



# LIBERTY!

**WELCOME TO LIBERTY!**

**Liberty! #75 December 2020**

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### **INDEX**

**President's Column and Committee Activities page 1**  
**Peter Tobin Oration Thursday 3 December page 5**  
**Ancestors and Descendants: Leigh Callinan page 6 and John Capp page 7**  
**Democracy Versus Autocracy Book Review page 8**  
**Eureka Centre page 9**  
**Eureka Merchandise page 10**  
**Membership Form page 11**

***We swear by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other and fight to defend our rights and liberties. November 30, 1854, Bakery Hill, Ballarat***

On Thursday December 3, 2020 we will commemorate the 166<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the attack on the Eureka Stockade in Ballarat by Army troops and Police. The attack utilised the element of surprise and took place at dawn. Some 30 diggers and 3 troops/ police were killed and many injured.

This remarkable touchstone event was about liberty, seeking a fair go and looking for a government that provided for the best interests of its citizens. It calls to us down the decades today. The Ballarat Reform League Charter set out the manifesto of democratic demands and principles for which the diggers were prepared to die. Their principles are embedded in our State and Federal Constitutions. It is recognized in the UNESCO Australian Memory of the World Program and it is included in Victoria's Heritage Register.

One of the most precious phrases in the Charter document refers to the source of political power in any society. It states that “the most royal of all prerogatives is that the people are the only legitimate source of all political power”.

What a remarkable statement of intent. In Victoria a largely authoritarian government was in place. An unrepresentative and unresponsive Legislative Council largely appointed by the governor, no local governments across the goldfields, and Authoritarian styles of administration from the Ballarat Gold Commissioner, denied the goldfields community their rights. However, immediately following Eureka in late 1854 the tempo and push for change to a more democratic system of government and society really took hold.

With the impetus created by Eureka, the remarkable findings from the Goldfields Commission of Inquiry held from December 1854 to March 1855, extending the voting franchise to all who held a new miners right; the treason trial outcomes which acquitted all 13 prisoners and energised the community; the increase in elected members (a further 10) in the Legislative Council in 1855 which enabled many goldfields representatives and supporters to be elected to the Council; the pressure the reinvigorated Council placed upon government for reform and change including the introduction of the secret ballot for the 1856 election; the check on illiberal action it placed upon Governor Hotham, and the energy pushing for a better way of governing which was displayed in the lead up to the late 1856 election for the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council. All this foreshadowed the achievement in late 1856 of the desired condition of “the people as the only legitimate source of political power” - a democratically designed and elected government for Victoria, a far cry from the authoritarian government in place at the time of Eureka two years earlier. This is the triumph and greatest legacy of Eureka, the achievement of government of the people by the people for the people.

What of the last 166 years? Australian democracy as a means of operating our society or running our government of ourselves is not set in stone. It has developed, it has changed, it has been modified as successive generations have made the protection of our rights and liberties a priority. This is not the case in too many societies around the world. The events which took place here in Victoria and in Ballarat at Eureka in 1854 and the democratic views expressed in the BRL Charter, had a powerful influence upon Australian society. Eureka played such a large part in embedding the “Fair Go”- that expectation that injustice will be swiftly redressed - in the Australian psyche. This depth of understanding and application has further developed our democracy since those fateful events in Ballarat and the associated follow up which took place in Melbourne from 1854 to 1856 and beyond. Australia is now one of the oldest and most stable democracies in the world.

The Australian way of life, the context for our democratic society, has been built around an open, free and essentially tolerant society which has worked towards functioning with reduced rancour.

The Eureka related series of events had global linkage and context. Its participants had come to Victoria from around the globe seeking opportunity and Eureka's searing messages about 'rights to democratic representation' were a call to all societies about dignity, justice and self-determination. Democracy (in any country) relies upon much more than elections, effective electoral administration, elected members, parliaments, parliamentary debates and respect for the separation of powers (between the parliament, the executive government/ cabinet and the judiciary). Daniel Yankelovich, renowned social researcher and Co-Founder of Public Agenda in the USA remarks that: *"The defining characteristic of democracy-as-a-way-of-life is that the public participates responsibly and thoughtfully in shaping important communal decisions, such as what to do about health care, criminal justice, immigration, climate change and economic inequality."*

A mature democratic society requires other preconditions – such as community respect for the rule of law and property rights and intolerance of corruption; basic liberties including freedom of expression and opinion; freedom of religion; freedom of assembly; and for human rights additional to those implicit in the above. It also demands openness and transparency in the way that government interacts with the community, business, individuals and other organisations in their decision-making processes.

