



# LIBERTY!

**WELCOME TO LIBERTY!**  
**Liberty! #70 October 2019**

[www.eurekaschildren.org.au](http://www.eurekaschildren.org.au)

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Mary Howlett  
Margaret O'Brien  
Peter Lalor Philp

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## **PRESIDENT'S COLUMN – Eric Howard**

There is a busy period ahead for your Committee with many activities in coming months and numerous opportunities being pursued.

### **Name Change**

As foreshadowed in our last newsletter and as a result of our strategic workshop in June we polled members and at a special general meeting on September 24, it was resolved that our name would change from November 16, 2019 to **EUREKA AUSTRALIA, Inc. Descendants and Supporters**. Informally on our letter head we will become EUREKA AUSTRALIA Descendants and Supporters.

### **Eureka Melbourne Democracy App**

One of the issues arising from our June Workshop was the need to develop an App to support a walking tour of Melbourne locations and activities relevant to Eureka and its aftermath. A sub-committee has been formed to progress content for a walking tour App for Melbourne which focuses on those Eureka related events and locations especially the many events and locations post Eureka which were relevant to the struggle for democratic rights in Victoria. Much of this activity occurred in Melbourne and it is intended to have a first draft of content by year end with material compiled for App development purposes in the first quarter of 2020.

### **Membership**

We are keen to substantially increase our membership in 2019/ 2020. We want all of you to actively canvass potential new members. Descendants of Eureka are important but any person with an empathy for the Eureka story and what it represents today are very welcome as members.

**We ask all of you who have not yet paid to please pay your annual dues for 2019 promptly.** We need your support to continue to function and most importantly to prosper. Next year's dues will become payable early in 2020.

### **Pathway of Remembrance**

The Ballarat City Council have advised that the proposed Pathway of Remembrance being constructed adjacent to the Eureka Centre in Ballarat is scheduled to be opened on Saturday December 6<sup>th</sup>.

We will circulate details when they are available to all newsletter recipients.

### **Democracy Award Dinner program**

Our planning for the Eureka Democracy Award Dinner to be held on Saturday November 16 is well advanced. Tim Costello will be our 2019 Eureka Democracy Award Recipient.

Dr. Geraldine Moore, a member of Eureka's Children, will provide a brief presentation about her recently published book *George Higinbotham and Eureka*.

Geraldine has researched the editorials that Higinbotham wrote anonymously for the *Melbourne Morning Herald*, before, during and after the conflict at Eureka. Geraldine's book reveals that, as a young journalist in the 1850s, Higinbotham reported on the goldfields agitation, and afterwards participated in the continuing struggle for political rights. Geraldine will explain how his contributions helped to shape the struggle for democratic government in Victoria.

A flyer for the dinner is attached in the newsletter and tickets for a two course meal are \$70 each.

The venue is the Amora Hotel, Bridge Road, Richmond, as for the past two years.

Please make your bookings to be part of this great evening through our secretary Peter Gavin. It is always stimulating and enjoyable and we will also be commemorating the 165<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Eureka events.

We want to see you there to celebrate Eureka and all it means to us today.

### **Australian democracy and the rules we established about our franchise and elections**

Australian Democracy – one of the youngest yet one of the oldest continuous democracies in the world, is a singular feature of Australian society. There is a need for this achievement to be better understood by all Australians.

A publication relevant to understanding something of the detail about some of the key underpinnings of Australia's democratic system and society including much of its constituent machinery elements

(such as electoral arrangements and franchise arrangements) - with the subject matter of considerable relevance to Eureka's Children's aims and objectives – has recently been published.

It is Judith Brett's *From Secret Ballot to Democracy Sausage*. A review of this excellent and very approachable book is included later in this newsletter on page 11.

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## **2019 Eureka's Children Annual Eureka Democracy Award Dinner**

**Venue: Amora Hotel  
649 Bridge Road,  
Richmond  
Saturday 16 November**

**6.30 pm for 7.00 pm**

**The Dinner Commemorates and Celebrates  
the 165th Anniversary of the 1854 Eureka  
Events with the presentation of the Eureka  
Democracy Award**

**The 2019 Eureka Democracy Award will be  
presented during the evening to Tim Costello,  
AO**



**AWARDEE:** From 2004 to 2016, Tim Costello was CEO of World Vision Australia and from 2011 has been the Chairman of the Community Council for Australia.

