

Australia (1750–1918)

A **nation** is a group of people united by a common language, history and culture that live in a clearly defined area. The story of Australia's journey from **convict** dumping ground to democratic nation is a dramatic and exciting one. In 1901, after more than 100 years of European settlement, the six separate British colonies across the continent joined together to create the Commonwealth of Australia – a process known as **Federation**. Each **colony** shared many common characteristics – culture, language, political systems and religion. They also shared a belief that the Indigenous people of Australia had no claim over the land they had inhabited for tens of thousands of years. The characteristics and beliefs of people from each of the original colonies heavily influenced the newly formed nation of Australia and continue to do so to this day.



chapter 10

10A

Why were British colonies established in Australia and who was affected?

- 1 In what ways do you think the arrival of British settlers to Australia impacted on the Indigenous population. Think about these effects both in the short and long term.

10B

How did key events and ideas influence the development of Australia?

- 1 The Australian gold rush of the 19th century had huge impacts on the economy and influenced Australia's development as a nation. Why do you think this was the case?

10C

What was life like in Australia at the start of the 20th century?

- 1 In the early 1900s, Australia experienced a period of great progress and prosperity. However, the benefits of this prosperity were not available to all Australians. Which groups do you think might have faced hardship and social discrimination at this time?

Source 1 This Indigenous rock painting of a tall ship at Nanguluwur in Kakadu, Northern Territory, provides evidence of the interaction that Indigenous Australians had with early settlers. It also stands as a reminder of the changes that took place as a result of contact with the British.

10.1 Australia (1750–1918): a timeline

1750

1770
James Cook's landing at Botany Bay in HMS *Endeavour* on 29 April 1770

1788
New South Wales: first settlement at Sydney Cove

1803
Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania): first settlement at Risdon Cove on the Derwent River, followed by the Hobart settlement in early 1804

1806
A cottage in early Hobart, 1806

1813
First crossing of the Blue Mountains, New South Wales leads to British expansion inland

1813
An artist's impression of explorers Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth and William Lawson crossing the Blue Mountains in 1813

1824
Queensland: Moreton Bay convict settlement

1829
Western Australia: Swan River Colony

1835
Victoria: settlement of Port Phillip colony and the foundation of Melbourne

1836
South Australia: settlement of Adelaide

1838
Myall Creek Massacre, New South Wales

1851
Start of the Australian gold rushes

1851
Zealous Diggers at Bendigo, painting by ST Gill, 1854

1856
Introduction of the eight-hour day

1856
Banner created to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the achievement of the eight-hour working day

1872
Free, compulsory and secular (non-religious) education

1872
Children at work in the Berry's Creek school, Victoria, in the 1890s

1901
Australian colonies federate, creating the Commonwealth of Australia

1901
The Commonwealth Franchise Act grants the vote to most Australian men and women over 21

1907
The Harvester Judgement introduces a minimum wage for Australian men

1914
Start of World War I

1914
The statue of Colonel William Light on Montefiore Hill in Adelaide, overlooking the city. Colonel Light was one of the founders of South Australia and was the surveyor responsible for the fine layout of Adelaide.

Check your learning 10.1

Remember and understand

- 1 In what year was New South Wales first settled by the British?
- 2 When did the Australian gold rushes begin?
- 3 In what year was a law introduced to limit the working day to eight hours?

Apply and analyse

- 4 Use the timeline to calculate the exact number of years between when the British first settled Australia and the founding of the Commonwealth of Australia through Federation.

Source 1 A timeline of some key events and developments relating to the making of the nation Australia

10.2 The first Europeans arrive



Source 1 An oil painting depicting the arrival of the First Fleet

James Cook and European exploration of Australia

In 1768, James Cook, a British Navy Lieutenant and highly capable navigator, was appointed commander of a ship called the *Endeavour*. He was instructed to sail to New Holland – a name that had been given to Australia by Dutch explorers in the 1600s. Cook's commands were to investigate the plants and animals he found there, and examine the available natural resources and the native population. In addition to these tasks, he was ordered to befriend the Indigenous people and take possession of the land for Britain.

Cook claimed the east coast of Australia in the name of Britain in 1770, and took back favourable reports of the soil and climate. He gave mixed reports of the Indigenous people.

Cook was generally sympathetic, without ever acknowledging that they had any claim to the land.

Source 2

... In short, they seemed to set no value upon anything we gave them, nor would they ever part with anything of their own for any one article we could offer them; this in my opinion argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessaries of Life and that they have no superfluities [luxuries].

Journals of Captain James Cook (JC Beaglehold, The Journals of Captain James Cook, Hakluyt Society, 1974)

The decision to settle Botany Bay

One of the places where Cook had landed in 1770 was Botany Bay, just south of Port Jackson. As a result of information from Cook's voyage, Britain decided to establish a **penal colony** there. There were several factors that contributed to Britain's decision:

- The **Industrial Revolution** taking place in Britain at the time meant that many people from rural areas had moved to the towns and cities seeking work.



Source 3 Prison hulks on the Thames River, London, 1805. These hulks were usually old naval ships that were no longer seaworthy.



Source 4 An artist's impression of the view at the Swan River Colony (Western Australia), 1834

Those unable to find work turned to crime to survive. This increase in crime rates meant that British prisons became very overcrowded.

- Because of the overcrowding in British jails, convicts started being imprisoned on empty ships moored in British harbours. These rotting ships were called 'hulks' (see Source 3). Over a short period, these hulks also became extremely crowded and full of disease. The government feared that those diseases would spread to the general public unless these prisoners were removed.
- Before the **American War of Independence**, some British prisoners had been transported to the American colonies, but after the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, they refused to accept any more convicts from Britain.
- As a result of the Industrial Revolution, British factories and industries were hungry for raw materials such as wood, coal and minerals. It was hoped that Australia would provide many of these resources. For example, Norfolk Island, off the coast of New

South Wales, was seen as a valuable source of hard timber (suitable for making ships' masts) and flax (a type of grass used for making sails).

- Britain was keen to maintain its role as the leading seafaring and colonial nation. Having a colony in the 'Great South Land' was a good way of doing this. It also meant that Britain would be able to keep pace with French explorers who were colonising new territories in the Pacific.

The First Fleet

The **First Fleet** of 11 ships set sail for Australia from Portsmouth, England, on 13 May 1787. Despite poor weather, the fleet finally arrived at Botany Bay on 18 January 1788. On arrival, however, the area was declared unsuitable for settlement. The fleet moved on to Sydney Cove, landing on 26th January. The fleet's commander, Captain Arthur Phillip, became the first governor of Britain's first Australian colony, New South Wales (see Source 5).

The voyage

The First Fleet was made up of two warships, six convict ships and three supply ships. On board were naval officers, four companies of marines for protection, administrators and their families, and male and female convicts. For the time, the fleet was very well stocked, and three stops were scheduled to take on fresh supplies.

Conditions on the ships were crowded. Prisoners spent a great deal of time below deck in poorly ventilated darkness. Barred and bolted hatches let in little light and air, and many convicts were chained together. The ships were infested with rats, cockroaches and fleas, so diseases spread quickly and easily.

Captain Phillip was aware of the poor conditions on the First Fleet, but tried to look after the health of convicts. They were allowed on deck regularly to wash and breathe fresh air, and were checked by a medical officer. Convicts were given full rations, but only around one litre of water per person each day. The First Fleet convicts arrived in Australia with a surprisingly low death toll.



Source 5 Captain Arthur Phillip

The Second Fleet

In 1790, the **Second Fleet** of three ships arrived in Sydney. It had left England with 1000 convicts on board, but conditions were worse than on the First Fleet, and the death toll was higher. The Second Fleet was run by slavers (slave traders) who said they would take the convicts to Australia – dead or alive – for a fixed sum. Many convicts were not given their full ration of food because the slavers planned to sell any unused rations when they arrived in Sydney. Two hundred and sixty-seven convicts died on the voyage. In addition to the 267 deaths, 480 convicts became dangerously ill during the journey from scurvy, dysentery and fever. On arrival in Sydney, many could not walk to shore without help. Conditions on one convict ship were so poor that 30 per cent of the convicts on board died – the highest of any Australian convict ship.

The food that arrived in the colony on board the Second Fleet saved the settlers of the First Fleet from certain starvation. However, the convicts arrived in such poor health that they soon became more of a drain on the colony's resources than a help.

On the Second Fleet's return to Britain, stories of convict suffering led to legal action against some of the seamen and contractors, and the authorities reviewed the transportation process. Ships were only despatched twice a year, in late May and early September, to avoid the dangerous winter conditions in the southern hemisphere. Independent surgeons were appointed to supervise the treatment of convicts, and bonuses were paid for their safe arrival.

After the First and Second Fleets, convicts continued being transported to the eastern colonies until 1850, when transportation to Western Australia began, lasting until 1868.

Convict life

The living and working conditions of convicts in Australia varied greatly according to the region they were sent to and the years in which they were sent. In the early years of the colony, most convicts were forced to work on vital public works, such as roads and buildings. At this time, the governor decided the convicts' food and clothing rations. Some convicts were also assigned as unpaid servants to farmers and townspeople. By the 1820s, the majority of convicts in New South Wales worked for private employers, including former convicts.

In 1801, Governor King introduced the 'ticket of leave' system for good behaviour, which allowed prisoners to choose their employers and receive wages (see Source 6). Some of these ticket-of-leave convicts,

such as Mary Reiby, went on to become prosperous and influential citizens. Occasionally, heroic acts carried out by convicts were rewarded with an absolute or conditional pardon.

On the other hand, punishments for offences committed by convicts after transportation were severe. The Coal River settlement (later known as Newcastle, New South Wales), Norfolk Island (in the Pacific Ocean, 1600 kilometres east of Sydney), or Macquarie Harbour (Tasmania) were all established to deal with convicts who had reoffended while serving their original sentences. For this reason they became known as places of secondary punishment. Of these sites, Norfolk Island was the harshest and was reserved for the 'absolute worst' convicts. Here, solitary confinement and hard labour in a chain gang were the norm. The degrading treatment they received there was designed to punish rather than reform, as a warning to convicts on the mainland.

Between 1840 and 1844, Captain Alexander Maconochie attempted to introduce a more humane system at Norfolk Island, but it did little to change the views that convicts had about the island. In 1843, Governor Gipps commented, 'they would go anywhere rather than remain on Norfolk Island'.

About 12 per cent of the convicts transported to the Australian colonies were female. They were mainly guilty of minor offences such as theft and vagrancy (homelessness). Contrary to popular belief, not one was transported for prostitution, but sources do suggest that some female convicts resorted to prostitution on the voyage and after arrival in Australia in order to survive.



Source 6 A ticket of leave, given to well-behaved convicts.

The convict legacy

Convicts played a very important role in the establishment of New South Wales and most other Australian colonies. Up to the 1840s, much of the labour that opened the interior and built the towns, roads and bridges, and supported the farmers was provided by convicts.

Between 1788 and the end of transportation in 1868, approximately 160 000 convicts were sent to Australia. In 1838, a British House of Commons committee condemned transportation; this, together with local opposition, saw the end of transportation to New South Wales. However, it continued to Van Diemen's Land until 1853. Also, from 1850 to 1868, Western Australia received 7000 convicts.

Check your learning 10.2

Remember and understand

- 1 What were some of the main reasons behind Britain's decision to establish a penal colony in New South Wales?
- 2 What happened to convicts who misbehaved or reoffended while serving their sentences in the colonies?
- 3 What were some of the regulations put in place by British authorities in 1801 to ensure that convict transportation became safer?
- 4 Briefly describe how the 'ticket of leave' system operated.
- 5 What percentage of the convicts transported to Australia were female, and what sort of offences were they mainly guilty of?

Apply and analyse

- 6 How do you explain the different mortality rates between convicts transported on the First Fleet and Second Fleet?
- 7 Identify some of the contributions made by the convicts to the development of the colonies.

Evaluate and create

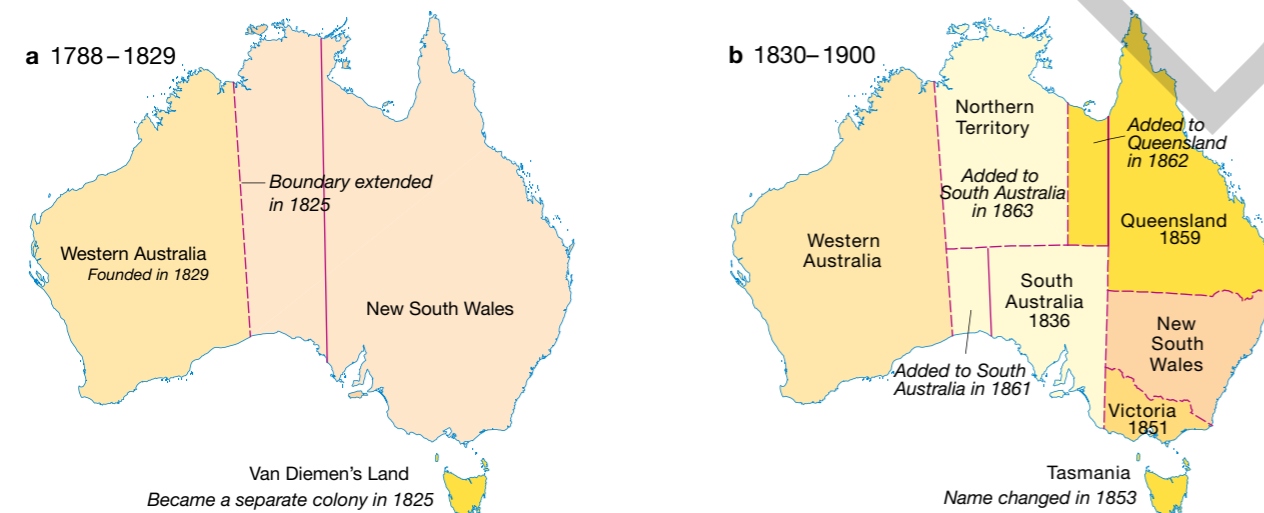
- 8 Do you think Captain Arthur Phillip was a good choice to lead the First Fleet and become the first governor of New South Wales? Justify your position in a 150-word written response based on information in the text and your own Internet research.

10.3 The colonies of Australia

The Australian colonies were established for a range of different reasons. One of the main reasons was to provide a place of punishment for many of the convicts crowding Britain's jails. The colonies also offered the opportunity for poor people from Britain to begin a new life and even own land. They were also a great source of wealth and raw materials for the British government and industry, initially providing timber for shipbuilding, and later supplying wool, minerals and grain.

Changing social and economic conditions in Britain during the 18th century led to the first permanent convict settlement in New South Wales in 1788. The process of European settlement of Australia after that time was gradual. New South Wales was later followed by other colonies and districts around the country; some were originally administered from New South Wales, while others were established as colonies in their own right. Over the next century, these colonies gradually became the states and territories of Australia that we recognise today (see Source 1).

Underlying the whole colonial experience was a strong belief in the idea that British values and achievements were superior to those of any other peoples. This belief provided the British with a justification for their perceived right and obligation to take control of Australian lands, without regard for the Indigenous inhabitants.



Source 1 Australian colonial settlements, a 1788–1829 b 1830–1900

New South Wales

After his arrival on the First Fleet in 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip remained as the governor of the colony of New South Wales for five years. Phillip represented the British government and was more or less the ruler of the colony. His chief achievement was the survival of the colony and the establishment of Sydney and Parramatta. He was known to be a humane leader, and this extended to his relations with the Cadigal and Wangal peoples of the Sydney area. Governor Phillip named the suburb of Manly after the strong and 'manly' Aborigines he met in that area shortly after settlement – 'their confidence and manly behaviour made me give the name of Manly Cove to this place'.

In the early days of the colony, the harsh landscape, blazing hot summers and the settlers' lack of experience made farming difficult. In its first two years, the colony came very close to collapsing because of starvation, inadequate shelter and a lack of appropriate equipment. The arrival of the Second Fleet in June 1790 possibly saved the young settlement, but conditions remained harsh. By the time Phillip left, however, farms were almost able to support the New South Wales population.

The spread of settlement in New South Wales

From 1788 until about 1810, the colony of New South Wales was confined to an area extending not much more than 100 kilometres in any direction from Sydney. The crossing of the Blue Mountains by explorers William Wentworth, Gregory Blaxland and William Lawson in 1813 allowed settlements to expand inland. Other explorers followed and, by 1850, most of New South Wales had been opened up to British settlers. The land was cleared, allowing farms and small towns to be established.

By the 1830s, although there was still plenty of convict and ex-convict labour, there was a growing move towards bringing free settlers out to Australia. These people initially formed a labouring class, but eventually become landowners. In 1831, an assisted migration scheme was introduced. Under this scheme, potential employers in the colony were able to choose British workers. The workers were then assisted with the cost of their passage to Australia. In return, the assisted settlers (often whole families) would guarantee that they would work for their patrons (employers) for two to three years. Many **assisted migrants** went on to become influential citizens in the colonies. One was Henry Parkes (later Sir Henry Parkes), who went on to become Premier of New South Wales and is remembered today as one of the leaders of the federation movement.



Source 2 A view of Government Farm at Rose Hill, New South Wales, 1791

Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania)

The first European explorer to discover and map large sections of Australia – including the southern island we know as Tasmania – was a Dutchman by the name of Abel Tasman. In the 1640s, Tasman named the island Van Diemen's Land after the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia).

The first European settlement in Van Diemen's Land was at Risdon Cove on the Derwent River. In September 1803, Lieutenant John Bowen arrived from New South Wales on HMS *Albion*, which carried 50 passengers, half of whom were convicts.



