PART 2

EDITORIAL COMMENT

1. 'Our Requirements'

At Chiltern, Mott wasted little time in advancing the new settlement's needs. Under the editorial heading 'Our Requirements' in only the second issue, he wrote:

On all the newly settled goldfields, the great source of complaint is the neglect of government. The local wants of the people in such neighbourhoods receive not the slightest attention ... ¹

Government authorities, he explained, procured information about the requirements of the population from the census collector and wardens who submitted reports at every new rush, and the numerous complaints made from time to time by the public and individuals were a very good reason for supposing that the government could not plead ignorance of the conditions at Chiltern. But, he continued:

... the obtaining of the knowledge and the turning it into practical account are by no means synonymous. We know it must be difficult to follow the movements of a shifting population with police courts, post offices etc. but when a fixed centre has once become established, that centre should be made the headquarters so long as the population remains. Such a centre has now been formed at what has been called the 'township' on the Chiltern Lead, about a mile from the Black Dog. Here we have a class of building quite different from any usually erected at a mere temporary

¹ Chiltern Standard, 29 August 1859, p.2.
rush: these erections are of a substantial character; and calico is the exception
rather than the rule ... 2

The close proximity of the Suffolk and New Ballarat Leads to the township,
the immediate neighbourhood of a number of steam engines and crushing
machines, and the richness of the diggings, were all presented as indications
that the site of the township was likely to be permanent.3

To illustrate how this well-established settlement was neglected, the
paper told how for six months the people of New Ballarat had been required to
travel two miles to the old Indigo Lead to post and receive their letters. A
post-office was to be opened on 1 September at the new township, but the
police barracks and Court House remained at Indigo. The remaining miners at
Indigo would have cause for complaint if these services were prematurely
removed, but the paper failed to understand why there was not a branch police
station at the Chiltern Lead which had only four policemen for a population of
7000.4

Moreover, the progress of Chiltern was retarded because, although almost
20 miles distant from Beechworth, government authorities had somehow linked
Chiltern with this older established and major centre.5

Gold had been found at Beechworth, then Spring Creek, in 1852, almost six
years before the Indigo/Chiltern field was discovered. The gazetted
administrative centre for the police district that included Tarawingee, Chiltern

2 ibid.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 ibid.
There were three quartz crushing machines. The largest belonged to Gilchrist and Chambers and cost £5000. Border Post, 31 August 1859, p.3.
and Belvoir (later Wodonga), it was declared a town in 1853. By 1857-58, it was well-endowed with handsome stone buildings, including a new post-office, district hospital, Court House and gaol, and by 1859, a Town Hall, as well as several fine churches and schools constructed from local granite.⁶

The Court of Sessions was held only at Beechworth and again, the paper could not understand why hearings could not also be conducted at Chiltern. The travelling expenses of the judges and officials of the court would be trifling to the cost and inconvenience incurred by prosecutors, suitors and witnesses proceeding to Beechworth. This same system of centralisation meant that all Chiltern letters and papers, instead of being brought along the same route as supplies, were carried 20 miles off the main Sydney Road to Beechworth and hence to Chiltern. The 15-hour delay for Melbourne mail and 24-hour delay for Sydney mail, which followed a similar circuitous route, afforded the Chiltern residents considerable inconvenience.⁷ This situation was a legacy dating from 1854 when Beechworth storekeepers successfully petitioned the government to have the main Sydney-Melbourne road and mail route redirected from its valley path (which crossed the Black Dog Creek) to go through Beechworth.⁸

The same editorial referred to the discontent caused by the absence of the telegraph. Chiltern, it was argued, was fully entitled to receive the benefits of telegraphic communication with the rest of the colony. The erection of a single line between Beechworth (which had received the telegraph in January 1858),⁹

---

⁷ Chiltern Standard, 29 August 1859, p.2.
and Chiltern would cost about £1,000, but surely, said the Standard, the line would pay for itself.\textsuperscript{10}

A later editorial pointed out that 5,359 ounces of gold had been sent from the Indigo by escort that week, but the paper complained that because Chiltern was without a gold-receiving office, it knew of many more thousands of ounces which had gone directly to buyers at Beechworth, thus forming a large portion of the escort returns for that district, but diminishing the value of Chiltern as a gold-producing centre.\textsuperscript{11} Early in 1859 the Indigo was gazetted a separate mining division but the notice was gazetted too late to take effect. Official statistical returns, therefore, counted Indigo as part of the Ovens Mining District and so gave a favourable picture of that region as a whole.\textsuperscript{12}

The Court of Sessions commenced hearings at Chiltern in November 1859,\textsuperscript{13} due, the paper claimed, to its exertions, but in the absence of other requested facilities, similar editorial arguments to the above were a regular feature for the following twelve months.

The paper certainly took a persistent and vocal stance on these issues, but what events led it to believe that these same issues were important to Chiltern residents? News items reported in the Standard suggest that certain individuals and groups took an active role in promoting and gaining support for the town’s needs, even before the paper was established.

\textsuperscript{10} Chiltern Standard, 29 August 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{11} Chiltern Standard, 19 November 1859, p.2. The paper’s authority for this claim apparently came from a gold buyer. Also referred to in ‘Indigo Mining Report’, Chiltern Standard, 22 October 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{12} Woods, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 347-8 and 254.
\textsuperscript{13} Chiltern Standard, 2 November 1859, p.2.
The state of roads and bridges was a continual problem throughout the colony and at Chiltern, but in the absence of government attention, residents had taken some action themselves. The *Standard*'s second issue reported that the bridge across the creek in Conness Street had just been completed and another in Main Street (near the *Standard* office) was nearly completed. These bridges were built from a fund collected by local subscription and cost some £50-60. By December, 'some of the more energetic townpeople' were raising funds for the repair of the Conness Street bridge, and since Chiltern was left to its own resources, the paper hoped all would give generously.\(^{14}\)

In September that year, residents prepared and signed a petition asking for additional police, a Court House and a gold-receiving office. Although the number was not recorded, numerous signatures were given to yet another memorial transmitted to the Post Master-General indicating that the population was subject to great inconvenience through the want of direct postal communication with the metropolis.\(^{15}\)

No official answer was received to the request for a Court House and additional police, and it was not until March 1861 that the *Government Gazette* announced that the District Court and Court of Mines would be transferred to Chiltern.\(^{16}\) The government's reluctance to immediately acquiesce in the resident's requests is perhaps understandable given that it was only in March

---

\(^{14}\) *Chiltern Standard*, 27 August, 26 October and 7 December 1859, p.2. William Howitt, during his travels, noted the appalling state of roads throughout the colony and how there was scarcely a wooden bridge over any gully. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

\(^{15}\) *Chiltern Standard*, 17 September and 1 October 1859, p.2. Although many petitions from other towns have survived, an extensive search of the following sources has failed to locate the above-mentioned, and subsequent petitions signed by the Chiltern residents: Legislative Council Papers: Reports, Petitions, Returns, Division Lists 1859-62; Inward Correspondence, Chief Secretary's Office (Posta1 and Public Works) 1859; Inward Correspondence, Chief Secretary's Department (Treasury Department) 1859; Inward Correspondence, Post Master General's Department, Register Book, Vol. 1.

\(^{16}\) *Federal Standard*, 6 March 1861, p.2.
1859 the Assistant Surveyor Martin reported having selected a suitable site for a Court House and Police Camp at the Indigo. It was not until 18 May that 'Mr. Martin [was] requested to forward plans with the least possible delay' so that Assistant Surveyor J. Darbyshire could mark out the site.\textsuperscript{17} Presumably the buildings - the Court House alone cost £600\textsuperscript{18} - were only just completed before the miners and storekeepers shifted from the Indigo to Chiltern in July 1859.

Probably for the same reason, a reply from the Treasury Department dated 21 October 1859, and published in the Standard, refused permission for a gold-receiving office at Chiltern; the Treasury opinion being that 'the gold office at Indigo affords sufficient accommodation'.\textsuperscript{19}

In October, Charles Orr, newsagent and bookseller, was responsible for calling on all businessman who were reported to have been unanimous in signing a memorial urging the installation of the telegraph.\textsuperscript{20} Their unanimity is not surprising. Despite high telegraph rates - 3s for ten words and 2d each additional word transmitted from Chiltern within the colony\textsuperscript{21} - the commercial value of sending urgent orders to capital cities had, by 1860, become widely recognised and extensively utilised by Australian businessmen.\textsuperscript{22} Unlike Euroa, Avenel, Seymour and all the other little townships on the Sydney Road

\textsuperscript{17} Inward Correspondence, Department of Lands and Survey, 1859.,
\textsuperscript{19} Chiltern Standard, 26 October 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{20} Chiltern Standard, 15 October 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{21} Revised Scale of Charges for the Transmission of Telegraphs within the Colony of Victoria, Papers Presented to Parliament by Command, 1860-61, Vol. 3. No.52. p.13.
\textsuperscript{22} J. Hirst, 'Distance in Australia - Was it a Tyrant'? Historical Studies, Vol.16, 1974-75. p.444.
with populations of only 100 or 150 souls which had been connected to the telegraph, Chiltern had to remain outside this rapid growth in communication.

A reply addressed to George Anderson from the Honorable John Dennistoun Wood, member for Beechworth, who had 'actually condescended to acknowledge receipt of the memorial'; advised that the House could not receive the petition because it prayed for money. He had forwarded the petition to the Post Master General who, in turn, advised that 'the subject was under consideration'. This provoked the Standard to write:

... the above correspondence is an insult to the intelligence of the community. It is childish of Mr. Wood to think that by a few letters like the foregoing he can bamboozle the residents of Chiltern and Indigo into the belief that he is looking after their interests ...