Tim received the Victorian of the Year award in July 2004 in recognition of his public and community service.

He was made an officer of the Order of Australia in June 2005 and was the Victorian nominee for the Australian of the Year Award in 2006.

Tim was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from Australian Catholic University in 2008 in recognition of his contribution to religious life and to social justice and is the 2008 winner of the Australian Peace Prize awarded by the Peace Organisation of Australia. He is also listed by the National Trust as a "National Living Treasure".

In his various roles he has spearheaded public debate on problem gambling, urban poverty, homelessness, reconciliation and drug abuse over many years and has served as a local government elected representative and Mayor at the then City of St Kilda.

From 1995 to 2003, Tim was a minister of the Collins Street Baptist Church and the executive director of Urban Seed, a Christian not-for-profit organisation created in response to concern about homelessness, drug abuse and the marginalisation of the city's street people.

Tim is the Spokesperson for the Alliance for Gambling Reform, a Director of Ethical Voice and the Executive Director of Micah Australia.

### **GUEST SPEAKER**

Dr. Geraldine Moore, a member of Eureka's Children, will provide a brief presentation about her recently published book *George Higinbotham and Eureka*.

Geraldine has researched the editorials that Higinbotham wrote anonymously for the *Melbourne Morning Herald*, before, during and after the conflict at Eureka. Historians know of Higinbotham as Attorney-General of Victoria during the turbulent constitutional deadlocks of 1865 and 1867, and later as a controversial Chief Justice of Victoria's Supreme Court. Geraldine's book reveals that, as a young journalist in the 1850s, Higinbotham reported on the goldfields agitation, and afterwards participated in the continuing struggle for political rights. Geraldine will explain how his contributions helped to shape the struggle for democratic government in Victoria.

**Come along and enjoy an evening of conversation, celebration and commemoration of the remarkable social change that was influenced by the events that took place at Eureka 165 years ago and whose impacts continue to positively influence our society today.**

**Tickets** \$70 each, Tables of 10 for \$700

**Bookings** essential - Contact the Secretary Peter Gavin 0417 135 373 or email [eurekaschildren@gmail.com](mailto:eurekaschildren@gmail.com)

**Payment by cheque: Post to** 1<sup>st</sup> floor 420-424 William Street West Melbourne 3003

**Payment via EFT:** to BSB 704191 account 90789 (please put your name as the reference in the EFT transaction)

[www.eurekaschildren.org.au](http://www.eurekaschildren.org.au)

## **The Canadian Eureka Rebels by Treasurer Leigh Callinan**

The following account of the involvement of Canadians in the Eureka Rebellion is taken from:

Corfield, Justin; Wickham, Dorothy & Gervasoni, Clare. The Eureka Encyclopaedia. Ballarat Heritage Services 2004

'There were many Canadians in Victoria during the Gold Rush and a number featured prominently in the Eureka uprising. Robert Julien, one of the miners who died in defence of the Eureka Stockade, came from Canada, as did Charles Ross, one of the miners' leaders, and his friend Thomas Budden. ... Henry Chapman, who represented the American John Joseph at the Eureka Treason Trial had lived in Canada, as had Charles Doudiet, the artist ...'

and from:

Fitzsimons, Peter (2012). Eureka: the Unfinished Revolution. William Heinemann, Australia

In early November 1854, 27-year-old Captain Charles Ross, with Henry Holyoake, worked to get the charges against 3 diggers, for leading the riot at the Eureka Hotel, dropped. He also co-signed a submission to the subsequent enquiry, on behalf of the Ballarat Reform League.

Captain Ross was in the diggers' leadership group that decided on the design of the Eureka Flag. The flag was created by the Women of Eureka and carried to Bakery Hill for hoisting by Captain Ross. He led the diggers in their march from Bakery Hill to Eureka to set up the Stockade.