Source 3 The remains of the penal colony at Port Arthur in Tasmania



Source 4 *The Plough Gang*, an artist's impression of convicts working near the Port Arthur colony

In early 1804, the settlement was joined by over 400 colonists and convicts from the abandoned Sullivan's Bay colony at Sorrento (Victoria). The leader of this expedition, Lieutenant David Collins, moved the settlement from Risdon Cove to Hobart and took over responsibility for the colony from Bowen. Hobart was established as a penal colony and was to become one of the harshest of the convict settlements. Overall, 40 per cent of all convicts transported to Australia were to spend time in Van Diemen's Land.

Over the next 20 years, the colony developed and prospered. **Free settlers** and ex-convicts helped to establish a sheep-grazing industry, and set up sealing and whaling stations. In addition to Hobart, the towns of Richmond and Launceston were established, and industries such as milling, brewing and brick-making developed.

In 1825, Van Diemen's Land, which had been part of New South Wales, became a colony in its own right. In 1853, the name was changed to Tasmania (in honour of Abel Tasman) and it achieved the right to self-government in 1854.

The impact of European settlement on the Indigenous people of Van Diemen's Land (the Parlevar or Palawa people) was more devastating than in most of the mainland colonies. As the settlers and their livestock spread out across the island, Aboriginal people were displaced from their traditional lands and dispossessed of their culture and traditions. The main killer of Aborigines was European disease, but they also suffered as a result of loss of food sources and their traditional skills. Violence against Aborigines also accounted for deaths, although it is difficult to gain accurate figures about such actions because massacres were often covered up or not recorded.

The Tasmanian Aborigines did not accept colonisation and made many attempts to strike back against the settlers. This resulted in a period of tension between the two groups that has been described as guerrilla warfare and the Black War.

In 1832, George Robinson was appointed by the government to gather all remaining Aborigines into a camp on Flinders Island in an attempt to 'remove the problem'. As far as it is known, the last full-blood Tasmanian Aborigine died in 1876, but there are thousands of Tasmanians today who are blood relatives of the original inhabitants of their island.

Queensland

The area around Moreton Bay (now Brisbane) was home to the Jagera and Turrbal people for up to 40000 years before British settlers arrived. In 1824, a convict settlement was established on the shore of Moreton Bay under the leadership of Lieutenant Henry Miller.



Source 5 A hand-coloured etching showing a convict being flogged at Moreton Bay in 1836



Source 6 *The Foundation of Perth 1829* by George Pitt Morison. This painting was commissioned to mark the centenary of the founding of Western Australia in 1929.

A year later it was moved to the banks of the Brisbane River. Over 2200 convicts, most of them hardened criminals, were sent to the settlement between 1824 and 1839.

Officially, free settlers were forbidden from moving into the area, but over time it became increasingly difficult to stop them. The area offered fertile soil and good grazing pastures, and was very attractive to free settlers and colonists from New South Wales.

In 1838, the decision was made to allow free settlers into the area, and the following year the convict settlement was closed. The area remained part of New South Wales until the colony of Queensland was officially proclaimed in 1859.

Western Australia

The area around the Swan River had been occupied by several Indigenous groups for thousands of years before European settlement. These groups lived along the banks of the river where there was an abundant supply of fish, game birds, fruit and berries.

The first European settlement in Western Australia was at King George Sound in 1826. This decision to settle here was prompted by a fear that the French were interested in colonising the area. In 1829, Captain James Stirling established the Swan River Colony in the name of the British government. The main city was Perth, with a port called Fremantle at the entrance to the harbour. Unlike settlements in New South Wales, Hobart, Moreton Bay and Norfolk Island, this new colony was to be a free settlement – free from the stigma of convicts.

The population of the settlement grew slowly. While the idea of a free settlement was appealing to immigrants, they quickly found that there was a drastic shortage of labour. Land prices were low so most free settlers became farmers, leaving few people to work for wages.

This problem eventually led to the demand that convicts be sent to Western Australia. In 1850, at a time when convict transportation was being phased out in the east, it became an important element in the economy of the west. From 1850 to 1868, nearly 10000 convicts, all of them male, were transported to the Swan River Colony. They worked on constructing public buildings – roads, bridges and even prisons. A small number were assigned to farmers, but as the years progressed and the convicts gained their freedom, they began to provide a much-needed labour force for the free settlers.

As in other colonies, the settlers at Swan River did not recognise any claim that the local Aborigines had to the land. Initial interactions between the two groups were friendly but it quickly became obvious that they could not coexist. In the 1830s, following several clashes between Aborigines and settlers, a local elder, Yagan, was killed. This incident was followed by the Battle of Pinjarra (also known as the Pinjarra Massacre), considered one of the worst attacks on Indigenous people in Australia's history.

Information about what happened at Pinjarra is unclear, and estimates of the number of Aborigines killed vary from 10 to 150. This event seems to have marked the end of Aboriginal resistance to European settlement. By the 1850s, most of the Indigenous people in the areas surrounding Perth had been dispossessed of their heritage and connection to the land.

The Port Phillip District (Victoria)

The first attempt to settle the colony that eventually became known as Victoria was made at Sorrento near the mouth of Port Phillip Bay in 1803. Originally, this was to be an administrative district of the colony of New South Wales. The settlers' first contact was made with the peoples of the Kulin nation who lived in the areas surrounding Port Phillip Bay. The Sorrento settlement, however, was abandoned after only a few months because of a lack of fresh water. Unlike New South Wales, Tasmania or Queensland, the colonisation of Victoria was driven by free settlers rather than convicts.

In 1834, the Henty brothers settled illegally in the area around Portland (in Victoria near the current border with South Australia). A year later, John Batman crossed Bass Strait from Tasmania and explored the area around the Yarra River. At the time, Batman claimed to have signed a treaty for around 600 000 acres of land from a group of Wurundjeri elders, the local Indigenous people (see Source 7). This area became the site for the establishment of a settlement that would eventually become known as Melbourne. More recently, Batman's claim has been challenged by historians. They contend that other pioneer settlers such as John Pascoe Fawkner and John Lancey actually have greater claim to being the founders of Melbourne.

The Port Phillip district grew quickly, largely because of profits from wool. Melbourne developed as a processing centre and port for wool exports. By 1850, it was an impressive city of 22 000 people, with many fine streets and buildings, an art gallery, theatres, hospitals and schools, and beautiful botanical gardens.



Source 7 *Batman's treaty with the Aborigines*, JW Burt, 1885, State Library of Victoria (painted to mark the 50th anniversary of the treaty signed on 6 June 1835)

Unlike New South Wales, the Port Phillip District was established as a free settlement. From the late 1830s, assisted migrants were brought to the colony to provide a labour force. The opportunities offered in the colony were so great that, by 1850, one in five of these migrants had become landowners.

Despite its economic success, the settlement of the Port Phillip District had a disastrous impact on the Indigenous people of the region. European diseases such as smallpox and measles led to many deaths. Violence and loss of food sources also contributed to the decline of the Aboriginal population. It is estimated that by 1850 the Indigenous population had declined to around 3000.

In 1851, under the Australian Colonies Government Act, the Port Phillip District separated from New South Wales and was renamed the Colony of Victoria in honour of the reigning British monarch at the time, Queen Victoria. Following the discovery of gold in August 1851, Victoria went on to become one of the richest and most progressive of the Australian colonies.

South Australia

South Australia was settled in 1836 on the banks of Adelaide's Torrens River. Its first governor was John Hindmarsh. The colony was based on a plan by Edward Gibbon Wakefield to create an ideal, convict-free society. Land was to be sold at a reasonable price and the money raised was to be used to bring out free settlers as labourers. The colony was founded with the aim of recreating all the best elements of the British homeland.

Adelaide was one of the first towns built in South Australia. It was designed by surveyor Colonel William Light (see Source 8). The regular grid of streets and the border of parklands surrounding the city make Adelaide one of the best-planned cities in the world.

The early economy of the new town relied primarily on sheep farming. During the 1840s, the colony spread further inland when deposits of copper were discovered at Burra in 1845. In the 1840s, the foundations of the wine industry were laid by German immigrants in the Barossa Valley and Irish settlers in the Clare Valley.

The Indigenous people of the Adelaide area were the Kurna people. At the time the colony was established there were between 500 and 1000 Kurna in the area. Unlike the other colonies, South Australia was not based on the doctrine of *terra nullius* ('land belonging to no one' or 'empty land'). The South Australia Act acknowledged the existence of the Indigenous people and stated that no settler could interfere with their enjoyment or use of the land.

There is little evidence of direct violence between Europeans and the Kurna people, but the Kurna people fell victim to the same problems as Aborigines in other colonies. The majority died of introduced diseases. Others suffered because their lands were taken, their culture was undermined and their way of life was destroyed.



Source 8 An artist's impression of Colonel William Light, the surveyor and planner of Adelaide

Check your learning 10.3

Remember and understand

- Where and when was the first settlement established in Victoria, and why was it later abandoned?
- Why did the Port Phillip colony grow so quickly?
- Describe Edward Wakefield's plan to create an ideal society in South Australia.
- In what year did the Port Phillip District separate from New South Wales? What was the name of the new colony and who was it named after?
- What was the name of the Indigenous people in the Adelaide area? What was different about the way in which Indigenous peoples in South Australia were treated compared with other Australian colonies?
- What were some of the reasons why the New South Wales colony nearly failed in the first few years after it was established?
- When did explorers first cross the Blue Mountains?
- What was Tasmania originally called and why was this name changed to 'Tasmania' in 1853?

- Convicts were sent to the settlement of Moreton Bay (now Brisbane) between 1824 and 1839.
 - How many convicts were sent to Moreton Bay?
 - Why was this area also so attractive to free settlers?

Apply and analyse

- List as many different reasons as you can for the establishment of colonies in Australia between 1788 and 1836.
- What overall benefits were provided to the Australian colonies by the presence of convicts?
- Why did colonial leaders in Port Phillip, South Australia and (initially) Western Australia take pride in the fact that they were not convict colonies?
- How and why did European settlement in Van Diemen's Land have such a devastating impact on its Aboriginal people?
- Explain why Western Australia suffered from a labour shortage. What was the solution to this problem?

10.4 Development of the colonies during the 1800s

At first, the establishment of the Australian colonies centred on the main settlements, which grew to become the capital cities. With the growth of population through migration and natural increase, there was a need to expand from these hub settlements. Between 1810 and 1860, much of inland Australia was opened up through many journeys of discovery by adventurers known as 'explorers'.

The land closer to the coast was used largely for agriculture. The drier inland areas were increasingly used for pasture for sheep and cattle. The Industrial Revolution in Britain created a huge demand for raw materials such as wool. The factories of Leeds and Bradford in Yorkshire were hungry for the fleeces of **merino** sheep bred in the Australian colonies.

The population and prosperity of the Australian colonies were also strongly boosted by the discovery of gold in the 1850s.

The opening of the interior

By 1810, it was becoming clear that the crops being shipped to Australia from England to supplement crops grown in New South Wales were not meeting demand. The land around Sydney was filling up quickly with new settlers and it was obvious that more land was needed to grow crops and raise livestock to feed the growing population. It was decided that, to do this, the interior of Australia needed to be opened up to meet the demand for food and living space.



Source 1 An artist's impression of Melbourne, 1880

Transport

As settlers cleared land in the interior to graze cattle and sheep, they established small towns. Roads were made back to the main settlements to transport wool and supplies. Although the Europeans were taking over Aboriginal lands, they were unaware that they were benefiting from Aboriginal knowledge of the areas. Indigenous trading trails had been operating along the clearest and most accessible routes for thousands of years. The sheep farmers moved their sheep along these routes. Later, the first postal services on horseback used the Indigenous trails to deliver mail to farmers.

Echuca was one of the busiest inland ports in the 19th century. Paddle steamers carried cargoes of wool from properties along the Murray–Darling river system to the railway at Echuca and from there goods were transported to Melbourne for export.

Initially, inland travel was on horseback, by stagecoach or by cattle cart. Over time, more efficient modes of transport were introduced. The first Australian passenger railway, linking Melbourne and Sandridge (Port Melbourne), opened in September 1854. Throughout the 19th century, sailing ships grew in



Source 2 The historic port of Echuca on the Murray River was one of the busiest inland ports during the 19th century.

number, size and speed. By the 1850s, steamships began travelling to Australia.

By 1860, all the colonies had busy ports in their capital cities. There were also many ports along the inland river systems. The colonists enjoyed regular communication through the network of steamships, railways and the telegraph, which linked the eastern capital cities by the late 1850s.

Check your learning 10.4

Remember and understand

- 1 Why did the early settlers feel the need to explore and settle regions in the interior of Australia, far away from towns along the coast?
- 2 How did settlers benefit from Indigenous knowledge and use of the environment?

Apply and analyse

- 3 Explain why wool was important in the development and expansion of the colonies.
- 4 Explain why transport was so important to the opening up of the country.
- 5 In what ways had methods of transport and communication improved by the later part of the 19th century?

Evaluate and create

- 6 Some of the explorers who went on expeditions to unlock areas of land in Australia's interior included Major Mitchell, Edward John Eyre, John Oxley, and Robert Burke and William Wills (who travelled together). Choose one of these explorers and conduct some research into their life and experiences. Write a 250-word report outlining their achievements. Include at least two historical sources in your report and reference them according to the instructions on page XX of 'The history toolkit'.

10.5 The impact of early colonisation on Indigenous people

For most of the 20th century, most non-Indigenous Australians accepted that Australia was a *terra nullius* before the arrival of the British in 1788. This concept of *terra nullius* underpinned the settlement of the Australian colonies. Europeans took the approach that because the Indigenous people did not fence the land, farm it or build on it (and appeared to have no concept of landownership), they had no claim to ownership of the land. This idea developed in spite of the fact that Indigenous Australians had continuously occupied the land for at least 60 000 years before the arrival of the first Europeans.

Despite what European settlers at the time may have believed, the Aborigines had a deep spiritual connection with the land. This relationship to 'country' was the source of all of their physical, social and spiritual needs. Because they had a concept of shared landownership, they saw no necessity to fence off certain areas or to show possession through the building of permanent structures.

Early contact

From the earliest days of settlement, the impact of European contact with the Indigenous people of Australia was disastrous. Early British explorers and traders introduced new diseases, which Aborigines had little or no immunity to. The settlements that followed the explorers pushed onto Indigenous land, disturbing established territories and introducing new species of animals that would change the face of Australia. The European settlements also threatened the traditional ways of life and spiritual practices of the first Australians.

By the end of the 19th century, the destruction of the traditional lifestyles of Indigenous people was almost complete. In the more remote parts of



Source 1 This photograph taken on 24 May 1890 shows Aborigines from a local mission gathered at the Court House in Goondiwindi (Queensland) to receive blankets to mark the birthday of Queen Victoria.

South Australia and Western Australia, there were small numbers of Aborigines still living according to traditional customs, but, for the most part Aborigines were living on **reserves, missions or protectorates** set up by the British. A small number also lived and worked on farms and pastoral stations, managing to live lives that straddled both cultures.

The rest of the Aboriginal population lived on the fringes of European society – in camps on the edges of towns and cities. These were probably the most disadvantaged of all. Many had lost their links to traditional family and culture; their health was poor, and alcohol and tobacco abuse was common.

At first, European contact was usually accidental. There were sightings and landings before 1788, as sailors tried to establish new trade areas or colonies in the Asian region. There are some records of Aboriginal contact with the Macassans (from the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia), the Dutch, the English and the French before James Cook's official 'discovery' of Australia.

Some historians also have argued that a fleet of Portuguese ships sailed around the south coast of Victoria and that one ship – made of mahogany – ran aground near Warrnambool.

First settlers

Historical records of early contact between the first British settlers and the Aboriginal people tend to only be given from a European perspective. Much less importance has been attached to the oral accounts (stories) of these early encounters that have been passed down through generations of Indigenous Australians by word of mouth. Some of the European accounts are from people in official positions and others are kept in private diaries and records. From these accounts it appears that relationships between the Aborigines and settlers in the area around modern Sydney were good for the first 12 to 15 months of contact after the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788.

Records show that soon after the Europeans had landed, Aborigines welcomed them – some even danced with them. Some Aborigines believed that the Europeans were ancestral spirits returning from the sea, as their white skin was the colour of death. The local Aborigines showed the Europeans some good fishing spots and shared the fish that they had caught. Despite these early events, conflict soon developed. Shots were fired at Aborigines who took some shovels from the colony storehouse. After this, the local Aborigines moved away from the colony for some time.

As winter set in and food became scarce, conflict grew between the Aborigines and settlers. The shooting of kangaroos and other animals by the Europeans meant the Aborigines had scarce supplies of winter skins for clothing. The fish stocks, which were always uncertain in Port Jackson, suffered from being fished too heavily by Europeans. Governor Phillip also ordered land to be cleared to grow crops and raise livestock. This led to Aboriginal people being pushed off their traditional hunting grounds.

By the following year, the conflict between the British and the local Cadigal people became more violent, with deaths on both sides. In an attempt to open a line of communication, Governor Phillip ordered that some Aboriginal men be kidnapped in 1789. Governor Phillip aimed to teach these men English language and customs so they could act as ambassadors for the British and pass messages back and forth. The first man taken, Arabanoo, died of smallpox. Two others, Bennelong and Colbee, also caught smallpox but survived. Both men escaped from the colony but Bennelong returned. He learned to speak English and developed a close relationship with Governor Phillip, teaching him some Indigenous customs and traditions. Bennelong ate at the governor's table and dressed in European clothes. He also accompanied Governor Phillip on a visit to England before returning to Australia in 1795.

Check your learning 10.5

Remember and understand

- 1 In your own words, define the concept of *terra nullius*.
- 2 Which groups of people had had some contact with Indigenous Australians before the official 'discovery' of Australia by Captain Cook in 1770?
- 3 What evidence suggests that a Portuguese ship may have been wrecked on the coast near Warrnambool before the British colonised the region?
- 4 How were the British settlers at Sydney Cove originally welcomed by the local Indigenous peoples?
- 5 In what ways did the Aborigines help the first settlers?