It relies not only on effective consumer protection, fair labour conditions, fair treatment of small business, environmental protection mechanisms and institutional arrangements to reduce anti-competitive behaviours, but also upon conventions about accepted behaviours and social norms – the ways in which governments lead the public debate, how society operates and interacts with each other as individuals and as organisations; the encouragement of a diversity of cultures; plus transparent, citizen focused and high standard public administration; effective regulation to keep unfettered self-interest from imposing harm or garnering unfair benefits which disadvantage others, including for example through effectively monopolistic media arrangements, and by standing firm against those who might seek to impose their will through violence and intimidation.

Eureka Australia considers these are many of the desired characteristics of Australian democracy today. This builds upon the events of the goldrush period, particularly the Eureka events and other Goldfields agitation in the 1850's in Victoria and a number of later events and influences such as Federation. Recognising and celebrating this linkage underpins Eureka Australia's strong commitment to supporting greater community awareness of the desired characteristics for Australian democratic society today and how the ongoing journey towards more firmly establishing and protecting these conditions could be supported in practical terms.

We have much to be thankful for but as remarkable events in the US have recently shown, democracy is fragile and cannot be taken for granted. It is, in the words of the late John Lewis, Civil rights activist, pacifist and US Congressman, *"an Act, not a State"*. The phrase he became most famous for, was encouraging people to get into "good trouble, necessary trouble" for the sake of preserving and strengthening democracy.

The US still awaits any concession by the current President about losing the election, as the lawsuits and florid public relations strategies using extreme language with little evidence of any fraud, continue. This is clearly an assault on democracy and many journalists have labelled the President and the Republican Party's stance since the election as an attempted coup.

Eureka reminds us that dissent including public demonstrations for change is an essential part of the fabric of a democratic society.

Eureka Australia therefore supports the desirability of education of the Australian community about the nature, scope and importance of our democratic society and the community action necessary to protect it.

It is surely critical that good ideas for the future of Australian Society to address our challenges continue to be advanced and nudged forward to our politicians and communities by each of us.

Eureka is Victoria's and Australia's story, it is our story. Are we doing our part today to honour the legacy of those who stood up for their rights at Eureka?

We all celebrate the anniversary of the 1854 events at Ballarat and remember the men and women of Eureka. We reflect on their legacy and should all redouble our efforts to never forget their courage, their principles and their sacrifice.

Professor John Molony, a former Committee member, who passed away two years ago reminds us that *“The men and women who had been at Eureka knew that in this new land, the right to stand up against tyranny, to be treated with respect befitting a human person and to hope in, and work for, a better future, is inalienable. They knew that those things had been fought and died for at Eureka. They had stood up for a freer, more democratic society and we are all the beneficiaries”*.

## **LET US NEVER FORGET THE MEN AND WOMEN OF EUREKA**

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### **EUREKA AUSTRALIA: PROPOSED AND CONTINUING ACTIVITIES FOR 2021**

**It has been a productive year for EA and the Committee. Here are some continuing and new activities we propose to carry out in 2021. Any member interested in assisting would be very welcome. Just let our Secretary know by email.**

1. Eureka Melbourne Democracy Walking App – complete, produce publicity ,materials and pursue publicity support at State, City and other organisations level
2. Actively pursue extended membership:
  - (i) Complete personal level Eureka Australia promotional brochure by first quarter 2021
  - (ii) Complete initial version of corporate level Eureka Australia promotional brochure by first quarter 2021 and pursue SDG opportunities with UNAA and others for production of a more comprehensive version by end 2021
3. Complete Committee member profiles and publish
4. Continue Ancestor profiles and stories and descendant stories
5. Open Pathway of Remembrance in association with Eureka Centre. Opening date TBD
6. 2021 Eureka Democracy Award Dinner, November 27, 2021
7. Website to be regularly updated with extended version of Walking App, Committee member details, Ancestor and descendants stories

8. Electoral Commission naming of new Federal Electorate for Victoria. EA has recommended it be named after HS Chapman, lawyer and politician and developer/promoter of the secret ballot in 1856 in Victoria.
9. Review opportunities for quarterly on line presentation and Q and A sessions about Eureka and Democracy by eminent Australians for all members registering.
10. A communication strategy to gain young person's involvement in EA
11. Central Goldfields Area UNESCO listing
12. Museum of Australian Democracy (Canberra) upgrade

Note: Membership subscriptions for 2021 are payable from January 2021

**EUREKA AND SEASONS GREETINGS**

On behalf of the Committee I extend Seasons Greetings to all our members and readers and trust that early on December 3 this year, at least for a few moments, you will reflect on, and draw inspiration from the sacrifice that took place at the Stockade in Ballarat all those years ago. Why not recite the Bakery Hill oath of allegiance as a fitting tribute.

