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**COLONIAL PERIODICALS:  
PATTERNS OF FAILURE\***

THE PRODUCTION OF PERIODICALS was the most intensive form of publishing in Australia during the nineteenth century. These magazines and papers covered a wide variety of taste and interest, ranging from literary quarterlies and monthly miscellanies to satirical journals and popular weeklies. Because of their ephemeral nature, only those that were the longest running are likely to have survived in any quantity. Others are known through the existence of odd and often scattered copies. For others still, the only record of publication may be a contemporary advertisement or review. In recent years, a considerable amount of attention has been paid to colonial periodicals. About 750 of them have now been identified and located,<sup>1</sup> and articles tracing the development of Australian literature through newspapers and periodicals have begun to appear. While most of the work in this field is literary-based,<sup>2</sup> the periodicals that were produced solely as organisational mouthpieces and record-keepers are also proving increasingly valuable as sources of historical information. One of the most striking aspects of research into colonial periodicals is the high proportion of unsuccessful productions. This raises the question of why so many hopeful promoters sponsored new periodicals when others of a similar kind had failed. It also leads to speculation upon the reasons for a repeated lack of success. Might those failures have been avoided, or were they inevitable, given the peculiarities of the Australian colonial situation? Perhaps the greatest mystery of all is the fact that, despite the tradition of failure, a handful of periodicals achieved consistent success. It is my purpose in this paper to look for answers to these questions and, in doing so, to establish the patterns responsible.

There were several reasons for the early attempts at producing periodicals in colonial Australia. One of the most important for the English-speaking immigrants who were in the majority was the transplantation of British culture. They could subscribe to the English and American magazines that were imported when the frequency of shipping increased and selling and lending facilities became available. But those magazines, although familiar, were no longer their own. The production of colonial periodicals was, in part, an affirmation of the decision to emigrate. It

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\* A revised version of a paper read to members of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand at their annual conference, 29-30 September 1989.

was also, for homesick immigrants, an antidote to feelings of cultural isolation. Literary activity in connection with these periodicals gave local writers opportunities for publication in a new country where few books by Australian authors were published before the turn of the century. The role of the periodicals as vehicles for the encouragement and development of literary taste was an aspect of colonial production often linked with Ruskinite precepts regarding the uplifting effect of literature and the arts. At the time of the foundation of the *Adelaide Miscellany*, which ran for a year from 1848-1849, and continued for another year under an altered title, the publisher and editor John Stephens declared that the sole object of his production was 'the elevation of the moral and mental character of man'.<sup>3</sup> Another reason, of course, was the need to make money.

Capital was the first requirement, sufficient at times for only one or two issues, but, more frequently, for the first quarter. The proprietor, who was often the publisher and perhaps also the editor, might provide the whole of the amount required. But, in most instances, there seems to have been a combination of financial backers. There could be proprietors in common, or one, more financially able than the rest, might put up the capital while others provided their services as part of the foundation process. Sometimes writers, artists and other interested and like-minded people combined to produce their periodicals. The *Illustrated Melbourne News*, owned by bookbinder William Detmold, artist Nicholas Chevalier and engraver Frederick Gross, and edited by journalist James Smith, which ran for six issues in 1858, is an example. Another is the *Australian Magazine* founded in Sydney in 1899 by what its editor Arthur Jose later described as 'a motley collection of artists and authors',<sup>4</sup> who contributed whatever they could afford to a publishing fund. There were few illusions about the future of this magazine, which was planned to continue only until the fund was exhausted. It ran for six issues.

The hire or purchase of printing machinery and/or the employment of a printer were further necessities, as also was the availability of suitable paper. The lack of these facilities hindered the production of many of the early periodicals. Some, like the *Australian Quarterly Magazine*, projected by Dr John Dunmore Lang in 1826, were delayed for the want of paper and ultimately abandoned. Others were plagued by technical difficulties that resulted in late issues, more often than not poorly printed. Labour was also a problem in the early period. Skilled tradesmen were scarce until increased immigration assisted the supply. In Victoria, where there was a rapid increase in population during the gold-rushes, labour shortages were compounded rather than relieved until conditions stabilised. In the last issue of the *Illustrated Australian Magazine*, which ran from 1850 to 1852, the Ham Brothers — Thomas, Jabez and Theophilus — who were the proprietors, deplored the fact that 'engravers, printers, compositors, pressmen and even contributors [had] abandoned their usual occupations to try their fortunes at the new El Dorado.'<sup>5</sup>

