"AN EXTREMELY SCURRILOUS PAPER"

THE CORNWALL CHRONICLE: 1835-47

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INTRODUCTION

On the 9th of February 1847, Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a circular despatch to all colonies under the British Crown requesting that they provide him with details of each of the major newspapers that were currently operating. This was nothing new. Grey commented in the despatch that it had been a common practice for a number of years and that "there are no means by which Her Majesty's Government may become acquainted with the general tone and temper of Colonial Society so readily as through the Colonial Press." He wanted information on the circulation of each paper, to which classes in society each might appeal and the general character of the particular paper. He stressed that all despatches on this subject would be confidential.

Governor William Denison of Van Diemen's Land referred the matter to Colonial Secretary J.E. Bicheno on the 21 July 1847. Bicheno's confidential reply noted that the north of the colony supported two journals published twice weekly, the Cornwall Chronicle and the Launceston Examiner. He also commented that Mr. William Lushington Goodwin, editor of the former, was once again its sole

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1 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Volume XXV, (Sydney, 1925), p. 354

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proprietor. When Goodwin had become insolvent he had managed the business, paying rent to Mr. John Cameron who bought it at public auction. Bicheno continued: "It has usually been an extremely scurrilous paper, and does not possess much influence amongst the more respectable classes of Society, but it is extensively circulated amongst the Licensed Victuallers, and read by many who love personalities. It advocates the continuance of transportation to this Colony." \(^2\) The Launceston Examiner, on the other hand, was considered to be "a very respectable paper especially amongst the better sort of persons on the Northern side." \(^3\) It was also acknowledged as being the advocate of the cessation of transportation.

Governor Denison forwarded this reply to Earl Grey on the 10th of November 1847 and added some remarks of his own, including the fact that this information might, to a certain extent, be outdated by the time it was received because newspapers appeared to change hands and because "the character of a paper is in this Colony so entirely dependent upon that of its Editor." \(^4\)

This thesis examines and analyses the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle from 1835 until 1847 with reference to

\(^2\) Tasmanian Historical Research Association Paper and Proceedings, Volume 3, (Hobart, 1954) p. 88

\(^3\) Ibid

\(^4\) Ibid
the observations of Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary Bicheno and Governor Denison and within the context of the prevailing social, economic and political conditions.

The analysis of any newspaper includes the development of the newspaper itself, but also takes into account the "perceptions and experiences of its readers as reflected in the content." All components of a newspaper's content ought to be analysed if conclusions are to be drawn about that particular newspaper reflecting the society in which it operates. For example, an analysis of the content of the notices and advertisements gives an indication of the goods and services available, as well as what percentage of space in the newspaper is devoted to advertising. The editorial comment, on the other hand, can act as a guide to understanding the views of the readers and the correspondent's page can indicate that audience's reaction to an issue. However, not all readers would view the contents of a newspaper in the same way, and the fact that an item may appear frequently does not necessarily reflect its importance. With these constraints therefore, what is to be gained from an analysis of the content? By analysing the content of a newspaper we are able to examine the way of life as it is expressed for those readers at that particular time, and

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5 V. Berridge, "Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers", in M. Harris and A. Lee (ed), The Press in English Society, (Rutherford, 1986), p. 207
to use Earl Grey's words, "become acquainted with the general tone and temper of Colonial Society." 6

The Introduction to the thesis provides the frame of reference as well as some background information on the settlement of Launceston. Part A examines the *Cornwall Chronicle* in terms of its general appearance and layout, the circulation and distribution, its editor and its competitors. Part A aims to establish the identity of this particular colonial newspaper.

Part B of the thesis aims to add to that identity by analysing the content of the newspaper. It examines some of the components of Van Diemen's Land society as they are interpreted in the pages of the newspaper.

Part C addresses the issues of colonial administration, transportation, freedom of the press and scurrility as presented in the *Cornwall Chronicle* and within the broader colonial context. These issues have been selected because of their relevance to Van Diemen's Land society in general, and to an understanding of the character of the newspaper in particular.

The conclusion to the thesis relates the comments of Grey, Denison and Bicheno to this analysis. Because the

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6 *Historical Records of Australia Series 1, Volume XXV* op cit, p 354
relationship between any society and the newspaper(s) which serve it is a complex one, it is difficult to draw conclusions about that particular society. Nevertheless, the difficulty will be confronted.
Late in 1804, Lt. Col. William Paterson of the New South Wales Corps was given command of that part of Van Diemen's Land north of the 42 parallel known as the district of Cornwall. Governor P G King of New South Wales had received the order to occupy Port Dalrymple in a despatch from Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, in May of that year. Paterson had arrived at the mouth of the Tamar with convicts, soldiers, officers, women and children: a total of one hundred and eighty one people. He explored the North and South Esk Rivers and the Tamar, naming them in honour of Governor King who had been born in Launceston on the Tamar in Cornwall, England. Paterson decided on West Arm, York Town as the site for settlement.

The establishment of Launceston, first known as Ritchings Park, then Patersonia, as the main settlement and official headquarters of the district of Cornwall was not a foregone conclusion. In 1811 Governor Lachlan Macquarie visited the settlement at Launceston on a tour of inspection. However, he chose the site at George Town as the chief settlement of Port Dalrymple. Macquarie considered Launceston unsuitable for a number of reasons: the navigation of the river was awkward and dangerous,
fresh water was not readily available and the land was swampy, low lying and prone to flooding. All of these factors remained issues that affected the township and its inhabitants for many years to come: the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle bear witness to this.

But, as a site, Launceston had the advantage and attraction of close proximity to rich agricultural land and the support of Commissioner J T Bigge who had been sent out from England in 1820 to investigate the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land and recommend how they might be developed. By 1824 the decision had been made and the headquarters were transferred from George Town to Launceston. As a consequence, and with the added incentive of the separation of the colony of Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales in 1825, the town's development was hastened.

By 1835 the population of Launceston was 5041 inhabitants: this was made up of 1931 free males, 1261 free females, 1619 convict males and 230 convict females. The hinterland included the expanding settlements along the South Esk, the Macquarie and the Meander rivers: a hinterland that provided Launceston with a ready market and the means for a profitable export industry. Exports from Launceston were valued at over

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7 James Ross, Hobart Town Almanack and Van Diemen's Land Annual for 1835, (Hobart Town 1835), p. 47
eighty five thousand pounds, not much less than the nearly one hundred and twenty thousand pounds from Hobart Town.  

Volume 1 number 1 of the *Cornwall Chronicle*, printed and published by William Mann, George Street, Launceston, appeared on Saturday, 14 February 1835. It was a four page weekly which cost subscribers 13 shillings per quarter or 10 shillings if paid in advance. Single copies were one shilling each. "The *Cornwall Chronicle*, originally an opposition paper, under the name of The Independent, (is) now the property of Mr. Mann, who promises to conduct it on the broad and liberal principles of colonial and national prosperity." From Saturday April 18 1835, the *Cornwall Chronicle* was to be edited by William Lushington Goodwin, printed and published by William Mann.

H W H Smythe's map of Launceston provides an excellent basis for understanding the layout of the town at this time. "The map almost certainly represents the earliest urban land-use survey undertaken in Australia, and the plan is in advance of its time in cartographic
principles, notably in the classification of buildings." The initial notice which announced the near completion of Smythe's "Plan of the Town and Suburbs of Launceston, Van Diemen's Land" described Launceston as "a rapidly increasing town." Brisbane Street was the main street having the most number of public offices, stores and principal hotels. The town boundary was Hill Street to the west, Frankland Street to the south and Abbott Street to the east. "The town was restricted to the south bank of the North Esk and confined between the hills, a compact little town, roughly the area of the central business district and its immediate environs now."

James Backhouse's description dated the 19 of May, 1837, provides details of the town's general appearance. "Launceston has increased greatly in population and in good buildings, (most of which are of brick), since we first visited it. Many of the streets are macadamized..." William Mann, writing in the late 1830s, maintained that "In spite of all the opposition it

11 L. S. Bethell, The Story of Port Dalrymple, (Hobart, 1957), page 104
12 column 5 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 15 August 1835
has received, this town ...has improved more rapidly than any other in the Australian colonies."\(^{15}\) Mann arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1832 and was engaged in a range of pursuits which included writing and publishing *Six Years Residence in the Australian Colonies*. He preceded William Lushington Goodwin as the editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle*.

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was not the first newspaper in Launceston, having been preceded by the short-lived (only twenty issues) *Tasmanian and Port Dalrymple Advertiser*, established by George Terry Howe, in 1825. The *Launceston Advertiser* owned by John Pascoe Fawkner and the *Cornwall Press and Commercial Advertiser* belonging to S B Dowsett, were established at the same time, in 1829, as rivals. The *Cornwall Press* survived only four months, but two years later Dowsett began the *Launceston Independent* which ran until 31 January 1835, and had W L Goodwin as its Editor. The *Cornwall Chronicle*, founded by Mann, succeeded the *Independent* as its opening editorial states. The *Advertiser* remained however, and was to become a strong rival of the *Cornwall Chronicle*. It was taken over by the *Examiner*, set up in 1842, in January 1847.

\(^{15}\) W. Mann, *Six Years Residence in the Australian Provinces*, (London, 1839), p. 98
Launceston served a rural community. Notices and advertisements from the first edition of the *Cornwall Chronicle* are evidence of this: a cow impounded, Edmund Ferguson, veterinary surgeon, had changed premises, a farrier advertised his services and Charles Reid informed the inhabitants of Norfolk Plains and the settlers in the neighbourhood that he had new supplies, and would accept payment in grain, wool, bark and kangaroo skins.\(^{16}\) Launceston settlers could become members of the Ploughing Association\(^{17}\) or meet at White's Hotel in Brisbane Street with other members of the Agricultural Association.\(^{18}\)

The weekly references to shipping matters (notices of ships arriving and departing or captains notifying the townspeople that they would not assume responsibility for their crewmens' debts) indicate a busy and a profitable port. The Returns from the Customs Department for 1835 show the exports from Hobart Town were 140,537 pounds, compared with 169,581 pounds from Launceston.\(^{19}\) Launceston in 1835, had developed into a busy, little town. Its focus was both agricultural and maritime: "a curious rural air... a tang of the sea-breeze."\(^{20}\)

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\(^{16}\) column 3 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 February 1835

\(^{17}\) column 2 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 30 June 1838

\(^{18}\) column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 28 February 1835

\(^{19}\) page 98 W Mann, *Six Years Residence in the Australian Provinces*, London, Smith Elder & Co, 1839

\(^{20}\) L. S. Bethell, *op cit*, page 97
The colonial newspaper was not predictable in its layout. Circumstances made uniformity impossible. The quantity of space devoted to different types of news varied from issue to issue: overseas news might not have been available, neither might the paper for printing. "News travelled slowly and irregularly, and it was given to the public in the same style." According to Henry Mayer, it was not until the 1860s that much attention was paid to the attractive display of material. Until that time, the colonial newspaper consisted of "columns of closely packed type without a subheading to break the monotony," as well as "the promiscuous scattering of news items throughout the pages."

The arrangement of the material within a newspaper provides the initial impression of that newspaper's identity. An analysis of that arrangement can serve as a guide to the function of the newspaper and to an understanding of its components.

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21 H. Button, *Flotsam and Jetsam*, (Launceston, 1909), page 100
23 op cit

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The first edition of the *Cornwall Chronicle* was to provide the framework for the layout of the paper throughout the period 1835 until 1845 when major changes occurred. It was four pages long, each page was five columns wide and the pages were not numbered.

A brief comparison indicates that the *Cornwall Chronicle*, in its first year, was similar in content, if not in format, to its contemporaries. *The Colonial Times* was eight, numbered pages long, beginning with a page of advertisements. The editorial comment discussed transportation and convict discipline.\(^ {24} \) *The True Colonist* of Hobart Town however, was a daily. It included a similar editorial comment on the convict question and a range of advertisements\(^ {25} \).

Because the pages of the *Cornwall Chronicle* were not numbered until 1845, it is not always clear when

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\(^ {24} \) *The Colonial Times*, February 17, 1835  
\(^ {25} \) *The True Colonist*, 14 February 1835
additional pages were printed\textsuperscript{26}, although if a supplement was put out it was usually described as such. Supplements, usually containing advertisements or overseas material, were printed irregularly during the period 1835 until 1845.\textsuperscript{27}

The number of columns per page varied between five and six during the first three years of the paper's existence. By the end of 1837 the number was six and "with better type"\textsuperscript{28}. The following year, the editor had increased the number of columns per page to seven, "thereby increasing the means of general information and enabling me to render increased service to the friends of the Independent Press, and to Freedom."\textsuperscript{29} The editor acknowledged therefore, that a change to the layout of the "People's Journal"\textsuperscript{30} impacted upon his paper's identity and its role within colonial society.

A series of engravings, comprising both woodcuts and etchings, appeared between 1836 and 1838 as cartoons and

\textsuperscript{26} the editions of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} of 20 June 1840 and 22 August 1840 both had more than four pages.


\textsuperscript{28} J. Bonwick, \textit{Early Struggles of the Australian Press}, (London, 1890) page 39

\textsuperscript{29} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 4 August 1838

\textsuperscript{30} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 6 January 1838
caricatures, often of a political nature. The woodcuts appeared between 16 April 1836 and 15 April 1837 and the etchings between 29 July 1837 and 31 March 1838. On the 30 November 1839 and the 25 December 1841 two etchings appeared separately. This series provided the Cornwall Chronicle with perhaps the most unique and memorable feature of its layout, as well as a reputation for abusive and satirical comment on personalities of the day. 31 "It is believed that this is the first appearance of such a series in the Australian press." 32 The "Gallery of Comicalities" was the series name given to some of the woodcuts: they were often accompanied by either a verse or prose.

Some of this series are reputed to have been executed by Editor W L Goodwin himself, since several of the etchings bear his signature. 33 He may have been responsible for the original drawing however, and not necessarily the etching. The paper saw the woodcuts as operating for both the amusement and the advantage of the colonists in showing up "the inconsistencies and oddities of the day." 34 Nevertheless, the woodcuts created controversy

31 See Appendix 2 for a list of the engravings and dates of publication.
32 C. Craig, The Engravers of Van Diemen’s Land, (Launceston, 1961), page 116
33 See Appendix 2
34 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 16 April 1836
and described as being "of the most vulgar description", caused thirteen Launceston gentlemen to relinquish their subscriptions.\textsuperscript{35}

These were not the only illustrations to give diversity to the newspaper's layout. In the first edition, a picture of a horse and dismounted rider appeared above the heading "Entire Horses", and above the "To be sold by Public Auction" there was a drawing of an auctioneer with a raised hammer\textsuperscript{36}. There were also two small drawings of ships beside the shipping notices, for "London Direct" and "For the Cape of Good Hope".\textsuperscript{37} Towards the end of 1843 the layout altered with the appearance of more illustrations: for example, above the "Police Report", the section on "Coroner's Inquests" and "This Day's Post".

The front page of any newspaper is a vital one: readers would expect to find the most tempting and the most pressing information. From the first number in 1835 until the edition of June 6 1835, when the front page contained excerpts from English, French and Spanish papers, this page was laid out with advertisements and

\textsuperscript{35} column 2 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 23 April 1838
\textsuperscript{36} column 1 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 February 1835
\textsuperscript{37} column 4 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 February 1835
notices. By the October 12 1839 edition, the
advertisements and notices had returned to the front page
but there were changes again the following year. The 11
of January 1840 edition, now with seven columns per page,
contained details from the Court of General Quarter
Sessions on the front page: the advertisements had been
relegated to pages two and three.

No matter their location, the proportion of space taken
up by advertisements remained high, in some editions
averaging two out of the four pages of the paper.
However, there was little attempt to organise these
advertisements into any sort of ordered layout. The 25
January 1840 paper, for example, had seventy four
advertisements all together on the front page, with the
milch goats for sale among the situations vacant. By the
first edition of 1843, the front page advertisements were
laid out in seven columns with a greater degree of order.
For example, the four notices which referred to schools
and their re-opening dates after the Christmas break,
(the Dancing School, Mrs Hines, Mr Dowsett and Miss
Christison38), all follow each other.

The layout of the paper could be altered by the size of
the advertisements. By 1840 there was a greater variety

38 columns 4 & 5 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 7 January 1843
in the size of the advertisement, as well as the size of
the font used. For example, some advertisements were now
two columns wide and so the paper took on a different
appearance.\textsuperscript{39}

One explanation for the removal of advertisements and
notices from the front page may have been the arrival of
ships into Launceston with news from overseas. Overseas
news was an important and an integral part of the
colonial newspaper, on occasions taking precedence over
local items. Although isolated from the rest of the
world, Launceston readers were kept informed of a wide
variety of overseas events. British news was obviously
the most popular and regular accounts of the proceedings
of the British Parliament, as well as such events as the
coronation of Queen Victoria\textsuperscript{40} and the marriage of "the
sovereign lady"\textsuperscript{41}, were included.