Evaluate and create

- 6 What can you learn about the attitudes and values of European colonisers towards Indigenous Australians from the concept of *terra nullius*?
- 7 Was the kidnapping of Aboriginal men justified in order to promote communication between the settlers and the Indigenous population? Give reasons to justify your opinion.



Source 2 A portrait of Bennelong dressed in European clothes.

10.6 Ongoing effects of colonisation on Indigenous populations



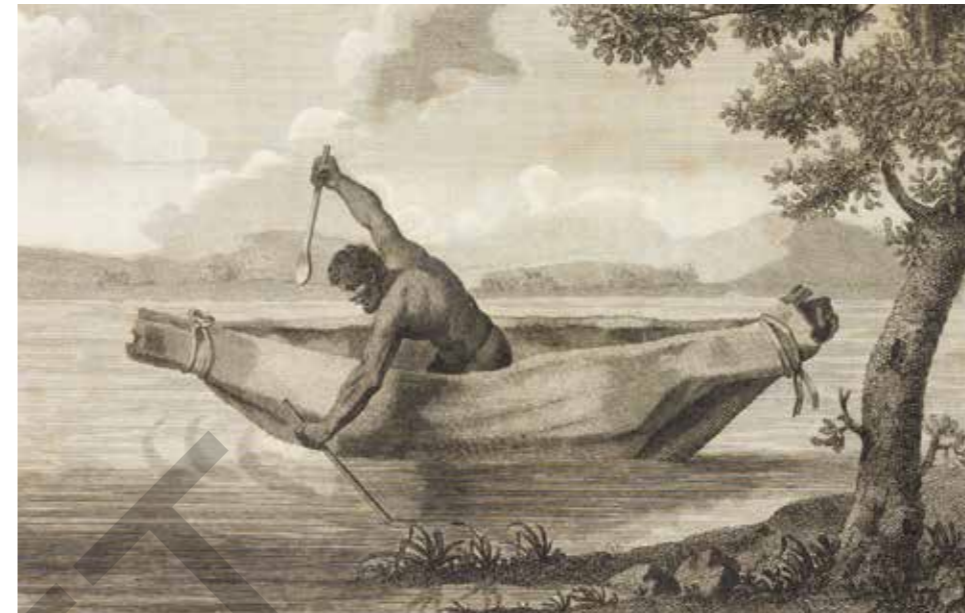
Source 1 This painting, *Collins Street, Melbourne town, 1839*, by William Knight, shows a group of Indigenous Australians overlooking the township of Melbourne (National Library of Australia).

Within a few years of the establishment of every British colony in Australia, the numbers of local Aboriginal people declined dramatically. For example, up to 90 per cent of the local Indigenous groups, such as the Kameygal and Cadigal peoples, are thought to have died after three years of settlement around Botany Bay and Port Jackson. The numbers of Indigenous people surrounding Port Phillip Bay are believed to have declined from over 30 000 in 1835 to no more than 5000 in 1850.

Estimates of the Aboriginal population of Australia prior to European settlement vary greatly, from a minimum of 318 000 up to 750 000. The population was spread throughout the continent but the majority lived in the south-east with large groupings thought to have been established along the Murray River. Indigenous communities lived **semi-nomadic** lives, meaning that they lived for short periods in the same place before moving on in search of different hunting grounds.

Traditional hunting areas and food sources were disturbed as the colony of New South Wales expanded. Food became scarcer in the wild and traditional hunting and gathering areas used by the Aborigines were cleared for agricultural development. Fences appeared and access to waterholes or sacred sites became difficult or impossible.

European expansion often displaced the Aboriginal people in the more heavily populated areas. In some cases, this resulted in warfare as certain Aboriginal groups were pushed into the territories of other groups. This is something that has rarely been mentioned in historical accounts until recent times.



Source 2 An artist's impression of Pemulwuy in a canoe spearing fish

Armed conflicts also developed between Aboriginal people and the settlers as the Europeans spread out into the interior of the country. In most cases, attempts by local Aborigines to resist European expansion failed – largely because of British fire power.

Diseases

Diseases introduced by the Europeans spread quickly and had a dramatic effect on the Aboriginal population. In fact, they were by far the biggest killer. Diseases such as the common cold and tuberculosis wiped out large numbers of Indigenous people, often a generation at a time. Many diseases that were only mildly dangerous to Europeans were lethal to Aboriginal people, who had no immunity to them.

Syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases not only caused deaths but also rendered many Aboriginal women infertile, leading to a declining birth rate. Other diseases, including measles and influenza, also spread rapidly throughout the Aboriginal population. Smallpox alone is thought to have wiped out at least 50 per cent of the total Aboriginal population of Australia.

Frontier conflict and resistance

By the late 1700s, conflict between the Europeans and Aboriginal people became more common because more and more European settlements were intruding onto Aboriginal lands. Indigenous people often reacted angrily to these intrusions. Some attacked the farms, stole or killed livestock and speared the settlers. In retaliation, settlers often took revenge into their own

hands, carrying out attacks and violent raids on the camps of those thought to have attacked them (see Source 1 on p. 354).

In the Hawkesbury area of New South Wales, 26 Europeans and 200 Aborigines died in conflicts between 1794 and 1800. One well-known Aborigine who resisted the Europeans was Pemulwuy. He became famous for launching attacks on the settlers, burning their crops and destroying their huts. In 1801, Governor King offered a reward for Pemulwuy's capture. Pemulwuy was shot and killed by soldiers and the resistance movement fell away for a brief period.

Collaboration

While there were times of conflict, there were also times that Indigenous people and Europeans worked together. Many Aboriginal people joined the police force and became trackers (experts at finding and following animal and human tracks).

In another example of collaboration, Bennelong worked with Governor Phillip to bring Aboriginal people into the settlement. Bungaree sailed with Matthew Flinders between 1801 and 1803. He was taken to help communicate with Indigenous people along the way. However, Flinders did not realise the great differences among the Aboriginal language groups. The further they moved away from the settlement, the more difficult it became for Bungaree to communicate with the local inhabitants. In Port Phillip District, Billibellary, an elder of the Wurundjeri people, also worked closely with the new arrivals in the early years. He attempted to enable his people to move between the two cultures.



Source 3 This wood engraving from around 1873 titled *Marriage of Aboriginal natives*, shows Aboriginal people on a mission near Melbourne being married according to British customs.

Missions and protectorates

The exclusion of Indigenous Australians from the national story was reflected in government policies in all colonies. These policies isolated Indigenous people by moving them onto areas of land known as **missions** and **protectorates**. Here they were taught English language and customs, while at the same time being kept away from European communities. During Australia's colonial period over 211 missions were established. While officially the missions and protectorates were set up to look after Aboriginal people, in fact they caused them a tremendous amount of damage. Even in these early years, hundreds of Aboriginal children were removed from their families (although this did not become official government policy until the 20th century). The first mission was established in 1815 to 'civilise' the Aborigines, which meant teaching them to think and live like Europeans. In 1824, another mission was established at what is now Newcastle in New South Wales. All the Aboriginal people at that mission either died of disease or, if they could, escaped.

In Port Phillip District, the Melbourne Mission was set up under the leadership of George Langhorne in 1837. Its aims were to 'civilise and Christianise' the Aboriginal people. It had little success because they could come and go as they pleased. Also, because it was so close to Melbourne, they became reliant on European products such as white flour, sugar, alcohol and tobacco.

By 1838, the Aborigines' Protection Society had been established in London, but in Australia the Society did little to live up to its name. Conditions in most

missions were very poor and family members were often separated before being sent there. Most missions were run by the Church and Aboriginal people sent there were banned from speaking their own languages, usually forced to wear European clothes and live according to Western customs and traditions (see Source 3). In addition to this, they were forced to adopt the religion of Christianity and were not permitted to practise their traditional spiritual beliefs and customs.

Despite the many failed missions and protectorates, there were a small number of successful ones at New Norcia in Western Australia and Hermannsburg in the Northern Territory. Although Aboriginal people here were still encouraged to adopt British customs, such as cricket (see Source 4), what made these missions stand apart was their respect for Aboriginal culture. These missions acted as sanctuaries for women, children and old people. European workers also helped maintain the Aboriginal culture, teach the local Indigenous language and save Aboriginal artefacts.

Dispossession

When the land, culture and way of life of Indigenous peoples are removed, we refer to this as **dispossession**. As the European settlers spread across the country, Aboriginal groups were pushed off their traditional lands and lost many of their customs and languages. The Wiradjuri people from central New South Wales were one group who experienced the full effects of dispossession. As the Europeans crossed the Blue Mountains and settled Bathurst, trees were cleared for sheep- and cattle-grazing, and native animals like kangaroos and possums were killed.

Native grasses and plants were damaged by the hoofs of these introduced animals. Furthermore, Aboriginal links to the land and its features were destroyed by land-clearing, the construction of European huts and yards, and the fencing-off of sacred areas, especially waterholes.

By the late 19th century, there was a general belief among officials that the Aboriginal people would soon die out. A new protection policy, sometimes referred to as 'smooth the dying pillow', was developed. On the surface, it involved better treatment for Aboriginal people, but in reality it stripped them even more of their independence, self-confidence and traditional culture.

In 1901, when the colonies federated (united) to form the Commonwealth of Australia, it was made clear that the original people had no place in the new nation. The new federal parliament had no powers to make laws relating to Indigenous people and they were not to be included as members of the population for the purposes of the census. Before 1901, some Aboriginal people in several colonies had received the right to vote, but in 1902 this right was removed from all Indigenous people. They were effectively non-existent people in the land they had called home for over 40000 years. In fact, until the referendum in 1967, Indigenous people were classified under the Flora and Fauna Act, and not counted in the census as citizens.



Source 4 An etching showing the New Norcia mission cricket team

Check your learning 10.6

Remember and understand

- 1 Give five examples of the negative impact of European settlement on Indigenous people.
- 2 What was the major reason for the deaths of Indigenous people?
- 3 What is the meaning of dispossession?
- 4 Why were European diseases so damaging to the Aboriginal people?
- 5 What were the aims of the missions and protectorates, and why did they fail?

Apply and analyse

- 6 Examine Source 1.

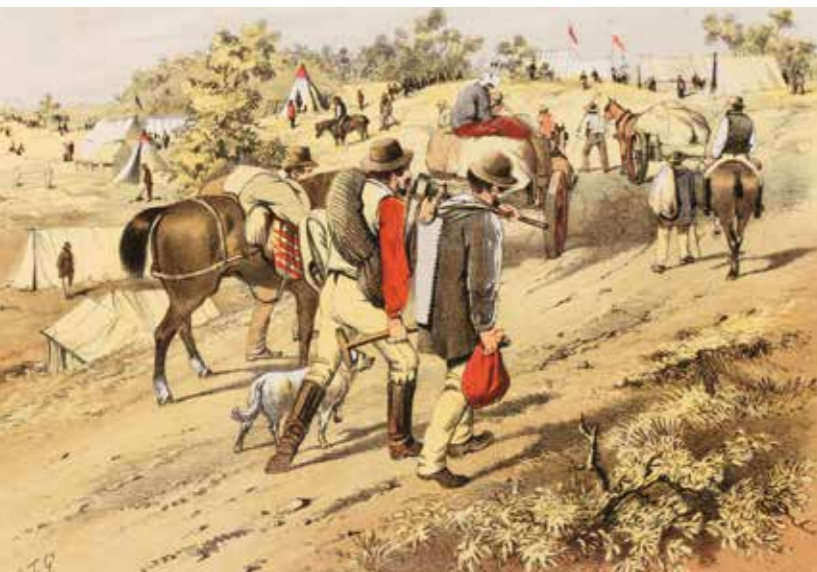
- a What messages does this painting give about the impact of European settlement on the Melbourne area and the local Aboriginal people?
 - b How is this message conveyed?
 - c Imagine a conversation between two of the Aboriginal people in the foreground of the picture. Write the script for such a conversation, drawing on your knowledge of the settlement of Port Phillip and the impact on the Indigenous people.
- 7 Using information in the text and gathered on the Internet, describe what it meant by the phrase 'smooth the dying pillow'. How did this relate to the policy of Aboriginal 'protection' at the time?

10.7 The Australian gold rushes

The most significant influence on the economic and social development of the Australian colonies in the 19th century was the discovery of gold. Gold tripled the population of the colonies and made Melbourne one of the richest cities in the British Empire. Gold also helped lay the foundations of the democratic nation that would later be established in 1901.

However, the gold rushes in New South Wales and Victoria also strengthened the belief in white superiority that had influenced the colonies since they were first settled. The movement of thousands of people into the inland goldfields led to further displacement of the Indigenous people from their traditional lands. Gold seekers from China also faced discrimination and violence from European settlers.

Gold was first discovered in the Australian colonies from around 1823. The amounts discovered, however, were quite small and were all on government-owned land. This meant that the gold should have been surrendered to the governor, so the finds were not usually reported. In April 1851, Edward Hargraves claimed correctly that 'payable' gold (gold on unclaimed land) had been discovered near Bathurst. The New South Wales government rewarded his discovery with £10 000 (pounds). Hargraves immediately announced his find to the newspapers, and with this the Australian gold rushes began.



Source 1 This painting by ST Gill titled *The New Rush*, shows miners making their way to the Victorian goldfields around 1865; Ballarat Fine Art Gallery.

Shortly after, gold discoveries were announced in Victoria. By the end of 1851, 20 000 prospectors (known as **diggers**) were working on the goldfields in Ballarat, Bendigo and elsewhere. Over the coming years, around half the male population of Melbourne and Adelaide left for the Victorian goldfields. The first immigrant ships carrying would-be goldminers arrived in 1852. By 1858, 150 000 people were living on the Victorian goldfields. In total, the gold rushes in New South Wales and Victoria brought around 622 000 people to Australia in the 10 years after 1851.

Mining methods

Diggers on the goldfields were looking for two main types of gold – alluvial gold and deep reef gold. Alluvial gold was a type of gold that washed up in creek and river beds, from underground streams. It was the easiest for most miners to find, and searching for it did not require much equipment. One cheap option was to use a pick, shovel and panning dish to swirl dirt and water from riverbeds to separate the gold. Another method used a piece of wooden equipment called a cradle. This resembled a baby's cradle and could be 'rocked' to catch the gold in a sieve (see Source 2).

By about 1853, much of the alluvial gold had been found and miners turned their attention to the deep reef gold buried many metres below the surface.



Source 2 An artist's impression of goldminers using cradles to find alluvial gold

To access deep reef gold, mines had to be sunk deep underground. Expensive machinery and complex processes (such as **puddling**) were needed to separate the gold from the quartz rock in which it was trapped. When this deep shaft mining started, groups of miners began to form companies, pooling their money and labour to operate one mine. Often they would toil for many months before they received any reward for their labours. All miners had to pay a licence fee to the government during this time, something that they bitterly resented. This tax was one of the main factors that led to the Eureka Rebellion at Ballarat in December 1854.

Conditions on the goldfields

Living conditions were hard for everyone on the goldfields. In places like Bendigo, for example, around 40 000 people lived close together in tents. Water and fresh food were scarce and sanitation was very poor. Garbage piled up around the diggings and toilets were simply holes dug in the ground. The smell from the camps was unbearable for those who were not used to it. Most of the people living on the goldfields were men, although some women did brave the difficult conditions with their children in order to keep their families together. While some children were able to attend school, education was of varying quality and often depended on the willingness of teachers to give up time looking for gold in order to run classes. Most children were expected to work with their parents looking for gold. Medical care was very poor, and trained doctors were few and far between. Children on the goldfields were much more likely than adults to be injured or to die from disease. Children under the age of five made up a majority of deaths on the goldfields. Many women died in childbirth from a lack of sanitation and medical care.

Unsanitary conditions led to the spread of diseases such as dysentery and typhoid. Illnesses also resulted from a poor diet, as there were few fresh foods. Exotic foods were available but they were very expensive and were not affordable for most miners.

Living and working on the goldfields

Most diggers on the goldfields worked from dawn until dusk, six days a week. In the early years, most miners were able to make a reasonable income from alluvial gold mining and a few even had major strikes, making them instantly wealthy. In reality though, most found



Source 3 An artist's impression of children panning for gold

very little gold at all and struggled to make a decent living.

Once most alluvial gold had been found and the mining of deep reef gold began, many miners really began to struggle. There were also, of course, very successful miners like George Lansell, whose profitable mining company in Bendigo earned him the title 'The Quartz King'. Success stories like this kept new people flocking to the goldfields to test their luck – despite all the hardships.

The people who were most assured of a steady income on the goldfields weren't miners at all, but traders, shopkeepers, transporters and other business people. The miners were so caught up with the search for gold that it was a full-time job for them. This allowed enterprising people to recognise a need for services and supplies in and around the goldfields, so many people built up prosperous businesses. For example, John Chandler and his father, who arrived in Melbourne in 1850, developed a very successful business transporting goods (such as mining tools and supplies) to and from towns on the Victorian goldfields.

keyconcept: Empathy

Food on the goldfields

In order to have a real understanding of the hardships and rewards of life on the goldfields, it is necessary to look closely at how the miners lived. One really good way to empathise with miners is to look at the types of food they ate, because the importance of food in people's lives never really changes. Food is not just for sustenance; it is also a way of connecting with people and celebrating. By examining food on the goldfields we can begin to have some empathy with the miners as real people, even though they lived very different lives to us.

There is a general belief that all miners lived on a boring diet of mutton (meat from sheep), damper and tea. While this was true to a large extent, the diaries and letters from the time also provide evidence that more varied and exotic foods were also available. See the list of food items eaten and prices recorded by a party of four diggers in the early 1850s (Source 4).