Having overcome difficulties in production, proprietors and editors had to be sure of acquiring sufficient material to fill the pages of their periodicals. While it was certainly preferable for an Australian magazine to carry a considerable local content, the early productions usually included a large amount of material reprinted

from overseas magazines. To some extent, although this was not often the objective, they acted as digests of established periodicals. Enthusiastic editors soon used up their panels of contributors and, in desperate attempts to fill each issue, wrote most of the original material themselves. Since the provision of contributions was often only one facet of a varied multiple role, personal pressure could result in premature closure.

Edward Butterfield, the proprietor and editor of the *Arm Chair*, founded in Melbourne in September 1853, exclaimed in the last number in April 1854: 'We cannot ourselves be at the same time scene-painter, orchestra, prompter, property-man, mechanist, lessee and author'.<sup>6</sup>

The last requirement, and one of the most important, was the establishment of a large enough readership to make the product viable. Proprietors and editors could send out notices and prospectuses and gather their friends around them, but, in a small population with a proportionately small group of people who were actively interested in literature, there was a seldom enough consistent support for a long run. The men and women who produced and subscribed to the current periodicals were also the ones most likely to be called upon to assist their friends and associates with new projects that, however complementary to their own, would share an already inadequate market. Subscription lists were a means of retaining supporters, provided they were paid up in advance. More often, the periodicals seem to have been founded on faith and promises. For some, the first issue became the only one when no further support was assured. Others that survived for one or two quarters frequently finished up with heavy losses, made up in part by unpaid subscriptions.

The proprietors had another problem in deciding whether what they were producing was actually a newspaper or a magazine. In the early years of colonial settlement, newspapers sometimes performed the function of magazines by including a wider variety of reading matter than might otherwise have been published in their columns. There were also newspapers produced as magazines in order to circumvent the imposition of stamp duty. The *Monitor Magazine*, published for two issues in Sydney in 1827, was presented with stitched pages in magazine form for this reason. The *Colonial Advocate and Tasmanian Monthly Magazine*, published in Hobart in 1828, was produced in a manner that made it hard to define its true nature. As its proprietor and editor Andrew Bent described it in the first issue:

It is not a newspaper, although in most respects it combines the features of one. It is *not* a magazine — and it *is* a magazine. It is, in fact, a Journal, a Public Record, a Register of passing events, a review of politics and an epitome of useful and practical information.<sup>7</sup>

After the newspaper taxes imposed by colonial governors were disallowed by the Secretary of State, the proprietors of periodicals were better able to concentrate on separate productions. However, in some cases there was still a thin dividing line. The large newspapers eventually developed their own weekly papers, such as the *Australasian*, published by the *Argus*, and the *Sydney Mail*, published by the

*Sydney Morning Herald*. These weekly papers, although offshoots of newspapers, can just as legitimately be called periodicals because of their content and its arrangement as well as their frequency.

Many of the early problems faced by promoters were eased with closer settlement and the expansion of colonial manufactures and transport. Printing machinery and type became more readily available, together with supplies of paper and other items essential to efficient production. Labour was no longer such a problem, although skilled and experienced tradesmen were less plentiful than some of the proprietors might have wished. Well-qualified men could command higher wages than they would have received at home in England, and costs of production in the Australian colonies remained high. This was an advantage to the English proprietors, who, profits assured by a large market for periodicals produced comparatively cheaply, could afford to export them to the colonies at competitive rates. In 1866, G.B. Barton indicated the popularity of imported periodicals in an assessment based on booksellers' sales:

The *Cornhill* alone, for instance has several hundred subscribers. *All The Year Round* and *Once a Week* are extremely popular. One bookseller sells a thousand volumes of *Good Words* every year. Another sells five hundred. *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* are read by every one. The *London Journal*, the *Family Herald*, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, and similar periodicals, may be said to circulate by cart-loads.<sup>8</sup>

The situation was no better in 1892, when Edward Dyson, editor of the *Ant*, formerly the *Bull-ant*, protested to his readers at the 'outrageous handicap' put upon the journal by the floods of cheap imports.<sup>9</sup>

