

**Leah Murray**

## **The Eureka Stockade: Birthplace of Australian Democracy**

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The Eureka Stockade was much more than a rebellion of miners against the oppressive tyranny of the government, it was, in fact, where Australian Democracy was born. The battle that occurred in Ballarat in 1854 has also become an important Australian legend, which embodies the Australian people's sense of national identity. The Eureka Legend is not set in stone, it is not always governed by fact, nor is it always historically accurate, but nevertheless, it is an important Australian legend. It was originally considered by the miners themselves to be little more than a skirmish, and though some still consider that to be the case today, the Eureka Stockade, whether intentionally or unintentionally, became a defining moment in the development of Australian Democracy. Though the rebellion itself was, for the miners, an unsuccessful battle, their courageous actions managed to capture the attention government's attention, which led to the laying of strong foundations for many aspects of the democratic system that Australia has today.

The cause of the Eureka Stockade had little to do with democracy, which made the miners unaware of the impact they would have on Australian history, and many agreed that it was little more than a rash confrontation. The cause of the miner's grievances with the authorities, and the predominant catalyst of the events at Eureka, was the exorbitant price of the mining licence. The majority of the miners found it almost impossible to pay the monthly fee for the right to mine, as their finds on the goldfields were barely sufficient to pay for the provisions needed to survive. One of the miners present, the author of the only full-length eyewitness account of the Stockade, Raffaello Carboni, wrote of the hopes of the diggers as discussed at one of their meetings: "The diggers of Ballarat sympathised... and prayed [to] the governor that the gold licence be reduced..." [Carboni, R. 1855, pg. 7] Immediately after the fighting, most miners believed their comrades had died for nothing, as they lost the battle, and their hopes for the eradication of the license were crushed. Many also thought it was pretentious to claim that Eureka was a struggle for democracy, when upholding their human dignity was at the heart of their struggle. [Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 421] Just a few months after the Battle, Peter Lalor, the Irishman who took charge of the miners in the Stockade, said he was "free to confess that it was a rash act" in which he participated at Eureka. [Lalor, P. 1855, in Molony, J. 2001, pg 200] Perhaps the only person who could foresee the consequences of the rebellion was the goldfields Commissioner, Robert Rede, who believed "The license is a mere cloak to cover a democratic revolution..." [Commissioner Rede, 1854 , in Molony, J. 2001, pg. 135] Commissioner Rede may not have been right about the miners' motive, but he was right about the consequence - democracy. The cause of the Eureka Stockade was not the hope for democratic rights, but the effect was nothing less, and though the miner's didn't take credit for the development of democracy in Australia, their actions were integral in its foundations being laid.

The makings of a legend were created when the miners stood bravely, side by side, beneath the Southern Cross, a legend that remains strong today. A few days before the battle at Eureka the miners gathered together, in front of their leader, Peter Lalor, and the Southern Cross. Lalor announced, "We swear by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other, and fight to defend our rights and liberties." [Lalor, P. 1854, in Carboni, R. 1855, pg. 68] These words marked the makings of a legend, the legend of Eureka. The Eureka Stockade symbolises what the Australian people need in a legend: nationalism, democracy, and most importantly a 'fair go'. The fearlessness and

courage of the miners during the battle, despite having the odds, stacked against them, appealed to the Australian people. The stockade encompassed the battling spirit that so many Australians strived to achieve; the attitudes and determination that endemically appear in so many Australian legends. When thirteen diggers were sent to trial, "...The court was filled to capacity and thousands more waited outside, loudly cheering as the rebels were led to court." [Stoljar, J. 2011, pg. 53] The diggers had evidently gained the support of the people of Victoria, and it was unsurprising that the jury returned with a verdict of 'not guilty' for the accused. The court trials achieved the opposite of what the authorities had hoped; they exposed the corruption and ineptitude of the government; and revealed to the public the true injustices that the diggers had faced at the hands of a governing body. On the second anniversary of the battle, "... a small procession made its way through Ballarat to the site where the Stockade once stood..." [Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 610] Many years later though, on the fiftieth anniversary, the legend had grown, and many more gathered to remember the battle. "On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the attack, a much larger crowd assembled in the rough area where the Stockade had stood..." [Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 611] By the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary that legend had swelled and Australians "...Commemorated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Eureka Stockade in considerable numbers and with surprising passion..." [Huxley, J. 2004, in Walshe, R. 2005, pg. 83] Eureka is an example of a victory won through a lost battle, a legend created through the unrelenting determination of the diggers. Optimism, perseverance, mateship, and an ability to pull together in times of adversity and hardship are qualities all present in Eureka, which is why on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1854, a legend was born beneath a flag of the Southern Cross.