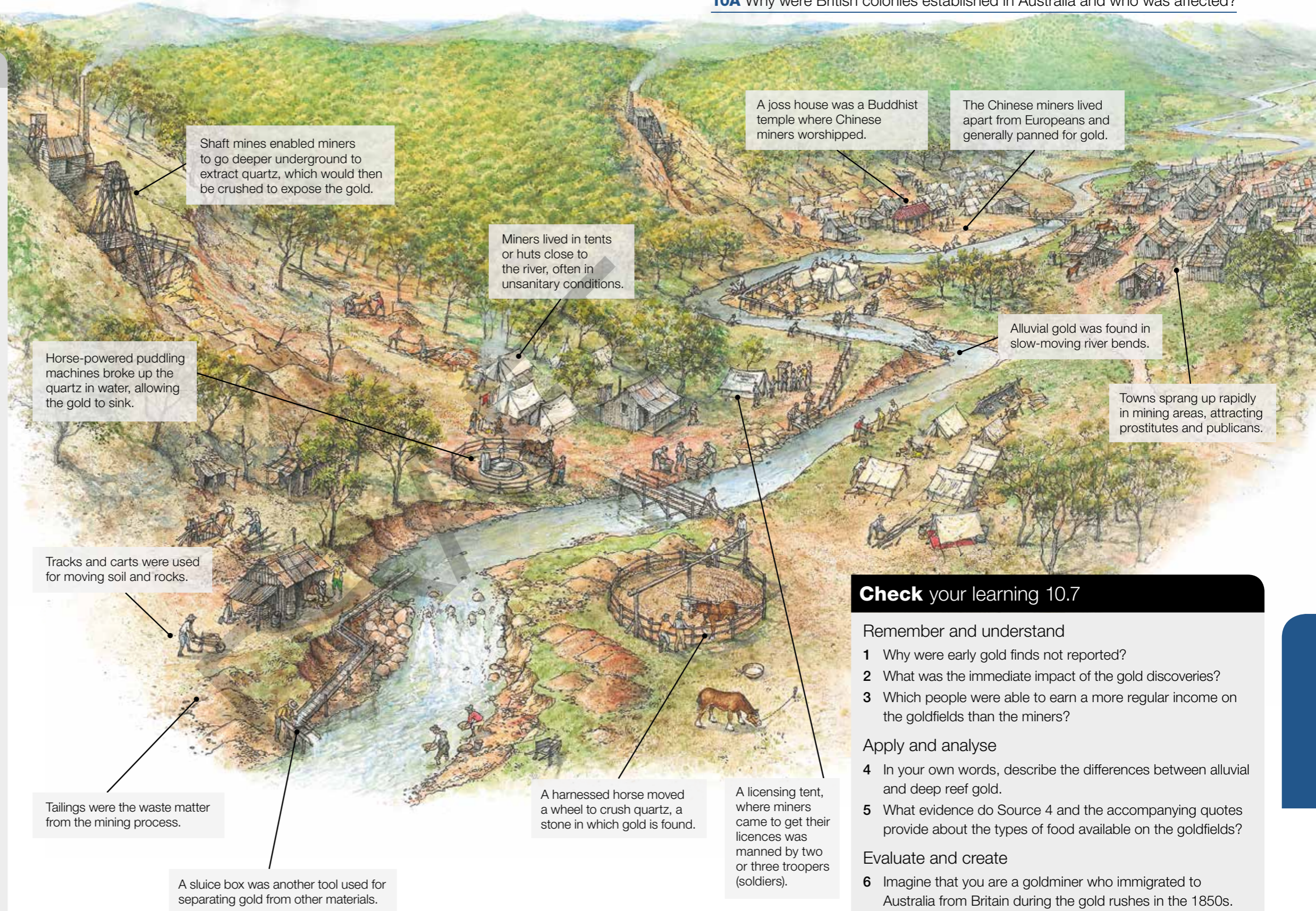
Source 4

- Mutton forequarter 4 shillings
- Coffee 2 shillings and 6 pence
- Potatoes 6 pence per pound [weight]
- Porridge 1 shilling per pound
- Tongue 2 shillings and 5 pence per pound
- Anchovy paste 1 shilling and 5 pence per pot
- Mustard 2 shillings per pot
- Pickles 1 shilling per pot
- Lemon peel 2 shillings and 6 pence per pound
- Hot cross buns 4 pence

(Note: 1 shilling = 10 cents, 6 pence = 5 cents, 5 pence = 4 cents, 1 pound [weight] = 450 grams)

James Selby, a medical practitioner and fossicker on the Victorian goldfields around 1852–54, recorded in his diary that he had 'dined this day with Nankeville [another digger] who regaled me with [gave me] a Cornish pasty ...'. He then 'went to drink tea and eat bacon currant fritters with Hunt [another digger] ...'. Another miner described 'a collation [collection] of beef steak, cold ham, Dutch cheese, sardines, pickles and damper'. There are also accounts of miners making gigantic Christmas puddings with gold nuggets sprinkled through the mixture!

For more information on the key concept of empathy refer to page XX of 'The history toolkit'.



Shaft mines enabled miners to go deeper underground to extract quartz, which would then be crushed to expose the gold.

A joss house was a Buddhist temple where Chinese miners worshipped.

The Chinese miners lived apart from Europeans and generally panned for gold.

Miners lived in tents or huts close to the river, often in unsanitary conditions.

Alluvial gold was found in slow-moving river bends.

Towns sprang up rapidly in mining areas, attracting prostitutes and publicans.

Horse-powered puddling machines broke up the quartz in water, allowing the gold to sink.

Tracks and carts were used for moving soil and rocks.

Tailings were the waste matter from the mining process.

A sluice box was another tool used for separating gold from other materials.

A harnessed horse moved a wheel to crush quartz, a stone in which gold is found.

A licensing tent, where miners came to get their licences was manned by two or three troopers (soldiers).

Check your learning 10.7

Remember and understand

- 1 Why were early gold finds not reported?
- 2 What was the immediate impact of the gold discoveries?
- 3 Which people were able to earn a more regular income on the goldfields than the miners?

Apply and analyse

- 4 In your own words, describe the differences between alluvial and deep reef gold.
- 5 What evidence do Source 4 and the accompanying quotes provide about the types of food available on the goldfields?

Evaluate and create

- 6 Imagine that you are a goldminer who immigrated to Australia from Britain during the gold rushes in the 1850s. Use the information in this section to write a letter to your family in Britain about your life on the goldfields. Your letter should contain at least three paragraphs, each focusing on a different aspect of life and work.

Source 5 A modern artist's recreation of the goldfields

10.8 The experiences of the Chinese in Australia before 1900

In the centuries after British settlement, Australia has attracted people from around the globe. Some came in search of riches and new opportunities; others were looking for a place to start a new life. Among them were Afghans from the Middle East, South Sea Islanders from across the western Pacific region and the Japanese. By far the largest group of non-Europeans to journey to Australia over this period of time were the Chinese.

The Chinese

For most Chinese, the main motivation for making the long journey to Australia was the search for gold. During the 1850s Australia was known to the Chinese as *Xin Jin Shan* ('New Mountain of Gold'). Many Chinese immigrants were also political refugees who left China following a bloody civil war that raged across China between 1850 and 1864.

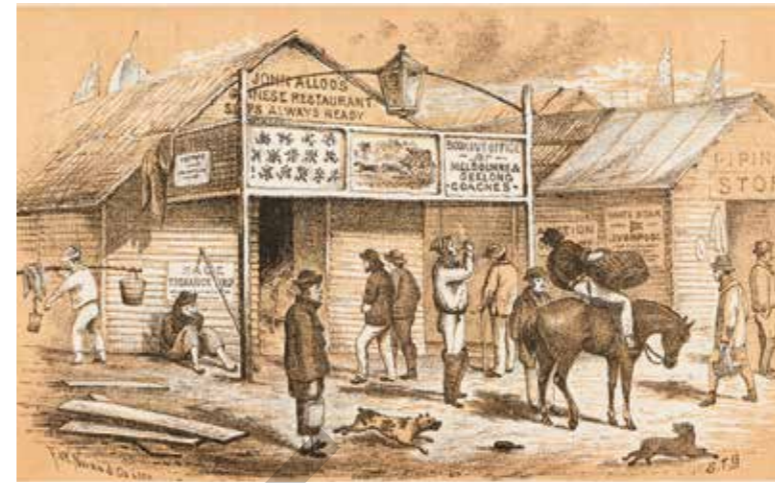


Source 1 A Chinese miner on the goldfields carrying a cradle and other mining tools

By the late 1850s, there were around 40 000 Chinese immigrants in Victoria. They represented 25 per cent of the miners in the state at this time. In New South Wales, gold mining communities were not as large as they were in Victoria. Here, around 60 per cent of all miners were Chinese immigrants. Their language, culture, religion, appearance and clothing, meant that the Chinese were often viewed with suspicion by Europeans. They were also accused of introducing exotic diseases and drugs (such as opium) onto the goldfields (see Source 3). As a result, they were regularly the victims of prejudice and racial abuse.

The main reasons for anti-Chinese feeling among Europeans included:

- *racism* – it was assumed that the culture and religion of white, European peoples was naturally superior. The other purely racist notion was that non-whites would contaminate the pure white race of British Australians. These views were widely expressed in parliament, popular literature and cartoons (see Source 3 opposite and Source 3 on page XX). An argument often used by European settlers in the lead up to Federation in 1901 was that a united nation would be better able to make laws to restrict further 'unwanted' immigration.
- *fear of being overrun* – there was also a fear that the arrival of the Chinese in increasing numbers might result in Europeans being overtaken as the largest ethnic group. The Europeans feared they would be dispossessed of their land by the Chinese, just as they had dispossessed the Indigenous Australians.
- *suspicion of an unfamiliar culture* – the Chinese stood out as a cultural group. Their language, religion and appearance meant they were often viewed with suspicion by Europeans. Because almost all Chinese immigrants on the goldfields were male, they were also seen as competition for the relatively small number of women there.
- *jealousy* – having been denied access to the best mining areas near water, the Chinese often reworked claims (pieces of land) that European miners had abandoned. They worked hard to go over the tailings (the clay and soil that had already been worked by previous miners) and were often successful in



Source 2 John Alloo's Chinese restaurant, main road, Ballarat, 1855 by ST Gill; lithograph, National Gallery of Australia

finding quantities of gold that had been left behind, causing anger and resentment among the European diggers. The practice of sending gold home to their families was also viewed as taking wealth away from Australians. This was despite the fact that many European miners sent gold home to their families in Europe as well.

Resentment and anger towards the Chinese community flared into violence on a number of occasions. From 1855 onwards, colonial governments in Victoria and South Australia started passing anti-Chinese legislation. Two of the worst incidents occurred shortly after this time. One at Buckland River in Victoria in 1857, and another at Lambing Flat in New South Wales in 1861. 'The Lambing Flat riots' as they became known were a series of riots and attacks against Chinese miners that took place over a period of about



Source 3 'The Mongolian Octopus - his grip on Australia', a cartoon that appeared in *The Bulletin* in 1886

10 months. Mobs of several thousand miners attacked Chinese miners working the goldfields in a number of locations. Over this time, about half of the Chinese miners living there were brutally beaten or injured in the attacks. Only one of the attackers, William Squires, was convicted and sentenced in relation to the attacks.

Despite widespread anti-Chinese feeling, there were some Europeans who showed sympathy and even admiration for the Chinese. Antoine Fauchery, a French miner, described the Chinese as 'strong, industrious and patient'. By the 1870s, the focus of goldmining had moved to Queensland. The decline in alluvial goldmining saw many Chinese people return home, though a small community remained. Some moved on and set up new businesses such as restaurants, trading companies and shops, while others became market gardeners.

Check your learning 10.8

Remember and understand

- 1 List the main groups of non-European migrants to Australia in the period before 1900. Explain why these groups came to Australia.
- 2 What did the Chinese call Australia in the 1850s?
- 3 What were the main reasons for anti-Chinese feeling among Europeans working on the Australian goldfields?

Apply and analyse

- 4 Look carefully at Source 3. What evidence does this cartoon provide about the way in which Chinese migrants were regarded by many Australians in the 19th century?

Evaluate and create

- 5 In pairs or small groups, research one of the violent outbreaks against the Chinese on the goldfields during the late 1800s.
 - a Your research should cover the following inquiry questions:
 - when and where the riot/outbreak was
 - what happened and why
 - what sources are available
 - whether the riot brought about any changes.
 - b Prepare a short written report of around 450 words or create an audiovisual presentation to present your findings to the class.

10.9 The experiences of other non-Europeans in Australia before 1900

The Afghans

From the 1830s onwards, a group of people from the Middle East also began to travel to Australia in search of work. They were experienced camel handlers who managed and tended to the camels that had been imported by the British to help explore and settle Australia's dry and inhospitable interior. Although the cameleers were known as 'Afghans', they came from various parts of the Middle East, Turkey and India. Camels – known as 'ships of the desert' – could survive and work in conditions too harsh for horses, donkeys and bullocks. Many 'Afghans' were employed under short-term contracts that required them to return to their homelands after a few years. By 1900, however, it is estimated that there were around 2000 cameleers living permanently in Australia.

The Afghans faced hostility and suspicion because of their race and they rarely mixed with Europeans outside of work. Many Afghans were Muslim and this only increased the prejudices of many of the Europeans. The Afghans were usually housed on the fringes of settlements, with outback towns typically segregated into sections for whites, Indigenous Australians and the cameleers.

The Afghans made a major contribution to exploration and development of Australia's interior. From the 1860s until the expansion of the railways around 1900, camels were vital for moving people and property. The inland railways and the Overland



Source 1 Camels carrying timber as part of the construction of the Trans-Australian railway

Telegraph line were two of the great projects that depended on the cameleers.

The combination of Federation and the Immigration Restriction Act meant that any Afghans who left Australia were not allowed to return. Those who stayed to make their homes in Australia could not become citizens because, under the White Australia Policy, they were classified as 'Asian'.

South Pacific Islanders

From the 1860s, the growing of sugar cane dramatically increased in Queensland's tropical north. Harvesting, or cane cutting, was backbreaking work and there was a common belief that it was unhealthy for Europeans to undertake hard physical labour in the tropics. This was due to European ideas about differences between the races. The result was that employers looked to the South Pacific islands for workers and brought in workers from the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (modern-day Vanuatu) and the Loyalty Islands. By the 1890s almost 50000 South Sea Islanders, collectively called Kanakas, had been brought to Australia. Some of the islanders had in fact been kidnapped. Though many were legitimately employed in Australia, many thousands of others were exploited by unscrupulous employers and worked under conditions that resembled slavery.

Although historians acknowledge the importance of the contribution of these South Sea Islanders to the



Source 2 Pacific Islanders loading sugar cane, c. 1890

economic development of Queensland, their treatment on the cane fields is one of the contested aspects of Australian history. There is ongoing debate among historians who have reviewed statistics available about medical conditions and mortality rates among the South Sea Islanders. The experiences of these workers tended to vary depending on whom they worked for, and where and when they were employed.

It is fair to say, however, that islander labour was attractive to some employers because it was cheap and cost them less than employing European labour. Hence employers looked to keep saving money and the islanders were not always as well fed, housed or clothed as they might have been. Pacific Islanders were also vulnerable to European diseases, such as tuberculosis and influenza, which contributed to high death rates. The historian Marilyn Lake noted that in 1883, 'one Islander in every twelve working on plantations died, by 1884 one in seven. In some places the death rate was even higher, reaching 60 per cent on the CSR [a large sugar refinery] estate in Goondi.' Perhaps the most telling statistic is that, in the 1890s, the death rate among South Sea Islanders in Queensland was over 60 for every 1000 workers, while the death rate for other Queenslanders was only 13 for every 1000.

Federation in 1901 saw the gradual deportation of Pacific Islanders as the Pacific Islander Labourers Act was phased in. Amendments or changes to the legislation over the years meant that by 1906, it was decided that Pacific Islanders who had come to Australia before 1879, had been in Australia for more than 20 years, were too old to return home or who owned land in Australia could stay. At present, it is estimated that there are around 20000 descendants of the original Pacific Island labourers living in northern New South Wales and Queensland.



Source 3 A Japanese pearl diver in full diving suit, waiting for the helmet

The Japanese

In the 1880s, the Japanese and immigrants from other Asian countries came to Australia to work in pearl diving areas such as Darwin, Broome in Western Australia, and Thursday Island in northern Queensland. Their expertise in deep-water diving was instrumental in developing Australia's pearling industry. Deep-water diving was a dangerous occupation, involving diving suits, helmets and lead-weighted boots. Air was manually pumped to the diver, who walked on or drifted along the seabed. Divers risked injury or death from decompression sickness and shark attacks. Cyclones were also known to shipwreck whole fleets of pearling luggers (special pearling boats).

Like other non-European immigrants, Japanese workers experienced racism from European Australians because of their different appearance and unfamiliar culture. However, unlike other people from Asia, Japanese divers in Broome became exempt from the White Australia policy after Federation. Originally the government attempted to replace them with divers recruited from the British Navy, but almost all of the group of 12 British divers were killed while diving.

Check your learning 10.9

Remember and understand

- 1 Outline the contribution that 'Afghans' made to Australia's development in the 19th century.
- 2 Explain why South Sea Islanders were deported from Queensland after Federation.
- 3 What happened to the British Navy pearl divers that the government employed to try and replace Japanese divers?

10A rich task

The impacts of European colonisation on Australia's Indigenous population

From the earliest days of British colonisation of Australia, the impact on the Indigenous population was catastrophic. Although British authorities initially attempted to treat the Aboriginal people well, they still intended to take their land. As more and more Europeans arrived, conflict increased as Aboriginal people were increasingly robbed of their hunting and fishing grounds.