The overseas journals, favoured by nostalgic appeal as well as cost, had the further advantage of being imported free of protective tariffs. In New South Wales, where there was free trade, protection for books and periodicals was not an issue. In Victoria, despite protectionist policy for native industries, the government was reluctant to impose a tariff on literary imports. But printers had to pay duty on cutting, ruling and perforating machinery, although printing machines and presses were exempt. In December 1883, a deputation from the Master Printers' Association waited on the Tariff Commission with a request for the imposition of a 25 per cent duty on books, periodicals, pamphlets and papers. An equivalent amount was also suggested for the composition value of imported stereotype plates through which instalments of serial stories and other literary features could be fitted in amongst columns of locally produced material. Provision was made for the exemption of old books, thus preserving the distinction between literary items and imports designed for the production of literature. The deputation was unsuccessful, largely because of the doubts of the Commissioners, founded on local experience, that the colonial product could compete successfully even if the market were favourable.

Postal charges both within and without the colonies were another continuing handicap. This was especially the case in Victoria, where newspapers required one halfpenny postage and magazines either one penny or twopence, depending on

weight. In New South Wales, newspapers were carried free and any magazine registered as a newspaper could be posted to Victoria without cost. In June 1889, the Melbourne Typographical Society sent a deputation to the Victorian Postmaster-General asking that this anomaly be removed. His refusal to alter postal charges was largely responsible for the sale of the Centennial Printing and Publishing Company's plant and business to a Sydney firm and the transfer of the *Centennial Magazine*, founded in Melbourne in 1888, to Sydney, where at first it carried a 'Melbourne and Sydney' imprint, changing to 'Sydney' only, for the last part of its existence. The *Centennial*, subtitled 'an Australian magazine', was able to attract contributors and, presumably, readers from New South Wales as well as from Victoria, and the place of its headquarters was, perhaps, less important to its promoters than the prospect of extending its life.

Several of the late nineteenth-century periodicals were designed for an Australian-wide readership. From the beginning, there had been frequent inclusions of 'Australia' or 'Australasia' in the titles, and, with the rapidly-increasing prospect of Federation, the production of a magazine with national appeal seemed ever more viable, at least in theory. But parochialism remained a dominant feature of colonial life. Promoters in each of the colonies, especially Victoria and New South Wales, which were rivals for recognition as premier states, faced competition not only from overseas models but also from those published across the borders. Competition, as always, inspired imitation. The *Bulletin*, founded in Sydney by John Haynes and J.F. Archibald in 1880, was followed by the *Melbourne Bulletin*, a pale copy that nevertheless continued until 1886. On the local level, *Melbourne Punch*, which absorbed the *Melbourne Bulletin*, had already proved its superiority over its rivals and imitators. From 1869-1870, when *Humbug* and *Touchstone* were in production, edited respectively by Marcus Clarke and James Smith, there were three humorous and satirical journals on sale in Melbourne. Since the population was sufficient to support one or two at most, the one that had established its popularity was able to outlive the rest.

In that case, and others like it, the market was largely controlled by the number of prospective purchasers. The state of the economy was another factor that could adversely affect the life of established as well as new productions. In times of financial depression, there was less money available for speculative ventures of the kind. The reading public was also less likely to be able to provide the necessary support. The *New South Wales Magazine*, founded by Thomas Henry Braim, was a casualty of the 1840s depression. There were 500 subscribers, sufficient it would seem to keep the magazine going. But, during 1843, while conditions worsened, the subscribers began asking collectors not to call. In the hope of some improvement in economic circumstances, the then proprietors Thomas Walker and Henry John Hatch decided to suspend the issue of the magazine for three or four months. As it happened, the magazine did not appear again. The Melbourne bank crashes of the 1890s and the depression that followed had a similar effect on later periodicals. Those that may have proved more likely to be viable in a different economic climate closed down, and, in an even more serious reversal of literary activity, a number of writers and artists left the colony for New South

Wales, where the depression was less acute and consequently there were more opportunities for employment.