Captain Ross had a company of men at Eureka, presumably also Canadians. On the Friday 1<sup>st</sup> December, before Sunday's battle, the diggers' War Council 'decided that Captain Ross and Captain Nelson {commander of the 'Californian Rifles'} would take nearly 200 of their best men from their respective companies out to intercept Redcoats {thought to be coming up from Melbourne}. They are to set up an ambush at Warrenheip, 4 miles away ...' These 2 companies returned to the Stockade on Saturday. They did not encounter any Redcoats. They spent some of the rest of the day rounding up arms wherever they could find them, including from Assistant Commissioner Gilbert Amos.

Captain Ross's mate, Thomas Budden, who was camped 200m outside the Stockade was one of the first to hear the approaching military in the predawn of Sunday 3<sup>rd</sup> December. He ran to alert the Diggers and specifically Captain Ross. He begged Ross to run, but Ross told him he will stand and fight. Captain Ross's men joined with the Americans and, to 'train down fire so 'sharp and sustained'!..'

'One man who has been present from the beginning and stands his ground magnificently is Captain Charles Ross.... he stands by the flagpole upon which the Southern Cross is flying proud, sword in one hand and pistol in the other.' He was eventually felled 'by a vicious musket ball to his groin.' When the battle ended Captain Ross was carried to the Star Hotel, where he died of his wounds.

'... the biggest of the many funeral processions that occurs over the next two days is 300 strong – for brave Captain Ross -...'

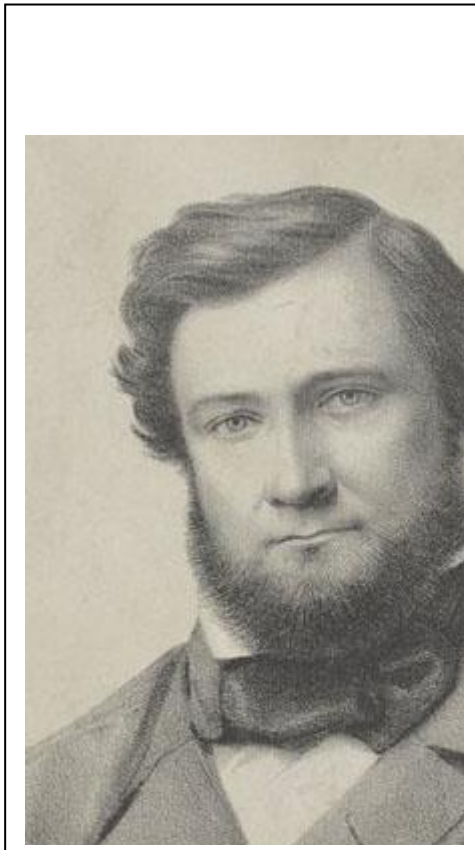
# 130 YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH – A REFLECTION ON PETER LALOR

By Peter Lalor Philp

It is 130 years since Peter Lalor died at the home of his son, Joseph, in Church Street, Richmond. Historians and writers have left no shortage of information about Peter's life as a rebel leader and a politician. And as these eager scribes take pride in doing, they have produced a diverse collection of opinions about the man. It was former Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, who questioned the accuracy that most of it carried a degree of bias.

Clive Turnbull wrote that Eureka and little after it rose to the occasion and wanting.'

Others liked to base their between Peter and his the critical facts that the difference places under Most of Peter Lalor's historians wrote well after death. Those few little written by Lalor different portrait of the was a reluctant participant consistent with Lalor's Scottish immigrant, their voyage to Australia.



collection of opinions former Prime Minister, questioned the accuracy that most of it carried a