Though the initial rebellion was unsuccessful, the courageous actions and determination of the miners captured the attention of the government, which then led to important changes that are now hailed as the birth of Australian democracy. The reforms put into place as a result of the Eureka battle were the beginning of a democracy; of greater freedoms and democratic equality. It marked the start of a long road towards government by the people, for the people. After the brief but bloody battle that occurred on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1854, the authorities finally took notice of the diggers grievances. Months of protests had fallen on deaf ears, but the Eureka Rebellion created noise enough to bring about important and necessary change, as public opinion swung overwhelmingly behind the diggers. As Raffaello Carboni wrote of his time in gaol following the rebellion, "The brave people of Melbourne remembered the state prisoners... forgotten by the Ballarat diggers..." [Carboni, R. 1855, pg. 143] It was, surprisingly, not fellow diggers who remembered their fallen mates, it was the public; those who had nothing to do with mining, which showed the full extent of the impact of the Eureka Stockade. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of December the Goldfields Commission of Inquiry met in the Legislative Council chamber. [Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 537] The role of the commission was, in the words of the Goldfields' Chief Commissioner: "To enquire into the Laws and Regulations now in force affecting the mining population." [Wright, W. 1854, in Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 537-538] Finally the government was actively listening to the miners, instead of instructing them with brute force. The Commission not only investigated the treatment of diggers at Ballarat, but made its way to outlying Goldfields, to gather a more in depth understanding of the status quo. The day that the last of the Eureka prisoners were acquitted in court, Tuesday the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1855, [Annear, R. 2004, pg. 116] was the day that the Commission of Inquiry handed down its long awaited report. It concluded that: "The tendencies to serious outbreak amongst masses of population are usually a signal that the government is at fault..." [Report of Commission, 1855, in Molony, J. 2001, pg. 194] The inquiry's findings marked the end of the license fee, and the beginning of male suffrage; it was the first time a government

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report favoured the diggers. The Miner's Right became law in June 1855. [Annear, R. 2004, pg. 117] This Right was a ticket which would cost the diggers just £1 a year, and allowed the miners to dig for gold, own a plot land for a house and garden, and, perhaps most importantly, allowed them the right to vote. This was the first time that the miners had been allowed to have a say in the governing of their country, and it was a moment of immense change. The legislative council was also expanded by twelve people; "...Eight members would be elected by the diggers and four would be nominated to represent the major goldfields..." [Blee, J. 2007, pg. 87] Other important democratic changes also occurred in Victoria at that time: in 1855 the *Golf Fields Act* was passed, [Blee, J. 2007, pg. 89] which saw the introduction of local courts, its members consisting of people elected by the public, to settle claims and deal with other disputes; in Victoria in 1857, the secret ballot was introduced, and, also in 1857, laws were passed "...that allowed all men to vote in elections and stand for parliament..." [Annear, R. 2004, pg. 119] Under the new laws, Victorian members were paid, which ensured that it wasn't only affluent, influential men who could afford to stand. These events all marked the birth of Australian democracy, the birth of more choice and it was the miner's determination to have their say and their rights recognised that resulted in this happening. They may have lost the battle, but they won the war. They captured the government's attention, and the attention of people all around Australia, and helped to create Australian Democracy.

