SECTION 3

NEWS

1. Overseas and Colonial News

The first excitement in the colony of New South Wales at news from home was on 3 June 1790 when the Lady Juliana sailed into Sydney Harbour bearing the first direct news from England since the foundation of the colony in January 1788.1 This was the start of a practice where 'readers gorged like boa-constrictors on a good feed and then fasted for weeks until the next repast was offered and swallowed whole'.2

Once newspapers were established, ships bearing European and American papers were eagerly awaited at every colonial port. Under the heading 'Arrival of English Mail', columns and columns of extracts from these papers were made.3 However, the amount of overseas news included in the Chiltern Standard suggests that by 1859-60 this 'gorging' practice was waning. Although on 14 December 1859 it was announced that the English news had arrived and that large extracts would be printed in the Saturday edition, on 17 December, less than two columns were given to this news which appeared not

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2 Walker, op. cit, p.220.
3 Atkinson, loc. cit, pp.86-87, in a study of the Sydney press in 1838 found that the Herald acknowledged by name a total of 191 overseas newspapers from which extracts had been taken. These included 109 British and 52 North American. The Australian named 116; 84 being British and 20 North American.
on the principal second page but the third.4 Again, on 7 July 1860 it was announced that the Peninsular and Orient Company's screw steamer under the command of Captain Mathven had arrived in Melbourne on Wednesday afternoon with news from London to 19 May, Galle to 11 June and Hong Kong to 23 May.5 But only one full column on page three was given to European news and a quarter column to 'English Items'. And even though the news was spread over several issues of the paper, with another 2 columns on 11 July and 1 column on 14 July, these amounted to a total of only 4 1/2 columns.

News from Home' in the first issue of the Sydney Gazette of 5 March 1803 had left England in May 1802.6 The gold rushes to Australia and California, but particularly to Australia, stimulated the building of fast clippers and in the early 1850's many ships were doing the London to Melbourne run in less than 80 days.7 By 1858 a monthly P. & O. steamer was providing the quickest means for correspondence between England and Australia. Articles were brought by steam ships from Southampton to Alexandria, over-land to the Red Sea, and hence by steam-ships to Ceylon and Australia.8 The new speeds with which the news was received are evident in the Standard where the London news to 19 May 1860 was being read in Chiltern only 50 days later, on 7 July. And, it is an indication of the increased expectation for regular news

4 Chiltern Standard, 14 December 1859, p.2. and 17 December 1859 p.3. In the Ovens and Murray Advertiser, too, less prominence appears to have been given to overseas news. 'European Summary' extracted from the Home News on 16 June 1860 occupied less than 1 column out of 7 on the second page. Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 16 June 1860, p.2.
5 Federal Standard, 7 July 1860, p.3.
6 Inglis, (Australian Colonists) op. cit, p.33.
8 Inglis, (Australian Colonists) op. cit., p.34.
that, on occasion, Mott would complain when ships bearing mail were five days late.9

There was probably little point filling the Standard with overseas news which was readily available at the same time to Chiltern readers. Frequently the Standard thanked John Orr or William Hunter for making available the Californian, American and English newspapers and magazines.10 In September 1859, Orr advertised that he had for sale English, Irish, Scotch, French, Canadian, United States, Californian and other home papers.11 Not only were these overseas publications readily available, but by 1860 the price of advertised periodicals was frequently less than the annual subscription for the local paper. In July 1860, Orr had available large quantities of Lloyd’s Weekly Times and News of the Week for 1s each. He was prepared to take subscriptions for English papers at the following rates. Illustrated London News 16/6, Weekly Dispatch 16s, Lloyd’s 9s per quarter, London Journal 15s, Cassell’s 15s, Reynolds 14/6, All Year Round 16s, and Chamber’s Journal 14s per annum.12 We do not know how many, if any, Chiltern people bought these papers, but their availability suggests at least some demand.

Despite their minor prominence in the Standard, overseas extracts were taken from a wide selection of newspapers such as the Scotsman, Tipperary

9 Chiltern Standard, 17 December 1859, p.2. Even the year before, on 6 July 1859, the Owens and Murray Advertiser announced the arrival of the English mail received from telegraph from Melbourne which was headed ‘One month’s later European News’. Owens and Murray Advertiser, 6 July 1859, p.2.

10 For example, Chiltern Standard, 15 October 1859, p.2.

11 Chiltern Standard, 17 September 1859, p.3.

12 Chiltern Standard, 7 July 1860, p.3. See Louis James (ed.), Print and the People 1819–1851, (London 1976), pp.36, 42–46, who provides an account of the growth of some of these journals in the late 19th century and early 19th century which catered for a growing demand for entertaining reading. Their content appealed to a wide cross-section of the population. Bell’s Weekly Messenger offered decorous family reading, News of the World provided detailed coverage of crime, and the London Journal catered for a less genteel type of working class reader.
Free Press, Utah Valley Tan, Cheltenham Examiner, The Times, Dublin Evening Mail, Northern Whig, Belfast Mercury, Manchester Guardian, City Press, and others. Extracts told of the decrease in the population of Mormons at Utah, religious excitement in Northern Ireland, the invention of a long-range cannon being mounted in the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, the Chinese-Indian war, and so on.

As well as locally-available overseas newspapers, Chiltern readers had access to a wide selection of books at Hunter's Book Store, and the Circulating Library which largely accounts for the limited space given to short stories, poetry and tales in the Standard. This library contained over 1000 volumes of popular literature including the works of Dickens, Thackery, Warren, Bulwer, Scott, James Grant, Dumas, Cooper, Marryan, Gaerataeler, and a host of others. New works were added on the arrival of the overland mail monthly.

Under the headings 'Colonial Intelligence' or 'Pickings from the Prints' readers could learn from brief extracts taken from other newspapers what was happening in other parts of the colony. Melbourne news appeared under 'Latest Melbourne News', and Victorian Parliamentary Reports under that heading when Parliament was sitting. During the paper's first months there was little regional news except that extracted from the Beechworth and Albury papers, but by October the paper's own correspondents (possibly the agents selling the paper) were sending reports from Wangaratta and Longwood. But even then only limited space was given to colonial and regional news. On 26 October, for example, there were only 11 inches of regional and 41 inches of

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13 For example, Chiltern Standard, 19 November 1859, p.3.
14 Federal Standard, 24 October 1860, p.3.
colonial news out of a total of 2 11 1/2 column inches. Colonial newspapers, like overseas newspapers, had become more readily available.\textsuperscript{15}

Whilst visiting Ballarat in 1857, William Westgarth, an English visitor to the colony, was able to buy the Melbourne and Geelong papers on the day of publication - shortly after midday. This achievement, he noted, was not the doings of Her Majesty's mails, generally lumbering along behind everyone else's, but of private conveyance companies.\textsuperscript{16} Private coach services also ran frequently between Chiltern and Melbourne, and although it is not documented, very likely on their return trip they carried ordered copies of the southern papers. The greater distance involved, however, precluded delivery on the same day of publication.

The Telegraph Line of Coaches ran two Melbourne services. One service ran through to Melbourne in two days for £3.10.0. It left from Beechworth and Chiltern residents connected at Wangaratta. One night was spent at Longwood and passengers would arrive in Melbourne at 5.30 p.m. on the second day. But for £4.10.6 a faster (and probably more hair-raising) trip could be done in nearly 24 hours direct from Chiltern. Leaving from the Star Hotel at 4 a.m. each morning (except Sundays), the coach arrived in Melbourne the following morning at 8 a.m.\textsuperscript{17}

The \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser} and \textit{Ovens Constitution} were both available to Chiltern readers through agents, and if these copies were not delivered by the proprietors own conveyances, they possibly arrived on Thorpe

\textsuperscript{15} 26 October was selected because it coincided with the inclusion of reports from Wangaratta and Longwood. Colonial news that day was longer than usual because it included a 15 1/2 inch report on Victorian politicians.


\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Federal Standard}, 7 November 1860, p.1.
and Rae's coaches which left Beechworth for Chiltern each morning at 7.30 a.m.\textsuperscript{18}

Quite apart from these rapid developments in communication which allowed the relatively speedy transmission of news, Chiltern was, after all, a gold mining town with a mobile population. Surveyors, engineers, mining managers, and other miners continually arrived, possibly bringing with them newspapers from more distant parts. The arrival in town of Hurtle Fisher, a survivor from the wrecked \textit{Artemisia}, off the Portland coast, was reported on 27 August 1859. In the same paragraph it was noted that the Portland papers contained several items of news. Apparently Fisher had carried these papers with him to Chiltern.\textsuperscript{19}

The greater availability of alternative sources of literature at Chiltern meant there was little need for the \textit{Standard} to give wide coverage to overseas and colonial news. But if the paper was not bought for its overseas and colonial news, what news did Mott perceive most interested the majority of his readers? Chiltern was a mining town, and mining news emerges as the dominant interest.

2. \textit{Mining News}

'\textit{Water!, Water!} is still the cry on the Indigo'.\textsuperscript{20} So began the 'Indigo Mining Report' of 15 October 1859. Presented on the second page, usually immediately following the editorial column, the mining report was a distinctive and permanent feature in the \textit{Standard} until the publication change

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 27 August 1859, p.3.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 15 October 1859, p.2.
of November 1860. Except for a steady shower the previous Thursday, the report continued, insufficient rain had fallen to help the miners reduce their accumulated piles of washdirt. If rain was not forthcoming, many miners intended carting their dirt to the dams constructed by the wet claim holders, even if they had to pay high prices for water.\textsuperscript{21}

The same report, which was similar to others printed in each issue, gave news of the various deep-lead claims. Official reports were generally sent in to the paper by the various claim holders, but at other times, Mott or one of his staff apparently visited the claims.\textsuperscript{22} On 19 November 1859, he complained that 'chit-chat about mining matters was at a minimum because everybody was too busy to waste time talking'.\textsuperscript{23}

Claim holders on the Durham and Stotchman’s Leads were reported in high spirits, the same issue of the Standard reported. Although no official report had been received from the Caledonian Lead, there was talk that several more claims had been bottomed at the lower end. There was news of the prospecting party of Hawley and Co. who had registered their shaft on the Banners of Sebastopol Gully Lead. They were resuming work on the same shaft they had previously taken down to 200 feet, but for want of funds had temporarily abandoned the shaft for a claim on another lead. A circular had been sent around asking for pecuniary aid from storekeepers and others interested in opening new ground at Chiltern, and some assistance, including a

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} The Standard advertised for compositors, runners, and ‘lads’ for odd jobs, but reference to a journalist staff has not been found. Some articles are less well written than those obviously prepared by Mott, and I am therefore assuming that until Anderson arrived in late 1859 or early 1860, he employed at least one reporter.
\textsuperscript{23} Chiltern Standard, 19 November 1859, p.2.
small amount from the Victorian, New South Wales and Australian banks, had already been received.\textsuperscript{24}

Readers that day could also learn that the Clydeside Lead at the Stockyard Gully was still being prospected, but no hole had yet been bottomed. On the Suffolk Lead, most of the claims which had been bottomed were paying well. The Black Ball Company was now clear of debt, having paid off the sum of £1700 from the proceeds of working the claim for only 6-8 weeks. This was, the report noted, an encouraging prospect for many of the claims which were heavily in debt.\textsuperscript{25}

There was other news that the Great Eastern and the Junction Gold Mining Companies on the Ballarat Lead had each ordered 12 horse-power engines, which had left Melbourne on the previous Wednesday. From the Township Company there was information that they had finished sinking their well and were commencing to drive. This amalgamated claim, comprising 22 men’s ground and 25 shareholders had commenced business in March 1859 and since that time had paid out £4250; £1150 for their engine alone. So far this expense had been without any return but, the paper stated, if shareholders were as lucky as the owners of the Black Ball, a very handsome prospect was before them.\textsuperscript{26} The hand of the editor is evident in this statement, subtly promoting enthusiasm and a belief in the future of the field.