News from either Sydney, Port Phillip and South Australia
and of course, from Hobart Town, appeared in every issue
of the paper. Extracts from Port Phillip and Sydney

\textsuperscript{39} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 29 August 1840
page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 5 September 1840
See Appendix 3

\textsuperscript{40} columns 2 & 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 10 November 1838

\textsuperscript{41} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 2 January 1841

20
papers also appeared. Because of Launceston's position in relation to the new settlements of Port Phillip, Swan River and Adelaide, the town profited from the demand for provisions, building materials and livestock.

Articles from other newspapers such as the Hobart Town Courier would be re-printed with an acknowledgment of their source, and sometimes with an editorial comment from the Cornwall Chronicle as a conclusion.

The editorial comment of the Cornwall Chronicle was located on either page two or page four. The editor usually chose to comment on local events, such as murders and drownings, bushfires and shipwrecks, as well as a range of colonial issues, from convict discipline to emigration to education to the wheat market. But lest the inhabitants should forget that they were a British colony, colonial matters would usually take second place to overseas news if a ship, carrying British newspapers, had just arrived.

The addition of the words "Commercial and Agricultural Register" to the title of the paper first appeared on 13 July 1839. This name change coincided with the move of the publishing office from George to Charles Street, at the rear of the Commercial and Agricultural Exchange.

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42 columns 5, 6 & 7 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 January 1840
This Exchange, whose establishment was announced earlier that year, was described as meeting "with promises of the warmest support from the gentlemen of town and country." April 1841 saw the addition of the word "naval" to the paper's name. The full title became, and remained for the period under discussion, the *Cornwall Chronicle and Commercial, Agricultural and Naval Register.* These changes to the newspaper's title were a reflection of the town's commercial focus as well as both the newspaper's and the editor's links with the Exchange. In the first edition for the New Year 1846, the title appeared in a banner which significantly altered the appearance of the front page.

*Cornwall Chronicle* readers were notified in the 3 October 1840 number that, as from the 7, the paper would be published on Wednesdays as well as Saturdays. There would be no additional charge to subscribers, but postage wouldn't be paid for either of the papers. The Wednesday edition, like the Saturday one, was four pages long and for the most part followed the same format. That is, page one was advertisements and notices, page two included local information with some editorial

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43 column 7 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 May 1839
44 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 April 1841
45 See Appendix 4.
46 column 3 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 October 1840
22
comment, page three had more advertisements which usually
carried over onto page four. Page four usually included
information from the Government Gazette.

However, the printing of the paper twice weekly at this
stage was short lived. The 16 January edition of the
following year, by way of explanation, merely stated
"circumstances which it is unnecessary to explain,
prevented our getting out last Wednesday's number." 47

Neither a second Cornwall Chronicle nor a supplement, The
Trifler and Literary Gleaner, "devoted to the
dissemination of useful and amusing and humorous
information", and including woodcuts, was planned for
publication by Goodwin in 1842. 48 Although its
publication date of October 1 was delayed 49, by 24
December there was acknowledgment of the public's
support, "beyond our expectation", for this "little
nonsense." 50 As a consequence the Trifler was to be
increased in size from the next quarter.

The Cornwall Chronicle returned to being published twice
weekly in November 1843: the Wednesday edition was the

47 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 January 1841
48 columns 3 & 4 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 3 September
1842
49 column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 October 1842
50 column 3 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 24 December 1842

23
same size as the Saturday one and first appeared on the 15 of the month. By July 1844, although still the same four pages in length and each page with seven columns, the Chronicle displayed more variety in its layout. This was particularly noticeable with the range of fonts used, with illustrations appearing with some advertisements, the use of white space and lines to mark off one advertisement from another.51

In March 1843 another change to the Cornwall Chronicle's appearance occurred. The 11 of March 1843 issue was smaller in size than previous editions, although still four pages in length. The explanation given was that because of the unavailability of either single or double demy, the paper had to be printed on crown.52 An advertisement for "a quantity of Double Demy" had appeared the week before.53 By May of that year the paper was back to a size closer to its original and still four pages.

The front page of the Cornwall Chronicle was to undergo variations to its appearance during 1843. For a brief period54, page one contained information from the Hobart

51 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 24 July 1844
See Appendix 5
52 columns 1 & 2 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 8 April 1843
53 column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 1 April 1843
54 beginning with the issue of 13 May 1843
Town Gazette only. By the 10 June edition however, advertisements had begun to reappear on this page together with the Hobart Town Gazette information. By 8 July it was back to advertisements only, with the Gazette information appearing on the back page.

For a variety of reasons, the Cornwall Chronicle, during the first decade of its existence had seen only relatively minor changes to its overall appearance. In 1845 however, it was a different circumstance that resulted in a more sophisticated appearance.

An accident to the press during the preparation of the previous Saturday's edition effected the most dramatic change to the layout since the first number. Although no details of the accident were provided, except that the press could not be fixed\textsuperscript{55}, the Cornwall Chronicle took the opportunity of making significant changes to the paper. The paper was to be increased to twelve pages, each three columns wide; the pages would be numbered and at the end of every year, a title page and index would be supplied so that the paper could be bound into a volume.\textsuperscript{56} The price, information regarding circulation, title, volume and number remained the same.

\textsuperscript{55} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 16 July 1845
\textsuperscript{56} column 2 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle July 26 1845
The advertisements on page one had now been replaced by local issues and overseas commentary. Readers were informed that space would be provided for the following topics: agriculture, horticulture, scientific, literary, legal, medical, religious, miscellaneous, political, biographical and poetical. Letters from correspondents on these topics was invited. This was a written acknowledgment of the range of issues that had always been covered in the paper's pages, although not always all of them each number. It was also a definite shift towards a more streamlined and organised-looking paper.

Other subtle changes occurred to the paper's format during that year. Headings such as "Livestock", "Arts and Sciences" and "Fashions" were included to separate sections and to group items of a similar nature together. Some subheadings were shaded and illustrations which had previously accompanied such notices as "Shipping News" and "Entire Horses" no longer appeared.

From the first edition, the Cornwall Chronicle established its direction and philosophy by the inclusion of a number of quotations within its pages. These quotations became an integral part of the paper's layout.

57    column page 58 Cornwall Chronicle 6 August 1845
58    column page 73 Cornwall Chronicle 13 August 1845
59    column page 74 Cornwall Chronicle August 13 1845

26
A quote from Milton, "This is true Liberty; when freeborn men Having to advise the Public, may speak out" preceded the first editorial comment. The quotation which was to become synonymous with the newspaper, "Honesty of Purpose and the good of our Adopted Country", appeared in the second edition of the paper. This quote, together with the lion and the unicorn, appeared on the front page from the edition of 11 April 1835. A second quotation, this time from the Roman historian Sallust, "Liberty with danger is to be preferred to slavery with security" was printed above the page two editorial comment. While the distribution of material within the paper altered from one edition to the next, the quotation, above the editorial comment, remained as a distinguishing feature.

The editorial comment in the Cornwall Chronicle was almost always identifiable because it was preceded by the title of the paper, the date and the quotations. Although it usually appeared on page two, it moved for a brief period to the back page in 1840.

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60 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 14 February 1835  
61 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 21 February 1835  
62 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 August 1835  
63 Between, and including, the editions of 20 June and 19 September 1840, the editorial comment appeared on page four of the paper.
Given the technology of nineteenth century printing and publishing, there are surprisingly few typographical errors in the layout of the newspaper. Incorrect location of letters, misspellings and the wrong date occurred on more than one occasion. "Haste" was the reason given for the typographical errors in the 29 January 1842 newspaper.

The paper was not always a reliable source of information, understandable at a time when communications were at the mercy of the elements, the distances, the state of the roads and the messengers. In recording "the melancholy death of Mr. Mitchell, near Campbell Town", the Cornwall Chronicle had erred. The following week a notice acknowledged that the report of his death "was, as is very usual in this Town, incorrect." The follow-up to this incident was a notice alerting subscribers to the fact that death notices would only be inserted if they had been sent in by friends of the deceased and paid for as an advertisement.

64 "Saturday" page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 22 February 1840
65 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 October 1842, reads October 24 instead of October 28
66 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 29 January 1842
67 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 30 April 1836
68 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 7 May 1836
69 column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 May 1836
In May 1838 there were twenty three newspapers in the Australian colonies, seventeen of which were published weekly. James Bonwick, Hobart Town school teacher and author, estimated that the average circulation of each would be five hundred and therefore, "the influence of the Press will be readily admitted."

Any discussion on the number of people who read a particular newspaper presupposes a relationship between the extent of literacy and the circulation of a newspaper or papers within a particular society. It is difficult to determine the extent of literacy in Van Diemen's Land in the 1830s and 40s. R K Webb, Stephen Nicholas and Raymond Williams provide a starting point, albeit a general one. Webb refers to a "mass" public in England by the 1840s, when from two thirds to three quarters of the workers could read. Nicholas adds to the picture. If "three quarters of the English convicts who arrived in

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70 J. Bonwick, op cit, page 39
71 Ibid
New South Wales could read and/or write\textsuperscript{73}, it seems appropriate to conclude that a similar proportion arriving in Van Diemen's Land were similarly educated. The population of the colony was 40,172 in 1835, 42\% of which were convicts: by 1847 the population had risen to 67,918, 36\% of which were convicts.\textsuperscript{74} Moreover, since a significant proportion of the "free" community of these years had arrived in the colony as convicts, Nicholas' statement could imply that approximately one third of the population was literate. Apart from being speculative, this conclusion is misleading if, according to R Williams, during last century, "the numbers of people who either bought or read newspapers were far below the lowest possible estimates of the numbers of people who were able to read."\textsuperscript{75}

I have chosen to refer to the contents of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} itself to indicate both the size and the relevance of its circulation. Initial references to the circulation and distribution of the newspaper, both within and outside the colony, were couched in broad terms: "The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} has a very extensive

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{73} S Nicholas (ed), \textit{Convict Workers - Reinterpreting Australia's Past}, (Cambridge, 1988), page 9
  \item \textsuperscript{74} M. Hartwell, \textit{The Economic Development of Van Diemen's Land 1820-1850}, (Melbourne, 1954), page 68
  \item \textsuperscript{75} R. Williams, "The Press and Popular Culture" in \textit{Newspaper History: from the 17th Century to the Present Day}, G. Boyce, J. Curran & P. Wingate (eds), (London, 1978) page 42
\end{itemize}
circulation in both town and country"\textsuperscript{76} and "most parts of the civilised world" would receive the paper "by every possible opportunity".\textsuperscript{77}

The extent of the paper's distribution can be used as a guide to its circulation. The paper was delivered the morning after publication "along the main road to Perth, the White Hills, Evandale, Perth and Norfolk Plains" and posted to "every part of the Colony".\textsuperscript{78} The establishment of local agencies was an important part of the development of the paper's distribution. While Mr. Cook was named as the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} agent at Longford, an agent for the township of Perth and district was requested.\textsuperscript{79} By 1845 the route had been extended and included Perth, Norfolk Plains, Carrick, Westbury, Evandale, Cocked Hat, Whitehills, the East and West banks of the Tamar and George Town.\textsuperscript{80} An improved network of roads, a more efficient coach service and a larger population had created the likelihood of an increase in circulation. Notices which appeared for the Midlands Agricultural Association quarterly meeting, held at Campbelltown, the Accounts of the Auditing Committee for

\textsuperscript{76} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 October 1837
\textsuperscript{77} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 17 February 1838
\textsuperscript{78} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 2 January 1841
\textsuperscript{79} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 13 April 1844
\textsuperscript{80} page 142 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 6 September 1845
the Longford Benevolent Society\textsuperscript{81} and a Grand Concert and Ball to be held in the Campbelltown Assembly Rooms\textsuperscript{82}, are all a part of the "country" circulation picture.

Rivalry between colonial newspapers was intense and debate over the size of a newspaper's circulation was an important facet of this rivalry. Statements such as "by the end of the next quarter, the circulation of the Chronicle will reach 2,300 copies...by far exceeding that of any two journals published in this Colony",\textsuperscript{83} that the circulation "exceeds that of either of our local contemporaries" and that the town circulation is "upwards of three hundred copies"\textsuperscript{84} are examples of the rivalry.

The debate increased in intensity once the Examiner appeared on the scene in March 1842. The suggestions by the newcomer that its circulation might be larger than the Chronicle was described by the latter as "an atrocious...falsehood"\textsuperscript{85}. The Cornwall Chronicle believed that its own subscribers list equalled "at least, and we believe exceeds, those of the Examiner, the Launceston Advertiser and the Teetotal Advocate."\textsuperscript{86} The

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\textsuperscript{81} column 6 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 4 April 1840
\textsuperscript{82} column 3 page 5 Cornwall Chronicle 12 September 1840
\textsuperscript{83} column 2 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 18 January 1841
\textsuperscript{84} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 January 1842
\textsuperscript{85} column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 16 September 1843
\textsuperscript{86} op cit

32
following Saturday’s paper provided the evidence: The *Chronicle* 800, the *Advertiser* 200, the *Advocate* 80, the *Examiner* 350.\(^{87}\)

The rivalry issue revealed that opposition to the *Cornwall Chronicle* could have positive repercussions, especially in terms of enlarging the readership. In November 1844 it was claimed that the circulation of the paper has increased daily since those opposing it had begun their campaign.\(^{88}\)

The number of subscribers a newspaper had was an important issue in terms of potential revenue. From 16 October 1844, the following line appeared on the front page, "THE CIRCULATION OF THE CHRONICLE IS CONSIDERABLY GREATER THAN ANY PAPER PUBLISHED IN THE COLONY - AND IS THREE TIMES THE NUMBER OF THE OTHER LAUNCESTON PAPERS UNITED - THUS CONSTITUTING THE BEST MEDIUM FOR ADVERTISING." This was an acknowledgment of the direct link between the paper’s circulation and its advertising potential.

The *Cornwall Chronicle* had an overseas audience as well. Orders were received from Sydney, New Zealand, South Australia and Port Phillip, but conditions stated that

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\(^{87}\) column 5 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 23 September 1843  
\(^{88}\) column 2 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 November 1844
half of the subscription had to be paid in advance or a reference for payment in Launceston would need to be provided.\textsuperscript{89} Commanders of vessels berthed at Launceston were advised that when leaving the port they would be given free copies of the local papers.\textsuperscript{90} Notification that the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} was regularly filed with Mr P L Simmonds in London, the agent for the Colonial and foreign newspapers, ensured the likelihood of a wider readership.\textsuperscript{91}

Subscribers were likely to receive their papers late, irregularly or perhaps not at all. While the paper was sold from the printing office in George Street and later from Charles Street, country readers would rely on a "trusty messenger to deliver newspapers a few miles out of town."\textsuperscript{92} The Post Office, under the control of a Director-General with the passing of a Postal Act in 1832, was responsible for the delivery of newspapers as well as letters. In 1834 it cost one penny to send a newspaper and letters sixpence a half ounce. Non delivery of newspapers by the Post Office occurred and was criticised.\textsuperscript{93} However, Post Office officials were

\textsuperscript{89} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 10 April 1841
\textsuperscript{90} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 6 June 1840
\textsuperscript{91} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 3 January 1844
\textsuperscript{92} column 3 page 4 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 25 July 1835
\textsuperscript{93} column 5 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 11 July 1840

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not the only ones to blame. Robert Bambridge, employed to deliver the paper, hadn't done so. In fact he hadn't been near the printing office for three weeks! An excess of alcohol was presumed to be the cause.  

While there is nothing to indicate what percentage of Cornwall Chronicle readers were females, there is little evidence that the paper might have catered for such a special readership anyway. The Australian commented in 1845 that it considered the Sydney newspapers to be too commercial to appeal to female readers and it proposed enlarging the paper to include literature, art and science. Contributions from these disciplines did not appear regularly in the pages of the Chronicle until the appearance of a more sophisticated looking newspaper in 1845. One female subscriber, declaring it to be "an unusual circumstance for a lady to address you", but knowing the Cornwall Chronicle "to be open to all parties" wrote to the editor. Her concern was the fact that the Post Office had been closed when a ship had just arrived and she had been forced to wait an hour to receive her mail. The editor took her side.

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94 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 October 1840
95 G. Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-nineteenth Century Eastern Australia, (Cambridge, Mass, 1957), page 243
96 column 7 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 3 December 1842
97 op cit
The *Examiner* had very definite ideas about the *Cornwall Chronicle*’s readers, considering them to be those who "are more likely to steal than purchase articles advertised for sale" and suggested that "our friends" ought to "keep their doors fast after dark."\(^9\)\(^8\) The *Examiner* had implied in its columns that the *Chronicle* cheated by taking advertisements from its pages and not charging for them.\(^9\)\(^9\)

\(^9\)\(^8\) column 1 page 217 *Cornwall Chronicle* 21 March 1846

\(^9\)\(^9\) ibid
Financial concerns dominated the life of the colonial newspaper. It was important for a colonial newspaper to make a profit - or at least not to get into debt, otherwise the paper might be taken over or simply fold. "The founders of newspapers, especially weekly papers, were often men of modest capital, and they remained so." A notice in the *Cornwall Chronicle* asked for subscriptions to assist Andrew Bent, "the founder of the Tasmanian Press", in setting up a business in Sydney. He "died in utter destitution in Sydney having vainly tried to establish a paper and printing business". The editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle*, William Lushington Goodwin, was declared bankrupt in 1842.

