureka, a marked change occurred in the attitude of the Argus. Wilson, as editor, had encouraged the people, and especially the miners, to assert their rights. But the Eureka affair startled him. He had wanted reform not revolution. He feared further agitation would result in some disastrous convulsion, and thereafter, adopted a more moderate tone. Many diggers accused the paper of deserting them and it rapidly lost its hold on their affections.
72 Essendon Gazette, 11 January 1906, p.3.
73 Serle, op. cit. p.104.
74 Ibid. p.105.
75 Copy of article compiled for Men of the Time (made available by C.A. Mott), but apparently never published in that series.
In a series of reminiscences written in 1894, Mott recalled how in the middle of September 1855, he accepted an offer from two former collaborators on the Melbourne Morning Herald to join them in the proprietorship of the Ovens and Murray Advertiser, a journal which they had just purchased at Beechworth, and which they desired him to conduct.\textsuperscript{76} In 1855 Warren had left the Mt. Alexander Mail to superintend the newspaper and job-printing department of the Ovens and Murray Advertiser, owned by Nixon and Grey. In October 1855, Warren purchased the paper and was joined by John Stitch Clark and Mott as co-owners.\textsuperscript{77} However, Mott stayed only a year at Beechworth; in October 1856 he established the Albury Border Post and it was here that his association with Ashworth and Boyer, and later George Anderson, began.

Although George Anderson was associated with the Standard, possibly from late 1859 until his death on Friday, 22 August 1890, little information about him survives. According to obituary notices, he was a native of the Isle of Man. The eldest son of William Anderson, surgeon of London, he came to Victoria in 1859. Shipping records indicate that he was of English nationality, 21 years old, and gave his occupation as trader.\textsuperscript{78}

All historical references to Anderson claim that shortly after his arrival in the colony he went to the north-east to edit the Border Post at Albury but, instead, assumed the editorship of the Standard after its third issue. However, this could hardly be so, since Anderson did not board the Monarch in London.

\textsuperscript{76} "Reminiscences of a Victorian Journalist," taken from Kew Mercury in "Chiltern" papers. According to C.A. Mott the series were published on 4 October, 1 and 22 November 1894. Each of these issues of the Kew Mercury are missing from holdings held in the La Trobe Library.

\textsuperscript{77} Australasian Newspaper Directory, op. cit., p.32. (Since the Directory was published by Gordon and Gotch, the introductory chapter was possibly prepared by Mott who was then Managing Director).

until 1 September 1859. Nearly three months later, on 28 November 1859, he arrived in Melbourne and then had to journey to the north-east.

Where there is more than one editor or owner, the anonymity of the newspaper editorial and articles generally makes identification of authorship difficult. Because Anderson did not join the Standard until it had been running for a full four months, and because there is the same use of Latin phrases, fables, and almost identical arguments for the potential of the Border district Mott used in the Border Post, there is little doubt he was responsible for the editorial column and leading articles. Obviously Anderson contributed in some way, but under the direction of Mott. Anderson later became extensively involved in local activities, but his influence as editor lies outside the period now under investigation.

In 1890, Mott recalled how, in the second week of September 1856, he left Beechworth and started for Albury to establish the Border Post. Despite