On other occasions, the Mining Report included the amount of gold taken by the escort from the Indigo that week, and for several weeks in late 1859, the price of gold was a popular topic. News of the price was not important -

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 15 October 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
every miner on the field would have known that. What was important was that it identified the Indigo as a distinctive and significant gold field, noticed at distant Bendigo. The *Bendigo Advertiser* had expressed concern at a previous *Standard* report in which it indicated that the price of gold on the Indigo might fetch a higher price than the current £3.19.0 per ounce, while, as the *Advertiser* pointed out it only reached £3.15.6. at Bendigo and there was talk of it going lower. In reply, the *Standard* explained that Bendigo gold was of only 23 carats fineness, while that at Indigo was 23.2.4/8ths carat. Ballarat and Back Creek gold was nearer the fineness of Indigo gold and sold for a similar price.27

Local mining news was not confined to the 'Indigo Mining Report' but sometimes appeared under the heading 'Local Intelligence'. Attempts, usually by Chinese, to sell spurious gold, were a frequent news item. In early July 1860, two Chinese had visited Reeves and Jordan's store on the Kincardinshire Lead and attempted to dispose of fabricated metal for gold. Their suspicions aroused, Reeves and Jordan had forwarded the specimen to be tested with nitric and nitro muriatic acid at Worthington's Chemist.28

Accidents on the various leads were not unusual and mining news often carried warnings to miners. The death of a miner named Ah Lin who had gone down a claim to 150 feet, it was hoped, would act as a warning to miners to be careful of foul air in drives. The verdict of the subsequent inquest was that the deceased died of asphyxiation from carbolic acid generated in the shaft.29

27 *Chiltern Standard*, 2 November 1859, p.2.
At the 1861 Census there were still 994 Chinese on the Indigo-Chiltern field, but except when they were involved in a misdemeanor or accident which might have affected other miners, their activities were not recorded in the paper, and they did not advertise in its columns. This was not surprising given Mott’s attitude to ‘John Chinaman’. Although his attitude was probably the norm for the era, it caused one correspondent named John Jones from Indigo to write:

It was with feelings of shame and displeasure that I read your truly illiberal attack upon the poor Chinese in a late issue of your paper. Have not all God’s creatures a right to live? ... However desirable it might be to see them cultivating rice, etc., have they ever been encouraged by our kindly sympathy to warrant those who have capital among them to invest in these expensive operations? Has not the heavy impost, the loud outcry, and the scenes of the Buckland, tended to keep back any large investment in land, etc.? In conclusion, it might have been hoped that you, as responsible journalists, would have lent your influence to the protection of the inferior and weaker, and not excite the worst of passions in a mixed and unthinking population, who, in a drunken brawl might do things they would be sorry for.31

In November 1859, Dr. Dempster was called to examine James Clements who had fallen down a 230 foot shaft on the Lower Indigo, but incredibly escaped with only bruises.32 A more serious accident occurred the following month, causing a miner named John Rossie to lose the sight of one eye. Occasionally editorial comment is found amongst items of local news,33 and

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31 Federal Standard, 3 November 1860, p.2. Although Jones’ letter was addressed to ‘the editors’, the editorial to which he refers was almost certainly prepared by Mott. It is nearly identical to an earlier one published in the Border Post.
32 Chiltern Standard, 9 November 1859, p.2.
33 This editorial practice, which dates back to the 18th century, is pointed out by Wiles, op. cit., pp.270 and 273.
this was an example, the paper claimed, of accidents brought about by
carelessness. Rossie had been working on the Magenta Reef, ramming blasting
powder in a hole. With ‘great stupidity’ he had been using a steel hammer
instead of the temporary wooden one provided by the Company. The steel
struck the quartz causing a spark which immediately ignited the powder. The
explosion propelled the hammer to the top of the shaft and a piece of quartz
was embedded in Rossie’s eye. According to the paper, no blame was attached
to the management. Le Souef (probably the Company Manager) had, some
days before, sent to Melbourne for the proper copper instruments, and to
prevent the possibility of such an accident occurring had, in the meantime,
provided a wooden hammer.34 Of course, we are not told how many miners
had to use this hammer, and since this news almost certainly came from the
Company, it is unlikely that they would have provided incriminating
information.35

One accident which, from the length of its coverage, appears to have
generated considerable community interest was the death of Dr. James Taylor
and another young shareholder named George Thyne, when the bucket in
which they were descending the shaft of the Township claim gave way. On 16
June 1860, almost a full-length page column (and later other smaller articles)
was devoted to reporting their deaths and the subsequent inquest.36

Within a few days of Dr. Taylor’s death, a benefit in aid of his enceinte
widow, (who was said to have been in a very dangerous state), and child, was
given at the Star Theatre. The muster of diggers on this occasion was,

34 Chiltern Standard, 7 December 1859, p.2.
35 I am not suggesting that because a mining company was involved in the accident that Rossie was
automatically without blame, or that the Standard would have knowingly concealed information, but
merely that there could have been another side to the reported story.
according to the paper, the largest it had seen in the theatre and their
disposition to assist the unfortunate was 'of infinite credit to the good feelings
of the mining community'.

The paper acknowledged the efforts of the
Township Mining Company in ensuring the success of the entertainment, as
well as Messrs. Kidd and Wertheim who had offered the use of the Star
Theatre.

In a notice to the public of Chiltern several days later, Dr. Taylor’s widow
indicated her heartfelt thanks to the Star Concert Company, the people of
Chiltern and neighbouring leads for the kind way in which they had come
forward to assist her in her affliction. Messrs. Scott (Ovens Hardware Store)
and Moore (blacksmith) had raised £46 and the Star Theatre £62.13.6., making
a total of £108.13.6.

In addition to the loss of Dr. Taylor, Chiltern was victim to the migratory
habits of the many doctors who followed each rush to the Buckland, Eldorado,
Wooraggee and to Chiltern. In the first two years of settlement Drs. Hopkins,
Morton, Daykin, Dempster (visiting surgeon from Beechworth), McMullin
(Public Vaccinator), Silverman, Hutchins (attached to Beechworth Hospital),
Rohner, Taylor and Radley had, according to their advertisements, passed
through Chiltern.

Each incoming ship to Victoria brought additions to the medical ranks and
by 1857 there were 487 registered practitioners in the colony. Besides
qualified practitioners, there came a host of quacks and charlatans.

38 Ibid.
40 E. Alan Mackay, 'Medical Practice during the Gold Fields Era in Victoria', M J A, Vol.11, 26
September 1936, p.426. Mackay refers to goldrush doctors, including those at Chiltern.
41 Ibid, P. 423.
Radley, 'a gentleman well-known on the Chiltern goldfields', was probably a talking point amongst locals for some time. Alias Robert Jowett, alias the father-in-law of Lord Convile, and one-time roadside geologist, he was charged with malpractice in treating an accouchment case, hoaxing the Colonial Mining Journal, and illegally obtaining drugs with false documents.

A further large component of mining news was the published lists of hearings held at the Indigo Warden's Court. It was not unusual for these lists, published on the second page of the Standard, to occupy almost a whole column. Confusion over deep-lead mining regulations rather than mercenary intent, as was possibly the case on the alluvial fields, appears to have been behind the many cases heard.

An alleged encroachment case heard before W.H. Gaunt on Friday, 28 October 1858, was typical of many heard where the course of the lead had not been determined, or had an indeterminate width, or where the surveyor had not yet marked off boundaries. The dispute between McFarlane and others against William Manly involved the course of a lead on McFarlane's No.17 Claim on the Durham which had altered course. The case was further complicated because the surveyor's assistant had made an error in defining the claim lines. Ultimately, the hearing was adjourned until skilled evidence could be produced.

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44 In 1853, William Howitt wrote from Upper Yackandah that 'fellows come every day and attempt to dispute possession of a claim. When they did not heed our remonstrance ... we would send for the Commissioner'. Howitt, op. cit. p.112.
45 Chiltern Standard, 28 October 1859, p.2.
At a meeting of the District Mining Board at Beechworth in July 1860 and published in the paper, questions addressed were the new frontage byelaw, and byelaws 98, 105, 136, 155-159 and 165 relating to surfacing claims and their form, leave of absence from a claim, registration of residence sites, and prospecting and quartz claims.\(^{46}\)

Much of the confusion surrounding deep-lead mining was compounded by the structure of Mining Boards. In 1857, Mining Boards and Courts of Mines were created to replace the earlier and unsatisfactory Local Courts. The Local Courts had power not only to make local regulations, but to sit as absolute and unappealable courts. With the abolition of these courts and the establishment of Courts of Mines came also the Warden’s Courts, dealing with applications for forfeited ground and mining disputes of all kinds. From the Warden’s Courts appeals could be made to the Court of Mines presided over by a judge.\(^{47}\)

Ultimately there were moves to centralise the Mining Boards, but the Standard claimed in 1861 that the Government was mistaken in believing there was a growing feeling in favour of the abolition of the existing Boards and the establishment of a central body to provide one uniform code of mining for the whole colony. Six mining boards had been established, but the mistake was, according to the paper, in limiting their number instead of encouraging their establishment in every locality. Experience had shown that Boards sitting at a distance, and unfamiliar with particular areas, had proved incompetent to understand the problems of those areas.\(^{48}\)

\(^{46}\) *Federal Standard*, 7 July 1860, p.2.

\(^{47}\) *op. cit.*, pp.186-7.

\(^{48}\) *Federal Standard*, 23 February 1861, p.2.
Most miners probably already knew about the events published under mining news, but people like to know what is going on, and for those who had not heard, the local paper was a background source of information. Even trivial accounts add continually to the sum of readers knowledge and keep their interest knitted in with a town's development.\textsuperscript{49} These same small aspects of daily life are further important, and have a permanent place in the news content of a country paper, because their very routine-ness and normality suggest security and afford the reader grounds for hope and optimism.\textsuperscript{50} The importance of such news, however, lies less in the information it provides than the local significance it gives to local events such as the miners' achievements, their accidents, legal battles and gossip about local identities. The very fact that these events are printed in a local production, James Grant has suggested, gives an adventitious interest and influence to their utterances.\textsuperscript{51}

It is nevertheless worthwhile considering Alan Atkinson's remarks about the early Sydney press. He has stressed that we do not know who exactly bought the papers, whether the subscribers were a representative sample of the people who read them, or who read which parts.\textsuperscript{52} These are factors which we cannot know about readers of the Chiltern paper either, but there is one hint that they did read the 'Mining Report' and associated mining news.

Before Mott's decision in November 1860 to make the paper less local in character, it is clear his selection of news was made with a mining population in mind. The space allocated to mining news suggests this selection was the greatest source of interest to subscribers. Table 4 shows that on 27 August

\textsuperscript{49} McIntyre, \textit{op. cit.}, p.247.
\textsuperscript{50} Jackson, \textit{op. cit.}, p.103.
\textsuperscript{51} Grant, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol.3, p.206.
\textsuperscript{52} Atkinson, \textit{loc. cit.}, p.95.
1859, 224 column inches were devoted to news items, including the editorial, comprising 34 1/2 inches, and on the same day mining news occupied 56 column inches, or a quarter of all news. This pattern continued until November 1860, when the space given to mining news diminished to allow inclusion of agricultural and pastoral news (Table 4).

### TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total Column Inches- News (excluding advertisements, notices etc.).</th>
<th>Total Column Inches - Mining News</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859 27 August</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 September</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 October</td>
<td>185 1/2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November</td>
<td>180 1/2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 December</td>
<td>No Mining Report - Christmas Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 28 January</td>
<td>305*</td>
<td>29 1/2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 February</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>142 1/2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 April</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 May</td>
<td>165 1/2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>157 1/2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 July</td>
<td>189 1/2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26.4</td>
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<td>29 August</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September</td>
<td>162 1/2</td>
<td>50 1/2</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October</td>
<td>180 1/2</td>
<td>32 1/2</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 November</td>
<td>124 1/2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 The issues selected to calculate mining news were the first available issue of the Chiltern Standard, on 27 August 1859 and the nearest issue to this date for the following months, September - April 1860, and the Federal Standard, May - November 1860.
Sources as indicated in text.

* - Total news on 28 January 1860 included a 6-column supplement.

** - While no explanation was provided for small mining news on 29 February, reports may have been received too late to go to press or there may have been printing problems.

The interest shown in local mining news and the reported community participation in activities, such as fund-raising, are signs of local community identity. But it is not easy to measure the extent of social cohesion this represents. In the same way that the paper’s assessment of agreement over township land sales only expressed the wishes of the deep-lead claim owners, the mining news reported appears, in the main, to express the interests of only the major claim owners and shareholders. We know little of the activities, achievements, problems and hopes of the remaining mining population, the less prominent storekeepers and traders and their families, and others who found their way to the Indigo-Chiltern field.

The following section seeks a wider representation from the publication of sporting events.

3. Chiltern Sports

‘Well do I remember the strange feeling of my first Christmas in Australia’.54 This was how John Search began his letter to the editor entitled ‘Christmas at Chiltern’. It was December, he recalled, when he landed. The sun, unclouded, blazed down, there were no coal-fires, no yule log, no indoor merriment. Instead, men in shirt sleeves sat outside their doors and the women no longer ‘smiling celestial rosy-red’ were tanned with a coppery hue which reminded him of the moon seen under the influence of a London fog.

What was wanted in Australia, he continued, was Hone's Everyday Book
55, but there could not be such a book until there were some Australian time-
honoured customs which it would describe. Till then, they could only fall
back on their own traditions and seek to enjoy memories of the past from
recollections of customs and habits which were familiar to 'us in now distant
lands'. Yet why waste either our thoughts or energies on the past, he asked.
Past enjoyments are as Burns says, too often like

the snow drops on the river
a moment white - then melt forever.

But that was a Scotch idea. Keats, he thought, came closer to the sunny
Australian idea when he said

A thing of beauty is a joy forever.

'Then', urged Search, 'let this Christmas at Chiltern be a cheerful one'. 56

The correspondence column is often seen by editors as a means of
promoting reader participation; to express their opinions, fears, and hopes,
and to air their grievances. 57 It would seem also that, on occasion, by using
the noms de plume of 'An Indigo Man', 'Delta', 'A Chilternite', and others,

55 Search was referring to: William Hone, The Everyday Book: or the guide to the year (London
1826-27), 3 vols. The frontispiece indicates the book related to popular amusements, sports,
ceremonies, manners, customs and events. It includes five thousand anecdotes and facts, a
chronological dictionary of the almanac, with a variety of diverting information for daily use and
entertainment compiled from authentic sources. It was illustrated with numerous engravings.
56 Ibid.
57 Jackson, op. cit., pp. 152-3.
Mott was using this medium to stimulate reader involvement. I suspect that John Search, too, a regular contributor to the paper, was Mott in disguise.\textsuperscript{58}

For many at Chiltern this was possibly their first Christmas in Australia. It was a time which could bring on the most intense yearning for the old land and the loved ones.\textsuperscript{59} Mott had observed and expressed this yearning at Chiltern in Search's letter and had used the opportunity for the paper to promote a sense of future hope and belonging here.

But we cannot know the extent of encouragement this letter generated. Other attempts by the paper to provoke reader participation were not particularly successful. Between August 1859 and November 1860, out of a total of 104 letters to the editor, 73 were signed with a noms de plume, the majority of which were almost certainly Mott.\textsuperscript{60} Topics such as 'Sunday at Chiltern' and 'Dancing Saloons at Chiltern' were raised but apparently failed to provoke reader response. So outraged was Samuel Sharp (\textsuperscript{?}Mott) by the dancing saloons that he wrote to the editor on 26 October 1859:

\texttt{\begin{verbatim}
R---R C-----n, your friendly advice has been taken. I am once more at C-----n. Between ourselves I ran away because objection was taken to the length of my l------rs. It's all right now, sugar has been added to my hitherto unsweetened tea, and a c------c b------e given me to skin the p------c and C-----n and the A------r when I please. (Signed in front of the Police Office) J-----n S------h. \quad \text{(Chiltern Standard, 10 December 1859, p.3.)}
\end{verbatim}}

\textsuperscript{58} Although Mott arrived in Australia in mid-winter and Search in December, Mott could have slightly altered his experience to fit that occasion. If there was a genuine John Search his name has not been found in either the paper's advertising or news columns. Nor does it appear in the P.O. Directory, Ovens District 1866 (the previous listing was 1857) – although by then he could have moved on. The following cryptic paid notice inserted in the paper does little to solve the mystery.

\texttt{\begin{verbatim}
T------R
T------R C------n, your friendly advice has been taken. I am once more at C------n. Between ourselves I ran away because objection was taken to the length of my l------rs. It's all right now, sugar has been added to my hitherto unsweetened tea, and a c------c b------e given me to skin the p------c and C------n and the A------r when I please. (Signed in front of the Police Office) J------n S------h. \quad \text{(Chiltern Standard, 10 December 1859, p.3.)}
\end{verbatim}}

\textsuperscript{59} Inglis, \textit{op. cit.} p.106.

\textsuperscript{60} It is impossible to know how many unsigned letters were from readers, but certainly many have a 'Mott' sound to them.

A more extensive analysis of other 19th century country Victorian papers might show that it was common practice for correspondents to sign letters with a noms de plume. It is worth noting that from a brief sample of letters to the editor in the Beechworth papers, of 8 letters in four issues of the \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser} (11, 12, 13 October and 5 November 1859, p.2) only 3 were signed, and of 6 from four issues of the \textit{Ovens Constitution} (5, 7, 10, 11 October 1859, p.3), only 2 were signed. Only further investigation of these papers would determine whether the letters appeared to be from genuine correspondents, or if the editors of those papers, like Mott, were apparently responsible for many of the unsigned letters.
... the performance called dancing on the diggings is ... generally a rude, violent and animal effort in which strong men and not very modest women execute strange gyrations to an uncouth noise which is impudently termed music.

No wonder he continued, that morality stood at such a low figure on the diggings. And several weeks later John Search complained of dogs barking, babies screaming, and boys kicking the dust and cracking nuts instead of attending Sunday School, and the scanty attendances at places of worship on a Sunday.

Nevertheless, while an editor is responsible for conveying or refusing to convey correspondents' letters to the public, even where opinions contradict the policy of the paper, we do not know how many letters Mott chose not to publish. However, certain newspaper historians have noted that, as a general rule, editors would rather publish opinion with which they disagree and express their dissent editorially, than decline publication and risk a reputation for biased selection. Mott appears to have followed a similar practice.

It was only on occasion that readers used the column to air their grievances, and sometimes to correct misinformation. Dr. Thomas Hopkins wrote in July 1860 that he would be obliged if the paper would contradict its statement that he had attended an accident at the Telegraph Lead. He was at that time attending a confinement. It is one of the hazards of journalism, one historian has pointed out, that a piece of 'intelligence' may prove ill-founded; and if there is no time to verify a report before press time, the editor

61 *Chiltern Standard*, 26 October 1859, p.2.
63 *Jackson*, *op. cit.* p.154 and *Steed*, *op. cit.* p.231.
64 See pages 113 and 125.
has to decide which of two risks to take: should he miss the opportunity of printing a good story or suffer the embarrassment of having later to correct a false on.66

But while few readers chose to utilise the correspondence column, this is not necessarily an indication of a lack of interest in local affairs, especially if we ask how many ordinary people write letters to the editor and how many even read them?

The optimism of Search's letter was maintained in the news column. On the day before Christmas 1859, the Standard excitedly reported 'Christmas comes but once a year'. The Chiltern and Indigo people, it stated, meant to enjoy the attractive Bill of Fare organised by enterprising entrepreneurs. There were no end of Balls and Suppers, a picnic to Everton, sports on the Durham Lead, and Johnson's Hotel was offering fun 'ad libitum'.67 But the activity causing the greatest excitement and advertised for weeks before Christmas, was the Grand Christmas Games, organised by John Wallace68 of the Star Hotel, to be held at the Mammoth Pavilion, Chiltern Hill. John Scarlett, as Secretary, headed an organising committee comprising Messrs. A. O'Connor, Thomas Canst, J. Donald, P. Naylor, W.S. Smith, A. Boyd, S.W. Cantilla, James Hick, W. Richards, J. Richards, J. Polgaise and W. Spargo.69

66 Wiles, op. cit. p.195.
68 John Alston Wallace (1824-1901). Mining entrepreneur and politician, he was born in Rutherglen, Lanarkshire, Scotland. In 1860, Rutherglen (Yabungha Lead) was named after his home town. Portly, with genial features, he delighted miners with his enthusiasm, spirited action and generosity. He backed small mining concerns and encouraged prospectors. At Snake Valley (Stanley) in 1855, he opened the first of a chain of Star Hotels, including those at Beechworth, Chiltern and Rutherglen. A.D.B. Vol. 6 1851-90. pp. 345-6.
69 Chiltern Standard, 24 December 1859, p.3.
The games, scheduled to start on Boxing Day, ran through the week until Thursday, 29 December. There was no Mining Report that week; everyone was too involved with the Christmas activities to do much work. It was a peculiarity of the Australian Christmas, Inglis has noted, that late in December the year could be felt to be running down in a manner unknown in England or America. As Christmas approached, it was difficult to do anything in the way of public business.

But before the games were underway, there were squabbles, representing, it would seem, the underlying and already noted antagonism between the mining and business communities. John Scarlett, Secretary of the Games Committee, was the same gentleman who defended the interests of the miners in the sale of township land debate, and the names of the other committee members are almost certainly those of miners.

In a letter to the editor on 21 December, Henry Arthur Tomkins, owner of the Phillip’s Golden Bar Hotel, complained that he had applied for an extension of his publican’s license to erect a booth adjoining Wallace’s booth on Chiltern Hill where the games were to be held. He claimed that at the hearing of the application before the Licensing Bench, Alfred O’Connor (the would-be-member for the district), had stated that a committee had called on publicans and storekeepers of the Chiltern district collecting money for the Christmas sports. O’Connor had denied this claim, but Tomkins continued that he could prove O’Connor had uttered a most deliberate falsehood when he stated that no application had been made to any merchant, publican or storekeeper, and

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70 Chiltern Standard, 31 December 1859, p.2.
71 Inglis, (Australian Colonists) op. cit, p.115.
72 None of these names have been found in advertisements inserted in the Standard by businesses or amongst traders named in the 1866 P.O. Directory, Ovens District. Folglaiss is one name which later appears under a mining court hearing.
there were upwards of twenty businessmen willing to come forward and substantiate his statement. O'Connor had also said before the Bench that John Wallace had advanced the committee ('but what committee?' asked Tomkins) between £400-500 for erecting the building for the sports. Tomkins continued '[but] we all know that Mr. J.A. Wallace is not so liberal in offering a loan of money unless it be for his own immediate benefit'.