A few weeks later, the Superintendent of Victorian Telegraphs visited the area and despite his recommendation that the line be carried to Chiltern, it was advised that the Mount Gambier line was to take precedence over all others.

---

24 The reply to the memorial addressed to Anderson suggests he may have been responsible for preparing and forwarding resident's petitions, and in 1860, in a letter to the editor, signed 'A Constant Reader' (possibly one of the Standard staff), the reader believed the Chiltern people should be extremely obliged to the individual in your office who had compiled memorial after memorial which showed how sensible and alive he was to the requirements of such an important and vastly populated place as Chiltern. Chiltern Standard, 2 May 1860, p.2.
If the memorials forwarded by the Chiltern people were similar to those sent from other towns, much time and effort would have been involved in their preparation. A few appear to have been amateurishly prepared on average-sized paper, but others are magnificent 'works of art', elaborately inscribed in gothic script (or as in one instance, in Chinese characters) on parchment, two and three feet in diameter, with the residents signatures attached.
John Dennistoun Wood was born in Tasmania in 1829. An unsuccessful candidate for Brighton in the first Legislative Assembly elections in 1856, he was solicitor-general in the O'Shannassy ministry from March to April 1857, when he won the Ovens at a Legislative Assembly by-election. He retained that seat until July 1861. ADB, Vol. 6. 1851-1890, p.433.
and would swallow up the whole of the limited sum set aside for telegraph extensions. If Mr. Wood had presented the peoples petition to parliament months ago, the paper cried, the desired purpose would already have been accomplished. In fact, the matter had been raised, albeit briefly, in parliament some months earlier when William Hightett, Member of the Legislative Council, asked whether it was the intention of Government to extend the telegraph line from Wangaratta to Chiltern. The Honorable Thomas Fellows, also a Member of the Legislative Council, said he was not in a position to give a decided answer but could state that the matter was under consideration.

The paper thought Chiltern’s neglect was even more incredible when it was learned that £7,200,000 was to be spent on the Java telegraph system to unite Australia with the systems of Asia and Europe. The value of such an uninterrupted and speedy communication was acknowledged, but the undertaking of such a project, involving £26,000 yearly of Victorian taxpayers money before the interior system was completed, was likened to the crazy individual who purchased fine ruffles and collar while his other garments remained wanting.

---

27 Ibid. The Mt. Gambier line was the major link between Melbourne and Adelaide. In 1858 a Telegraph Station was erected at Mt. Gambier. Both Victorian and S.A. telegraph operators were stationed in this building which, within a few years, became too congested to handle all the communications between Melbourne and Adelaide. L.R. Hill, Mount Gambier: A City Around a Cave (Leabrook, S.A. 1972), pp.155-6.


29 Chiltern Standard, 12 May 1860, p.2. By 1872 the overseas telegraph system between the Australian colonies and Europe was complete. Overland and sub-marine cables stretched across Europe and Asia to Port Darwin and then overland to Adelaide where messages were sent through domestic telegraphic systems to Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart and Brisbane. K.S. Inglis. The Imperial Connection: Telegraphic Communication between England and Australia, 1872-1902 in A.F. Madden and W.H. Morrison, Australia and Britain (London 1980), p.22.
The telegraph was still not forthcoming, and while it is not recorded how many attended, a meeting of Chiltern residents was held on 1 June 1860 to again urge the government to extend the telegraph to Chiltern. One resident named Westfield moved that:

An association now be formed to be called the Chiltern Political Association for the purpose of watching over the residents of this goldfield; that an annual subscription of 5s shall constitute membership; and that Messrs. Telford, Finn, Turner, Rogers, Orr, Smith, Westfield, Chalmers, Hunter, Mott and Campbell be appointed to carry out the objects of the association, with power to add to their numbers.  

While Mott attended this meeting, there is no indication that he was the instigator of the Association. In advertising the forthcoming meeting on 30 May, he reported that, because all previous memorials had failed, it would probably take the form of an indignation meeting. The meeting proved to be not only one of indignation but of definite action, and a further public meeting was held on Friday, 6 June where it was resolved that:

The population of the Chiltern goldfields, consisting as it does of 9000 persons, paying annually £24,000 for licences and gold export duty, is entitled to participate in the public expenditure for telegraphic communication.

That this meeting views with indignation and regret the decision of the government not to carry out their former promises, but to continue to exclude the people of Chiltern from telegraphic intercourse with the rest of the colony; and imperatively demands that steps may be taken without delay for the prosecution of the work.

---

30 Chiltern Standard, 2 June 1860, p.2.
No trace of the Association’s minute books or correspondence has been found in either the ‘Chiltern’ papers or at the Athenaeum Museum at Chiltern.
31 Chiltern Standard, 30 May 1860, p.2.
That the foregoing resolutions to embodied in the form of a memorial and
transmitted to the Post Master-General. 32

The resultant memorial was returned by the Post Master General to the
Chiltern Political Association, stating that because 'the resolutions contained
therein are not couched in proper and respectful language the memorial cannot
be entertained'. 33

The memorial had been signed by P.T. Finn, Honorary Secretary of the
Association. Meetings of both this organisation and the Indigo Prospecting
Association were held in his office. Little information survives to tell us more
of Finn and his involvement in the community, but according to his
advertisement placed in the Standard, he was a barrister with temporary
offices at the Star Hotel. 34 By virtue of his occupation, involving contact with
all classes of the community, he was in a position not only to know what the
people wanted, but could have exerted considerable influence in promoting
ideas, gaining support for them and encouraging resident participation.
Andrew Kilgour, Oscar Smith, Charles Horsfall and William Cowan Hunter took
an active part in canvassing the town and chairing meetings, and their

As with the previous meeting, no indication was given as to how many attended.

33 Ibid.

34 Finn was not the only barrister at Chiltern. In May 1860, two others, Montague G. Smith,
Attorney and Conveyancer, and Mr. Atkins, Barrister-at-law, advertised their services in the
Standard. (Chiltern Standard, 16 May 1860, p.1.) But Finn was probably the same person
referred to in an article in the Standard in July 1861 which stated that Peter Finn, barrister-at-
law, late of Chiltern, had addressed the electors at Avoca. Federal Standard, 31 July 1861, p.2.
S.M. Ingham, author of Enterprising Migrants: An Irish Family in Australia (Melbourne 1979) has
indicated to me that he does not believe P.T. Finn from Chiltern was connected with the Finn family
referred to in his study.
occupations, too, could have put them in an equally advantageous and influential position.\textsuperscript{35}

Despite the joint protests of residents and the \textit{Standard}, it was not until 30 March 1861, eighteen months after the first petitions, that it was announced that the main telegraph line to Chiltern was open.\textsuperscript{36} How different was the situation on some older goldfields where facilities, including the telegraph, were generally quite promptly provided.\textsuperscript{37}

At Ballarat, the old Police Camp and Post Office were moved from Post Office Hill near Golden Point to Lydiard Street early in 1852, only a few months after the first gold discoveries.\textsuperscript{38} The electric telegraph from Melbourne was connected as early as 1857, and at Ararat, in November 1858.\textsuperscript{39} The main rush to Ararat had commenced in June 1857. In August that year, the attention of parliament was directed to the fact that the large population had been left without proper police or magisterial control and it was pointed out

\textsuperscript{35} Andrew \textbf{Kilgour} was born in Scotland in 1834. In 1856 he went to Beechworth and then the Woolshed where he mined and worked at his trade of smith for three years. In 1859 he went to Chiltern and opened a general blacksmith forge and implements manufactury on a small scale, but was eventually compelled to enlarge his premises and employ 12 hands. A member of the Chiltern Shire Council for 25 years, he had occupied the Presidential Chair and was J.P. for the Northern bailiwick for over five years. Sutherland, \textit{op. cit.}, p.346.

Oscar \textbf{Smith}, who was born in America, came to Melbourne in 1852. After mining at Beechworth he went to Chiltern where he commenced business as a builder, contractor and undertaker. \textit{Ibid.}, p.354.

William Cowan \textbf{Hunter}, born in Derry, Ireland, was bookseller, agent for the Argus, and importer of overseas newspapers and magazines. He was Mayor of Chiltern in 1866. \textit{Federal Standard}, 22 January 1920, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Federal Standard}, 30 March 1861, p.2.

\textsuperscript{37} To gain some perspective of the paper’s claim that Chiltern was neglected, two towns from Western Victoria (Ballarat and Ararat) were selected for brief comparison.


\textsuperscript{39} L. Banfield. \textit{Like the Ark - the Story of Ararat}, (Melbourne 1955), p.89. In December 1857, Melbourne and Adelaide were linked by telegraph through Ballarat, Hexton, Warrnambool and Portland (Kiddle, \textit{op. cit.}, p.327), which would possibly explain the early connection of Ballarat and Ararat.
that the diggers had to walk across the hills to Cathcart to obtain a miner’s license. By November, only five months after the field was opened, Ararat’s first post-master opened an office, and Judge Forbes commenced sittings of the Circuit Court.\textsuperscript{40}

There seems to be some substance in the paper’s claim that Chiltern was ‘victimised and neglected’, but the question remains why? The Standard provides part of the answer.