The miners may not have been aware of the impact of their actions, but years later many were able to participate in the democracy that they had helped create. After the Commission into the conditions on the Goldfields, it became possible for miners to be elected into the Legislative Council, and many of those that had participated at Eureka, became a part of the democracy they had helped form. Peter Lalor, the leader of the stockade, maintained that the rebellion was not about democratic rights, but conceded that: "... If democracy means opposition to a tyrannical press, a tyrannical people, or a tyrannical government, then I have ever been, I still am, and will always remain a Democrat." [Lalor, P. 1855, in Molony, J. 2001, pg. 196] Raffaello Carboni, an Italian miner, was elected into the local Ballarat Court in July 1855, whilst Peter Lalor and John Basson Humffray, both members of the Ballarat Reform League, were sent by voters into Parliament in November that same year. [Blee, J. 2007, pg. 89] Surprisingly though, it was Humffray; who didn't participate in the stockade, who took the helm in steering towards democratic reform. He led the campaign for the release of the Eureka prisoners and, "...As a member of Parliament, he continued to work for democracy - for justice and equal rights for all..." [Annear, R. 2004, pg. 118] Lalor on the other hand, opposed a bill that would give every man the right to vote; Lalor wanted justice for the mistreatment of miners, not equality for every man. Despite Lalor's opposition though, laws to allow all men to vote were passed in 1857, [Annear, R. 2004, pg. 118] and many of the miners of Eureka were there to assist. The miners of Ballarat may not have always been aware of their impact on Australian democracy, but many were later able to participate, and some assisted in the introduction of laws encouraging equality.

The Eureka Stockade may be an important part of Australian history, but many people still remain unconvinced that the Eureka Stockade was important for Australian democracy, and maintain that it was nothing more than a brief skirmish. Many skeptical Australians are convinced that democracy was neither created nor hastened by the events at Eureka; instead they brush off the event as a minor protest. Bob Carr, former NSW Premier, and current Minister for Foreign Affairs, when asked about the Eureka Stockade, replied with a dismissive wave of his hand, "Eureka? Local tax

revolt...” [Carr, B, 2011, in Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 614] and deemed it a “protest without consequence...” [Carr, B. 1999, (ONLINE)] Others refuse to see past the military defeat, into the victory for Australian democracy and many debate the rebellion’s standing as a legend. In 2004, when the topic of Eureka came up during an election, Deputy Prime Minister John Anderson argued: “I think people have tried to make too much of the Eureka Stockade... trying to give it a credibility and standing that it probably doesn’t enjoy.” [Anderson, J. 2004, (ONLINE)] Eureka can be, and will be, mocked, but whether or not everyone recognises the significance of the digger’s battle, whether or not everyone wants to recognise Eureka as a struggle for basic human rights, does not change the fact that it was responsible for cementing the foundations for the system of representative democracy that Australia has today. Despite these numerous claims of the unimportance and insignificance of the Eureka Campaign, with an event such as this, there will always be skeptics, and the legend of the Eureka Stockade will continue to live on, undeterred by these voices of doubt.

In spite of those who don’t believe in the Eureka legend, 150 years have passed since the fateful events of the Rebellion, and the legend continues to endure: is still hailed as a watershed in Australian democracy, and remains embedded in the hearts and minds of the Australian people. The dust may have long settled over the site of the Eureka Stockade, but the legend of Eureka has not faded. The support shown for the Eureka Legend on its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary is proof of the high regard that many Australians hold for Eureka, and the miners who fought there. Former Federal ALP Leader Mark Latham commented in 2004, the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the rebellion, that “I reckon Eureka says a lot about the Australian character, our love of the underdog and support for those who have a go... our tradition of defiance and dissent and the larrikin spirit that makes us truly Australian...” [Latham, M. 2004, in Walshe, R. 2005, pg. 90] In a tribute to the Eureka Legend, published in 2004, the authors wrote, “Australia should re-elevate Eureka to its previous position as a... legend of Australian nationalism, standing for those distinctly Australian values - egalitarianism, mateship, fairness - together with democracy, freedom and multiculturalism... Obviously Australian nationalism can never be reduced to just one legend, but Eureka offers great potential to a nation floundering for a national story...” [Duncan, M. Leigh, A. & Tynan, P, in Fitzsimons, P. 2012, pg. 617] The Eureka Legend has survived this long because, in the words of the Ballarat Mayor, David Vendy, “The uprising has become synonymous with the evolution of democracy in this country, with our city [Ballarat] often described as the birthplace of Australian spirit.” [Vendy, B. 2004, in Walshe, R. 2005, pg. 91] The Eureka Stockade is not only a legend of mateship and courage though, it also had democratic repercussions, as renowned author and lecturer Gregory Black put it, “...The bloodshed there (Eureka) indelibly stamped the character of the inclusive Australian Democracy that developed...” [Blake, G. 2012, pg. 193] Today the Eureka Stockade is still remembered as an important moment in the development of democracy in Australia, and as a legend. The Eureka legend has thrived, surviving nearly 160 years, and it will more than likely survive another 160, changing and adapting to suit future Australians.