Even in times of comparative prosperity, proprietors frequently suffered losses that, if unchecked, could lead to bankruptcy. Details of costs are not often available. However, Frank Fowler, founder and editor of the *Month*, which was produced in 18 issues in Sydney between July 1857 and December 1858, claimed that expenses for the first six months exceeded £1000.<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere, Fowler assessed his income while working as a journalist and bookseller in Australia as also being £1000.<sup>11</sup> Obviously, further finance was required, but large numbers of subscriptions remained unpaid, forcing the closure of the magazine. Other proprietors were sometimes able or prepared to sustain losses for longer runs because of their faith in the product. But eventually philanthropic publishing of the kind had to come to an end. In 1885, when the *Melbourne Review* had been running for nine years, Henry Gyles Turner, then joint editor with Alexander Sutherland, discussed the journal's future with publisher and bookseller George Robertson. Subscription lists were falling, and Turner, hoping to save the *Melbourne Review* by extending its scope as well as its circulation, appealed to Robertson for increased support. Robertson, a business man despite his literary enthusiasm, was dubious about the future viability of a periodical that was currently losing £25 to £30 per annum.<sup>12</sup> Turner, also a director of the publishing company, could not argue against Robertson's conclusions, and the *Melbourne Review* ceased publication.

Editors and proprietors resorted to various stratagems to attract the support that might allow them to go on producing their papers and magazines. A change of name, format or frequency was a means for attempting to revive reader interest and, also, of confusing future bibliographers. Take the case of the *Penny Melbourne Journal*, first published in 1862 by proprietor Henry Samuel Ward, which was a weekly when it ceased in 1863, but was resumed as a monthly by the same proprietor in 1864, under the title *Australian Family Journal*. Name changes were often associated with a change of proprietor; either the previous name was unavailable for use or the new owners wished to revitalise a declining magazine by presenting it in a different guise. The *Australian Monthly Magazine* is a case in point. Begun in Melbourne by its printer and publisher W.H. Williams in 1865, it was sold to the printing firm of Clarson, Massina and Company at the completion of the fourth volume. Since Clarson, Massina were also publishers and proprietors of the *Australian Journal*, the title was changed to the *Colonial Monthly* in order to avoid confusion.

A change in price — necessarily most often a reduction — was another ploy to increase support. The *Melbourne Quarterly*, which appeared first in 1882 and became the *Melbourne Journal* in 1883, was reduced from 1s to 6d an issue in July 1886 because of its alleged popularity. This calculated bid to attract additional supporters was unsuccessful: the journal closed in November of that year. The *Bull-ant*, a satirical and general weekly paper which, as already mentioned, had changed its name to the *Ant*, was reduced in price from 3d to 1d in March 1892. The editor explained the reason for the reduction:

It is our ambition to be a people's paper, and, believing that the only means of getting into the hands of the people to the extent that we desire lies in the selling of the journal at a price that will not be felt by the poorest amongst our patrons, we have resolved to make this bold bid for future popularity.<sup>13</sup>

But the experiment was a failure. The *Ant* had lacked support at 3d, and, when the lower price of 1d put it into direct competition with the popular English weekly papers, there was little improvement in sales. Its proprietors Edward Dyson and Thomas Durkin also found themselves unable to produce the paper at that price. The *Ant* came out for eight issues at 1d, after which the price reverted to 3d. The difference, which had always been too much for a weekly paper of the kind, was intensified at a time of economic crisis. The *Ant* closed in June 1892. The land boom had burst, and the poorer classes whom the proprietors had hoped to encourage were even more short of ready money than some of their once-rich fellows.

Proprietors close to failure sometimes combined resources in order to survive. For instance, the *Arena*, a Melbourne society weekly founded in 1900, merged in 1903 with the *Sun*, a similar paper that had been running since 1888, to form the *Arena-Sun*. In another kind of combination, proprietors tried to attract a diversity of interest rather than confining their appeal to a select readership. This was a matter of necessity in the early years, when there were fewer periodicals and editors had to make the best use of the material available for publication in an attempt to provide a comprehensive coverage of contemporary ideas and attitudes. So we find titles such as the *Colonial Observer, or, Weekly Journal of Politics, Commerce, Agriculture, Literature, Science and Religion*, the *Weekly Register of Politics, Facts and General Literature*, and the *Australian Quarterly Journal of Theology, Literature and Science*. Later proprietors combined interests seemingly more disparate, resulting in the production of the *Australian Police News and Music and the Drama*, the *Melbourne Clipper and Racing and Theatrical Record*, or, as an extreme example, the *Debater: A Weekly Liberal Penny Newspaper, for the Free Discussion of All Subjects, including Free Trade, Protection, Squatters, Free Selectors, Education, Trade Defence, Christianity, Buddhism, Materialism, Freethought, Anglo-Israelitism, Spiritualism, &c. &c.*