The cost of the materials and erecting the booth would cost no more than £120, Tomkins claimed, and the booth would still be of benefit to him after the games. Assisted by Finn, 'Wallace's proxy', the Licensing Bench had refused his application. He asked the editor whether the Bench had the legal power to allow any man, even if it was Wallace, to monopolise trade in the whole district for his own benefit.

Commenting on Tomkin's letter, the *Standard* declined to enter into the law of the matter, but believed that since Wallace had invested a certain amount in timber and labour in putting up the pavilion, which no other person public or private would have thought of doing, that he was justified in seeking any reward that could be got from the originality of his idea and his savoir faire.

But this was not the end of the matter. In the same issue a notice signed by Tomkins indicated that 'Mr. O'Connor will oblige by attending at the Police Court on Friday to make good the statement he made on my application for an extension of license'. It is not recorded whether O'Connor did oblige by attending the Police Court, but on 24 December, he too, wrote to the editor of the *Standard*. He unequivocally denied Tomkins' claims that a committee had

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73 *Chiltern Standard*, 21 December 1859, p.2.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
canvassed the business community or that he had conveyed this impression to the Bench. What he had said was that as one of the committee interested in getting up the games, he had mentioned that Wallace had advanced to the committee between £400-500. The committee had agreed that should other persons apply for a license to the place which had been erected at Wallace’s expense, the committee would represent to the Bench the great injustice which would be done in allowing others to reap the benefit of his very large expenditure.77

O’Connor further pointed out that, independently of being a member of the committee and, as such, anxious to see the sports organised in a manner credible to a rising district, he felt as a miner that they were all deeply indebted to the great public spirit and enterprise of Wallace who had already spent upwards of £8000 in procuring machinery to enable the miners to work ground which would not otherwise be worked, and which ‘if left to the enterprise of the storekeepers and publicans [said to have been canvassed] would remain so until dooms day’.78 He concluded his letter by hoping the miners of the district would, by their patronage of the sports, prove to Wallace that they were not unmindful of the great benefits he had conferred upon the mining community of Indigo and Chiltern.79

However, on Boxing Day the sports got underway and each day’s activities were reported by the Standard at the end of the week.80

The Monday games included a foot race, throwing the hammer, putting the stone and hornpipe dancing. The amusements continued on the Tuesday

78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Chiltern Standard, 31 December 1859, p.2.
with the running high leap, putting the stone - Irish fashion, tossing the caber, sack race, putting the stone - light weight, and the Irish Jig.

The weather was again fine on the Wednesday and once more the crowds assembled to witness the games of hop, step and leap, standing flat leap and hitch and kick. The latter was won by Harry Coleman at the height of 6 feet, 6 inches. The greatest height reached at the Melbourne Caledonian Games in September, it was pointed out, was only 5 feet, 10 inches. There followed hunting the greased pig, and a steeple chase over a course of 500 yards and five hurdles through the bush. The Highland Fling took place inside the Pavilion which was said to have been crowded to suffocation. The prize of £5 was awarded to A. Scott O'Neill.

On the Thursday there was a great deal of excitement about the Grand Coit Match. It had been arranged that the Nine Mile field (near Beechworth) should send down its best men and challenge the Indigo. There was no lack of gentlemen who would back the Nine Mile team against any other locality. Its players were renowned, while poor Chiltern had yet to be tested. The result was decided victory for Chiltern; 21 to 16 of Nine Mile.

That day there was also the wheelbarrow race, three jumps and the wrestling, both Cornish and Devonshire style. The wrestling was held over the whole four days and according to the paper, better playing than was exhibited at Chiltern during the contest could not be remembered. Every man did his best and the show of power on the Indigo, it was supportingly claimed, could not be equalled in the colony.
For the Cornish wrestling there were 40 stands which were reduced to 20, 10 and then 5. The first prize of £20 was won by William Richards. For the Cumberland wrestling, 24 stands were made, with Thomas Price taking off the first prize.

Altogether 166 Chiltern and Indigo entrants, plus those who chased the pig, had participated in the games. With what pride did they read the paper’s account of how those who were present at the last Melbourne [sports] meeting believed 'saucy Chiltern' in comparison wore a wreath of victory.

The paper’s end-of-week report served not only to recall the week’s events for participants and spectators of the games, but it put in print their local achievements. More important, it had promoted a sense of local pride by favourably comparing Chiltern to other localities. However, despite the paper’s efforts to promote social cohesion, the same distinctions within the community keep emerging. Again, the community spirit observed remained fragmented. There is no evidence that storekeepers and publicans, usually so prominent in the pages of the Standard, were in any way involved in the game. On this occasion, the paper could only express the interests of the mining community.

The sports were over, but before the holiday period finished, the Star Theatre offered a £5 prize for the best original conundrum. A few selected by the Standard for publication give the impression that local people and events were the favourite topics.

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81 Although the Cornish population is not given in the 1861 Census, their numbers at Chiltern, and particularly at Cornishtown on the old Indigo Lead, were apparently substantial. Cornish managers and miners were attracted to deep-lead fields such as Chiltern, having already established a reputation for handling the problems of deep-seeking at Bendigo and Ballarat. Blainey (RNE), op. cit, p.77 and Bate, op. cit, p.84.

82 Chiltern Standard, 31 December 1859, p.2.
Why would any person imagine that the business of the Star [theatre] - though a very large one - was the most easily managed in the district?
Because at present it is done by a Kid(d) [Messrs Kidd and Wertheim ran the theatre.]

What is the difference between Mr. Rundle at the Chemist's opposite the Star Hotel, Chiltern and Mr. Worrell of the North American Circus?
Mr. Worrell is a man of wit, and Mr. Rundle is Witt's [Witt's pills] man.

If the competition for the conundrum prize had been confined to the tradesmen of the district, which two would have been deserving of it?
If for ability, Wit(t) Chemist, if for honesty of purpose, Goodman the Watchmaker.

'Atrocious enough, truly!', commented the paper. The following was thought to be one of the best:

Why is this district a paradox?
Because although in the heart of the Ovens, the Indigo has a chill turn (Chiltern).

The prize went to an entrant named Fortesque, who asked:

Why are puddlers the least deserving of rain, and yet require it more than any other class of digger?
Because Heaven sends it first and they dam it afterwards.83

The sports and the riddle contest were holiday activities, but for some time there had been moves to provide a different sport on a more regular basis - horse racing. Horse-racing was so popular throughout Australia that by

83 Chiltern Standard, 7 January 1860, p.2.
1870 it was the most nearly national sport.\textsuperscript{84} At Ballarat, the sport of kings, squatters, miners and almost nearly everyone except the Wesleyans, Bate has noted, had an early start with the wealthy townsmen, pastoralists and gentlemen farmers providing the committee, the horses and the main betting plunges.\textsuperscript{85}

The importance of sports news can be gauged by the amount of space it takes up,\textsuperscript{86} and interest in horse-racing at Chiltern was apparently strong. 'Turf News', usually extracted from \textit{Bell's Life}\textsuperscript{87}, as well as detailed accounts of Albury and Wangaratta races, was a regular feature in the \textit{Standard}.

The biggest race meeting in the colony before the first Melbourne Cup was run on 7 November 1861 was the Melbourne Champion Race which took place on 1 October 1859. 'This all exciting affair [had] been the principal topic of conversation for months';\textsuperscript{88} and nearly all of page two in the \textit{Standard} was given to describing the weather on the day, the crowds arriving by special trains from Spencer Street to the newly erected station near the bridge crossing the Saltwater River, how the crowds were dressed, the state of the course, the prices paid and the running of the big race.\textsuperscript{89}

Later that month, in a letter to the editor signed by 'A Storeman' (possibly Mott), he indicated that several of the town's leading residents were willing to co-operate in getting up the Chiltern races. If a committee was

\textsuperscript{84} Ingles, \textit{op. cit.}, p.130.
\textsuperscript{85} Bate, \textit{op. cit.}, p.242.
\textsuperscript{86} Jackson, \textit{op. cit.}, p.117.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle} was a four-page journal devoted to colonial sporting pursuits and amusements, especially horse racing and cricket. It was published each Saturday by Charles Frederick Somerton for the proprietor's of \textit{Bell's Life in Victoria}, Melbourne. \textit{Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle}, Vol. 1, No.1, 3 January 1857, p.1.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 5 October 1859, p.2.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Ibid.}
formed, he suggested, and an active, intelligent man were to act as secretary, the idea might go ahead. The first thing to be done would be to call a preliminary meeting where the whole business could be discussed and arranged. Several of the Albury people might come over to lend a hand to those interested at Chiltern in getting started. Once the idea was started, there were plenty more, he believed, who would join in. The writer, for one, was willing to subscribe a trifle towards the preliminary expenses.90

Mott, it would seem, had been approached by John Clarke, owner of the El Dorado Hotel and others to 'sound out' the extent of interest in the community. The following week Clarke inserted a long advertisement in the Standard headed 'Chiltern Races - Preliminary Notice'. The advertisement announced that he was offering to clear a site for a race course at his own expense. A very eligible spot had been selected about four miles from New Ballarat. A committee had already been formed, consisting of several influential patrons of the sport who were seeking the assistance of all lovers of old English sports to help them in getting up a first-rate meeting.91

The formation of the course was to be carried out under the superintendence of W.B. Haynes, with Luke Reilly assisting with the race preliminaries. While no further information has been found to tell us more about Reilly, Walter Haynes, according to his advertisement, was the owner of the Junction Stores at Christmas Town and Mt. Pleasant on the Indigo Lead, selling bulk supplies of Tasmanian onions, candles, calico, brandy and cheeses.92 The paper stated he was a guarantee that all the arrangements would be complete and it was anticipated that the races would come off about

90 Chiltern Standard, 22 October 1859, p.2.
91 Chiltern Standard, 29 October 1859, p.3.
92 Chiltern Standard, 16 May 1860, p.3.
the end of December. The Standard to highlight, and stimulate yet further, interest in a local event. "Sandy Sneck", a regular 'inside' contributor to the correspondence column put in verse the proposed running of the race:

The course is cleared, the people come, the judge is at his stand,
Horses and riders in a row, wi 'a' the grandest o' the land, ...
The bets are made, the bell is rung, the starter gives a cough,
And in the twinkling of an eye, there's twenty horses off; ...

And his last stanza:

They're rushing in - oh glorious site! - for Chiltern's Number One.
And all the rest are wide-a-field, with Beechworth fairly done.
A noble race! - hold up your face! - for Chiltern's taken the cup.
And those that try to rival her may fairly - give it up.  

A further advertisement on 14 December advised of a forthcoming meeting at Ewins' Empire Hotel. All lovers of the turf were earnestly requested to assist in carrying out the first annual Chiltern races. The following gentlemen, the notice advised, had offered to form a committee and receive subscriptions. Messrs. J.A. Wallace [Star Hotel], Robert Brown [draper and clothier], Bartie, Johnson [Johnson's Crow Hotel], C. Ewins [Empire Hotel], Watson [Watson's Alliance Hotel], Turland [owner Livery Stables at Star Hotel], Drew, McMurray, Butler [Eagle Hotel], Newman, Morris, and Gordon [Livery and Bail Stables, Crow Hotel].

93 Ibid.
94 Chiltern Standard, 17 December 1859, p.2. This and other regular letters and poems were possibly written by one of the Standard staff, a local Scot, or even Mott himself. The value of some letters was probably lost to all except the Scots who may have been able to decipher this sometimes difficult dialect.
95 Chiltern Standard, 14 December 1859, p.3.
Although it was advertised that races were to be held at the new course on 16 and 17 January, something seems to have gone wrong. The races never came off.