We all look forward to a happier more certain 2021.

Thank you all for your support, and to the Committee members for all their hard work.

**Eric Howard and Committee.**

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**THURSDAY 3 DECEMBER at 5.30pm - Peter Tobin Oration**

The Peter Tobin Oration is held each Eureka Day. This year the Eureka Centre is honoured to welcome David Bannear to deliver a lecture to mark the 166th anniversary of the Eureka Stockade.

David will speak about the archaeology of the Eureka Stockade Memorial Park, surviving mining relics of Ballarat and other central Victorian goldfields, and their contribution to the proposed UNESCO World Heritage bid. It is online with Facebook Live. Please refer to this link to access the talk: <https://fb.me/e/cqj5cSOvb>

Their new website <https://www.eurekacentreballarat.com.au/> lists a number of other virtual activities to be held on this day.

On the first Tuesday of the month, The Eureka Centre holds a lecture. They will resume in March next year. Refer to their website or their Facebook page for details.

## THE CALLINANS AT THE EUREKA STOCKADE written by Leigh Callinan

Four Callinan brothers, **Michael, Patrick, John and Thomas** fought in the Eureka Battle. Peter Lalor, their leader, listed **Patrick and Thomas Callinan** amongst the injured (see plaque at the Ballarat Gold Museum and any of the references to the Men of Eureka). Michael was also listed elsewhere as injured. Their surnames are spelt **Callanan** in that list. **Peter Lalor** wrote that his list was not complete and that his spelling was approximate. So three brothers were wounded. Were there any other sets of brothers in the Battle?

It is a family belief that **Patrick's** older sister **Bridget** distracted the troopers after the fighting, while her brothers were helped away. This story is supported by an article in the Victorian newspaper, 'The Leader', Dec 3 1904, which was on display at the Fine Art Gallery, in Ballarat in December 1994. In late 1904, The Premier of Victoria was issuing free passes to Eureka veterans, who could validate their presence at Eureka, to attend the 50th anniversary celebrations at Ballarat. **John Hanrahan** of Warragul successfully applied. On the Sunday after the battle **John Hanrahan** said he went with a sister and a female cousin to look for her wounded brothers. He counted 10-12 dead men and many wounded. The female cousin was **Bridget Callinan**, the brothers' only sister in Australia. He said that 2 of his cousins were wounded at Eureka; **Michael**, who had 2 bullets in his thigh, and the other had a bayonet wound between the shoulders and a cut under the left breast. The latter had died at Collingwood 2 years previous (ie. 1902) of 'Miners disease'. These circumstances are exactly those of **Michael** and **Patrick** Callinan. **Bridget Callinan's** involvement at Eureka is recounted in **Laurel Johnson's** 'Women of Eureka'<sup>1</sup>

**Michael Callinan** was killed in 1867 in the #2 shaft of the 'Band of Hope' gold mine, after being pulled into the poppet head. **Thomas Callinan** died at Fellmonger's Creek near Ballarat of miner's phthisis (silicosis and tuberculosis) in 1862. He was only 26 years. Underground mining caused much respiratory disease.

**Andrew Callinan**, Patrick's son, came to the centenary of the Eureka Stockade in 1954. In an article in a Ballarat newspaper, he said that **Patrick** and his 3 brothers were in the Battle. The third brother must be **John Callinan**, the only other brother of fighting age.

There is a letter to the editor of the Melbourne *Argus*, 22 June 1909, from George Lavater. It is a first-hand account of some aspects of the battle and the lead up to it. But of extra interest is his reference to his dressing of **Patrick Callinan's** bayonet wounds:

*"An Irishman named Callanan, a Clare man, was bayoneted in the right side. He worked in the next claim to me on the Eureka lead, and I used to dress his wound for him".*

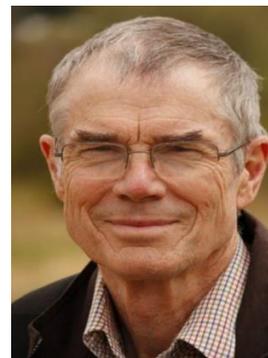
You can read more about the Callinan Family at Eureka in [The Eureka Encyclopaedia](#) pp. 92 & 93<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Johnson L. (1995). [Women of Eureka](#). Published by Historic Montrose Cottage and Eureka Museum

<sup>2</sup>Corfield, J, Wickham, D & Gervasoni, C. (2004). [The Eureka Encyclopaedia](#). Ballarat Heritage Services.