Mott believed there were two causes - one was Melbourne, the other Beechworth. In November 1859 he wrote that ‘our bilious contemporary, the Melbourne Age has a down upon the Ovens generally, and Chiltern in particular’.\textsuperscript{41} ‘Listen to their spite’, he continued, when referring to that paper’s sneering remarks about the Standard extolling the glories of the Indigo. He attacked the Age for only promoting Melbourne which it compared to London, ‘puffing it up like a frog in the fable did his skin in an attempt to emulate the size of the ox’.\textsuperscript{42}

For some time, he explained, there had been a good ‘casus belli’ [an occasion for war] between Melbourne and the provinces over the outlay of public money upon the ‘Golden City’. It was time for the country press, he demanded, to urge that the amount of taxation squeezed out of the provinces was spent there. Melbourne was surely rich enough to pay for its own beautification.\textsuperscript{43} According to the paper, £1,630,929.12.6. (not including gold export duty) had been received in revenue by the government from the

\textsuperscript{40} Spielvogel, op. cit. p.173 and Banfield, op. cit. p.91.
\textsuperscript{41} Chiltern Standard, 9 November 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
Victorian fields since 1851 but only £777,186.4.3. had been spent. The public funds were instead used to pet and beautify Melbourne regardless of the inconvenience to other localities. There should not be, he insisted, attempts to vie with the old cities of Europe on which despots and autocrats had spent the spoils alike of their subjects and enemies.

The close proximity of Beechworth was the second cause of Chiltern's problems - the lack of roads, bridges, telegraphs and police services. The vested interests at Beechworth, Mott believed, were probably behind the government's lack of action. This may not have been the only reason for the government almost ignoring Chiltern's existence because a recent memorial had resulted in the advantage of direct postal communication, but he thought there was something peculiar when no attempt was made to build a town in a district so long established.

But any hesitancy at pointing the finger soon faded. The bitter slanging matches between the papers of each town, which were a feature for the following twelve months, were intense, with the Standard referring to Beechworth as the 'Tadmor of the Ovens'.

On 30 November 1859, one of the Beechworth papers was quoted as claiming that 'bye and bye the Chiltern Lead will be worked out and abandoned.

44 Chiltern Standard, 29 August 1859, p.2. Weston Bate has noted how the Ballarat Star and the Courier, too, hated Melbourne centralism. Bate, op. cit., p.233. Although Ballarat apparently fared better than Chiltern in the provision of amenities, roads and drains were still in a miserable condition in 1860, causing residents to complain that their goldfield had contributed £626,984 to government revenue, but had received only £98,406 in return. Ibid., p.99.
45 Chiltern Standard, 9 November 1859, p.2.
46 Chiltern Standard, 19 October 1859, p.2.
47 Tadmor is the biblical name for Palmyra, an ancient city in Syria, said to have been built by Solomon. Collins English Dictionary (Sydney 1979), p.1058.
and the township will be in precisely the position Beechworth is now. It warned Chiltern against any attempts at permanent settlement lest the population scatter and some other township spring up to ridicule and bespatter it. But Chiltern was wise to this patriarchal advice, Mott replied, given by a town anxious to retain its central and monopoly advantage. Beechworth was experiencing a commercial crisis, he continued, and was jealously trying to prevent settlement at Chiltern in an attempt to have government money spent on their town, whether the expenditure was necessary or not. The Beechworth paper was reported to have claimed (apparently correctly) that Beechworth was the central depot of a district extending sixty to seventy miles to the south, thirty miles north, and nearly one hundred miles to the east, from which mining parties obtained their supplies both directly and indirectly. The Standard was quick to point out that Beechworth obtained its supplies from Melbourne, but in a little while Chiltern and the Indigo would be supplied directly via Wangaratta, and where would Tadmor be then?

These literary dramatics, however, are not necessarily a true indication of each town's state of progress or decline. The kind of rhetoric and jealousy displayed was apparently par for the course between 19th century newspapers. Particularly during the gold-rush decade in Victoria, the Eatanswill tradition of undignified quarrels with rival newspapers and other institutions continued.

48 Chiltern Standard, 30 November 1859, p.2.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Green op. cit, p.335, has related how the Age called the Geelong Council 'a little fretful darling'. On 29 October 1859 Mott referred to the Age as 'the arch-priest of chaos'. The Eatanswill tradition was so named because it resembled the two competing newspapers of Charles Dickens' Eatanswill. Dickens implied through his satire that the two Eatanswill editors devoted little time in 1826 to the intellectual discoveries of 'master spirits'; they were too busy trading shrill invective and inflated declamation. Jackson, op. cit, p. 10, quoting from Charles Dickens, The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club.
Nevertheless, it would appear that Beechworth was, in fact, experiencing a commercial crisis. Between early 1858 and late 1860 the total population of the original Beechworth mining area fell from 18,000 to 9,000. While population changes were not necessarily connected with the rush to Indigo, it probably precipitated and accelerated a decline which was basically part of a general drift away from the falling gold yields of the Beechworth fields. With many of the miners and storekeepers lured away, land values fell and the town was placarded with posters announcing sales.52

In the meantime, while the Chiltern people were still pleading for basic facilities, the Estimates passed by the Legislative Assembly in April 1860 for Beechworth included: Erection of additional court house - £1,000, additions to Beechworth hospital - £500, maintenance ditto - £500, additions to Beechworth gaol - £2,127, making and improvements on road between Beechworth and Wangaratta - £6,365, and road from Beechworth to Yackandandah - £1,427. The total of £12,000, the paper emphasised, represented the supplementary estimates only.53

News of the expenditure stirred the paper to write that upon the principle 'simila similibus curantor [like cures like] (Mott was fond of Latin phrases), it proposed to apply to the ministerial tympanum an array of facts. In the past 15 months residents on the Chiltern goldfield has paid in revenue: gold duty - £12,348, business licenses - £3,521, miner's rights - £3,776, Chinese tickets - £1,931, police fines - £2,531 - a total of £24,117. In districts which had met

with government favour, something like one-third of revenue had been returned he claimed. 54 Ararat was apparently one of these fortunate centres where, before it was ten years old, the government had spent £100,000 on public works in the town. 55 The Mt. Ararat Advertiser's report in January 1860 that 'as the central and assize town of a large and populous district [Ararat] will always command the attention of government; it will always be the depot for the trade of the western district,' 56 provides some explanation for its favoured attention.

But when, the Standard asked, would the £8,000 which should have been appropriated to the Chiltern district be spent? 57 Perhaps Mott was unaware or forgot to mention that more than half this amount was already planned, not specifically on the Chiltern township, but on the Chiltern district. The same 1860 Estimates which he referred to, included £2000 for improvements on the Beechworth to Chiltern Road and building a bridge over the Wooraggee Creek, and a further £1,500 for clearing the road from Chiltern to Wangaratta. 58 Likewise, he seems to have been unaware that 1859 expenditure carried out in 1860 also included £2,959 for a bridge over the creek five miles from Chiltern on the Belvoir side, and over the Indigo Creek. 59

54 Chiltern Standard, 11 April 1860, p.2.
55 L. Banfield, Like the Ark - The Story of Ararat (Melbourne 1955), p.93.
A considerable amount was also spent on roads at Ararat. On 17 December 1859, p.2. the Mt. Ararat Advertiser remarked that £10,000 had been granted by the Government for road work in the area, and although work had not yet commenced, contracts had been let on the Port Fairy and Pleasant Creek Roads.
56 Mt. Ararat Advertiser, 16 January 1860, p.2.
57 Chiltern Standard, 11 April, 1860, p.2.
58 V.A.P. 1859–60, Vol.1, p.48. Certainly, some months later he reported that the surveyors' staff had commenced work on the road between Chiltern and Beechworth. Mr. Dalziel had been appointed to superintend the making of the road. Federal Standard, 1 August 1860, p.2.
It is less important that the paper chose to ignore certain facts and colour others, than in doing so it firmly identified itself with the area and the Chiltern community. Through the editorial column the paper strongly promoted the settlement's development by advancing those issues which, based on resident activity, it perceived were most important to its readers. More importantly, it continued to argue for facilities when the community could have believed their efforts were wasted. Could it be that the Albury people had lapsed into apathy for the want of support? In the first issue of the Border Post, Mott told how the inhabitants of 'this forsaken district' had long smarted under the neglected policies of their rulers, but the people had no means of expressing their requirements. Occasionally, he added, some memorial might be transmitted but the petitioners were soon forgotten and a powerful pressure from without was required to effect the desired reform. That pressure 'could alone spring from the efforts of the press - the medium by which the minds of individuals, and the means by which the united exertions of the public are organised into form, and concentrated on agitating for the desired object'.

At least certain sections of the community and the paper were united in their exertions to acquire basic facilities. But any emergent sense of local identity was, however, overshadowed by a more fundamental issue; the reactions to which, by both the residents and the paper, delayed the provisions of the above sought-after amenities.

2. Unlock the Lands

From the beginning, Mott had claimed that Chiltern could only develop if it was recognised as a separate and distinct goldfield to Beechworth, entitled to

---

60 Border Post, 4 October 1856, p.2.
the same considerations as other goldfields supporting an equal population. But there was an obstacle. Before the district could be afforded any recognition it had to demonstrate it was a settled and permanent township, but this could not be achieved until land was made available.

Under the Colony’s existing Land Bill, all auriferous areas likely to be worked by miners were, because of gold-bearing potential, unavailable for sale. Between 1856 and 1864, eight Bills were presented to the Legislature, but it was not until 1884 that an Act was passed providing for mining on private property. The Government took the view that where land had been sold, the gold was still public property, but there remained the dilemma of enforcing legislation to allow access to that public property without infringing on private rights.