'Lalor was little before but when the time came, who was not found

stories on comparisons - brother Fintan, ignoring brothers operated in different circumstances. biographers and Eureka and even after his contemporaries and the himself provide a man. The image that he in the uprising is not conversation with William Craig, during According to Craig Peter

spoke about the injustices in Ireland and quoted Lalor as saying: "We shall see if a better state of things cannot be worked out in Australia. I intend to have a voice in its government before two years are over." Craig's summation of Lalor was a man of high intelligence, ambitious and full of energy and courage, yet one who might be led into unwise courses by sheer impulsiveness. There were those in Ireland who would claim that the whole Lalor family's energy and courage could lead them into unwise courses. One of Lalor's stockade captains, fellow Irishman, John Lynch, was bold in his praise of his leader, confirming that even before the uprising, Lalor brought new fire to the Ballarat Reform League. Lynch reported that the league was facing critical times with "too much flattery and tall-talk. Stout hearted Lalor could not brook this beggarly refuse. Coming fresh from a country where humbug and constitutional agitation had nearly emasculated its manhood, he (Lalor) felt no desire to countenance it here. He knew from experience that nothing could come of it...and that to command attention their action must be reflected from the gleaming steel behind them." Another Eureka eye-witness was Raffaello Carboni, a veteran of Garibaldi revolutionary forces, who referred to the Eureka leader as 'Brave Lalor' and was a strong

supporter of his leadership: “It was my impression that he possessed the confidence of the diggers and should be their Commander-in-chief,” Carboni said. In the Ballarat Reform League divide, Carboni recognized Lalor’s rebellious spirit as needed to bring about just reform in the young colony. “He was a no-two-ways, non-John-Bullised Irishman, Peter Lalor, in whose eyes, the gaseous heroism of demagogues, or the knavery of peg-shifters is an abomination, because his height of impudence consisted in giving the diggers his hand,” stated Carboni.

From the viewpoint of eye witnesses, there is little doubt that Lalor brought to Australia that radical sense of justice that had been ingrained into him and his siblings at Tenakill over his younger life. There might have been a vastly different environment in James Fintan’s Ireland compared to Peter Fintan’s Victoria, never-the-less both men were fighting the same tyrannical regime and were prepared to risk everything to start the process of fundamental change. Peter, like Fintan, was not a violent person, in fact he was quite the opposite. John Lynch said of Lalor “He brought moderation and common sense.” Peter too carried within his DNA, the courage of his convictions. When structural repression threatened the safety of his fellow diggers, there was a need to lay down his pick and shovel and take up the steel within a stockade. Critics are ever ready to point out the taming of the rebel when Peter Lalor entered Parliament. In every democracy, and that is what the Eureka diggers championed, there is always need for compromise. There are always actions taken that the population might not understand. Probably there are decisions made that are later regretted.

While the history scribes generally applaud his courage, leadership and his steadfast struggle for a just democracy at Ballarat, there were some who questioned these qualities once he was elected to Parliament. Much of this criticism is coloured by Lalor’s unsuccessful and sometimes inconsistent business career in the mining industry, as well as drawing much attention to his stand on the renewal property qualifications for franchise and advocating that members of the Legislative Council be nominated, not elected. But it was Peter Lalor who was a strong champion of the rights of diggers and was successful in bringing about compensation for those who had fought at the Eureka Stockade. His seven years as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly were highly memorable, even his most bitter enemies had nothing but good to say about him. As on the battlefield at Eureka, Peter Lalor on the floor of Parliament was always his own man, refusing to be recruited by the ‘isms’ of the time including his beloved Catholicism. He raised the ire of his church when he voted against state aid to church schools rather supporting a national education system that allowed religious education.

Clearly, he was a genuine Tenakill Lalor, an unapologetic rebel and determined reformer, willing to risk all against tyrannical systems and individuals. He regretted the bloodshed at Eureka but certainly not his actions. Just before his death, Lalor reflected: “Tis better as it is now. We not only got all that we fought for but a little more. It is sweet and pleasant to die for one’s country, but it is sweeter to live and see the principles for which you have risked your life, triumphant.”