The establishment and running costs of a newspaper were considerable. Capital would be invested in fixed assets such as an office, the printery, the press and the type. Money was also needed to buy paper and other printing requisites, and to pay the wages of the staff. Printing

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101 column 1 page 475 *Cornwall Chronicle* 20 June 1846

102 J. Woodberry, *Andrew Bent*, (Hobart, 1872), page 134
was traditionally a well-paid, skilled trade. Advertisements for *Cornwall Chronicle* staff, such as a reporter\textsuperscript{103}, a copperplate printer\textsuperscript{104}, and either one or two compositors\textsuperscript{105} appeared in the pages of the paper from time to time. One such notice, on this occasion for a "good pressman," added that the "highest wages in the colony"\textsuperscript{106} would be paid. Employees were not always reliable however: "no drunkard need apply" for the vacancy of compositor\textsuperscript{107} and a later advertisement stated that a "sober compositor may obtain constant employment."\textsuperscript{108} A caricaturist, "who is competent to prepare his work for the wood engraver", was advertised for in April 1841.\textsuperscript{109} Presumably one was found because the supplement to the *Chronicle* of 24 December contained a caricature titled "A Liberal Proposition."\textsuperscript{110}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 August 1835
\item \textsuperscript{104} column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 12 March 1842
\item \textsuperscript{105} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 November 1843
\item \textsuperscript{106} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 August 1835
\item \textsuperscript{107} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 July 1840
\item \textsuperscript{108} column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 August 1840
\item \textsuperscript{109} column 6 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 1 January 1845
\item \textsuperscript{110} column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 22 July 1843
\item \textsuperscript{104} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 August 1835
\item \textsuperscript{107} column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 20 May 1843
\item \textsuperscript{108} column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 April 1841
\item \textsuperscript{110} page 1 Supplement to *Cornwall Chronicle* 24 December 1841
\end{itemize}
The original charge for the *Cornwall Chronicle* from the 14th of February 1835 was thirteen shillings per quarter for a subscription or only ten shillings if paid for in advance. Single copies were one shilling. When the paper was first published twice weekly, between October 1840 and January 1841, there was no additional charge to subscribers. "The less wealthy portion of this community" had supported the *Cornwall Chronicle* and thus enabled the price of the paper to be reduced from one shilling to sixpence from the 2 October 1840 edition. If paid for in advance a quarter's subscription cost six shillings and sixpence. By way of comparison, the *Colonial Times* charged subscribers ten shillings per quarter in 1835, as did *The Examiner* in 1842.

Readers could only withdraw their subscription at the end of a quarter. It was probably unlikely that a subscriber would pay in advance, sometimes they didn't pay at all. "The art of extracting arrears was the most necessary skill of newspaper management." Disgruntled subscribers might let the editor know that they wished to discontinue their subscriptions and ask to have an account sent. Perhaps this was preferable to not

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111 column 3 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 October 1840
112 R. B. Walker, *op cit*, page 52
113 column 7 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 9 October 1840

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being paid at all! On a brighter note however, was the keen reader who, having shared the cost of the Cornwall Chronicle subscription with his neighbour, now intended to take out his own.\textsuperscript{114}

If subscriptions were overdue it was usual for a notice to be inserted in the paper, often for two successive weeks, asking for payment to be made.\textsuperscript{115} On one such occasion the tenor and tone was more impassioned than usual. The paper "respectfully and earnestly" begged all subscribers to settle their debts. "We can assure our subscribers that the amount of ready money outlay in a printing establishment is no joke, for there is, literally speaking, "The Devil to Pay"."\textsuperscript{116}

On another occasion, country subscribers (were they more tardy than their urban counterparts in paying their bills?) who had not paid for the last three, four, five or even six years were advised that they would no longer be sent accounts, and those who had not paid for more than three years, would no longer receive the paper. This notice concluded by stating that claims for outstanding debts exceeded two thousand pounds.\textsuperscript{117}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{114} column 7 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 27 October 1838
\textsuperscript{115} column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 31 August 1839
\textsuperscript{116} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 February 1840
\textsuperscript{117} column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 24 October 1840
\end{flushright}
spite of this debt, between October 1840 and January 1841 the paper was published twice weekly at no extra cost to the subscriber. Although no explanation was given for the return to a weekly publication, a notice in the paper of 23 January 1841 which stated that "we earnestly solicit the payment of accounts due to this journal"\textsuperscript{118}, suggests that the reasons for the demise of the Wednesday edition may well have been financial. By October of that year however, the price per paper had been reduced to sixpence.

Goodwin's inability to recoup the outstanding debt may well have been the beginning of his slide into insolvency. Early in 1842 the paper and printing establishment were advertised for sale.\textsuperscript{119} Having learnt from experience of the difficulties in securing unpaid debts, management was later to exercise more caution. Country subscribers were advised that only those who paid a quarter in advance would be sent the paper.\textsuperscript{120}

If subscribers were a financial risk for the newspaper then advertisers offered greater prospects for raising revenue. From the first edition of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} in 1835 advertisers were charged three

\textsuperscript{118} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 23 January 1842
\textsuperscript{119} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 5 February 1842
\textsuperscript{120} column 1 page 66 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 2 August 1845
shillings and sixpence for twelve lines and under, and three pence for every line above twelve per each insertion. All advertisements were to be paid for at the time of insertion. Rates were reduced to two shillings and sixpence for twelve lines and under, and remained at three pence for every additional line above twelve, in January 1842. Advertisers were asked to be specific about the number of times the advertisement was to appear, otherwise it would continue to be printed and the advertiser would be charged.¹²¹ This was one way of reducing the two thousand pound debt!

On occasions, news items might be held over until the next issue, or "unavoidably omitted in consequence of a press of advertisements."¹²² Similarly, in April 1841, "we are unavoidably compelled to omit all our local information" because there had been "an influx of advertisements."¹²³

Some editions of the paper consisted almost entirely of advertisements.¹²⁴ A growth in the supply and demand of goods and services to meet the needs of an increasing and more broadly based population ensured a ready marketplace

¹²¹ page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 1 January 1841
¹²² column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 16 January 1836
¹²³ column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 3 April 1841
¹²⁴ pages 1, 2, 3 & 4 Cornwall Chronicle 5 September 1840
for the newspaper's advertisements.

Another way of raising revenue was for the printing office to use its fixed assets for other purposes. Bills of Lading, Log Books, Annual Returns of Assigned Servants, Applications For Assigned Servants, Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Inventories were available from the Cornwall Chronicle office and "every description of Letter-press Printing, (was) executed with neatness and despatch". By 1840 the Cornwall Chronicle office was advertising additional skills such as copperplate printing, book binding and copper plate engraving.

Additional revenue would have been received from the insertion of Government Gazette material. The quantity of gazette material varied from issue to issue: from only one or two columns to the whole of the back page.

The Cornwall Chronicle also published, under the authority of the Caveat Board, the notices for claims to grants of land from January 1841 onwards. Articles were taken straight from the columns of overseas or other colonial newspapers and sometimes this amounted to more than half the copy. Thus the newspaper proprietor was spared the expense of hiring reporters and moreover, did

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125 column 5 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 15 August 1835
126 column 7 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 25 January 1840
127 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 27 February 1840
43
Matters of principle took precedence over financial concerns however: "Neither labour nor expense will be spared in carrying out our design." The option of publishing a Wednesday edition containing only advertisements was mooted, but considered to be inappropriate because "the publication of a mere advertising sheet would not increase our means for the dissemination of other information."
William Lushington Goodwin arrived in Sydney in 1831 as Master of the convict ship \textit{Kains} after a long and eventful journey from England. Passengers, crew and Master endured storms and mutiny, as well as shortages of food and water. Able seaman Charles Picknell kept a diary of the voyage: his picture of Master Goodwin is not flattering. Unequal treatment, floggings and forcing the striking crewmen "back to their duty with a mallet"\textsuperscript{130} were some of Picknell's comments.

The \textit{Kains'} misfortunes did not end there. Her first attempt to sail from Sydney to Launceston in June 1831 forced her back after a severe storm. The ship was damaged and two crew members were lost overboard. With her second attempt, leaving Sydney in September, the \textit{Kains} was becalmed in Whirlpool Reach of the Tamar River on October 20. Her keel struck a sunken rock, carrying away her sternpost and rudder and she was run ashore a wreck. Goodwin had experienced first hand the perils of navigating the Tamar River and as editor of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} he repeatedly called for improvements to be

\textsuperscript{130} C Bateson, \textit{The Convict Ships 1787-1868}, (Glasgow, 1969), page 245
made to its safety. The wreck of the ship was sold for three hundred and thirty pounds, "roofed over so that she resembled a veritable Noah's Ark and was used as a store."\textsuperscript{131}

It is unclear why Goodwin remained in Launceston after the shipwreck. He acted as the Honorary Secretary of the Tasmanian Society in Launceston in 1832 and in the same year unsuccessfully applied for the position of Port Officer at George Town. In January 1835, together with William Mann, Goodwin took over the \textit{Independent} newspaper and on the 14 of February the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} began. By the second issue, Goodwin was acknowledged as the editor and later became printer and publisher as well.

While it may be argued that, as a colonial editor, Goodwin enjoyed a privileged position "as the self-conscious mediator of newspaper policy and public opinion"\textsuperscript{132}, that privilege had its price. But since Goodwin saw his role as one who acted in good faith for the colony's betterment, he was prepared to defend any policy or opinion that he might pursue. "We care nothing to suffer, for doing our duty will be our pleasure,"\textsuperscript{133}, maintained the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}. This comment referred

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{131} H. Button, op cit, page 136
\item \textsuperscript{132} D. Cryle, \textit{The Press in Colonial Queensland}, (St. Lucia, 1989) page 2
\item \textsuperscript{133} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 28 November 1835
\end{itemize}
to Henry Melville having to stand trial for "expressing his opinion".\textsuperscript{134}

A libel case against a newspaper editor was commonplace during this period. Bates (a dispenser)\textsuperscript{135} vs Goodwin and W S Button (proprietor of the \textit{Examiner}) vs Goodwin\textsuperscript{136} were two such cases. However it was the case brought against Goodwin by Matthew Curling Friend that sparked the most controversy and which remained an issue in the newspaper for the longest period of time.

Lt Matthew Curling Friend, RN, was the Port Officer at George Town, having arrived in the colony at Hobart, as Commander of the \textit{Wanstead} in April 1830. Henry Button described him as "somewhat eccentric" but "of a kindly, genial disposition".\textsuperscript{137} In January 1838, the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} published an anonymous letter concerning the behaviour of prisoners at George Town.\textsuperscript{138} The specific reference was to one of the Port Officer's signalmen who, although charged with committing an unnatural act and sentenced to a chaingang, was still roaming about the

\textsuperscript{134} Henry Melville was found guilty of contempt of court and imprisoned for publishing "A Comment on the Action of the Supreme Court in the Case of R. Bryan" in November 1835.

\textsuperscript{135} column 4 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} September 14 1839

\textsuperscript{136} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 January 1843

\textsuperscript{137} H. Button, op cit, page 94

\textsuperscript{138} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 6 January 1838

47
streets. The complication was that the Port Officer was also the Resident Magistrate, not an uncommon state of affairs in a colony where there were too few public officers to fill the public offices. Two weeks later, the editor announced the Port Officer's intention to take action against the paper and the paper's willingness to pledge that what was published was the truth. Goodwin hoped for a public investigation.

The case was a drawn out one and initially, Goodwin was acquitted on a technicality. A reprinted item from the Colonial Times, titled "Mr Goodwin's Acquittal - Liberty of the Press" described how Goodwin was greeted and cheered by a crowd of well wishers when he arrived back in Launceston after his victory. The matter was not over however. At the second trial for libel, Goodwin had to pay four hundred pounds damages. To add to the controversy, the Port Officer's wife died during this trial. Goodwin was "distinctly charged ... with the death of Mrs Friend" and referred to as "an English bulldog" from the pulpit of St John's Church by the Rev Dr W H Browne, Chaplain of the Episcopal Church.

Towards the end of 1841, because of ill health, Goodwin

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139 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 20 January 1838
140 column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 2 June 1838
141 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 October 1838
announced his intention to dispose of the newspaper, the printing office and the exchange\(^{142}\). A notice to let the unfurnished apartment over the Exchange appeared the following month\(^{143}\). Goodwin was moving to his farm to live. The same edition of the *Cornwall Chronicle* asked all those who owed money to a shipwright business, formerly managed by Goodwin, now managed by Thomas Scott, to pay their debts.\(^{144}\) This begs a number of questions. Was Goodwin the owner of the business and was he, in fact, hoping to sell his businesses for financial rather than health reasons?

In January 1842 it was the paper's debtors who were asked to settle their accounts as quickly as possible, otherwise "we shall be driven to the necessity of disposing of the little property we possess."\(^{145}\) The following Saturday's edition was able to inform readers that Gleadow, the lawyer, obtained and got a "Speedy Execution against us" and so the paper had been relieved of its obligation to him.\(^{146}\) The reprieve was short lived however.

\(^{142}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 27 November 1841  
\(^{143}\) column 1 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 December 1841  
\(^{144}\) column 6 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 18 December 1841  
\(^{145}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 1 January 1842  
\(^{146}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 8 January 1842
The paper and printing establishment were advertised for sale in February 1842. The sale of Goodwin's household and other goods was subsequently listed as well, since he was "retiring from business". Furniture, books, one pair of carriage mares, the cutter yacht Victoria and one thousand tons of firewood were to be sold first. Following these items, the newspaper, plant and material, and then the Commercial and Agricultural Exchange would be offered.

Goodwin's insolvency notice was included in the 2 April 1842 number. It had come at an awkward time because the Examiner had commenced business just a few weeks earlier and was already creating "unprovoked and gross scurrility".

In spite of the difficulties encountered, Editor Goodwin was able to comment optimistically on the year 1842. "The Chronicle has been established now nearly nine years, during which period we do not recollect having been for one week absent from our duty." The

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147 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 5 February 1842
148 column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 19 February 1842
149 column 7 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 2 April 1842
150 The Examiner was first published on 12 March 1842.
151 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 26 March 1842
152 column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 31 December 1842
colonial editor was relentless in his pursuit of principles.

Following Goodwin's bankruptcy the *Cornwall Chronicle* continued with him as editor. The business had been bought at public auction by John Cameron, but by 1847, Goodwin was once again the owner.\(^{153}\)

Goodwin mellowed. In 1854 he became an alderman of the Launceston City Council and the following year was elected to the Legislative Council as the member for Cornwall. In 1857 he became the Coroner for George Town and he died there in 1862. He had bought the house, known as "The Grove", that had previously belonged to Port Officer Friend. The *Examiner's* notice of his death described him as "an old colonist . . . who occupied prominent positions as a Journalist, Magistrate, Alderman and Legislator."\(^{154}\)
"One distinctive aspect of 19th century authorship was a polemical tradition which operated simultaneously against government officials and other newspaper editors."\textsuperscript{155} Rivalry between newspapers was the reflection of a society in which a range of political, social, religious and economic schools of thought were represented. Newspapers rivalled each other for subscribers, for advertisers and for their right and ability to publish their own interpretation of the truth. For West, it was a rivalry between "recklessness of statement and roughness of diction."\textsuperscript{156} An essential ingredient of this rivalry was the regular criticism of each others columns.

The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} targeted papers from Hobart Town as well as from Launceston. The \textit{Hobart Town Courier} was criticised first of all for being "the paid organ of the government."\textsuperscript{157} Some months later, the point at issue was the \textit{Courier} considering itself to be the only Van Diemen's Land paper that was neither oppressive nor

\textsuperscript{155} D. Cryle, \textit{op cit}, page 2

\textsuperscript{156} J. West, \textit{The History of Tasmania}, edited by A. G. L. Shaw, (London, 1971), page 135

\textsuperscript{157} page 2 column 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 27 June 1835.
slanderous\textsuperscript{158}: this comment was made the day after the paper had been tried for libelling a "respectable colonist"\textsuperscript{159}. The Observer was criticised for continually presenting the government in a good light: "much more creditable to the local government is our occasional dissent from its measures" wrote the Cornwall Chronicle.\textsuperscript{160} It was rivalry of a different sort however when the Hobart Town True Colonist criticised the Chronicle. The former was told to stick to his "own side of the island", and reminded that "this side of the island will soon match Hobart in the scale of mercantile importance and agricultural fertility."\textsuperscript{161}

The Advertiser, "Our Dictatorial Contemporary",\textsuperscript{162} had been a rival of the Cornwall Chronicle since the latter's establishment. Button described these two newspapers as being "always at war" and he considered this "journalistic controversy" to be "degrading".\textsuperscript{163} West however, was more generous when describing the rivalry:

\begin{footnotes}
\item[158] page 2 column 2, Cornwall Chronicle 19 December 1835
\item[159] J T Gellibrand, Attorney General, was the respectable colonist libelled by Dr J Ross, editor of the Courier
\item[160] columns 2, 3 & 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 30 July 1836
\item[161] column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 6 January 1838
\item[162] column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 21 March 1835
\item[163] H. Button, op cit, page 100
\end{footnotes}
"the spirit of contention was promoted by the peculiar fabric of society."\footnote{164}  

The Chronicle's financial difficulties provided its rivals with plenty of ammunition and gave the Advertiser the opportunity to make the most out of publishing a letter from a creditor of the Chronicle who hoped the paper would soon be sold so that he could get his money.\footnote{165}  

The Examiner commenced operation in March 1842. James Aikenhead, founder and manager of the Launceston Savings Bank, printer James Waddell and the Reverend John West were the forces behind it. The Cornwall Chronicle's initial comments included an expectation that the Examiner's existence would be short lived.\footnote{166}  

Goodwin went so far as to imply that the Examiner was responsible for the Chronicle's financial difficulties: "we are taunted with being in momentary pecuniary difficulties, which Button and the registered proprietor of the "Examiner" alone compelled us to submit to."\footnote{167}  

Described as a "positive nuisance", the Examiner had been established to serve the "ambition of a sect, the

\footnote{164}{J. West, op cit, page 135}  
\footnote{165}{column 2 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 8 April 1843}  
\footnote{166}{column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 26 March 1842}  
\footnote{167}{column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 14 January 1843}  

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interest of a caste and to establish sectarian domination". The fact that the Examiner represented different interests to the Chronicle strengthened the rivalry and made it more bitter. The Examiner's association with both the Mechanic's Institute and the Cornwall Insurance Company for example, received frequent commentary in the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle. The Insurance Company's clerk, James Aikenhead, was the nominal proprietor of the paper, and according to the Chronicle did not want to make the connection public. The Chronicle did not think that it was in the interests of the shareholders for the connection to continue.