79 The Monarch had already docked in Melbourne in January 1859, but Anderson was not on that ship. Apparently it made a quick turn-around and returned to Melbourne in November.
80 Although mention of Anderson's arrival at Chiltern has been found in the Standard, he had certainly arrived by early May 1860. See F.N. 24, part 2.
81 Indeed, so identical are some editorials that, on occasion, I thought 'I've already done that page', but then realised I had, instead, read a similar editorial in the Border Post.
82 Anderson was joint secretary with Mott of the North-Eastern Railway League which, in 1868, was responsible for organising some twenty-one public meetings in almost every town in the district on both sides of the Murray; campaigning for the construction of a railway line between Melbourne and Albury. Federal Standard, 29 August 1890, p.2. Anderson's obituary notice. Anderson was also identified with, and was second secretary of, the Chiltern and Barnawartha Horticultural Society, and succeeded Mott as secretary of the Indigo Prospecting Association (formed to give small financial assistance to mining parties searching for gold) on 8 January 1861. Lake Anderson in the Chiltern Public Park was so named in testimony to his involvement in public affairs. Federal Standard, 29 August 1890, p.2. and Minutes of Meeting, Indigo Prospecting Association, 6 January 1861.
83 'Reminiscences of a Victorian Journalist', loc. cit. The imprint on the first issue published on 4 October 1856 reads, 'Printed and published by George Mott at the Border Post, Townsend Street, Albury'.
its virtual monopoly, it had a shaky start. On 12 May 1858, only eighteen months after establishing the journal, an advertisement announced that 'the plant, copyright and goodwill of the Border Post newspaper and printing office, with or without book debts' was for sale. The newspaper, the advertisement claimed, was only placed on the market because the owner was about to leave for England. However, a buyer was not immediately found, and it was not until 1 January 1859 that Ashworth and Boyer assumed proprietorship.

Mott may have intended to return to England, but it is more likely that he was losing money fast. This could have been one of those times, which forty years later, Allegra recalled '... on occasions we have hardly known where to turn for a crust of bread'. His stated intention of returning to England was

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84 The Border Post was the first paper in the Riverina district. The nearest paper was the Goulburn Herald, 200 miles from Albury, and the whole area down the Murray beyond the South Australian border was also paperless. 'Reminiscences of a Victorian Journalist', loc. cit. According to a notice to advertisers, the Border Post was transmitted to nearly every station and settlement in the south-western portion of New South Wales, including Billybong, Bathurst, Yass, as well as throughout Victoria. Border Post, 21 March 1857, p.2. Buxton, op. cit., does not specifically refer to the Border Post being the first in the area, but does indicate that other newspapers were slow to follow in the district. The Albury Telegraph and Federation Journal commenced on 3 April 1858, but it had a short life and on 24 July that year it was incorporated with the Border Post; the imprint being, 'printed and published by George Mott and Western James Hatfield at the Border Post and Albury Telegraph Office. Border Post, 24 July 1858, p.4. The partnership between Mott and Hatfield was dissolved on 3 December 1858. Dows and Murray Advertiser, 8 December 1858, p.2. The Wagga Wagga Express and Murrumbidgee District Advertiser was not established until 1858, followed by the Albury Banner and Wodonga Express (1860), and the short-lived Deniliquin Southern Courier (1861) which was incorporated with the earlier established Pastoral Times (1859). Buxton, op. cit., p.71.

85 Border Post, 12 May 1858, p.2.

86 Border Post, 1 January 1859, p.4.

87 Tenacity to endure, Clifton Mott has noted, was a characteristic of the emigrant Motts. Mott, op. cit., p.15. However, while it is not documented, perhaps they temporarily wearied of colonial life. Allegra bore 14 children, 3 of whom were born before 1858 (their first-born died before 1856), and in the interminable summer heat at Albury in their small four-roomed weatherboard cottage (advertised at the same time as the Border Post), the dust and lack of physical and cultural facilities, could have become intolerable. Unlike the goldfields, with their concerts and amateur theatricals, Albury was culturally barren. In April 1857, a Mechanics Institute with debating society, reading room and school of arts was formed, but little progress was made, and it failed by July. W.A. Bayley, History of Albury, New South Wales (Albury 1976), pp.38–39.

88 Mott, op. cit., p.27.
probably a selling tactic. Although two months after placing the Border Post on the market, Mott recorded that 'we feel proud ... that the circulation of our journal now considerably exceeds the population of the town of 642 persons'\textsuperscript{89}, there were signs that all was not well.