In the absence of appropriate legislation the Chiltern business community could not purchase the free-hold of the land on which they conducted their business. The miners had already pegged out a vast area, and merely to occupy the land, storekeepers and publicans were forced to negotiate with the claim owners, often paying between £200-400 to share a site frontage. But this arrangement guaranteed no security of tenure and there was no incentive to build permanent and substantial buildings. The community was ‘Ischmaelites by compulsion. Dwellers in tents and the most rude and facile appliances to shield [themselves]’. (Perhaps ‘calico’ was not the exception as indicated on 27 August - after all).

61 Chiltern Standard, 29 August 1859, p.2.
63 Withers, op. cit., p.176, Serle, op. cit., p.227, and Victorian Hansard, 22 May 1860, Vol.VII, pp.1199-1204 where the Bill was again discussed but then thrown out.
64 Chiltern Standard, 14 December 1859, p.3.
65 Chiltern Standard, 19 October 1859, p.2.
However, the Standard pointed out that on deep-sinking fields such as Chiltern, the conditions were different to the old auriferous fields. Narrow and continuous leads did not break up any large portions of the surface. The course of a lead was approximately defineable and the superficials of upper soil broken in tracing and working it could be calculated to within a few yards. It was this chief difference between shallow and deep-lead mining which necessitated specific legislation. Whether or not a mining on private property act became law in the colony, it was believed the terms of sale should still include the right of entry by the miner. A similar difficulty, it was suggested, had been settled at Ballarat East some years ago to the benefit of all parties concerned.  

In November 1859, a memorial concerning the need for a settled township was sent to the Commissioner of Lands and Survey, but prior to this, the proprietors of the Standard reported that they had taken the trouble to personally interview the largest mercantile men in the town, and with two exceptions, there was agreement that the sale of land would benefit the Chiltern community.

Yet a further petition was signed by the storekeepers, traders, publicans and refreshment vendors on the Chiltern and Indigo field in April 1860, humbly showing:

---

Mott was apparently referring to a situation outlined by Bate, *op. cit.*, p.99. By 1856, in Main Street, Ballarat, many temporary structures had been replaced by substantial and elaborate buildings. The waste and confusion in pulling these down would have been inexcusable. Consequently the Main Road frontages were sold and a surveyor called in to value the improvements so that compensation could be paid to occupiers not wanting to buy their freeholds.

67 Chiltern Standard, 26 November 1859, p.2.
The Manager of the Chiltern Hardware Company objected to signing the memorial. No other reason than 'it would not suit him' could be extracted. The second who objected to town land sales was J.A. Wallace, proprietor of the Star Hotel.
That the Chiltern and Indigo goldfield contains a population of seven or eight thousand persons and that the Government have refused to comply with the prayer of two previous memorials praying for the sale of land on the present unsurveyed township of Chiltern.

That your petitioners are thus compelled to occupy their present holdings by virtue of the business license, and that the tax of ten pounds per annum, compulsorily extorted from them, is felt as a severe grievance.

That many of your petitioners do not occupy one quarter of an acre, and that one quarter of an acre is the maximum quantity occupied under a single license.

That your memorialists are therefore compelled to pay an annual tax amounting to forty pounds per acre for the mere occupation of lands, which land, if sold outright at a Government sale, would be offered at the upset price of £8 per acre.\textsuperscript{68}

A subsequent letter from the Deputy Surveyor, dated 2 May 1860, advised that it was not deemed possible to alienate any of the land referred to for the present.\textsuperscript{69} The paper responded that the Chiltern locality and each individual who signed the memorial had been treated off-handedly by the Nicholson Government, but perhaps wearily, Mott concluded, 'we now leave the matter in the hands of those who wish to settle about us'.\textsuperscript{70}

The cause of his exasperation was the dispute and ill-feeling between the business sector and the miners. According to the paper, the miners' opposition to the sale of town land, which they believed would interfere with their mining operations, was based on a mistaken belief of where the Chiltern Lead actually lay. However, by February 1860 the paper reported that many of the miners had changed their minds when it was found that the Lead took a different direction to that originally thought; running not through the town, but

\textsuperscript{68} Chiltern Standard, 18 April 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{69} Chiltern Standard, 19 May 1860, p..
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
north toward the hill at the back of the town. Two shafts - the Alliance and the Township - which had occupied conspicuous positions in the centre of the town had been abandoned and new ones had been put down nearer the lead. A greater part of the land on which Chiltern had been built, it had been demonstrated, was of no value to the miners.71

Consequently, early in June the paper could report that the antagonism between the miners and commercial classes no longer existed. Those desiring to purchase land were quite willing to buy it subject to the intrusion of bona fide miners. This encouraged Mott to write optimistically of Chiltern's future.

After the sale of land, the storekeeper will be relieved of the business license and his business will become better established. The brickmaker, the bricklayer, the plasterer, the sawyer, the carpenter, the painter, the furniture maker, and other tradesmen will obtain ready employment. The lawyer will find conveyancing added to his business. The farmer will be able to grow produce in close proximity to his market. Families will settle amongst us, and the number of people to be fed, clothed and doctored will thus be on the increase. The digger will experience less competition by the withdrawal of mechanics and handicraftsmen from mining pursuits, and he will be able to procure more comfortable living quarters than hitherto, and in the course of time, he will have the advantage of a hospital, a mechanics' institute, and other useful public institutions ... ... 72

But it would seem that the paper had either misjudged the extent of agreement between miners and storekeepers or was attempting to gloss over existing differences, since on 7 June a public meeting was held at the Empire Hotel to discuss the sale of township land. W.C. Hunter was voted to the Chair

71 Chiltern Standard, 29 February 1860, p.2.
72 Chiltern Standard, 2 June 1860, p.2.
and according to the paper he expatiated rather strongly upon 'some supposed antagonism he imagined' existed between the storekeepers and the miners.\footnote{Chiltern Standard, 9 June 1860, p.2.}

Dr. Rogers was called upon to move the first resolution. He felt he was placed in a delicate position. While he viewed the whole question of land alienation with considerable jealousy, at the same time he thought the land should be thrown open for settlement. He spoke of the benefits to the miners of a settled township, including a hospital. The present sixteen miles of awkward jolting towards Beechworth could not be beneficial to patients. He then moved that because of the delay in parliamentary legislation the public interest would suffer if settlement upon the goldfields was left to await a mining on private property act. The sale of land, subject to the entry of miners was urgently required for township settlement. A Mr. Charles seconded his motion.

John Scarlett\footnote{John Scarlett was born at East Lothian in the State of Linlithgow, Scotland (vassal of the House of Hopetoun) on 26 July 1824. A cousin of Miss Scarlett, he was a descendent of Lord Abinger. He landed in Melbourne in 1854 aboard the Marco Polo. He worked as a clerk for Brown and Stuart in Melbourne before going to Beechworth in 1856. He was clerk of the Road Board for 4 years and secretary to Beechworth Shire for 11 years. He joined the employ of the Hon. J.A. Wallace in 1877 and managed the banquet given by that gentleman at Beechworth in 1889, on which over £1060 was spent. He was clerk to the Stockyard Company at Christmas Town and afterwards at the Barambogie Mine, Chiltern. He was also, at one time, J.P. and Councillor of Towong Shire. Rhynehart Reminiscences in 'Chiltern' papers.}, the elected representative of the miners on the Mining Board (which sat at Beechworth) opposed taking the land from the miners with all his might. The land belonged to the miner and to no-one else, and he moved an amendment to the effect that the sale of town land was inimical to the interests of the miner. Heated debate then ensued between Scarlett, Dr. Rogers, Mott and Mr. Chalmers until it became apparent that the business of the meeting could not proceed.
The amendment was put and carried amidst cheers from 'Scarlett's Volunteers'. In the Saturday issue the Standard was still claiming that there was agreement between the miners and storekeepers over the need for land; believing the result would have been different had the meeting not been too hastily put to an end after the amendment was carried by the Sebastopol [Lead] miners who had no particular interest in the township leads. Obtained by Scarlett, they were positioned at the front of the room to stack the meeting.75

The accuracy of this claim is difficult to assess, but it is likely that the paper had merely presented the wishes of the major claim owners associated with the township leads. Indeed, in a letter to the editor, four days later, Scarlett wrote, in part:

If a shadow of a doubt still remains with you respecting the conclusiveness of the meeting, you have your natural remedy, rally your forces once more ... One stipulation only. Do not invite the miners to one of the small parlors at Chiltern, but let us have it under the broad canopy of heaven ... and in the presence of assembled thousands, the miners of Indigo could hear the question decided once and for all ... 76

The paper, it would seem, had failed to express the feelings of the mining labourers and those still working the surface soil.77 Although deep-lead mining predominated at Chiltern, some were, despite the summer lack of water, still working the surface soil. At an earlier meeting of miners to protest at the sale of land the motion put indicated that the sale of any portion of lands at

75 Chiltern Standard, 9 June 1860, p.2.
76 Chiltern Standard, 13 June 1860, p.2.
77 Serle, op.cit, p.228 has noted that by the 1860’s, where the industry had been reduced in size with deep-lead mining, perhaps half the miners were now working for wages. Some indication of the number of such miners at Chiltern can be gauged from the number employed by only one company, the Sons of Freedom Company (see pp. 17-18).
Chiltern would be highly detrimental to the miner’s interests - such land being known to be highly auriferous’. The township land was still valuable to the surface miner, if not to the deep-sinking companies.