When "The Lying Examiner" suggested that the Cornwall Chronicle had not tendered for the publication of the Caveat Notices, but had negotiated privately with the government instead, the latter retaliated by publishing details of the tender notice, the Chronicle's letter applying to advertise the claims to grants of land, and the letter from the Commissioner's Office which acknowledged that the Cornwall Chronicle had won the tender. There was rivalry between the two papers

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168 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 26 March 1842
169 columns 2, 3, 4 and 5 Cornwall Chronicle p 2 19 November 1842
170 column 6 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 January 1843
171 column 6 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 January 1843
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over the number of subscribers as well, since the
Examiner claimed that its circulation exceeded that of
any newspaper.\textsuperscript{172} The Cornwall Chronicle could not pass
up the opportunity to comment yet again; this time
because "a discarded reporter" of the Chronicle, Mr Henry
Joseph Strickland, had gone to the "debased
Examiner".\textsuperscript{173}

In terms of the rivalry between these two Launceston
newspapers what is the more interesting fact: that the
Cornwall Chronicle survived for as long as it did in the
face of strong and relentless opposition or that it was
the Examiner that eventually took over the Chronicle in
1880?

There was a place for a more congenial rivalry as well.
When the Cornwall Chronicle received copies of two, new
Hobart Town journals, the Observer and the Herald, best
wishes were the order of the day.\textsuperscript{174} After all, Editor
Goodwin considered a war of words to be "a harmless war,
a newspaper war ... even more harmless."\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{172} column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 16 September 1843
\textsuperscript{173} column 3 page 226 Cornwall Chronicle 4 October 1845
\textsuperscript{174} column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 14 June 1845
\textsuperscript{175} column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 24 June 1837

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Van Diemen's Land society was hierarchical: the divisions within that society were clearly marked and reinforced by the colony's penal nature. Moreover, since the population was relatively small, jealousy, rivalry and gossip were commonplace. Launceston was "possibly less class conscious than Hobart Town, where there was the Government House set."\(^{176}\) A Government cottage, seldom used by the Governor, was located in Launceston beyond Tamar Street, on the outskirts of the town.

While the colonial society was a reflection of British customs, standards and practices, efforts to entertain were viewed as poor imitations. A celebration held in Launceston to mark Queen Victoria's birthday was loudly criticised for the "wretched meanness displayed in the entertainment" and the lack of food and drink. The celebration in Hobart the previous month, was, likewise, a mean affair and provided "the sort of fare that you would not place before your servants."\(^{177}\)

\(^{176}\) L Robson, *A History of Tasmania Volume 1*, (Melbourne, 1983), page 176

\(^{177}\) Column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 6 June 1840
The land grant policies of the British government assured both the creation and the maintenance of a landed-gentry class in the Midlands, at Launceston's backdoor. By the 1830s the best pastoral land had been occupied, with a handful of families owning the majority of the properties.

The period 1835 to 1847 was a time of change for the colonial society. Although still dependent on convict transportation, the colony received an increasing number of free immigrants. A growing population demanded a greater range of goods and an expansion, if not an improvement, in services. Local institutions, associations and societies emerged, or expanded, to cater for a range of tastes and interests. The organisation of occupation-based, benefit societies is one such example and is seen as a precursor to the establishment of trade unions.\textsuperscript{178} The columns of the Cornwall Chronicle indicate both the development of goods, services, institutions and associations, as well as the society's demand for them.

\textsuperscript{178} M. Quinlan, "Trade Unionism and Industrial Action in Tasmania 1830-1850" in Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings Volume 33, 1986, pages 8-31
"In the mid-thirties and early forties, Launceston was almost as important as Hobart as a trade centre."\textsuperscript{179} The developing colonies of Victoria and South Australia provided a ready market for a range of Van Diemen's Land goods and services. The situations vacant in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}, for example, included positions wanted for Port Phillip.\textsuperscript{180} The Brig \textit{Henry}, the fast sailing coppered schooner \textit{Sally Ann} and the schooner \textit{John Dunscomb}\textsuperscript{181} were advertised as available either for freight or charter for Port Phillip while the \textit{Giraffe} and the \textit{Hartley} were bound for South Australia.\textsuperscript{182} Moreover, Launceston's proximity to the colony's grain producing areas meant that grain was exported from there to the mainland and to England. There were a few wealthy wholesale merchants, including J. Henty & Co, who were responsible for the lion's share of the trade. During the 1843-4 season this firm handled about half of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{179} R. M. Hartwell, \textit{op cit}, page 163
\item \textsuperscript{180} columns 2 & 3 page 4 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 11 January 1840
\item \textsuperscript{181} column 5 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 6 January 1838
\item \textsuperscript{182} \textit{op cit}
\end{itemize}
The Commercial and Agricultural Exchange reflected the nature of the town's commerce. A notice announcing its establishment in Charles Street outlined the benefits that it offered: a large room where auction sales could be conducted, several meeting rooms, a register of ships' arrivals and departures and copies of current newspapers. The "Launceston Price Current and General Trade List" appeared in the Cornwall Chronicle from January 1843 and was a comprehensive collection of information relating to exports, imports, vessels and share values. The export duties were listed: for example all spirits from the United Kingdom or other British possessions were charged a duty of nine shillings a gallon. Imported goods as well as exports and their prices were listed; charges for towing vessels; a list of exchanges; local joint stock companies, their share numbers, value, present price and annual dividend; as well as the quantity of spirits and tobacco that was on hand, had been delivered and was in the bonded store.

Trading within and without the colony could be a haphazard business. The colony neither produced nor

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183 R. M. Hartwell, op cit, page 164
184 column 6 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 11 March 1839
185 columns 4-7 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 7 January 1843
consumed a great quantity and "a large part of the tremendous imports between 1836 and 1841 were speculative consignments, which, on arrival, were immediately sold by public auction."\(^\text{186}\) For example, a sale by auction by Mr J C Underwood, included fifty chests of tea, twenty thousand Manilla cigars, twenty five casks of beef, three cases of stationery, but only a few excellent Westphalia hams.\(^\text{187}\)

The range of goods advertised in the pages of the *Cornwall Chronicle* increased between 1835 and 1847. Cricket bats and quail shot, Teneriffe Wine and Window glass, household furniture, pen, shop and pruning knives and three hundred volumes of books indicate the miscellaneous goods for sale\(^\text{188}\) in 1835. By 1843, the type of household furniture advertised was more elegant, and such items as "superior damask tablecloths" as well as table napkins and tray cloths were available.\(^\text{189}\) S A Tegg advertised playing cards, perfumery, india rubber rings for infants, ivory pincushions and cigar cases.\(^\text{190}\)

\(^{186}\) R. M. Hartwell, op cit, page 166

\(^{187}\) column 4 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 20 January 1840

\(^{188}\) columns 3, 4, 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 11 April 1835

\(^{189}\) columns 1 & 2 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 26 March 1843

\(^{190}\) column 2 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 1 January 1845
The goods offered for sale were predominantly from overseas: an indication of the strength of the colony's trade links with the wider world as well as its reliance on imported goods. Advertisements of 3 April 1841 included Mauritius sugar, Derby cheese, Durham mustard and Irish butter, but some years earlier "FRESH BUTTER ... regularly supplied from one of the best Dairies in the Colony" had been advertised.

An economic depression, the result of such factors as speculative land sales, government neglect, excessive imports, the inefficiencies of the probation system, bank actions and poor seasons in the colony, had deepened by 1842. Times were difficult: those who had become insolvent had the details recorded in the paper. The Cornwall Chronicle's reflections on that particular year, published in January 1843, sounded a cautious note about the effects of the depression. Trade and commerce must revive and "slowly but surely public confidence will be restored." There was also the hope that the colony would be able to produce goods that were currently being imported.

191 columns 5 & 6 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 3 April 1841
192 column 4 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 14 August 1835
193 column 7 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 1 January 1842
194 column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 17 January 1843
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References to using locally manufactured produce were made in response to the Governor's comment, at the Midlands Agricultural Show, concerning the advantages to be gained if colonies used their own resources, especially in the production of butter, bacon and beer. The Cornwall Chronicle suggested offering premiums to those who could produce articles to compete with, or better, imported ones. However, the editor was not sure how acceptable this might be to the colonists because "Englishmen are not easily weaned from their confirmed habits", especially since the local beer, in particular, was not very good. This sentiment was echoed the following year: the manufacture of soap in the colony meant less reliance on imported goods and was commended. Reference was also made to the public meeting that had voted a petition be sent to Parliament asking for the abolition of duty on Tasmanian wheat. The next month the Cornwall Chronicle reprinted an item from the Hobart Town Courier which reported a Hobart Town meeting held to protest about an increase in the tax levied on sugar and tea and other goods that were imported into the colony.

The economic problems persisted. Although people were

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195 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 30 October 1844
196 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 4 January 1845
197 column 4 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 26 January 1845
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leaving the colony, business was still being conducted
and this was perceived as an optimistic note in an
otherwise gloomy economic picture.\textsuperscript{198} Editor Goodwin
again urged the colonists to support locally produced
goods: M. Williams' piano fortes were acknowledged as
being a superior article.\textsuperscript{199}

While some notices and advertisements appeared regularly
in the paper, others were for services that were
available on a seasonal basis. The notices which
advertised horses, called "Entire Horses", for example,
usually appeared in the paper between September and
March. The Cornwall district had bred some very good
race horses from imported stock: the Archers, the Lords
and the Hentys were noted breeders. The advertisements
told where and when the particular horse would stand, its
breeding and the cost, for example, five guineas per
mare. Seventeen horses were advertised in one particular
issue of the paper.\textsuperscript{200} Term dates for schools were
another seasonal notice. The early January issues of the
paper notified readers when schools were resuming after
the Christmas break.\textsuperscript{201}

\textsuperscript{198} columns 1 & 2 page 737 Cornwall Chronicle 26
September 1846

\textsuperscript{199} column 2 page 263 Cornwall Chronicle 4 April 1846

\textsuperscript{200} column 2 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 26 September 1840

\textsuperscript{201} column 4 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 2 January 1841

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The broadening of the range of goods for sale was accompanied by a more sophisticated way of advertising. The language used was more persuasive, there was greater variety in the lettering and layout and an element of humour was included. The advertisement for Parrs Life Pills, for example, showed a picture of Mr Parr, aged one hundred and fifty two, being presented to King Charles. A different type of advertisement, eye-catching and original, appeared in February 1846. It was headed "New Years Gift for 1846 at Joseph Nathan's Elizabeth Street" and commanded everyone to attend a court "of our well beloved subject Joseph Nathan" to see the "cheapness of drapery, hardware, earthenware, hosiery, glassware". The advertisement was signed "Henry Verycheap, George Makewell and James Wearwell". Later that year appeared another original advertisement. G F Goble had taken out a full page advertisement for goods available at his sale rooms. Headed "Sacrificing", the advertisement consisted of four columns of goods for sale, from "ships cabooses " to "samples of new goods": every word in the advertisement began with the letter "s". "Spectators, Storekeepers, Settlers, Sailors, Simpletons, Soldiers, Successfully, Strenuously, Succinctly, Submissively, Supplied." The subscribers

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202 column 1 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 15 October 1843
203 column 2 page 99 Cornwall Chronicle 4 February 1846
204 page 655 Cornwall Chronicle 26 August 1846
must surely have found this an intriguing and novel advertisement.

In the early years of the paper, "Fashion" was not included as a specific section. Materials and garments were listed in advertisements for local merchants, like Mr J A Eddie, who announced muslins and silk stockings for sale by auction\textsuperscript{205} or Sinclair and Newton who advertised a long list of items for sale at the Wharfs.\textsuperscript{206} Customers outside the town were also catered for. Mr B Francis ran another long advertisement for the inhabitants of Campbelltown and Ross. There were "trowsers", shirts, ladies' shawls and children's braided dresses for sale\textsuperscript{207}. Just prior to Christmas 1839, J G Reid advertised a range of "fresh goods ex Indian" including cloth, rich satin, Lisle lace, Brussels lace collars with ribbons, a wide range of haberdashery and long black and white ladies gloves. The Misses Bolger, Milliners and Dressmakers\textsuperscript{208}, as well as Miss Capon, both doing business in Brisbane Street, could be employed by the ladies of Launceston to create the latest fashions. Miss Capon was also in the business of "making

\textsuperscript{205} column 2 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 20 February 1836
\textsuperscript{206} column 4 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 26 March 1836
\textsuperscript{207} column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 17 February 1838
\textsuperscript{208} column 4 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 20 February 1836
stays and corsetts of the most fashionable kind". By March 11 of 1837 a notice announced that her workplace had been moved to a house "nearly opposite the Cornwall Hotel" where business would be carried on as usual and hopefully the better accommodation would see an increase in customers. Another Milliner and Dressmaker, Miss Robertson of number 4 St John Street gave notice of her business: the fact that she was "late of Madame Girau's, London" may have enhanced her reputation with the Launceston ladies. Miss Midgley, on the corner of Brisbane and Tamar Streets, also offered her services as both milliner and dressmaker. "Long experience, together with moderate charges" was her advertising line and, with the "latest Paris and London fashions", as well as "some handsome India decca work for sale" , her advertisement sounded very appealing.

As the town grew in size so did the appearance of other notices catering for a more sophisticated audience. The ladies of Launceston could be wearing the May London and Paris fashions, included in the paper of 13 September 1845 under the heading of "Fashions". "Scarfs of the arab or algerine style are also fashionable, with wide stripes of different colours: they are usually of very

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209 column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 1 October 1836
210 column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 13 March 1840
211 column 5 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 12 August 1843
thick, soft silk...collars are worn quite high to the throat, with plain guimpe if the dress is high, but embroidered guimpe for a low dress."²¹²

The pages of the Cornwall Chronicle reveal Launceston to be a dangerous and uncomfortable place in which to live during the 1830s and 40s. The recurring editorial comments were paragraphs that referred to the inadequacies of local services. Criticism of the police, or the state of the roads, perhaps the footpaths, maybe the street lighting, sometimes the Post Office, frequently the navigational safety of the river and invariably the town's water supply, were part of the weekly copy.

"Almost surrounded by rivers and with water underfoot, Launceston faced the paradox that she lacked water."²¹³ The town's water supply was always a problem because it was either inadequate or non-existent. Consequently it was a popular topic for discussion in the Cornwall Chronicle during the period under review. Governor Arthur's proposals of 1836 for a scheme to supply the town with water were commenced, but abandoned after considerable expense and loss. However, this was only one of a number of failed and costly schemes. The paper

²¹² column 1 page 154 Cornwall Chronicle 13 September 1845

²¹³ L S Bethell, op cit, page 136
was critical of the lack of action about bringing water from the Cataract into Launceston\textsuperscript{214}. Nine years later, the issue was still taking up newspaper space: an item referred to the proposal to establish a company to supply Launceston with water\textsuperscript{215}. Between 1835 and 1839 articles on the subject of Launceston's water supply appeared forty three times, either as letters to the editor (on occasions up to two columns in length) or as editorial comment. Extracts from overseas newspapers were also included to add weight to the argument. An item reprinted from the \textit{Liverpool Mail} and titled "Pure Water", elaborated on the value of water, saying that the introduction of a pure water supply to a locality should be the work of the community.\textsuperscript{216} When the Governor indicated his willingness to receive plans for the laying of water into the town\textsuperscript{217}, the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} urged local tradesmen not to tender too high, otherwise the contract may go to Hobart! It was not until the 1850s however, that the issue of an adequate water supply for the town was satisfactorily addressed.