In December 1858 he reported that times were exceedingly dull and cash remarkably scarce, and, on 5 March 1859, a notice inserted in the Border Post indicated that all accounts remaining unpaid by 31 March would be placed in the hands of a solicitor.\textsuperscript{90} The problem of unpaid accounts was apparently a widespread one. Walker\textsuperscript{91} has noted that in New South Wales, the art of collecting arrears was the most necessary skill of newspaper management, and country customers proved especially evasive. Already in January of that year in the Albury Small Debts Court, two cases, Mott v Miller and Mott and Hatfield v Miller had been settled. In the same court, Mott was awarded damages for another case - in June 1858 he had sold an allotment of land, but an error in the conveyance prepared for him resulted in a delay in the sale, and he was consequently kept without the purchase money of £500 for three weeks.\textsuperscript{92}

There were yet other business problems, one of which could have been brought about by the rushes to the goldfields which left labour in short supply. A notice seeking an apprentice to the printing business was first inserted in the Border Post on 5 September 1857 and ran until May 1858. It is not known

\textsuperscript{89} Border Post, 24 July 1858, p.2.
\textsuperscript{90} Border Post, 22 December 1858, p.2. and 5 March 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{91} Walker, op.cit. p.52.
\textsuperscript{92} Border Post, 5 January 1859, p.2.
whether an apprentice was eventually engaged or the advertisement merely withdrawn, but shortage of printing staff could have severely affected the efficient running of the paper and printing works. And, in June 1857, Mott complained that the inefficiency of the local post-master was causing many subscriber’s papers to continually miscarry, and, in consequence, many had discontinued their subscriptions. This was, he reported, becoming a serious loss.93 The post-master in reply, suggested that the miscarriage of the mails was the editor’s fault. He had on several occasions pointed out to Mott the insufficiency and inaccuracy of his directions which merely contained the names of some remote station. Mott was completely ignorant of the exact location or post-office to which they should have been sent. Certainly, he continued, the odd letter could have been misplaced, but the morning mail brought 1000 letters requiring hasty sorting ‘the correctness of which was not prompted by the measured tread of the editor ... immediately after the departure of the mail’.94 Nevertheless, in the face of increasing public criticism, the post-master ultimately resigned.95

The success or failure of a newspaper may, in the first instance, be directed by financial considerations, but Mott’s background, experiences and perception of his role as a newspaperman which, in part, affected the success of the Standard, are already evident in his running of the Border Post.

Mott was a man of ideas and foresight. He saw a great future for Albury and Australia. At Albury he agitated for the abolition of the Border Customs duty, a railway between Melbourne and Sydney, an adequate postal system, assize courts and a bridge over the Murray River (inhabitants of the Border

93 Border Post, June 1857, p.2.
94 Border Post, 4 July 1857, p.2.
95 Border Post, 6 February 1858, p.2.
district wishing to cross the river had to await the puntman who, on occasion, it was complained, was too drunk to operate the punt). And the separation of the Riverina district into an independent colony was advanced as a means of overcoming government neglect in southern New South Wales. Young Australia, too, could be great, but first there must be federation of the Australian colonies, and utilisation of natural resources such as the Murray River.

However, Mott was soon disillusioned with Albury. Coming from the politically aware and industrious goldfields, he found it difficult to understand the political apathy and excessive drinking of Albury inhabitants. Only six months after starting the Border Post he claimed that 'our citizens are destitute of pride or ambition, and moreover they have always been celebrated for doing nothing in a hurry'. There were many important issues which affected their well-being, but, he continued, the citizens of Albury stood aloof.  