Most early settlements were on the east coast of Australia. Gradually, however, explorers began making long and dangerous expeditions inland. Whenever the explorers found land suitable for farming, settlers would follow them there. Later in the 1800s, Europeans began to expand even further into the infertile parts of the country, searching for gold or other valuable minerals. As explorers and settlers pushed further and further inland, they were also moving into Aboriginal tribal areas. There was often conflict on this frontier as Aboriginal people tried to protect what was theirs.

The conflict was made worse by the fact that misunderstandings existed on both sides. The British settlers at the time considered their civilisation to be superior and looked down on Aboriginal people as primitive natives who needed help. On the other hand, Aboriginal people had no knowledge of European values and did not understand their attitude to land ownership.

In many parts of Australia there was open warfare as Aboriginal people fought to defend themselves and their land. They used guerrilla tactics such as making surprise attacks on lone settlers, or spearing their sheep and cattle before disappearing back into their land.

These attacks were often worse in times of drought. Usually, however, this led to groups of settlers or mounted police hunting down the Aborigines. On many occasions, this led to the massacre of innocent Aborigines who had taken no part in attacks on settlers. The Aborigines had no weapons to match the European guns, nor could they organise themselves in sufficient numbers to oppose the continuing spread of settlement as more convicts and settlers arrived.



Source 1 '... the revenge of the Whites ...', AS Broad (1854–1929), National Library of Australia



Source 2 Maltreatment of the blacks, 1880 engraving by CH Hunt, State Library of Victoria

skilldrill: Historical sources as evidence

Generating different kinds of questions about the past to inform historical inquiry

One of the first and most important steps in conducting a historical inquiry is to generate or pose key questions. The questions that you generate will frame or direct the research that you then undertake.

Usually, historians generate one broad, overarching or key question for their inquiry, for example: 'How did European colonisation impact on Australia's Indigenous population?' After that, you need to generate more specific questions that are related to your overall inquiry question. You will need to generate a mixture of:

- Closed or simple questions (e.g. 'When did event X occur?')
- Open or probing questions (e.g. 'Why did event X occur?')
- Questions that relate to the process of historical inquiry (e.g. 'What evidence is there?', 'What other sources might be needed?').

The first step in generating questions is to think about what you already know about the topic. Use this knowledge as a springboard for questions that will help you understand the topic in more depth. Use a table like the one below to brainstorm all the things you know in dot-point form in one column. In the second column, use each dot point in the first column to generate related questions that will help to deepen or build your understanding. Remember to include a mix of the three question types described above.

Overarching inquiry question:

What I already know:	Questions to help me deepen or build my understanding:
Point 1	Question/s related to point 1
Point 2	Question/s related to point 2

Apply the skill

- 1 Use the process described above to generate a range of questions related to the overarching historical inquiry question: 'How did European colonisation impact upon Australia's Indigenous population?' Copy the table below into your notebook.

First, identify what you already know as a result of reading this chapter and the information in this section. List these ideas in dot points in the first column.

Then, in the second column, generate related questions that help to deepen or build your understanding. The first one has been done for you.

Overarching inquiry question: 'How did European colonisation impact upon Australia's Indigenous population?'

What I already know:	Questions to help us deepen or build my understanding:
Many Aboriginals were killed as a result of violence on the frontier.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many massacres of Aboriginals occurred? (simple or closed question) • Where and when did they occur? (simple or closed question) • Why did they occur? (open or probing question) • What evidence exists of these massacres? (question related to the process of historical inquiry)
Point 2	
Point 3	
Point 4	

Extend your understanding

- 1 Of all the massacres of Aborigines that occurred in Australia between 1788 and 1928, the Myall Creek Massacre is regarded as one of the most historically significant.
 - a Conduct some Internet research on the Myall Creek Massacre. Write a 300-word report that addresses the following questions:

- Where and when did it take place?
- Which tribe of Indigenous Australians was involved?
- Who were the white settlers?
- What was the main cause of the conflict?
- What was the result?
- Why is the Myall Creek Massacre regarded as one of the most historically significant massacres of Aborigines in the history of Australia?

10.10 Emerging Australian identity

A sense of Australian identity was slow to develop during the 19th century. Many of the thousands who came to Australia as free settlers or assisted migrants were initially unwilling to bond with their new country. Even though the culture, customs, buildings, gardens, clothing, food, institutions and pastimes were all closely modelled on British styles (see Source 2), many immigrants longed for the day they could return to their British homeland.

This sense of isolation and separation was even stronger for convicts. As Australia was a place of exile, most of the convicts who arrived in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land felt no link to this strange and often harsh land. Most had also been separated from all family and loved ones in Britain, making the desire to return home greater.

Gradually though, attitudes towards being 'Australian' started to change. Over time, some ex-convicts and assisted migrants who had initially resisted the idea of staying in Australia now began to recognise the many economic and social benefits offered by this new society.

Identifying with Australia

By the late 19th century, many British customs and practices were being altered to suit the different physical and social conditions of Australia. Verandahs were added to British-style houses to keep out the heat. Clothing became lighter and less fussy, and new words and pronunciations began creeping into the language. The words *billy*, *larrikin*, *battler*, *bludger* and *outback* all came into common usage, especially in the bush. The diet of most people in Australia at this time was similar to that of people

in Britain, but gradually this became more nutritious because meat, dairy produce and vegetables were more readily available here.

Another influence that brought Australian colonists together was sport. Although Australian Rules football was not played in every colony, it was well established in Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia. The first inter-colonial football game was played between Victoria and South Australia in 1879. Cricket was played in all the colonies from the earliest days of their settlement, and the first Test Match against England was played (and won by Australia) in Melbourne in 1877. Horse racing was also a big part of



Source 1 This painting, titled *The Lawn at Flemington on Melbourne Cup Day* by Karl Kahler, c. 1887 shows the early influence that sporting events had on the development of Australian identity.



Source 2 An early painting of Oxford Street, Sydney, showing British-style clothing and buildings (Jacob Janssen, 1847)

life in the colonies. The first horse race is recorded to have taken place in Sydney within weeks of settlement. By the 1880s, the Melbourne Cup (see Source 1) had already developed its reputation as 'the race that stops a nation'. Even in the remotest parts of Australia, people followed the results, and the Cup fashions were reported in popular magazines such as *The Bulletin*.

There was also a freer and more egalitarian spirit among the Australian colonists. Most of these changes happened unconsciously over time. Many people believed that they were still living a very British lifestyle. It was only when they travelled to Britain, or welcomed visitors from 'home', that they became aware of how much attitudes and practices were changing between the two countries.

Check your learning 10.10

Remember and understand

- 1 Why was a sense of 'Australian' identity slow to develop in the colonies during the 19th century?
- 2 In your own words, define the term 'egalitarianism'. How did this philosophy influence the development of Australian society in the 1800s?
- 3 Explain how sport contributed to a growing sense of unity among the Australian colonies and influenced the development of an Australian identity.

Apply and analyse

- 4 What point is Source 3 making about egalitarianism in Australia compared to Britain?
- 5 How do you explain the fact that most Australians accepted the idea of an egalitarian society even though they often saw evidence to the contrary?
- 6 Modern-day Australia is regarded as an egalitarian society. Think of three examples of laws or public policies that demonstrate Australia's egalitarianism today.

keyconcept: Perspectives

Egalitarianism

Egalitarianism is the idea of equality among people. The word comes from the French *égal*, meaning equal. Believers in egalitarianism wish for all people to have equal social status or worth as human beings. They also wish for all people to be given equal opportunities in society.

As the national identity of Australia was forming, many people both here and overseas believed in a society where all had an equal chance to prosper. Unlike in Britain, there was no strict class system. However, this did not mean that there were no class differences. There was still a large gap between the wealthy, the middle class and the poor. There was also a distinction between white people and non-whites. A wealthy and successful Chinese merchant usually had less social acceptance than a white person on a low wage in an unskilled occupation.

However, this egalitarian spirit did mean that the children of convicts or poor immigrants were able to rise to positions of importance in politics, business and the arts. What counted most under Australia's egalitarian social system were hard work, risk-taking and an ability to make the most of the land's opportunities.

Bridget: 'Well, I like your appearance, and the wages you offer will suit — have you any references from your last servant?'
Mistress: 'No! I have not, I'm sorry to say.'
Bridget: 'Oh! Then I couldn't think of accepting the appointment.'



Source 3 This cartoon from *Melbourne Punch* (1883) makes fun of the growing sense of equality between the wealthy and the working class in the Australian colonies.

It also meant that people were more inclined to mix with those of other classes. Relations between bosses and workers, **pastoralists** (landowners) and shearers, politicians and voters were far less formal than they were in Britain.

For more information on the key concept of perspectives refer to page XX of 'The history toolkit'.

10.11 The impact of gold

Gold brought enormous growth in wealth and population to the Australian colonies. In the 1850s, the value of gold produced was around \$21 million (around \$1.2 billion today), and by the 1890s, the value was still \$18 million (around \$1.1 billion today).

For this reason, the period from 1860 to 1890 is known as 'the long boom'. It was a period of great expansion and development in the mining and pastoral industries. The capital cities expanded and many new towns developed in regional areas.

The impact of the 1850s gold rushes was most significant for Victoria, the colony that included the mining towns of Ballarat, Bendigo and Castlemaine. By the end of the 1850s, the colony of Victoria was producing about one-third of the world's gold and was home to around half of Australia's European population. During the gold-rush decades, groups of Germans, Poles and Americans joined a community that had previously been dominated by settlers from Britain.

keyconcept: Significance

'Marvellous Melbourne'

By the end of the 1850s, Melbourne was one of the wealthiest cities of the British Empire. Between 1850 and 1890, fuelled by the gold rush, Melbourne's population grew from 22 000 to half a million. This made Melbourne the second biggest city in the British Empire after London, and larger than many European capitals of the time.

This population growth, along with the enormous wealth of the goldfields, supported a boom that lasted for 40 years and became known as the era of 'Marvellous Melbourne'. This wealth had a huge impact on the development of Melbourne. Many of the buildings and institutions established at this time are still a central part of the life of the city today and provide many of Melbourne's landmarks.

With the arrival of more educated gold seekers from England, there was a corresponding growth in the number of schools, churches, learned societies, libraries and art galleries in the city. The University of Melbourne was founded in 1855 and the State Library of Victoria in 1856. Parliament House, Melbourne, was started in 1855, though not completed until 1929. Ornate office buildings rivalled those of New York and London. Money was poured into lavishly decorated banks, hotels and coffee palaces.

Melbourne's civic pride swelled. The elaborate Royal Exhibition Building was built in 1880 to house the Melbourne International Exhibition. It was a world-

class building to show off the latest in commerce and industry, art, science and education.

The city spread out in all directions and wealthy new suburbs were settled. These new suburbs were serviced by train and tram networks that were among the largest and most modern in the world.

In 1891, however, the good times came to an end. Banks closed their doors, stockbrokers panicked and thousands of people betting on the boom continuing lost jobs, homes and savings. Growth in Melbourne slowed for some time and Melbourne entered a more sober era.

For more information on the key concept of significance refer to page XX of 'The history toolkit'.



Source 1 Parliament House in Melbourne is one of many grand buildings built from proceeds of the gold rush during the era of 'Marvellous Melbourne'.



Source 2 Although some miners struck it rich on the goldfield, the majority did not. This painting from 1854, titled *The Invalid Digger* by ST Gill shows the hardship faced by many diggers in Australia at the time.

The gold rushes had a lasting effect on Australia. The population increased from 437 000 to 1.1 million during the 1850s. Gold money helped to establish overseas trade, improve transport and build roads so that more inland areas could be opened up to farming and settlement. The introduction of coach companies, such as Cobb & Co. in 1853, improved travel within and between the colonies. By 1861, 110 towns and cities were linked by telegraph.

Gold and national unity

Some historians have suggested that the many immigrants who arrived in Australia during the 1850s in search of gold actually slowed down the development of national unity. There is some evidence to support this, but only in the short term. Letters and diaries of gold-rush immigrants suggest that many of them initially saw Australia as a place only of temporary residence. They expected that Australia would provide them with a quick fortune, and then they would return to their homelands in Britain, Asia or Europe. For some, gold did indeed bring great wealth. For most however, the experience was difficult and unrewarding (see Source 2).

Gold discoveries gave the colonies great wealth and boosted their populations. By the late 1860s, most of the gold-rush immigrants had chosen to stay in Australia.

There were generally very high rates of employment across the colonies. Towns and cities developed and settlement continued to expand inland. Gold-rush immigrants settled on small farms, started their own businesses or took jobs working in various trades and professions.

The majority of gold-rush immigrants were still from the British Isles. However, there is evidence that many of them were slightly better educated, and more politically aware than the pre-gold arrivals. Achievements such as the right to vote for all men over the age of 25 and the eight-hour day are regarded as having been influenced by the new waves of immigrants after 1851.

Despite their initial doubts, most gold-rush immigrants had increasingly positive attitudes towards their adopted country and its future. They began to identify with the landscape, no longer seeing it as harsh and unforgiving. Life in Australia had many positives – a more relaxed lifestyle, a lack of strict class barriers and the potential prosperity of an economy based on gold and wool. The idea of moving towards a single nation was developing.

Check your learning 10.11

Remember and understand

- 1 Which colony produced the most gold in the period 1850 to 1900?
- 2 Which particular goldfields were the richest in Australia?
- 3 Name two ways in which the discovery of gold assisted in the development of the Australian colonies after 1850.

Apply and analyse

- 4 Explain why some historians suggest that gold slowed the development of national unity.
- 5 What role did gold play, in the longer term, to create positive feelings about Australia?

Evaluate and create

- 6 Many of the accounts of life on the goldfields refer to the spirit of mateship and camaraderie that existed among the diggers. ST Gill's painting *The Invalid Digger* (Source 2) and Weston Bate's research suggest a different situation.
 - a Conduct further research to discover which view is more likely to be accurate.
 - b Use this material and your own research to write a 500-word essay on the topic: 'Mateship on the goldfields: myth or reality?'. Be sure to include and reference at least two historical sources.

10.12 The development of Australian culture

In the 19th century, Australians began to show their growing national identity through art and literature. Appreciation grew for new styles that were distinctly Australian.

Developments in art

In the early 19th century, painters tended to see the Australian landscape through European eyes. Landscapes were usually depicted by artists as dark and hostile. Human figures tended to be dwarfed by high mountains or trees. Town scenes were often painted in similar ways to those found in Britain. Cottages were quaint and the people were neatly dressed.

It was not until the 1870s and 1880s that artists began to show the Australian landscape and people as they really were. Over time, their work also became more popular and respected. Painters of the Heidelberg School in Melbourne (now referred to as the Australian Impressionists) started painting in the open air. Tom Roberts, Frederick McCubbin and Arthur Streeton were among the first painters to capture the true colours of Australia – blues, golds and greyish greens that had not been used by earlier artists. These colours can be seen in Arthur Streeton's *Near Heidelberg* (Source 1).

Late 19th-century Australian painters presented simpler, everyday themes and more ordinary people. Subjects included bushfires and floods, drovers and shearers. Tom Roberts' famous painting *Shearing the rams* (Source 2) celebrated – and romanticised – the difficult, dirty and often back-breaking work in the shearing shed.

Paintings completed in the early 1800s, often showed people as small figures being overpowered by the landscape. By contrast, paintings from the 1880s and 1890s showed people that looked 'at home'. Instead of looking threatened by their environment, they appeared relaxed and at peace. By this time, the beach was increasingly becoming a part of the Australian way of life.



Source 1 Arthur Streeton Australia 1867–1943, lived in England 1899–1919 *Near Heidelberg* 1890 oil on canvas 53.4 × 43.1 cm National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne Felton Bequest, 1943



Source 2 Tom Roberts born Great Britain 1865, arrived in Australia 1969, died 1931 *Shearing the rams* 1890 oil on canvas on composition board 122.4 × 183.3 cm National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne Felton Bequest, 1932

Developments in literature

A new body of literature also reflected more Australian themes and subjects. Like artists and painters, early 19th-century writers had tended to portray Australia as an alien and threatening place. By the 1880s and 1890s however, poets and storytellers were writing positively about Australia. Stories of men who roamed the land and tamed the bush became popular. Magazines such as *The Bulletin*, *The Queensland Worker* and *Dawn* were filled with tales of drovers, selectors, shearers and even bushrangers. Writers such as Joseph Furphy, Barbara Baynton and Banjo Paterson portrayed the bush as a safe and welcoming place to be. Others, such as Henry Lawson were a little less idealistic. In some of Lawson's stories, such as 'The Drover's Wife', he acknowledges that the bush could be a lonely and even dangerous place.

Despite the rise in distinctly Australian forms of art and literature towards the end of the 19th century, paintings and stories that reflected British themes and styles were still popular. Some critics at the time remarked that the new trends in Australian art and literature could not be considered as serious examples of culture. An art critic described the first exhibition of the Heidelberg painters in August 1889 as 'a pain to the eye'. However, the new body of Australian material was becoming increasingly popular with ordinary Australian settlers. Australian art and literature reflected a developing sense of identification with, and love of, Australia. It also inspired positive feelings about the environment and way of life, and played a role in the shift towards the creation of a unified nation.

The development of Australian icons

Around the same time, depictions of Australian flora and fauna were increasingly being used to promote food products and as decorations on buildings and in stained glass. The use of brand names such as 'Rosella' for tomato sauce (see Source 3), 'Emu', 'Dingo' and 'Ringer' (the fastest shearer) showed a growing confidence in all things Australian. This type of imagery would go on to become an iconic part of Australian culture and society. Many companies still use Australian flora and fauna in their logos today. One of the best known examples of these is Qantas, whose white kangaroo on a red background (known as the 'flying kangaroo') is recognised around the world.