Other issues concerning health and hygiene also received regular space in the pages of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{214} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 30 May 1835
\item \textsuperscript{215} column 3 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 28 November 1844
\item \textsuperscript{216} columns 3 & 4 page 4 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 8 January 1845
\item \textsuperscript{217} column 5 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 18 January 1845
\end{itemize}
The stench coming from an open drain near the hospital\textsuperscript{218} was commented upon: the health of the inhabitants was consequently disregarded according to the newspaper.\textsuperscript{219} The threat of influenza was a very real one for the inhabitants during December 1838 and January 1839. Reports of cases in Sydney caused the newspaper to wonder what precautions were being taken concerning vessels that might call into Launceston after having berthed at Sydney\textsuperscript{220}.

The police were the most written about public servants in the colony according to the pages of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}. In the first five years of the paper, critical comments about the police personnel, "The Felon Constabulary\textsuperscript{221}, and the Police Act appeared regularly. The editions for 1837 included forty seven references to the police – that is, a comment on the police appeared in almost every issue for that particular year.

In 1834 the Police Magistrate was Captain William Lyttleton and the Chief Constable was Mr. Newton. The Police Act, No 11 of 1833 had 69 clauses which "regulated

\textsuperscript{218} The hospital did not remain in the same location. While Smythe’s map shows the hospital opposite the treadmill in Patterson Street, by 1840 it had moved, more than once, and was in Balfour Street. (from L.S. Bethell, op cit, page 109)

\textsuperscript{219} column 4 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 21 March 1840

\textsuperscript{220} column 5 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 15 December 1838

\textsuperscript{221} column 3 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 May 1836
every phase of the townsfolks' existence from daybreak to curfew, and citizens had to walk delicately to avoid transgression".\textsuperscript{222} With only three men to assist the Chief Constable, there were many complaints about both police activity and inactivity. The officers might be criticised for being over zealous: "To strain at a gnat and swallow the camel" was the paper's reference to the police lurking about on Sundays in an effort to catch dealers selling goods.\textsuperscript{223} Otherwise, they would be criticised for failing to take any action: Constable Kennedy who, having been charged with burglary a month before, still had been neither committed nor gaoled nor discharged.\textsuperscript{224} The main point was however, that as a member of the police force, Kennedy should not receive any special treatment. There were complaints too, about the quality of the force's members since many of them were ticket-of-leave convicts, and "in many cases the authors of crime rather than its detectors."\textsuperscript{225}

A section in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} headed "Police Intelligence" provided an insight into the activities of the police. It included such things as the names of those convicted and for what particular crimes, all written in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222} L. S. Bethell, op cit, page 100
\item \textsuperscript{223} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 8 February 1840
\item \textsuperscript{224} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 October 1837
\item \textsuperscript{225} L Robson, op cit, page 147
\end{itemize}
a descriptive and entertaining manner.\textsuperscript{226}

The approach of winter 1844 was not looked upon favourably because of the harsh conditions and the number of "vagabonds" who, it was anticipated, would arrive in the town\textsuperscript{227}. Presumably the vagabonds arrived, because, later that year, the editor believed that "crime is awfully on the increase amongst us...burglary, forgery, highway robbery"\textsuperscript{228}. The Chief Constable had reported that "there are not less than 40 or 50 atrocious and case-hardened villains swarming about the streets."\textsuperscript{229}

In later years, Goodwin's attitude towards the police mellowed. Although a spate of robberies caused the newspaper to inquire "Where are the police, and what are they doing all this time?"\textsuperscript{230}, the tone was much less accusatory than previously. The inquiry as to their whereabouts was tempered by the comment that "We have generally found the police constables and their officers, civil and willing to do their duty."\textsuperscript{231} This comment

\textsuperscript{226} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 9 December 1840
\textsuperscript{227} column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 6 March 1844
\textsuperscript{228} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 2 November 1844
\textsuperscript{229} column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 2 November 1844
\textsuperscript{230} column 2 page 352 Cornwall Chronicle 19 November 1845
\textsuperscript{231} column 3 page 351 Cornwall Chronicle 29 November 1845
implies both an improvement in colonial services and a less critical editor.

By the 1830s and 40s, the system of roads that linked Launceston with surrounding towns was well established, having been developed and extended during the previous twenty or so years. The road between Hobart and Launceston, for example, was commenced simultaneously from the north and from Constitution Hill in the south in 1820. At the same time, subsidiary roads, such as those from Launceston to Norfolk Plains, Launceston to George Town and to Evandale and St Leonards, were built. There was always room for improvement however. Mr. James Johnston of Longford wrote to thank those who had supported his coach service, but added that the service would be discontinued during the winter season. Apart from the dreadful state of the roads, it was too difficult to cross the river near Longford where the punt had sunk: besides there was no road to the bridge.232

Editor Goodwin, once so critical of all that Governor Arthur had done when in office, conceded that the Governor did at least ensure that the roads were made, and that whatever was undertaken was completed. The Cornwall Chronicle asked the government to point out one single line of road that had been completed since

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232 column 3 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 9 May 1840

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Franklin became Governor.\textsuperscript{233} The following month, there was more criticism: "This state of the streets is disgraceful to the government".\textsuperscript{234} Repairing and cleaning the streets, and the necessity for a law to provide for this, received newspaper space.\textsuperscript{235} At one stage however, the streets had been in good condition: "no little town in England had better streets than Launceston four years back, even if the footpaths left a little to be desired"\textsuperscript{236}. Now however, the Cornwall Chronicle maintained that no town in the world would have streets in so dreadful a state of disrepair, even though the footpaths had improved a little.

What made the streets hazardous, especially at night was the lack of lighting. Taverns had lights out the front, but pedestrians would have carried their own lanterns. An editorial comment of November 1840, urged the provision of street lamps because "at present parties are left to grope their way as they best may."\textsuperscript{237}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{233} column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 June 1840
\item \textsuperscript{234} column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 July 1840
\item \textsuperscript{235} column 2 page 151 Cornwall Chronicle 13 September 1845
\item \textsuperscript{236} column 2 page 156 Cornwall Chronicle 13 September 1845
\item \textsuperscript{237} column 6 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 7 November 1840
\end{enumerate}
It was not just the condition of the roads and the footpaths themselves that were a hazard. The *Cornwall Chronicle* applauded the fact that the newly amended Police Act, due to take effect from the first of August 1838, included a section that required owners to have their dogs under control, otherwise they would be fined.\footnote{238} Reckless drivers careering at high speed\footnote{239} and roaming, wild cattle were other obstacles the pedestrians of Launceston might have to contend with. The state of the footpaths was bad enough, but it was made even worse when wheelbarrows used them. Since this was against the law, the police ought to put a stop to it.\footnote{240}

The perils of navigating the Tamar River, and the apparent disinterest in improving the situation for sailors and travellers, was another of the paper's regular themes. It was a subject very close to the heart of Editor Goodwin, having been a victim of the hazardous Tamar River himself. The second edition of the paper, February 21 1835, contained five separate references to the navigation of the Tamar River.\footnote{241} Considering the volume of trade and the number of vessels that used the

\footnote{238}{column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 21 July 1838}
\footnote{239}{column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 9 May 1840}
\footnote{240}{column 1 page 263 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 April 1846}
\footnote{241}{Four items were in columns 2, 3 and 4 on page 2, and the fifth item was in column 4 on page 3.}

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river, as well as the inadequacies of the lighthouse, the editor asked why the suggestions of the Committee that had been set up to investigate the safe navigation of the Tamar had not been carried out.\textsuperscript{242} An editorial comment some eight years later referred to the dangerous state of the river, the buoys and the beacons\textsuperscript{243} and in August of the following year it was a reference to the inadequacies of the piloting of the river\textsuperscript{244}.

The Postal Act of 1832 streamlined postal services: the number of post offices was increased and a coach, rather than a postman on horseback, carried the mail between Hobart and Launceston. Until 1836 the Post Office was located at the corner of St John and York Streets. It then moved to George Street next to the Union Bank. The delays and inconveniences of this particular service were the real point at issue. There were only two mail deliveries per week from Launceston, one on Wednesday, the other on Saturday. This, combined with a scarcity of postmen, meant that some people had to rely on private messengers to have their letters and newspapers delivered. The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} wanted to see more messengers employed by the Post Office, thus making it a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{242} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 21 February 1835
\item \textsuperscript{243} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 13 May 1843
\item \textsuperscript{244} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 21 August 1844
\end{itemize}
more efficient and more convenient service.\textsuperscript{245} Some years later, the non-delivery of the papers was for a different reason. The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} suspected that the convict messengers sold the papers and referred to this as a "shameful breach of duty in the Post Office". Only trustworthy individuals ought to be put in such positions. The Launceston Post Master, Mr Saint John Browne had come under fire some months previously. Complaints were made hourly and daily about him and the \textit{Chronicle} questioned his suitability for the position as well as his ability to deal strictly with the messengers.\textsuperscript{246}

The newspaper did not deny there was room for improvement in the workings of the Post Office, but, at the same time, acknowledged that there had been "every honest attempt to improve the postal economy." This had led to a "proportionate increase in the revenue."\textsuperscript{247} The \textit{Chronicle} anticipated that a report of the Post Office Commissioner's visit, referred to earlier in the year,\textsuperscript{248} would soon be available and further improvements would be made.\textsuperscript{249}
While the paper was critical of the services that existed, this is more a reflection of the paper's perception of its role as "a humble, though zealous guardian of the public right"\textsuperscript{250} than of those particular services themselves. Given the administrative restrictions, the nature and age of the colony and the constraints of distance and topography it is perhaps the more remarkable that these services existed at all and to the extent that they did.
2.2 PASTIMES AND ENTERTAINMENT

Dangerous, uncomfortable and, at times, unpredictable, life in the town may have been but there was a range of pursuits that could be undertaken to help compensate for the difficulties and unpleasantness of early colonial life. The Regatta was one such diversion. A five line paragraph announced that it had taken place: "it drew together a great concourse of people, and afforded excellent amusement." The following week's number provided more detail. Whale boats, sail boats, gigs and skiffs took part in the races which began at 3.00 pm. "Altogether the amusement passed off very pleasantly, no accidents occurred, and hilarity and good feeling were the order of the day." 

Editor Goodwin considered such a pastime to be a distinct bonus to colonial society. He concluded the article by noting that "we are fast becoming priest-ridden and effeminate" and that "the proper exercise of the manly attributes bestowed upon us" (such as those that could be

\[251\] column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 24 November 1838

\[252\] column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 December 1838
pursued at a regatta) would be a distinct improvement.\textsuperscript{253} Goodwin's opinion of the place and significance of a regatta to a community such as Launceston, is again borne out in a short item in the paper of the following June. The announcement of the formation of the Tasmanian Regatta Society in Hobart town prompted the Cornwall Chronicle to ask where the old skippers were, because wasn't it time that Launceston started a similar society?\textsuperscript{254} The Regattas of the following two years were similarly described: one as a "truly national John Bull amusement"\textsuperscript{255} and the other as a "national, truly English and manly amusement."\textsuperscript{256}

This particular pastime was very much a reflection of English pursuits. The economic downturn of the 1840s put the 1844 Regatta in jeopardy, a fact that the paper lamented. It was hoped that the Governor, who had contributed twenty pounds to the Regatta Committee in Hobart, would do the same for Launceston.\textsuperscript{257}

The theatre was a popular topic in the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle during 1835, with both advertisements and articles appearing regularly. There was plenty of

\textsuperscript{253} ibid
\textsuperscript{254} column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 22 June 1839
\textsuperscript{255} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 January 1840
\textsuperscript{256} column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 December 1842
\textsuperscript{257} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 20 November 1844
variety for patrons in an evening's entertainment at Mrs Cameron's theatre in Launceston. The performance of "The Bandit of the Rhine" by E H Thomas, the first original play to be written and presented in Australia was noted.\textsuperscript{258} Another evening's entertainment began with "the very popular drama of Charles the Twelfth or The Siege of Stralsund", followed by a recitation by Mrs Cameron, then Mrs Cameron singing the Dashing White Sergeant and a duet by Messrs Jacob and Jordan. To conclude the evening there was a popular melodrama written by "Mr Melville of Hobart Town". It was called The Bushrangers, and to add to the drama, theatre goers would see a scenic view of "Molly York's Night Cap at Sunset", painted by Mr Gould "an eminent colonial artist ... done expressly for the occasion."\textsuperscript{259} This was a uniquely Tasmanian addition to colonial culture.

Although notices and advertisements for Mrs Cameron's Theatre ceased to appear in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} by mid 1836, both Mrs Clarke\textsuperscript{260} and Mr Jacob\textsuperscript{261} gave concerts during that year.

By 1842 advertisements began to reappear for the theatre,

\textsuperscript{258} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 17 October 1835
\textsuperscript{259} column 6 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 21 November 1835
\textsuperscript{260} column 4 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 30 July 1836
\textsuperscript{261} column 5 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 20 August 1836

between 3 September (column 3 page 3) and 22 October 1836 (column 5 page 3) six notices appeared in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}.  

\(81\)
this time for the Royal Olympic Theatre\textsuperscript{262}, located in the upper storey of the London tavern, at the corner of St John and Cameron Streets. Troupes would arrive in Launceston for a season and then return to Melbourne\textsuperscript{263}. During Race Week, March 1843, the Theatre announced that it would be open every night with a variety of performances.\textsuperscript{264}

Comment on the theatre was not always favourable however. One performance at the Olympic Theatre was compared to that of a brothel!\textsuperscript{265} Such strong statements were prompted by the apparent lack of appropriate seating for families at the theatre and the obvious drunken state of one of the actors. Criticised or not, the theatre still ran its advertisement that same issue of the paper\textsuperscript{266}. However, the drama and excitement was soon overlooked and all was forgiven. A fortnight later the Cornwall Chronicle's advice had been taken and the whole situation, the performance and the seating were much more respectable; indeed "some 20 persons were not admitted to the upper boxes last night." The paper concluded that last night's performance was the best they had seen at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{262} column 4 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 8 January 1842
\item \textsuperscript{263} column 5 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 June 1845
\item \textsuperscript{264} column 3 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 18 March 1843
\item \textsuperscript{265} column 4 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 October 1843
\item \textsuperscript{266} column 5 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 October 1843
\end{itemize}
the Olympic. The paper's favourable opinion of the theatre was enhanced with the very generous offer of Mr. Coppin and his actors to give the proceeds of their performance to the newly established Benevolent Society.

The South Esk and the Tamar Cricket clubs were established to provide for leisure activities and when matches were played they were reported in the pages of the *Cornwall Chronicle*. One match saw a team of married men versus a team of single men.

The "manly, rational and national amusement" of horseracing was another pastime. Notices for the races, held either at Norfolk Plains, Launceston or Perth appeared from the first issue of the paper in 1835. Race week of 1843 was a four day affair, and although there were fewer people present than previously, the Band of the 96th Regiment played and most of the

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267 column 7 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 21 October 1843
268 column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 June 1845
269 column 2 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 2 February 1839
270 column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 8 March 1845
271 column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 February 1835
272 column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 5 September 1835
273 column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 February 1835
military officers attended. Horse races were not always such elegant events however. One time it was a challenge through the streets of Launceston.

The pages of the Cornwall Chronicle provided entertainment of a different kind. That newspaper material which today may be said to be aimed at a mass readership, that is, births, death and marriages, trivia from meetings, sports teams and scores, did not feature to a great extent in the newspapers of the 1830s and 40s. The first birth notice appeared in the third issue of the paper. While births, deaths and marriages notices appeared more frequently after 1840 than previously, there was not a section devoted just to this, even when the layout of the paper became more streamlined in 1845.

Fictional items, such as poetry and short stories had appeared, albeit on an irregular basis, since the early issues of the paper. "Select Poetry", for example, first appeared in the second number. By the time the pages of the paper were numbered, and the paper itself organised into sections, "Poetry" was a subheading.

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274 column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 24 February 1843
275 column 1 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 20 May 1837
276 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 28 February 1835
277 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 21 February 1835
278 column 2 page 73 Cornwall Chronicle 16 August 1845
During 1844, the back page of the newspaper was given over to a short story and readers were enthralled, for example, by the adventures of "The Miser of New Abbey". Fawkner’s Circulating Library, later taken over by James Hill, was available for local readers. As well as providing books, it also promoted a Public Reading Room.

Some of the Cornwall Chronicle’s notices made entertaining reading in themselves. Mr Rudge’s "whimsical wager" to walk blindfolded from Mr B Francis’ house, around the Church Square and then to his own house, within an hour, was for a five pound bet. Professor Rea’s "aerial ascension" was certainly unique, if not entertaining. The inflation of a "leviathan balloon, 60 feet in height and 129 in circumference" was to take place in an open space in St Johns Street and then, Professor Rea, "the gunsmith of York Street", would ascend in the balloon. Spectators had their money refunded because nothing happened: The Professor announced that he would try again. The Cornwall Chronicle was very supportive but suggested that the police ought

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279 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 16 October 1844
280 column 5 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 11 April 1835
281 column 4 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 16 May 1835
282 column 7 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 11 January 1840
283 L S Bethell, op cit, p 133

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to attend so that the Professor didn’t have to put up with the rabble who had made the whole exercise very difficult. One week later Professor Rea announced his plans to take the "aerial machine" to Hobart, lowering it at Campbell Town. There was no further comment regarding the Professor’s plans, but an article reprinted from overseas entitled "A Balloon in Turkey", about a flight in Constantinople, kept the issue alive and seemed a fitting, concluding comment on this diversion.