Advertisements were another means of bringing in revenue. Their use was apparently too closely linked with the commercial world for the taste of some of the early proprietors, but necessity having prevailed, advertising sections such as those in the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* and the *Illustrated Journal of Australasia* became acceptable. When advertisers paid on a monthly or an issue basis the use of advertisements could be profitable all around. Ideally, though, it was better if they paid in advance so that the magazine proprietors might be assured of financial support from this source for at least the next quarter. The proprietors of *Cosmos Magazine*, published in Sydney from 1894 to 1899 and edited largely by Annie Bright, managed to persuade its clients to pay for permanent advertising a year or two in advance. This was a coup for *Cosmos*, but the benefits were only temporary. The magazine closed before its advertising commitments were used up,

leaving the clients with no recourse except to cut their losses and warn other advertisers not to make similar arrangements.<sup>14</sup>

At the point where all other attempts at maintaining production appeared to have failed, proprietors sometimes made direct pleas for support. In 1861, when the first *Victorian Review* was in its death throes, a meeting of subscribers was called to discuss its future. The *Review* had incurred weekly losses for some time past and it needed an assurance of increases in subscribers to continue. The meeting, if held at all, seems to have been fruitless. There were no further issues. Prizes and incentives were offered in other attempts to keep subscribers. The *Parthenon*, begun in Sydney in 1889 by sisters Lilian and Ethel Turner, was successful in attracting supporters through offering prizes for literary and other competitions, with a special prize at the end of each year for the competitor with the highest marks. These prizes, supplied by interested donors, were awarded with certificates at an annual gathering at the home of the sisters. The *Parthenon* ran for three years with the assistance of this scheme. The *Woman*, another Sydney journal, which lasted for six months in 1892, offered incentives that included prizes of musical instruments for the collectors of the most subscriptions. As a promotional device, the proprietors also promised that 30,000 free copies of each issue would be circulated throughout New South Wales for one year. *Australian Tit-Bits*, published in Sydney from 1899 to 1900, had accident insurance coupons printed on its wrappers to attract subscribers, while *Light*, a monthly journal published in Melbourne for the undertaking industry in 1895, took the prospect of accident and death a good deal further. Early issues were distributed gratis, carrying a bonus in the form of insurance current until the next issue. The major incentive was a prize of an acre of land with buildings in Collingwood for annual subscribers who introduced two more. This prize was offered on the tontine system, in which members remaining at the end of a fixed period shared the benefits of those ineligible through death or default. The nominee age was set at 60, so that subscribers would not have too long to wait. Despite this encouragement sufficient subscribers with preoccupations about their time of death were not forthcoming. The *Light* closed after four issues, leaving its readers in complete doubt as to the ultimate disposal of the prize.

Having traced recurrent patterns of failure in nineteenth-century periodicals, I wish to look now at some of those that achieved success. The best known, and one of the longest lasting, is the *Bulletin*, still appearing in much altered and truncated form. As originally published, it was a radical weekly that rose to popularity along with the wave of nationalistic sentiment that gathered strength during the latter part of the century. Its proprietors and editors actively encouraged the publication of work by Australian writers and artists, and, with its slogan 'Australia for the Australians' and its often outspoken attitudes towards the social and political questions of the time, it succeeded in extending its market beyond colonial borders. Essentially a Sydney publication, the *Bulletin* nevertheless had some appeal for almost everyone. It was popular in the bush, where it became known as 'the bushman's bible'. It was also adequately supported in the cities, and, in its heyday, it seems to have been a regular reading habit.



*Melbourne Punch* was another long-lasting periodical. Begun in 1855 by Frederick Sinnett, it continued in production until its absorption into *Table Talk*, also a successful Melbourne weekly, in 1925. Modelled closely on the London *Punch*, even to the extent, in its early years, of using a good deal of *Punch* material without acknowledgment, it mirrored the foibles of prominent Melburnians with humour and what was often biting satire. It had several imitators, both in Melbourne and the neighbouring colonies, but it was successful where they failed. This is not to say that its proprietors did not face similar difficulties in production and distribution. Perhaps, if begun at another time and in another place, *Melbourne Punch* might not have survived. But, like the *Bulletin*, which benefited from an emerging national school of literature and art, *Melbourne Punch* had the right combination of writers and artists at a stage of renewal and excitement in colonial life. It was able to become securely established with the aid of the educated gold-rush immigrants who formed the Melbourne intelligentsia. In addition, it overcame the threat posed by the nostalgic appeal of its English model through its increasing topicality.