The Eureka Rebellion was a revolution, small in size but vastly larger politically. It was a strike for liberty and dignity, and a struggle against oppression and cruel injustice. It was also a defining moment in the development of Australian Democracy, a moment that can never be forgotten. Thanks to the miners, it is now also a legend; a legend of courage and bravery, of fighting against the odds and standing up for your rights. It is a uniquely Australian legend. The miners may not have realised the importance of their revolution at the time, but their actions became firmly

imbedded in the stonework of Australian history. A legend was created, and though the battle was lost, it was the decisiveness and fearlessness of the diggers that captured the attention of the previously uninterested government, and brought about change. There are skeptics, those who wish not to believe in the Eureka Legend, those that are convinced it was nothing more than a bourgeois tax revolt, but over 150 years after the event, the democracy it helped create is still important in Australian society. Legends are not born; they are made from an event or moment that is significant, momentous, or memorable. They don't start out as a legend, they become a legend. The Eureka Stockade became a legend, not only because it was the birth of Australian Democracy, but because of the courage, and determination of the diggers and their willingness to defend their rights. Legends are not set in stone, they are not always governed by fact, nor are they always historically accurate, but nevertheless, they are important. The Eureka Rebellion is not just another page in Australian history; it is a legend that must never be erased from the hearts and minds of Australian people.

### **Annotated Bibliography**

- **Andrew, R. 2011, *The Eureka Rebellion*, available: <http://justgroundsonline.com/group/the-alliance-australia/forum/topics/the-eureka-rebellion>, accessed: 20/03/2013.**

This webpage provided a useful overview of the events leading up to the battle, the trials of the miners and the views of the Australian people afterwards. The author explores in great detail the trials of the miners, and the report made into the running of the goldfields. The

secondary source was quite useful to my research topic, and provided great insight into the changes put into place because of the uprising. The article provided representations mainly of the miners, and seemed to have a rather low opinion of the government. However, the source did represent both the orthodox viewpoint – that the Stockade was in some way important to Democracy, and the unorthodox viewpoint, that the stockade was insignificant and inconsequential. Although it is a secondary source, the distance in time between the Rebellion and its publication allows it to explore the long-term repercussions, as well as what Eureka means to Australia today. The webpage also contained a large number of quotes, one of which I used in the paragraph about Australian's who dismiss the Eureka Rebellion as a small-scale revolt. The source did contain a bibliography, though it was brief, which corroborated the information, and provided the source with some credibility. However, the source was mainly used for basic background information, because in some sections, the reliability of the information was questionable because it was based on opinion, rather than fact.

- **Annear, R. 2004, Fly a Rebel Flag: The Eureka Stockade, Black Dog Books, Victoria, Australia.**

This print source provided an in-depth exploration of the Eureka Stockade and in particular the motives of the miners; as well as the repercussions of the battle. The reasonable length of the book made it a convenient source that clearly and logically explored different aspects of the Stockade. This book provided a plethora of facts about the laws and reforms that were put into place as a result of the rebellion at Eureka. This secondary source was quite useful to my research topic, predominantly for the paragraph about the effects of the Stockade. The source provided representations of the miners and the government, as well as people today, although there was some bias towards the case of the miners and against the government. The main drawback of the source was the lack of quotes and referencing, and the inadequate bibliography, which decreased the credibility of the source a little. Generally, despite the lack of quotes, the source was useful for dates and figures about the reforms introduced because of the Stockade. Despite the evident bias, the source was still useful for providing facts that other books did not contain, and for corroboration.