284 column 1 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 15 March 1845
285 column 1 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 22 March 1845
286 column 3 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 26 March 1845
2.3 RELIGION AND EDUCATION

The provision of education and religion to the colony was both a complex and a contentious issue. Governor Arthur inherited from previous administrations a lack of interest in and concern for matters educational and religious. The building of gaols for the convicts and barracks for the soldiers was considered more important than schools and churches for the free settlers. There was, nevertheless, state aid to both churches and to schools.

Land was provided on which to build churches but settlers were to pay half the cost of church buildings: chaplains would have their salaries paid but they would also teach to add to their income. These decisions resulted in an increase in the number of churches built and in the number of sects represented in the town.

Dr William Henry Browne, "a formidable combination of Irishman and evangelical"\(^{287}\), was the preacher most frequently commented upon in the *Cornwall Chronicle*. Browne arrived in Van Diemen's Land in October 1828. His

\(^{287}\) L. Robson, op cit, page 182
parish covered 3800 square miles and extended from Campbell Town to George Town and Longford and across to the east coast: he was based at St John's Church in Launceston. Goodwin's argument with Browne centred on the Friend libel case, the death of Mrs Friend and the subsequent accusation by Browne that Goodwin had caused her death.288

Criticism of Browne's actions continued. His speculative pursuits289 as well as his interests in land sales290 were considered inappropriate for a man of his station. On another occasion it was his refusal to say how the church's offertory funds had been disposed of that created anger and aroused suspicion. The paper believed that these funds ought to be spent on the sick and needy of Launceston.291 The Rev Dr Browne received yet another complaint from the newspaper. This time he was accused, in association with the Benevolent Society, of neglecting to look after a dying man whom he had been asked to check on. The benevolence of the Benevolent Society was lacking on this occasion concluded the paper.292

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288 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 October 1838
289 column 5 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 14 March 1840
290 column 4 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 21 March 1840
291 column 7 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 10 April 1840
292 column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 January 1845
88
The Wesleyans were regarded favourably by Arthur and he donated his own money to their mission. A notice of the meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society appeared late in 1835\textsuperscript{293}, the foundation stone of the Chapel in Paterson Street having been laid in April of that year. The Presbyterians likewise established themselves and notices of meetings at Evandale and Perth were published in the *Cornwall Chronicle*.\textsuperscript{294}

Reverend Henry Dowling was the Baptist Minister who had arrived in 1834. Reverend Father J A Cotham was the Roman Catholic priest and the foundation stone for his church was laid on March 19 1839.\textsuperscript{295}

The Congregational Church, in Tamar Street, was "opened for public worship" on the 6 of September 1837.\textsuperscript{296} The Reverend Charles Price, the Congregational Minister, also conducted a school\textsuperscript{297}, attended by, amongst others, Henry Button and his three brothers. In 1838, two other Congregational ministers arrived in Launceston, Morrison

\begin{itemize}
   \item \textsuperscript{293} column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 October 1835
   \item \textsuperscript{294} column 5 page 4 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 March 1838
   \item \textsuperscript{295} column 6 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 23 March 1839
   \item \textsuperscript{296} H. Button, op cit, page 50
   \item \textsuperscript{297} column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 21 May 1836
\end{itemize}
and the Reverend John West. A division within the Tamar Street church resulted in the establishment of a second congregation, with West as pastor.

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was supportive of the Launceston Jewish community in its efforts to obtain a piece of land which could be used as a burial ground and criticised the administration for refusing their application.²⁹⁸ The acquisition of land by the Jews was subsequently applauded by the paper.²⁹⁹

Any behaviour by ministers of religion that was considered inappropriate or unethical was commented upon. Edward Freeman of the Evandale Church of England owed nine thousand pounds. The behaviour of such a respectable member of the community, who received a good salary, should not be tolerated.³⁰⁰ A letter signed "Perambulator" asked the paper if "a certain Minister of the Gospel is the owner of several brothels, from which he receives weekly rentals". According to the paper this information was correct but no details were given.³⁰¹

The regular criticisms of the Rev Dr Browne and an anti-

²⁹⁸ column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 27 May 1843
²⁹⁹ column 3 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 6 July 1844
³⁰⁰ column 4 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 April 1841
³⁰¹ column 3 page 183 *Cornwall Chronicle* 7 March 1846
establishment stance, earned for the Cornwall Chronicle the reputation that it "launched outspoken and irresponsible attacks on ... the Church of England."\textsuperscript{302} One of the paper's engravings, "Rivals", depicted a Church of England clergyman looking enviously at a crowd flocking into a Nonconformist chapel.\textsuperscript{303} The paper could not understand why there were those who criticised employment on the Sabbath. This question was in relation to the steamboat "Gipsey" travelling to George Town on a Sunday. "Must a man attend a church or chapel, in order to worship his creator?" inquired the paper, declaring that the community had no desire to be "priest-ridden."\textsuperscript{304}

The various denominations established schools and were allocated government funds to do so. For reasons of economy, a "national" education system was preferred and "from 1838 a modified British and Foreign system prevailed."\textsuperscript{305}

An Infant School was established in Launceston in 1835 under the guidance of the Infant Society which had set up a similar school in Hobart Town in 1832. Regular notices

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{302} L. Robson, op cit, page 207
  \item \textsuperscript{303} page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 23 September 1837
  \item \textsuperscript{304} column 1 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 12 March 1842
  \item \textsuperscript{305} M. Roe, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835 - 1851, (Melbourne, 1965), page 5
\end{itemize}
and reports of meetings of the Society appeared in the *Cornwall Chronicle*: the first notice appeared in the first issue.\(^{306}\)

Apart from the schools funded by the administration, both men and women offered their services privately as schoolmasters and mistresses. Notices for schools, such as Mr and Mrs Pettinger’s at Evandale\(^{307}\) and Mrs Hudson’s Seminary\(^{308}\) were regular contributors to the advertising pages of the paper. Other schools came and went: Mrs Cook\(^{309}\) and Mr G Findlay.\(^{310}\) For those who could afford it, there was a choice of educational philosophy as well as location and size of the establishment. The editor suggested that parents should consult the paper’s advertising columns as a guide, since there were numerous day and boarding schools, some of which were “unexceptionable.”\(^{311}\)

Educational philosophy featured as a topic for discussion and debate in the correspondent’s section of the *Cornwall Chronicle*:

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\(^{306}\) column 5 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 February 1835

\(^{307}\) column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 27 May 1835

\(^{308}\) column 2 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 23 September 1837

\(^{309}\) column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 11 July 1835

\(^{310}\) column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 29 October 1836

\(^{311}\) column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 26 December 1835

1845 column 2 page 451 *Cornwall Chronicle* 31 December
Chronicle, indicating the breadth of educational ideas circulating at the time. Mr. Clifford, who conducted his own school,\textsuperscript{312} was criticised for being "bombastic and absurd"\textsuperscript{313} by a correspondent, "Anti-Humbug", for implying that his system of teaching "individually" was the only efficient way to teach. Mr Clifford's reply which supported his system and outlined his educational experience, was printed the following week.\textsuperscript{314}

The 	extit{Cornwall Chronicle} considered the education system to be "satisfactory". Although there was room for improvement, the paper was pleased to see that education was a part of the colony's expenditure, 4150 pounds having been expended by the local government in 1845.\textsuperscript{315}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{312} column 3 page 4 	extit{Cornwall Chronicle} 27 July 1839
\item \textsuperscript{313} column 6 page 2 	extit{Cornwall Chronicle} 4 July 1840
\item \textsuperscript{314} column 6 page 2 	extit{Cornwall Chronicle} 11 July 1840
\item \textsuperscript{315} column 2 page 451 	extit{Cornwall Chronicle} 31 December 1845
\end{itemize}
A common occupation or interest brought colonists together and so associations or societies were formed. While some of these associations were the direct descendants of British organisations, others were established to cater for specific, local needs.

Agricultural societies, for example, established regular markets and shows, and provided the opportunity for stock and produce to be sold. They also permitted improved techniques and greater variety in agricultural pursuits to be implemented. The Horticultural Society, the Cornwall Agricultural Society and the Ploughing Association used the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle to promote their particular interest by advertising meetings and reports of their shows. These associations began using the advertising columns of the paper from its earliest days: The Cornwall Agricultural Society from April 1835\textsuperscript{316}, the Ploughing Association\textsuperscript{317} and the Horticultural Society from June 1838\textsuperscript{318}.

\textsuperscript{316} column 3 page 5 Cornwall Chronicle 11 April 1835
\textsuperscript{317} column 2 page 3 Cornwall Chronicle 30 June 1835
\textsuperscript{318} column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 2 June 1838
Another association which was regularly advertised during the 1830s, beginning in October 1835\textsuperscript{319}, was the Association for the Suppression of Felonies. This Association reflected the settlers' attempts to address the lawlessness of the colony themselves. With the aim of detecting those who committed offences against its members, it met at the Launceston Hotel. Landowners and stockholders were invited to become members by paying an annual membership of two guineas. The Association had fourteen regulations which governed its activities: each member would provide the association with his stocks' brands and assist other members if their stock should stray.\textsuperscript{320} By dealing with this issue in their own way, these particular colonists, critical of the prevailing police and legal system, were able to promote their aims and objectives through the pages of the *Cornwall Chronicle* and exert some influence and control. As well as the notices and resolutions of these meetings, notices of rewards offered for the conviction of a felon or felons also appeared. For example, a reward of twenty pounds was offered for the recovery of a case containing haberdashery belonging to Henry Dowling. The case had been stolen from King's Wharf and the Association would

\textsuperscript{319} column 1 page 4 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 October 1835

\textsuperscript{320} column 5 page 4 *Cornwall Chronicle* 2 January 1836
provide ten pounds reward, Mr Dowling another ten.\textsuperscript{321} Undisciplined and crude the society was, but there was nevertheless a concern for one's fellow man. The Launceston Benevolent Society was established in 1835\textsuperscript{322}: its annual report of the following year stated that it had "relieved fifty cases of distress."\textsuperscript{323} The names of well known Launceston citizens, Friend, Gleadow, Henty and Gilles appeared amongst its membership list. Notices and reports of the Society's meetings appeared regularly in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} during the 1830s. During the 1840s these notices and reports did not appear, but in May 1845 a meeting to establish a benevolent society was called.\textsuperscript{324} A notice in December 1844 calling for the revival of the non-denominational, Launceston Stranger's Friend Society, because there was "no society in operation for the relief of the sick and the destitute",\textsuperscript{325} suggests the Benevolent Society had been disbanded for a period of time.

The townspeople were supportive: the paper congratulated Mr Coppin, and his players from the Olympic Theatre, who gave the proceeds of a night at the theatre to the

\textsuperscript{321} column 4 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 17 February 1838
\textsuperscript{322} column 3 page 3 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 3 October 1835
\textsuperscript{323} \textit{Second Annual Report of the Launceston Benevolent Society,} (Launceston, 1836), page 4
\textsuperscript{324} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 31 May 1845
\textsuperscript{325} column 7 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 December 1844
Benevolent Society. The *Cornwall Chronicle* was less than enthusiastic however, about those members of the Cornwall Insurance Company who actively discouraged the public from attending the benefit night\(^{326}\) and the efforts of the *Examiner* to undermine the establishment of the society \(^{327}\) did not go unnoticed. According to the paper, those who controlled the *Examiner* and the Cornwall Insurance Company were not able to control the society and so they did not want to support it.

Similar societies, but with a specific target group, were also established. A Whaling Benevolent Society was set up for the relief of distressed whalers and their families. Their first Launceston meeting was advertised in November 1840.\(^{328}\) The Tradesmen's Benevolent Society was also established.\(^{329}\)

A Licensed Victualler's Association was to be set up as an "independent society", along the lines of the one already established in Hobart Town, and a meeting was held at the Angel Inn, Charles Street. Twenty eight subscribers paid ten shillings each to join.\(^{330}\) The

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\(^{326}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 June 1845

\(^{327}\) column 3 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 June 1845

\(^{328}\) column 3 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 21 November 1840

\(^{329}\) column 6 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 7 September 1839

\(^{330}\) column 2 page 191 *Cornwall Chronicle* 11 September 1846
Cornwall Chronicle wished the society "success and long life", which would only be achieved by "unity and perseverance". While it functioned like a benevolent society, its motives were also political. These motives may well have been the reason for its establishment. Revenue from licensing fees contributed substantially to the colony's coffers and when an increase was proposed, the licensed victuallers called a public meeting to petition the Governor. The Cornwall Chronicle supported the aims of this association and believed the licensed victuallers were being treated unfairly when they were fined for having drunks on their premises, or when publicans were charged.

In February 1838 a correspondent wrote to the Cornwall Chronicle urging the establishment of a "Mechanics Institution in this Town", claiming that it would "promote ... social harmony, ... improve the intellect ... (and) produce a moral influence upon the mind."

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331 column 2 page 198 Cornwall Chronicle 14 September 1846
332 column 1 page 129 Cornwall Chronicle 31 December 1845
333 column 2 p 45 Cornwall Chronicle 6 August 1845
334 column 1 page 132 Cornwall Chronicle 18 February 1846
335 column 2 page 132 Cornwall Chronicle 21 February 1846
336 column 2 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 10 February 1838
Some four years later, a Public meeting held at the Infant School Room, with Police Magistrate W H Breton presiding, established the Launceston Mechanic's Institute. Its aims and objectives were "the promotion of science and the arts, combined with the diffusion of general literature...with a special view of promoting the intellectual culture of the operative classes." By the close of the meeting, approximately fifty people had enrolled as members. The Report for the Year 1844 gave the membership total as one hundred and nine. A Reading Room was set up and lectures given on a range of topics from "Electricity" to "Modern Education." A lecture by M C Friend on "Astronomy" was "listened to with much attention by upwards of one hundred and fifty persons."

While supportive of the establishment of such an association, the Cornwall Chronicle was critical of its methods of operation, and more importantly, of the attempts by a few to control it. The paper argued that

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337 column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 12 March 1842

338 from the Minutes of a Preliminary meeting convened by Public Advertisement in the Infant School Room, Launceston 8 March, 1842 for the purpose of establishing a Mechanic's Institute in Mechanic's Institute Minute Book, commencing 8 March 1842

339 Mechanics Institute Minute Book, commencing 8 March 1842

340 ibid

341 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 15 July 1843
such an institution ought to be freely available to all, like a church, and not to the favoured few. In particular, the charge of a subscription for membership was criticised.\textsuperscript{342}

Any unfavourable goings on regarding the Institute were reported in the paper: for example, a disgraceful disturbance took place outside the school house after a lecture.\textsuperscript{343} While the association may have been supported by the locals, the choice of topics did not always receive a favourable reaction. The response of some members of the public to a lecture by Dr Udny on "Natural Theology" aroused comment. The paper believed that his lectures weren't suited "to the narrow and bigoted minds of the gentlemen who have imposed upon themselves the duty of catering for the intellectual taste of the inhabitants of Launceston."\textsuperscript{344} When the members of the Mechanics Institute voted to exclude the Cornwall Chronicle and the works of Sir Walter Scott from their reading room there was strong comment in the paper. The paper had been "charged with offering ineffectual opposition to ... teetotalism", this being given as the reason for the exclusion.\textsuperscript{345}

\textsuperscript{342} \textit{column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 7 May 1842}
\textsuperscript{343} \textit{column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 August 1842}
\textsuperscript{344} \textit{column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 July 1843}
\textsuperscript{345} \textit{column 2 page 151 Cornwall Chronicle 13 September 1845}
The Tasmanian Teetotal Society advertised its meetings in the *Cornwall Chronicle* from the end of 1836\textsuperscript{346} and met in the Infant School in Frederick Street. Although criticised for appropriating a piece of land on which to build a hall,\textsuperscript{347} the Temperance Society was given a cautious note of approval by the paper, saying that it could be a beneficial association, provided its speakers "keep to the point without diverging into the abuse of their fellow townsmen."\textsuperscript{348} While the *Cornwall Chronicle* agreed with the "total abstinence principle"\textsuperscript{349}, it was critical of the hypocrisy and deception surrounding it and cited the example of an illicit and teetotal brewer, Turner, who was caught.\textsuperscript{350} The *Teetotal Advocate*, which catered for this particular interest group, was published during the 1840s.