The acknowledgment of changing modes of popular appeal was a factor in the success of another Melbourne periodical. From its inception, the *Australian Journal* contained a large proportion of fiction. Modelled on the English *Family Herald*, it adapted the tradition of cheap weekly literature into a monthly magazine that was different from the more seriously literary-minded monthlies. Most proprietors were aware that a good serial story could help to ensure continued circulation. Usually though, fiction was included as an added enticement rather than the mainstay of the content. At times it was found out of place, as when the second *Victorian Review*, designed to outsell the established *Melbourne Review*, included a serial story in its first volume. But, from then on, fiction was dropped, probably because of its effect in lowering the tone of the *Victorian Review* in comparison with its non-fiction publishing rival. The *Australian Journal* had no pretensions of the kind. It was a family paper, albeit a monthly, and it proved to be a valuable vehicle for the publication of work by colonial and later Australian authors. By retaining its formula through to the end of the nineteenth century and adapting to the demands of the twentieth, it remained in publication for almost a hundred years.

Weekly papers were the most likely survivors. Produced more cheaply per issue than the monthlies, they often had large, if impermanent, followings. The ones most noticeably successful were the general weeklies produced by the newspaper offices. These papers catered for a wide audience. Although founded as country weeklies, they contained much that was of interest to the town. For instance, the *Australasian* was divided into sections of specialised news and intelligence relating, among others, to agricultural, literary, theatrical and sporting interests. These weeklies were more fortunate than most of their contemporaries. They had the backing of established newspapers against financial ruin, and they were able to use the services of experienced staff writers, artists and photographers. Two of them are still in production, although it is only the *Weekly Times* that maintains a basis

that is recognisable from its origins. The *Australasian Post*, having altered its style and format along with its title, has little connection with its forbear.

In all these instances of occasional success but frequent failure, there must surely be an element of luck. How else can one explain the continuation, however temporary, of one periodical when others of a similar kind faced almost immediate closure? Apart from luck, there is also the matter of outside financial support, as exemplified in the case of the newspaper weeklies. The second *Victorian Review* also had the advantage of having apparently unlimited capital behind it until the indulgence of its backers in unwise speculation brought its seemingly successful run to a halt.<sup>15</sup> These examples and the others I have discussed are, to a large extent, part of a nineteenth-century phenomenon governed by colonial conditions. But the vital fact remains that, without financial subsidy, now mainly found in the form of government grants, no Australian literary periodical would be able to survive. Glossy magazines appear in colourful profusion on the newsagents' shelves, but even there all does not seem to be well when the *Australian Women's Weekly*, in its own way as much of a landmark as the *Bulletin*, has become a monthly, while retaining its now erroneous title.

Lurline Stuart,  
Melbourne.

#### NOTES

1. For details of literary and partly-literary publications, see Lurline Stuart, *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979). See also Alfred Pong, *Checklist of Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals* ([Bundoora]: La Trobe University, Library Publication No.29, 1985).
2. I refer especially to the valuable work being done by Elizabeth Morrison and Elizabeth Webby.
3. 'The Editor's Address', *Adelaide Miscellany*, 1 (1848), 2.
4. Arthur W. Jose, *The Romantic Nineties* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1933), p.4.
5. Preface, *Illustrated Australian Magazine*, 4 (1852).
6. 'The Arm Chair', *Arm Chair*, 2 (1854), 39.
7. [Introduction], *Colonial Advocate*, 1 (1828), 1-2.
8. G.B. Barton, *Literature in New South Wales* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1866), p.7.
9. *Ant*, 28 April 1892, 4.
10. 'To our Agents, Subscribers, and Friends', *Month*, 1 (1858), 115.
11. Frank Fowler, *Southern Lights and Shadows* (London: Sampson Low, 1859), p.18.
12. Turner papers, MS 8062, La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria.
13. *Ant*, 25 February 1892, 11.
14. See Jose, p.426.
15. Henry Gyles Turner, 'A Final Batch of Victorian Magazines', *Library Record of Australasia*, 1 (1901), 131-2.

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