- **Australian Broadcasting Corporation, broadcast: 14/12/1999, TV program, *The Eureka Rebellion*, accessed: <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/stories/s73410.htm>, accessed: 25/03/2013.**

This television broadcast explored the significance of the Eureka Stockade and the varying opinions of its importance to Australian history. It provided representations of the miner's descendants and also discussed the opinions of other public figures, such as the NSW Premier. The secondary source also discussed the ownership of the Eureka Flag, and the debate that had arisen over the rights to it. A descendant of a miner that battled at the Eureka Stockade spoke to the reporter during the broadcast. Though some parts weren't entirely relevant to my topic of discussion, and the broadcast was quite brief, the source did contain a quote from former NSW Premier Bob Carr that was very useful for my paragraph about those who believe that the stockade was significant. The reporter seemed to be of the opinion that the stockade was of importance, which meant that the broadcast script showed

some bias. Apart from the quotes, from Peter Lalor and Bob Carr, the source was predominantly based on opinion, which is why this broadcast did not form the basis of any of my research. The source, as it appeared on a news report, was not backed up by referencing or a bibliography, which means that the reliability is somewhat questionable.

- **Australian Government, 2010, Eureka Stockade, available: <http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/eureka-stockade>, accessed: 20/03/2013.**

This Australian-government webpage reflected on the legacy of the Eureka Stockade, as well as exploring the events that led, arguably, to the birth of Australian democracy. The source corroborated many facts that I had read elsewhere, as well as containing background information about the Stockade that was not found anywhere else. The webpage was useful in clarifying details about the stockade, and providing information about the catalysts and government actions that led to the meetings between the miners, and, eventually, to the stockade being built. As it is an official Australian Government website, it seems to be a reputable source, and the bibliography provided links to further information and also proved the credibility of the article. There was bias evident in the article, with the author tending to justify and agree with the actions of the government, rather than those of the diggers. The main limitations of the article were that in some areas it was quite brief and glossed over important aspects of the Eureka story and it did not contain any properly-referenced quotes. However, overall the article provided a useful perspective on the stockade, without a lot of the emotion and patriotism that was often evident in books about Eureka.

- **Blake, G. 2012, Eureka Stockade: A Ferocious and Bloody Battle, Big Sky Publishing Pty Ltd, NSW, Australia.**

This book provided significant insight into the actual battle between the miners and the government. The book explored the perspectives of both the miners and the government soldiers, and the latter's motive for storming the stockade. The book also argues that rather than simply being a massacre of innocents, the battle at Eureka was actually a hard-fought military engagement. The book also looks at the beliefs and values that were held by the diggers, and how these beliefs led to the stockade being built. The book provided great insight into why ordinary, hardworking men, as the diggers were, were willing to take up arms, and fight to defend their idea of justice and independence. The book went into great depth about what occurred in the twenty minute battle, and contained facts and information that could not be found elsewhere. The source was also abundant with both primary and secondary quotes, and the author referenced a large number of primary sources, as well as secondary sources, in the bibliography, which corroborated the information and proved the source relatively reliable. The main limitation of the secondary source was that the author did dismiss eyewitness accounts of the Stockade – such as that of the Italian miner Raffaello Carboni. Though the book did not form the basis of the research for my essay, it provided an accurate and authoritative account of the actual battle at the Eureka Stockade. As the book explored the idea that the miners were not as innocent and

poorly armed as most believe, it provided reasonably fair representations of both groups that engaged in the battle.