Even though the colonial-born squatter had diluted the ranks of the English-born squatters, the latter were still the leaders of society in the Riverina. Much of the inertia of the population, Buxton believes, can probably be attributed to the polarisation of that society. As late as 1864, in a minute of the New South Wales Cabinet on a petition for making the Riverina a separate colony, it was stated that the social relations of the

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96 Border Post, 11 April 1857, p.2. Apparently Mott's perception of the area was not unique, since Buxton has commented: 'The most rabid harangues of Wagga's newspaper could achieve nothing with the inhabitants of that town'. Buxton, op.cit, p.70. The problem of drinking at Albury was a concern shared by doctors, clergy and courts alike in the Riverina. Ibid., p.81.

97 Ibid., p.108 and p.65. Buxton has shown that Wagga, closer to the old settled districts of New South Wales and more remote from the Victorian goldfields was the most Australian town in the Riverina with 40 per cent of its male population Australian-born. But, in the township of Albury there was a higher proportion of English males, 29 per cent compared with 33 per cent Australian. The surrounding pastoral district was even less Australian. Deniliquin was the least Australian town - 20 per cent Australian-born, and it contained the highest percentage of foreign-born.
community were only that of master and servant - a situation dating from the early pastoralists employing servants of the lower orders, thus maintaining the British notions of class, rank and station. Consequently, even at Albury, for 'Jemmy the plasterer' there was no suggestion that he should represent the working man in parliament'.

Through his editorials in the Border Post, Mott argued that the progress of the district depended on the development of the agricultural, pastoral and mineral resources of the large tract of country watered by the Upper Murray, but this could not be achieved while the land was monopolised by the squatter. Local development, it would seem, was only one issue. Mott was attacking the foundations of an imported hierarchical system based on landed property. In an outburst on 1 November 1856 he wrote that the aborigines, too, had been deprived of their land because 'her Most Gracious Majesty [had] somehow become entitled by right of discovery to the Australian continent'. The natives of this land, he continued, had just as much right to go and discover Great Britain and make that circumstance the grounds for seizing the United Kingdom. 'Britannia, happens, however, to rule the waves ...'.

Such comments in a pro-British area where English speech, loyalties and social attitudes predominated, labelling the squatters the 'patriarchs of Australia'; and adopting the motto 'audi alterum partem' [hear the other side], probably did little to encourage high sales of the Border Post. Nor would the cutting outspokenness of this young man, who in the very first issue, announced that 'if the paper was not successful at Albury, it would retire to seek the patronage of more enthusiastic and literary communities'.

98 Ibid. p.123.
99 Border Post, 11 October 1856, p.2. and 1 November 1856, p.2.
100 Buxton, op. cit. p.108.
101 Border Post, 4 October 1856, p.2.
Although Ashworth and Boyer assumed ownership of the Border Post on 1 January 1859, Mott apparently stayed on as editor, but with a markedly curtailed editorial range. Their first editorial (obviously not prepared by Mott) was a sharp rebuke directed against him. If the opinions of the paper are unpopular, they wrote, if the journalist offends taste or decency, he finds the public individually crying 'stop my paper'. If the journalist takes the wrong view of his position, the 'vulgar check' brings him to book. Accordingly, they announced that they had 'not embarked on an enterprise impelled only by high souled patriotism, we have no particular purpose to serve and no pet crotchets to carry out'. Thereafter the paper took a non-committal approach on contentious issues, but made clear its support of the squatter majority. Nevertheless, even under the restraint of Ashworth and Boyer, Mott could obviously not contain himself, and, on 6 April 1859 managed to slip in yet another attack: 'The people of Albury have no originality and but little enterprise ... [there] is no more helpless, slowgoing, indolent community ... anywhere on the face of the earth'.