\textsuperscript{346} column 4 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 1 October 1836
\textsuperscript{347} column 4 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 2 April 1845
\textsuperscript{348} column 2 page 242 *Cornwall Chronicle* 28 March 1846
\textsuperscript{349} column 2 page 151 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 September 1845
\textsuperscript{350} ibid
Nadel refers to the early colonial newspaper as being a "manipulative model"; that is, one in which the government used the press as a means of social control. It was "exclusive in character, costly, of small circulation, and written in the interests of government for a select readership of officials and gentry." It was Andrew Bent who turned the tide in Van Diemen's Land and paved the way for a more "laissez-faire model". His Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter, established in 1816, indicated that the press had begun "to take its place as a vehicle of public and private opinion." Emancipist Bent "established his claim to private ownership of the press, ... introduced the expression of opinion in the form of editorials, and ... opened his columns to letters from correspondents." Governor Arthur did not like such freedom of the press and reacted accordingly. He questioned Bent's ownership

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351 G. Nadel, op cit, page 257
352 ibid
353 ibid
354 J. Woodberry, Andrew Bent, (Hobart, 1972), page 125
355 J. Woodberry, op cit, page 125
of the press, he proposed a Licensing Act and he had Bent prosecuted for libel. By the time the *Cornwall Chronicle* was first published, the tradition of a free press had been established. But Governor Arthur remained and although his actions vis-a-vis the press had been checked, the administration still exerted some control over colonial newspapers. Consequently, freedom of the press remained a topical and relevant issue, as did the style and the tone of the administration.

Transportation, likewise, was a theme which permeated all aspects of colonial life. The manner in which the editor chose to present these themes to his readers provides another interesting topic for discussion. The pages of the *Cornwall Chronicle* reflect a point of view on these themes as well as their relative importance to the colonists.
Colonial administration was multi-faceted; the law of the land was British, the Colonial Office administered from a distance and the Governor of the colony, depending on his personality and leadership style, interpreted accordingly. The colonial newspaper may well have been critical of the British laws, but it was the Governor of the day who incurred the most wrath. The Cornwall Chronicle reflected the point of view that was opposed to an autocratic ruler of a colony which had no representative institutions.

Between 1835 and 1847, Van Diemen's Land was governed by Colonel George Arthur, Sir John Franklin and Sir John Eardley-Wilmot. Arthur, who governed the colony from 1824 until 1836 was described as an "autocratic, puritanical, high-minded but vindictive ruler." Of the three Governors, it was Arthur who received the most constant and critical comment in the pages of the paper, in some instances after his departure, from

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letters to the editor\textsuperscript{357} as well as editorial comment\textsuperscript{358}. All aspects of his life came under scrutiny: his time in Honduras was a matter for discussion\textsuperscript{359} as was his income and his property\textsuperscript{360}. Governor Arthur was reputedly the subject of more than one of Goodwin's woodcuts. The woodcut titled "The Never Failing Undertaker"\textsuperscript{361} which illustrated Death preparing a coffin, on which was written "Beloved by all foes to Freedom, and detested by all foes to Despotism,\textsuperscript{362}"may refer to the impending departure of ... Arthur\textsuperscript{363}": a donkey-rider, dressed like the Lieutenant Governor, is running away from a group of men presenting "The
Address"\textsuperscript{364}: and a scene depicting the devil flying through a storm while several men sink beneath the waves may be a reference to Governor Arthur's departure for England at the end of the following month.\textsuperscript{365}

"Under such a government, what community could be happy?" asked the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}\textsuperscript{366} referring to Arthur's administration. Creating happiness within the colony was not part of Arthur's agenda: he was much more concerned with establishing law and order. A year later the colonists were happier however. Kenneth Snodgrass, the Major of the Brigade in New South Wales was caretaking the colony and the colonists were eagerly awaiting the arrival of Sir John Franklin.\textsuperscript{367} While the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} anticipated that the colony would prosper, the colonists were warned not to expect too much to happen overnight. Goodwin urged the colonists to let Franklin know about "the public grievances ... at the earliest opportunity", otherwise the Governor would not be aware of them.\textsuperscript{368}

\textsuperscript{364} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 10 September 1836  
see also C. Craig, \textit{op cit}, page 122

\textsuperscript{365} page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 10 September 1836  
see also C. Craig, \textit{op cit}, page 122

\textsuperscript{366} column 1 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 2 January 1836

\textsuperscript{367} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 January 1837

\textsuperscript{368} ibid

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Sir John Franklin, who was Governor from 1837 until 1843, turned out to be a disappointment to the colonists. His "administration which had commenced in prosperity . . . ended in depression."369: "That any gentleman can do worse we know to be impossible."370 Arthur's administration was now seen in a different light. "Times indeed are sadly changed and much as we disapproved of Sir George Arthur, still we . . . disapprove ten times more of the present reign."371 The Cornwall Chronicle considered his appointment as Governor inappropriate: a man of his standing and reputation ought to be retired and with his family.372

Franklin's term coincided with a short-lived boom when speculation was high, followed by a longer period of economic depression. In reviewing the year 1840 the Cornwall Chronicle praised the colony's progress, "our commerce has increased fourfold."373, but by 1841 the "cumulative downswing was well under way."374 There were insolvencies and unemployment, public works were postponed and land sales were stopped in an effort to

369 M. Hartwell, The Economic Development of Van Diemen's Land, (Melbourne, 1954), page 241
370 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 July 1843
371 column 1 page 4 Cornwall Chronicle 13 June 1840
372 column 5 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 6 April 1839
373 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 2 January 1841
374 M. Hartwell, op cit, page 221
halt the spread of the economic depression.

Lady Franklin's influence on the administration of the colony was considered inappropriate by the *Cornwall Chronicle*. Notice of Franklin's recall saw the paper looking forward to a new governor who would not resign himself to the "petticoat control of any self-conceited upstart blue stocking."\(^{375}\)

Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, Governor from 1843 until 1846 was described as a "muddle-brained blockhead"\(^{376}\) but the *Cornwall Chronicle* perceived him as "having the true interests of the free community of this territory at heart."\(^{377}\). Eardley-Wilmot's recall was on the basis of his having failed "in a principal portion of his public duty"\(^{378}\) and his private life was also brought into question. The *Cornwall Chronicle* however, was critical of Secretary of State Gladstone's removal of Eardley-Wilmot without the Governor being given the opportunity to clear himself.\(^{379}\)

The nominated members of the Legislative Council were an

\(^{375}\) column 3 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 April 1843
\(^{376}\) A G L Shaw op cit page 296
\(^{377}\) column 3 p 477 *Cornwall Chronicle* 24 June 1846
\(^{378}\) L. Robson, op cit, page 435
\(^{379}\) column 1 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 2 January 1847

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adjunct to the administration. Established by an Act of the British Parliament in 1828, the Council consisted of six official members and eight non-official members and was presided over by the Lt Governor. The paper viewed the members as puppets whose "labours cannot be advantageous to the colony"\textsuperscript{380}, particularly at a time of economic downturn. The colonists needed more than "dependants in the Council", they needed to be properly represented.\textsuperscript{381}

The Legislative Council made things increasingly difficult for Eardley-Wilmot and proved themselves to be more than mere puppets. The Council refused to pass legislation for such bills as the Highway Bill and a bill to pay for the cost of lighting in Hobart Town, seeing them for the tax bills that they were. Even the drafting of a Hobart Town Municipal Bill to provide for lighting, paving and cleaning of the streets was criticised because it was seen as a tax measure and not as "a step forward towards self government."\textsuperscript{382}

Matters worsened in October 1845 when the Council was left without a quorum over the issue of voting on the estimates on colonial expenditure. Three members resigned

\textsuperscript{380} column 2 page 111 Cornwall Chronicle 30 August 1845
\textsuperscript{381} column 2 page 111 Cornwall Chronicle 30 August 1845
\textsuperscript{382} L. Robson, op cit, page 423
on one day and three others the next: this group became known as the Patriotic Six. Their argument was that the colony could neither afford to pay these estimates, nor should it be obliged to do so, since the cost of gaols and police was the British government's responsibility.

While the *Cornwall Chronicle* admired the stand taken by the six and believed the public would likewise applaud it, it was a step "injudiciously taken"\(^3\): not a condemnation of what had been done but a suggestion that it could have been done differently. Members should have voted against every single item as it was brought up for consideration and confined themselves to opposing the measures, rather than the person.\(^4\) The paper's concern was for the future interests of the colony as a result of the six's actions, but it saw Eardley-Wilmot as "the faithful friend of the colony".\(^5\) With talk of who the new members of the Council would be, the *Cornwall Chronicle* suggested that they should be allowed to get on with business: it was only this paper and the *Colonial Times* that had not turned this issue to the colony's disadvantage.\(^6\)

\(^3\) column 1 page 311 *Cornwall Chronicle* 8 November 1845
\(^4\) ibid
\(^5\) column 3 page 311 *Cornwall Chronicle* 8 November 1845
\(^6\) column 1 page 323 *Cornwall Chronicle* 12 November 1845
The *Cornwall Chronicle* advocated the colonist's involvement in matters of local administration and sounded envious of the steps being taken in Hobart Town to make improvements to that town's lighting, paving and street cleaning through the Lighting and Paving Act\(^{387}\): perhaps the more so because Hobart had been declared a city in 1842. The paper was critical of the attempt to thwart the introduction of a municipal bill for Launceston. The inhabitants were urged not to be content with things as they were but to seek "the privileges of free citizens" since municipal institutions, the formation of a market, the draining of land and the introduction of light and water would result in "vast improvements".\(^{388}\)

The *Cornwall Chronicle*'s end of year or beginning of year comments gave the editor an opportunity to reflect on the previous year's occurrences and invariably there would be a reference to the administration: critical in 1836\(^{389}\), optimistic in 1837\(^{390}\) and acknowledging the effects of the depression in 1844\(^{391}\). With reference to the Patriotic Six no doubt, 1845 was thus described:

\(^{387}\) column 2 page 737 *Cornwall Chronicle* 26 September 1846

\(^{388}\) column 2 page 391 *Cornwall Chronicle* 6 December 1845

\(^{389}\) column 1 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 2 January 1836

\(^{390}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 7 January 1837

\(^{391}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 4 January 1845
"political occurrences have been spirit-stirring, and in some respects unprecedented." \(^{392}\) Regardless of the administrative style however, the *Cornwall Chronicle* did not waver from its purpose, "for the good of our adopted country". "We would rather support the government, bad as it is, than we would lend our aid to destroy the fabric of society." \(^{393}\)

\(^{392}\) column 2 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 January 1846

\(^{393}\) column 4 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 22 August 1835

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"Socially, Launceston was a penal settlement" reminisced Henry Dowling\textsuperscript{394} and Henry Button's references to the stocks and the treadmill\textsuperscript{395} are evidence of the everyday reminders that confronted Launcestonians. Notices in the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} reinforced the message: advertisements requested that only those who had "come free to the Colony"\textsuperscript{396} should apply for positions and listed those who had obtained their tickets of leave or been granted free or conditional pardons. The paper reprinted items from the Government Gazette items relating to transportation and to the assignment of convicts, as well as prison expenses.

H W H Smythe's map\textsuperscript{397} shows the prisoner's barracks in lower George Street, between William and Cimitiere Streets. The gaol was in Bathurst Street, the treadmill opposite and the Female Factory was built beside it in 1834. The treadmill, gaol and factory were surrounded by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{394} L. S. Bethell, op cit, page 106
\item \textsuperscript{395} H. Button, op cit, page 133
\item \textsuperscript{396} column 3 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 14 February 1835
\item \textsuperscript{397} See Appendix 1
\end{itemize}
a wall, built across Bathurst Street in two places, to detain prisoners while breaking stone. While the inhabitants considered the blocking off of a thoroughfare unfair, they "were taught that in such cases public interests must give place to convict official convenience." 398

Under Governor George Arthur the convict system was one of assignment, a system that had been recommended by Commissioner J T Bigge in his report of 1822 and promoted by the British Government. Arthur had inherited this system from Governor Sorell but extended and perfected it during his own administration. The British government approved of this form of convict discipline because it was a way of saving money: the master rather than the British government would support the convict. Although, not always viewed as the most appropriate means of punishment, the assignment system meant that the convicts could be scattered about the colony with less opportunity to gang up and get into trouble, and that they could be taught a trade so when free they could be gainfully employed. Some master might even attend to a convicts moral and religious education. The establishment of an Assignment Board by Arthur in 1832 provided checks and balances, but nevertheless errors and discrepancies were part of the system: not all masters were vigilant, some gave their convicts livestock, the magistrates didn't

398 H. Button, op cit, page 155

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always enforce the regulations and the police were not always reliable. While the Cornwall Chronicle believed convict labour to be "necessary to the present and future well-being of the colony"399, it was critical of the indiscriminate nature of the assignment system when due regard was not paid to either the employers' wants or the convicts' skills.400

Assignment of convicts stopped in July 1839 and from the end of that year convicts worked in probationary gangs on public works before they went into private service. Although the assignment system had its shortcomings, it was adequate and the change over to the probation system was not a popular one. For the British authorities however, it was a decision based on financial considerations. Assignment was no longer perceived as being economically viable because of the amount spent on convict discipline and the maintenance of the system. Once the convicts had obtained a probation pass they would cost the government no more.

The discussions on transportation in the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle afforded readers the opportunity to be kept informed on this issue and the range of opinions that accompanied it. The Society for Prison Discipline

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399 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 11 April 1835
400 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 18 April 1835
had suggested that Alexander Maconochie visit the colony and report on the question of prison discipline and the *Cornwall Chronicle* printed his report in three consecutive issues of January 1839.\(^{401}\) On another occasion, details of the probation system and its five stages were outlined.\(^{402}\)

The educated convict posed a real threat to the system that Governor Arthur and the Colonial Office had established. Educated convicts had the potential to work as clerks and to prosper in the colony. Perhaps the greatest threat was that they might write, or worse still, print newspapers! Emancipist Andrew Bent, printer and publisher of the *Hobart Town Gazette* provided living proof. The *Cornwall Chronicle* considered that Port Arthur was an inappropriate place for an educated prisoner: such a convict ought to be employed as a clerk, and not sent to Port Arthur because the system said so.\(^{403}\)

Female convicts like their male counterparts were classified according to their behaviour and sentence and

\(^{401}\) column 3 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 5 January 1839

\(^{402}\) columns 1-5 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 19 January 1839

\(^{403}\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 June 1843

\(^{116}\)
the Female Factory was home to those awaiting assignment and a number of their illegitimate children. The women could better serve the community if they were not thus confined and kept idle according to the paper.\textsuperscript{404}

The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}'s pro-transportation stance was qualified by editorial comments which, while acknowledging the benefits of transportation, believed that modifications to the system were necessary. The paper saw the system in terms of its advantages to the whole community and criticised the law regarding ticket-of-leavers who, having been caught gambling, were sent to work in the interior leaving their employers without employees. "Trade may stand still - loss and inconvenience may be sustained - but the MORALS of ticket-of-leave men MUST be preserved at any price!"\textsuperscript{405}

The \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}'s response to a public notice got up by A Fenn Kemp, H Hopkins, T D Chapman and G W Walker amongst others, was to call for modifications to the probation system, not its abolition, to ensure that there was not an oversupply of convicts.\textsuperscript{406} The notice called on fellow colonists to petition Her Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament against the present system of

\textsuperscript{404} column 7 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 25 December 1841
\textsuperscript{405} column 3 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 25 January 1840
\textsuperscript{406} column 2 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 7 June 1845
transportation: the petition would be circulated and signatures asked for. While the paper agreed that convict labour was not advantageous to the moral state of the colonists, this would be less of a problem if the number was reduced. Again, there was a reminder to colonists, particularly those who had signed the petition, to not overlook the advantages to the whole community: Perth, for example, had benefited from having a probation station.

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was aware of the moral danger the convicts posed if they were allowed to wander around the town. While it considered that the government's motive in allowing probation men out on Saturday afternoon was humane, the paper called it an "unwarrantable and unnecessary indulgence". After all the prisoners were not school children for whom it was customary to be given a half day holiday. Besides what would the reactions of Londoners be if the inhabitants of the hulks were let loose? Those Launcestonians attending the races need not be disturbed by the sight of convicts, "The Police Magistrate having last year found that by forbidding

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407 column 3 page 4 *Cornwall Chronicle* 3 June 1845
408 column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 7 June 1845
409 column 1 page 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 19 July 1845
410 col 1 page 143 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 September 1845
411 column 2 page 143 *Cornwall Chronicle* 10 September 1845
convicts to appear at the above Races, much intemperance and disorder was prevented."\textsuperscript{412}

On occasions the Cornwall Chronicle displayed a humane attitude towards the individual convict. The paper supported the right of ticket-of-leave men to attend the Regatta\textsuperscript{413}, referred to the poor quality of the vegetables supplied to the convicts in the gaol\textsuperscript{414} and was critical of the military jury in the case of the convict Schaw\textsuperscript{415}. The Cornwall Chronicle reacted when the Examiner called it a sin to employ a convict, implying this was a holier-than-thou attitude. The Chronicle had taken on a third class probationer, stating that it would encourage anyone who wanted to do well, "no matter what he might have been."\textsuperscript{416}

Once the colony appeared to be emerging from the depression and "the rage for purchasing blocks of land has almost subsided"\textsuperscript{417}, the paper considered it foolhardy to take away the cheap and abundant supply of

\textsuperscript{412} column 1 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 25 January 1840
\textsuperscript{413} column 2 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 18 January 1840
\textsuperscript{414} column 4 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 20 June 1840
\textsuperscript{415} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 22 February 1840
\textsuperscript{416} column 1 page 346 Cornwall Chronicle 18 November 1845
\textsuperscript{417} column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 9 July 1845
labour, ie convicts, that some colonists were petitioning for. The paper accused those anti-transportationists of denouncing something that they had all greedily accepted: wealth had been derived from this source and they should not forget it.418 "Something like knocking a sick patient on the head rather than adopt the necessary means to effect his recovery"419 was the description given to discontinuing transportation as a means of effecting economic recovery.