- Peter Lalor Philp is a Melbourne journalist and the great great grandson of Peter Lalor and a Committee member of Eureka’s Children

## A WRITER'S BOOK FESTIVAL

Wednesday 4 December at 7.30pm

@ Celtic Club Metropolitan (crn. Courtney and Blackwood Sts North Melbourne)

HOSTED JOINTLY BY THE CELTIC CLUB & EUREKA'S CHILDREN

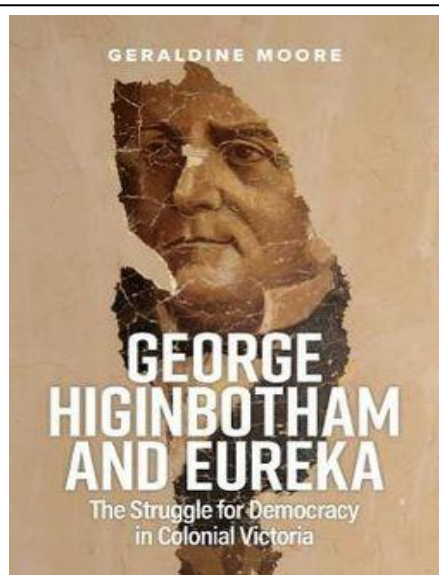
Presenting 3 writers: *Rod Smith, Geraldine Moore and Denise Shine*



### GUINNESS DOWN UNDER

Rod Smith, in his book **Guinness Down under**, has written an original and intriguing jigsaw puzzle of a book. The varied pieces include accounts of the families of four grandsons of the founder of Dublin's Guinness Brewery

who immigrated to Australia and New Zealand during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the fictional memoirs and letters of another Guinness family member, a woman who lived in New Zealand and Fiji; and, finally, a history of the Guinness brewing business both in Ireland and Down Under. This is a book to be savoured, not just by those who love their pint of Guinness, but by all those interested in how Irish culture and tastes have shaped and continue to shape the lives of New Zealanders and Australians.

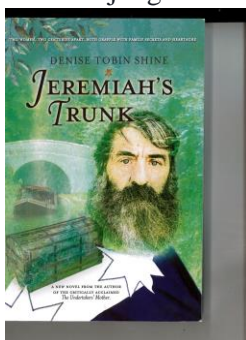


Geraldine Moore has written '**George Higinbotham and Eureka: The Struggle for Democracy in Colonial Victoria**'. Higinbotham was a barrister at the time of Eureka who wrote anonymously for the Melbourne Herald. He visited Ballarat in October 1854 at the time of the burning of the Eureka Hotel and following the trip he wrote an editorial detailing the scandalous state of the administration on the goldfields and warned of imminent bloodshed if the government did not immediately reform the administration of the Goldfields. He then warned the governor that 'worse would follow if the diggers' grievances were not addressed'. And in another editorial Higinbotham praised the diggers as 'the salt of the earth' and defending their right to assemble, yet pleading with them to refrain from illegality. Two days before the battle he urged the immediate discontinuation of the gold licence fee 'before many a poor fellow has been

unnecessarily sacrificed'.

Higinbotham was deeply troubled by the conflict at Eureka and viewed it as a consequence of a seriously defective political system. He devoted the rest of his life to advocating for a truly democratic form of colonial government, independent of the Colonial Office.

He later became the editor of The Argus, a Member of Parliament, the Attorney General, a Supreme Court judge and finally the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.



**Jeremiah's Trunk** by Denise Tobin Shine, is a multi-generational, heart-warming epic through two centuries. Abigail Skinner's ancestors' lives are shattered when Jeremiah, now a part-time artist/potter and husband and father, is transported to New South Wales for forgery. Throughout his convict years, Jeremiah dreams of returning to his homeland, but his life takes a new turn with the discovery of gold in 1851. Jeremiah settles in Ballarat, is deeply involved with the Eureka Stockade and starts his Australian dynasty. Readers will be interested how this well researched piece of historical-fiction paints a very clear picture of family life in Ballarat in 1854.



## Talking History at the Eureka Centre

The Eureka Centre in Ballarat has announced the launch of Talking History @ Eureka, an initiative to explore significant new research into the history of the Ballarat region, with a special focus on the colonial period.