This whole dispute was not merely a local quarrel but brings to light a much deeper, colony-wide problem. Without land there was little incentive for the business community to settle permanently, but the miners, too, were unsure of their future.

From 1857 until 1860 when heavy emigration from Victoria helped ease the problem, the colony experienced a serious economic crisis. After 1854 the yield of gold per man was falling and it was more expensive to mine. Some of the surplus mining population were employed on the Geelong railway and Yan Yean works, but by 1857 these were completed, the gold continued to decline and English imports flooded the market. Unemployment became serious and was made worse by the arrival of 43,000 people from Britain that year. Many thousands continued to leave the fields which had previously concealed unemployment and by 1859 and 1860 new insolvency records were being set.

As long as the Government refused to make available for sale agricultural and pastoral land in the colony, the miners were caught in a no-man’s land. Once they had worked their claims - and even the deep-leads, it was recognised, would not last forever - and made their money, or had failed to

---

78 Chiltern Standard, 30 November 1859, p.2.
79 Serle, op. cit. p.239 and G. Blainey, A Land Half Won (Melbourne 1980), p.166. Blainey has noted that the output of gold was probably at its peak between 1854 and 1856, but then declined steadily.
80 Serle, op. cit. pp.240-41.
make their fortune, they were faced with few alternative sources of employment. Unhindered access to any remaining gold was, therefore, vital.

The paper summed up the dilemma:
We vegetate in the midst of the richest goldfield in the world, but our people are discontent. The colony manufactures nothing and produces nothing, and its people are dependent upon foreign supplies for the most basic necessities.81

The Indigo, it was continued, had the potential to become an agricultural and vine-growing district if only the miners who had saved on the Chiltern field were given the opportunity to possess the land.82

It may have, Mott wrote on a later occasion, suited certain classes of society to cherish the idea that the nature of the gold-miner’s pursuit made him unfit for the enjoyment of a more civilised life; ‘Bottles and a few yards of canvas were believed to be his major and minor deities’83 but he saw the miner in a different light:

Gold-miners, as a class, have become a careful plodding race, with an eye to their avocation as a rung in the world’s ladder on which they shall rise to the blessings of independence. The inhabitants of mining districts in Victoria have become famous as the staunchest supporters of a liberal land law.

In no other localities has the wish to get absolute possession of farms and homesteads been more strongly developed than on the gold-fields. Amongst no

81 Chiltern Standard, 18 April 1860, p.2.
82 Ibid.
Mott frequently promoting vine-growing in the paper, and was Honorary Secretary of the Murray Valley Vineyard Co. at Albury. His awareness of the possibilities for the vine industry throughout the Murray area was probably encouraged by extensive German involvements in vine growing near Albury.
83 Chiltern Standard, 6 June 1860, p.2.
other class of the Victorian community has the desire for territorial investment been greater.\textsuperscript{84}

Encapsulated in this editorial is the hope and optimism of thousands who sailed to Australia during the gold decades. Many had no other aim than to accumulate wealth on the gold-fields and return to England, but for many others, gold was an opportunity to do well and make a new start in a new land.\textsuperscript{85} The resultant demand by thousands of emigrants for land to justify their emigration and to rear a race of independent yeoman farmers became the popular answer to the problem of declining gold. Farming would not only create an English-style rural landscape which many equated with permanency and prosperity\textsuperscript{86} but, as Mott had stressed, it would provide the independence they so desperately sought.

Imported to Victoria in the first instance by English Chartists and working-class radicals, this version of the yeoman ideal rallied miners, merchants and manufactures alike in their opposition to the squatters.\textsuperscript{87} At least at Chiltern, the American influence could have been equally as strong and it is worthwhile considering Elizabeth Webby’s remark that:

\textsuperscript{84} [Illegible] (italics - my emphasis).
\textsuperscript{85} K.S. Inglis, \textit{The Australian Colonists} (Melbourne 1974), p.29.
\textsuperscript{86} Tony Dingle, \textit{The Victorians - Settling} (Melbourne 1984), p.60.
\textsuperscript{87} [Illegible], pp.59-60.
... the comparisons with America, the confident belief in the future greatness were to echo and re-echo in the pages of Australian newspapers and magazines throughout the 19th century.88

Frequently American experience and practice was held up by the Standard, particularly when addressing questions such as land settlement, immigration, and the development of resources. America, Mott noted, offered inducement to the emigrant. It did not shut up its land and place restrictive duties and license fees upon its native manufactures. It allowed the 'willing right strong hand; and the intellect of man to do what they could in the way of production'.89 In Australia, instead of being encouraged, those who wished to settle on the lands of the colony were driven out to swell the rising fortunes of California, some of the American states, or even back to the land from whence they came.90

Mott probably picked up American ideas on the goldfields at Castlemaine and then Beechworth. Perhaps significantly, one of the grandest functions he

See also N.D. McLachlan, 'The Future America': Some Bicentennial Reflections, Historical Studies, Vol. 17. No.68, April 1977, pp.37-75, 380-81. An ardent admiration of America's independence, its greatness and prosperity, and prophesies that Australia would share a common destiny with America were expressed by at least several early Sydney newspapers, including the Australian, Colonist, Monitor and Currency Lad. And, in Victoria, David Syme, proprietor of the Age, was a discriminating advocate of American solutions. cf. the Illustrated Sydney News which saw no likelihood of Australia being Americanised as long as slavery existed, as this made America a greater and more guilty tyrant than any despot in the world. E.D. & A. Potts, Young America and Australian Gold: Americans and the Gold Rush of the 1850's (St. Lucia 1974), p.199.
89 Chiltern Standard, 23 November 1859, p.2.
An almost identical observation was made by William Howitt, op. cit., p.75 and 136. As early as 1853 he had 'detected the miners' antagonism throughout the colony and had much to say on the inequitable system where only about 650 squatters monopolised, with the exception of a very small portion of land near the towns, the whole surface of the colony. He asked, on what principle the British Government throw open the goldfields to the people of all nations if they were not as an inducement to settle. Americans, by contrast, he explained, had freely admitted foreigners but set the example of allowing them to invest their gold in the land which was cheaply and easily attainable.
remembered was the Invitation Ball at the Washington Assembly Room at Beechworth on 4 July 1856.91 And, from notices in the Standard announcing functions and Balls to celebrate 4 July, it would seem there was a substantial American population at Chiltern, some of whom possibly encouraged Mott to write in the way he did. The 4 July 1860 was ushered in at Chiltern by the ringing of bells, the discharge of fire-works, and the booming of the blacksmiths' anvils. The Grand Ball and Supper at Johnson's Butler Eagle Hotel was reported to have been a great success and the supper 'one of the best we have seen in this part of the world'.92 In addition, John Strickland and William Hunter, the latter a member of the Political Association, had come to Australia via California.93

Nevertheless, because the image of the United States fluctuated so widely in the Australian colonies, American emigrants have been credited with having only a small impact on the course of political developments.94 More influential was the example of the United States on Great Britain. The American Revolution showed that self-government in settled colonies could not be forcibly withheld.95

Apart from the Americans, Wilfred Busse has noted that at Chiltern there were Germans, Austrians, French, Indians, Spaniards, Russians and Poles; some

91 'Reminiscences of a Victorian Journalist', loc. cit.
92 Federal Standard, 7 July 1860, p. 2.
93 John Strickland, born 8 January 1827, went to California in 1846. He is said to have been one of the first white men to cross the great American Plains. The 2000 mile journey took 9 months and 4 days; six weeks being spent at Salt Lake City. He came to Sydney from California in 1852 aboard the S.S. Paetola and then proceeded to Spring Creek (Beechworth) and hence to Chiltern. Reminiscences collected by G.W. Rhynehart, 1897-08 in 'Chiltern' papers.
94 Potts, op. cit. p. 199. See also L.G. Churchward, Australia and America 1788-1972: An Alternative History (Sydney 1979), pp. 64-66, who suggests that American influence on the development of Australian legislation, in the areas of land settlement and industrial development was limited to the provision of an argument.
95 Ibid.
of whom were revolutionists and social theorists; men who, forced to leave
Europe after the Revolution in 1848, had come to make a new home.\textsuperscript{96} If
there were European political activists at Chiltern they appear to have chosen
not to be publicly involved in local political affairs, or at least their activities
were not recorded by the paper.

In 1860, the Assembly had spent a long time framing the Nicholson Land
Bill which was passed by the majority, but the squatter majority in the Upper
House had the Bill thrown out, whereupon the Nicholson Ministry resigned with
the object of casting upon the Upper House the onus of introducing a Land Bill.
The result was a deadlock where the Upper House would neither allow the
Assembly to carry the Bill into effect nor would they themselves undertake the
task of originating such a bill.\textsuperscript{97}

These events caused George Mott to write:

\textsuperscript{96} Federal Standard, 9 December 1949, p.3. Busse article. The following list of Europeans taken
from Rhynghart's Reminiscences, suggests there was, in fact a diverse population.