There was no further mention of Chiltern races until 'A Chilternite' (again, possibly Mott) wrote to the editor on 1 February 1860. He referred to the formation of a committee to inaugurate races for Chiltern and how a meeting had been planned for January. He pointed out though, how at the time many people felt the distance of Clarke's racecourse from Chiltern was very much against the success of the project and had caused it to drop through.

Apparently this was not the only reason for the failure of the races. Clarke, who had been holding saddle races (the running of light-weight horses) each week was merely using the course for his own entertainment and that of a select few. 'A Chilternite' continued, 'Mr. Clarke may possibly find his account in this kind of shilly-shally with the public patience'. Were the Chiltern inhabitants going to allow themselves to be sold in this way, he asked. The humbug had gone far enough, and as the season was quite advanced, it was time to organise respectable races. The Beechworth, Wahgunyah, Wangaratta and Albury races were listed for dates in March and April which would bring a large number of sporting men and good horses into the immediate neighbourhood. In the meantime, the Chiltern people, out of good nature to this man named Clarke, were standing idly by.

96 Chiltern Standard, 17 December 1859, p.3. and 24 December, p.2.
97 Chiltern Standard, 1 February 1860, p.2.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
This letter apparently expressed the dissatisfaction of others in the community, since on 18 February it was reported that on the previous Thursday evening a meeting of some of the more enterprising townsmen had met at Ewin's Empire Hotel to consider starting races at Chiltern. Again it was stated that every indulgence had been allowed Clarke before taking alternative action. Nevertheless, it had been settled that the races would be held close to the township and a committee had been appointed to arrange preliminary matters before appointing the stewards. Now that the affair was in the hands of leading businessmen, the paper anticipated that within a short period Chiltern would be where it ought to be - at the head of racing matters on the Ovens.100

Other meetings followed, and at that held on 23 February, subscriptions amounting to £376, collected in only four days, were handed in. Those competent to judge such matters believed that ultimately the funds at the committee's disposal would be in the vicinity of £1000.101 At the same meeting, the ubiquitous Mr. Finn consented to act as Secretary and Treasurer,102 and a committee of four, whose names were not reported, were chosen to report to the next meeting on a suitable site for the course.103

Once more, however, the planned Chiltern races were unsuccessful. Further meetings were held to appoint members to call upon those who had promised, but not paid, their subscriptions. The meeting held at Watson’s

100 Chiltern Standard, 18 February 1860, p.2.
102 Ibid. It is difficult to determine whether Finn monopolised public meetings or whether there was reluctance by others to take responsibility as office bearers.
103 Ibid.
CHILTERN FIRST
ANNUAL RACE MEETING
ROCH.
Robert Brown.
STEWARDS:
William H. Gaunt, John A. Wallace,
Montague G. Smith, Peter Grant,
William R. Meers, Andrew Kilmour,
Geo. W. Kennedy, William Battle,
James Wilhems.
SECRETARY.
John Stirckland.
FIRST DAY.
Thursday, January 28th, 1863.
FIRST RACE.—MAIDENS' PLATE.
Of 60 sors., with a sweep of 2 sors. each added, for
all maiden horses; weight for age; 12 miles.
SECOND RACE.—PUBLICANS' PURSE.
Of 75 sors., with a sweep of 3 sors. each added for
all horses; weight for age; three times round the course; the second horse to receive the sweep.
THIRD RACE.—THE FARMERS' PURSE.
Of 90 sors., with a sweep of 1 sor. each added, for
all horses; the property of Farmers residing within
the Albury and Gres and Murray Districts; once
round the course; the winner to draw 10 cwt. round the course within one hour after the race.
FOURTH RACE.—HACK STAKES.
Of 10 sors., for all reputed Hackers; to be approved
by the Stewards; weight 1st; heat once round.
SECOND DAY.
Friday, January 29th, 1863.
FIRST RACE.—CHILTERN TOWN PLATE.
Of 100 sors., with a sweep of 2 sors. each added; for
all horses, weight for age. Distance, three times
round the course. Second horse to receive the sweep.
SECOND RACE.—MINERS' PURSE.
Of 50 sors., with a sweep of 2 sors. each added for
all horses, weight for age. The second horse to
receive the sweep. Distance 8 miles.
THIRD RACE.—CONSOLATION STAKES.
Of 20 sors.; for all horses beaten during the meeting,
to be handicapped by the stewards or whom
they may appoint; distance, once round the course.
FOURTH RACE.—FORCED HANSDIAP.
Of 50 sors., with 5 per cent. forced from all winning
horses; entry of all winners of Hack or Consolatio
Stakes and beaten horses to be optional; but if
entered to pay entrance fee on gross amount of
stake. To be handicapped by the stewards or
whom they may appoint; once round the course and a distance. Entrance 10 per cent on amount of
prize.
RULES.
1. Victoria Jockey Club Rules will be strictly ad-
hered to (subject to the interpretation of the
Stewards).
2. The decision of the stewards shall be final.
3. No horse allowed to receive a pole unless the
party entering, and the horse's owner be each a
subscriber of two guineas to the fund, except for the
Hack races, for which one guinea each will qualify.
4. Entrance ten per cent. on amount of prize, un-
less otherwise specified. Entrance or no race.
5. All entries (unless otherwise specified) must be

Illustration 10. Chiltern First Annual Race Meeting
- advertisement, 16 January 1863.
CILTERN FIRST
ANNUAL RACE MEETING

STEWARDS:
William H. Gunst, John A. Wallace,
Montague G. Smith, Peter Grant,
William E. Masters, Andrew Milnor,
Geo. W. Kennedy, William Barrie,
Jason Webers.

TREASURER:
John Brinkland.

FIRST DAY.
Thursday, January 15th, 1863.
FIRST RACE.—MAIDEN PLATE.
Of 50 guns, with a sweep of 2 guns each added, for all maiden horses; weight for age; 1¼ miles.
SECOND RACE.—PUBLICANS' PURSE.
Of 75 guns, with a sweep of 2 guns each added for all horses; weight for age; three times round the course; the second horse to receive the sweep.
THIRD RACE.—THE FARMERS' PURSE.
Of 50 guns, with a sweep of 1 gun each added, for all horses the property of Farmers residing within the Albany and Leves and Murray districts; once round the course; the winner to draw 10 cwt round the course within one hour after the race.
FOURTH RACE.—HACK STAKES.
Of 10 guns, for all reputed Hackers; to be approved of by the Stewards; weight 6cwt; bonus 6s round.

SECOND DAY.
Friday, January 16th, 1863.
FIRST RACE.—CHILTERN TOWN PLATE.
Of 100 guns, with a sweep of 3 guns each added; for all horses, weight for age. Distance, three times round the course. Second horse to receive the sweep.
SECOND RACE.—MINERS' PURSE.
Of 50 guns, with a sweep of 2 guns each added for all horses, weight for age. The second horse to receive the sweep. Distance 3 miles.
THIRD RACE.—CONSOLOATION STAKES.
Of 50 guns; for all horses beaten during the meeting to be handicapped by the stewards or whom they may appoint; distance, once round the course.
FOURTH RACE.—FORCED HANDICAP.
Of 20 guns, with 5 per cent. forced from all winning horses; entry of all winners of Hack or Consolation Stakes and beaten horses to be optional; but it entered to pay entrance fee on gross amount of stake. To be handicapped by the stewards or whom they may appoint; once round the course and a distance. Entrance 10 per cent on amount of prize.

RULES.
1. Victoria Jockey Club Rules will be strictly adhered to (subject to the interpretation of the Stewards).
2. The decision of the stewards shall be final.
3. No horse allowed to receive a prize unless the party entering, and the jockey, owner, be each a subscriber of two guineas to the fund, except for the Hack races, for which one guinea each will qualify.
4. Entrance ten per cent. on amount of prize, unless otherwise specified. Three entries or no entry.
5. All entries (unless otherwise specified) must be made in writing, and delivered to the stewards between 7 and 9 o'clock p.m. on the night previous to each day's racing, and entrance fee and sweepstakes paid.
6. Each jockey must be qualified by a subscription of one sovereign to the fund.
7. Any horse walking over for a prize, will only receive half the amount. If only two horses start no money will be given to second horse.

J. A. MULLIGAN,
Honorary Secretary.

Illustration 10.

1863.
Alliance Hotel late in March was the last report of the long-talked of races.\textsuperscript{104} Thereafter, only the odd casual race was advertised to be held at 'Clarke's Old Course',\textsuperscript{105} and it was not until 16 January 1863 that the First Annual Chiltern Race Meeting, to be held over two days, was advertised (Illustration 10).\textsuperscript{106}

The lack of promised subscriptions was one factor accounting for the failure of the races to take-off, but another clue lies in the composition of both the first and later appointed committee members.

As already indicated, at least eight of the original twelve committee members were hotel owners or storekeepers. Even when the new committee was formed, meetings were held at Watson's Alliance Hotel and Ewin's Empire Hotel, which points to their continuing involvement. It would not be wildly speculative to suggest that, because of the persisting wedge between the mining and business community over the sale of town land, the miners saw the races as the 'pub-owners' races.

How different was the composition of the stewards when the first Annual Meeting got underway in 1863. By this time, Chiltern now a more mature town, had attained municipal status, and the representatives selected to conduct the races were from all sections of the community: William Gaunt, Mining Commissioner, Montague G. Smith, lawyer, John Wallace, hotel owner, Andrew Kilgour, blacksmith, and even a squattting representative, Jason Withers.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{104} Federal Standard, 30 March 1860, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{105} Federal Standard, 2 February 1861, p.3.
\textsuperscript{106} Federal Standard, 12 November 1862, p.4.
\textsuperscript{107} Federal Standard, 12 November 1862, p.4.
The first cricket club at Chiltern suffered a similar fate to the racing club, and possibly for the same reasons. On 26 October 1859, the paper reported that a meeting of cricketers interested in the formation of a club at New Ballarat would be held at Johnson's Crow Hotel on the following Wednesday evening. Only a couple of weeks later the paper carried news that members had met behind the hotel for practice and would soon be in a position to challenge neighbouring clubs.

There is no clear indication of why the club lapsed until November 1862 when an advertisement announced that members had agreed to practice on the ground near the Sons of Freedom claim every Wednesday at half past 2 o'clock. Meetings were to be held on the first Wednesday of each month, and whereas previously membership may have been unofficially restricted to the hotel-owners and storekeepers, now miners and all persons desirous of joining were requested to attend. It was stressed that the club was open to all residents at Chiltern and in the Indigo district.

Through the paper's reporting of local sporting events, fragmented instances of local identity can be recognised. However, the paper's attempts through its coverage of these events, letters to the editor and items of poetry to encourage local cohesion, were overwhelmed by the persisting sectional interests within the community.

108 Chiltern Standard, 26 October 1859, p.2.
109 Chiltern Standard, 9 November 1859, p.2.
110 Federal Standard, 19 November 1862, p.3.
3. **Churches and Schools at Chiltern**

One day early in December 1859, the wind blew down the Chiltern Presbyterian Church. Commenting on the incident, the *Standard* was not surprised that the building (or shanty, as it described it), had come to grief.\(^{111}\) It was perhaps symbolic that this temporary structure was destroyed. The frequency with which Chiltern Presbyterian events were reported in the paper suggest the Presbyterian community had determined upon staying at Chiltern, rebuilding their own church and acquiring their own minister. Accounts of their activities were less of a temporary people than those with a common purpose - the permanent establishment of a Presbyterian Church at Chiltern.