The Cornwall Chronicle saw the continuation of transportation as necessary for the continued prosperity of the colony but acknowledged that a petition which called for legislation by representation and the immediate cessation of transportation would receive considerable support. The paper had a realistic view of the strength of the anti-transportation feeling. However, it believed that those who opposed transportation had not considered the subject carefully enough nor the consequences. While the paper supported the argument for legislation by representation as it was a "right and privilege"420, and agreed that it was incompatible with the convict system, the Cornwall Chronicle reminded its readers that the probation system

418 column 3 op cit
419 page 2 column 2 Cornwall Chronicle 31 May 1845
420 column 2 page 403 Cornwall Chronicle 13 December 1845
ensured that the free population was separate from the convicted and that they were distinct because "each has its own laws and regulations... the Governor or the Comptroller-General".\textsuperscript{421}
The freedom of the press as an issue for the Cornwall Chronicle can be illustrated in two ways: firstly, the paper's position is reflected through its use of relevant quotations, anonymous correspondence and editorial comment and secondly, through its response to attempts to restrict the press within the colony.

The various quotations which appeared on either the front page or which preceded the editorial comment, provide both the substance and the tradition of the Cornwall Chronicle's position on this issue. The English correspondent Junius, whose letters "appeared mysteriously in the Public Advertiser of 1768",\(^422\) inspired colonial correspondents who followed the tradition of advocating constitutional reform and addressing correspondence to Governors, officials and lawyers. "Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS is the palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman."\(^423\) This Junius quote, together with the shorter quotation from the Roman

\(^{422}\) D. Cryle, op cit, page 3  
\(^{423}\) column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 27 April 1839
historian Sallust, which appeared in 1835, both exemplified the *Cornwall Chronicle*'s position: "Liberty with Danger is to be preferred to Slavery with Security." A quote from the Roman satirist Juvenal, *VERBA ANIMI PROFERRE ET VITAM IMPENDERÉ VERO* was also identified with the paper.

Colonial editors permitted anonymous correspondence to be printed in their newspapers: officials were outraged but freedom of the press was highlighted. "Justitia", writing in response to the Friend case, concluded that the importance of a free press in a small community like Launceston was in acting as a check on the misconduct of public servants. "A Correspondent" questioned what would have happened if the public comment concerning Mr Price's receipt of monies donated to the shipwrecked had not occurred. Such discussion was permitted through the *Cornwall Chronicle*.

If the newspaper printed a differing point of view on the freedom of the press issue, then the editor had the opportunity to refute it, and thus reinforce his own ideas. When, in 1838, a petition was to be circulated in

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424 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 August 1835
425 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 3 January 1846
426 columns 1 & 2, page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 14 July 1838
427 column 1 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 13 April 1839
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Launceston regarding a public meeting to consider the state of the colonial press, Goodwin regretted that the meeting did not take place (there were only seven petitioners), because it would have been an opportunity to air concerns.\textsuperscript{428}

An opportunity to refer to the freedom of the press issue, meant on another occasion, that the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} could also relate how it had been treated by its critics. The so-called "Gagging Act" compelled each newspaper proprietor to provide four hundred pounds as a surety, and four other sureties each had to pay one hundred pounds. When one of the \textit{Chronicle}'s sureties relinquished his surety because he was being blamed by the paper's critics for anything that appeared in the paper that they didn't like\textsuperscript{429}, the newspaper made the most of the story as representing a "league of honesty and independence against a league of injustice and oppression."\textsuperscript{430}

The relationship between the government and the press was, from its first publications, a vital part of the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle}'s argument for a free press. Freedom of the press, the paper's argument ran, was the check,

\textsuperscript{428} column 1 page 1 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 17 February 1838
\textsuperscript{429} column 4 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 27 October 1838
\textsuperscript{430} column 3 page 2 \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 19 June 1837

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the "indispensable security" that the government needed. "The first act of a government which tends to despotism is to hamper and to harass the press". We have always considered a free press the firmest support of a good government" wrote the Chronicle, along with the hope that Governor Franklin would repeal the obnoxious "tax upon knowledge".

The "Tax on Knowledge" referred to the impost of a postage fee on top of the cost of the newspaper. This imposition formed part of the Cornwall Chronicle's argument in its case for freedom of the press since it considered that the tax restricted the availability of information. The paper asked why the Governor, as Patron of such organisations as the Hobart Mechanics Institute, the Benevolent Society, the Infant School, the Temperance Society and President of the Bible Society, was "persecuting" knowledge and not supporting it. The Chronicle considered collecting this small amount of money was hardly worth the effort anyway; what the tax did do though, was to show the nature of the government.
The *Cornwall Chronicle* chose another method of getting across its message. A verse and woodcut were used to illustrate the Chronicle's view on the tax on knowledge. "Once enslaved farewell! / This is The Thing / That in spite of New Acts, / And attempts to restrain it, / By soldiers or tax / Will POISON the vermin that plunder the wealth / That lay in the house that Jack/ built." "The Thing" was a printing press which was illustrated.\(^{436}\) The following year, an etching depicting a "gagging machine" which was blowing out various press symbols,\(^{437}\) appeared as "a political cartoon having reference to freedom of the press."\(^ {438}\)

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was disappointed and said so in an editorial comment about Franklin and his failure to accomplish a range of promises, including repealing the "gagging of the Press".\(^ {439}\) "Public conduct of public servants is a legitimate subject for discussion", the article continued and then questioned why there was any need to legislate against the press when there existed a legal system to check the actions of community members.

The *Cornwall Chronicle* was "mortified" that Governor

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\(^{436}\) columns 1-3 page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 13 August 1836
See Appendix 6

\(^{437}\) page 1 *Cornwall Chronicle* 29 July 1837

\(^{438}\) C. Craig, op cit, page 124

\(^{439}\) page 2 column 3 *Cornwall Chronicle* 24 June 1837

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Franklin was going to introduce a bill to obtain sureties from printers and publishers, thus bringing them into line with their British counterparts. To strengthen its argument, the paper reprinted a letter addressed to Governor George Arthur in 1827 and signed by, among others, Legislative Council members McLachlan and Bethune expressing their displeasure at the restriction of the press. Such a ploy would remind readers that this was a long standing issue. Another tactic was to publish articles on the issue from elsewhere: for example, India, where a regulation for the suppression of the freedom of the printing press was disallowed.

Goodwin's point of view was based on his perception of class differences. He saw the rich as being unwilling to permit the poor to have access to knowledge through an unrestricted press and therefore saw his support as coming from, and being directed to, the middle ground. "We must look to persons of moderate means, who are industrious, intelligent and honest - to the tradesmen living by their own daily exertions - to the intelligent and laborious mechanic, for virtue, for knowledge, real respectability and worth."

440 columns 2 & 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 1 July 1837
441 columns 2 & 3 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 29 July 1837
442 page 1 column 3 Cornwall Chronicle 29 July 1835
443 columns 1-3 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 13 August 1836
127
The claim by the *Cornwall Chronicle*, in its first edition, that "personality, scurrility or abuse shall never disgrace our Journal"\(^4\) turned out to be incorrect. Since Van Diemen's Land was a society in which "everyone ran down everyone else and the inhabitants were like a set of vultures preying upon each other"\(^5\) the likelihood of a newspaper being described as "scurrilous", or "grossly or indecently abusive"\(^6\) was high. In fact, the description could apply equally to other colonial newspapers. Button maintained that the *Trifler and Literary Gleaner* was "supposed to be humorous, but it was abominably scurrilous."\(^7\)

A scurrilous newspaper was likely to attract libels. Editor Goodwin could always justify his abuse or his printing of the names of swindlers or those who had

\(^4\) column 2 page 2 *Cornwall Chronicle* 14 February 1835  
\(^5\) L. Robson op cit page 175  
\(^6\) *The Macquarie Dictionary and Thesaurus*, (Queensland, 1991), page 360  
\(^7\) H. Button, op cit, page 101
misled others by reminding readers that the paper saw itself as "a humble, though zealous guardian of the public right." He could also make additional comment in the pages of the paper. Goodwin maintained that a lawyer, for example, was referred to as a gentleman even if he operated inappropriately, yet an editor may be taken to court for speaking the truth. Similarly, the newspaper was critical of the situation in which a public servant might say that he had been libelled, and the defendant pronounced guilty for having published the truth. Goodwin was further able to justify his scurrilous tone because of his belief that it was only those public servants who were guilty of misconduct who strongly criticised the press and "that the whole of the suffering population are unanimous in declaring the press not half severe enough in its censures."

A review of Governor Franklin's first year as Governor provided further justification. Goodwin stated that "to know the abuses that are tolerated in this colony ... is cause enough to make the press scurrilous."

448 column 3 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 3 October 1840
449 page 1 column 1 Cornwall Chronicle 12 August 1837
450 column 2 page 2 Cornwall Chronicle 2 June 1838
451 page 1 column 1 Cornwall Chronicle 17 February 1838
452 column 2 page 1 Cornwall Chronicle 3 March 1838

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By way of explanation, if not justification, West's comments on the matter provide a suitable conclusion. "The press was the more licentious, because nothing else was free; but it raised a barrier against official corruption. Men of integrity were annoyed, but rarely injured. It intimidated the corrupt, and protected the oppressed. Considered in detail it was often detestable; but it prevented mischief more serious and lasting." 453

453 John West, The History of Tasmania, edited by A G L Shaw, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1971
CONCLUSION

An analysis of the pages of the Cornwall Chronicle provides a picture of Launceston within the framework of Van Diemen's Land. In relation to the comments of Earl Grey it is difficult to dispute that the newspaper readily acquaints the reader with "the general tone and temper of Colonial Society." Likewise, evidence to support Bicheno's references to "an extremely scurrilous paper" which "advocates the continuance of transportation to this Colony" can also be provided. The more generalised statements, such as "does not possess much influence amongst the more respectable classes of Society, but it is extensively circulated amongst the Licensed Victuallers, and read by many who love personalities" are less able to be substantiated since the terms of reference of the analysis did not include comparisons with other Van Diemen's Land newspapers. On the other hand, Bicheno's comments themselves add to our understanding of the analysis because they reflect a point of view. As for Denison's reference to the

454 Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Volume XXV, op cit, page 354
455 Tasmanian Historical Research Association Paper and Proceedings, Volume 3, op cit, page 88
456 Ibid

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character of a paper being "so entirely dependent upon that of its Editor", again, without comparisons, this statement is not readily justified, but it too, tells us something about the Governor’s perception of a colonial newspaper and its editor. Therefore, these comments are relevant and pertinent since they reflect the opinions that existed about the Cornwall Chronicle’s particular philosophy, specific readership and viewpoint on vital colonial issues.

But while these "official" comments are a starting point for analysis they are an oversimplification. An analysis of the paper reveals a wider role for the Cornwall Chronicle: as a forum for the exchange of ideas, a source of entertainment, a disseminator of public information, a check on government abuses, a platform for the editor, a reflection of a changing community and as an example of a developing colonial newspaper.

457 Ibid

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1  H W H SMYTHE'S MAP OF LAUNCESTON

APPENDIX 2  LIST OF ENGRAVINGS AND DATES OF PUBLICATION, CORNWALL CHRONICLE

APPENDIX 3  PAGE 1, THE CORNWALL CHRONICLE 29 AUGUST 1840

APPENDIX 4  PAGE 1, CORNWALL CHRONICLE 3 JANUARY 1846

APPENDIX 5  PAGE 1, CORNWALL CHRONICLE 24 JULY 1844

APPENDIX 6  PAGE 1, CORNWALL CHRONICLE 13 AUGUST 1836
Plan of The Town of Launceston

From Actual Survey by
H.W.H. Smythe
1835.
APPENDIX 2

WOODCUTS: THE CORNWALL CHRONICLE

16 April 1836 The Sheriff's Officer
23 April 1836 The Sheriff Officer's Dog
30 April 1836 Debtor and Creditor (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 3)
7 May 1836 The Judge (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 4)
14 May 1836 The Barrister (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 5)
21 May 1836 The Briefless One (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 6)
28 May 1836 The Attorney (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 7)
11 June 1836 The Never Failing Undertaker
18 June 1836 The Plaintiff (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 9)
signed W.G.\textsuperscript{458}
25 June 1836 The Defendant (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 11)
2 July 1836 Reform
9 July 1836 Evening Diversions (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 12)

\textsuperscript{458} C. Craig, op cit, page 120

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 July 1836</td>
<td>Morning Reflections (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 July 1836</td>
<td>Repentance Never Comes Too Late (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 14)</td>
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<td>30 July 1836</td>
<td>The Physician (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 15)</td>
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<td>6 August 1836</td>
<td>The Apothecary (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 16)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 August 1836</td>
<td>Once Enslaved Farewell</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 August 1836</td>
<td>The Mute (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 August 1836</td>
<td>One of the Twelve Tribes (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 18)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 September 1836</td>
<td>The Address</td>
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<td>10 September 1836</td>
<td>untitled</td>
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<td>17 September 1836</td>
<td>The Sentry (Gallery of Comicalities, No. 19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 October 1836</td>
<td>Scientific Advancement</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 October 1836</td>
<td>What A Shocking Bad Hat</td>
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<td>5 November 1836</td>
<td>What A Shocking Bad Bonnet</td>
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<td>12 November 1836</td>
<td>Irish Whiskey</td>
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<td>Scotch Whiskey</td>
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<td>26 November 1836</td>
<td>Sketch of &quot;horrible figure&quot;</td>
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<td>3 December 1836</td>
<td>French Brandy</td>
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<td>17 December 1836</td>
<td>Hollands</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 December 1836</td>
<td>Domestic Misery</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 December 1836</td>
<td>A Happy New Year to You</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 February 1837</td>
<td>Going Out of Office</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>11 February 1837</td>
<td>The Man Wot is Hated - Down Upon His Luck</td>
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<td>18 February 1837</td>
<td>Comparisons are Odious</td>
</tr>
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<td>25 February 1837</td>
<td>A Parson's Dream</td>
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<td>18 March 1837</td>
<td>Trying to Brave the Storm</td>
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<td>25 March 1837</td>
<td>Teddington Anglers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 April 1837</td>
<td>More Friends and Less Need of Them</td>
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<td>15 April 1837</td>
<td>Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July 1837</td>
<td>untitled: signed WLG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 August 1837</td>
<td>The Devil's Darning Needle</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 August 1837</td>
<td>A Desideratum</td>
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<td>23 September 1837</td>
<td>The Rivals: signed WLG</td>
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<td>30 September 1837</td>
<td>A Prelatical Locust</td>
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<td>7 October 1837</td>
<td>The Dandy Boy</td>
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<td>11 November 1837</td>
<td>Presumption and No Mistake</td>
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<td>9 December 1837</td>
<td>The Captain on Full Pay</td>
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<td>30 December 1837</td>
<td>The Captain on Half Pay</td>
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<td>6 January 1838</td>
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459  C. Craig, op cit, page 124
460  ibid
461  C. Craig, op cit, page 126
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<td>3 February 1838</td>
<td>The Errand Boy: signed WLG(^{462})</td>
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<td>10 February 1838</td>
<td>Mother's Dear Boy</td>
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<td>17 February 1838</td>
<td>Mother Church</td>
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<td>21 April 1838</td>
<td>Mr. John Jackson</td>
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<td>30 November 1839</td>
<td>The Swindler James Abbott</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 December 1841</td>
<td>A Liberal Proposition</td>
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</table>

\(^{462}\) ibid

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The Circulation of the "Chronicle" is considerably increased, and is three times the number of our other political works. We hope to continue this improvement by publishing the best meetings of the "Chronicle".

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Circulation of the "Chronicle" will be increased by the printing of the new edition of the "Chronicle", containing the most important events of the year 1815, and the proceedings of the General Assembly. The new edition of the "Chronicle" will be published at the beginning of each quarter, and will contain the most important events of the year. The public is requested to purchase it in advance, and to be on the lookout for the new edition of the "Chronicle".

THE NEW YEAR.

To our readers.

Our notices are usually published in advance of the year; but we are now ready to present to our readers the following account of the year 1816:

The year 1816 was a year of considerable excitement and agitation. The war with France had not yet ended, and the political and social changes which had taken place in Europe during the previous year were still in progress. The year was marked by the fall of Napoleon, the establishment of the Napoleonic Empire, and the opening of a new era in European politics. The year was also notable for the publication of the "Chronicle", which was received with great interest and enthusiasm.

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ONCE ENSLAVED FARWELL!

Text: The Time
And reasons to suspect
that this.

The very rich
are to
be dealt.

The poor;
and just when
who
should
be
and because
that this
be
more of
and because
that this
be

are to
be dealt.

The poor;
and just when
who
should
be
and because
that this
be

are to
be dealt.

The poor;
and just when
who
should
be
and because
that this
be

are to
be dealt.

The poor;
and just when
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should
be
and because
that this
be

are to
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