\textbf{G. Baumgarten.}
Charles Besta, born Italy 1841.
Fritz Bech, born Selze, Hanover, 1837. Came via Liverpool to Melbourne in 1854 on
the S.S. Montmeagle.
S. Catin, born 1839, Poschiaro, Switzerland. Came to Australia in 1858.
Serge Costin, 52 years in 1939. No other information.
Baptiste Donchi. Born Lombardi, Provincia de Sondries, Italy 1840. Landed
Melbourne 1861. Arrived Chiltern 1862.
Lawrence Dorsa, born Italy. Came to Australia 1849. Bendigo diggings, then Chiltern.
Camille Rean, born 1838, Plolec Medoc, Bordeaux, France. Landed Australia 1858.
Annie Reize, born Hanover 1834. Came to Victoria 1853.
Joseph Telesa, born Lombardy, Italy 1839. Landed Melbourne 1862.
Elois Van, born Antwerp, Belgium 1822. Came to Melbourne 1860.
Several other Europeans came to Chiltern in the late 1860's and early 1870's.

The Bill initially provided for the sale of 320 acre blocks at £1 per acre with deferred payment of
three-quarters of the amount. The major flaw was that when there was competition for a block, the
highest bidder or those with the highest purchasing power, would buy the best land. An amendment
was subsequently passed, substituting lot for tender where there was competition, and a more liberal
 provision added which would cut deeply into the squatters' privileges; that four million acres would
be thrown open for selection within a year.
The colonists, they tell us, must go without a land bill and the squatting majority must remain intact. Reform in the constitution being thus improbable what are the people to do? Sorrowfully, yet boldly do we say it - REVOLUTION IS OUR ONLY CHANCE...

... It is certain the people must have the land... nay they will have it...

Of course, he continued, the miners and the rest of the orderly colonists, however sensible of being wronged, would be the last persons to take part in any proceedings calculated to subvert the existing order of things, but then it must be remembered that success or failure determines whether a man is to be regarded as a benefactor, or as a traitor to his country. It is worth noting the almost identical tone of the above statement and the earlier referred to comments expressed at Castlemaine just prior to Mott's arrival in Melbourne; comments which he surely read or heard about.

The Chiltern community were sensible of being wronged, and on Monday evening, 3 September, a meeting was called by public advertisement to elicit an expression of opinion from the Indigo community regarding the Assembly's Land Bill and the proposal to burke it by compromise with the Upper House. Despite the heavy rain, 700 people were reported to have crowded into the Star Theatre.

The previously mentioned barrister, Finn, who was voted to the Chair, had been asked by the Political Association to call the meeting, but there appeared, he thought, to be a considerable difference of opinion amongst that body. He had not been assisted by those who usually helped him in these matters, and

98 Federal Standard, 2 June 1860, p.2. (Capitals and italics - Mott's emphasis).
99 Ibid.
he had no hesitation in saying that he had called the meeting solely on his own
responsibility. 101

An explanation for Finn's statement possibly lies in the fact that, although
there was dissatisfaction with the Land Bill, there was a belief by some (see
below) that imperfect land measures were better than none, while others
wished to hold out until a satisfactory bill was passed.

Resolutions were invited, and Mott moved: 'That this meeting, whilst
regretting the disturbances occurring outside the Parliament House, entirely
disapproves of the conduct of His Excellency in refusing to invest Mr. Heales
with that power of dissolving parliament which on a former occasion, His
Excellency had conceded to Mr. O'Shannassy'. 102

The resolution was seconded by one named Murphy, who, although 'no
stump orator', he deemed it his duty to have his say. Ever since he had been
in the country 'there was this talk about the land question' which ought to
have been settled years ago. If the lands had been opened, they would not
now be in such a miserable plight as they were - a people wandering about,
half-starved and discontented. 103

101 Ibid.
102 Ibid. Sir Henry Barkly, Governor, had refused Nicholson's resignation and the subsequent
motion put up by Heales and Duffy that the Assembly would only support a ministry which proceeded
with the Bill. The motion was narrowly lost and Barkly sent for Heales who had asked Nicholson to
continue as Premier. He refused and Heales offered the premiership to Duffy. Duffy sought an
assurance from Barkly that if those who had opposed them immediately united against the Ministry,
he would refer the question to the people by dissolving parliament. Barkly refused on the grounds
that the parliament, which was only elected in October 1859, was not yet old enough, but more
probably because he wished to force a compromise on the land bill. Serle, op. cit., p.298. See also
Another named Smith followed to move an amendment. They had been trying for eight years to get a land bill and they should now try to get as much as they could from the squatters when it was offered to them. He moved that the land question should be settled temporarily by mutual concessions with a view to further arrangements from year to year. This compromise suggestion was met with cries of disapproval and when put from the Chair, not one vote was recorded in its favour. The original resolution was then put and carried unanimously.\textsuperscript{104}

J.P. Curtis, who said it was the first time he had ever addressed a public meeting, alluded to the Melbourne riots and believed that the people in Melbourne had met for the same purpose as they had met that night.\textsuperscript{105} What they wanted was a whole land bill and no compromise as Smith had proposed. Had they intended to riot, he continued, the number of men could easily have squashed the few police sent to keep order.\textsuperscript{106} Perhaps the possibility of riot was another reason why Finn found some members of the Political Association unwilling to assist with the meeting.

There was still no sign of township land sales and the Nicholson Bill which was finally passed in a mutilated form in mid-September 1860,\textsuperscript{107} did little to restore optimism. Without security of tenure and without an incentive to

\begin{multicols}{2}
\begin{footnotes}
\item[104] I\textit{bid}.
\item[105] I\textit{bid}. On 27 August, the night before Nicholson met the Assembly again, some three thousand people thronged the Eastern Market and resolved to refute once and for all the claims that there was little support for the bill. The following night they stormed Parliament House. Mounted and foot-police wielding truncheons were ordered to break up the crowd, but they were met with howls of abuse and peltered with stones. Military field guns had already been trained on Princes Bridge in case there was an attempt to storm the barracks, and within a few days more than a thousand special police were sworn in and a Disorderly Meeting Act passed to forbid political assemblies in the vicinity of Parliament House. Serle, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.298–99.
\item[107] Serle, \textit{op. cit.}, p.299.
\end{footnotes}
\end{multicols}
settle there was always the possibility the settlement would disappear and
with it the Standard. Action had to be taken quickly.

3. The Struggle to Survive

On Wednesday, 16 May 1860, only nine months after commencing
publication, a significant change was implemented when the price of the paper
was reduced from 6d per copy to 3d. (Table 1)\textsuperscript{108} Quarterly subscriptions,
too, were reduced to 6/6 (8/6 if posted). Previously no arrangements had
been provided for annual subscriptions, but now it was announced that the
annual subscription was 20s (30s if posted) and payable annually in
advance.\textsuperscript{109} In part, this new subscription arrangement may have been an
expression of optimism for the paper's future and that of the settlement, but
attraction of wider, non-local readership was the major consideration.

The editorial that day explained how experience in other countries had
shown that a newspaper best attains 'universality of diffusion' when it
published at a price within reach of all. In the United States and England, it
said, daily newspapers were sold cheaply with astonishing circulation figures.

\textsuperscript{108} Table 1 comprises those dates when significant price and publication changes were implemented
between 1859-1863. An explanation for including changes up until 1863 is given on page \textit{xxxii}.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 27 August 1859, \textit{Federal Standard}, 10 May, 23 June, 7 November 1860, 8
October, 1861, 23 April 1862, 19 January and 30 March 1863.
From London the procedure had extended to Melbourne where the metropolitan journals had adopted the cheap system.\textsuperscript{110}

Table 1
Price and Publication Changes
1859-1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Day of Publication</th>
<th>Number of Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 Aug. 1859</td>
<td>6d</td>
<td>Wed. Sat.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 May 1860</td>
<td>3d</td>
<td>Wed. Sat.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 June 1860</td>
<td></td>
<td>Name change - Federal Standard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 November 1860</td>
<td>Inc.</td>
<td>Border Post</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 October 1861</td>
<td>6d</td>
<td>Inc. Beechworth Tribune</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1862</td>
<td>4d</td>
<td>Wed. Fri.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January 1863</td>
<td>6d</td>
<td>Amalgamate Tribune with Constitution, B.P., and Standard</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1863</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>Tri-weekly, Mon. Wed. Fri.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources as indicated in text.

\textsuperscript{110} The removal of newspaper stamp duty in England in 1855 had the immediate effect of increasing the number of journals published and reducing their price. Anticipation of repeal produced a crop of provincial daily papers selling at 1d and 1½d. and in 1858, the \textit{Daily Telegraph} became the first successful penny paper in London followed by several others priced at 1d or 2d. \textit{The Times}, nevertheless, maintained its higher price at 3d. Lee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 68 and 274, and Wickham Sted, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 132.