While steps were being taken to rebuild a place of worship, the Wesleyan committee at Chiltern kindly granted the use of their chapel to the Presbyterian congregation.\(^{112}\) This was not an unusual offer, for throughout most of the 19th century it was common for different denominations in the colony to share the same building.\(^ {113}\)

Only two months after the building was destroyed, a very substantial church (probably wooden) was erected by the hill rising from behind the Union Claim, and opened on 19 February 1860 by the Reverend D.H. Ballantyne from Albury.\(^ {114}\) This new church still had to be paid for, and on 25 February, the *Standard* drew attention in the news column to the church’s advertisement for

\(^{111}\) *Chiltern Standard*, 17 December 1859, p.2.

\(^{112}\) *Chiltern Standard*, 31 December 1859, p.3.

\(^{113}\) Kiddle, *op. cit.*, p.447.

\(^{114}\) *Chiltern Standard*, 18 February 1860, p.2. The Rev. D.H. Ballantyne, who was formerly a school teacher at Bunyong, was ordained and settled at Albury in 1851. He was then the only clergyman in a district covering almost 400 miles. Albury, for reasons of convenience, and by mutual arrangement between the churches interested was, for many years, included within the bounds of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria. C.Stuart Ross, *The Scottish Church in Victoria 1851-1901* (Melbourne 1901), p.263.
service the following day when a collection would be taken in aid of the building. ‘Bis dat qui cito dat’ [he who gives soon gets/receives], Mott urged. 115 Apparently the congregation gave generously to that, and subsequent, collections. Only seven months later, when the congregation met after morning service to adopt the annual report, it was reported that notwithstanding the heavy expense during the past year entailed upon the Presbyterian body at Chiltern by the erection of a new place of worship, it could record that the treasury was not only free of debt, but had besides, a small balance. 116

Although the matter of a new church was settled there were other pressing needs. In a lengthy account on 12 May 1860, the paper noted how considerable attention had recently been centred upon a proposed movement in connection with the Presbyterian Church at Chiltern. It had been resolved by the Melbourne General Assembly (the church’s organising body) to form a separate Presbytery in the Beechworth district, and the Chiltern congregation had, in order to entitle their minister, the Reverend Seaborne, to a seat in the district, resolved at a meeting held the previous Sunday evening to moderate a call to him. 117 It was not until November 1859 that Chiltern residents had been able to secure the services of the Reverend Seaborne as a resident clergyman. Prior to then, Mr. Thompson, the missionary at Yackandandah had visited once a fortnight ‘at considerable inconvenience to himself’. 118

A document was subsequently prepared and left at John Turner’s store. Those who intended to sign the call were reminded that they should avail themselves of the opportunity before the first meeting of the Beechworth

118 Chiltern Standard, 19 November 1859, p.2.
Presbytery was held at Beechworth on 6 June when the matter would be discussed.\textsuperscript{119} It is not recorded how many signed the petition, but the Chiltern Presbyterians were successful in their call to the Reverend Seaborne. On 24 June, despite the torrents of rain, the church was reported to have been filled by the congregation gathered to witness the formal induction of their new pastor.\textsuperscript{120}

At the 1861 Census of Victoria there were 80,103 Presbyterians in the colony (16 per cent of the population), but for the approximately 60,000 belonging to the United Presbyterian Church,\textsuperscript{121} there were only 55 ministers, 19 of whom were at work in and around Melbourne.\textsuperscript{122} The same Census did not include a denominational breakdown at Chiltern, but to have acquired a pastor specifically for their own use, the efforts of the Chiltern Presbyterians were surely strenuous.

In another news item on 12 May 1860, the paper explained how, according to the rules of the Presbytery, the minimum salary payable to settled ministers was £300 per annum. Messrs. Ballantyne and MacMillan (the latter was based at Beechworth), fearing that the amount would be too heavy for the

\textsuperscript{119} Chiltern Standard, 30 May 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{120} Federal Standard, 27 June 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{121} See Malcolm Prentis, The Scots in Australia (Sydney 1983) for background information on United Presbyterians in Australia, pp.221 and 246.
\textsuperscript{122} In brief, until 1843, the Church of Scotland was the dominant and established church in that country. The interference of the state in the Church of Scotland, mainly through the Church allowing patrons to present ministers to parishes rather than allowing the congregations to call them, was largely behind almost one-third of the Church of Scotland seceding to form the Free Church of Scotland. Of Scottish immigrants to Australia, approximately 85 per cent were Presbyterians, the remainder Episcopalians (Scottish Anglican) and Catholics. Of the Presbyterians, about 60 per cent were Church of Scotland, and the remaining 40 per cent Free Church and other seceders. That the Chiltern Presbyterians issued a call to the Reverend Seaborne suggests they belonged to the Free Church, although by 1859 in Victoria, there was union of most Presbyterian groups. Increasingly it had become clear to Presbyterians in the colonies that however necessary their divisions were at home, they were irrelevant to the Australian situation where the State did not intrude.
\textsuperscript{122} Aeneas Macdonald, One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in Victoria (Melbourne 1937), p.65.
Chiltern congregation, had proposed that the Reverend Seaborne divide his attention between Yackandandah and Chiltern, with each paying a proportional share of the salary. Although the Reverend Seaborne had only been at Chiltern some six months he was said to have been well liked by the people, and when he sought their opinion on the matter, they declined the idea of a division, and themselves to raise the whole money themselves.\textsuperscript{123}

But in the meantime, the Presbytery at Melbourne had seen fit to make a rule of church guidance the very unpopular one of interfering in money questions between congregations and their ministers. No doubt based on advice from a local church member, the paper offered an explanation for the Assembly's decision; suggesting the decision had been based on a 'little misunderstanding'.\textsuperscript{124}

When the Reverend Seaborne had first gone to Chiltern, an arrangement was made that until the congregation was sufficiently wealthy he should receive from the committee a guaranteed sum of £260 yearly. He was told by the committee that this was all they could give for a time, and that all other fees and takings must go to the general fund. The question of referring marriage fees to the Presbytery was also raised, but as this was looked to as a source of revenue to meet the promised expense, the committee considered that the fees belonged to them.\textsuperscript{125}

However, on 4 May the Melbourne Assembly passed a resolution that congregations should have no voice in the apportionment of those fees in which a minister alone was concerned. One of these fees was the marriage fee.

\textsuperscript{123} Chiltern Standard. 12 May 1860, p.2.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
Apparently the Reverend Seaborne had made some complaint to the Assembly, and then changed his mind, since commenting on the Assembly’s resolution, the Standard was glad that he had given up ‘this very obnoxious attempt at interfering with what strictly ought to rest with the laity,’ and with still greater satisfaction it recorded that ‘our Chiltern committee had determination enough to insist on their rights to collect their monies and apportion them in their own way’.

Summing up thus far, the frequent newspaper accounts of the Chiltern Presbyterian community reflects a well-established church and strong local identity. It is worth noting Prentis’ observation that, although there were regional differences in church attendances throughout the colony, the ability of the Presbyterian Church to maintain a strong presence and hold the loyalty of the Scots in any area, required that it provide a settled ministry and church building. The prosperity of the Presbyterian cause, therefore, was cumulative. If an area had a high proportion of Scots and if that population contained significant numbers of wealthy members then the cause would flourish and continue to do so. If, however, the area had a lower population of Scots, of more modest wealth, then the Church usually got off to a late start and remained backward. But at Chiltern this was not the case. The congregation were obviously not wealthy, yet there are indications that the Presbyterian community was a small, but strong body. The paper’s contribution in this instance, of putting on record their activities, and in so doing, giving significance and strength to that church’s development cannot be dismissed. However, because of the prominence given to Presbyterian events, a reader of the Standard could be forgiven for believing that the Presbyterian

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126 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
Church was the only, or at least the dominant one at Chiltern. The Church of England was surprisingly slow to make its presence felt.

It was not until the end of October 1859, in an advertisement announcing that divine service would be held the following Friday at 6.30 p.m. in the Church of England School room, that those interested in the advancement of the Church of England at Chiltern were earnestly requested to attend. Interest seems to have been uncertain - the notice only indicated that measures 'might' be taken to secure regular Sunday services according to the Rubric of the Church of England. Services were spasmodic and held only when a minister could attend. The same advertisement indicated that the Reverend W.L. Corbet-Howard was coming from Beechworth, and two months later, a similar advertisement advised that the Reverend Mr. Booth, Curate of St. Peter's, Melbourne would officiate at the Indigo on the following Sunday. Readers attention was again drawn to the intention of forming a regular congregation in the locality. Although no figure was given, it was thought the number of members of the Church of England at Chiltern warranted such a movement. It was only surprising, the paper remarked, that such a movement had been left so long in abeyance. The Presbyterians, the Wesleyans and Roman Catholics, had all had churches for some time.

The foundation stone of St. Paul's Church of England was not laid for another ten years - on 25 April 1870. Prior to this services were held in a weatherboard building with bark roof between Main and Park Streets. Church affairs continued to remain backward, with ministers from other

129 Chiltern Standard, 29 October 1859, pp. 2,3.
130 Ibid.
131 Federal Standard, 23 April 1920, p.2. Article entitled 'Jubilee of St. Paul's Church Chiltern'. The design of the church was reported to have been the same as a church still in existence in an Irish village.
districts visiting periodically, until 8 May 1867 when His Lordship, the Bishop of Melbourne presided over a meeting to which he gave such pecuniary encouragement that, only two months later, on 1 July 1867 the Reverend James Graham Love was appointed as the first resident minister. Having secured a resident clergyman and regular services, the church committee took steps to obtain land and establish a building fund. The first building committee appears to have been formed on 15 August 1867 and comprised Messrs. Arrowsmith, Bennett, Chatter, and Tuck, and the first trustees appointed in 1869 were James Graham Love, Charles James Lloyd, Robert Arrowsmith, James J. Roberts and George Rhynehart.132

Although the formation of a church was slow, the Church of England School, subsidised by the Government Education Board, had been established in a portable structure, as early as October 1858, at the back of the Township Claim.133 Between 1851 and 1862, Victorian schools were conducted under a dual system of National and State subsidised Denominational schools. The National schools were owned and operated by the state primarily for the purpose of secular instruction, although religious instruction by local arrangement was not prohibited. The Denominational schools were operated by church authorities who controlled the appointment of teachers and the use of the buildings for religious instruction.134 In April 1860, Mr. and Mrs. Scott announced, by advertisement, that they had taken charge of the school. Instruction would be given in all the ordinary branches of a sound English education, with French, Latin and Greek taught if required. Although night

132 Ibid.
133 Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 16 June 1860, p.2.
134 Denis Grundy, Secular, Compulsory and Free (Melbourne 1972), p.7. It was not until 1862 that National and Denominational schools were brought together to form the Common Schools system, where both were administered by the Board of Education. See also L.J. Blake, (ed.), Vision and Realisation, vol.1. (Melbourne 1972), pp.3–71 passim, who provides an account of early goldfield schools and the establishment and role of the Denominations Board.
school was conducted each evening, except Wednesdays and Saturdays, between 7 and 9 p.m. for adults, there is no indication of how many, if any, adults took advantage of the classes.\textsuperscript{135}

On the occasion of the School Inspector’s visit on 7 June that year there were 73 children present, with a total of 108 girls and boys on the roll.\textsuperscript{136} Children running wild were a common problem on the goldfields, but the deplorable state of the schools was probably not conducive to high attendance. The Church of England school at Chiltern had no flooring, no windows, no fireplace, no desks, no enclosed yard, nor any necessary conveniences for the teachers or the children. These matters would not be attended to, the \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser}, in an editorial on schools at Chiltern claimed, unless the people of Chiltern bestirred themselves to form local committees of management for the schools.\textsuperscript{137}

A Protestant School Soiree was subsequently held early in July 1860 for the purpose of raising funds to floor the school house and to provide a stove for the winter months. Mr. Finn occupied the chair, and after some singing by the children, the meeting was addressed by a speaker named Richards. But the same apathy which surrounded the establishment of a church is evident. Was it to shame the Anglicans that the same news column reported how at the Presbyterian Church Soiree the previous evening, every seat (we are not told

\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 11 April 1860, p.4. Twenty-three night schools were operating in Melbourne and country districts with a total enrolment of 498 in 1862. \textit{Blake, op. cit.}, p. 91.