- **Blee, J. 2007, Eureka, Exisle Publishing Limited, NSW, Australia.**

This book chronologically explored the events leading up to the Eureka Stockade, and the repercussions of the brief battle. It contained in depth information about the people involved in the Stockade and what happened to them after the dust had settled from the skirmish. The book provides a lot of detail about the specifics of the battle, and how the brief conflict had momentous consequences. This was very useful for my paragraph exploring how those who were at Eureka then went on to participate in the Australian democracy they had helped to create, as it contained information about the elections that followed the battle. Despite its usefulness and unique perspective, the book did not contain any quotes, either primary or secondary, and was not reinforced by any referencing. It is because of this lack of referencing that makes the reliability and accuracy, in some sections of the book questionable, as it is not corroborated. There was an element of bias that lingered throughout the book, as the author was constantly hinting at the unfairness of the treatment of the diggers and the wrongs committed against them by the government. This book provides representations mainly of the diggers themselves, and their grievance with the authorities, but it also briefly explores the perspective of the government, and their motives for descending on the Stockade.

- **Butler, R. 1983, Eureka Stockade, Angus & Robertson Publishers, Victoria, Australia.**

This book gave a detailed account of what occurred in the days leading up to the uprising of the miners. It provided useful facts about the events that resulted in the uprising, and corroborated details from other sources. The book was written from a distanced perspective and though a secondary source, was quite reliable. The book fairly represented all the miners, regardless of nationality however in some parts it contained an element of bias – the author sympathising with the plight of the miners, and though not dismissing the government, writing with a tone that suggested the government was in the wrong. The source didn't contain a large number of quotes, but did have a bibliography and referenced a number of primary and secondary documents. The main limitation of the book was that it didn't go into as much depth about post-battle repercussions as it did about the causes of the Stockade. Overall the print source was reasonably reliable, and useful for corroboration and facts about the miners' motives.

- **Carboni, R. 1855 (Reprinted 1963), McPherson's Printing Group, Victoria, Australia.**

This primary source, the only full-length eyewitness account of the events that occurred at Eureka, is told from the eyes of Italian miner Raffaello Carboni. Published in 1855, just a year after the Stockade, Carboni was the only miner to fully describe the Stockade with great detail. The book explored the meetings amongst the miners, the treatment of the miners that were sent to trial (the author included) and the overwhelming public support the accused received. As it was a primary source, it did not contain a bibliography, and



looked at the events from the viewpoint of an eyewitness. However, the book did contain excerpts from letters sent at the time of the Stockade. The source, because it was written from the perspective of a miner, was explicitly biased against the government and in favour of the Eureka miner's. Although it tells the whole story of the miners, it did not discuss the perspective of the government, which is to be expected from a primary source. The book was quite emotional, and the language not entirely formal, with some parts written in Italian, however it provided great insight into the Eureka Stockade. Overall, whilst a very biased source, it was a primary document and therefore accurately represented the views, beliefs and attitudes of the miners at the Eureka Stockade.

- **Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2013, *Eureka Stockade*, available: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/195597/Eureka-Stockade>, accessed: 23/03/2013.**

This online, secondary source provided a very brief explanation of the catalysts that led to the stockade, and a few details about the battle itself. The source focused predominantly the lead up to the rebellion, and these details were corroborated in other print sources. Though the source was too short to provide a great deal of information, the facts about what led to the building of the Stockade were useful for my first body paragraph. The webpage did not go into any detail about what happened after the rebellion, and would have been a better source if it was expanded upon. The source provided representations of both the diggers and the government, though the bias wasn't explicit, the author did seem to lean towards supporting the plight of the miners. Despite being from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the source did not contain a bibliography, nor were there any quotes, which raised questions about the overall reliability of the information. It is because of the lack of corroboration that this source was only used for facts about the lead up to the Rebellion.

- **Fitzsimons, P. 2012, *Eureka*, William Heinemann, NSW, Australia.**

This in-depth secondary print source provided a great detail of information about most aspects of the Stockade. It explored the history of the Goldfields, and how the continued mistreatment of the miners led to the stockade, as well as providing insight into the repercussions of the rebellion. The source was relatively unbiased, although in some sections the author did discuss his own opinions, rather than supported facts. Fitzsimons represented both the opinions of the government and the miners, and investigated the motives of the government, which very few sources did. It was a very useful source for my research, and also provided an abundance of primary and secondary quotes that were all well referenced. The source was used for quotes, as well as information about anniversary celebrations and what Eureka means today. The main limitation of the source was its length, meaning it took a considerable amount of time to sift through the information and work out what was useful and relevant. The source contained photographs, and pictures of primary documents which also assisted in the research process. The book had a vast bibliography, with both primary and secondary sources used and was well-referenced throughout, making the source quite credible and reliable.