The Callinan Clan at the Old Ballarat Cemetery 3 December 2004



Leigh Callinan

## ANTONIO CAPUANO written by John Capp

Antonia Capuano, who is my great grandfather was born in 1818 in Aversa, a town north east of Naples not far from Capua. In 1850 he left Italy and arrived in Victoria on a ship that his brother captained. Research by Norma Jean Capuano in her publication "Capua to Creswick" indicates Antonio jumped ship in Geelong.

According to Antonio's memoirs as stated in the 1910 book "Early Creswick – The First Century" by John A. Graham, Antonio was attracted to Victoria by stories of vast quantities of gold. Antonio arrived at Daylesford, then known as Jim Crow, and worked as a miner. He then walked to Creswick via Spring Mount, arriving in 1850.

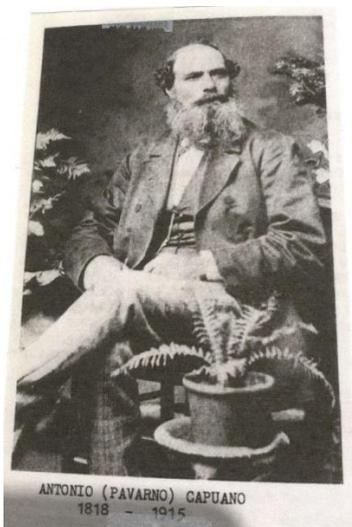
Antonio joined the Creswick "mob" who walked to Ballarat to join the Eureka Stockade, but on the way got caught in a severe storm. Some of the "mob" returned to Creswick, but others proceeded and were involved in the events of December 3, 1854. The Eureka Encyclopaedia suggests that Antonio may have been one of those who took part in the defence of the Eureka Stockade.

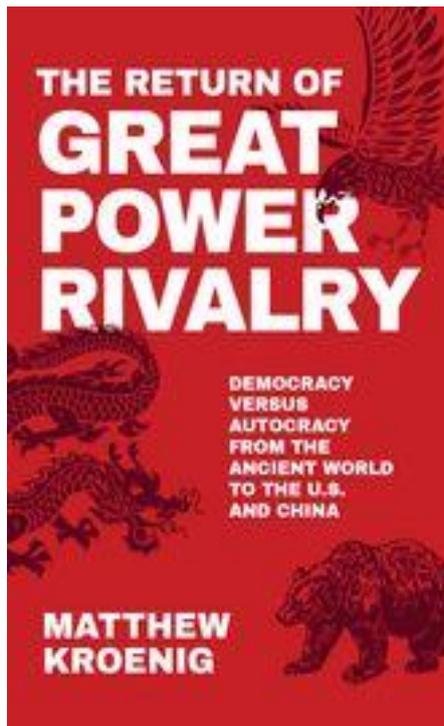
Two years later. Antonio married Agnes Bell, a Scottish lass from Loch Maben, Scotland, in 1856. Together Antonio and Agnes had 4 sons and 4 daughters. Spiro James, the eldest son had 17 children. Agnes died 12 March 1877. Antonio married Emily Frances Edmonds in March 1891.

In the Ballarat Star of 16 June 1915, there is the following article:

"Creswick: A Veritable Pioneer. About the oldest resident of Creswick has died in the person of Antonio Parvano of Lutttett Street. He was one of the sturdy pioneers and had reached the very great age of 97 years. Deceased was a man of robust health and was able to get around until the final summons came. Coming from Italy in the early fifties, he immediately resided in Creswick where he made his home for the rest of his life. In his younger days he followed the occupation of a miner, working on the rushes at Breamfield and Springmount at Ryan's Junction and at the Australasian mine. At the last-named mine he met with a terrible accident, having his arm and legs broken, which incapacitated him from work for some time."

Capuano as a name must have been confusing, and an alternative name Pavarno was used by Creswick residents. In fact, some descendants in NZ use the name Pavarno. Prior to World War 2, my grandfather's family changed the surname to Capp, allegedly as Italy was aligned with Germany. I regret that my father and his brothers did not relay any of Antonio's history in Creswick to me. I joined Eureka's Children (EC) in 1992 at a gathering in Ballarat, where the Governor General of the time, Bill Hayden, was the Guest speaker. Membership of EC has piqued my interest, and hence my continuing research into the life of Antonio. *Photos below of Antonio Capuano and John Capp OAM.*





**THE RETURN OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY:  
DEMOCRACY VERSUS AUTOCRACY FROM THE  
ANCIENT WORLD TO THE U.S. AND CHINA**

Written by Matthew Kroenig and reviewed by Peter Gavin

Historian and diplomat Alexis de Tocqueville famously argued that democracies were “decidedly inferior” to autocratic states in the conduct of foreign affairs. Other thinkers, including Herodotus, Machiavelli and Montesquieu, have insisted that, on the contrary, democracies have an advantage over authoritarian regimes. For example, the great political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli wrote:

“I, therefore, disagree with the common opinion that a populace in power is unstable [and] changeable ... The prince ... unchecked by laws, will be more ... unstable, and imprudent than a populace.”