Apparently this was not the first time Mott's outspokenness had got him into trouble. In 1861, at a ceremony to install the new steam-printing equipment at the Standard office, he thanked a guest named Jack Lambert for mounting the machine and his congratulatory speech. He noticed the coincidence that the initiation of the ceremony should have fallen upon Lambert who, at an election six years previously, came at the head of a mob of

102 In announcing the change in ownership, Mott indicated that for the present there would be no change in the editorial department. Border Post, 25 December 1859, p.2.
103 Border Post, 1 January 1859, p.2.
104 In June 1859, they praised the candidate for Upper Murray, J.D. Badham, who had modified his views on land selection. There was some hope yet for the unfortunate squatter, they wrote. And, they asked, who would cut up the whole country when a fiftieth part would suffice, and who would ruin the pastoral interests when there was no necessity for doing so? Border Post, 5 June 1959, p.2.
105 Border Post, 6 April 1859, p.2.
three hundred people to burn down the office of the journal then edited by him at Beechworth because the paper opposed the return of the unsuccessful candidate. He continued that the appearance of Lambert at the ceremony convinced him that whatever offence might be given to any section of the community in times of temporary excitement, liberal opinions consistently and perseveringly advocated, would always in the end be appreciated.106

Apparently Mott stayed on as editor at the Border Post until another, namely Anderson, could be found. In the meantime, promising reports from the Indigo flowed in and presumably caught his imagination. It is difficult, however, to understand the circumstances under which Mott continued to stay at Albury107, working in association with Ashworth and Boyer who opposed his political views. Mott was a man of ideas, and, as Henry Wickham Steed, the distinguished English journalist has observed, men who have something to say, usually have their own temperament and ideas; they are unwilling to write against their own views and convictions, and are filled with resentment when they merely receive verbal or written instructions to say this or that.108

We can only surmise that, if Ashworth and Boyer were without newspaper experience, a condition of their providing Mott with the capital to start the Chiltern Standard (although he presumably used funds from the sale of the Border Post to finance his share) was that he continue to run the Border Post.

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106 **Federal Standard**, The 1855–56 Beechworth papers which may have reported this incident are not held by the La Trobe Library. The Shire of Beechworth indicated in a letter to the Library in 1984 that they held copies of the Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 13 January–26 May 1855, and Woods op.cit, has referred to 1855–56 issues of the Advertiser and Constitution (including for the Advertiser: Jan, March, Sept – Oct. 1855 and March 1856) and for the Constitution May–July 1856. Following my enquiries as to their availability, the La Trobe Library requested permission from the Burke Museum, Beechworth, to microfilm these issues. In reply, the Museum apparently denied they hold them.

107 Although Mott obviously spent much of his time at Chiltern running the Standard, attending meetings, and visiting the diggings, he continued to live at Albury. Seven of his children were born there between 1858 and 1867, Mott, op.cit, pp. 109–110.

One stipulation may have been that he was not to write the leading articles, although even after he had started the *Standard* at least some of the *Border Post* editorials were almost certainly written by him. There is the same distinctive editorial style, but without the earlier vitriol. Why Ashworth and Boyer were prepared to provide capital for Mott's venture if they believed his editorial style was partly responsible for the *Border Post*’s hitherto failure remains a mystery.  

Professor K.S. Inglis, in his essay on the Australian press, has pointed out that 'the man who devotes his life to controlling newspapers is likely to want not merely to be rich but to shape human destiny, to do good'. We do not know if Mott had any aspirations to be rich, but perhaps he hoped to do good. His editorial comments in the *Border Post* suggest he had arrived at Albury fired with enthusiasm, an awareness of the district's potential, and a belief that through his paper he could improve the character and conditions of the Albury people.

The diggers' determination on the goldfields had shown him that a fresh start under news rules could be made; that the old world privileges did not have to be carried to the new world. But he had to learn that the newspaper editorial could not be used to bully readers into thinking and acting on issues in which they were not interested. He still had to learn that generally the power of the press is no greater than the degree of support the people concede to it. The editor who fails to use his influence wisely, who endeavours to go further in advocacy than his readers are prepared to go, will find he has lost his power.

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109 There is no mention of a new editor in the January–December 1859 issues of the *Border Post*.

to persuade. Whether Mott learned to use his influence wisely at Chiltern is explored in the following pages.

111 Cunningham, op. cit. p.13.