Source 3 The Rosella trademark was first used on bottles of jam and tomato sauce in 1895.

Check your learning 10.12

Remember and understand

- 1 How did the Australian landscape tend to be depicted by early 19th-century artists?

Apply and analyse

- 2 Describe the difference between some of the well-known Australian authors in the late 19th century in terms of the ways they portrayed life in the Australian bush.

Evaluate and create

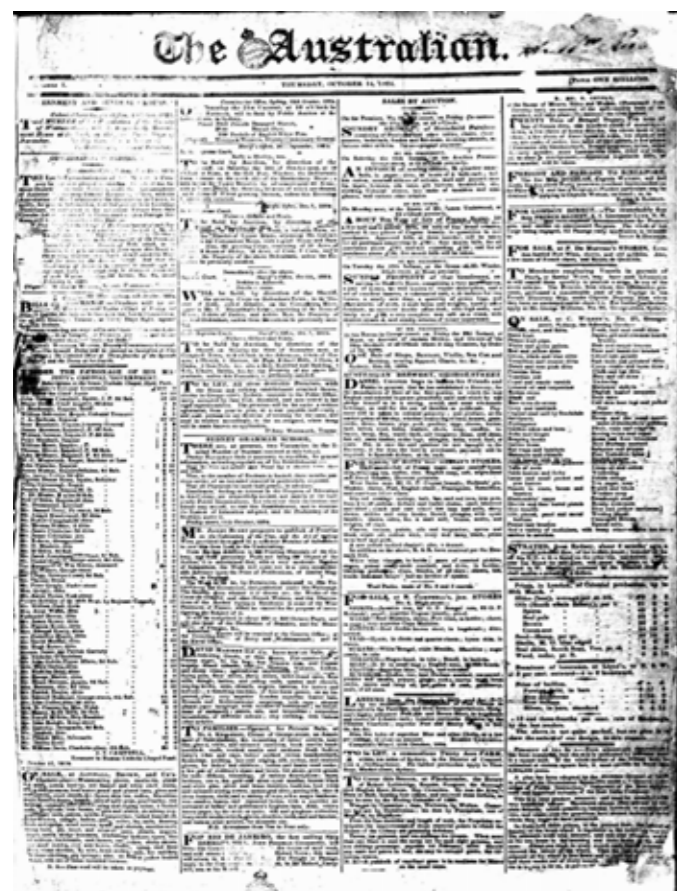
- 3 Examine Sources 1 and 2 and analyse the features of each in terms of their ties to the established cultures and traditions of Britain and the new traditions and customs of Australia. Copy and complete the following table into your notebook. You may need to conduct additional research on the Internet to help you.

Painting	European features	Australian features
<i>Near Heidelberg</i>		
<i>Shearing the rams</i>		

10.13 The idea of a united Australia

Towards the end of the 19th century, people living in separate Australian colonies began to realise just how much they had in common. All six Australian colonies were settled by people from Britain, all spoke the same language, followed the same customs and traditions and had very similar legal and political systems. Because of these shared goals and ideals, some key individuals began to argue that much could be gained by uniting the separate colonies to form a single nation.

The term 'Australia' was only used occasionally during the early 1800s. One of the first people to do so was William Charles Wentworth, who set up a newspaper called *The Australian* in 1824.



Source 1 The front page of *The Australian* newspaper from Thursday 14 October 1824. The newspaper – which was published in Sydney between 1824 and 1848 – was one of the first to use the term 'Australia'.

However, in the 1850s, goldminers from Europe were still more likely to say that they were going to Bathurst or Ballarat than to Australia. As late as the 1850s, some in Britain used the name 'Botany Bay' to describe the entire country.

From about 1860 onwards, businesses and organisations were increasingly using the name 'Australia'. The Australian Natives' Association (ANA) was one of the first and most significant organisations to use the word Australia in their name around 1871. The ANA was set up as a 'friendly society' (an early version of modern-day health funds) providing sickness, medical and funeral cover. In the 1880s, its members broadened their purpose, seeking to promote identification with Australia. They pushed for 26 January to be celebrated as Australia's national day, commemorating the arrival of the First Fleet into Sydney Harbour. In the 1890s, they also began campaigning for **federation** (the unification of separate Australian colonies into a single nation).

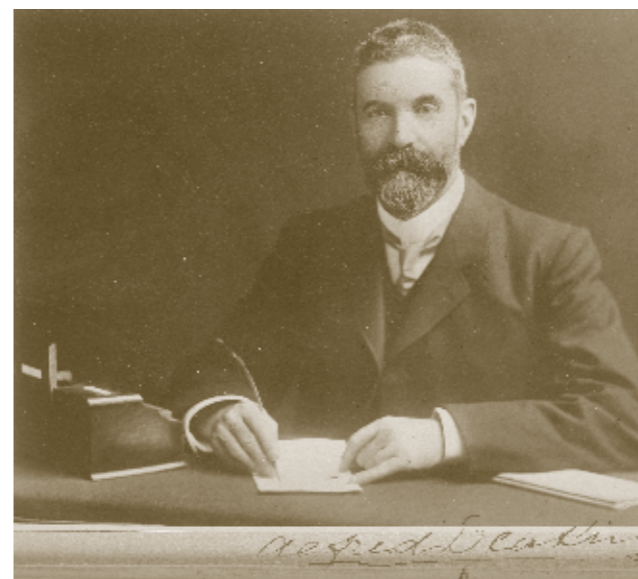
The White Australia ideal

Another significant factor that unified people in all of the Australian colonies was a belief in white superiority. The settlers who colonised Australia had a profound belief that European culture and civilisation (and therefore white people themselves) were far more advanced and superior than any others. This belief was clearly demonstrated in the ways colonists treated Indigenous people and non-Europeans (especially Chinese and South Sea Islanders). By the late 19th century, a white Australia was seen by many as an essential foundation for a united Australian nation.

The White Australia ideal was also an important element in Australia's developing sense of national identity. Indeed, one of the main reasons why Australians accepted the move towards federation was to allow for the creation of a strict national policy on **immigration**. Alfred Deakin, who became Australia's second prime minister, was one of many politicians and campaigners supporting federation who argued for the preservation of Australia as a white nation (see Source 4).



Source 2 Sheet music for the 'White Australia' song, composed by WE Naunton, with words by Naunton and HJW Gyles, and performed at the Australian Natives' Association National Fete, 31 January 1910



Source 3 Alfred Deakin, shown here around 1902, was one of the first Australian politicians to begin campaigning for federation. He became Australia's second prime minister in 1903. He was also a strong supporter of the Immigration Restriction Act.

In fact, the very first law passed by the new Commonwealth parliament after Federation in 1901 was the Immigration Restriction Act. This act used a range of methods (including a complicated dictation test) to ensure that only 'desirable' (i.e. white) immigrants could enter the country.

Source 4

The unity of Australia is nothing, if that does not imply a united race. A united race not only means that its members can intermix, intermarry and associate without degradation on either side, but implies one inspired by the same ideas and an aspiration towards the same ideals, of a people possessing the same general cast of character, tone of thought, the same constitutional training and traditions ... Unity of race is an absolute essential to the unity of Australia.

Speech by Alfred Deakin on the Immigration Restriction Bill, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, 12 September 1901

Check your learning 10.13

Remember and understand

- 1 Around what time did businesses and organisations begin using the name 'Australia'?
- 2 Which organisation was the first to begin campaigning for federation?

Apply and analyse

- 3 What role did negative attitudes towards non-whites play in the movement towards Federation?
- 4 What was the Immigration Restriction Act and when was it passed? What methods did the Act use to try to reach its objective?
- 5 How did the White Australia ideal help to ensure that the process of Federation was successful?

10B rich task

The White Australia debate

One of the factors that united Australian colonists in the lead up to Federation was a growing concern that white people would be overrun by the Chinese, Japanese and Pacific Islanders who were coming to Australia to work. After Federation, the first law introduced by the new federal parliament in June 1901 was the Immigration Restriction Act, which prevented certain types of people from entering Australia, particularly those who were not white.

In 1887, two Chinese Commissioners, General Wong and E Tsing, were appointed by the Chinese government to visit Australia and report on the conditions facing the Chinese people who had settled here. Source 1 is part of an article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in response to the Commissioners' visit.

Source 1

... The COMMISSIONERS, there is every reason to believe, came to Australia, not only to discover how the Chinese who are already here are getting on, but with the object of paving the way for the arrival of others ... the Australian colonies could not give way upon such a question as this. The restrictions which have been placed upon Chinese immigration have been adopted deliberately, and with the determination that Australia shall be essentially a European community. We have made up our minds not to be overrun by the Chinese or any other inferior race, and no proposal to relax the precautions which serve to keep back the threatened Chinese invasion would be listened to for a moment.

An extract from an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 1887



Source 3 This cartoon published in the magazine *Melbourne Punch* on 10 May 1888 depicts the Australian colonies (shown as pretty white women) using Federation as a means to get rid of 'the Chinese pest'.

Louis Ah Mouy (1826–1918) was a Chinese carpenter who was brought to Melbourne in 1851 under contract to build six houses. After the contract ended, he joined the gold rush and made a fortune discovering gold in the Yea area. He became a leader within the Victorian Chinese community and spoke publicly against the immigration restrictions on the Chinese. Source 2 is an extract from a pamphlet he wrote. It was published in Melbourne as 'The Chinese Question in Australia, 1878–79'.

Source 2

... surely there is room enough in this large continent – many portions of which can never be cultivated by European labour – for some, at least, of the redundant population of China. That country is estimated to contain not much less than 2,000,000 square miles of territory, and 400,000,000 of people. Australia comprises an area of close upon 3,000,000 square miles, and it contains no more than 2,100,000 white people, and a few thousand blacks. In our own land, millions of men, women, and children – yes, millions – think of the horror and pity of it! – have died of starvation during the last year ... You do not endeavour to exclude Germans, or Frenchmen, or Italians, or Danes, or Swedes. There are men of all these nationalities here. Then why are Chinese colonists to be placed under a ban? Are we an inferior race? No one can say so who knows anything of our history, our language, our literature, our government ... China had reached a very high stage of civilisation when Britain was peopled by naked savages ...

An extract from 'The Chinese Question in Australia, 1878–79',
Louis Ah Mouy

skilldrill: Historical sources as evidence

Identifying and analysing the perspectives of people from the past

Primary and secondary historical sources represent many different perspectives, attitudes and values. The perspectives of the people who create different sources are influenced by their gender, age, family and cultural background, education, religion, values and political beliefs, their life experiences and the times in which they live. It is the historian's job to make sure that they consider a range of perspectives in their investigations, allowing more voices to be heard and a more complete picture to be formed. Identifying and analysing the perspectives of different people is a very important historical skill. To do this, you need to understand the social, cultural and emotional contexts and factors that shaped people's lives and actions in the past.

Follow these steps when identifying and analysing different perspectives:

Step 1 Identify the historical issue around which there may be different opinions or interpretations.

Step 2 List the various groups and people who may have been involved in or affected by this issue.

Step 3 Identify their role or position in society.

Step 4 Locate some primary sources that provide evidence about their point of view or opinion on the issue.

Step 5 Analyse each source, using the following questions as a guide:

- Why was the source written or produced?
- Who was the intended audience of the source? Was it meant for one person's eyes, or for the public? How does that affect the source?

- What was the author's message or argument? What was he/she trying to get across? Is the message explicit, or are there implicit messages as well? What can the author's choice of words tell you? What about the silences – what does the author choose *not* to talk about?
- How does the author try to get the message across? For example, do they give a detached, balanced account, or is it biased for or against the issue?
- Compared to what we face today, what relevant circumstances and experiences were different for the author of the source in the past? Some examples might include religion, economy, family life, technology etc. How do you think these factors and experiences influenced their thoughts and actions?

Apply the skill

- 1 Identify the different groups and individuals who were involved in or affected (directly or indirectly) by the 'White Australia' debate in Australia in the late 1800s. Describe their roles or positions in society.
- 2 Consider the three sources (Sources 1 to 3) included above. Who wrote or produced them? Identify and analyse the perspectives presented in each of these sources, using the steps provided.

Extend your understanding

- 1 In recent years, there has been substantial debate in Australia about asylum seekers. Many politicians and journalists have promoted the idea that Australians need to be concerned about a growing influx of 'boat people' – asylum seekers arriving on Australian shores in the boats of Indonesian people smugglers.
 - a Conduct some research into the asylum seeker issue, and locate a number of primary source documents (e.g. newspaper articles and cartoons)

that reveal some contemporary Australian attitudes towards asylum seekers.

- b Analyse each source, using the steps provided. Then, create a Venn diagram to help you identify the similarities and differences between:
 - Australia's views on immigrants in the late 1800s
 - Australia's views on asylum seekers in the early 2000s.

10.14 The road to Federation

In the years leading up to Federation in 1901, there was a shared belief that a unified country would provide ordinary people with the chance to create a better society. Australians had a vision of a nation that included the best qualities of their British heritage, while providing opportunities for all people – not just the wealthy and privileged.

It must be recognised, however, that the road towards Federation was not always a smooth one. There were obstacles that had to be overcome before the people were ready to embrace the idea of a unified nation. These included a strong sense of local identity in some areas, and rivalries between different colonies. Some people were also strongly loyal to the British Crown and resisted any reduction in the amount of British power. There were also disagreements about the exact form and structure of the federation that was to be created. Some people wanted a stronger central (federal) government, while others wanted the state governments to have the greatest power. Then there were those who simply resisted change and were happy for things to continue as they were.

Nevertheless, as the colonies approached the end of the 19th century, most of these obstacles were overcome. A majority of people voted in favour of the creation of the new Australian nation. Several other factors also encouraged this movement towards federation, including defence and economic concerns, and an increasing recognition of ‘sameness’ among the colonists.

The first significant move towards Federation is regarded by most historians as having begun with a speech given by Sir Henry Parkes in the town of Tenterfield in New South Wales in 1889. In what became known as the ‘Tenterfield Address’ Parkes called for the colonies to ‘unite and create a great national government for all Australia’. In reality though, the idea of uniting the colonies had been around at least since 1847 when Henry Grey – British Colonial Secretary from 1846 to 1852 – proposed a Federal Assembly. The intention was that this assembly would meet regularly to allow colonial leaders to discuss matters that affected all colonies such as taxes and tariffs, railways, and postage services.

However, the idea was not taken up by the colonial leaders and the movement stalled until the 1880s. The key stages in achieving Australia’s Federation are summarised in Source 1.

Check your learning 10.14

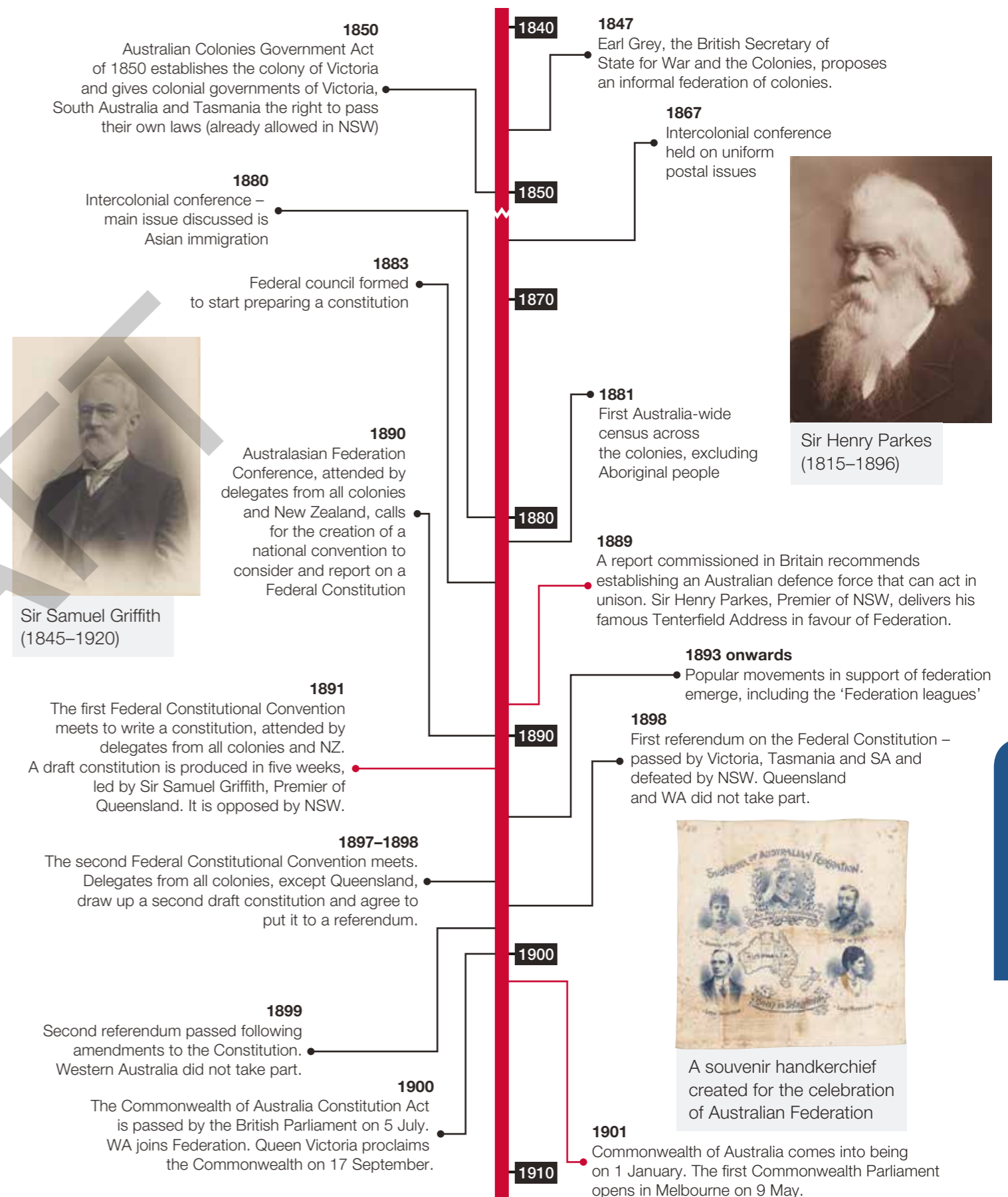
Remember and understand

- 1 When was Federation actually achieved?
- 2 List some of the main factors that caused people to be wary of federation prior to 1901.
- 3 List some of the main arguments that were presented in favour of federation prior to 1901.