Presented on the first Tuesday of each month, these free talks will present new perspectives on Ballarat and Goldfields history with a special focus on the events and legacy of the Eureka Stockade. Speakers include academics, writers, independent researchers and people from diverse fields who are engaged in exploring and reimagining Ballarat's past.

"There is a real hunger in the community for discussion and debate about our rich history," Anthony Camm, Manager Eureka Centre said.

The 'Talking History' series  
fresh new research and  
"The monthly lectures will  
on Ballarat's colonial  
unexpected and recently  
Camm said.

Join us at the Eureka Centre  
month at 5.30pm to hear  
history to life. Entry is free



will focus on uncovering  
ideas about the past.  
present the latest research  
history, including some  
revealed aspects," Mr

on the first Tuesday of each  
guest speakers bringing our  
and no booking is required.

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## Tim Flannery likens Climate Protests to the Eureka Rebellion

Australians desperate for climate change action are now in open rebellion against the federal government for failing them, scientist Tim Flannery says.

Professor Flannery, who led the Climate Commission before the Abbott government axed it six years ago, says Australians fuelled by a deep sense of betrayal are rising up in the same way gold miners did during the Eureka rebellion of 1854.

"Civil society has been torn, like it was during the Eureka Stockade times," he has told ABC radio, ahead of national protests on Friday demanding stronger climate action by Australia.

"Rebellions happen when governments fail their people and that's what we're seeing right now - a rebellion because government has failed its people."

Prof Flannery says the government can expect an ongoing campaign of civil defiance, like Friday's Global Strike 4 Climate event that will see rallies staged in 110 towns and cities across Australia.

"It's part of a new wave of activism ... and we shall see where all of that leads."

## **Reunion of the Descendants of Michael Hanrahan**

On Sunday 17 November the descendants of Michael Hanrahan will hold a reunion at Bungaree Recreation Reserve from lunch onwards. For further details contact Maurice Hanrahan phone 0408 801 134.

Michael Hanrahan was selected as Captain of the Pike Division during the Eureka defence. Raffaello Carboni an eye witness to the events leading up to the storming of the stockade by the troopers and one of those tried for Treason reported *"Said pikemen division was among the first that took up arms on Thursday November 30th, immediately after the licence hunt. It was formed on Bakery Hill and received Lalor on the stump with acclamation. It increased hourly and permanently: was the strongest division in the Eureka stockade: in comparison to others it stood the most true to the "Southern Cross", and consequently suffered the greatest loss on the morning of the massacre...."*

One of the claims of the tens of thousands of gold miners, associated workers and families on the Central Victorian goldfields was for the Government to unlock the land. All land on and around the goldfields was owned by the Crown with vast tracts of Pastoral Runs leased to the squatters. The miners and other workers and those with limited means had no access to land on which to build a house. Living in tents made them feel stateless and vulnerable. Michael Hanrahan remained on the goldfields of Ballarat and Carngham for nine years after Eureka

One important outcome of the miner's defensive stand at Eureka was the passing of several Acts including the Nicholson Act 1860 and the Duffy Land Act of 1862 which enabled Crown land to be surveyed into farm size blocks and sold. Michael Hanrahan benefited from the Closer Settlement Acts and was able to take up a surveyed, uncleared block in present day Bungaree. This land has remained in the Hanrahan family for the past 156 years and is currently farmed by Les Hanrahan a Great Grandson of Michael Hanrahan. Les and his siblings have a double connection to Eureka as their maternal Great Grandfather was Michael Tuohy who was arrested after the battle at Eureka and tried for Treason.

Other Hanrahan's with double connections to Eureka are those who's maternal Great Grandfather was Michael Walsh who was a witness to the battle and had his tent burned by the troopers. Michael Walsh and several other Eureka participants settled in the Bungaree District, East of Ballarat when blocks of land for farming became available.