The Melbourne \textit{Herald} implemented a 50 per cent reduction from 6d to 3d on 14 February 1860 and the \textit{Age} on 16 February 1860. (\textit{Herald}, 14 February 1860, p.1., \textit{Age}, 16 February 1860, p.1.) The \textit{Herald} was not reduced to 1d until 1869, and the \textit{Argus}, because of its size was not dropped to 2d until the 1880's. Australasian Newspaper Directory, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.24,26.
But the Standard was proud to be the first country newspaper to set the example and introduce cheap newspapers to the goldfields.111

Terms were not lowered because the community was passing through 'hard times', since Mott believed that everyone upon the Indigo was able to afford the old price.112 Nor was it, he continued, from any motive of rivalry or competition that a reduction had been made (probably not exactly true) but because it would open up an extended sphere of usefulness and this plan of circulation would in the end prove more remunerative.113

Because the cost of producing a newspaper can only be met if income from sales is supplemented by profits from advertising, the newspaper proprietor must try to gain as many sales as possible. Sales of the paper by themselves are of little worth because the cost of producing the paper is usually greater than revenue from sales, but advertising cannot be attracted until a paper has an established reputation as being read.114

A reduction in price, however, fails in its objective unless the number of subscribers increases considerably and results in a substantial increase of advertisements. No properly conducted paper, Mott wrote in 1862, pays on its

111 Apparently this was an honest claim, since the price of several other goldfield newspapers remained unchanged. The Ovens and Murray Advertiser and Ovens Constitution at Beechworth and the Ballarat Star continued to sell at 6d. The Mt. Alexander Mail at Castlemaine actually increased from 6d to 1s on 29 June 1860. (O. & M. Advertiser, 26 May 1860, p.1., Ovens Constitution, 26 May 1860, p.1., Ballarat Star, 26 May 1860, p.1., Mt. Alexander Mail, 28 May 1860, p.1.).
112 In 1859 some mining parties on the Indigo/Chiltern field got from £8-9 per week per man, and few claims paid less than £4 per week per man. Smyth, op.cit., p.89.
Even where claims were returning small yields, the practice of sharing a paper was probably not uncommon.
113 Chiltern Standard, 16 May 1860, p.2.
circulation alone. While it was indicated on 23 June that the recent reduction in price had resulted in an increased number of readers, no specific circulation figures were provided. One newspaper historian has observed that silence rather than actual dishonesty has been the custom of newspaper proprietors when sales were falling (or not as high as the owner would have wished). However, when free copies, shared readership, bonuses and cancelled orders are subtracted, circulation figures are not a reliable guide to a newspaper's success.

---

If, for example, the number of copies sold had doubled with a reduction in price from 6d to 3d, the revenue from the sale of copies would not have changed, but costs for ink, paper, and labour of printing, would have increased.
See also Rothenberg, _op. cit._, p.230, who details the effects of price changes on circulation. Rothenberg is, of course, referring to the newspaper in the 20th century, but his findings appear to be equally applicable to the 19th century.
116 Read, _op. cit._, p.209. By comparison, Rothenberg, _op. cit._, p.216, claims that historically circulation figures have often been exaggerated.
117 At least during the latter part of the nineteenth century, country newspapers lived by an unwritten code that they would put the neighbouring press on a free-exchange list, Lockwood, _op. cit._, p.120, and the Standard had a long-running notice advising clubs that every person paying in advance the subscription for five copies would be entitled to receive six.
An analysis of the paper's advertising columns\textsuperscript{118} suggests that even if the number of readers did increase, that neither the number of advertisers nor advertising revenue increased. Table 2 shows that an increase of only one column inch of advertising and an increase of only £1.3.2. in revenue occurred between 16 May and 23 June 1860. Table 3\textsuperscript{119} shows that the total number of advertisers actually dropped from 100 to 91 in the same period.

\textsuperscript{118} The issues of the \textit{Standard} chosen to examine advertising patterns are those corresponding to the price and publication changes given in Table 1. Because of the large variations in advertising rates, only a very approximate assessment could be made of the value of advertisements in each issue. For example, on 27 August 1859, p.2. advertisers were informed of the following scale of charges:
30 words - 3s
40 words or one inch - 4s
Each succeeding inch - 4s
One column - £3
For advertisements inserted more than once, a discount of 33 per cent was allowed after the first publication, and those inserted 26 times at a cost of 50 per cent more than the sum charged for 13 insertions. Charges for display advertisements were by contract.
For the purposes of this study, 4s per inch was taken as a rough average to calculate advertising revenue. From approximately 1856, it was apparently common practice for large medical advertisers such as Holloway, Epps and Enos to transact their business through agents who would command the best terms from newspaper proprietors (\textit{Australian Newspaper Directory}, op. cit., p.15). Because of the impossibility of calculating revenue from such firms, these have been excluded from the figures given which would significantly alter the real total amounts.
It could be argued that before analysis was undertaken, a time lapse should have been allowed after each announced publication or price change. However, while it is not documented, almost certainly Mott would have circulated advertisers of proposed changes before they took place.
It must be stressed therefore, that the figures shown in Table 2 can only be used as an extremely rough guide to advertising trends. Despite the rough calculation, they do, nevertheless, reflect the effect of each price and publication change made by the paper, especially when viewed over several years. For this reason, the calculations already made until March 1863, before the decision to limit this study to between August 1859 - November 1860, are included.

\textsuperscript{119} The issues of the \textit{Standard} selected to compute local and non-local advertisers are also those corresponding to the price and publication changes given in Table 1. The only exception is 24 October 1860. See page 86.
**Table 2**

- Total Column Inches Newspaper Content
- Total Column Inches Advertising
- Approximate Revenue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Column Inches Newspaper Content</th>
<th>Column Inches Advertising</th>
<th>Approximate Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 Aug. 1859</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>£47.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 May 1860</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>54.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 June 1860</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>56.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 November 1860</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>304 1/2</td>
<td>64.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 October 1861</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>468 1/2</td>
<td>93.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1862</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>336 1/2</td>
<td>67.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January 1863</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>60.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1863</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>347 1/2</td>
<td>69.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources as indicated in text.
### Table 3

**Number of Local and Non-Local Advertisers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Non-Local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 Aug. 1869</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(66.7%)</td>
<td>(33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 May 1860</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 June 1860</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(83.5%)</td>
<td>(16.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 October 1860</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(39.5%)</td>
<td>(60.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 November 1860</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41.7%)</td>
<td>(58.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 October 1861</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(32.2%)</td>
<td>(67.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 April 1862</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(31.6%)</td>
<td>(68.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January 1863</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20.9%)</td>
<td>(79.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1863</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(24.9%)</td>
<td>(75.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources as indicated in text.

Another indication that the price reduction initially failed to attract an increased number of non-local advertisers can be gauged from a comparison of local and non-local advertisers also shown in Table 3; five weeks after the
price change on 23 June 1860, the former constituted 83.5 per cent of total advertising, the latter only 16.5 per cent.

The main factor which probably undermined the Standard's attempts to attract more advertising from other localities was the fierce jealousy displayed by each district paper which surely deterred old customers of one paper from advertising in a rival paper.

Mott apparently became aware of this fact for on 23 June another significant publication change took place when the paper became known as the Federal Standard.

Because the paper claimed its circulation now extended over so wide a range of country, the proprietors thought that the name Chiltern Standard was no longer applicable. Immediately under the masthead it was indicated that the paper circulated throughout the Chiltern and Ovens goldfield, Beechworth, Wangaratta, Wahgunyah, Yackandandah and adjacent settlements. The word 'Federal' was adopted, the editorial explained, because Federal union of the Australian colonies seemed the only remedy for the inconveniences suffered by the residents of the border district. It was further explained that the paper's policy was not only concerned with Chiltern issues, but to express problems such as the border tariff system and inadequate mail arrangements which were neglected by both the Victorian and New South Wales governments. Therefore, in calling the paper the Federal Standard, the proprietors were, it was continued, pledging themselves to advocate the union of Australia and to give expression to the politics which they had made their guide.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{120} Federal Standard, 23 June 1860, p.2.
What emerges from this explanation is that a change of name and policy was, in the first instance, necessary to secure a wider circulation and hence advertising, but it also brings to light the underlying reason for Mott's concern for the development of Albury and then Chiltern. In 1857 he wrote:

Federation would transform Australia into a powerful nation and give her an existence in the political world. It would precipitate in a perfectly natural manner ... the relaxation of the ties which bind Australia to Great Britain ... when the time comes we will see a flood-tide of prosperity follow closely upon the track of the newly constituted empire of the United States of America in forming an important item in the category of nations swaying the balance of power in Europe and the world.\textsuperscript{121}

Local Chiltern and Border grievances, therefore, could be used to illustrate the need for federation of the Australian colonies. Although at the time Federation was being widely discussed, such an idea could have been inspired by the Rev. John Dunmore Lang whom Mott knew and admired. But Mott differed from Lang in believing that before there could be an independent nation there must first be federation. Lang, he thought, had been foolishly guilty of putting the cart before the horse.\textsuperscript{122}

In the meantime, Mott was especially impressed with the idea of the Riverina district becoming a separate and independent colony.\textsuperscript{123}


\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 5 October 1859, p.2.

\textsuperscript{123} Separation was thought desirable because of the New South Wales government's mismanagement and neglect of southern New South Wales. Mott believed that in order to prevent the new colony coming into being before its inhabitants were in a position to support self-government of their own, it was advisable to adopt Dr. Lang's suggestion that separation should be granted as soon as the population numbered 20,000. \textit{Border Post}, 26 December 1857, p.2. Mott was amongst those who signed a petition asking the Mayor of Albury to call a public meeting to petition the Home Government for a separate colony. \textit{Federal Standard}, 2 February 1861, p.3. By the time delegates were sent to England in 1865 the cause had lost impetus and no great alarm was felt when however, the Imperial Council disallowed the request for a separate colony. Buxton, \textit{op. cit.}, p.150.
January 1857 he wrote to Lang (Illustration 9) who was also interested in the movement:

... I should be most happy to see you at Albury and to lend any assistance which the Border Post might afford in agitating the important question ... A lecture or two on the subject as suggested by you would be calculated to do a vast amount of good as it is difficult to bring people to believe that the district is already ripe for the commencement of the agitation ...\(^{124}\)

Only a couple of months later in a Border Post editorial, he wrote that Albury was 'destined at some future day to become the metropolis of a new colony, the seat of the Australian Federal Government; the key to the garden of New South Wales'.\(^{125}\) But Albury at that time was slow to develop, the people were apathetic, and it would seem he transferred his hopes to Chiltern.