Evaluate and create

- 4 Look carefully at Source 1. In your notebook, create a flowchart like the one shown here, and identify five stages that you consider to have been the most important. Put the events in chronological order.

Year	Description of key stage



Source 1 Key stages in the achievement of Federation

10.15 Reasons for Federation

By the 1890s, the idea that the separate colonies of Australia should federate to form a single nation was one that had gained widespread support. The example of the United States – a country that had declared its independence from Britain in 1776 – was of great importance. From the mid-1800s, the United States had become a model for Australia's idea of itself and its future, including its Constitution (set of guiding principles). Improvements in transport and communication brought people in the colonies closer together, and the things that made Australians feel like one people began to seem more important than the things that divided them. As discussed, the 'White Australia' ideal and protecting Australia from non-whites was a major factor in the push for federation. There were also a number of other important factors, including the issues of defence, concerns about the economy and a recognition that many of the colonies shared the same goals.



Defence

In the early 1880s, a number of European countries were expanding their territories by setting up colonies in Africa and Asia. Some (such as France) were also interested in setting up colonies in the Pacific region. Some colonists in Australia feared that these moves by European powers might also lead to a takeover of some Australian territory.

Source 1 A ribbon promoting a Yes vote in the second referendum for Federation in Australia, 1899

Some colonial leaders argued that the colonies could better defend themselves if they united. Two events in 1889 strengthened this view. The first was Major General Sir Bevan Edwards' examination of the defence systems of the colonies. His report to the British government recommended that the colonies form united defence forces and strategies. The second event was the speech given at Tenterfield by New South Wales Premier, Sir Henry Parkes (see Source 2 on page 380). Parkes may have been inspired by Edwards' report, but his address went further. Parkes recommended the creation of an Australian government and set out steps by which it could be achieved.

The economy

Many historians argue that the main driver for federation was economic. Federation would allow branches of businesses, banks, import and export merchants and manufacturers to develop across the borders of different colonies. It would also allow for consistent trading policies. One of the main obstacles to economic progress, it was thought, was that there were two different customs systems operating between the colonies (customs authorities control the flow of goods into and out of the country).

In Victoria, protective **tariffs** (taxes) were placed on all goods entering the colony from interstate or overseas. This made the imported products more expensive and, therefore, 'protected' the manufacturers of locally made goods.

In New South Wales, no extra charge was placed on imported goods. This meant that imported goods were not more expensive than locally produced goods. Supporters of this policy of **free trade** argued that it would be easier to sell their goods overseas and in other colonies, if tariffs on incoming goods did not exist.

Removing tariffs imposed between colonies was supported by those who traded across borders, such as the farmers in the Riverina district of southern New South Wales. Although the rich wool-growing region of the Riverina was in New South Wales, it was easier for the farmers to market their wool through Victoria. The wool bales would be transported by riverboat through the Murray–Darling river system to Echuca, then by train to Melbourne. Federation and the removal of inter-colonial tariffs would definitely advantage the Riverina wool growers.

The 1890s depression

Another economic influence on federation came from the 1890s depression. The extended boom from the 1860s, largely the result of gold, came to an end in the early 1890s with largescale business collapses, a fall in farm prices, and rising unemployment. Many in the eastern colonies, especially in Victoria and South Australia, argued that a centrally managed economy could prevent future depressions or allow them to be better managed.

The view in Western Australia was that a centralised economy would disadvantage the west because conditions there were very different. Western Australia was also concerned that because of its small population, it would not have a significant representation in a national parliament. This issue was addressed by the establishment of a two-house system. The Senate is known as the house of review, or the 'states' house', this structure is still part of our Federal Parliament today.

A growing sense of nationalism

As politicians, business people, shearers, bush hawkers (see Source 2), entertainers and railway workers travelled around the country, from colony to colony, they helped to spread news and stories from other areas. This phenomenon became known as 'the bush telegraph'. The travellers and the people they encountered along the way became increasingly aware that the things that drew colonists together were far stronger than the things that drove them apart. This movement towards a common identity was also reflected in magazines such as, *The Bulletin*, which was widely read throughout the country.

By the 1890s, more than 70 per cent of the people in the Australian colonies had been born in Australia. Although many of their parents still spoke of Britain as 'home', the native-born were more likely to identify with Australia and to feel positively about the culture, customs and way of life. These developments led to a growing sense of **nationalism** that fuelled support for federation. In the lead-up to federation, many appeals were made to the native-born (which did not include the Aborigines) to support the idea of a new nation. These arguments were set out in the pro-federation poster 'To the Australian Born' (see Source 1 on page 380).



Source 2 Bush hawkers (travelling salesmen) travelled from colony to colony spreading news from one part of the country to the other. Bush hawkers helped colonists to realise that they shared many common goals and fuelled a sense of nationalism.

Check your learning 10.15

Remember and understand

- Read the text and answer the following questions:
 - What are 'tariffs'?
 - Which Australian colony used tariffs prior to federation?
 - Who supported the removal of tariffs, and why?
- What were some of the other economic benefits that federation seemed to offer the colonies?
- What was the 'bush telegraph' and what influence did it have on nationalism in Australia?
- By the 1890s, what proportion of people living in the Australian colonies (not including Aborigines) had been born in Australia?

Apply and analyse

- Explain the connection between the defence fears of colonists and the arguments for federation.

Evaluate and create

- Conduct some Internet research and explain how the two-house parliamentary system allows states with smaller populations equal representation in national parliament.

10.16 Significant individuals: People who helped to shape the nation

Australia's emergence as a nation in 1901 was the result of the inspiration and effort of a wide range of colonists from all walks of life. As the colonies developed, there was a growing recognition that Australia was a land with a promising future. The contributions of some of the significant individuals who shaped the nation have been recorded and celebrated. However, for every trade union leader, politician, journalist or feminist there were hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women who played equally important roles in building the nation.



Source 1
William Spence

William Guthrie Spence

William Guthrie Spence (1846–1921) is known as the father of the Australian trade union movement. The child of gold-rush immigrants, he worked as a miner before helping to form the Amalgamated Miners Association of Victoria in 1874.

In the 1880s, he was the key

figure in the formation of Australia-wide unions for miners and shearers.

Because these unions had large memberships, they were able to achieve better pay and conditions for workers. After the depression in the 1890s, employers tried to cut back on these gains. Spence then formed the Australian Workers Union, which covered miners, shearers and rural workers. Spence was a strong supporter of federation and was elected to the first Australian parliament in 1901.

Sir Henry Parkes

Born in England, Sir Henry Parkes (1815–1896) emigrated to Australia with his wife in 1839. He had a rich and varied career in commerce, publishing and politics, before serving five terms as Premier of New South Wales, between 1872 and 1892.



Source 2 This statue of Sir Henry Parkes was unveiled in 1996 in Centennial Park, Sydney, on the centenary (100th anniversary) of his death.

Parkes earned the title 'Father of Federation' following his famous Tenterfield Address in 1889. However, he had proposed the idea of federation as early as 1867 at an inter-colonial conference.

In 1881, Parkes proposed that a federal council be set up to start preparing a constitution for federation. The federal council came into being two years later. However, it did not meet with Parkes' approval as he did not believe that New South Wales had enough power to plan and work towards a federation. New South Wales did not take part in its early meetings during the 1880s.

In 1891, Parkes was appointed Chairman of the National Australian Convention, held in Sydney. At this Convention, the first draft Constitution was developed. Over the next few years several obstacles to the federation movement emerged. One was the economic depression of the 1890s. Another was the resignation of Parkes as Premier in October 1891. Nevertheless, Parkes continued to promote the idea of unity. He argued strongly for federation in a lecture tour through Victoria in 1893. Parkes died in April 1896 from complications following pneumonia. Five years later the cause he had championed so strongly, federation, became a reality.



Source 3
John Archibald

John Feltham Archibald

John Feltham Archibald (1856–1919) was a key figure in the literary and publishing life of the Australian colonies in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He played a significant role in raising awareness of an Australian national identity.

In 1880, Archibald established *The Bulletin* magazine, which he used to promote Australian art and literature. Nicknamed the 'bushman's bible', *The Bulletin* was read in shearing sheds, country pubs and all the capital cities around Australia. It was the first Australian magazine to pay real attention to local issues. It was also among the first to support values and characteristics that were distinctively Australian.

Ironically, although the magazine claimed to promote equal rights for all, it also campaigned proudly for a white Australia. Some of its cartoons represented the Chinese in a grotesque manner (see Source 3 on page 351). The August 1890 edition included a list of things denounced by *The Bulletin* – this included 'religious interference in politics, foreign titles and the Chinese'.

Archibald died in 1919, having left a bequest for an annual portrait prize. The Archibald Prize has become one of Australia's most prestigious art awards.



Source 4
Catherine Helen Spence

Catherine Helen Spence

Scottish-born Catherine Helen Spence (1825–1910) was one of Australia's earliest feminists and the first woman to run as a political candidate. With her journalistic background, she was always able to articulate her views and opinions. She had a great interest in social reform,

especially in relation to the rights of women. Spence was also the first woman to preach in a South Australian church and she worked hard to arrange foster homes for abandoned or at-risk children.

Spence was at the forefront of the movement to gain votes for women. She became vice-president of the Women's Suffrage League in 1891 and played an important role in ensuring that in 1894 South Australian women were the first in Australia to gain the vote.

In 1894, women in South Australia had also won the right to stand as political candidates and Spence was the first to take advantage of this change. She stood as a candidate for one of 10 positions allocated to South Australia for the Federal Constitutional Convention held in Sydney in 1897, becoming the first Australian woman political candidate. Although she was unsuccessful (coming 22nd out of 33 candidates), her action showed that women were very capable of running political campaigns. Spence's role in Federation was recognised nationally by the placement of her image on one side of Australia's 2001 Federation five dollar note, with Sir Henry Parkes 'the Father of Federation' on the other.

Check your learning 10.16

Remember and understand

- 1 What was one of the major achievements of the trade unions in the 1880s?
- 2 Why is Sir Henry Parkes remembered as the 'Father of Federation'?

Apply and analyse

- 3 Explain what you see as the key contribution of each of these individuals to the building of the Australian nation.
- 4 Explain how the 1890s depression had such a negative impact on union membership and union gains.
- 5 Why do you think that Catherine Helen Spence had so little success in her attempt to be elected to the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1897?

Evaluate and create

- 6 Sir Henry Parkes and John Feltham Archibald both contributed to the growth of national unity. Which do you believe made the greatest contribution and why?
- 7 Imagine that you are Catherine Helen Spence. Prepare and record an audio or video presentation of the campaign speech that you used to attempt to gain election to the 1897 Federal Constitutional Convention. Your speech should deal with the importance of federation and the Constitutional Convention, and list the reasons why you, as a woman, would be an excellent candidate.

10.17 Australia becomes a nation



Source 1 Tom Roberts' painting *The Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York, 9 May 1901*

On 1 January 1901, Australia became a nation when the separate, self-governing colonies set up by Britain federated (united). Federation was achieved as a result of two **referendums**, one in 1898 and another in 1899. It is perhaps easy for Australians today to assume that Federation was the result of a natural process that was always going to happen. In fact, the road towards Federation was not always a smooth one, and a closer look at how it was achieved reveals a story full of complications, false starts, twists and turns.

The first referendum failed. A year later, after some changes were made to the Constitution, a second referendum was held. In the second referendum, a majority of people in most of the colonies voted to support a new **Constitution** that would create the Commonwealth of Australia (see Source 3). This time, all colonies except Western Australia voted 'Yes'. The people of Western Australia had been less supportive of federation as they felt isolated from the eastern colonies. The sense of isolation was exaggerated by the fact that there was no rail connection between Perth and the other capital cities. Western Australia also had a small population and many feared that, in a federal parliament, its interests would be swamped by those of the larger colonies (see Source 2).

Source 2

It is all very well to talk about a Federal Australia. It may be highly sentimental and patriotic, but the stern questions are – Will it pay us? Will it pay the manufacturer of Western Australia to sacrifice his 15 or 20 per cent [tariff income] to meet the more advanced, better equipped and overstocked manufacturer of the eastern colonies?

An extract from a letter by WT White (a concerned businessman in Western Australia) to the *Bunbury Herald*, 31 May 1898

In 1900, delegates from the Australian colonies took the Constitution approved at the referendum to London to have it approved by the British government. They were so confident that Western Australia would eventually join that they left a space in the Constitution document for the name Western Australia to be inserted. While they were in London, the news came through that the people of Western Australia had also voted to join the federation. Australia became a federation in January 1901, and the first Commonwealth parliament opened in May in Melbourne (see Source 1).

Source 3 Votes for and against federation, Australian colonies

Colony	First vote (1898)		Second vote (1899, 1900)	
	For	Against	For	Against
New South Wales	71 595	66 228	107 420	82 741
Victoria	100 520	22 099	152 653	98 05
South Australia	35 800	17 320	65 990	17 053
Tasmania	11 797	2716	13 437	791
Queensland	–	–	38 488	30 996
Western Australia	–	–	44 800	19 691

Notes: The first referendum failed in New South Wales because the Parliament there increased the minimum number of affirmative ('yes') votes required to 80 000; Queensland and Western Australia did not take part. In the second referendum Western Australia voted later than the other colonies, in 1900.

Scott Bennett, Department of the Parliamentary Library, *ABS Year Book Australia 2001*

Australia's Constitution

The Constitution of Australia that was signed into effect in 1901 outlined how the new federal government would share its powers with the state governments. It also detailed the limits of these powers and set out how laws would be made and how governments would be formed.

The Constitution splits the power to govern the country between three different areas of responsibility. It says what each of these areas of government (also called the three arms of government) can and cannot do. Each arm of government has to obey the Constitution. The three arms of government are:

- the legislature (this arm creates the laws)
- the executive (this arm approves and administers the laws)
- the judiciary (this arm enforces the laws and decides if they have been broken).

The powers of the different arms of government are independent of each other. This means, for example, that the judiciary cannot influence the executive or the legislature, or the other way round. This is a basic principle of the Westminster system from Britain and is referred to as the **separation of powers**.

Over the last 100 years, some changes have been made to the Constitution but most proposed changes have been rejected. A referendum must be held for every proposed change. To be approved, a referendum must have the support of a majority of voters in a majority of states (that is, in at least four states). Since 1901,

there have been 20 referendums, proposing 44 changes to the Australian Constitution. Only eight have been approved.

The structure of the Australian government

The Australian government is a federal system, made up of a group of states and territories – the former colonies. The government of Australia has three levels (or tiers) that are outlined in the Constitution. Under the Constitution the states kept their own parliaments and most of their existing powers but the federal parliament was given responsibility for areas that affected the whole nation. State parliaments in turn gave councils the task of looking after the particular needs of their local communities. These levels are designed to work together to provide Australians with the services they need. The three tiers of government are:

- the Commonwealth Government (also known as the federal government and Australian government)
- the state and territory governments (one for each of the former colonies)
- local governments (hundreds of local and shire councils).



Source 4 A handkerchief created as a souvenir of Australian Federation in 1901

The Constitution defines the roles and responsibilities of the federal and state governments, but not local governments. Local governments are a responsibility of the relevant state minister for local government.

The areas of responsibility under Australia's three tiers of government are outlined in Source 5.

The Commonwealth Government is responsible for:

- taxation
- national economic management
- immigration and citizenship
- employment
- postal services and the communications network
- social security (pensions and family support)
- defence
- trade
- airports and air safety
- foreign affairs (relations with other countries)

State and territory governments are responsible for:

- hospitals and health services
- schools
- railways
- roads and road traffic control
- forestry
- police
- public transport

Local governments (and the Australian Capital Territory Government) are responsible for:

- street signs, traffic controls
- local roads, footpaths, bridges, drains
- parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, sports grounds
- camping grounds and caravan parks
- food and meat inspection
- noise and animal control
- rubbish collection
- local libraries, halls and community centres
- certain child-care and aged-care issues
- building permits
- social planning
- local environmental issues

Source 5 Responsibilities of the three tiers of Australian government

The Commonwealth Government

At the federal level, the government was established as a bicameral system. This means it was made up of two houses of parliament: the **House of Representatives** and the **Senate**. The House of Representatives, sometimes called the lower house, represents all the people of Australia. It is made up of representatives of electorates that are formed on the basis of population. Therefore the most populous state, New South Wales, has the largest number of seats in the House of Representatives and Tasmania has the smallest. The lower house is responsible for the formation of the government. The government is formed by the party (or parties) with the majority of elected delegates. Generally, the Prime Minister is leader of that party and is responsible for the overall governing of the nation.

The Senate, sometimes called the upper house, represents the states that make up the Commonwealth. All states are given equal representation, regardless of population. The Senate's role is to monitor and review the actions of the House of Representatives. The Senate also has the right to block the proposed legislation of the government and to send legislation back to the House of Representatives with suggested amendments.