\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Ovens and Murray Advertiser}, 16 June 1860, p.2. The \textit{Advertiser} was commenting on schools at Chiltern as part of its editorial complaining about the unsatisfactory schools inspection system, and the alleged bigotry of the Presbyterian minister. See page 150.

\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.} In 1857, Edward Parker, a Denomimational Schools Inspector deplored the delapidated state of many Victorian schools which barely afforded shelter from sun or storm, and in 1863, Inspector Gilbert Wilson Brown described the Chiltern Common School as ‘open to the wind and rain; unsafe’. \textit{Blake, op. cit.}, p.38 and 94.
how many) was occupied. At this meeting Commissioner Gaunt took the chair, and those present were addressed by the Revs. Seaborne, Jackson, and Crisp, and Councillor Brown from Beechworth. A considerable sum was raised toward the cost of the school building.138

Despite the apparent lack of interest in the Protestant School - although prior engagements or winter colds could have been a factor - another meeting was, however, held the following month at the Crystal Fountain Hotel to appoint a committee to undertake the management of the school. Again, Mr. Finn took the chair, and together with Messrs. Shepherd, Moore, Scott, Winchcombe and Hunter (of Hunter’s Book Store) was elected. The list of names were then forwarded to the Reverend Howard at Beechworth who was to send them to the Denominations Board for approval.139

The news columns of the Standard indicate that there was only minimal involvement in church and school affairs by the Church of England community. Their involvement may have been greater but merely not published. But what of the other major denominations - the Wesleyans and Catholics?

The lack of news about Wesleyan activities at Chiltern is especially strange, particularly in view of that church’s extraordinary success on the Victorian goldfields. The main reason for their success was the initiative allowed the laity. In certain localities where a minister could seldom attend, it was not uncommon for laymen to found a congregation, start a Sunday-school, and even build a church before enlisting the services of a minister.140

In similar circumstances, the Anglicans tended to complain to Bishop Perry

about the absence of a clergyman. In Victoria, the Anglican Church had slightly fewer adherents than the more popular Presbyterian, Methodist and other non-conformist churches, mainly, several historians have suggested, because it was based on formal English traditions and was less adaptable to the free and easy atmosphere of the gold-diggings.

We know there was a Wesleyan Church at Chiltern because they allowed the Presbyterians the temporary use of their chapel, and we know there was a Wesleyan school because of a fuss over schools at Chiltern. But none of this information came directly from the Wesleyan community.

In a letter to the editor on 20 June 1860, signed by 'Fair Play' (again, almost certainly Mott), and headed 'Schools on Chiltern', the writer wished to reply to comments made by one of the Standard's contemporaries at Beechworth.

The cause of this letter was the Ovens and Murray Advertiser's editorial entitled 'Denominational Schools at Chiltern' on 16 June in which the Reverend McMillan, the Presbyterian Minister at Beechworth (who administered the Chiltern Presbyterian Church) was accused of bigotry because he refused to join with the Wesleyan Church in an application for a combined school grant. Despite the Presbyterian minister's reluctance, the Advertiser claimed the issue had nevertheless resolved itself into a union between the Church of England and Wesleyan schools. The resulting large number of children who would attend the school at Chiltern would entitle it to Government aid for an assistant.

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141 Ibid.
142 Bate, op. cit. p.20 and p.29, Blainey (LHW). op. cit. p.209; and Kiddle, op. cit. p.446.
144 Ovens and Murray Advertiser, 16 June 1860, p.2.
teacher and sewing mistress. "Thus", the editorial concluded, "Mr. McMillan's bigoted objections are overcome".145

Replying to this account, 'Fair Play' intimated that he knew something of the circumstances and facts of the case. He thought it only right in the spirit of justice and fair play that the well-known maxim 'audi alterum partem' [hear the other side] (the same motto Mott used for the Border Post) be borne in mind. Further, he claimed, it was decidedly unfair that a gentleman in every sense of the term, to say nothing of his high and sacred functions as a clergyman, should have been subjected to such prejudiced, unfair and one-sided statements.146

He continued to point out that three schools had been established at Chiltern; the Denominational rather than National system being preferred. One was nominally the Wesleyan, another Episcopalian, and the third belonged to the Roman Catholics. But Mather (the previous Church of England school teacher) 'whose propensity to veer to all points of the ecclesiastical compass as might suit his circumstances';147 had taken over the management of the Wesleyan school. He had found out, however, 'that the Wesleyans had already received from the Government coffers more than they were entitled to';148 but apparently requiring more, they had applied through the Presbyterian Minister at Beechworth for a further one hundred pounds or more from the fund for educational purposes, even though the Presbyterians were entitled to this amount under the existing Government arrangements.149

145 Ibid.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
The Reverend McMillan, knowing that the Wesleyans contemplated starting their own school at Chiltern, and knowing that the whole circumstances of the case did not warrant the establishment of a combined school, had declined any such arrangements. Hence the Beechworth paper's accusations of bigotry and obstructionism to the Reverend McMillan because of his opposition to a united school at Chiltern. 'Fair Play' said in conclusion that the Church of England school had no connection with the Wesleyans or any other denomination, and it was his opinion that the Wesleyans would have been the first to repudiate any connection with so theological a weathercock.150

The bickering between the Chiltern and Beechworth papers make the accuracy of these conflicting and confusing stories difficult to assess, but from the tone of 'Fair Play's' letter, Mott was clearly sympathetic towards and supportive of the Presbyterian Church. Although he was married in the Church of England, Clifton Mott has noted that in the early family records the English Motts were dissenters from the Established Church, evidence of which continued well into the 19th century.151 A return to the Established Church appears to have taken place with the marriage of Mott's father, but it is not unlikely that Mott was impressed by the Presbyterian Church, and if he was not actually part of the congregation, had cultivated friends and contacts who kept him well provided with local church news.

While his claims that the Wesleyan school had already 'received from the Government coffers more than they were entitled to ...' suggests he was critical of that church's administration, this is insufficient evidence to deduce that he allowed sectarian differences to influence his reporting of church news. It is more probable that the character of the Wesleyan Church can explain the

150 Ibid.
151 Mott, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
almost total absence of reported Wesleyan affairs. A moderate and sober people they 'were men not given to rant and rhapsody in devotion, nor making a stir in public life ...'\textsuperscript{152} especially it would seem, in making public their activities in the local paper.

News of the Catholics was also sparse. A small notice on 17 March 1860 announcing that the Holy Sacrifice would be offered up the following morning at Mt. Pleasant [on the Indigo] at 9.30 a.m. and Chiltern at 11 a.m., is a rare indication of the Catholic Community’s presence.\textsuperscript{153} Despite the lack of published news, other sources suggest a substantial Catholic population. The first indication is an apparently large Irish population. The Irish, as already noted, were prominent in the Christmas Games, and in 1862, an advertisement announced that the Chiltern and Barnawartha Relief Fund had been formed to raise funds for the distressed poor in Ireland. Among the 30-man committee are the names of many mentioned in 1859-60 issues of the paper, including W. Gaunt, Henry Nickless (Manager of the Sons of Freedom Claim), J. Sutherland (coach-builder and wheelwright), Drs. Hutchinson and McMullin, Robert Arrowsmith (Mining Surveyor), Andrew Kilgour (blacksmith), A. Kerr, W.C. Hunter (bookseller and newsagent), and C. Kidd of the Star Theatre.\textsuperscript{154} These were men prominent in commercial and professional life in Chiltern, and even allowing that some like Gaunt, who chaired the Presbyterian Church Soirée, and Hunter who was elected to the Protestant School Committee, were Protestant Irish, or not even Irish, it remains a mystery why Catholic news, through one of these members, was not passed on to the Standard.

\textsuperscript{152} Blamires and Smith quoted in Howe, \textit{op. cit.}, p.16.
\textsuperscript{153} \textit{Chiltern Standard}, 17 March 1860, p.3.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Federal Standard}, 4 October 1862, p.3.
While the Irish because they were rapidly absorbed into the broader Australian society and culture, formed much less of an ethnic community in 19th century Australia than they did in other countries, wherever they settled there were always Protestant alarmists who denounced the Irish and over-rated their cohesiveness. There were always those eager to exploit Protestant fears of popery.\(^\text{155}\)

Nevertheless the secular versus church education matter did not really come to a head until later in the 1860's, by which time anti-catholicism was strong amongst non-Anglican Protestants, many of whom opposed all forms of state aid to religion. Many shared John Dunmore Lang's view that Catholic educational claims were part of that church's plotting and scheming for power, and a means of attracting Protestant converts to Romanism.\(^\text{156}\) However, while Mott obviously admired Lang, again there is no evidence in the pages of the Standard that he shared his bias, and thus discouraged or failed to publish Catholic news items. To have done so would have been economic folly, especially if the Catholics, or Wesleyans, constituted a major part of the reading population.

The Chiltern Catholics did not have their own priest, but shared Father Daniel Lordon from the Catholic Mission at Beechworth until he departed early in 1860. The whole of the north-eastern district - extending from Rutherglen to the upper reaches of the Murray and up the Mitta over the Omeo was left to the care of his young assistant Father William Tierney who was consequently seldom out of the saddle.\(^\text{157}\)

\(^{155}\) Colm Kiernan (ed.), Ireland and Australia pp. 28–30.
The discovery of gold not only altered the geographical pattern of religious needs in Victoria, but brought about a rapid population increase, unable to be met by the churches. The great scarcity of priests was helped little by those who did arrive - who were frequently young and inexperienced, or spoke no English.\(^{158}\)

Conditions in Australia not only tended to leave the church at the mercy of badly qualified volunteers, but priests were worn down by heat, isolation and inadequate resources, and frequently unreceptive or hostile settlers and officials. Conditions were sufficient to cause some to suffer breakdowns and others to turn to drink.\(^{159}\)

When Father Lowden, and later Father Tierney were able to attend at Chiltern, Mass was probably held under canvas at first, although a wooden chapel apparently soon followed and was used until 1869 when steps were taken to replace this old wooden building with a fine stone and brick church.\(^{160}\)

Apart from the Church of England school, the Catholic school was the only other receiving Government assistance. At Black Dog Creek, what was described by the Schools Inspector as a very excellent school house, was in operation by 1859. The 40 by 18 feet building, had boarded sides and a shingle roof with a wooden floor.\(^{161}\) Attendance was apparently no better than at the Church of England school however, for on the occasion of the Denominational Schools Inspector’s visit in June 1860, there were 45 names on the roll, but only 29 children present.\(^{162}\)

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\(^{159}\) Ibid.

\(^{160}\) Esbworth, op. cit. p.395.

\(^{161}\) Ibid. p.388.