- **Keneally, T. 2009, Australians: Origins to Eureka, Allen & Unwin, NSW, Australia.**

This secondary print source provided brief facts about the Eureka Stockade, mostly about the democratic repercussions of the Rebellion. The source was mainly used for corroboration, because the book didn't go into a vast amount of detail. The book briefly represented both government and the miners, although not in a lot of depth. The predominant issue with the source was the lack of depth, and, because the book was not focused solely on the Eureka Stockade, it was sometimes difficult to pin-point the relevant information. The source did contain a vast bibliography though, which proved the credibility of the source. Overall, the source was useful mainly for validation of facts from other sources, and, although it did not have a lot of information, what was there was quite useful.

- **Molony, J. 1989, Eureka, Viking, Victoria, Australia.**

This secondary source was written by an Australian historian, academic and author, who has had published an array of books on Australian history. The book, in great detail, examined both the events and actions that led to the stockade, and the consequences of the rebellion. The author argued that Eureka had a significant impact on the development of Australian democracy, but also manages to represent the unorthodox viewpoint, that the rebellion was inconsequential. However, the finer details of the battle itself were not explored in as much depth. The book contained a large number of well-referenced primary and secondary quotes, as well as primary documents such as maps and photographs. The motivation behind the creation of the source was evidently a desire to present a clear; concise book about the catalysts that led to the Eureka Rebellion and this has been achieved. The book was used to corroborate details of the lead-up to the battle, and provided useful quotes to support the construction of my essay. This source referenced many primary documents such as official government records, making it a reasonably reliable and accurate source of information for my research topic. The only limitation of the source was that it skimmed over the main details of the battle a little, though this was made up for by the in-depth information about every other aspect leading up to and following the battle.

- **Stoljar, J. 2011, The Australian Book of Great Trials: The Cases that Shaped a Nation, Murdoch Books Australia, NSW, Australia.**

The chapter of this book that discussed the trials of the Eureka miner's provided invaluable information about not only the trials themselves, but the support that the public showed for all of the accused. The secondary source explored the cases presented by both the defence and the prosecution, as well as details about the overwhelming jubilation shown by the public when the miners were released without charge. The book was especially useful for providing details for my paragraph about how the Eureka Legend was born out of public support and interest. The main limitation of the book was that it did not contain very many quotes, and they were not properly referenced. Also, there were elements of bias, as the author represented the miners from a very positive perspective, and the government from a

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much less positive viewpoint. However, the book did have a rather comprehensive bibliography, which proved the source reasonably credible. Though the source did not form the basis of my research, it provided useful information about the Eureka trials that I could not find elsewhere. As the book focused solely on the trial, it provided in depth information about the trial that was very useful for my essay.

- **Walshe, R.D. 2005, The Great Australian Goldrush & Eureka Stockade, Literary Productions Pty Ltd, NSW, Australia.**

This secondary source was published to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Eureka Stockade. Whilst it did briefly explore the Australian Goldrush, the majority of the book was about the importance of Eureka in contemporary society. It contained valuable information about how people view the rebellion today, and included speeches from key public figures. The book also contained a large number of well referenced quotes, from a variety of different people, which were very useful. This source was solely used for information for the paragraph about the continued significance of the Eureka Stockade. The main limitation of the book, apart from its small size, was the explicit bias, evident in the quotes and opinions that were expressed – as they all were supportive of Eureka. This bias was evident as the book had been commissioned to celebrate the Stockade, and therefore supports the view that the rebellion was significant. The book contained a brief bibliography, which backed up the source and all quotes were referenced, with the context of the quotes also provided. Overall, the source provided invaluable information about the continued significance of Eureka; however, it did not form a large part of my research, because it did not go into much detail about the lead-up to the stockade, the battle itself, or what happened afterwards.