Check your learning 10.17

Remember and understand

- 1 When was the first referendum over federation, and why was it not passed?
- 2 What is the Constitution and what purpose does it serve?
- 3 Read the letter from WT White to the *Bunbury Herald* (Source 2).
 - a What main argument is he using against Western Australia's joining the federation?
 - b Suggest two other reasons why many Western Australians were not enthusiastic about federation.

Apply and analyse

- 4 What can you learn from the fact that New South Wales set a higher than 50 per cent target to gain a 'Yes' vote in the federation referendums?
- 5 Examine the souvenir handkerchief (Source 4). Does anything about it surprise you? Explain your answer.

10.18 Living and working conditions in Australia around 1900

Once Australia became a federation, the issues and ideals that had formed the nation continued to be important. In the early 1900s, Australia was regarded as one of the most progressive nations in the world. In comparison with the rest of the world, the standard of living was high, the pay and conditions of workers were improving, women had more democratic rights than in most other parts of the world, and the sense of Australian identity was developing and becoming stronger.

Living conditions

Despite **egalitarian** ideals, all Australians did not live equally. In the cities, the wealthy lived in large homes with well-tended gardens and servants to look after their needs (see Source 1). Meanwhile, working people tended to live in humble, overcrowded rented cottages with few facilities (like running water or toilets) and little hope of ever becoming homeowners (see Source 2).



Source 2 A working-class family home in Melbourne, c. 1900

These cottages tended to be small inner-city terraces or attached houses built in rows alongside factories. Families with eight or more children would occupy these houses, often with all the children sleeping in one room. The buildings were usually shoddily built from cheap materials and had little insulation.



Source 1 Rippon Lea House in Melbourne in 1903, home to the wealthy Sargood family

While the middle and upper classes could afford proper sewerage and plumbing in their homes, these facilities were not provided in the workers' cottages. The toilet was generally a can with a seat resting on the top of it. It was situated in a small shed outdoors near a back alley. The waste would be taken away by waste collectors called 'nightsoil men'.

These poor housing conditions often led to serious illnesses among the working class. The lack of sanitation encouraged the spread of infectious diseases such as whooping cough, tuberculosis and diphtheria. These diseases often hit the young, and infant mortality rates were high. In 1901, there were 103.6 deaths for every 1000 live births. For the first decade of the 20th century, male children had a life expectancy of 55.2 years and females 58.4 years.

Life at home

At the turn of the century, men were known as the 'breadwinners'. They made up the vast majority of the paid workers and generally were not expected to help out with domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning and clothes washing. These jobs were almost always carried out by women in the home.

From the late 1880s, innovations such as washing machines were introduced to save time spent on domestic work but were only available to those who could afford them. Clothes washing was a particularly time-consuming task, taking an entire day. It involved making a wood fire to heat up a large basin of water,



Source 3 A washing machine from the late 1880s



Source 4 Coolgardie safes such as this one from around 1900 were used to keep perishable food cool before refrigerators were invented.

known as a 'copper'. Clothes were scrubbed by hand on a wooden board, boiled in the copper and then hung out to dry. The 1880s washing machine shown in Source 3 was operated by sealing dirty clothes, soap and water in the drum. The drum was then rocked from side to side, agitating the clothes against the corrugated surface inside.

Before refrigeration, a Coolgardie safe (see Source 4) was widely used to keep perishable food fresh in summer, particularly in country areas where no ice was available. The safes were made of either a metal or wooden frame covered in wet hessian (a rough fabric). They worked on the principle of evaporation to cool food. From around 1900, households in areas that had ice works began using ice chests instead of Coolgardie safes. Ice chests were boxes full of ice similar to the Eskys used today. Ice boxes were used in households up to the 1950s.

Education

After Federation, all children aged between six and 13 were given free access to education through government schools. But many children from poorer families were expected to work as soon as possible to help support the family. Children from wealthy families often attended private schools. Education for girls tended to focus on subjects such as literature, music and French. In addition to these subjects, girls were taught how to run a household – cooking, cleaning and sewing were the focus of these classes. Boys were encouraged to continue with their education through to tertiary level in order to be trained in a profession. Working class boys by comparison often left school early to learn a trade and start work.

Transport and communication

At the time of Federation, more than 20000 kilometres of track had been laid across the continent, and all states except for Western Australia were connected by rail – although not directly. As the railways had been built by the colonies independently of each other, different gauges (track widths) had been used across the country.

During this period, rail services were starting to replace ships for the transport of goods and passengers. Railways themselves faced competition from another mode of transport from 1900, with the importation of the first motor car from Europe. The first Australian-made motor vehicle, the Thompson steam car, was manufactured in the same year. Although motor cars were exclusively for the rich until the 1920s, the Australian public was fascinated by them.

The birth of aviation also began in this period. Inventors, including Lawrence Hargrave, were experimenting with flying models in the 1880s. In time, this led to the first powered flights from Europe to Australia in the 1920s.

Working conditions

For the average working man, the early years of the 20th century in Australia offered rights and conditions that were unheard of in other parts of the world – a guaranteed basic wage, an eight-hour day (with a half-day on Saturday), a pension if he lived to 65, and assistance should he become disabled or unable to work before that age. As a result, the reputation that Australia had gained during the 19th century as a 'working man's paradise' was once again revived.

Nevertheless, life for working people was by no means easy. Many factory workers toiled in unsafe and unhealthy conditions. The factories were poorly ventilated, were extremely hot in summer, and cold and damp in winter. They tended to be overcrowded. There were no safety regulations for workers working on often poorly maintained machinery. Injuries were common.

Factory workers also had to work long hours. Although the standard was the eight-hour day, many workers were expected to do more, and overtime often went unpaid. These workers had no protection in times of short-term illness and no unemployment benefits. In spite of the overall prosperity of the economy, employment was unpredictable for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The factories, which were often located in working-class areas, polluted the air and waterways with chemicals and other wastes (see Source 6).



Source 5 This photo of a poor family in Paddington, an inner Sydney suburb, gives a clue to how hard life could be for the poor around 1900. The corrugated iron shanty has no floor, no electric light or running water.



Source 6 This photograph from around 1870 shows wool-washing on the banks of the Yarra River in Melbourne. The owners of the factories and processing plants that lined the river used it to dump their waste.

Check your learning 10.18

Remember and understand

- 1 Describe typical living conditions for the working class in Australia around 1900.
- 2 What access did children have to education after Federation?
- 3 Why were conditions still tough for workers, despite the introduction of the eight-hour working day?

Apply and analyse

- 4 What evidence is there that Australia could be called a 'working man's paradise' in the early 20th century? What evidence is there that this was *not* the case?

10.19 Legislation that shaped a nation

One of the government's first priorities after Federation was the introduction of legislation that restricted non-whites from settling in Australia. At the same time, the government introduced some of the world's most progressive legislation for other groups in Australian society. Several of the most significant pieces of legislation are discussed below.

Key legislation

The Immigration Restriction Act 1901

The Immigration Restriction Act was the first law to be passed by the Commonwealth parliament in 1901. This Act became one of the key pieces of legislation that became known as the **White Australia policy**. Although it did not specifically exclude non-whites from entering the country, it did state that prospective immigrants to Australia could be given a dictation test in any language chosen by an immigration official. Unwanted immigrants were simply given the test in a language they did not understand. The result of this system was that very few non-whites were admitted to Australia. After a few years, non-white immigrants were also far less likely to even apply.

In the early 20th century, only a few were willing to argue against the racism of the majority. A Tasmanian politician, Norman Cameron, argued in parliament against the Immigration Restriction Bill of 1901, as did Melbourne bookseller EW Cole, and Bernard O'Dowd, the editor of the newspaper *Tocsin* (see Source 1).

Source 1

I know that the coloured races are classed inferior races, but I must admit that I cannot see evidence of their inferiority which do not equally brand the white races of Europe and America as inferior. The notion of inferiority appears to me to be a myth sprung originally from European ignorance and nourished now by a foolish self-conceit.

Bernard O'Dowd, *Tocsin*, 25 April 1901



Source 2 Chinese Arch, Melbourne, 1901, Australian Federation celebrations.

Despite the introduction of the Act, there was still a strong Chinese presence in Australia. Many were gold-rush immigrants or their children, and some had developed successful businesses and had positive feelings about the country. At Federation, the Chinese community enthusiastically celebrated the occasion with street arches and parades (see Source 2).

Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902

Another one of the earliest Acts of the new parliament was the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*. This Act extended the vote to all Australian women over 21, at the same time as it denied the vote to all Indigenous Australians. Although at this time, in terms of wages and property rights, women were in no way equal to men, in Australia they now had greater political rights than women in most parts of the world. Indigenous people, however, had no federal voting rights.

Harvester Judgement 1907

One of the most important reforms of this time was the introduction of the principle of a basic minimum wage. The issue of a 'fair and reasonable' wage was first brought to the attention of the courts in 1907 when the owner of the Sunshine Harvester Company of Victoria applied to the Commonwealth Court for permission to sell his farm machinery without having to pay taxes on the sale. The owner, HV McKay, had to show that he was paying his workers a fair wage to avoid paying the tax.

The judge, Justice Higgins, investigated the amount that would be needed under normal circumstances to support a family. He deemed that a minimum weekly wage of 42 shillings a week (roughly \$4.20) was enough to support a man, his wife and three or four children in basic comfort. The weekly wage paid by Sunshine Harvesters was only 36 shillings a week. The idea of setting a minimum wage based on a 'living wage' rather than a worker's output was a progressive idea at this time, anywhere in the world.

Source 3 The minimum weekly wage from 1907 (converted from pounds (£) into dollars (\$) and prices of common items around this time)

Minimum weekly wage, adult male	\$4.20
Loaf of bread	\$0.02
Milk (1 litre)	\$0.03
Men's cotton shirt	\$0.85
Women's shoes	\$1.45
Rent of a three-bedroom house (per week)	\$1.30
Daily newspaper	\$0.01

Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Act 1908

The Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908. This was in response to the growing numbers of people aged over 65 years at this time. The period 1891–1902 saw this number increase by 60 per cent. It came about in recognition of the fact that many invalids (sick or disabled people) and elderly people had no means of supporting themselves. They had worked hard to build the country, paid their taxes and they deserved some help in return.

Maternity Allowances Act 1912

In 1912, the Labor government introduced the Maternity Allowances Act. The aim was to reduce infant mortality (death) rates by improving access to medical services for pregnant women. The government also agreed to pay five pounds (£5) to the mother at the birth of every child.

This lump sum was known as the 'baby bonus' and was designed to encourage women to have more children to build a stronger Australia with a bigger white population. The 'baby bonus' was not available to Aboriginal women.

Consequences for Indigenous people and women

Under the federal Constitution in 1901, many of the rights extended to citizens of Australia were denied to its original inhabitants:

- under section 51, the Constitution specifically stated that the federal government had no power to make laws for Aborigines. This power remained in the hands of the states.
- under section 128, Aboriginal people were not to be counted in the census, effectively denying them membership of the Australian community.

The following groups had the right to vote in Australia's first federal election in March 1901: all men over the age of 21; women in South Australia and Western Australia; and Aborigines in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania (although few Aborigines exercised this right).

However, one of the earliest Acts of the new parliament was the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*. This extended the vote to all Australian women over 21 and denied the vote to all Indigenous Australians. It was not until 1962 that Indigenous Australians in all states were given full voting rights.

Although women in Australia were considered in no way equal to men at this time – especially in terms of wages and property rights – under the Constitution, they now had greater political rights than women in most other parts of the world.

Check your learning 10.19

Remember and understand

- 1 Explain how a basic minimum wage was established in 1907.
- 2 Which pieces of legislation introduced after Federation formed the basis of the White Australia Policy?
- 3 In your own words, describe the outcome of the Harvester Judgement of 1907. Why was this an important moment for Australians?

Apply and analyse

- 4 Why do you think that Chinese colonists were so enthusiastic about celebrating Federation?

Evaluate and create

- 5 Women in Victoria were able to vote in federal elections from 1902. However, they could not vote in state elections until 1908. In pairs, prepare a short role-play of two minutes between a Victorian suffragette and a man opposed to extending the right to vote to women. The dialogue takes place in 1905.

10C rich task

Arguments for and against Federation

By the end of the 1880s, the debate about whether Australia should become one nation had intensified. There was a range of arguments put forward both in favour of and in opposition to the idea of Federation.

To the Australian Born.

No people in the world have been so manifestly marked out by destiny to live under one Government as the people of this island continent; but no people with so little reason have been so disinclined in their public actions.

The Vote on Tuesday next will determine whether we will continue as we are, a cluster of petty provinces, each waging a wasteful competition with the other by means of hostile tariffs and railway rates; or whether we shall have the courage to accept the responsibility cast upon us by our heritage of this great Continent.

"A Continent for a People, a People for a Continent," was Mr. Barton's fine expression of a noble hope four years ago. If Australians are true to themselves this hope will be realised on June 20th.

All the difficulties in the way of Union vanish if we look at them as **Australians**, and not as the inhabitants of any single province. There should be no more difference between, say **Victoria** and **New South Wales**, than there is in **Great Britain** between **Somerset** and **Yorkshire**.

Australia is our home. Our aspiration is to **make Australia great**.

If this is "**sentiment**" it is also "**hard sense**." No Nation has ever played a worthy part in the world unless it has had confidence in its own future.

A Nation's Greatness does not depend upon Acreage of Territory or Material Wealth, but on the **nobleness of the thoughts by which its people are inspired**; and of all the impulses to noble deeds which history records there is none more universal or more potent than this sentiment of Nationality.

Let us become a Nation

and establish in the Southern Hemisphere a **POWER** which makes for Peace and Order in the sight of other nations, and which will prove to men of every race that the descendants of Britons in AUSTRALIA HAVE NOT LOST THEIR CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Source 1 A poster encouraging Australian-born citizens to vote for federation, 1899

Source 2

The great question which they had to consider was, whether the time had not now arisen for the creation on this Australian continent of an Australian Government. In other words, to make himself as plain as possible, Australia now had a population of three and a half millions, and the American people numbered only between three and four millions when they formed the great commonwealth of the United States. The numbers were about the same, and surely what the Americans had done by war, the Australians could bring about in peace ...

An extract from a speech by Sir Henry Parkes at Tenterfield, reported by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 1889

Source 3

Does Sir Henry Parkes forget that we already belong to the greatest and most beneficent Federation the world has ever seen – the Federation of the British Empire? Talk about the 'birth of a nation' was high-flown nonsense! What has all this talk about the United States to do with New South Wales ... Queen Victoria is our Queen and Sovereign, and Ministers and people of England have been our most loving friends. Why, then, are we called upon to ignore them?

Sir John Robertson, 1890

Source 4

If the Australian colonies had to rely at any time solely on their own resources, they would offer such a rich and tempting prize. Isolated as Australia would be with forces which cannot be considered efficient in comparison with any moderately trained army, and without any cohesion or power of combination for mutual defence among the different colonies, its position would be one of great danger. The defence forces should at once be placed on a proper footing, but this is however quite impossible without a federation of the forces of the different colonies.

An extract from a report by Major General Edwards on Australia's defences to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly 'Votes and Proceedings', 1889

skilldrill: Historical sources as evidence

Writing a historical discussion using evidence from sources that are referenced

Historians study the past to figure out what happened, why things happened, and how specific events and developments affected individuals and societies. The more we know about the past, the better we can understand how societies have evolved into what they are today.

The answers historians offer are all more or less educated guesses about the past, based on interpretations of various primary and secondary sources of information. Historians also revise earlier explanations of the past, adding new information.

Historical discussions present different opinions about particular historical questions or issues. They consider evidence from a range of sources, and outline different possible interpretations of that evidence. This involves considering not only various primary sources (such as newspapers, photographs, or political and legal documents from the period being studied), but the ideas of other historians, presented in secondary sources such as textbooks and on websites. Historical discussions conclude with the writer's own point of view on the question or issue, and include a bibliography that references all sources used in the discussion.

The table summarises the structure of a written discussion:

Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduces the topic, question or issue Outlines why the topic, question or issue is important
Main body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A series of paragraphs which outline different arguments or opinions about the topic, question or issue Each opinion or argument that is presented should also refer to the evidence which supports it
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sums up the issue and gives the writer's opinion

Any sources that you have used in your written discussion must be referenced. First, you need to mention in your writing where information is coming from. Some examples of how you can do this include:

- 'According to the historian John Hirst ...'
- 'The depiction of life in the Australian bush in Hans Heysen's paintings during the late 1800s shows that ...'.

You then need to include any sources you have referred to in your discussion in a bibliography. When citing a book in a bibliography, include the following information, in this order:

- Author surname(s) and initial(s)
- Year of publication
- Title of book (in italics)
- Edition (if relevant)
- Publisher
- Place of publication
- Page number(s).

Example:

Easton, M and Carrodus, G, 2014, *Oxford Big Ideas Australian Curriculum Geography/History 9*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, pp. 18–19.

When citing an online source in a bibliography, include the following information, if available:

- Author surname(s) and initial(s) or organisation name
- Year of publication or date of web page (last update)
- Title of document (article) enclosed in quotation marks
- Organisation name (if different from above)
- Date you accessed the site
- URL or web address enclosed in angle brackets.

Example:

Bennett, S, 2001 'Australian Federation', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, accessed 30 March 2013 <www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsw>

Apply the skill

- Write a discussion outlining the arguments for and against Australian federation in the late 1800s. Use the information and sources in this section, but you will also need to conduct further research to locate a range of primary and secondary sources that provide evidence for or against federation. Make sure you include a bibliography that references all your sources.

Extwwend your understanding

- What influences do you think might have made native-born Australians more likely to support federation than people born overseas?
- Prepare a poster designed to encourage colonists to vote for federation in the 1899 referendum. It should appeal to national identity and at least two other influences on federation.
- Why was the defence of the colonies used as an argument in favour of federation?