\(^{162}\) Owen and Murray Advertiser, 16 June 1860, p.2.
Commenting on the Inspector’s visit, the Beechworth Advertiser, again in its editorial on the Schools Inspection system, believed the school was progressing favourably under the management of Michael Petit, but was concerned that because Father Tierney could only occasionally visit Chiltern to hold Mass, the school was virtually left under the uncontrolled management of the teacher.\textsuperscript{163}

In this comment possibly lies the clue to the almost total absence of news about the Catholic community, and the apparent apathy within the Church of England. Each denomination shared two common features - the absence of their own regular priest or minister, and the formal requirements of each institution, such as the administering of the sacraments. Unlike the Wesleyan community, the laity could not assume responsibility for church matters and were consequently left like ships without an anchor. For such institutions to flourish, for the people to have regarded a physical church structure as their own, they needed their own religious leader, or at least one who attended regularly, to encourage local involvement and action. How different was the involvement of Anglican members in such newsworthy events as forming committees, acquiring land and organising church building plans after the Bishop’s encouraging visit and the acquisition of a resident minister in 1867.

\textit{Because of the conspicuous presence of the Presbyterian community, a definite sense of identity has been observed in the Standard’s reporting of Presbyterian church news. The more publicity-shy character of the Wesleyan community, however, has clouded the extent of identity which may have existed, but which was not expressed in the paper, and the Anglicans and}

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.
Catholics, because they were without leadership, had yet to develop a sense of belonging at Chiltern.
CONCLUSION

This investigation was prompted by Buxton’s observation that the publication of a country newspaper was important for the development of a sense of identity in a town. So convinced was he of the value of a newspaper in this role that he wrote:

... indeed it is difficult to imagine any town developing beyond a certain stage in the latter half of the century without one, and in southern New South Wales none did.\(^1\)

But when applied to this study of a mid-19th century Victorian goldfield town, his findings must be qualified. What has emerged in this study is that the *Standard* was not responsible for developing to the extent that Buxton suggests, a sense of local identity in these foundation years. Instead, through its editorial and news columns, the paper could only express and strengthen that identity which already existed. Resident interests and actions in forming political associations, sporting clubs and so on, were all indications of local identity, and it was by favourably reporting and commenting on these activities that the paper reinforced and gave strength to the identity these movements represented. One historian has noted that for those readers predisposed to a certain attitude, a newspaper can confirm that inclination by articulating policies, reasoning them out and giving them a halo of authority.\(^2\)

In other words, for those who showed concern for their future at Chiltern by seeking political and economic change in the form of land availability and local

\(^{1}\) Buxton, *op.cit.*, p.71.

facilities, the paper's comments offered reassurance that their efforts and achievements were worthwhile.

To return to the two questions posed in the Introduction, the Standard was, through its reporting of mining, sporting and religious activities, able to express definite instances of local identity, but these instances were, however, too fragmented for it to successfully promote social cohesion.

The question arises why did the observed identity remain fragmented, unable to coalesce? In other words, why did the residents continue to see themselves merely as Chiltern miners, or Chiltern businessmen or Chiltern Presbyterians rather than part of the greater collective community?

An indication of how fragmented the community was can be seen if we hypothetically compare it to present-day Chiltern. While a storekeeper or hotel owner may now officially describe himself as a Chiltern businessman with specific interests, in general terms he would possibly see himself as a 'Chilternite'. Similarly, while supporters of a football team pursue different interests, at a game they see themselves as a combined body - as supporters of team X or Y.

The unsettled state of the colony emerged as a major contributing factor behind the persistence of sectional interests as Chiltern. The unavailability of land generally, the lack of alternate employment opportunities for the mining community, and the lack of appropriate guidelines for township land sales were reflected in the new settlement, causing dissension which permeated all sections of the community.
Furthermore, the emergence of a local identity, especially in relation to local churches, depended on the varying responses of the individual institutions to disorder in the colony generally, and specifically at Chiltern. An established institutional structure, specific leadership and community initiative, were found to be necessary prerequisites for the development of a feeling of local belonging.

Yet another factor which affected the extent of identity which could be expressed by the paper and its ability to promote cohesion was Mott’s perception of how a newspaper man should gather his news. In October 1859, he gave an address on the press to the Albury Mechanics Institute. His talk included the early art of printing, the influence of the contemporary press in Europe and America, and the following quotation by Thomas Carlyle:

A Times leader [said] Thomas Carlyle, is got up in the following manner ... [the writer] rushes into the clubs, into London society, rolls about all day, copiously talking modish nonsense and listens to the like, with the multifarious miscellany of man; comes home at night, redacts it into a Times leader, and is found to have hit the essential purport of the world’s immeasurable babblement. 3

What Carlyle was saying is that not only is the choice of editorial comment (at least in western countries) governed by an editor’s assessment of his readers’ interests and attitudes, but also by a newspaper’s sources of information.

Within a community, institutional leaders, including prominent businessmen, elected councillors, local government officials, and the clergy can

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3 Border Post, 22 October 1859, pp.2-3.
have a decisive influence on local newspaper content. At Chiltern, certain sections of the business community, mining companies, and representatives of the medical and legal professions emerged as the dominant leaders of thought who were involved in political meetings, drawing up petitions, and arranging sporting and church events. The probable influence of Oscar Smith, Charles Horsfall, Peter (?) Finn and William Hunter, for example, was noted. These leaders had a definite anchor at Chiltern either in the form of a financial commitment to mining in the area or a strong institutional church structure which fostered their attachment to the town. These same leaders used the local paper to promote their interests, and the paper, in turn, used them as its key source of background information, and hence news for its readers.

But relying heavily on such sources may lead an editor to dismiss opposing views as ill-founded. It was noted in Section two how the paper failed to express alternative views over the township land issue. Encouraged by his leading sources of information, and believing the community as a whole shared his optimism for the future of Chiltern and the Border district, Mott’s advocacy consequently went beyond the immediate concerns of a large section of the population, thus flawed his ability to promote unity. It also became apparent that apart from his sources of information, Mott’s own personal and pecuniary interests, especially the survival of the Standard, shaped the views he was prepared to promote and strengthen.

The fragmented identity observed in this study was a foundation upon which social cohesion could be built, and if we look to the future, a further study of Chiltern might show that it realised its full potential when certain conditions were fulfilled - namely the provision of town land, the attention of an editor whose interests were compatible with those of the community, and

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4 Jackson, op. cit. p.43.
even perhaps, an outside threat such as the proposal a few years later to construct the north-eastern railway line through Beechworth instead of Chiltern.⁵

Despite the exodus to the Wahgunyah rush, not everyone left Chiltern. In 1861, after more had followed the Lachlan and Kiandra rushes, 1100 remained at the Chiltern township and a further 3412 on the Indigo, including Indigo diggings proper, Christmastown, Indigo Lead and Lower Black Dog Creek.⁶ Those who remained undoubtedly included those miners and shareholders who, because of the money they had invested in deep-lead mining, had a committment to stay at Chiltern.

Finally in September 1861, the first town land sales were conducted and Mott and Anderson were amongst those who bought land. A document marked 'Special Lands Purchase' (Appendix C) indicates that on 23 September 1861, Lot 62, Allotment 14 of Section P, Township of Chiltern East, Parish of Chiltern, was offered for sale by public auction. Thirty-seven perches in area in Main Street were purchased by Mott and Anderson for £11.11.6.⁷ On 11 March 1869, prior to Mott's departure from the north-east, the whole of this land was transferred to Anderson for £20. (Appendix D).⁸

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⁷ Registrar General's Office, Office of Titles, Register No.5. Special Lands Purchase, Folio No.885.
⁸ Registrar General's Office, Office of Titles, Memorial No.150, Book 168.
Following the land sales a preliminary meeting of gentlemen interested in the progress of the new township was held at the Empire Hotel. After considerable discussion it was determined to hold a public meeting where, on Thursday, 24 October 1861, it was resolved:

That it is the opinion of this meeting that a committee be elected which shall have for its special object the general improvement of the township and that said committee shall take whatever steps are necessary for the establishment of a municipality.\(^9\)

The committee elected were Messrs. Turner, Kilgour, Horsfall, Shepard, Rhodes, McCleland, Pendelbury, Kerr, Crouch, Braithwaite, Anderson and Scott. Regular meetings were ordered to be held every Thursday evening.\(^10\)

The telegraph had now been connected, a new court house built, and with town land sales, Chiltern was no longer a temporary mining settlement, but on the way to being a well-established town. Undoubtedly, certain problems, common to many communities, still arose, but with a more secure future, residents could now channel their efforts into developing 'their town'. A later study of Chiltern as an established town might show that the paper was able to express the interests and identity of wider sections of the community who saw themselves as a permanent rather than temporary residents. It is worth noting the more diverse composition of the above township committee where, with the exception of Messrs. Turner, Kilgour and Horsfall, the remaining names are those not prominent in earlier Standard accounts of residents' activities. Similar observations of the composition of the Chiltern Racing Club and Anglican Church committees after the town had achieved a more permanent status were also noted in Section three.

\(^10\) Ibid.
But whether the extent of identity expressed in the future could be more than one-dimensional or selective, would also depend on the contacts the editor chose and the willingness of community groups to publicise their activities. C.R. Hoffer also pointed out that it is easy for some sections of the community to be missed, and he spoke of the obligations of the community to co-operate with a newspaper man in supplying news. However, he stressed that the initiative must come from the editor who is often not interested in news which does not coincide with his interests.\textsuperscript{11} A later study might also show that as editor, George Anderson, who made his home at Chiltern, was more interested in the pedestrian needs of a country town. It is clear that a town without a promising future could not hold the interest of the far-seeing, dynamic and entrepreneurial Mott. Significantly, Clifton Mott has commented (probably based on family hearsay) that 'George was never content, the goal for him was always over the hill, and over the hill he went'.\textsuperscript{12}

Mott continued to be involved in local affairs, particularly at Albury where he was Mayor between 1868-69, but in March 1869 he wound up his affairs with the intention of settling in Fiji where he had an interest in the Polynesia Company, a cotton-growing enterprise. However, the massacre of white settlers on the Rewa River, the depreciation of the value of the cotton crops, and differences of opinion with other directors of the company over its management, caused him to alter his mind and dispose of his shares. In June 1869 he went to Hamilton to join George Robinson in publishing the Hamilton \textit{Spectator}.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} Hoffer quoted in McIntyre, \textit{op. cit.} p.248.
\textsuperscript{12} Men of the Time, \textit{op. cit.}
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
It was George Mott who printed John Feltham Archibald’s (co-founder and editor of the Bulletin) first article in the Spectator for half a crown. "... the sweetest money I ever earned ... Bon Mott" recalled Archibald. He also recalled how he used to drink with Mott at Scotts Hotel. Mott called him Jack, "but I could not bring myself to address him as anything but Mr. Mott."

At Hamilton, Mott was involved in the railway agitation to obtain the line from Ararat; he initiated the Dundas and Villiers Railway Association to secure the railway for those western localities left out in the cold; he was involved in education movements which led to the establishment of Collegiate Schools in Hamilton, he formed the Hamilton Gas Company of which he was the first Chairman.

In 1885 he left Hamilton, coming to Melbourne where for nine years, he was Managing Director of Gordon and Gotch, publishers, until failing health brought on his resignation in 1893. But he could not keep out of newspapers and he bought back the Kew Mercury, started and then sold some years earlier by his son Walter, which he continued to run until his health forced his retirement. He died at his home on 7 January 1906.

Certain aspects of Chiltern’s early social life remain obscure, yet despite its limitations as an historical source, the Standard newspaper has, nevertheless, left us with a valuable and permanent, if only partial, record of the

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16 Obituary Notice, Essendon Gazette, 11 January 1906, p.5.
community’s achievements, quarrels, local personalities and life-style. It is a record, too, not only of the precarious existence of a gold-field newspaper but of the newspaper man behind its ultimate survival, without which we would be historically poorer.
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