Kroenig is a noted conservative academic who makes the case that democratic states tend to “do better” than other types of states in great-power rivalries. Democracies (pages 15-35) have greater capacities for generating long-term economic growth, borrowing capital, building alliances, making international agreements and sustaining stable and legitimate rule. Democratic governments are obligated to answer to their citizens on regular intervals and are sensitive to public opinion — that is the greatest source of strength for democracies. Democratic elections may be very messy, and tragic for those who lose their previous livelihood, but they are nowhere near as messy or violent as coups or civil wars.

Kroenig’s book sets out on a fast-paced historical journey through the seven classic cases of competition between democratic great powers and autocratic ones: from the ancient world to the Cold War. From Athens and Sparta, to the Roman Republic and their various adversaries, to the Venetian Republic and the Byzantine Empire, to the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Empire, to Great Britain and aristocratic and Napoleon France, to the United Kingdom and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and finally to the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Kroenig is of the view that state-led planning has never produced high rates of economic growth over the long term. Autocrats (pages 221-224) are poor alliance builders who fight with their supposed allies more than with their enemies. And the highest priority of autocratic security forces is repressing their own people, not defending the country. He says a certain level of domestic political stability is a prerequisite for charting a steady strategic course in foreign and domestic affairs. But autocratic regimes are notoriously brittle. While institutionalized political successions in democracies typically lead to changes of policy, political successions in autocracies are likely to result in regime collapse and war.

In separate and interesting chapters on Russia, China and the United States, Kroenig demonstrates that despite its many problems, the USA is better positioned to maintain a global leadership role than either Russia or China – as they both exaggerate their military strength and their economic growth rates, have few allies and can get away with it internally

because there is no democratic accountability. Or as Larry Diamond a leading contemporary scholar in the field of democracy studies says:

“Human nature being what it is, power that is not checked will sooner or later be misused.”

On China, Kroenig says the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) spends more on domestic security than on its national defence. So, if you follow the money, the CCP is demonstrating that the government is more afraid of its own people than of the Pentagon. This domestic fragility will frustrate China’s efforts to design and execute farsighted plans. If threats to Chinese domestic stability were to materialize and the CCP were to collapse, the Chinese grand strategy could undergo another seismic shift, including possibly opting out of competition with the United States.

On page 195 Kroenig suggests that Taiwan’s island democracy has a much brighter future than a mainland China dominated by the CCP:

“Few would have predicted that the Venetian Republic would sack the capital of its former autocratic imperial master, the Byzantine Empire. No one expected the Dutch Republic to defeat its authoritarian overlords in Madrid... small democratic upstarts have a history of overawing their former imperial masters and becoming global powers in their own right.”

Then he very optimistically postulates could the same future await Taipei and Beijing?

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## **Eureka Australia Website: Update**

Tim Costello’s Address and Democracy Award, 2019, are now both available on video on our website [www.eurekaaustralia.org.au](http://www.eurekaaustralia.org.au) under the Award heading (as are video presentations from a number of past awardees.)

A number of other contributions on that evening especially Dr. Geraldine Moore’s excellent address on George Higinbotham are also available now on Video on the site, under the News and Events heading and then under the Events tab.

The website is to be progressively upgraded to contain an expanded version of the Eureka Melbourne Democracy App now in development and the collected Register of family Ancestor and Descendants stories which are being progressively published in each edition of Liberty.

We extend our thanks to David Prestidge for his ongoing support in updating the site.

# Eureka Australia Merchandise

(great Christmas presents for family and friends)

**Mugs with captions 'Eureka Australia Descendants and Supporters' & 'Eureka Democracy'**

\$20 each including postage



**Flag Pins & Fridge Magnets**

\$5 each, including postage



**Doudiet – Swearing the oath of allegiance – Bakery Hill 1 December 1854**



\$15  
including postage

MEMBERS Note that subs for 2021 will fall due in January 2021

**EUREKA AUSTRALIA**  
**DESCENDANTS AND SUPPORTERS INC.**  
**Membership Application/Renewal for 2021 (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 Australia" - (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 Australia. C/O. Celtic Club, Level 1, 420 William Street, 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.