## From Secret Ballot to Democracy Sausage

### **JUDITH BRETT *From Secret Ballot to Democracy Sausage: How Australia got Compulsory Voting*. Reviewed by Bernard Whimpress**

**Australian politicians might rank low in public esteem but as this incisive book from Judith Brett reveals, our system of voting is admirable compared to the rest of the world's democracies and certainly superior to those of the United Kingdom and the United States.**

It must have been exciting to have studied politics under Professor Judith Brett at Latrobe University because I am sure she emphasised to her students (as she contends in her opening chapter) that 'Australia was born not on the battlefield but at the ballot box'. And that while the 'Anzac Legend is a core foundation myth' it is only one story of the nation – 'how we got compulsory voting is no less definitive of who we are'.

Statistics, carefully chosen, can focus the mind and thus it is important to learn in the opening paragraph that of 166 democracies on the planet, voting is compulsory in only 19, and only nine (including us) enforce that compulsion. Compulsory voting was not introduced in Australia federally until 1925 but another salutary statistic is that since that time support for it has never been less than 60 per cent.

Our preferential system of voting is distinctively Australian but this fairest of forms did not come about by chance and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries Australia led the world in electoral reform. Brett traces the wider story to the present in 18 short chapters dealing with the invention of the Australian ballot, key colonial innovators, women's suffrage, Aboriginal exclusion, a variety of voting systems, a long struggle for compulsory voting, the Saturday vote, and jockeying for political advantage by different parties.

In the mid-19th century many of the new immigrants – and especially those who were inspired to try their luck on the goldfields – were influenced by Chartism and its six demands for electoral reform: votes for all men, payment of members of parliament, no property qualifications for MPs, the secret ballot, equal electorates and annual elections.

'All except the last of these we now take for granted in healthy democracies', Brett notes, but it is worth being reminded that in the debate on the secret ballot opponents and supporters came from unexpected sources. Some opponents regarded the secret ballot as 'un-English':

*These claims had a sectarian edge. The manly English character displayed in open voting was a decidedly Protestant construct, hostile to the secrecy of the Catholic confessional and the feminine dependence of Catholics on their priests.*

Melbourne's conservative newspaper, the *Argus*, regarded the secret ballot as 'a protection against the excesses of democracy'.

Argument was one thing, implementation another, and the innovation of such mundane elements as the provision of voting stalls, paper and pencils had major effects around the world:

*The official printed ballot paper and the compartments for voting became known as the Australian ballot, and attracted the interest of reformers in Britain and the United States. In Britain it was seen*

*as a way to reduce the power of the landed gentry and to free elections from intimidation, riot and drunken disorder; in the United States it was hoped it would limit the control of party machines ... The Australian ballot turned voting into a well-mannered civic ritual.*

In the colonial era South Australia provided three important innovators: Catherine Spence as a proponent of Thomas Hare's system of voting by proportional representation, William Boothby for developing the first permanent electoral administration in the world, and Mary Lee for her role in the women's suffrage movement.

Boothby's model was subsequently adopted at the national level and Australia's centralised electoral roll and commitment to uniformity in federal elections contrasts with the sloppy electoral practices (often involving wilful disenfranchisement of voters) in the United States, and the inconvenience of being required to vote at the nearest polling booth to one's home in Britain. Our practice of voting on Saturdays, which began in South Australia and Queensland in the 19th century, and federally since 1913, makes voting much simpler than on Tuesdays in the US, and Thursdays in Britain.

The Barton government's first Electoral Bill in 1902 included preferential voting for the House of Representatives and a single transferable vote for the Senate. However, despite the passionate argument of government Senate leader Richard O'Connor, neither was achieved, and the 1902 Electoral Act established first-past-the-post voting for the House and block voting for the Senate. 'The method of voting is only one of the factors determining the formation and survival of political parties, but it is a powerful one', Brett writes. The Labor party favoured first-past-the-post and the Protectionists and Free Traders were slow off the mark in seeing the advantages of the preferential system, even when they combined as Liberals from 1910; it was not until 1919 that a Nationalist Government led by Billy Hughes introduced preferential voting. The peculiarity was the situation in the Senate which resulted in enormous unrepresentative majorities: the ALP won all 18 seats it contested in 1910 and 1934, and non-Labor won them all in 1919, 1925 and 1943. The move to introduce proportional representation for Senate voting came from the Chifley Government 47 years after it had failed in the Commonwealth's first Electoral Bill.