There is no site better fitted for the foundation of a metropolis of a great district, he claimed in September 1860. Chiltern lay in the line of traffic from Melbourne and Sydney; it was surrounded by gold on every side and agricultural land of the best description; aided by climate and temperature


\(^{125}\) Border Post, 11 April 1857, p.2.
“Border Post” Office.

Albury, Jan 24/39

Dr. Lang,

Sir,

By this post you will receive a copy of our journal containing your letter. I expect we have no back numbers of the paper left, or you should also have copies of those papers containing the extracts referring to "Separation". I should be most happy to see you in Albury & to lend any assistance which the Border Post might afford in settling this important question.

Illustration 9. Handwritten letter - Mott to Lang
In the event of any new election taking place, would you feel inclined to "throw yourself away" on the Mass-republican district you may be assured of our most cordial support. A lecture or two on the subject, as suggested by you would be calculated to do a vast amount of good as it is difficult to bring people to believe that the district is already ripe for the commencement of the agitation. The proposition is looked upon with great favor by nearly everyone but the practicability of succeeding in the step appears to require elucidation.

G. M. Scott

Your obedient,

Doubtless, this present state of our party will require us. Our arrangements for doubling the stage will be complete in a few days.
suited to export staples, and there was the nearby Murray River, if ever it was
utilised as one of the highways of commerce.\textsuperscript{126}

But the best plans go astray. There is no indication that the Chiltern
people, who were still concerned with their immediate survival, were
influenced by the paper's persuasive arguments concerning the future of the
border district. There were no meetings and no petitions urging solutions to
such problems as the Border Customs battle. Perhaps even local issues were
being left to a concerned few, for the same editorial rings of disillusionment:
'But ..., it is for the Chilternese themselves, whether they take advantage of the
opportunity offered them or rest until Providence or the Survey General
Department waits upon them'.\textsuperscript{127} Chiltern, far from becoming a metropolis,
was in danger of fading away.

Still there were no lands sales and his hopes were to be dealt a further
blow. But, before this, on 6 October 1860, findings of five rich leads at nearby
Wahgunyah field (later Rutherglen) were excitedly reported. This was a new
hope. The discovery had come very opportune, Mott declared. Because
the Indigo was a remunerative field capable of supporting a large population,
and because it lay in the track of all the diggers pouring in from the
Beechworth side, the southern goldfields and from Kiandra, it was the right
goldfield in the right place. 'Our brightening prospects', he continued,
'necessitate a very important change in the present arrangements for
"managing" the goldfield'.\textsuperscript{128} This was an opportunity to stress that the Indigo
must be proclaimed a distinct goldfield, instead of being classed merely as a
division of the Ovens district. The large population at Wahgunyah, 30 miles

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Federal Standard}, 29 September 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Federal Standard}, 6 October 1860, p.2.
distant from Beechworth, would hasten the desired changes, he explained. It would be quite unreasonable to expect that people would travel such a distance to pay for licenses, to attend criminal courts and so on.\textsuperscript{129}

How quickly, though, did hope turn to despair. Instead of Chiltern growing in importance, Mott found, probably to his horror, that many of the population were about to decamp to Wahgunyah. His worst fears that a community without land and security of tenure would leave, were being realised. The paper's optimistic arguments for the district's future could not hold the people.

The 13 October editorial warned storekeepers against the absurd mania for erecting stores at Wahgunyah which was yet an unproved field (even though the week before the five leads were 'as rich as any found on the Indigo'). If the merchants, bankers and others chose to follow and ultimately found they had been led astray, that was their look out. He pointed out that the excitement amongst the storekeepers reacted upon the miners; the latter being apt to be deceived by the movement of the former, and a belief that the diggers at the new location must be doing very well.\textsuperscript{130}

The realisation that things were going wrong gave way the following week to denial. The Tadmor Journals' were said to be seeking a new field of operation at Wahgunyah, (and indeed the proprietors of the \textit{Ovens Constitution} started the \textit{Murray Gazette and Wahgunyah and Corowa Herald} on 31 October)\textsuperscript{131} by circulating reports, which did the rounds of the Melbourne press, that Chiltern was being vacated. But the facts were, Mott cried, that

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Federal Standard}, 13 October 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ovens Constitution}, 23 October 1860, p.3.
only a slopseller and bootmaker had left - the remaining stores belonging to Chiltern people at Wahgunyah were merely branch establishments of Chiltern houses. The paper's advertising columns, however, tell a different story. Even allowing for the number of businesses which did not advertise in the Standard, the number of local contributors dropped from 76 or 83.5 per cent in June 1860 to only 30 (39.5 per cent) out of a total of 76 on 24 October (Table 3). Possibly to fill the embarrassing blank space on page four, the Standard's own advertisement announcing it was 'the cheapest and best country paper' occupied two, full-page columns.

It was feared that the government had suspended public works at Chiltern on the strength of the above stories. The game of turning a deaf ear to Chiltern requests had been played out and replaced by promises to do everything but do nothing. Settlement had been promised, but when the time came for surveying the township, the surveyors could not find competent men to assist them and the work was suspended. The telegraph line had been brought as far as Chiltern but no tenders had been called for erecting a station and no station clerk appointed.

Mott had already shown his ability to quickly change course when he left England and came to Australia. Now his back was to the wall, and again he wasted no time in making an important and drastic change to the Standard.

132 Federal Standard, 24 October 1860, p.2. In the 10 October issue it was reported that two printing offices were about to be established at the new rush - one on the diggings and another at Wahgunyah township, and a third was spoken of.

133 On 27 June the Surveyor General visited Chiltern. He came only by chance and not in response to the residents' petitions. Returning from Kiandra he took a short cut and found himself at Chiltern. Whilst there he met with the Political Association and inspected various leads. He indicated to the deputation that he was in favour of the sale of crown land in the township and if any lead was known to pass through any of the town lots, they could be withdrawn from sale. Chiltern Standard, 23 June 1860, p.2.

On 7 November 1860, it was announced that George Mott and Co. had purchased the interests of the late Felix Ashworth in the plant and copyright of the Border Post. The Border Post was then incorporated with the Federal Standard. For Albury readers it was presented as the Border Post and Federal Standard and for Chiltern, the Federal Standard and Border Post.

The paper's change of name was accompanied by a change in policy. The editorial on 7 November stated that for too long the expense of collecting news in country districts had resulted in country newspapers being 'too limitedly local' in character. Significantly, the chief characteristic of the new Murray Gazette, the proprietors had indicated, would be 'unremitting advocacy of the local interests of the new gold-field ...'.\textsuperscript{135} It was now the aim of the Standard to provide not only a summary of colonial news but to extend its coverage throughout the border. No doubt drawing on his experience at Beechworth and Albury, and also at Chiltern, Mott continued that, in small settlements, party feeling usually ran high, with the result that, if any considerable portion of the community were disappointed with the result of an election or the management of the press, they started a newspaper to represent their own particular views. The journalist would find, however, that no sooner had it dealt with one antagonist than others would arise with phoenix-like agility.\textsuperscript{136}

It was to render themselves independent of these limitedly local influences where the 'doings of each Eataanswill were duly chronicled with the greatest minuteness by the rival editors', that the proprietors had brought about an alteration in the character of the two leading journals of the Murray

\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Ovens Constitution}, 23 October 1860, p.3.
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Federal Standard}, 7 November 1860, p.2.
border. The changes would, it was hoped, allow the management a freedom of expression which would not be controlled by any clique or party. Essentially for the Chiltern people, they were now without a local paper. The Standard continued to be printed at Chiltern, but no longer did it enter into arguments concerning Chiltern's future. Editorials were of a general nature - 'Colonial Governors', 'Liberty v Slavery', - or addressed to matters which affected the whole Border district such as 'Steam on the Murray', with Chiltern news items being accorded no greater prominence than those of Albury, Wangaratta, Yackandandah and other north-eastern towns.

The paper's change of policy was apparently a successful financial move. There was now a turn-around in the composition of local and non-local advertisers, with non-local growing from less than 20 per cent at the time of the initial price reduction in May to 58.3 per cent on 7 November (Table 2).

Mott was not only a man of ideas, he was an extraordinary newspaper businessman. He could dart and weave and change course as quickly as circumstances dictated. The survival of the Standard was still not guaranteed, however, and Table 1 shows how over the following three years, 1861 to 1863, he bought and sold and amalgamated still other papers with the Standard, and changed its price, its size and publication dates to ensure its survival. Richard Charnock would probably have been surprised to learn that the young man whom he turned from his door was responsible for establishing a

---

137 Ibid.
138 Ibid.
140 Federal Standard, 2 March 1861, p.2.
foundation where over the following century, the Mott family would publish some 45 newspapers, either wholly or in partnership throughout Australia.\textsuperscript{141}

Through the editorial column, Mott vigorously promoted local causes, and encouraged by what he correctly perceived was the ultimate and common aim of the people - settlement and independence - he enthusiastically advanced Chiltern's future. But he must have been bitterly disappointed. He could see the potential of the whole Border district but it was still too early for the Chiltern people to look to the future. For many their immediate needs took precedence, and until the colony's land questions were settled, they were forced to seek security by following each new rush.

Unsettled conditions intervened to curb the extent of local identity which could be expressed through the paper's editorial. Whether these same conditions are evident in the paper's reporting of local news is sought in the following section.