Upper Houses (colonial and state) claimed to be houses of review and the Senate was supposed to be a protection for the interests of the smaller states. In fact, Brett argues:

*The block-voting system only ever delivered unrepresentative Senates that were more often than not rubber stamps for the government of the day. When Chifley's Labor government introduced proportional representation in 1949, however, nothing could have been further from its mind than to encourage new parties or to hand control of the Senate to independents. Yet this is what happened. Sometimes this is described as a revival of the Senate, but in fact it was a transformation.*

Indeed, such a transformation that the government of the day has controlled the Senate (in three periods) for a total of only ten of the last 70 years.

Compulsory voting is the subject of chapters eight, 11 and 13, so that while Alfred Deakin first introduced it in a Victorian government bill in 1888, it was first enacted by the Liberal government of Digby Denham in Queensland in 1914, and federally by the Bruce-Page Nationalist-Country Party

coalition government in 1925. Queensland's adoption influenced the Commonwealth's action but it also came against a background of low voter turnouts in Victorian, Tasmanian and federal elections in the early 1920s.

Within three years, Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania all introduced compulsory voting into their lower houses and Western Australia followed in 1936, but it is instructive to learn that South Australia (so often a pioneer in electoral matters) was the laggard in 1942. Compulsory voting for the upper houses occurred at the same time in NSW and Tasmania, but followed nine years behind in Victoria, 28 years later in WA (1964), and an astonishing 43 years later when introduced by the Bannon Government in SA in 1985.

In an early chapter (as noted) our election days are described as a well-mannered civic ritual and that view is reinforced at the end of the book. As someone who has handed out how-to-vote material at several elections I can only agree. We may not get the politicians we deserve but the bonhomie often shared with rival party workers, as well as voters, represents the better part of our natures, and Brett is right to hope that the sausage sizzle will be the saviour of election days.

*From Secret Ballot to Democracy Sausage* is a small but important book that covers fascinating ground and (with one exception) explains the evolution of our electoral processes clearly and succinctly. The exception is the description of block voting for the Senate as 'effectively first-past-the-post for multi-member electorates' which (at least for this reader) confuses rather than elucidates. The other weakness for a reference book is the lack of an index. Aside from these criticisms Judith Brett should be congratulated for producing a work that restores many long-forgotten personalities to life. It deserves wide readership if only to ensure we value what we have.

Members, if you have not renewed for 2019, below is the renewal form. We would like you to remain a member to keep the organisation strong and active.

**EUREKA'S CHILDREN INC.**

**Membership Application/Renewal for 2019 (Jan-Dec)**

*Please print all details and  where appropriate.*

<b>Surname:</b>			
<b>Other Names:</b>			
<b>Address:</b>			<b>Postcode:</b>
<b>Phone No</b>			
<b>Email</b>			

*Membership of Eureka's Children Inc. operates on a calendar year basis.*

- **Ordinary Membership** – Includes descendants of those connected with the Stockade event, its prelude and its aftermath as well as those who support the Eureka story and its ideals of democracy
  - Full \$40.00 per annum
  - \*Concession \$20.00 per annum
- **Family Membership Full** \$40.00 + \$20 = \$60 per annum
- **Family M/ship Concession** \$20.00 + \$20 = \$40 per annum
- **Life Membership** Full \$300, Concession \$150

*Note: Concessional Subscriptions include Pension Card Holders.*

*For Family Membership please list each other name and their contact details  
All amounts include GST*

DONATION WELCOME \$.....  
TOTAL CHEQUE/MONEY ORDER \$.....

*EFT Payments can be made to: "Eureka's Children - (BSB) 704 191 (A/C) 90789"*

*Please include 'EC MEMB' as well as your name on the internet transfer*

To send cheque or money order please print, complete this form and return with your cheque/money order to: Eureka's Children. C/O. Celtic Club, Level 1, 420 William St, West Melbourne, Vic. 3003. **If paying by EFT** and you are a new member you would need to also complete and return this form as an initial record of your membership